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P. 972b, AL-**BALĀDHURĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: Khalil Athamina, *The sources of al-Balādhurī's* Ansāb al-ashrāf, in *JSAI* v (1984), 237-62.

VOLUME II

P. 1a, **ČAGHĀNIYĀN**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the Brit. Inst. of Pers. Studies*, xix (1981), 1-20.

P. 75b, **DADALOGHLU**, *add to Bibliography*: K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*, Freiburg i.Br. 1980. (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvölker, i).

P. 571bf., **DJUDDA**, *see now* G. R. Hawting, *The origin of Jedda and the problem of al-Shuʿayba*, in *Arabica* xxxi (1984), 318-26, who finds no sound evidence that Djudda existed in pre-Islamic times or that the exact location of its predecessor as the port of Makka, al-Shuʿayba, can be pinpointed with any certainty.

P. 585a, **DJUGHRĀFIYĀ**, l. 5., *instead of* 56/1166 *read* 561/1166

P. 721b, **EXISTENCE**, *to reference add* and ANNIYYA.

P. 840b, **FATḤPŪR-SĪKRĪ**, *add to Bibliography* S. A. A. Rizvi and V. J. A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, Bombay 1975.

VOLUME III

P. 227b, AL-**ḤARRA**, *add to Bibliography*: M. J. Kister, *The Battle of the Ḥarra. Some socio-economic aspects*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 33-49.

P. 679a, **IBN ʿABD** AL-**ẒĀHIR**, ll. 19-14 from bottom, *instead of the sentence beginning* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim . . . *read* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim, which was confirmed by the *ḳāḍī*, and read it in the assembly of dignitaries; he also composed the *ʿahd* of al-Nāṣir Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 116 ff.

VOLUME IV

P. va l. 24, *instead of* J. W. ALLEN . . . 1105 *read* [J. ALLAN, London], 1105

l. 19 from below, *instead of* Princeton University *read* Hebrew University, Jerusalem

P. xi, *instead of* Taeschner . . . Gotha 1926 *read* Taeschner, *Wegenetz* = Franz Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1924-6.

P. 118b, **ISHBĪLIYA**, *add to Bibliography*: *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán and Maria Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 91-6, 305-6; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, index.

P. 137b, AL-**ISKANDARIYYA**, *add to Bibliography*: Numerous pieces of information about the working of the port of Alexandria are given in the *Minhādj* of al-Makhzūmī, in the parts translated and commented upon by Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale*, in *JESHO* (1965), reproduced in idem, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, Leiden 1978. Furthermore, the author called al-Nuwayrī, Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, author of the *Ilmām al-aʿlām*, should be clearly distinguished from his homonym, the celebrated author of the *Nihāya*. The *Ilmām*, written in regard to the attack. on Alexandria by Peter of Cyprus in 1367 and from which come the extracts studied in the articles of Combes cited in the *Bibl.*, has now been edited by A.S. Atiya in 4 vols. in the Ḥaydarābād Series, 1968-72.

P. 322b, **KAʿBA**, *add to Bibliography*: G. R. Hawting, "*We were not ordered with entering it but only with circumambulating it.*" Ḥadīth *and* fiqh *on entering the Kaʿba*, in *BSOAS* xlvii (1984), 228-42.

P. 471b, **ḲALAM**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *A medieval Islamic prototype of the fountain-pen?*, in *JSS* xxvi (1981), 229-34.

P. 501b, AL-**ḲĀLĪ**, l. 1, *instead of* 189 *read* 289

ll. 10-12, *instead of* from memory . . . into account *read* from memory in his new home, or he made critical observations and commentaries, following the ʿIrāḳī tradition which he knew, upon

l. 25 from below, *after* 1392/1972 *add* (cf. *MMMʿA* xx/2 (1974), 49-130)

P. 546b, **KANNANŪR**, *add to Bibliography*: G. Bouchon, *Mamale de Cananor, un adversaire de l'Inde portugaise (1507-1528)*, Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée 7, Paris 1975.

P. 599a, **KARADJA OGHLAN**, *add to Bibliography*: K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*, Freiburg i.Br. 1980. (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvölker, i).

P. 733a, **KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: E. Jung, *Aḥmad Kasrawī. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte Persiens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Diss. phil. Freiburg i.Br. 1976.

P. 757a, **KATIB**, l. 24, *instead of* M. Kanter *read* M. Carter

P. 772b, **ḲAṬRAN**, l. 35 from below, instead of κεδία, read κεδρία; instead of *ḳaariya* read *ḳadriyā*

P. 814a-b, **KAY KĀʾŪS** B. **ISKANDAR**, last para and *Bibl.* Five completely independent Old Ottoman versions of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* have in fact survived, the best known of which is that of Merdjümek Aḥmed [*q.v.*]. The version at Kazan in 1882, 1889, etc. (and not in 1298/1880-1) is not by this last Ottoman author, but is a version in what is called by H. F. Hofman (*Turkish literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, Section III, Part 1 v 6, p. 65) "Old Tatar", possibly via an Ottoman intermediary.

P. 870b, **KEMĀKH** *add to Bibliography*: R. H. Ünal, *Monuments salǧūqides de Kemah* (*Anatolie orientale*), in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 149-72.
P. 902b, AL-**KHAḌIR**, *add to Bibliography*: H. Schwarzbaum, in *Fabula*, iii (1959), 51 ff.
P. 910a, **KHwĀF**, *add to Bibliography*: J.Aubin, *Un santon qūhistānī de l'époque timouride*, in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 185-216.
P. 914a, **KHAFḌ**, *add to signature* and O. MEINARDUS.
P. 962a, AL-**KHALĪL** B. **AḤMAD**, l. 39 from below, *instead of* AL-FARĀHIDĪ *read* AL-FARĀHĪDĪ
l. 17 from below, instead of *Falknerliteratur* read *Falknereiliteratur*
P. 962a, l. 36, instead of *ibn Aḥmad* read *ibn-Aḥmad*
l. 37, instead of *Sībawayhs* read *Sībawaihs*
l. 18 from below, *instead of* 266 *read* 366
l. 14 from below, *instead of* 4075 ff. *read* 4075 f.
P. 963b, l. 32 instead of *Fāʾid* read *Fāʾit*
l. 18 from below, *after* author *add*, a pseudo-al-Khalīl,
P. 963a, l. 19, *instead of* 303 *read* 304
l. 22, *after* 67-80 *add*; A. Spitaler, in *DLZ* 81 (1960), 612-16; cf. J. Fück, in *ZDMG* 111 (1961), 464-69, Arabic tr. in *MMLʿA* (Cairo) 18 (1964), 33-47
ll. 34 and 37, *instead of* ff. *read* f.
l. 22 from below, *instead of* 37-9 *read* 37-42
l. 17 from below, *after* 1960; *add* H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, index; ʿA. al-Zubaydī, *al-Khalīl al-mūsīkār*, in *al-Mawrid* iv/4 (1975), 23-29;
l. 2 from below, *after* 1373/1954 *add*, 43-7
P. 964a, **KHALĪL** B. **ISḤĀḲ**, l. 14, *instead of* born in Cairo *read* died in Cairo
P. 1034b, AL-**KHARĀDJ**, l. 32, *add*: R. S. Cooper, *The assessment and collection of kharaj tax in medieval Egypt*, in *JAOS* 96 (1976), 365-82 (important).
P. 1090b, **KHĀṢĪ**, last line, *after* 123 *add*; this belief has been affirmed by Muslim law; see R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, in *Études d'orientalisme . . . Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, i, 65, n. 79 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 197, n. 79.
P. 1099b, AL-**KHĀṢṢA** WA-'L-**ʿĀMMA**, l. 30 from below, *after* mischief-makers. *add* (It should be noted, however, that the Shīʿites applied the term *ʿāmma* disparagingly to the Sunnites; see R. Brunschvig, *Fiqh fatimide et histoire de l'Ifriqiya*, in *Mélanges . . . G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 13 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, i, 64.)
P. 1111a, AL-**KHAṬĪB** AL-**BAGHDĀDĪ**, l. 18 from below, after *ḥadīth* add (*ibid*., i, 417)
l. 17 from below, *after* Kūfa *add* (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246)
l. 14 from below, *after* Nīshāpūr *add* (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 67; x, 383)
l. 12 from below, *after* Rayy *add* (*ibid*., xi, 115)
l. 8 from below, *instead of* 1922 *read* 1911.
l. 6 from below, *after* Dīnawar *add* (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 12; ²iv, 29)
P. 1111b, l. 20, instead of *Udabāʾ* i., read *Udabāʾ*, i,
l. 25, *instead of* 210-17 *read* 210-27.
l. 25 from below, *instead of* 1974, i, 69-73 *read* 1976, i, 70-74
l. 17 from below, *after* Baghdād *add* a year later
P. 1112a, l. 22, instead of *Ilâhiyat* read *İlâhiyat*
l. 27, *after* 1971; *add* ²Beirut 1974;
l. 23 from below, *instead of* 69-73 *read* 70-74
l. 22 from below, *after 'l-tafrīḳ*, *add* a work about traditioners with similar names and their identification,
l. 18 from below, *after* 175 ff. *add*; printed Beirut 1975
l. 17 from below, *after al-ʿamal add*, a small paraenetic book concerning 201 *aḥādīth abyāt* and *aḳwāl* by well-known individuals, named and anonymous poets, prophets and sages (e.g. quotations from the Torah), on both concepts *ʿilm* and *ʿamal*, always introduced by *isnāds*
after by al-Albānī, *add* Beirut 1386/1966, ³1389/1969,
P. 1112b, l. 12, *after* 13 *add*; ²iv, 33.
P. 1155a, **KHAYR** AL-**DĪN PASHA**, l. 13-14 from below, *instead of* G. S. van Krieken *read* idem
l. 11 from below, *instead of* idem *read* G. S. van Krieken
P. 1162r, AL-**KHAYYĀṬ**, ABŪ 'L-ḤUSAYN, l. 14 from below, *instead of* Abā *read* Abū
P. 1162b, l. 9, *delete* about
P. 1163b, l. 6, *instead of* 7 *read* -7
l. 29, *instead of* 6 *read* -6
l. 19 from below, *instead of* 5 *read* -5
l. 14 from below, *instead of* 4 *read* -4
last line, *instead of* 6 ff., 85, 11. 5 ff. *read* -6 ff, 85, 11. -5 ff.
Plate XLVII, **KHAZAF**, *caption No. 1 belongs to the left-hand photograph, caption No. 2 to the right-hand photograph.*
P. 1171a, *Add to Bibliography, section 'General'*: E. J. Grube, *Islamic pottery of the 8th to the 15th century in the Keir collection*, London 1976; G. Öney, *Islamic tile art*, Osaka 1976; J. Zick-Nissen, *Islamische Keramik*, Katalog, Düsseldorf 1973; *Keramos*, No. 64, Berlin, April 1974 (in conjunction with the preceding reference). — *Section 'Technique'*: J. C. Gardin, *Code pour l'analyse des formes de poteries*, CNRS Paris 1976. — *Section 'China and Islam'*: Y. Crowe, *Certains types et techniques de la céramique de Suse*, in *Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola 1974. — *Section 'Turkey'*: W. B. Denny, *The ceramic revetments of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha and the environment of change*, New York 1977; M. Meinecke, *Fayence Dekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*,

in *DAI Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xiii, Tübingen 1976; G. Öney, *Turkish ceramic tile art*, Tokyo 1976; idem, *Türk çini sanatı*, Istanbul 1976. — *Section 'Special studies'*: G. A. Brikina, *Karabulak*, Moscow 1974.

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P. 84ᵇ, **ḲIBLA**, l. 9: al-Djaghmīnī lived *ca* 618/1221-22, since, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (though not in the printed versions of the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*), this was the date of composition of his treatise on astronomy.

P. 85ᵃ, 2nd formula from bottom: the quantity Cos φ_M is to be multiplied by the preceding quotient and the product is to be added to Sin φ_M Sin φ.

P. 85ᵇ, l. 8, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 10, *before* $\frac{\text{Sin } \varphi_M \text{ Sin } \varphi}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 15, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

ll. 16 and 17, *instead of* OMf *read* OM_3

P. 86ᵇ, l. 4, *after* sin θ_2 *insert* =

1st and 2nd equations beneath Fig. 5, *insert* =

P. 87, Table 1, instead of *ij* read φ

P. 87ᵇ, ll. 1 and 9, instead of $f\varphi$ and $g\varphi$ read f_φ and g_φ.

P. 88ᵇ, *add to Bibliography*: On the problems of mosque orientation see D. A. King, *Astronomical alignments in medieval Islamic religious architecture*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1982.

P. 106ᵃ, **KILWA**, l. 10 from below, instead of KIVINYE *read* KIVINJE

l. 8 from below, *instead of* Dar es Salam *read* Dar es Salaam, the official spelling

P. 142-3, **ḲİRİM**, *add to Bibliography*: *Le khanat de Crimée dans les archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, prés. par A. Bennigsen, P. Boratav et autres, Paris/Den Haag 1978; M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, *La présence ottomane au sud de la Crimée et en Mer d'Azov dans la première moitié du XVIᵉ siècle* in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique xx* (1979), 389-456; G. Veinstein, *La population au sud de la Crimée au début de la domination ottomane*, dans *Memorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, Paris 1980, 227-49 (Bibl. de l'Inst. Français d'Archéol. d'Istanbul, xxviii); *Catalogue des microfilms des ouvrages intéressant les musulmans de l'U.R.S.S. ...*, iii: *Crimée*, Paris 1963 (stencilled).

P. 243ᵃ, **ḲİZ**, 3rd paragraph: Ewliyā Čelebi and, following him, Mamboury are wrong when saying that the Ḳız-tashı, i.e. the Byzantine "Maiden's stone" (of porphyry), was incorporated into the Süleymāniyye Mosque. The order books (1550-7) of the Süleymāniyye mention the transportation of a column from the Ḳıztashı Maḥallesi to the mosque, but that one was from granite. See C. Mango, *Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* xvii, Washington 1963, 61; O. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve inşaatı*, Ankara 1972-9, i, 344-6, ii, 23-4, Nos. 44-5; J. M. Rogers, *The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey*, i, *The stones of the Süleymaniye*, in *IJMES* xiv (1982), 79.

P. 268ᵇ, **ḲORDOS**, The correct name in Ottoman Turkish of the city of Corinth emerges rather as Kördes or Gördes in the pages of Ewliyā Čelebi, where it is consistently spelt with *kāf/gāf* and not with *ḳāf*, confirmed by such European renderings as Gourdese (Bernard Randolph, 1689) and Ghiurdos (W. M. Leake, *ca.* 1805). *Add to the Bibliography*: P. A. MacKay, *The fountain at Hadji Mustafa*, in *Hesperia, Jnal. of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, xxxvi (1967), 193-5; idem, *Acrocorinth in 1668, a Turkish account*, in *op. cit.*, xxxvii (1968), 386-97, with map, plan and photographs.

P. 428ᵇ, **ḲUR'ĀN**, *add to Bibliography, section "General studies"*: A. Neuwirth, *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*, Berlin 1981.

P. 507ᵇ, **ḲURṢĀN**, l. 12, *instead of* Khārḳ I Island *read* Khārḳ Island

P. 508ᵃ, l. 7, *instead of* Malcom's *read* Malcolm's

P. 552, **ḲUṬB MINĀR**,, *place Plates XXVIII-XXIX between pp. 548 and 549.*

P. 557ᵇ, **ḲUṬN**, l. 24 from bottom: *instead of* Bozdeghan *read* Bozdoghan

l. 23 from bottom: *instead of* Čalishu *read* Čalıshlu

P. 558ᵇ, l. 19 from bottom: *instead* of Eluçay *read* Uluçay

P. 559ᵃ, l. 8 from bottom: *instead of* muslim *read* muslin

P. 560ᵃ, l. 26 from bottom: *instead of* of *read* or

P. 562ᵃ, l. 10: *instead of* 875/1470 *read* 875/1470s

l. 39: *instead of* muslims *read* muslins

P. 563ᵃ, l. 5: *instead of* Starrhemberg *read* Starhemberg

P. 564ᵇ, l. 7: *instead of* Morcmer *read* Morimer

P. 565ᵃ, l. 20 from bottom: *instead of* 1241/1225 *read* 1241/1825

l. 12 from bottom: *instead of* journalist *read* journalists

P. 565ᵇ, l. 25 from bottom: instead of *heyatı* read *hayatı*

P. 566ᵃ, l. 14: *instead of* Edsedy *read* Ecsedy

P. 570ᵇ, AL-**KUTUBĪ**, l. 7 from bottom: A part of the *ʿUyūn*, edited by Fayṣal al-Sāmir and Nabīla ʿAbd al-Munʿim Dā'ud, has been published in Baghdād in 1397/1977. Following an unconfirmed report another part has been published in Cairo in 1980 and further parts are planned.

P. 604, **LĀHAWR**, *place Plates XXX-XXXI between pp. 600 and 601.*

P. 878ᵇ, **MĀ'**, section 7: Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain, *add to Bibliography*: R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 210-13 and the bibliography given there.

P. 1027a, **MADJĀZ** l. 4, *instead of* more *read* mere
l. 31 from below, *after* mind *insert* to

p. 1056b, **MADJLIS,** *add to bibliography of section on Jordan*: R. G. Khoury, *Jordan Assembly meets, clears way for elections*, in *International Herald Tribune*, 10 January 1984, p. 1.

P. 1059a, *Add to bibliography of section on ʿUmān*: D. F. Eickelman, *Kings and people: Oman's state consultative council*, in *MEJ* 38/1 (Winter 1984), 51-71.

P. 1077a, *Add to bibliography of section on Israel*: J. M. Landau, *The Arab vote*, in D. Caspi, A. Diskin, E. Guttman (eds.), *The roots of Begin's success*, London 1984, 169-189.

P. 1103b, **MADJNŪN LAYLĀ,** l. 7 from below, *after* his love *add* of

P. 1164a, AL-**MAGHĀZĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: *Maghāzī rasūl allāh li-ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr bi-riwāyat Abī 'l-Aswad ʿanhu* (*al-nuskha al-mustakhradja*), ed. M.M. al-Aʿẓamī, al-Riyāḍ 1401/1981 (extracted from later compilations); A. A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, ed. and tr. L. I. Conrad, Princeton 1983 (being an annotated trans. of al-Dūrī, *Baḥth* ..., referred to above).

P. 1166a, AL-**MAGHĪLĪ**, l. 3 from below, *add*: J. O. Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī and the Jews of Tuwāt: the demise of a community*, in *SI* lxiv (1984).

P. 1166b, l. 5 f., *instead of* Critical text and tr. in Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī's Replies read* Critical text and trans. in J. O. Hunwick, *Sharīʿa in Songhay. The replies of al-Maghīlī to the questions of Askia al-Ḥājj Muḥammad*, Oxford 1984 (Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Arabica, v).

P. 1171a, **MAGHNISA,** *add to Bibliography*: Yuzo Nagata, *16. yüzyılda Manisa köyleri*, in *Tarih Dergisi* xxxii (1979) (= Ord. Prof. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı hâtıra sayısı'ndan), 731-58.

P. 1231b, AL-**MAHDĪ**, l. 12 from below, *add to end of paragraph*: The Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr al-Ḳaysī, who died in Ḥimṣ between 88/707 and 96/715, attributed the following tradition to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: "The Mahdī will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (*fiḳh*) of ten and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus; and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel."

P. 1232b, ll. 8-19, *replace by*: The theme was evidently adopted from the tradition ascribed to Kaʿb by ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr in Ḥimṣ.

P. 1238a, *add to Bibliography*: W. Madelung, *The Sufyānī between tradition and history* (forthcoming).

SUPPLEMENT

P. 343b, AL-**ḤĀKIM** AL-**DJUSHAMĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: ʿAdnān Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī wa-manhadjuh fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1972.

P. 393b, **IBN MIḲSAM,** *add to Bibliography*: A. Jeffery, *The Qurʾān readings of Ibn Miqsam*, in *Ignaz Goldziher memorial volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 1-38.

K

CONTINUATION

KHEMSHIL [see KHEMSHIN].

KHEMSHIN (other designation, Khemshili), a numerically small group of Muslim (Sunnī) Armenians who had been converted from Christianity in the beginning of the 18th century. In the U.S.S.R. (population 629, according to the 1926 Soviet census), they now inhabit the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border. In Turkey they live in compact settlements along the Fïrtïnï and Ḳaradere rivers (Bash Khemshin) and in the mountains not far from Hope (Hope Khemshin). The traditional economy is based on sheep and goat herding, and related activities. The Khemshin dialect (like the Erzurum, Cilicia and Istanbul dialects) is part of the western dialect group of the Armenian language. The Khemshin have been, to a great extent, assimilated by the Turks, nor have they been listed in either the 1959 or 1970 Soviet censuses). (R. WIXMAN)

KHĒRLA, a fortress of mediaeval India, lying to the south of Mālwa and east of Khāndesh [*q.vv.*], and in the extreme northern part of Berār [*q.v.*], just to the south of the headwaters of the Tāptī River. It is in fact some 50 miles west of modern Deogaṛh; in British India it fell within the Central Provinces, now Madhya Pradesh.

The foundation of the fortress is attributed to a Rādjput *rādjā*, the last of whose line is said to have been killed by a commander of the Dihlī Sultans, perhaps in the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī; but the fortress as it stands today is Islamic in construction. During the revolt of the Deccan in the latter years of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, it fell into the hands of a local Gond dynasty. In the early 9th/15th century, the Gond ruler Narsingh was made subject to the ruler of Mālwa, Hushang b. Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī (808-38/1405-35), appointed to Mālwa by the Tughluḳids. It now became a subject of discord and covetousness between the rulers of Mālwa and the Bahmanī sultans of the northern Deccan [see BAHMANĪS]; thus in 831/1428 Hushang suffered a crushing defeat at Khērla at the hands of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. Forty years later, in 871/1467, there was again fighting over possession of Khērla between Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī of Mālwa (840-73/1436-69) and the Bahmanī Muḥammad Shāh III Lashkarī, but Maḥmūd managed to retain Khērla and possibly northern Berār as far as Eličpur [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 994/1586 the Mughal governor of Mālwa, Aʿẓam Khān, attempted to take over Berār; he failed to capture Khērla, but plundered the capital Eličpur before being repelled by the combined forces of Khāndesh and the Niẓām-Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.* and NIẒĀM-SHĀHĪS]. Berār subsequently came under Mughal rule, and the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett², Calcutta 1939-48, ii, 237, lists Khērla as a *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Berār with a revenue of 17½ million *dams*.

Bibliography: Sir Wolseley Haig, in *Camb. hist. of India*, iii, index. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHIḌĀB (A.), a term denoting the dyeing of certain parts of the body (and especially, in regard to men, the beard and hair) by means of henna [see ḤINNĀʾ] or some similar substance. It is still used in this sense today, but is used moreover for the items of make-up and cosmetics employed by modern women; the reader may find under MARʾA information about those items of cosmetics used by women attached to the traditional usages. (ED.)

KHIDĀSH (or Khaddāsh, cf. Wellhausen, 509; his real name was probably ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd) one of the leaders of the early Hāshimiyya movement in Khurāsān. Having played a part unacceptable to the ʿAbbāsids in the formative stages of their *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, the official ʿAbbāsid propaganda later obliterated as much as possible of his memory, minimised his part in the *daʿwa* and presented him as a heretic. This propaganda succeeded to such a degree that his life and achievements are hardly mentioned in the Arabic sources and doubt was even cast as to his real name. Consequently, orientalist scholarship, in those few cases when it mentions him, is highly influenced by this. Wellhausen, with his unusual historical instinct, was the first to understand his significance in the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and B. Lewis also mentions his role as one of the first emissaries of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān [see ʿABBĀSIDS]. Cl. Cahen and Lewis both tend to accept at least some of the accusations of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda, namely that he was a Khurramī, and they raise doubts as to whether Khidāsh was an ʿAbbāsid emissary at all (Cahen, *Point de vue sur la révolution ʿAbbāside*, 324-5). However, with the discovery and publication of the anonymous source *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* (ed. Dūrī and Muṭṭalibī under the title *Akhbār ad-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*), a fresh study is possible, based on new material which permits a reconsideration of the already-known traditions about him.

According to the ʿAbbāsid tradition, Khidāsh was a nickname derived from *kh-d-sh* "to tear apart", "to scratch" because "he has torn religion to pieces" (*khadasha al-dīn*) (Ṭabarī, ii, 1503; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292b). This is a clear indication of the efforts made on the part of the ʿAbbāsids to blacken his name, especially after his death. In another tradition, however, Ṭabarī says that it was Khidāsh who adopted this name whereas his real name was ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd (ii, 1588, cf. *Ansāb*, f. 292a, *inf.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, v, 144). As far as the

name is concerned, Khidāsh is not an uncommon name in Arabic, derived from the third form of the verb *kh-d-sh* (cf. Lane's *Lexicon* and *LA*, s.v. and *Aghānī*, xix, 52 and index). It is quite possible that the ʿAbbāsids added their interpretation to the name later, when already there existed a tradition according to which the Prophet disliked the name Khaddāsh. (Ibn Wahb, *Djāmiʿ*, Cairo 1939, 97, cf. Kister, "*Call yourselves by graceful names*", in *Lectures in memory of Prof. Martin M. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1975, 12). However, whether Khidāsh was his name or not, it does not make much difference to the fact that his activities in Khurāsān for over eight years as head of the Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*], caused so much trouble to the ʿAbbāsids that his memory was almost completely obliterated from the records of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*.

In order to understand the enigmatic personality of Khidāsh, one must remember that in the early phases of the *daʿwa* the contacts between the centre of its activity in Khurāsān and the parallel centre in Kūfa were, for security reasons, very weak. The same considerations necessitated extreme caution in the contacts between the Khurāsānis and the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* in Ḥumayma. Although the sources say that the propagandists in Khurāsān acted in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, it is highly improbable that Umayyad intelligence failed to uncover this connection or to discover the identity of the *Imām* until the very end. The contents of the *daʿwa* teachings were extremely ambiguous throughout, and its propagandists spoke in general terms about the rights of *Ahl al-bayt* (cf. al-ʿImrānī, *al-Inbāʾ*, ed. Samarrai, Leiden 1973, 571 l. 18) a term which was accepted to mean the family of the Prophet (cf. M. Sharon, *The ʿAbbāsid daʿwa re-examined*, 9, n. 23). Thus through most of its phases, the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was, in fact, nothing but an extension of the Hāshimiyya of Kūfa. It is thus highly possible that even the leaders did not known what exactly were the essential ideas that differentiated their activities from those of the other Shīʿis in Khurāsān, and especially those in Nīshāpūr and its environs.

The only information about Khidāsh supplied by Ṭabarī and Balādhurī is as follows. After Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī had killed several of the first propagandists of the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, headed by Abū ʿIkrima, and had severely punished some of the others, another leader was sent from Kūfa to Khurāsān. The new leader was Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Kathīr b. Saʿd. As he was an uneducated man (if the term *ummī* in Ṭabarī's account is to be understood thus), Khidāsh was able to overcome him and assume the leadership (Ṭabarī, ii, 1503, *Ansāb*, f. 292a).

In another tradition there is some more and rather different information about Khidāsh. According to this tradition, it was Bukayr b. Māhān, one of the veteran adherents of the Hāshimiyya who, in 118/736 sent ʿAmmār b. Yazīd to Khurāsān as a "leader of the Shīʿa of Banu 'l-Abbās" (*Wāliyan ʿalā shīʿati bani 'l-ʿabbāsi*). He resided in Marw and changed his name to Khidāsh (a custom common to the early adherents of the *daʿwa*, who for reasons of secrecy, used to adopt new *kunyas* once initiated into the movement [see ḲAḤṬABA]. He began making propaganda for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, in which he was very successful. According to another tradition in the *Ansāb*, it was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī who nominated him. Sometime later, however, Khidāsh changed his original propaganda and "turned away from the *Imām*'s instructions and began to teach improper and disgraceful ideas. Therefore, the adherents of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī fell upon him and killed him. Some say that it was Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī that killed and crucified him" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292a). The "disgraceful ideas" according to Ṭabarī (*loc. cit.*) were those of the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*]. His execution by Asad took place, according to Ṭabarī, in 118, during the governor's second term of office (ii, 1588-9; Wellhausen, 510). Although these traditions reflect clearly the later ʿAbbāsid distortion of the information about Khidāsh, it is possible, however, to build the following picture, from the combination of the above narrations with the information transmitted in the *Akhbār*. Khidāsh's predecessor as the leader of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān, Kathīr b. Saʿd, led the movement in Marw from *ca.* 108/726 for three years until *ca.* 111/729. It was probably in that year that Khidāsh arrived from Nīshāhpūr, a centre of Hāshimī activity, and took over. For at least seven years, until his execution in 118/736, he was the leader (*ṣāḥib*) of the Hāshimiyya there (Ṭabarī, ii, 1589, l. 2) and the one responsible for creating its sound organisation, as Wellhausen rightly observes. He was the first to achieve a real and enduring success and to gain wide support among both Arabs and *mawālī*. The lists of the leaders of the *daʿwa* in his time show people from Tamīm, Rabīʿa, Azd and other Arab tribes, including Sulaymān b. Kathīr of Khuzāʿa, who was later to replace him (Wellhausen, 514, Ṭabarī, ii, 1586-7, *Akhbār*, 216-22). There is no neutral evidence whatsoever that he was Khurramī, though Wellhausen, Cahen and Lewis tend to accept ʿAbbāsid traditions which attributed to him Khurramī and Mazdakite theories (this tradition is presented in its complete form by al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 32-5, cf. Wellhausen, 515-18; Cahen, *Point de vue . . .*, 324-5). Cahen, however, points out that many people who fell out of favour were accused of *zandaḳa*, and this is clearly true of Khidāsh; a tradition which presents him as a Christian from Ḥīra should be understood also as representing the same trend (*Ansāb*, *loc cit.*). From a unique tradition in the *Akhbār*, we know exactly the nature and content of his propaganda, and this also explains why the ʿAbbāsids later hated him. This tradition speaks of a group of Khidāsh's adherents in Nīshāpūr, called the Khālidiyya after its leader, a certain Abū Khālid. The group acted against the ʿAbbāsids from the very beginning of their reign, and in the time of Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr changed its name and became the Fāṭimiyya. They argued that, since after the death of Ibrāhīm al-Imām [*q.v.*] a new *imām* was not nominated in the way of *waṣiyya*, the *imāma* must return to the ʿAlids, now already represented by the descendents of Fāṭima (*Akhbār*, 403-4).

From the statement that the Khālidiyya-Fāṭimiyya continued the former Khidāshiyya, it is clear that Khidāsh as a Hāshimī leader furthered the cause of the ʿAlids.

Having worked for a while in Nīshāpūr, Khidāsh seized the opportunity of the growing activity of the Hāshimiyya in Marw in order to move there in 111/730, and being intellectually superior to Kathīr b. Saʿd, he was able to depose him and take over the leadership of the movement there. For the Hāshimiyya of Marw, both his leadership and ideology were congenial. After the death of Abū Hāshim, the original Hāshimiyya continued in general terms to support the cause of the House of the Prophet, which became more and more identified with the Fāṭimid ʿAlids. This development disturbed Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and on one occasion he is said to have warned one of his early emissaries to Khurāsān, the Kūfan leader Abū ʿIkrima, about the ʿAlid leaders in Nīshā-

pūr, whose names include one Abū Khālid al-Djawālikī (*Akhbār*, 204, cf. Ibn. Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 101). His influence in Khurāsān, however, was too slight to act against Khidāsh, and he may have had to give his tacit approval to the latter's position. Khidāsh built a strong centre in Khurāsān which was completely independent and detached from both Kūfa and Ḥumayma.

During the seven years of his activity, the ʿAlid cause gained wide support there, while the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* was kept completely in the shade. Khidāsh spoke in favour of *al-Raḍī min Āl Muḥammad* or *al-Ḳāʾim min ahl al-bayt*, slogans which were common to all the ʿAlid adherents in Khurāsān and the early *daʿwa*.

Khidāsh's independent ideas, which were inconsistent with the aims and aspirations of the ʿAbbāsid *Imām*, are explicitly indicated in *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. Griaznevitch, ff. 252b l. 18-253a l. 6, and especially in a unique note on the margin of the manuscript, f. 253a, which is the key for an understanding of the whole problem. It runs as follows: *Khidāsh, radjulun intaḥala maḳālatan bi-Khurāsāna wa-intasaba ilā l-ḳāʾimi min ahli bayti rasūli allāhi fa shtubiha ʿalāʾ l-shīʿati amruhu.*

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī understood that the new independent centre in Khurāsān had to be connected *directly* with him and not through Kūfa, but as long as Khidāsh was alive this was impossible, and it was difficult even after Khidāsh's death in 118/736.

The new leader, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, went to see the *Imām* in Ḥumayma in 120/739, but this meeting led to a crisis. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī tried to reproach the Khurāsānī for accepting Khidāsh's wrong ideas, but Sulaymān and the Khurāsānī could not see what was wrong in pure ʿAlid-Hāshimī ideology, and for over five years the relations between Khurāsān and the ʿAbbāsid *imām* were almost non-existent (Ṭabarī, ii, 1640, 1727, 1769, Balādhurī, f. 292b).

Only in 126/744 were relations restored, and the centre in Khurāsān acknowledged the leadership of the new *Imām*, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (Muḥammad died in 125/743). Sulaymān welcomed Bukayr b. Māhān in Marw and sent money with him to the *Imām* (Ṭabarī, ii, 1869, Balādhurī, *loc. cit.* This improvement in the atmosphere was due to the great crisis in the Shīʿa that followed in the wake of the collapse of Zayd b. ʿAlī's revolt in Kūfa in 122/740 and the execution of his son Yaḥyā in 125/743. The messianic expectations of the Shīʿa which were connected with these two were replaced by the usual feelings of sorrow and repentance after their death. This feeling was especially acute in Khurāsān, where black garments were worn everywhere as a sign of mourning for the dead ʿAlīds and where newborn children were named Zayd and Yaḥyā after them (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Beirut 1965, iii, 212-13). This was also the moment when a new leader was needed to avenge their blood. The circumstances were, therefore, ripe for coming to terms with the ʿAbbāsid *imām* and for turning the *daʿwa* into an ʿAbbāsid one. Even so, this change was not easily accepted. Not only did the pro-ʿAlid Khidāshiyya continue to exist under a new leader, but also (as Balādhurī reports, *Ansāb*, f. 305a), Muḥammad the son of Sulaymān b. Kathīr was himself an adherent of the Khidāshiyya who was opposed to the transference of the movement in Khurāsān to Abū Muslim. Because of the activities of Khidāsh we can now understand that it was not until 126/744 that the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was changed from a purely ʿAlid one to an ʿAbbāsid one. But the ʿAbbāsids, even after reaching power, knew, as al-Manṣūr is reported once to have said, that "the love for the Āl Abī Ṭālib in the hearts of the people of Khurāsān is mixed with the love for us" (*Fragmenta*, ed. De Goeje, 246).

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Eng. tr., Calcutta 1927, 508 f.; Ṭabarī, as cited; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. Aşir Efendi, Istanbul 597-8, fols. 292a f.; *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. A. A. Dūrī and A. Dj. Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 204, 212, 403-4; *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. P. A. Griaznevitch, Moscow 1967 (the part on the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, fols. 236a f. is an abridgement of the *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*); al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar, *Masāʾil al-imāma*, etc., ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, *loc. cit.*; Cl. Cahen, *Point de vue sur la révolution ʿAbbāside*, in *Revue Historique*, ccxxx (1963), 325, and especially n. 2; B. Lewis, ʿABBĀSIDS; M. Sharon, ḲAḤṬABA; idem, *The ʿAbbāsid daʿwa re-examined on the basis of a new source*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 1973. (M. SHARON)

KHIDĀSH B. **ZUHAYR** AL-**AṢGHAR** B. RABĪʿA B. ʿAMR B. ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA AL-ʿĀMIRĪ, *mukhaḍram* poet who is said to have attacked Ḳuraysh because his father had been killed in the War of Fidjār [*q.v.*]; it is possible that he himself took part in this struggle, and it is precisely in the chapter devoted to this war that the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, xxii, 70 ff., cf. iii, 219) cites him at greatest length, since several pieces of his are given there, one of them considered as a *ḳaṣīda munṣifa* (see Ch. Pellat, in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, 279-80), but he boasts there of a victory of the Hawāzin over Ḳuraysh which seems to be an invention. All the same, it is not impossible that these verses, and also a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of Ḳuraysh (*Aghānī*, xxii, 76), where allusion is made to Muḥammad's presence amongst the combattants, were written at a later date and by another poet. Khidāsh was still a pagan at the Battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 119-22) classes him in the fifth *ṭabaḳa* and cites a certain number of his verses. An edition of his *dīwān* has been put together and is being prepared in Baghdād.

Bibliography: As well as the sources cited above, there are notices and verses quoted in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 18; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 20, 364, vi, 50; idem, *Bukhalāʾ*, 388; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 87; idem, *Shiʿr*, 627-30; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 235, 248, ii, 3, iii, 90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 406; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 66; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 180; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 73, 107-8; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tab. 108 and ii, 347; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 240; *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 300; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 230-2, iv, 337-8; Wahhābī, 71-3; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, s.v. (CH. PELLAT)

KHIDHLĀN (A.), nomen actionis from the root *kh-dh-l*, "to leave in the lurch", a technical term in Islamic theology, applied exclusively to Allāh when He withdraws His grace or help from man. The disputes regarding it first appear in connection with the quarrel over *ḳadar* [*q.v.*]. A starting point is found in Sūra III, 154/160: "but if He abandon you to yourselves (*yakhdhul-kum*), who will help you after Him? Let the faithful therefore trust in God". On this al-Rāzī observes: "The Companions deduce from this verse that belief is exclusively a result of Allāh's help (cf. John, vi, 65), while unbelief is a result of His *khidhlān*. This is obvious, as the verse points out that the matter is entirely in God's hands".

A more detailed exposition is given by Ibn Ḥazm (iii, 50 f.) "Right guidance and assistance consist in God's preparing (*taysīr*) the believer for the good for

which He has created him; while *khidhlān* consists in His preparing the *fāsiḳ* for the evil for which He has created him. Linguistic usage, the Ḳur'ān, the force of logic, and the attitude of the *fuḳahā'* and those in the past who handed down traditions and of the Companions and Successors as well as of those who came after them and of the whole body of Muslims with the exception of those whom God has led astray as regards their intelligence, namely such as belong to the followers of slanderers and outcasts, like al-Naẓẓām, Thumāma, al-ʿAllāf and al-Djāḥiẓ, are all unanimous". Then follows this reasoning: Allāh has given man two forces, hostile and opposed to one another, *tamyīz* (power of discrimination) and *hawā* (passion, desire). When Allāh protects the soul, *tamyīz* prevails by His help and power. But when He leaves the soul to itself (*khadhala*), He strengthens the *hawā* with a strength which amounts to leading astray (*iḍlāl*).

Khidhlān is therefore, according to Ibn Ḥazm, the opposite of *hudā* and *tawfīḳ* and the conception approaches that of *iḍlāl*. The Muʿtazilīs (as already indicated by Ibn Ḥazm's words) see in it a contradiction to Allāh's justness: according to them, Allāh does not urge a man to evil. In their terminology, *khidhlān* therefore means the refusal of divine grace (*manʿ al-luṭf*), while, according to the Ashʿarīs, *khidhlān* is "the creation of the ability to disobey".

Bibliography: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, ii, 296; *Dictionary of technical terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1862, 449; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam*, Leiden 1875, 58; Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 213. (A. J. Wensinck)

KHIDĪW, Khedive, title of the rulers of Egypt in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, deriving from Persian *khidīw*, *khadīw* "lord, prince, ruler". The use of the Arabic form of the title *khidēwī* "khedival" is associated with Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* or viceroy of Egypt 1863-79, even though his predecessors, ʿAbbās I Pasha (1848-54) and Saʿīd Pasha (1854-63) used it unofficially on occasion. Certain government departments, in particular the Department of the Interior, even under Ismāʿīl's grandfather, Muḥammad ʿAlī the Great (1805-49), founder of the dynasty, were known as *dīwān al-khidēwī*. In a way, it was a unique title among the vassals of the Ottoman Sultan, which the ambitious viceroy of Egypt sought precisely in order to set himself apart and above so many other governors and viceroys of Ottoman dominions. Closely related to his efforts to render his rule more secure within his family was Ismāʿīl's ambition to acquire the more formal accoutrements of sovereignty in relation to his master in Istanbul and the European powers. After lavish gifts in Istanbul, the distribution of outright bribes to influential courtiers and vast expenditure in supplying troops to help his sovereign suppress a rebellion in Crete, the title of *khidīw* was formally conferred by the Sultan upon Ismāʿīl in a *firmān* issued on 8 June 1867, two years before the formal opening of the Suez Canal. From a mere *wālī*, viceroy of the Sultan in Egypt, Ismāʿīl assumed a rank which elevated his standing to a position closer to royalty. A more important concession which Ismāʿīl received along with this title was the virtual independence of Egypt and her right to enter into special treaties and agreements governing posts, customs and trade transit. These provisions were to give Ismāʿīl freedom in the financial, administrative and judicial arrangements of the country. The title remained in use until 1914, and was assumed by Ismāʿīl's son Tawfīḳ Pasha (1879-92), and Tawfīḳ's son ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī (1892-1914) [*qq.v.*]. When soon after the outbreak of the Great War Egypt was declared a British Protectorate and ʿAbbās II was deposed, his successor, his uncle Ḥusayn Kāmil, assumed the title of Sultan of Egypt.

Bibliography: P. Crabitès, *Ismail the maligned Khedive*, London 1933; E. de Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, New York 1878; E. Dicey, *The story of the Khedivate*, London 1902; P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969. (P. J. Vatikiotis)

KHIḌR BEG, Ottoman scholar and poet of the 9th/15th century, and the first *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. The unique source for his biography is the Arabic original of *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* by Tashköprüzāde who, however, distorts the chronology of an otherwise convincing account of his career by an implausible anecdote which would place his first important appointment as late as the beginning of the reign of Meḥemmed II (*ca.* 855/1451). Disregarding this, and an equally suspect interpolation made by Medjdī in his translation of the work in which his mother is identified as the daughter of the legendary Turkish jester, Naṣr al-Dīn Khwādja (Nasreddin Hoca), the details of his life are as follows: He was born in Sivriḥiṣār, where his father, Djalāl al-Dīn, was *ḳāḍī*—though the fact that the latter was, also, known as Amīr ʿĀrif would suggest that he was a dervish rather than a member of the learned profession—and a source used by Brockelmann dates the birth to 1 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 810/6 August 1407. He completed his studies in Bursa under the famous scholar Mollā Yegān, whose daughter he married, and is then said to have returned to Sivriḥiṣār as a teacher. He acquired such a reputation for learning that he was appointed to the *madrasa* of Meḥemmed I in Bursa with an increase in stipend, and certain of his pupils here were subsequently to become scholars of great eminence. Next he taught at the *madrasa* of Bāyezīd I in Bursa, again with an increased stipend, and in addition was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Inegöl. From here he moved to the newest of the two *madrasas* in the Üč Sherefeli mosque in Edirne, and thence to Yanbolu (in present-day Bulgaria) as *ḳāḍī*. After the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453, he was appointed its first *ḳāḍī*, in which post he remained until his death in 863/1458-9. He is buried in the Zeyrek quarter of Istanbul (*ʿOthmānlı mü'ellifleri*, i, 290), where he also built the mosque later attributed to a certain Ḥādjdjī Ḳadın (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 86). His three sons, Yaʿḳūb Pasha, Müftī Aḥmad Pasha and Sinān Pasha, were also notable scholars, the latter being the author of the famous *Taḍarruʿāt*.

Although Khiḍr Beg is reputed to have introduced the versified chronogram into Ottoman literature, very few of his Turkish poems have survived (Sehī, 39) and his reputation rests on three poems in Arabic. The first, a didactic *ḳaṣīda* in the *basīṭ* metre on the creed, is known as the *Nūniyya* and has been the subject of several commentaries, most notably that by his pupil Khayālī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1348; Brockelmann, II, 229, S II, 321). Another *ḳaṣīda*, also a *nūniyya* dealing with the creed, but in the *wāfir* metre, is usually known as the *ʿUdjāla layla aw laylatayn* (Brockelmann is incorrect in saying that he translated this into Persian). Finally, there is a *mustazād*, in a Persian variety of the *hazadj* metre, which was greatly admired and attracted imitations for over a century (ʿAlī, *Künh*, v, 230-1; Aḥmed Pasha, *Dīwān* ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1966, 357). Bursalı

Meḥmed Ṭāhir mentions a translation into Persian of the *Maṭāliʿ* which he made at the request of Sulṭān Meḥemmed II, the work in question probably being the *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār*, on logic, by Sirādj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1715).

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(J. R. Walsh)

al-KHIḌR ḤUSAYN [see al-khaḍir b. al-ḥusayn].

KHIḌR-ILYĀS (in Turkish, Hıdrellez), is the name, in Turkish tradition, of a popular festival in the spring and celebrated on the 5-6 May, this date being considered as marking the beginning of the season of summer, extending from then till 7 November (*Kasım*). The two dates correspond respectively with the feastdays of St. George (23 April) and St. Demetrius (26 October).

Khiḍr (Tkish. Hızır) also symbolises in Turkish tradition the renewal of vegetation in the spring. It is believed that, when this personage shows himself upon the face of the earth, the dry vegetation becomes green again as he passes; that he leaves a green impression on the hands which he touches; and that he brings abundance, fertility and happiness. Another feature of his legendary personality is that he comes to the aid of beings in distress, and in particular, of those in danger of drowning in the sea or lost in the desert. In regard to Ilyās, beliefs and traditions are somewhat rare. In the written literary texts and in oral tradition they are limited to allusions to his supernatural aid to beings in distress on land or sea, a power which he shares with Hızır; according to certain beliefs, Ilyas is the master of the seas, and Hızır that of the land, but others hold the inverse of these attributions (see *Halk bilgisi haberleri* = *HBH*, i (1930), 182; *Gediz*, No. 73 (1944); O. Bayatli, *Bergama'da efsaneler, âdetler*, Istanbul 1941, 54; Ewliyā Celebi, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, iii, 90; Yazıdjıoghlu, *Muḥammediyye*, lith. Istanbul 1312/1894-5, 77; Sadettin Nüzhet, *Turk şairleri*, i, 57; in one poem the popular poet of the 17th century Ḳaradjaoghlan calls him "guardian of the seas, mounted upon a grey horse"; in the Oghuz epic *Dede Ḳorḳud* he is likewise described as a horseman). Ilyās is further mentioned in beliefs which explain the name *Hıdrellez*. It is generally held that each year, on the night of 5 May, these two beings, both of them immortal after having drunk from the "Water of Life", come to meet together on the earth. Their meeting place is often pictured as a spot by the sea shore. According to a local belief of Balıkesir (*HBH*, i, 181), they are two brothers. A legend recorded at Halkalı near Istanbul tells how they were two lovers. Hıdr a youth and Ellez a girl; for long they were unable to come together again, but at last met on the night of 5 May, and then both died of joy from their reunion (Ali İmer, *Halkalı'da Hıdrellez*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 96 (1957)).

Hıdrellez is a festival the greater part of whose ceremonies are reserved for women and girls. They comprise three main sequences: (1) On the night of 5 May, various practices are performed and rites observed in order to ensure the fulfillment of divers vows, such as abundance, prosperity, happiness in general, or more specifically, the acquisition of a house, the birth of a child, etc. (2) Early the next morning, there takes places the "drawing from the divinatory pitcher". The previous evening, there are placed in the pitcher, to the accompaniment of appropriate rites, various small objects belonging to women and girls who wish to ask Fate about their future destiny; the pitcher is then placed under a rosebush during all the night. In the morning, a young girl draws out the objects in the pitcher one after the other, and woman recites the "divinatory quatrain", which is interpreted in regard to the future fate of the owner of the corresponding object. (3) On 6 May, there is an outing to go and eat, in groups of relatives, neighbours and friends, in the countryside, usually by some sanctuary. Games and amusements, including swings, the preferred pastime for this festival, are organised.

The festival and its attendant ceremonies are normally limited to two days only. Nevertheless, they form a sequence of seven weeks in the ʿAlawī villages of a mountainous region in the province of Kırklarelı. During the month which precedes the day of Hidrellez, the ceremony of "drawing from the divinatory pitcher" takes place every Thursday evening. The seventh Thursday is called "the day of Nazari", when a communal meal is eaten, prepared from the meat of sacrified animals. On this same day, the children, carrying flowers and willow branches, search out, and organise for themselves, communal meals by a sanctuary; they also carry out other rites which are, moreover, to be connected with those aimed at summoning rain [see istisḳāʾ]. On returning to the village, they throw their crowns of flowers and leaves into the river (Etem Utük, *Yukarı Kanara köyünde Nazari şenlikleri*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 267 (1971)).

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KHIḌR KHĀN, founder of the "Sayyid" dynasty which ruled at Dihlī from 817/1414 to 855/1451. His designation as a *sayyid* is traced in the near-contemporary *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* firstly to a remark hagiologically attributed to the Ṣūfī Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, and secondly to his own excellent character, and has been accepted by later historians like Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Badāʾūnī and Firishta; but this has been regarded as dubious by modern British and South Asian historians. The other near-contemporary source, Bihāmad Khānī's *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī* (compiled or revised in 842/1438-9) is silent on the point. While false genealogies are quite common in Indo-Muslim history, Khiḍr Khān's selection by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] as his "deputy" in Dihlī suggests that he may have been regarded as *sayyid* in his lifetime, since Tīmūr's regard for *sayyid*s is well documented.

Khiḍr Khān was the son of Malik Sulaymān, an adopted son of Mardān Dawlat, the *iḳṭāʿ-dār* of Multān under Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluḳ [*q.v.*]. Sulaymān Malik succeeded to that *iḳṭāʿ* after the death of Malik Shaykh, Mardān's son, and Khiḍr Khān was assigned the *iḳṭāʿ* in succession to his father. In 798/1396 he lost the *iḳṭāʿ* during his strife with Sārang Khān,

When Tīmūr invaded India in 801/1398-99, he took refuge in Mēwāt, but later entered Tīmūr's service, and was appointed governor of Dihlī and *iḳṭāʿ-dār* of Multān and Deopālpūr. However, it was not until 817/1414 that he finally took possession of Dihlī. He regarded himself a vassal of Tīmūr, and later of the latter's son S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ [*q.v.*], whose names were recited in the *k̲h̲uṭba* and inscribed on the coinage. He obtained S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲'s permission in 820/1417 to affix his own name also on the coinage; he chose for himself not the title of *sulṭān*, but that of *rāyat-i aʿlā*, suggesting presumably that he was a standard-bearer of the Tīmūrids.

His reign of seven years, until his death in 823/1421, was full of campaigns undertaken by himself and by his able and loyal *wazīr* Tād̲j̲ al-Mulk which extended the frontiers of his authority and re-united Pand̲j̲āb with Dihlī. Punitive expeditions were organised against rebellious nobles, especially the Türkbačas; there were also several expeditions against Hindu *rād̲j̲ās* such as those of Katahr and Gwāliyār [*q.vv.*] in order to collect taxes and tribute. Near-contemporary chronicles regard him as a kind and benevolent ruler who brought to Dihlī and the other areas which he governed relief from the economic sufferings and insecurity which had continued since the invasion of Tīmūr.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

KHILʿA (pl. *k̲h̲ilaʿ*), "robe of honour," also called *tas̲h̲rīf* (pl. *tas̲h̲ārīf* and *tas̲h̲rīfāt*). Throughout much of the Middles Ages, the term *k̲h̲ilʿa* did not designate a single item of clothing, but rather a variety of fine garments and ensembles (*ḥulla* or *badla*) which were presented by rulers to subjects whom they wished to reward or to single out for distinction (hence the alternate name *tas̲h̲rīf* "honouring"). These robes, the most common of which was the *ḳabāʾ* (see LIBĀS), were normally embellished with embroidered bands with inscriptions known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] and were produced in the royal factories (*dār al-ṭirāz*).

(i) *Origin of the custom.*

The custom of bestowing garments of honour in the Near East is very ancient. The Patriarch Jacob singled out his favourite son Joseph from amongst his brothers by giving him a *ketōnet passīm* (Gen. xxxvii, 3) which was a ceremonial or royal robe (see commentary of E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, Anchor Bible, Garden City 1964, 290). Joseph was later similarly honoured by Pharaoh, who had him dressed in garments of linen (Gen. xli, 42). Herodotus reports that the Egyptian king Amasis sent to Croesus of Lydia as a royal gift a corselet of linen embroidered with gold thread and cotton with the figures of animals woven into the fabric (*Hist.*, iii, 47).

This custom had a most important precedent in Islam with Muḥammad's gift of the *burda* [*q.v.*] which he was wearing to the poet Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1301, ii, 133-4). The very word *k̲h̲ilʿa* denotes the action of removing one's garment (A. *k̲h̲alaʿa*) in order to give it to someone (*TA*, v, 322). L. A. Mayer has suggested that this was "originally more a promise of personal security (*amān*) than a token of distinction" (*Mamluk costume*, 56), but this is an overstatement.

(ii) *Development of the custom in Islam.*

The term *k̲h̲ilʿa* does not appear until ʿAbbāsid times, when the practice became so institutionalised that the bestowal of garments of honour was an almost daily occurrence. Members of the caliphal entourage came to be known as *aṣḥāb al-k̲h̲ilʿa* "those who wear the *k̲h̲ilʿa*". The presentation of a robe of honour was a standard mark of investiture. Such was the case for an heir-apparent (see e.g. Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, vii, 365), a vizier (e.g. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176), or a provincial governor (e.g. Ṭabarī, iii, 2194). The bestowal of *k̲h̲ilaʿ* and other gifts to favourites was an occasion for poetical compositions and was noted by historians (e.g. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādit̲h̲ al-d̲j̲āmiʿa*, ed. M. D̲j̲awād, Bag̲h̲dād 1351).

In the heyday of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, the new *haute bourgeoisie* found itself with the means to emulate—after a fashion—many of the luxurious practices of the aristocracy. Anomg these was the custom of bestowing *k̲h̲ilaʿ* upon friends and relations (Y. K. Stillman, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of medieval female attire*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 582).

The Mamlūks with their strong military psychology and a marked penchant for heraldic symbolism, standardised the *k̲h̲ilaʿ* in accordance with the class of the wearer and his rank within that class. The three major classes of *k̲h̲ilʿa* wearers were the military (*arbāb al-suyūf*), the civil service (*arbāb al-aḳlām*), and the religious scholars (*al-ʿulamāʾ*). Maḳrīzī, drawing upon the *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī, describes in detail the great variety of *k̲h̲ilaʿ* worn by these three important classes of Mamlūk society (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 227-8; tr. by Mayer, in *Mamluk costume*, 58-60). A special official, the *Nāẓir al-K̲h̲āṣṣ* (Keeper of the Privy Purse) oversaw the *k̲h̲ilaʿ* in the Great Treasury (*al-k̲h̲izāna al-kubrā*) which contained only robes of honour (*ibid.*). In addition to garments, the Mamlūk military *tas̲h̲rīf* could consist of arms, such as gold-ornamented swords, and a horse from the sulṭān's own stable (*min al-iṣṭabl*), fully outfitted with saddle, bridle, and caparison (*kanbūs̲h̲*).

Money or other valuables were also given as part of the *k̲h̲ilʿa*/*tas̲h̲rīf* (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar min Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-bas̲h̲ar* [*Annales Moslemici*] v, ed. J. J. Reiske, Copenhagen 1794, 294). In the Ottoman Empire, a sum of money was sometimes given in place of the robe of honour. This monetary gift was called *k̲h̲ilʿet behā* ("the price of a *k̲h̲ilʿa*"). It specifically referred to money distributed to Janissary

officers upon the accession of a sulṭān (C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris 1881, i, 709), so that this term is to a large extent synonymous with that of *djulūs aḳčesi* "accession payment".

Robes of honour were given on all sorts of occasions and for a variety of reasons. Thus, there was the *khilʿat al-niyāba* or *kh. al-istiḳrār* (robe of appointment), the *kh. al-wizāra* (robe of viziership), the *kh. al-riḍāʾ* or *kh. al-riḍā* (robe of pardon), and the *kh. al-ʿazl* (robe of dismissal—with honour of course). The *kh. al-ḳudūm* was given to a guest from afar, while the *kh. al-safar* was given upon his departure. A sulṭān might give a *kh. al-ʿāfiya* (robe of health) to a favourite who had recovered from an illness (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 61-2, and the sources cited there).

The custom of bestowing robes of honour remained widespread throughout the Muslim world until recent times. In 19th century India a *khillaut* (also *khelat*, *khilut*, *killut*) might consist of anywhere from a minimum of five articles to as many as one hundred and one (Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*², London 1917; repr. Karachi 1974, 148-50; see also Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, repr. London 1968, 483-4).

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(N. A. STILLMAN)

KHILĀFA [see KHALĪFA]

KHILĀFA, KHILĀFAT MOVEMENT, a politico-religious movement in British India, manifesting itself in the years after the First World War. On the one hand, it had its roots in Pan-Islamism, which came to the fore about 1900. On the other hand, is was stimulated by nationalism [see ḲAWMIYYA. In Muslim India and Pakistan]. Turkey's defeat in the First World War spelt serious danger to the position of the Ottoman Sulṭān-Khalīfa. Would his power remain great enough to protect Islam? Would the Holy Places of Islam remain under his sovereignty (or at least suzerainty)? Arab nationalism posed a threat, and Greece, France and Italy wanted to rob him of extensive territories in Thrace and Asia Minor.

In September 1919, when rumours about the coming treaty of Sèvres were rife, the Khilāfa movement was organised. Khilāfa conferences met in several cities in Northern India, and a Central Khilāfa Committee constituted itself at Bombay. Seth Chotani, a wealthy merchant, became its president. Prominent leaders were Muḥammad and Shawkat ʿAlī (the "ʿAlī brothers"), Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, Dr. Anṣārī and Ḥasrat Mohani. An important part was played by the *ʿulamāʾ*, organising themselves in the Djamʿiyyat al-ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind. Their most influential leaders were ʿAbd al-Bārī (of Farangī Maḥall) and Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan (of Deoband). In January 1920, a Khilāfa deputation presented an address to the Viceroy. It stated that "the preservation of the Khilāfa as a temporal no less than a spiritual institution" was "the very essence" of their faith, and that this meant full Muslim control over the Arabian peninsula, the Khalīfa's wardenship over the Holy Places and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire—claims which, by the way, constituted a check on Arab nationalism and the ambitions of the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca. Another deputation, headed by Muḥammad ʿAlī, went to Europe and had two (unsuccessful) interviews with members of the British Government in March 1920.

The Khilāfa movement started as a communal movement and met with mass approval within the Indian Muslim community (only among upper-class Muslims was there a marked tendency to hold aloof from it). Large funds were collected, partly by petty contributions. But it also got the support of the Indian National Congress. Thereby the Khilāfatists became more and more involved in the nationalist movement, which entered upon its first non-cooperation campaign (1920-2). Gandhi became a member of the Central Khilāfa Committee and issued a Khilāfa Manifesto in March 1920. The Khilāfatists, however, accepted Gandhi's creed of non-violence only conditionally: if it did not bring success, they would have to resort to *djihād* and *hidjra*. The former seemed possible in connection with an Afghān invasion; the latter was actually performed in the summer of 1920. Some 30,000 *muhādjirīn*, most of them coming from Sind or the Pandjāb, crossed the Afghān border, but about 75% of them came back, disillusioned by their reception in Afghānistān. These aspects of the Khilāfa movement had an adverse effect upon Hindu-Muslim relations, which were vital to its nationalist character. Gandhi's suspension of non-cooperation in February 1922, constituted a severe blow in this respect; Indian Muslims felt betrayed by the Hindus after bearing the brunt of the nationalist battle.

No less deadly blows came from the Turks. The nationalist government at Ankara succeeded in restoring Turkey's position. The Khilāfatists supposed that Kemāl Pasha was acting on behalf of the Sulṭān-Khalīfa, but this proved to be an error. In November 1922, the Sultanate in Turkey was abolished and the Khalīfa lost all temporal power; he was "Vaticanised" (a condition which the Khilāfatists had declared to be incompatible with his office). Khilāfa leaders tried to explain away the fact, but their followers left them. The movement wholly collapsed when in March 1924 the Ottoman Khilāfa was abolished. Some leaders, like Abu 'l Kalām Āzād and Dr. Anṣārī, remained in the Congress; others found their way back to the Muslim League, which up to 1919 had been the political organisation of Indian Muslims. Other leaders again, like the ʿAlī brothers, tried to save the Khilāfa organisation, but to direct it towards communalist goals. It grew into an instrument to further Muslim interests as opposed to Hindu ones, but even in this form, the organisation had lost all significance by 1928.

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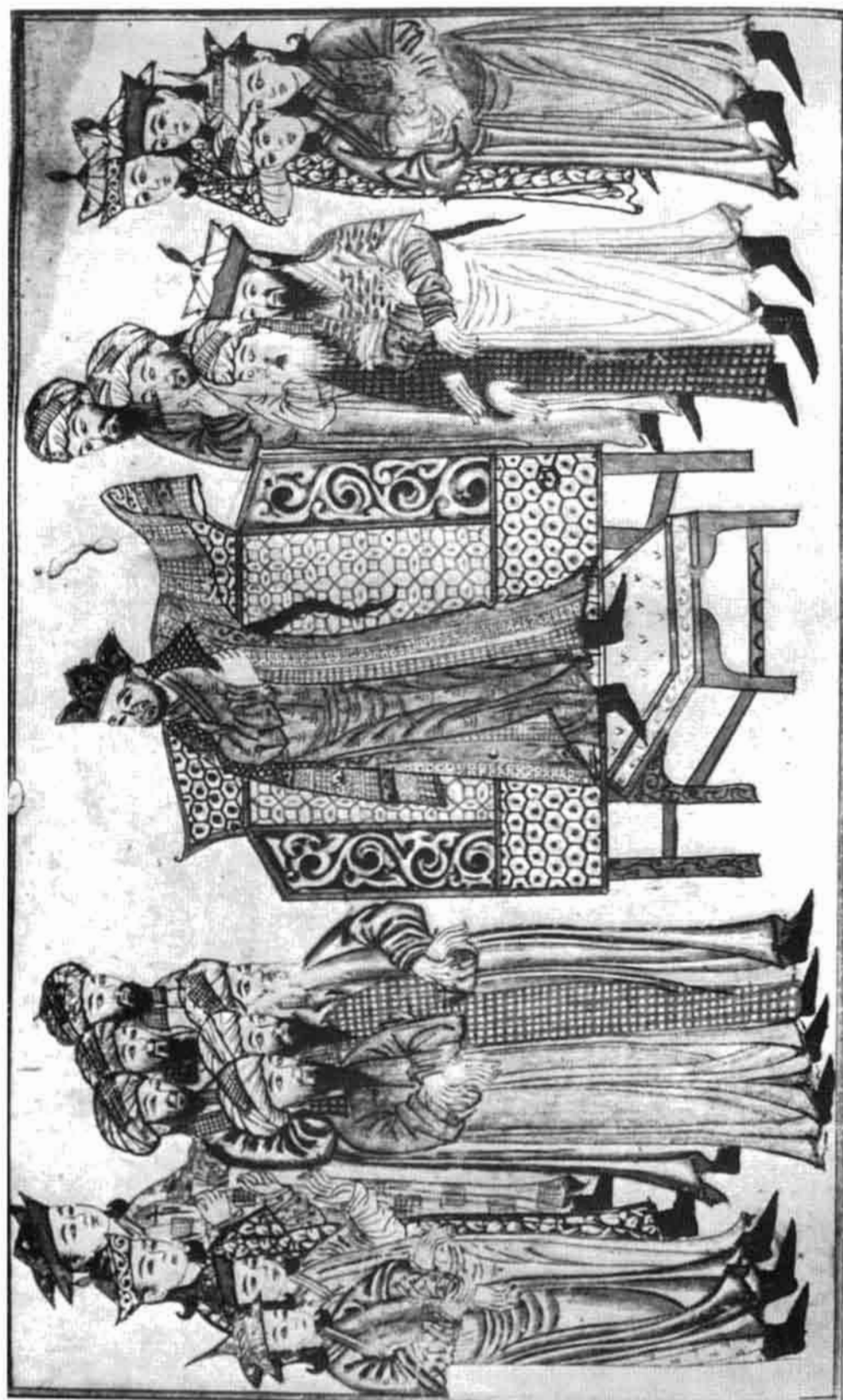
(A. C. NIEMEIJER)

Miniature in the MS. of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* in Edinburgh University Library representing Maḥmūd of Ghazna donning a *khilʿa* sent by the caliph al-Ḳāhir in A.D. 1000.

KHILĀṬ [see AKHLĀṬ].

KHILDJĪ. [see KHALDJĪ].

KHINALUG (self designation: Kättitturdur; Russian, Khinalug [from the *aul*-Khinalug]), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Khinalug is a numerically small ethnical group, which forms an independent branch of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language group. According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were (ethnically) 105 Khinalugs, and linguistically 1,540. The Khinalugs are Sunnī Moslems of the Shāfiʿī rite.

The Khinalugs inhabit the *aul* Khinalug on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chay, in the Mount Shakhdagh area of Konakhkend rayon (Azerbaidjan S.S.R.). The Khinalug traditional economy was based on sheep-raising (transhumance system) and horticulture.

The Khinalug language is purely a vernacular, and Azeri is used as the literary language; the Khinalug are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

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KHINZĪR (A., fem. *khinzīra*, pl. *khanāzīr*) or *khinzīr barrī* designates, amongst the pachyderms, all suidae or porcines belonging to the palaearctic zone, without any distinction between the pig (*khinzīr ahlī*), domesticated since farthest antiquity, and the wild boar, *Sus scrofa* (*khinzīr waḥshī*), its feral relative, frequenter of wooded slopes and dense scrub in the valley bottoms.

The word *khinzīr* (Hebrew *khizīr*) is to be attached to the root *Kh. Z. R* with the idea of "having small eyes", and has no link with the root *Kh.N.Z.R* which implies the idea of bulk, mass; this at least is the general opinion amongst philologists, but a coming-together of both ideas is not to be excluded. Without being everywhere in current usage, *khinzīr* is known to all arabophone populations; however, the term *ḥallūf* (pl. *ḥlālīf*, *ḥlālef*; cf. Berber *ilf*, pl. *ilfan*) is preferred to it in the Maghrib, whilst the Touaregs keep for the animal its name *aẓubara* / *taẓubarat* (pl. *iẓubaraten* / *tiẓubaratin*). Even within the porcine species, whilst the sow and the wild sow have no special name except for the feminine derived normally from the masculine (*khinzīra*, *ḥallūfa*), the boar is called *khanzuwān* and the wild boar, whether under three years old, a three-year old, a four-year old or an old boar, is called *ratt* (pl. *rutūt*) and *ʿufr* / *ʿifr* (pls. *ʿifār*, *aʿfār*). In the Maghrib, where the wild boar is common in the mountain massifs, it is differentiated from the pig which is freely raised by some Berber groups by the expressions *khinzīr djabalī* "mountain pig" and *ḥallūf al-ghāba* "forest pig"; an old boar is called, according to the places, *shīṭī* / *shīṭī*, *shnikhrī*, *bū ḍarwa* and *bū ḍriwa*. The young of suidae, piglets or young wild boars, have retained almost everywhere in the Islamic world their classical name of *khinnaws* (pl. *khanānīs*) in the form of dialectical deformations *khannūs*, *khannūsh*, *khanshūsh* and *khantūsh*; in the Maghrib we have also the diminutive *ḥlīlef*. From the anatomical point of view, the suidae are distinguished by a long muzzle, a snout in the case of the pig and a shaggy head in the case of the wild boar, and Arabic underlines these features by a series of evocative terms like *khurṭūm*, *kammāra*, *zanfara* / *zanfūra*, *khannāfa* / *khannūfa*; in the wild boar, its defensive tusks, the snout's powerful weapon, are called *zalzūm* / *zalẓūm* and *khandjal* (pl. *khanādjil*), a probable deformation of *khandjar* "dagger", i.e. having a curved blade.

In Ḳurʾānic law, suidae are included in the same divine anathema as monkeys (V, 65/60) [see ḲIRD], and since their flesh involves the major impurity (*nadjas al-ʿayn*), no Muslim can eat it (Ḳurʾān, II, 168/173, V, 3/4, XVI, 115/116). This food prohibition inherited from the Old Testament (Lev. xi, 17; Deut., xiv, 8) was abolished by Christ for Christians (Matt. xv, 17-20; Mark, vii, 15-23). In Islam, the prohibition of eating pig meat implies *ipso facto* the illegality of buying it or of raising the animal, whose presence near a person praying renders void the prayer; only the use of its bristles for making footwear is tolerated. These bristles are provided by Christian pig breeders who obtain them by scalding the beasts in boiling water after they have been slaughtered, whence the saying *akrah min kirāhat al-khinzīr li 'l-māʾ al-mūghar* "showing more aversion than the pig for boiling water".

Al-Djāḥiẓ, although admitting the excellence of the pig's flesh, which had pride of place on the tables of the Caesars and the Persian Emperors (*Ḥayawān*, i, 234, iv, 40), is careful to point out, in regard to the animal and its behaviour, its most unattractive habits, aiming perhaps at justifying the strict terms of the Ḳurʾānic prohibition. It is omnivorous, though not really coprophagous (*djallāla*), but it devours on occasion excrement. It consumes snakes, like the porcupine, certain raptors, the cat and the Purple Gallinule (*shahmurk*). Its zeal to prolong the act of copulation (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 52, iii, 186, 354, 400, 496, 525, iv, 50) suggested scornful sayings like *aṭyash min ʿufr* "more flighty than a boar" and *akbah min khinzīr* "more vile than a pig". The sight of a pig squelching in the mire or a wild boar wallowing in mud (*manḳaʿa*), present in everyone's mind, did not lessen the obloquy heaped on the species, without even having to recall the legend current about its base origin. This legend (*Ḥayawān*, v, 347-8, vii, 204) stated that Noah, distressed when in the Ark by the pestilence left by the evacuations of the pair of cats which Jehovah had created out of the lion's sneeze in order to end the great spreading of rats in the ship, appealed once again to the Almighty, who sent down to him, out of an act of defecation of the elephant, a pair of pigs (or wild boars), who soon set to work gorging on the filth; from this hardly credible mode of generation arose the Arabic definition of the suidae, *al-fīl abu 'l-khinzīr* "the elephant is parent to the pig". Like the monkey, in popular belief the hog was considered to be the metamorphosis of an impious person expiating the divine punishment; according to al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, i, 304), there was a tradition current that Christ himself had changed a group of hostile Jews into swine. The comparison of the pig, as of the monkey, with a hated person or persons, has always been one of the sharpest insults, and one which the Spanish Muslims used for the Christians, who, as elsewhere in Islam, raised pigs for food consumption.

At the side of this generally unfavourable view of the suidae, some Arabic writers were able to note and observe the qualities peculiar to the species, by way of rehabilitation: the mother's attachment for its young, its endurance of bad weather, the ease of keeping and raising it, the speed by which it grew fat and its sociable temperament; al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, ii, 48-9) goes so far as to say that, by way of emulation, horses put on flesh when one keeps them

in the neighbourhood of pigs. The fact was noted by E. Reclus (*Nouvelle géographie universelle*, Paris 1884, ix, 190) that in many stables in Fārs there was the custom of keeping horses in the company of piglets and that a most close affection grew up between the two very different creatures. On the Christians' farms, the pig rivalled the cock in the role of waking people in the morning, since its cries for its food allowance could be heard from the earliest hours of the day (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 294-5).

The ancient empirical forms of medicine attributed curative virtues to various organs of the pig. Thus its liver was an antidote against the venom of reptiles and soothed colics; its dried and powdered gall sprinkled on haemorrhoids made them go down; inserted in the nostrils, this last soothed coryza; a bone carried as a talisman secured against the quartan ague; and an ointment of its lard rubbed on the body gave protection against all evil and against maleficent spirits. Numerous other beneficial properties were attributed to its blood, urine and dung, as well as to the wild boar's tusks (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 306, and in the margins, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 224-6).

Arabic cynegetic literature is poor in material relating to hunting the wild boar in particular and to the dangers involved in this. It was considered to be a dangerous beast because of its bad temper and its depredations, so that battues for its destruction were held by local rulers and officers; it was hunted with the lance, hunting spear, bow and sabre on these occasions. In Syria, the farmers preferred to let the lion roam on the fringes of their lands rather than try to exterminate it, since it was a sure protection against the possible nocturnal ravages of herds of pachyderms through their crops (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 49). Kushādjim [*q.v.*] simply recommends that a person on foot charged by a wild boar should feign death, face downwards on the ground (*Maṣāyid*, 215). In the 6th/12th century, the valiant lord of Shayzar, Usāma b. Munḳidh, tells in a realistic fashion of his perilous encounters with the black beast which, in his time, abounded in the Orontes lowlands (*K. al-Iʿtibār*, Princeton 1930, 202, 223-4). ʿĪsā al-Asadī (7th/13th century), in his encyclopaedia of hunting *al-Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* (Escurial ms., Ar. 903, f. 162a), advises farmers that, in order to ward off the depredations of wild boars, they should cause to boom out in the middle of the night a big cauldron, emptied and placed upside down, and with a drum skin stretched over its mouth; a bunch of hairs should then be flicked between the fingers with an alternating movement of the two hands. He also gives directions for making a trap (*ḥuḳna*), roofing over the mouth of a conical hole dug in the normally-used pathway of the animals (*op. cit.*, ff. 303b-304a). Finally, a century later, the Mamlūk Ibn Manglī, completing al-Asadī, brings to bear the fruit of his experience for anyone wishing to measure his strength against the savage beast, whether on foot or mounted (*Uns al-malaʾ bi-waḥsh al-falāʾ*, B. N. Paris ms. Ar. 2832, ff. 17b-18b, and annotated tr. F. Viré, in the press). The arms which he recommends for fighting with it are the double-edged sabre (*ḳilidjūrī*) and the arrow with a flat-edged head (*yāsidj*), which the attacker should plunge right into the animal's forehead or pierce with them its paws. If the hunter is thrown to the ground by the beast's charge (*ḥamla*), he should flatten himself on the ground and strike upwards with a slashing motion in order to cut the tendons of one of the beast's limbs. He should also lie in wait for the moment when the beast turns round in order to spit it with a backwards action and rip it open. Another secret of success is perfect mastery of one's mount, which must not take the bit and bolt when it sees the attacking beast. With a lance or hunting spear, the best way is to gouge out one of the beast's eyes, which cannot then survive this wound. Finally, Ibn Manglī records that, according to the ancients, the best talisman against the wild boar's viciousness is to carry a crab's claw hung on the arm.

At the present time, in the mountainous regions of the Maghrib, where the wild boar is sometimes abundant, hunting it is used as a tactical means of training for troops practising firing in the countryside, and the dead victims are left on the ground for wild carnivores.

The term *khinzīr* plus other terms is also used to designate several other wild animals which have a long muzzle: the potamocherus (*Potamochoerus porcus*) of Africa is therefore called *khinzīr al-nahr* ("wild boar of the river") or *khinzīr al-māʾ*, wrongly identified by Kazimirski with the hippopotamus [see FARAS AL-MĀʾ in Suppl.]; the two other African suidae, the phacocherus (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) and the hylocherus (*Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*) are lumped together under the name *khinzīr abū ḳarnayn* because of their highly-developed defensive tusks; with its long snout for grubbing up ant-hills, the orycterops (*Orycteropus afer*) is called *khinzīr al-arḍ*; whilst the dolphin and the porpoise are called *khinzīr al-baḥr* "sea pig". Finally, in pathology, the plural *khanāzīr* denotes scrofulous growths on the neck.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F. VIRÉ)

AL-**KHIRAḲĪ**, ʿUMAR B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (d. 334/946), better known under the name of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khiraḳī, was one of the first and most celebrated of Ḥanbalī jurisconsults. He was first guided into the *madhhab* of the *Imām* Aḥmad by his father Abū ʿAlī al-Khiraḳī (d. 299/912), who was himself a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī (d. 275/899). He also knew Aḥmad's two sons, Ṣāliḥ (d. 266/880) and the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903).

On the eve of the arrival of the Shīʿī Būyids in Baghdād, al-Khiraḳī left the ʿIrāḳī capital as a *muhādjir* seeking refuge in Damascus, where a Ḥanbalī school was already taking root. He died there soon after his arrival there, in 334/945, although the exact date of his death is not known. He was buried in the cemetery of the Bāb Ṣaghīr, at the side of the martyr's tombs (*Ḳubūr al-shuhadāʾ*), and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. Ibn Baṭṭa visited it when he passed through Damascus, and it still existed in Ibn Kathīr's time (*Bidāya*, xi, 214).

Shams al-Dīn al-Nābulusī (d. 797/1394-5), in his résumé of the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, 332, tells us, on the basis of a report going back to Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, that al-Khiraḳī had denounced publicly in Damascus a "reprehensible practice" (*munkar*), whose nature is not otherwise specified; because of this, he was condemned to be flogged and died as a result of his wounds. However, this version of his death does not seem to be given by his other biographers.

Al-Khiraḳī's only work which has come down to us is his famous *Mukhtaṣar*, the first précis of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*, which was to enjoy a considerable success and to contribute to the education and formation of numerous generations of legal scholars.

It is said that he wrote numerous other works whose titles are not specified and which have all

been lost. He had left his personal library in Baghdād in the care of a friend in the Darb Sulaymān, before leaving for Syria. A fire there destroyed it (*Bidāya*, xi, 214).

Ibn Kathīr remarks, *loc. cit.*, that the *Mukhtaṣar* was written when the Black Stone was in the hands of the Carmathians. In fact, al-Khiraķī tells us in the *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 383, when describing the Pilgrimage rites, that "The pilgrim must kiss the Black Stone if it is in its proper place". It is well-known that this last was carried off in 317/930 and restored in 339/950; one may accordingly conclude that the *Mukhtaṣar* was put together between 317/930 and 334/945, after the death of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923).

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), called Ghulām al-Khallāl, gave out that he did not follow the views of the *Mukhtaṣar* on 60 questions (*masʾala*). The *ķāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, in his *Ṭabaķāt*, ii, 76-118, returns to this problem and enumerates 98 points of divergence between the two scholars, whilst defending that doctrine which he deems the best.

A large number of commentaries were written on the *Mukhtaṣar*, of which three became especially celebrated, sc. those of Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1011), of the *ķāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) and of Muwaffaķ al-Dīn Ibn Ķudāma (d. 620/1223). The first two have been lost, but the third, known under the title of *al-Mughnī*, has been published in Cairo by Rashīd Riḍā (12 vols., 1341-8/1922-30). But there were also many other commentaries, and no text of Ḥanbalism was so much commented upon. The *shaykh* Badrān, in his *Madkhal*, 214, states that 300 commentaries still existed in the time of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), a Ḥanbalī known as a historian of Damascus.

Various disciples are known to us of al-Khiraķī, including the following: (1) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥārith Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī (d. 371/981), prolific author and founder of a famous line of legal scholars (*Ikhtiṣār*, 342); (2) Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Samʿūn (d. 387/998), one of the most famous preachers of his generation and a Ṣūfī master (*ibid.*, 350-3); (3) ʿAbd Allāh b. Baṭṭa (d. 387/998), even though he does not mention al-Khiraķī amongst the authorities upon whom he based his credo (*ibid.*, 346); and (4) Abū Ḥafṣ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/998), considered one of the best-informed scholars of Ḥanbalism.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 234; *Ṭabaķāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 75-118; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 274; *Ikhtiṣār*, 331-2; *Shadharāt*, ii, 326; Brockelmann, I, 183, 398, S I, 311; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 512-13; Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI* (1959), 84. (H. LAOUST)

KHIRBAT AL-BAYḌĀʾ, an early Arab structure in the Syrian Desert. Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ or Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ is situated about 100 km. southeast of Damascus, looking out to the east over the Ruḥba, a fertile depression in the middle of the southeastern Syrian *ḥarrāt*. It is a structure set out as a square, 60 m. × 60 m. At every angle and in the centre of each side, except for the eastern one, there are circular towers. The eastern side contains the gate, giving on to a courtyard of *ca.* 43 m. × 43 m. This courtyard is surrounded on the other sides by ranges of rooms, 7.6 m. deep and *ca.* 5.0 m. (type *a*), 6.5 m. (type *b*), 7.6 m. (type *c*), and 5.8 m. (type *T*) wide, forming the schema *c-a-b-a-T-a-b-a-c*. All these rooms were living quarters. On the eastern side there were two small rooms flanking the entrance and four long rooms, which must have served as store-rooms. On the southern and northern sides the rooms were articulated into two groups with the schema *c-a-b-a* and *a-b-a-c* respectively. Entrance from the courtyard was given by doors in the *b*-rooms, whence doors led to the *a*-rooms and further doors led from there to the *c*-rooms. On the western side were two groups of rooms following the schema *a-b-a* which were also accessible through doors in the *b*-rooms. Thus we have on three sides of the courtyard two groups of rooms separated by isolated room of the *T*-type. The residential character of the building is attested by the organisation of the rooms, together with the abundant mural decoration especially on the lintels. First impression suggest that Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ was another example of the genre of Umayyad palaces. Closer investigation, however, reveals this identification to be impossible. It lacks many elements shared by Umayyad palaces, principally the *bayt*-organisation of the rooms, the peristyle, brick and vaulted construction, and stucco decoration. Both the decoration and the technique of construction demonstrate an ambitious local Syrian craftsmanship. The decoration shows this craftsmanship to be working with oecumenical patterns of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The relations of this local craftsmanship can be more closely determined. Masonry comparable with that of Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ is found in northeastern Syria, not in the neighbouring Ḥawrān. Equally, the decoration is not Ḥawrānian in type, but resembles closely the ornament found in the region northeast of Ḥamā. This suggests that Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ is not an Umayyad structure but was built in the 5th and 6th century by one of the Arab rulers, clients to the Byzantine state.

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KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR, popularly known as Ķaṣr Hishām, is the modern name for the ruins of an unfinished Umayyad mansion in the Wādī 'l-Nuwayʿima, north of Jericho. The ruins comprise three separate buildings: a palace proper, a mosque and a bath attached to a hall. On the east side of this complex stood a colonnaded forecourt with an ornamental pool at its centre. Additional architectural remains lie north of these buildings, but have not yet been excavated. Foundations of a wall, found north of the site, suggest that the buildings were originally surrounded by a walled estate, comprising cultivated land, agricultural settlements and perhaps a game preserve. A complex irrigation system, developed already in Roman times and based on three neighbouring springs—ʿAyn al-Sulṭān, ʿAyn al-Nuwayʿima and ʿAyn al-Duyūk, provided the water for the residential buildings as well as for the cultivation of the land. The modern name of the site, meaning "a place where water springs from the earth", attests to the abundance of water in this area.

The site, which has not yet been identified with any place mentioned in written sources, was first visited and described by Captain Ch. Warren and Mr. F. J. Bliss on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (*Survey of Western Palestine*, iii, 1883, 211-12;

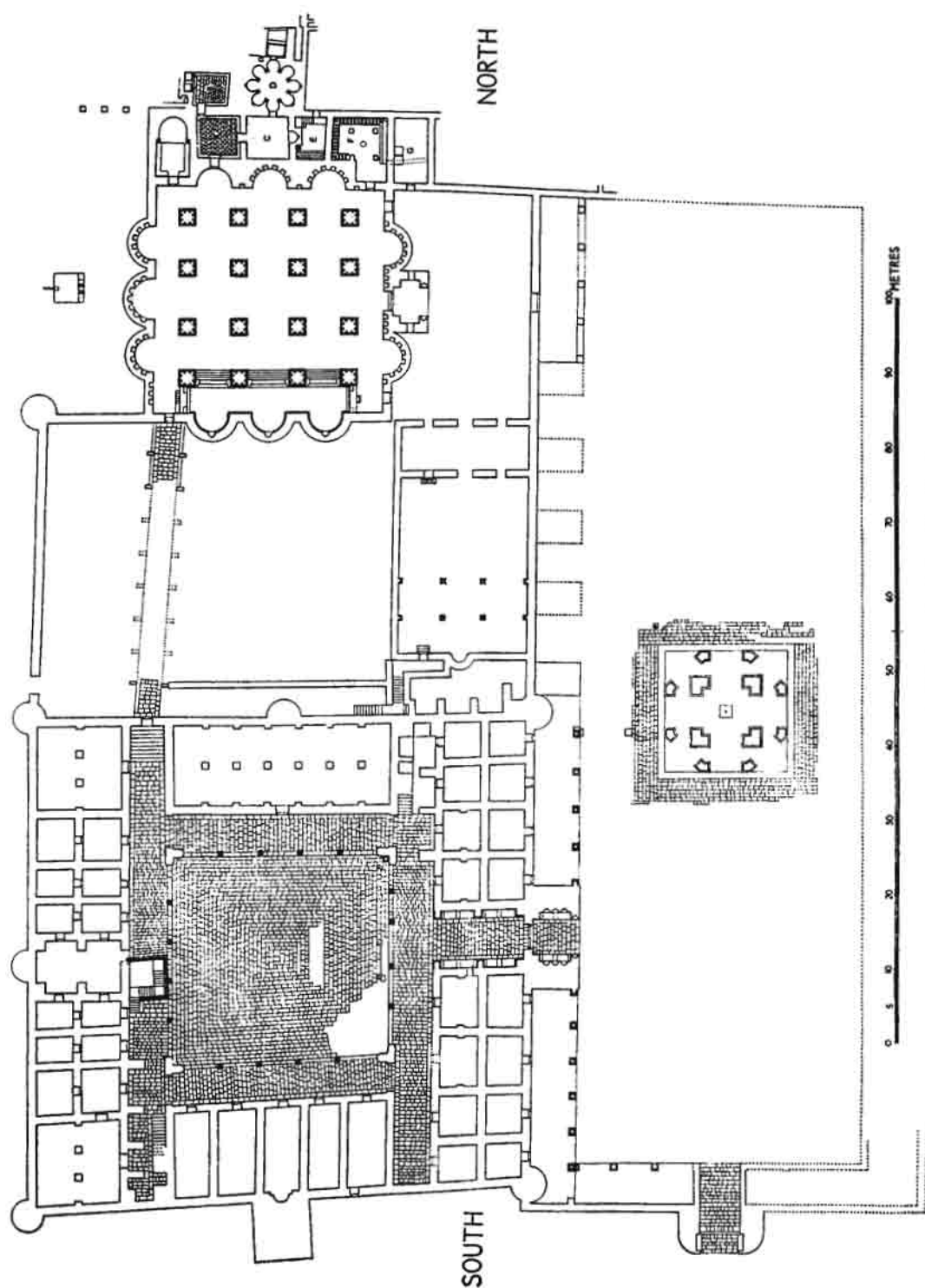



Fig. A Khirbat al-Mafdjar. Plan (after Hamilton)

PEFQS, 1894, 177-81). Our main knowledge, however, derives from the excavations conducted between 1935 and 1948 by the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, under the direction of R. W. Hamilton with D. C. Baramki as field director. Their finds which appeared first as preliminary reports in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, were later published by Hamilton (*Khirbat al-Mafjar, an Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley. With a contribution by Dr. Oleg Grabar*, Oxford 1959).

1. *Architecture.*—A glance at the plan of Khirbat al-Mafdjar reveals some remarkable irregularities and a somewhat awkward relation between the main units of the building complex (Fig. A). The walls of the square, two-storeyed palace, which was by far the largest part of the whole complex, are of uneven length (the south and west walls, 67.28 m. externally; the north wall, 67,21 m.; the east wall, 63,86 m.), its façade is asymmetrical, and there are further oddities in its inner division. However, the plan of the palace conforms to those of other Umayyad castles. A three-quarter round buttress-tower stood at each of the four corners and a semi-circular one in the middle of the west and north walls. In the middle of the southern wall only there was a square tower—presumably the base of a minaret—and another rectangular porch-tower faced the entrance in the east. The rooms of the palace were arranged around a central porticoed court. They were generally not connected, although along the west side of the palace they were arranged in communicating pairs, one behind the other, with a group of five intercommunicating rooms in the centre. The central room in the south was provided with a niche, probably a *miḥrāb*, flanked by two colonnettes. The northern wall had a single elongated hall with a row of six piers down the centre. Six pairs of parallel wall piers suggest that this hall was divided by lateral arches into two times seven bays. In the centre of the western portico, but not aligned with the axis of the central room, three flights of stairs descended to a small forecourt preceding a *sirdāb*, a small room supplied with cold water and intended for refreshment. A balustrade around the top of the staircase clearly blocked the direct access to the central room.

At a distance of about seven metres from the north-east corner of the palace and aligned with its eastern wall stood a mosque (23.6 m. × 17.1 m.). It could be reached in two ways: either by a staircase which descended from the first floor of the palace and led to a door in the *ḳibla* wall, or by three doors in its northern wall. The door in the *ḳibla* wall, next to the *miḥrāb*, was probably used by the owner of the palace and his close attendants exclusively, while the openings in the northern wall were presumably used by the public.

The mosque was preceded by a small courtyard or vestibule, which had three additional openings in its northern wall. The *miḥrāb* was flanked by two cylindrical columns and was covered with white plas-

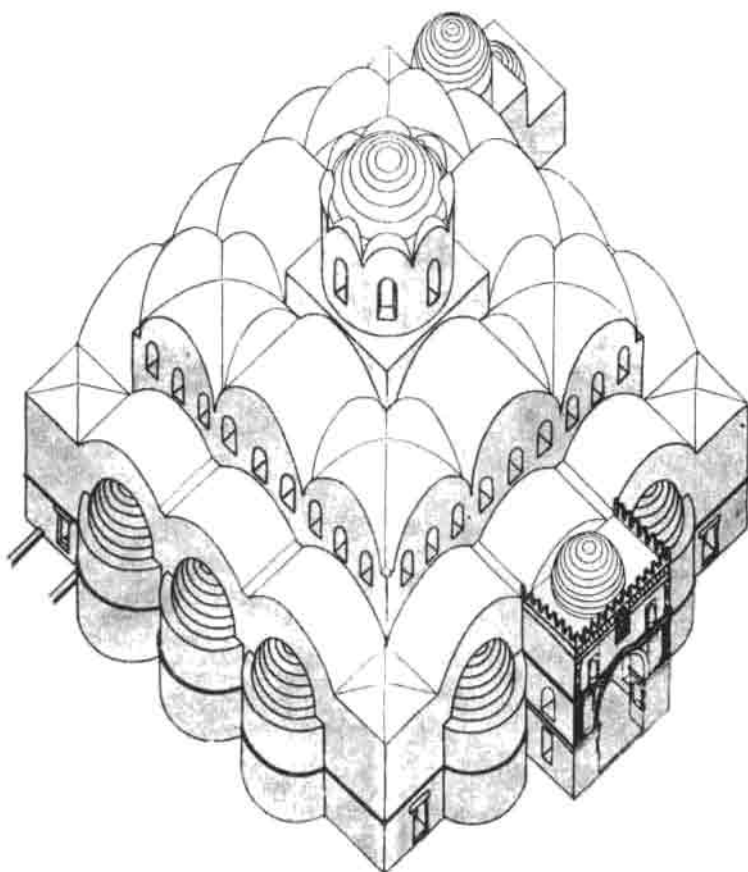



Fig. B "Bath Hall". Revised isometric reconstruction (after Hamilton).

ter which remained undecorated. In front of the *miḥrāb* the excavators found the fallen remains of two arcades composed originally of three arches each. These arcades must have sheltered a strip of slightly more than 10 m. of the enclosure. The construction of the mosque was probably never finished, for the walls nowhere stood more than three courses high, and the excavators found no traces of a floor.

About 40 m. north of the palace are the ruins of a second large building complex which was separated from the palace by an open area. A wall and a buttress tower enclosed the area on the side aligned with the western palace wall, and the mosque bordered it on the east. A paved and originally covered passage crossed the open space, connecting the palace with the northern buildings. The dominant feature of this complex was a square hall (north wall, 30.28 m.; south wall, 30.33 m.; west wall, 30.42 m.; east wall, 29.79 m.). The north, south and west sides each had three horse-shoe shaped exedrae, while a stately entrance porch, flanked by similar exedrae, occupied the eastern wall. Two additional entrances were found at either end of this wall. Each of the eleven exedrae was flanked by a pair of engaged columns, whose bases stood about a metre above the floor. Between and inside these exedrae were small rectangular niches which stood about 1.10 m. above floor-level and were covered by arched heads. Square pilasters with three-quarter round shafts at their corners supported the roof and divided the hall into nine central bays and an ambulatory. The piers were interconnected by stone-built arches carrying intersecting walls which rose high enough to provide room for windows. According to Hamilton's reconstruction (Fig. B) (*Mafjar*, 67-91, Pl. CV and *Levant*, 63 and Fig. 1 for revised isometric restoration), the four corner bays were square and had cross-vaults, while the axial naves were rectangular and barrel-vaulted. The central bay was raised above the rest and carried a dome over a cylindrical drum which was also pierced with windows. Except for the four compartments at the corners, the bays of the ambulatory were barrel-vaulted. The spacing of the piers was such that the central nave, connecting the porch with the central apse in the west, like the main north-south axis, was wider than the other passages (5.50 m. to 5.60 m. as against 4.40 m. to 4.60 m. for the flanking aisles and 2.50 m. to 3.36 m. for the aisles closest to the walls).

Along the southern wall of the hall, and including its three exedrae, there was a pool. It was bordered by a barrier built between the four southern piers of the hall and continued at either end in a right angle towards the wall. This pool, the floor of which was at about the same level as the rest of the hall, was apparently not included in the original plan of the hall and only added subsequently.

The main entrance into the hall was by way of a monumental porch (8.45 m. wide) in its eastern façade. This porch was entered by an arched opening with stepped and undercut crenellations at the top edge. It was covered by a dome resting on pendentives carrying its high drum. Within the porch was a pair of arched recesses, and there was another part of niches in the jambs of the entrance arch. A doorway connected the porch with the main hall.

Attached to the hall at the north-west corner was a small, originally domed, room with a semi-circular apsis, the *Dīwān*, used apparently for private audiences. There were extensive latrines at the north-eastern corner (F). In the centre of the northern wall there was the bath proper, comprising two rectangular rooms (A, B) with benches along the walls (and two tanks in room B), and two additional rooms (C, D). Their floors, built over hypocausts, were heated by a furnace in the stoke-hole (E). The first room (C) was nearly square with a single niche in the east, while the other, a circular originally doomed chamber, was surrounded with eight horse-shoe shaped niches, one containing the door to room (C). These two were the more temperate and the hotter *caldaria* respectively, while the first two chambers may have served as waiting rooms or vestiary (A) and *frigidarium* (B).

The rooms of the *ḥammām* are remarkably small and could be reached from the large hall through chamber (A) only. There was no direct connection between the bath and the disproportionally large latrines.

2. *Decoration*.—Apart from the mosque, which was never finished, and the ground floor of the palace, the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafdjar were lavishly decorated. There were mosaic floors at the *sirdāb*, the hall adjoining the bath, and the *dīwān*. The façade, the porches and the walls of the hall and the *dīwān* were covered with stone and stucco panels respectively. The walls of the upper floor of the eastern wing of the palace, and of the bath hall, showed remains of paintings; figural sculptures, many of them nearly life size, were placed in niches or arcades at different parts of the buildings. The mosaics were of natural stone in a rich colour scale of red, brown or yellow, bluish, grey and white grades. While those in the *sirdāb* are technically of mediocre quality, the mosaics in the hall and *dīwān* are extremely fine. There are forty-two carpets altogether (thirty-eight in the hall and four in the *dīwān*). They are partly adapted in size and pattern to the architectural superstructure, and their placement appears to have been guided by the purpose and function of these buildings (Pl. Ib). The majority of these patterns show geometric or abstract designs and interlacings which are enriched by stylised floral devices. In the centre of the Hall a radiating rosette pattern accentuates the main axis and "reflects" the central dome above it (Panel 17 in Hamilton's chart, *Mafjar*, 328, Fig. 258). Roundels containing concentric interlacings decorate the floors of the four corner bays which were apparently cross-vaulted. There is a continuous mosaic panel in each of the outer corridors (Nos. 1, 2, 3 in Hamilton's chart). The rectangular panel between the entrance porch and the central rosette, in its composition and ornament, leads towards the central axis of the Hall. Finally, the design in the central apse (No. V in Hamilton's chart) is distinguished from the other apses by a large rosette in its interior and a semi-rosette at its base (Pl. IIa). The pavement includes only two figural designs: one at the base of the central apse, representing a citrus fruit, a branch and a knife; and the other in the dais of the *dīwān* showing a fruit-bearing tree flanked to the right by a pair of gazelles and to the left by a lion attacking a gazelle (Pl. IIb).

Together with Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*], Khirbat al-Mafdjar provides the richest accumulation of early Islamic architectural decoration so far known. Apart from stone—and occasionally marble—the artists made abundant use of plaster for elaborating the interior and exterior of the mansion. This technique, not used in Syrian architecture until later Umayyad times, had the advantage of being comparatively cheap, and its flexibility allowed it to be used for life-size sculpture. Moreover, it could be painted, and since it lent itself to modelling in a wide variety of forms, these stucco carvings must have contributed to the impression of richness and sumptuousness of the buildings.

Generally speaking, two groups of motifs predominate in the architectural surface decoration of Khirbat al-Mafdjar. The first, and largest one consists of vegetal elements, such as acanthus leaves, full and half palmettes, vine garlands, flowers and fruit. The other comprises geometric elements and various abstract designs. Pure geometric compositions, however, are comparatively rare. In general they appear together and interwoven with vegetal designs, such as interlaced roundels, or roundels alternating with rectangles filled with rosettes, or diamond-shaped units filled with rosettes and palmette leaves respectively (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XLIII, 2). In most of the plaster ornaments the geometric units are interrupted and combined in such a way that the resulting patterns completely conceal their original rigid construction (Balustrade panels from Palace, Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. LIX, 13, 14 and pp. 245-61, Figs. 185-210. The same principle was used in the mosaic pattern).

Wall paintings were found in two areas only: in the rooms of the east wing on the first floor of the Palace, and in the "Bath Hall". Painted on plaster, in both fresco and tempera, hardly any of these paintings were found *in situ*, and all that has remained are fragments. Since we know so little about Umayyad painting, this situation is all the more deplorable. Professor Oleg Grabar has studied these fragments and found that in subject matter, style and iconography the fragments in the Palace differed from those in the "Bath Hall". In the north part of the eastern wing of the Palace Sasanian textile motifs predominated. In addition to floral ornaments, such as heart-shaped leaves, rosettes, lotus and palmette designs, a pattern of interlacing circles with a simurg painted within each of the roundels could be reconstructed. In the rooms to the south the excavators found architectural and figural remains as well as painted imitations of marble. The style is less homogeneous than in the north part; yet the Roman-Byzantine tradition is most conspicuous. The paintings in the "Bath Hall", which originally decorated the walls and piers above the level of the window-sills, were less spectacular and more limited in subject matter. Their main purpose was to emphasise the architectural setting of the construction; in particular, the groups of three niches in the clerestory were richly painted (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XIII and p. 73, Fig. 33, for restored sketch). At the floor level all the apses were plastered white. The only exception was apse V in the centre of the western wall, whose archivolt was decorated with meandering bands which enclosed panels with various fruits (including pomegranates), vegetables in a bowl, etc. Another panel with painted fruit and rosettes covered an arch which had spanned a western aisle of the northern ambulatory, south of the *Dīwān*. The importance of this fragment lies in the affinities of its rosettes to the type of rosette which is repeatedly depicted in the mosaic floor of the same Hall, particularly in front of the main apse, in the ambulatory and in the main panel between the entrance porch and the large central medallion (Pl. Ib).

Khirbat al-Mafdjar abounded in monumental sculpture of various human and animal forms. Although none of the statues were found *in situ*, they were evidently concentrated in three areas: the Palace porch and entrance, the porch leading to the "Bath Hall", and the *Dīwān*. The human statues included an almost life-size princely figure, generally interpreted as a caliph, which came from a niche surmounting the entrance to the "Bath Hall" (Fig. C and Pl. Va), male and female entertainers (Pl. Vb) and miscellaneous figures connected with courtly pleasures. A quick glance at these statues reveals that they were sculptured in a remarkably homogeneous style: they are rendered frontally, in nearly identical conventionalised postures, and their rigidity and lack of movement gives them an impressive monumentality. The men and women are plump and heavily built, and the semi-nude female bodies show folds of abundant flesh on the thorax and above the girdle. The caliph is clad in a long coat trimmed with Iranian-type pearls, worn over wide trousers, and holds a short sword; the girls wear pleated skirts that close from right to left and are held on the hips by a twisted cord. With slight variations the hair of the figures is identically modelled: parted in the centre and rendered in parallel grooves (caliph and some of the busts), or rows of snail curls. The hair of the women is dressed in three heavy twists which are covered with a rosette in the centre, and on the forehead forms small ringlets which descend at either side and terminate in cork-screw curls (Pl. IIIb). The rendering of the faces is generally identical. The brow forms one plane with the forehead and the flattened bridge of the nose, and abuts at a sharp angle on the plane of the eye sockets. The pupil of the eye is pierced or drilled, and the mouth curves downward slightly and has a drilled hole in each corner. There is little, if any, modelling in the faces.

The eyes of the figures from the Palace entrance, like those of the caliph, are modelled in a different style from those of the women from the bath porch of the *Dīwān*. In the first group the eyes are encircled by a heavy unbroken band representing the eyelids, and the brows are marked by a grooved line; the eyelids of the other figures are more smoothly sculptured, and the brows are painted (Pl. IIIb).

There were various animal figures at the Palace entrance. Rams or mountain sheep decorated the front of the "Bath" porch and the bottom of its drum, and about a hundred partridges (Pl. IIIa) were found in the *Dīwān* and the "Bath" porch. On the whole the animals were more delicately modelled than the human figures.

3. *Interpretation of structures and decorations*.—Our knowledge of the purpose for which Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built, and of the actual function of its different units, is based primarily on interpretations of its architectural features and decorations. The irregular plan of the whole complex seems to imply that it was not conceived as a single unit and was built in consecutive stages. The function of most of the rooms of the Palace, except the little mosque, or *muṣallā*, and the underground *sirdāb*, is uncertain. The discovery of numerous wall paintings in the upper storey, in contrast to the lack of decoration observed in the ground floor rooms, is generally explained by the fact that the upper floor was reserved for the living quarters and private rooms of the owner of the mansion. This seems to be confirmed by the only painting which could be fully reconstructed, the textile pattern with the simurg and the interstitial heart-shaped four-petaled rosettes, which came from a room in the northern part of the east wing. This pattern would have been appropriate for a princely dwelling, as its Sasanian prototype figures on the garb of Khusraw II at the bas reliefs of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān and in similar royal Sasanian representations.

Scholarly opinions vary as to the purpose and function of the "Bath Hall". In relating it to the bathrooms proper and the Roman tradition of public baths in Palestine and other provinces of the Roman empire, Creswell and Hamilton interpreted the Hall as

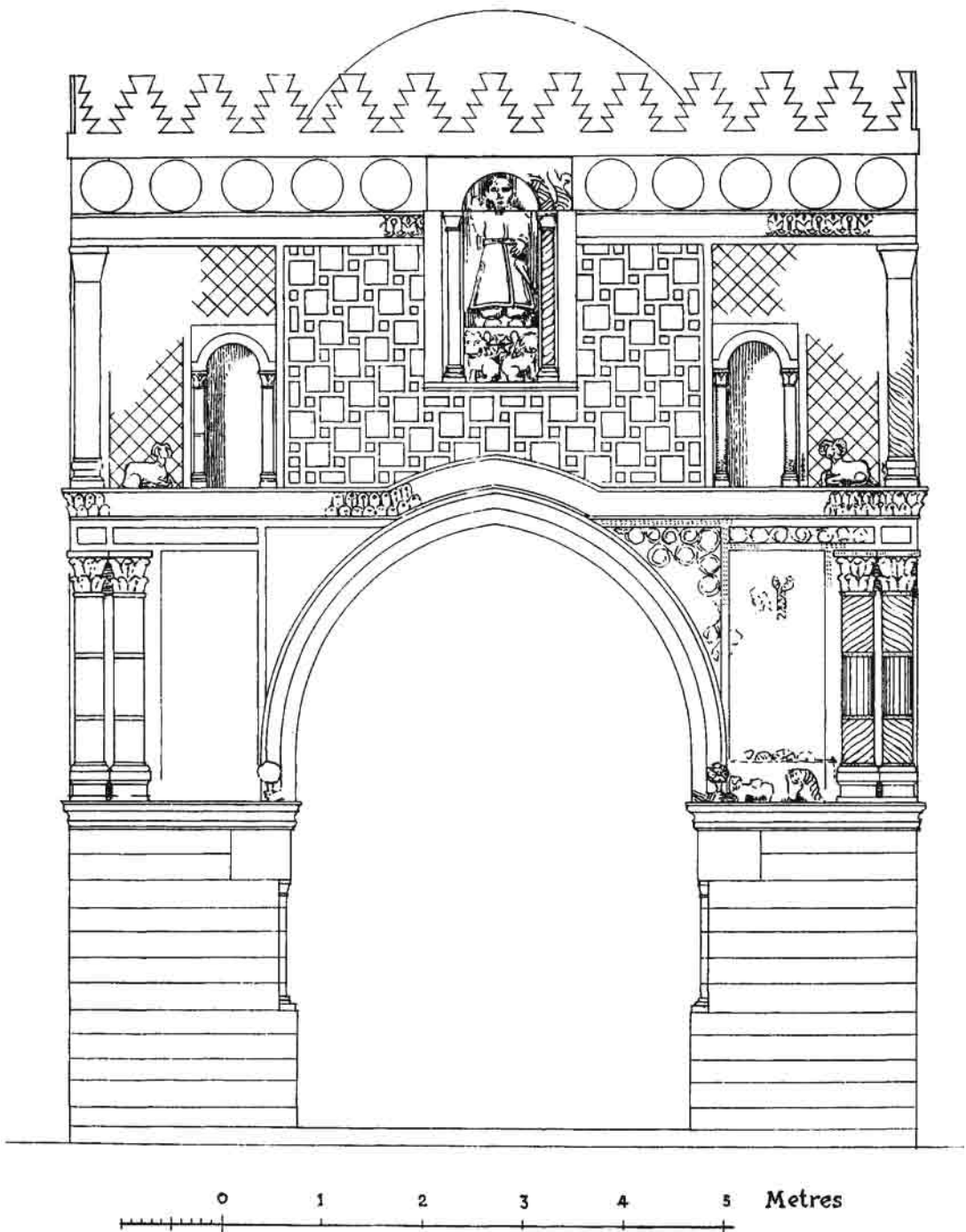



Fig. C "Bath Hall". Porch façade (after Hamilton).

a *frigidarium* which, according to Hamilton, served also as a vestiary or *apoditerium*. He saw an indication of these functions in the niches along the walls, which he interpreted as a repository for the bather's clothes. Hamilton was aware of the abnormal size of the Hall, which he believed to represent an "architectural response to some specialized requirements" (*Mafjar*, 47). A more specific function was suggested by Grabar, who suggested that the Hall should be related to the Roman *triclinia* and considered as a place for ceremonial entertainment, and for other customary Arab and Sasanian activities, such as dancing or banqueting (*Islamic art and Byzantium*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 76-7). A fresh study of the architectural peculiarities, decorative features and iconography of the Hall and a re-evaluation of these ideas has led Professor R. Ettinghausen to point out that in contrast to the more private character of the Palace, the "Bath" Hall was conceived as the representational part of the mansion. First, it could be entered from the outside by a distinctively ornamented monumental porch and two additional doors next to it. Aside from the caliphal statue, the front and inside of the porch carried figural sculptures of definite princely associations particularly appropriate for a princely abode, such as male and female entertainers, as well as animals alluding to the royal hunt. Secondly, the official character of this building becomes further evident if one follows Ettinghausen's discussion of the central axis of the Hall. This aisle, which connects the porch with the western wall opposite, focuses on a central apse which in its artistic rendering differs from the remaining exedrae of the ambulatory. Originally attached to a cross-shaped voussoir, there was a stone chain ending in a cylindrical device hanging from the apex of its semi-dome. There were seven, and not five niches in the lower wall of the apse, and a pair, instead of a single niche, decorated the upper level of the exedrae. The arched heads of these niches had a horse-shoe and not a semi-circular profile, and were supported by colonnettes missing in the other recesses. Moreover, while all the exedrae in the ambulatory were plastered white, the archivolt of the central apse was painted with a meander pattern with perspective frets and different vegetal designs.

The exceptional rendering of the central apse, which must have been viewed by every visitor entering from the main porch, is explained by Ettinghausen in relation to its function. According to his interpretation it served as a throne recess or place of honour where the owner of the mansion sat at official occasions and in compliance with royal Sasanian practice, with his royal headgear suspended over his head.

Aside from the symbolic "hanging crown"—in Umayyad times transformed into a "hanging" *ḳalansuwa*—the royal character of the throne recess is further brought out by the huge half rosette in the pavement at the base of the apse, a motif which in Sasanian iconography had royal connotations. According to Ettinghausen it was not selected at random but rather in conformity with the Sasanian iconographic tradition, in order to emphasise the princely sections of the mansion.

By applying the principle that a "given imagery is related to the situation or activity that took place in or near the particular spot" (*From Byzantium*, 35-6), Ettinghausen further uses the mosaic panel with the knife, citrus fruit and leafy branch in front of the main apse (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, 336-7) to explain one of the other functions of the "Bath" Hall. First, since Khirbat al-Mafdjar was an agricultural estate, this picture may be interpreted as an offering or present to the owner of the estate, or possibly as a symbol for a tax paid in the form of a highly-esteemed fruit grown in the plantations. Second, the fact that the only figural mosaic in this Hall depicts a fruit which had to be peeled with a knife in order to be eaten, appears to indicate that one of the purposes of this Hall was feasting and banqueting.

Assuming that the "Bath" Hall was built for public audiences, the *Dīwān* or small apsidial room in its north-western corner (Fig. 1) was probably built as a private audience chamber. The interpretation of its function has again been based on the iconography of its decoration—the figural mosaic pavement on the raised dais (Pl. IIb), and the stucco ornaments of the dome in front of it (Pl. Ic). Accordingly, it has been pointed out that the lion preying upon a gazelle to the right of the fruit-bearing tree was probably meant to demonstrate the caliphal power, while the two eating gazelles to the left alluded to a peaceful caliphal reign—the *Dār al-Islām* versus the *Dār al-Ḥarb*, the Abode (or Realm) of Islam versus the Abode of War (*From Byzantium*, 45-6).

The mosaics in the *Dīwān* are based on ancient oriental concepts and symbolism. The winged horses and the pendentives of the cupola (Pl. IIIc), on the other hand, represent an Iranian, particularly Sasanian, motif. They are beasts which figure on seals, textiles and silver vessels as the royal mount of ascension and symbolise the semi-divinity of the Sasanian king. Their representation on the cupola provides additional proof of the princely character of the chamber which, like in other parts of the mansion, is expressed in the iconographic language of Sasanian Iran.

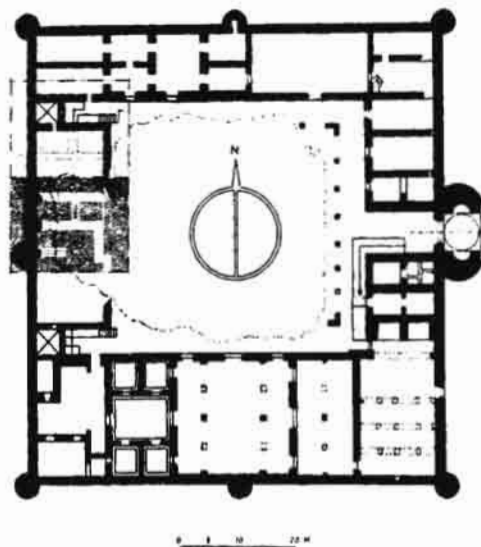
4. *Who built Khirbat al-Mafdjar?*—So far it has not been possible to connect the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafdjar with one single prototype. The combination of a villa, a private bath and a multifunctional hall is Roman. The buildings reflect primarily Byzantine tradition, while the mosaics and most of the paintings in the palace are rooted foremost in the local Syro-Palestinian tradition. The remaining decoration—particularly the stucco sculpture and ornament—is inspired in style and technique by Eastern, Iranian and probably Central Asian prototypes. The imagery in particular is applied in accordance with Sasanian concepts of princely dwellings. It represents an apparently conscious adaptation of royal Sasanian art which was combined with architectural elements of Roman and Byzantine derivation in order to meet best the demands and aspirations of the Umayyad owner of the mansion.

The identity of the owner and builder of Khirbat al-Mafdjar has not yet been established conclusively. On the basis of certain graffiti with the name of Hishām which were found in the débris of the palace, it has been assumed that Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built during the caliphate of Hishām, between the years 105-25/724-43. More recently, however, Hamilton tried to prove that although the mansion was built at the time of Hishām, it was owned and occupied by his nephew, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Hamilton's arguments are rather intricate. Yet it is true that in its architectural concept the palace, and particularly the Throne and Banqueting Hall, would have suited the taste of a personality like al-Walīd II.

Bibliography: The basic publication is R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*. General presentations are given by: D. C. Baramki, *Guide to the palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Amman 1956; O. Grabar, *The Umayyad palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar*,

in *Archaeology*, viii/4 (Winter 1955), 228-35; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture, A.D. 622-750*², Oxford 1969, i/2, 561-76 (with complete bibliography). Studies of specific problems are by W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen, *The conquering lion, the life cycle of a symbol*, in *Oriens*, xvii (1964), 161-71; R. W. Hamilton, *Who built Khirbat al-Mafjar?*, in *Levant*, i (1969), 61-7; R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 17-65; E. Baer, *A group of north-Iranian craftsmen . . .*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, xxiv (1974); R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar . . .*, in *Levant*, x (1978). (E. Baer)

KHIRBAT AL-MINYA, in mediaeval times known as Minya or ʿAyn Minyat Hishām, is the name for the ruins of an apparently unfinished Umayyad mansion about 230 m. west of the northern end of Lake Tiberias. The ruins were excavated in 1932 by A. E. Mader and between 1936-9 by A. M. Schneider and O. Puttrich-Reignard. During July-August 1959 the western section of the palace was excavated by O. Grabar in collaboration with the Israel Department of Antiquities.

The building consists of an irregular rectangular enclosure (66.40 m. × 73 m. × 72.30 m.) facing the four cardinal points. Like other Umayyad castles it has round towers at the corners, a semi-circular

Khirbat al-Minya. Ground plan.

tower in the centre of three of the walls, and a gateway salient about 3.70 m. north of the centre of the eastern wall. The rooms which surrounded the originally porticoed court differ in size and arrangement. They comprise a mosque in the south-east corner, a three-aisled basilical hall flanked by a unit of five rooms in the south, and residential quarters in the north.

As against the simple unpretentious decoration of the mosque, the domed gate-way chamber and the southern rooms must have been richly decorated. Marble panels covered the dadoes of the walls. Coloured and gilt glass mosaics decorated the summit of the dome, and stone mosaics combined with glass cubes and set in geometric carpet-like patterns on the floor of the five southern rooms indicate the official, representational character of this section. Another well-preserved floor mosaic was discoverd in 1959 in the western part of the mansion.

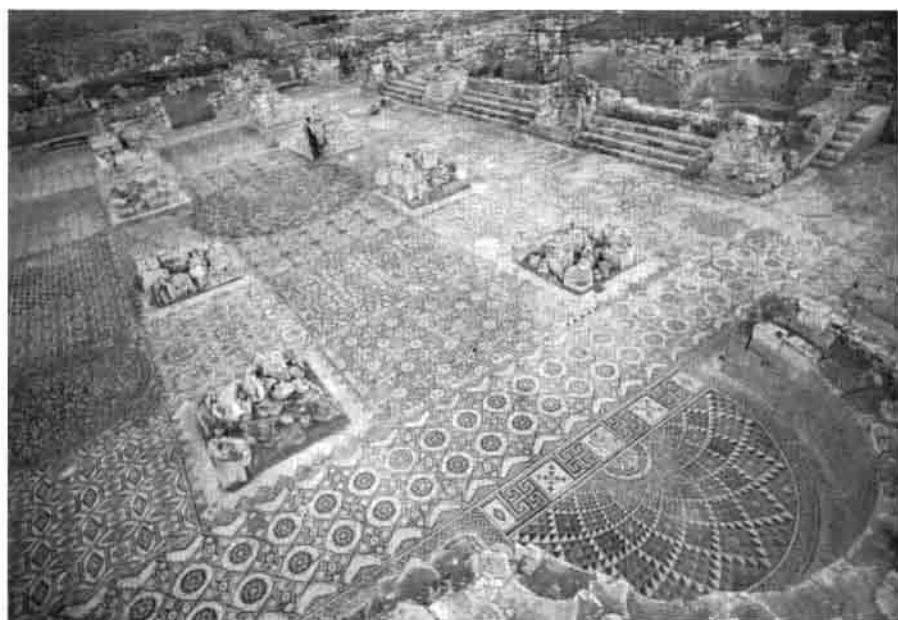
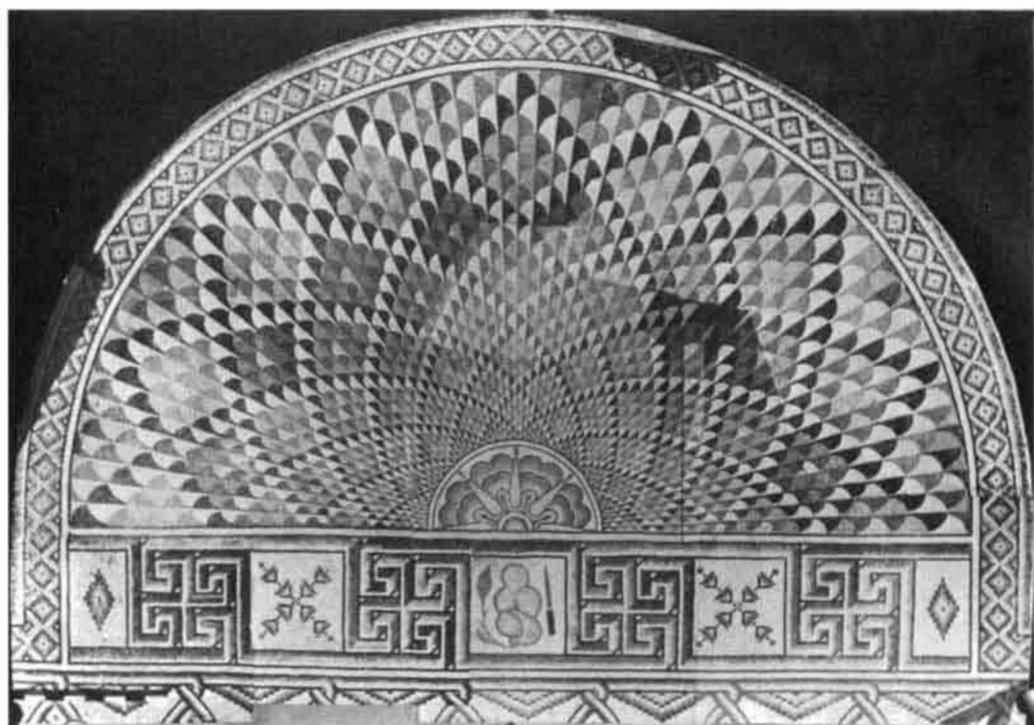
A fragmentary inscription with the name of al-Walīd on a marble slab which had been used as a sill when the gateway was rebuilt centuries later supports an attribution of Minya to al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15). However, the palace was apparently used throughout the Umayyad period. Moreover, the stratification established in the western part of the site, and the ceramics found in the excavation in 1959, have shown that the site was settled in the later Mamlūk period when it served as an important commercial post between Damascus and Cairo. It was abandoned at an uncertain date, but later temporarily resettled.

Bibliography: O. Puttrich-Reignard, *Die Palastanlage von Chirbet el-Minje*, in *Palästina-Hefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande*, Heft 17-20 (1939); A. M. Schneider, *Die Bauinschrift von Chirbet el-Minje*, in *Oriens Christianus*, xxxvi (1941), 115-17; A. M. Schneider, *Ḥirbet el-Minje am See Genesareth*, in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, ii (1952), 23-45; O. Grabar, J. Perrot, B. Ravani and Myriam Rosen, *Sondages à Khirbet el-Minyeh*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, x/4 (1960), 226-43; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*², i/2, Oxford 1969, 381-9. (Eva Baer)

KHIRĶA, "rough cloak, scapular, coarse gown". The assumption of such a cloak as symbol of embarking on the mystical path is mentioned as early as the 3rd/8th century (by Ibn Ḥarb and al-Muḥāsibī; see Massignon, *Lexique*). It is the equivalent of the handclasp (*muṣāfaḥa*) by means of which the spiritual director (*murshid*) transmits to the initiate (*murīd*) the blessing inherited from the Prophet. It can also be replaced, or accompanied, by other rites with the same significance; the handing-over of a rosary (*sibḥa*), of the text of a litany (*wird* [*q.v.*]) belonging to the mystical order (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]) which is receiving the novice. Its value as "the garment of piety", external and internal (according to Ḳurʾān, VII, 26), this latter implying humility and detachment from worldly standards, is further stressed when the *khirḳa* becomes, as with the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*], a cloak made up of pieces sewn together (*muraḳḳaʿa*).

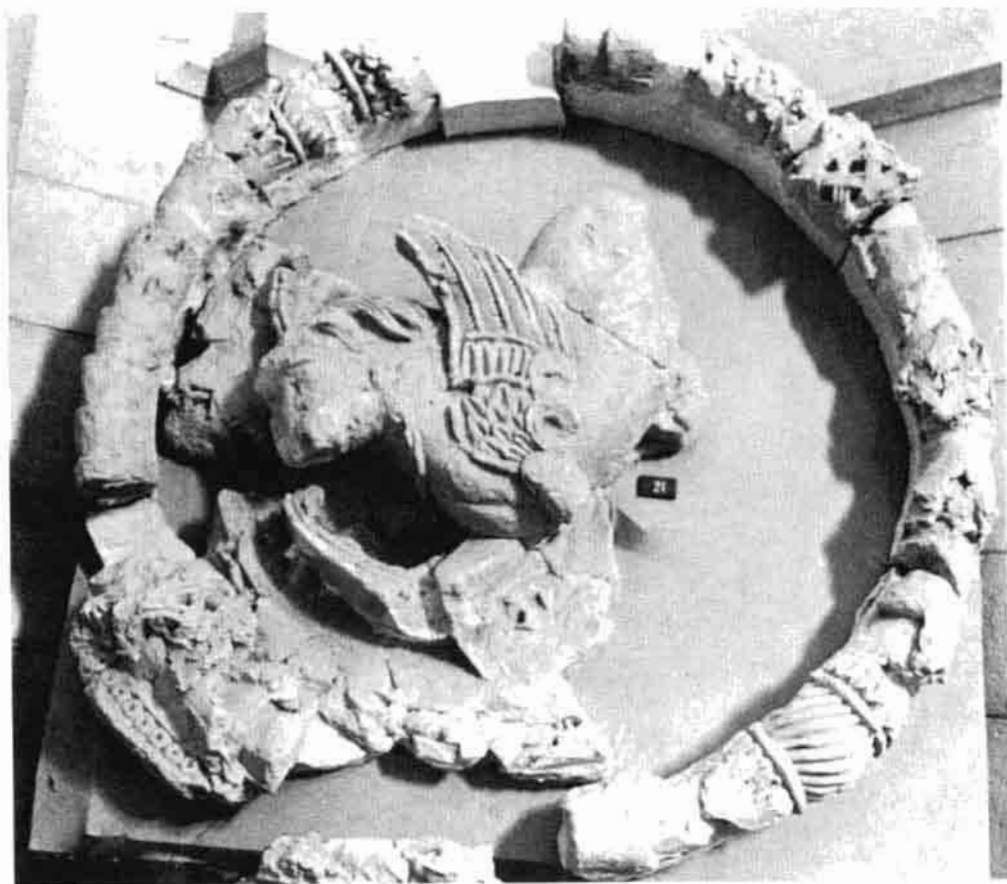
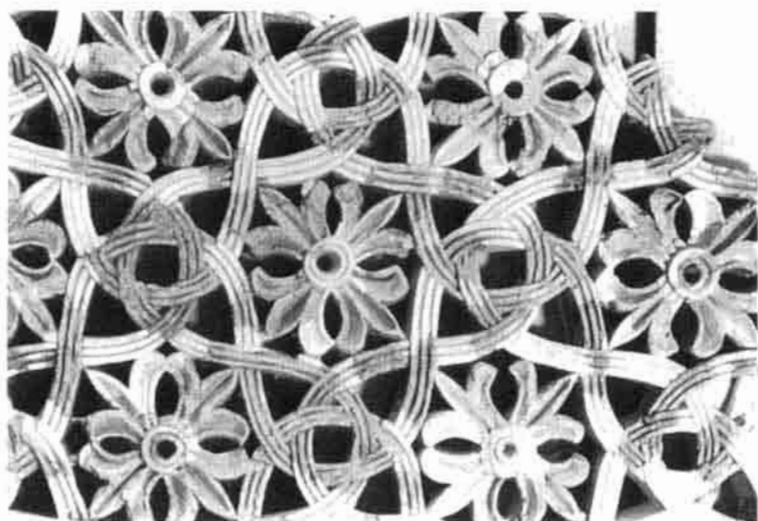
Staring from its original technical sense, the word *khirḳa* has been broadened to designate the initiation as such, becoming a synonym for "transmission" (*tanaḳḳul*), "embarkation on the way" (*akhdh al-ṭarīḳ*) and "covenant" (*ʿahd*, *bayʿa*). Thus the Ṣūfīs came to speak of the *khirḳa khiḍriyya* "investiture by al-Khiḍr" [see AL-KHAḌIR] to describe those cases, numerous in the history of Muslim mysticism, in which some contemplatives are said to have received spiritual direction directly from the powerful and mysterious person who, in the Ḳurʾān (XVIII, 64-81), shows a wisdom superior to the prophetic law.

In fact, the two methods of spiritual transmission, sc. attachment to the chain (*silsila*) of spiritual masters and spontaneous illumination coming from the bestowal of a special grace, existed side-by-side at all stages of the history of Ṣūfism. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, the disciple of the *imām* al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), was to derive his arguments for demonstrating the superiority of the *ṭarīḳa* founded by his master, from the fact that the latter did not rest on the transmission of the *khirḳa*, but on "a spiritual direction (*hidāya*) in which God was able to attach certain of his disciples directly to Muḥammad His prophet" (cited by P. Nwiya, in *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allah et la naissance de la confrérie šāḏilite*, Beirut 1972, 31).

The word *khirḳa*, followed by a noun complement,

a. "Bath" hall. Apse V. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

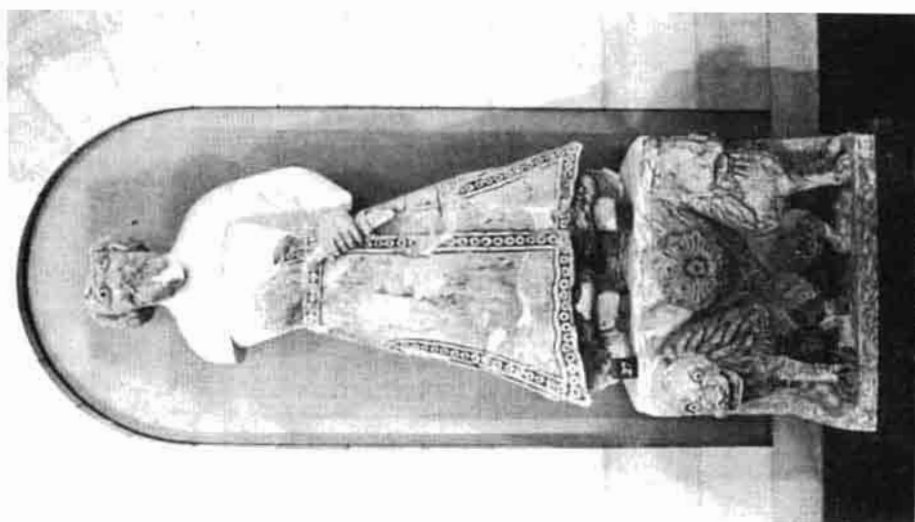
b. *Dīwān*. Mosaic. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

a. Partridges.

b. Woman. "Bath" porch.

c. Winged horse. *Dīwān.* Photographs E. Baer

b. Window grill.

a. Panel from *Dīwān*.

a. The "caliph".

b. Female attendant. Photographs E. Baer.

Khirbat al-Minya. South-east side of palace.

may serve to define various categories or degrees of initiation to the mystical path. Thus *khirḳat al-irāda* "the robe of free-will" means, according to al-Suhrawardī, "he whom one asks personally, of his own free-will, from the *shaykh*, having full knowledge ... of counting on passive obedience to whatever thing he will be condemned to by accepting", whilst the *khirḳat al-tabarruk* "cloak of blessing", is that which is "given officially by the *shaykh* to those whom it seems to him useful to introduce to or guide along the mystical path, without their giving an exact accounting of the significance of the act of investiture" (*ʿAwārif*, quoted by E. Blochet, in *L'Esotérisme musulman*, Louvain 1910, 153). Other authors speak, in more general terms, of the "cloak of Ṣūfism", *khirḳat al-taṣawwuf*, always insisting on the close connection created by this act of investiture between the disciple and his spiritual master, who penetrates the most intimate thoughts and needs of the initiate and becomes "his real father" (Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Nakshabandī al-Mudjaddidī al-Khālidī, *Mutimmāt Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl wa-karamāt al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1328, 100). Finally, the act of investiture with the "cloak of nobility", *khirḳat al-futuwwa*, originally conferred by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and then later by the Ayyūbid sultans of Syria and Egypt, was one of the features marking out the chivalric orders of the Islamic world before they spread into Christendom.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the definition of *khirḳa* given by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ḳāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, No. 492, and G. Salmon, *La Kherqa des Derqaoua et la Kherqa Soufya*, in *Archives Marocaines*, xxi (1905), 127-43.

(J.-L. Michon)

KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF, one of the mantles attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, called Khirḳa-yi Sherīf or Khirḳa-yi Saʿādet was preserved at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. It was brought to Istanbul by Muḥammad Abū Numayy, son of the *Sherīf* of Mecca, together with the key of Mecca and other Islamic relics, after the conquest of Egypt in 923/1517 by the Ottoman ruler Selīm I.

This black mantle, 1.24 cm. long with wide sleeves and a cream-coloured woolen lining, was kept in a throne made for Murād IV by the father of Ewliyā Čelebī, Derwīsh Ẓillī Meḥmed, the head jeweller of the palace. The throne, which resembled a canopied tent, lost its function in Maḥmūd II's time when lattice work doors were made. Today the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* is protected by being wrapped in seven silk velvet cloths, embroidered with gold thread; these in turn are protected by a gold box with a double lid, which is given further protection by being placed in a gold casket that was made in the era of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This is then placed on a silver table in the silver throne.

The *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* had a special function in Ottoman customs and ceremonies. In one of the late Ottoman chronicles (ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 93 cf. *Ḥirḳa-i Şerif*, in *İA*, by K. Kufralı) the author refers to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and says that a room was built named the Khāṣṣ Oda [*q.v.*] to protect the sacred relics when Selīm I brought them to the palace. It is not really possible to accept this statement as fact, because there is no other source of the same century or subsequent ones that mentions it until the 19th century. In fact, this room is most probably the Khāṣṣ Oda built by Meḥemmed II. No information about the mantle is known before Aḥmed I's time; his *imām*, Muṣṭafā Ṣafī Efendi, refers in his *Zübdet al-tewārīkh* (Topkapı Sarayı, R. 1304, f. 128a) to the mantle, and says that Aḥmed I had a shelf made above his throne in the Khāṣṣ Oda and had the mantle put on it. We also learn that Aḥmed I started the ceremony of dipping a part of the mantle into water, thus making the latter holy; this custom was later changed into dipping the fastenings and then in Maḥmūd II's reign, to placing scarfs on it. We also learn from the *Zübdet al-tewārīkh* that the Khāṣṣ Oda did not contain all the relics in Aḥmed I's time. This room, with its 10th/16th century tiles, was repaired by Maḥmūd II, when a new fireplace was built, the decorations of the dome and upper parts of the walls were redone, and the whole apartment assigned to the keeping of the relics.

There were forty *Khāṣṣ Odalı*s—the men in charge of the Privy Chamber—who did the work of guarding the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*. The duties of the *Khāṣṣ Odalı*s were to sweep the area, dust the Ḳurʾāns and other books, burn incense on special nights, sprinkle rose water, clean and polish the gold and silver objects, etc. (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı sarayı teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 325). The "silver" water carriers, thus named because they carried the water in silver containers, washed the floors of the building (*idem*, 455). In the corner of the wall, where there was a gate that opened into the third courtyard, there was a pounding stone used to grind up incense; on the other side of the same wall was a well where the sweepings were disposed of. Four of the *Khāṣṣ Odalı*s stayed on duty at night and read the Ḳurʾān (*ibid.*, 32). The guarding of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the duty of *Aghas*, whose spell of duty lasted for a period of 24 hours before being relieved.

All the Ottoman Sultans believed firmly in the sanctity of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and tried to remain near it; Aḥmed I took it with him wherever he went (*ibid.*, 256). Fındıklılı Meḥmed Agha, a *Khāṣṣ Odalı* of the reigns of Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmed III, speaks at length about the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*. According to him, Muṣṭafā II took the mantle with him in a private wagon to Čataldja where he went for Ramaḍān, had it kept in a special room and visited it ceremonially on the 15th of Ramaḍān. He also took it with him when he went to Edirne (*Nuṣret-nāme*, ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1966, ii, 45), and when the revolt that ended his reign took place, he tried to escape to Edirne with the mantle (*ibid.*, ii 183). Aḥmed III was also keen on keeping the mantle with him. When he went to the Tersāne Bāghčesi to spend the summer of 1127/1715, or to the Wālide Sulṭān's seaside palace to spend the winter, and when he held a circumcision festivity for one of his sons, the mantle always figured prominently in what had to be taken with him (*idem*, 213, 338-9, 397).

Ewliyā Čelebī writes about Murād IV's sword-girding ceremony, after which he went to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* at the *Khāṣṣ Oda*, paid humble respect to the mantle and then prayed (Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 227). We also learn from Fındıklılı Meḥmed Agha that, when Muṣṭafā II learned that he was going to succeed to the throne, he went to the *Takht Odası* (*Khāṣṣ Oda*), prayed in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, and then put on suitable robes in order to take the oath of allegiance (*Nuṣret-nāme*, i, 4). Subsequently, he visited the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* every Friday (*ibid.*, i, 32). Aḥmed III's eldest son, Süleymān, after he finished reciting the Ḳurʾān, held a ceremonial session in the *Tersāne Bāghčesi* in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, according to Fındıklılı (*ibid.*, ii, 388). It had an even greater importance in war-time. A good example of this is the Egri campaign of Meḥemmed III, which was

going very badly, but was finally turned into victory when Saʿd al-Dīn addressed his people and Meḥemmed III put on the mantle. The spirit of battle was kindled, and this turned the tide of the war (Orhan Şaik Ökyay, *Katip Çelebiden seçmeler*, Istanbul 1968, 59). Muṣṭafā II took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* on all of his campaigns in order to reinforce the courage of the army (*Nuṣret-nāme*, i, 143, 166, 167, 174, 183, 186, 190, 199; ii, 280, 300). We know from this same source that Aḥmed III took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and the *Sandjaḳ-i Sherīf*—the flag of the Prophet which was only unfurled for a holy war—with his army in order to raise the morale of the men (*Nuṣret-nāme*, ii, 290).

When the sultan took his oath of allegiance, the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was not forgotten. When a sultan died, the *Dār al-Saʿāde Aghasī* carried the news to the crown prince and took him to the deceased. He was then joined by the *Silāḥdār Agha*, who took him to the *Khāṣṣ Oda* (Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 236; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 186). The oath of allegiance of the *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam* or Grand Vizier, the *Sheykh al-Islām*, the *Dar al-Saʿāde Aghasī*, and the high officials of the Enderūn, was also taken there (Djewdet, iv, 237; Uzunçarşılı, 187; *Nuṣret-nāme*, ii, 187-9).

During the third week of Ramaḍān, a visit to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was also customary. Even after the sultans ceased to reside in the Topkapı Palace, the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* remained on the Palace premises, either in its own room or at the *Sofa Köshkü*. On such visits as these on the 15th of Ramaḍān, the sultan would open the silver throne, the seven wrappings and the gold casket with a golden key, take the mantle out, dip its fastening into a bowl of water and then put drops of this water into vessels filled again with water, which in turn would be given away as presents. This custom was abolished by Maḥmūd II, who chose to touch the mantle with some specially-prepared scarves with poems inscribed on them, and these were then distributed as gifts for his guests. At the end of the visit, during which the Ḳurʾān was recited continuously, the mantle was put away by the sultan himself. This custom had however been abolished by the end of the sultanate.

One other mantle of the Prophet was brought in 1027/1617-18 by Shükr Allāh Efendi. It was believed that this mantle was sent to Uways al-Ḳaranī by the Prophet. Presumably it was preserved by Shükr Allāh Efendi and his son at his house in the Eski ʿAlī Pasha quarter of Istanbul. Their mansion was rebuilt by Maḥmūd II, and a mosque was built opposite it in 1851 by ʿAbd al-Medjīd. In this mosque, named that of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, the mantle was displayed to the public every year by the Queen Mother on the 15th of Ramaḍān. Today, it is possible to visit it there between the 15th of Ramaḍān and the *Laylat al-Ḳadr*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Aḥmed Rāsim, *Manāḳib-i Islām*, Istanbul 1326; Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit Yıldız hatıraları*, Istanbul 1931; İsmail Müştak Mayokon, *Yıldızda neler gördüm*, Istanbul 1940; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, s.v. "Hırka-i saadet", 805, "Hırka-i saadet alayı", 806, "Hırka-i şerif suyu", 809, "Hırka-i şerif ziyareti", 809; Tahsin Öz, *Hırka-i Saadet dairesi ve emanat-i mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953; Mithat Sertoğlu, *Mufassal osmanlı tarihi*, Istanbul 1958, s.v. "Mekke Şerifi'nin Osmanlı padişahına itaatını arz", ii, 768, "Emanat-i mübareke", ii, 767; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, Istanbul 1960; Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1965; Kemal Çığ, *Relics of Islam*, Istanbul 1966.

(Nurhan Atasoy)

AL-**KHIRRĪT** b. Rāshid al-Nādjī, partisan of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib who fought in his ranks at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], but who rebelled against him when the first results of the arbitration were known after having accepted, it appears, the principle of arbitration. He was chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Bayt b. al-Ḥārith b. Sama b. Luʾayy (most usually called the B. Nādjiya, after the name of ʿAbd al-Bayt's mother), who had only recently been converted to Islam, where they had not kept their original Christianity. He informed ʿAlī of his intention to disregard the results of the arbitration, which implied the caliph's deposition; ʿAlī advised him to reflect a while before taking action, but al-Khirrīt, oblivious to the arguments raised, withdrew with his followers into the Sawād of Kūfa; al-Masʿūdī even accuses him, together with 300 of his fellow-tribesmen, of abjuring Islam. It is difficult to establish the chronology of events, but these events probably took place after the battle of al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], in which the rebel took no part, contrary to what certain coincidences might lead one to expect; it is certainly tempting to compare and to assimilate al-Khirrīt's action to that of the Khāridjīs when one takes into account, in particular, the tradition according to which his group killed in the Sawād a Persian convert to Islam but spared the life of a Jew, circumstances which are analogous to those of the *istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*] of the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*].

ʿAlī sent after him Ziyād b. Khaṣafa, who finally caught up with him at al-Madāʾin, where, after vainly trying to reason with him, he gave battle. The rebels fled in the course of the following night and headed for al-Ahwāz, where their ranks were swollen by a certain number of malcontents from Kūfa and of local people, who doubtless discerned here a way of avoiding taxation. At this point, in order to bring them to reason, ʿAlī sent Maʿḳil b. Ḳays al-Riyāḥī at the head of a more numerous force, and gave orders to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, the then governor of Baṣra, to send as reinforcements a substantial contingent under the leadership of Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Ṭāʾī. The rebels were soon put to flight by the government troops, who pursued them to the Persian Gulf shores. In a decisive battle, al-Khirrīt was killed fighting, and his companions made prisoner. These events probably took place in the early months of 38/658.

According to the accounts given, Maʿḳil b. Ḳays freed the captive Muslims and also the apostates, who for a second time abjured the Christianity to which they had returned; only one refused, it is recorded, and had his head chopped off. The Banū Nādjiya who remained Christian, numbering 500, were on the other hand led into captivity. Maṣḳala b. Hubayra, ʿAlī's *ʿāmil* in the *kūra* of Ardashīr Khurra, whose centre was at Sīrāf, now intervened. Affected by the entreaties of the captive men, women and children, he purchased them for a sum of 300,000 *dirhams* (al-Masʿūdī) or 200,000 only (al-Ṭabarī), of which he sent only part to ʿAlī. He freed the prisoners without having asked them to contribute to the purchase money, and then, when pressed by the caliph to hand over all the money, he though it more expedient to take refuge with Muʿāwiya, who entrusted to him important official posts.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3418-41; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tables 29 and Register, 123 (s.v. ʿAbd al-Bayt); Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 440; Masʿūdī,

Murūdj, iv, 417-21 = §§ 1722-4; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 183; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 264-70; G. Levi della Vida, *Il califato di ʿAlī . . .*, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 486; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Conflitto*, and *Traduzione*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

KHITA [see KARĀ KHITĀY]

KHITĀN (A.), circumcision. The term is used indifferently for males and females, but female excision is particularly called *khifāḍ* or *khafḍ* [*q.v.*]. In the dual, *al-khitānāni* are "the two circumcised parts" (viz. that of the male and that of the female), and according to tradition "If the two circumcised parts have been in touch with one another, *ghusl* is necessary" (Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ḥayḍ*, trad. 88; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bābs 81, 83).

Some words connected with the root *kh-t-n* denote the father-in-law, the son-in-law, the daughter-in-law (*khatan*, *khatana*), or marrying (*khutūna*). Some of these words must have belonged to the primitive Semitic language, as they occur also in the same or cognate forms in North-Semitic languages.

Circumcision must have been a common practice in early Arabia. It is mentioned, not in the Ḳurʾān, but in old poetry and *ḥadīth*, and the ancient language also has special words for "uncircumcised", sc. *alkhan*, *aḳlaf*, *aghlaf* and *aghral* (Hebrew *ʿarel*).

In *ḥadīth* it is said that Ibrāhīm was circumcised in his 80th year (Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, trad. 151). This tradition is based on the Biblical report. Ibn Saʿd has preserved a tradition according to which the patriarch was already circumcised at the age of 13 (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1 24). This tradition is apparently a reflex of the practice of circumcision in the first centuries of Islam. We may confront it with the statements concerning Ibn ʿAbbās' circumcision in *ḥadīth*. According to some traditions (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 273) he was 15 years old when Muḥammad died. In other traditions it is said that he was already circumcised at that time (Bukhārī, *Istiʾdhān*, bāb 51; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 264, 287; Ṭayālisī, Nos. 2639, 2640).

Circumcision is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in the story of the Emperor Heraclius' horoscope (Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-waḥy*, bāb 6). Heraclius read in the stars the message of "the king of the circumcised". Thereupon an envoy of the king of Ghassān arrived who reported the news of Muḥammad's preaching of Islam. This envoy appeared to be circumcised himself and he informed the Emperor of the fact that circumcision was a custom prevalent among the Arabs.

It is further recognised in *ḥadīth* that circumcision belongs to pre-Islamic institutions. In the traditions which enumerate the features of natural religion (*al-fiṭra*), circumcision is mentioned together with the clipping of nails, the use of the toothpick, the cutting of moustaches, the more profuse length of the beard etc. (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Ṭahara*, trad. 49, 50; Tirmidhī, *Adab*, bāb 14, etc.). In a tradition preserved by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (v, 75) circumcision is called *sunna* for males and honourable for females.

There are differences between the several *madhhab*'s concerning rules for circumcision. Instead of giving a survey of the different views it may be sufficient to translate the passage al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 50 (ed. Cairo 1283, i, 328) has devoted to the subject, also because it contains a description of the operation:

"Circumcision is obligatory (*wādjib*) according to al-Shāfiʿī and many of the doctors, *sunna* according to Mālik and the majority of them. It is further, according to al-Shāfiʿī, equally obligatory for males and females. As regards males it is obligatory to cut off the whole skin which covers the *glans*, so that this latter is wholly denudated. As regards females, it is obligatory to cut off a small part of the skin in the highest part of the genitals. The sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) view within the limits of our school, which is shared by the large majority of our friends, is that circumcision is allowed, but not obligatory in a youthful age, and one of the special views is that the *walī* is obliged to have the child circumcised before it reaches the adult age. Another special view is, that it is prohibited to circumcise a child before its tenth year. The sound view according to us, is that circumcision on the seventh day after birth is *mustaḥabb* (recommendable). Further, there are two views regarding the question whether in the 'seventh day' the birthday is included or not".

The treatment of circumcision has not a prominent place in the books of law (see e.g. al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 161, 305). More important, however, is the value attached to it in popular estimation. "To the uneducated mass of Muslims" says Snouck Hurgronje "as well as to the great mass of non-Muslims, both of whom pay the greatest attention to formalities, abstention from pork, together with circumcision, have even become to a certain extent the criteria of Islam. The exaggerated estimation of the two precepts finds no support in the law, for here they are on the same level with numerous other precepts, to which the mass attaches less importance" (*De Islam*, Baarn 1912, 30; *Verspr. Geschriften*, i, 402; cf. iv/1, 377). In Java circumcision is generally considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam and therefore sometimes called *njelamakéselam* ("rendering Muslim"). Apart from this term many other words denoting circumcision are used on Java (*op. cit.*, iv/1, 205-6). In Atcheh circumcision of infidels only is considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 398).

The importance attached to circumcision appears also from the tradition according to which Muḥammad was born circumcised (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 64). In North Africa a child born with a short foreskin is considered as a blessing (Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, 353).

At Mecca, where the rite is called *ṭahār*, children are circumcised at an age of 3-7 years, girls without festivities, boys with great pomp. On the day preceding that on which the rite will be performed, the boy, who is clad in heavy, costly garments, is paraded through the streets on horseback, several footmen walking on both sides in order to prevent him from falling and to refresh him by means of a perfumed handkerchief. He is preceded by men with drums and *duff*s who accompany the *dhikr*s sung by others. Nearest to the boy goes an elderly black handmaid of his father's, bearing on her head a brazier burning with charcoal, resin and salt. The second part of the procession is formed by the boy's poorer comrades, equally on horseback. The procession passes through the main streets during the time of *ʿaṣr* and comes back to its starting-point a little before sunset. The female members of the family pass the evening with their friends; the party is enlivened by female singers.

Next morning, at sunrise, the barber performs the operation. The foreskin is pressed together by means of a thong, the boy lying on his back, while his mother tries to divert his attention by sweets. A plaster is applied to the wound which usually is healed in a week. The operation is followed by a breakfast for the nearest relatives. It is to be observed that

Ḥaḍramīs who still cling to their native customs, circumcise their children on the 40th day after birth (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141 ff.).

In Egypt, boys are circumcised at the age of about five or six years. Before the operation the boy is paraded through the streets. Often the train is combined with a bridal procession in order to lessen expenses; in this case the boy and his attendants lead the procession. He is dressed as a girl, in a gorgeous manner. The kerchief is used to cover a part of his face in order to avert the evil eye. As in Mecca he is preceded by musicians. The foremost person of the procession is usually the servant of the barber (who performs the operation), who bears his *ḥaml*, a case of wood of a semi-cylindrical form, with four short legs; its front is covered with pieces of looking-glass and brass, and its back with a curtain. It is to be noted that the Copts also circumcise their boys (Lane, *Manners* and *customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. on Infancy and Education).

D'Ohsson in his *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 231 ff., describes circumcision as practised in Turkey under the heading "Circoncision, *sunneth*", a designation which is also reflected in the word *sunnetdji* for the barber who performs the operation. It takes or took place in the presence of the *imām* of a mosque who accompanies the ceremony with prayers for the preservation of the child, who is usually 7 years old when he is circumcised. Plate 20 of d'Ohsson's work shows children dressed for the ceremony, and plate 21 adorned victims which are slaughtered at this occasion. Parties for relatives, friends and poor people as well as the procession are also mentioned.

The circumcision of the imperial princes used to give occasion to the displaying of great pomp. Long before the appointed day intimation was sent to the high dignitaries of the empire, sometimes even to the other courts of Europe. D'Ohsson gives a translation of Mūrād's III letter of invitation to the dignitaries on the occasion of the circumcision of the crown-prince.

In North Africa children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and 13 years, by the barber who makes use of a knife or a pair of scissors. According to Dan, as cited by Doutté, *Merrâkech*, 351, at Algiers a stone knife was used for the operation. It reminds us of Joshua v. 2 ff. where it is said that the Israelites at their entering the Holy Land were circumcised by means of stone swords or knives; some populations of the Dutch Indies also use a stone knife for the operation (Wilken, 212). In North Africa as well as in Egypt often several boys are circumcised together, the father of the richest bearing the expenses of the ceremony. A. Janssen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 363-4) has observed that the Bedouins organise collective circumcisions every two years, as an economy measure; hence the children's ages vary considerably (see also al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Amman 1973-4, ii, 232, s.v. *ṭ-h-r*). It should be noted here that in most Arabic dialects, the term for circumcision and its accompanying rites is taken from the root *ṭ-h-r*, implying the idea of purity; this practice is therefore popularly felt as a purificatory rite.

On Java, circumcision of boys is often combined with the *khatm-* or *kataman*-ceremony. On the different designations of circumcision used in this part of the Archipelago, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 206. The age at which boys are circumcised varies in the different parts of Java; among the conservative populations it is higher (14-15 years) than in circles which are in closer touch with Muslim law (10 years or younger). Before the preparations begin, the boy is taken to the tomb of his father or ancestors, where flowers and incense are offered and prayer is performed. Then a portico (*tarup*) is made before the house or *pendopo*, and a small room (*kobongan*) is prepared where the operation is to take place. In or before this room several objects and dishes are placed which have a symbolical or ritual meaning. These preparations are concluded by a religious meal at which several dishes are offered to several categories of awe-inspiring beings. Festivities such as *wayang*, *tayuban*, *djagongan* precede or follow the ceremony. The *djagongan* always takes place in the preceding night and follows upon *kataman*, the recitation of some chapters of the Ḳurʾān by the boy. On the day preceding circumcision, a procession is held in which the boys are either conducted by their relatives, or are placed in a kind of cars which have the forms of *naga*s or other animals. They wear the bridegoom's dress, and are hung with gold and diamond ornaments, the visible parts of the body being besmeared with *borèh*. It occurs also that the boy wears the *ḥādjdjī*'s dress. Just as in North Africa, poor parents have their sons circumcised together with those of well-to-do people, who bear the expenses.

The boy has to keep quiet for some days before and after the operation and to abstain from hot dishes as well as to beware of any action which is considered to be unlucky in this time. Before the operation he is bathed with the recitation of a great many prayers and formulas. Then he is placed on the lap of an elderly person, usually a *santri* who has many children, a circumstance which is expected to exercise a wholesome influence on the boy's marriage. For further details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 205 ff.

In Atcheh, boys are usually circumcised by the *mudêm* (probably = *muʾadhdhin*) at the age of 9 or 10 years, immediately after finishing their Ḳurʾān study. The operation (for details see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 399-400) consists in a complete circumcision; in some parts of Java it is rather an incision. The boy here also has to diet himself. In Atcheh the ceremony is not usually accompanied by festivities. But in many cases the latter take place in consequence of vows connected with circumcision. The father of the boy vows, e.g., to arrange a *Rapaʾi*-performance or to visit a sacred tomb. In this case the boy, dressed as a bridegroom, is conducted to the tomb, sometimes on horseback, where his head is washed and a religious meal given.

Circumcision is a rite practised by many peoples, primitive peoples of the present time as well as those mentioned in ancient literatures, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Israelites, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites (see Jeremiah, ix, 25).

In the Indonesian Archipelago it was already practised before the rise of Islām in that part of the world (cf. G. A. Wilken, *De besnijdenis bij de volken van den indischen Archipel*, in *BTLV*, Ser. iv, vol. x, 166, 180-1 = *Verspreide Geschriften van G. A. Wilken*, iv, 206, 220). The facts mentioned above may be arranged in certain groups.

a. Among many peoples females as well as males are circumcised. We must consequently start from the view that the rite was not originally applied to one of these classes to the exclusion of the other.

b. The rite is sometimes repeated (Wilken, *op. cit.*, 207). In the Muslim world we have the in-

stance of Malayans who in their country were not circumcised in the way prescribed by religious law and who submit to the operation a second time when arriving at Djidda for the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 312).

c. Children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and the 15th year. It is consequently a rite which may take place in any period of childhood and which is often indeed combined with other rites peculiar to childhood such as the first cutting of the hair (*ʿaḳīḳa*, cf. Doutté, *Merrâkech*, 351), the filing of teeth, the conclusion of the study of the Ḳurʾān. As we have seen above, there are linguistic features pointing to a relation between circumcision and marriage. These features, valuable as matter-of-fact evidence, are supplemented by reports of travellors. In Central Arabia, it is said (e.g. Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 213), there are tribes among which the operation is applied to adult young men, in a painful and dangerous way; the bride of the patient stands opposite him during the operation; if he utters a cry of pain the projected marriage is abandoned (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141). In spite of doubts about the authenticity of such information, the relation between circumcision and marriage appears also from the Javanese custom of placing the boy who is operated, on the lap of a *santri* who has many children (see above and Wilken, *op. cit.*, 225).

d. Another group of characteristics is evidence of a relation between circumcision and the transition into a tribal or religious community, e.g.: the boy's being conducted to the tomb of his father or of one of his ancestors (see above); the circumcision of several boys at one time (cf. also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 220); the value attached to circumcision as the ceremony of reception into the Muslim community; cf. the Old Testament designation of circumcision as the "token of the covenant" (Genesis xvii; see also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 227).

e. Many accessory rites express the intention to avert danger: the boy's being dressed as a girl, the use of the handkerchief, the burning of charcoal and salt; the drums and *duff*s; the recitation of *dhikrs* and prayers; possibly the displaying of charity and the slaughtering of victims may also be viewed in this light.

Ethnologists put forward various interpretations for the phenomenon of circumcision: as a surgical operation meant to prevent phimosy and to help fecundity; as a religious rite connected with fertility or reception into the community; and as a rite of passage. The viewpoint expressed by Van Gennep in his *Rites de passage*, Paris 1909, seems to account for many of the features of circumcision mentioned above. It accounts for the fact that children are submitted to the operation at ages varying between the seventh day after birth and the beginning of the manly age or the time of marriage; that females as well as males are circumcised; that the rite is sometimes repeated; that it shows a deeply-rooted connection with marriage; that it is considered as the act of reception into a religious community; that it is sometimes preceded by a bath; that processions take place, which show a striking similarity with bridal processions; and so on.

Bibliography: As well as references given in the article, see in particular *IBLA* (1947), 273-86, (1953), 64-7; H. Massé, *Notes d'ethnographie persane*, in *Revue d'ethn. et des traditions populaires*, viii (1927), 24-39; idem, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 51-3. There is a general bibliography on the topic in C. M. Kieffer, *A propos de la circoncision à Caboul et dans le Logar*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 191 ff.

(A. J. Wensinck)

KHIṬAṬ (A.), pl. of *khiṭṭa*, the various quarters of the newly-founded early Islamic towns which the Arab-Islamic chiefs laid out (root *kh.ṭ.ṭ*) for the population groups which they attracted thither or for their respective leaders. Historical-administrative concerns led fairly quickly to the appearance of a literary genre which consisted of a description of the historical topography of these *khiṭaṭ*. This happened in regards to Baghdād, and one finds chapters of this nature in the "geographical" works of Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, and also in the introduction to the biographical history of the city by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. However, the genre developed most of all in Egypt, aided by its strong particularist feeling. It is already discernible for al-Fusṭāṭ in two chapters of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, and is expanded in the History of the *Ḳāḍīs* of Egypt and in a separate opusculum, now lost, of al-Kindī and also, a generation later, in another lost opusculum by Ibn Zūlāḳ. The foundation of Cairo caused an expansion of these studies, as is apparently already discernible with Ibn Zūlāḳ's work and with a treatise from the mid-Fāṭimid period, now lost, by al-Ḳuḍāʿī. An apparently much more important work was written two centuries later by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the biographer of Baybars, Ḳalāwūn, and al-Ashraf. All this literature culminated in the monumental work, the only one of its kind preserved for us (apart from the citations from the earlier works included within it), of al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār fī khiṭaṭ Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*. In fact, the contents are arranged not according to quarters but by categories of buildings, at the same time comprising a description and history of everything connected with them. The title of Maḳrīzī's book was utilised later, because of its fame, in the survey conducted in the same spirit but adapted to modern Egypt, by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, and in a more flexible form, in the geographical-historical description of the whole of Syria by Kurd ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, index; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*², esp. 254 and n. 4.

(Cl. Cahen)

KHITĀY [see al-ṣīn].

KHIṬBA (A.), "demand in marriage", whence "betrothal", i.e. the mutual promise of marriage which in certain legal systems can form the first stage of marriage proper (cf. the *sponsalia* of ancient Roman law). But is this promise considered as entailing an obligation in Islamic law? In other words, does betrothal give rise to legal consequences?

According to Muslim authorities, the *khiṭba* does not involve a contract. It is true that it involves an offer and an acceptance, but before the acceptance is made, it is merely a demand in marriage and does not form a legal act.

The Mālikīs, apparently uniquely, give more importance to the betrothal than the Ḥanafīs or even the Ḥanbalīs, but the principle remains that the act of betrothal does not involve a legal obligation. However, betrothal can only take place when there are no nullifying factors present which would prevent a valid marriage; every impediment to marriage is an impediment to betrothal. The parties to a *khiṭba* are on the one hand, the man making the demand in marriage, and on the other, the woman, who may be represented by her *walī* [see nikāḥ]. Yet if betrothal does not in principle involve any legal obli-

gation and is not a legal act, certain effects nevertheless follows from it:

1. The right of seeing the woman. Certain authorities state that the fiancé has this right, even if looking at her is accompanied by sexual desire. Ibn Rushd specifies that this right should be limited to seeing the face and hands only (*Bidāya*, ii, 3); others extend the right, but they never go so far as to admit the possibility of the couple being left alone (*khalwa*), which is the right to be alone with each other away from all indiscreet looks.

2. The right of priority. Betrothal gives the fiancé a right of priority, in that once a woman is betrothed to a man, that woman cannot be sought in marriage by another man; but this right is only sanctioned by the Mālikīs.

Dissolving of a betrothal. Either of the two parties can end the state of betrothal unilaterally. The only problem is that of disposal of presents which have been exchanged, and which are subject to the rules of donation. However, in various Islamic countries, part of the dowry is paid over at the time of betrothal, and this must in all cases be given back. Finally, there remains one problem: can one award damages to the victim of an unjustifiable breaking-off of betrothal? Although certain modern Islamic authorities are endeavouring to introduce an obligation to pay an indemnity for damages in the case of an ill-founded breaking-off, the action for damages is not an absolute right. Even so, many Islamic countries have been compelled to adopt the solutions of western law, since on the plane of practical law, betrothal is of no legal concern except in case of its being dissolved.

Bibliography: Ch. Chehata, *Études de droit musulman*, Paris 1971, 75; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 2; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, vi, 536; and see NIKĀḤ. (A. M. DELCAMBRE)

KHIṬṬA ("piece of land marked out for building upon"), a term used of the lands allotted to tribal groups and individuals in the garrison cities founded by the Arabs at the time of the conquests. The lay-out of these cities everywhere followed the kinship organisation of the conquerors, who were distributed in tribal quarters around a centre housing the Friday mosque and the *dār al-imāra*. The smallest unit of the *khiṭaṭ* was the *dār*, in the case of prominent individuals often a sizable estate (usually known as *ḳaṭīʿa*), otherwise a modest plot of land occupied by one or several families. Next came the quarter based on the smallest political unit of the tribe (what is often known as the *ʿashīra* in Arabic sources, "clan" or "subtribe" in modern literature); these quarters usually had their own mosque, and how small the unit in question tended to be is indicated by the fact that the tribe Kinda, which was strongly represented in Fusṭāṭ, Damascus and Ḥimṣ in addition to Kūfa, had at least twelve such mosques in the latter city. Finally, there was a larger quarter reflecting the tribe proper, often endowed with its own *djabbāna*, a piece of unbuilt land serving, *inter alia*, as a meeting place and a cemetery. In Syria, where the Arabs settled in existing cities, the tribal quarters were less self-contained and possessed neither mosques nor *djabbānas* of their own.

The *khiṭaṭ* served as military and administrative units from the start, but their small size was impractical and amalgamation of the tribal groups began already with the foundation of Kūfa, which was divided into sevenths, to be continued under Muʿāwiya when Baṣra was divided into fifths, and other settlements into quarters. Every such new division was placed under an officially appointed leader, the *raʾs al-rubʿ* or *raʾs al-khums*, who was selected from among the chiefs of the larger tribal groups represented in the division, and who was responsible for the command of the division in war and the maintenance of law and order within it in peacetime. The lesser groups continued to serve as military and administrative subdivisions under their own leaders. The entire range of tribal chiefs (the *ashrāf* of the Umayyad period) served as the link between government and subjects in the Sufyānid system of indirect rule, *ashrāf* and governor coming together in the latter's *madjlis* where information, orders and requests were exchanged, accompanied by a traditional display of generosity. The *raʾs al-rubʿ* / *raʾs al-khums* in turn passed on information, orders and gifts in his own *madjlis*, and the process was repeated in the *madjālis* of the lesser chiefs until we reach the smallest political unit reflected in the *khiṭaṭ*.

The erosion of the tribal ties in the Marwānid period rendered the system obsolete; the *ashrāf* disappeared from the political scene, while the *khiṭaṭ* survived only as place-names. The larger quarters and fifths, on the other hand, persisted until the end of the Umayyad period, physically as military divisions, now housing regiments rather than tribal groups, and morally as categories for the definition of factional loyalties. When the ʿAbbāsids came to power these too disappeared, and the allotments in Baghdād (known as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* rather than *khiṭaṭ*) were made on the basis of geographical provenance, not tribal affiliation.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 2488-95, and *passim*; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 275 ff., 366 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 309, 311; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel, Leiden 1966, ii, *Register*, *passim*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 91 ff.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1371/1951 ff., i, 262, ii, 95 (tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, Damascus 1959, 175) and *passim*; the battle orders in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1967, 222, and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿA. M. Hārūn, Cairo 1365, 232-4, both reflect the Syrian *arbāʿ*; L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kufa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo 1934-40; idem, *Explication du plan de Basra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954; S. al-Dīwahdjī, *Khiṭaṭ Mawṣil*, in *Sumer*, vii (1951); Ṣ. ʿA. al-ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, in *Sumer*, viii (1952); idem, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya waʾl-iḳtiṣādiyya fiʾl-Baṣra*, Baghdād 1953; idem, *The foundation of Baghdad*, in A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern ed., *The Islamic city*, Oxford 1970. (P. CRONE)

KHĪWA, on the western bank of the Amu Daryā, site of the last capital of the khānate of Khwārazm, subsequently called the khānate of Khīwa. Its origins are bound up in the history of Khwārazm [*q.v.*].

Khīwa was the third capital, after Gurgāndj (385-515/995-1221) and Kāth [*q.vv.*]; the latter was the capital during the 8th/14th century, in which period, with Khīwa, it was governed by the Čaghatay, and Gurgāndj (subsequently called Urgenč) by the Golden Horde. After the restoration of unity (under the rule of the Shaybanids) in the 9th/15th century, the capital was again established at Urgenč, but neither this dynasty, nor the Djuči branch of the Özbeg dynasty that succeeded it, was in a position to restore stability in the region; brigandage increased, and the closure of the commercial routes which crossed the land hastened, at the same time, its economic decline and its relative isolation.

During the second half of the reign of ʿArab Muḥammad (1013-32/1603-23), which perhaps coincided with the drying up of the left branch of the Amū Daryā, the capital was transferred to Khīwa, and it was then that the khānate of Khʷārazm began to be called the khānate of Khīwa. Little is known of the early history of this town; archaeological remains enable us to date its foundation between the 6th and 8th centuries of the Christian era; it is mentioned by the Arab geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī in the 4th/10th century. The inhabitants of Khīwa were distinguished from the other Khʷārazmians by the fact that they were Shāfiʿīs rather than Ḥanafīs.

The khānate was composed of various feudal districts (*begliks*) somewhat loosely linked together, and their chiefs (*ḥākim*) recognised the sovereignty of the *khān* of Khīwa. The degree of unity of the khānate depended on the personal power of the *khān*; it is relevant, in this regard, to make special mention of ʿAbd al-Ghāzī Bahādūr Khān (1054-73/1643-63) whose *History of Khīwa* has survived and is available to us. After the conquest of Mashhad by Anūsha, at the end of the 11th/17th century, the sovereigns of Khīwa took the title of *shāh*.

The dynasty of the Özbegs was followed by that of the Čingizids, which occupied the throne of Khīwa until 1804, but real power was concentrated in the hands of the *Inaḳ* (tribal chief) of the tribe of the Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*]. The 18th century saw an acceleration in the process of disintegration, when to the effects of internal strife there were added the fruitless attempts at conquest made by Peter the Great in 1717, and by Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740, while invasions by nomads and attacks from the Turcoman Yomuts were particularly violent between 1153 and 1184/1740-70; however, in 1184/1770, the *Inaḳ* Muḥammad Amīn defeated the Turcomans, restored relative prosperity to the region and undertook the construction of a new city on the foundations of the old. In the course of this reconstruction, which lasted seventy years, a number of remarkable architectural monuments were erected, including the palace of Tashkaul (1832), the mausoleum of Pakhmavan Shakhtuda (1835) and the *madrasa* of Allāh Ḳulī Khān (1835), which are still standing today

Under the *Inaḳ* Iltüzer, who became the first Ḳungrāt *shāh* in 1804, the khānate attained its greatest territorial extent of the modern period, stretching from the mouth of the Sīr Daryā on the Aral Sea as far as Ḳalʿa-i Mawr on the Kushk; this sovereign frustrated an attempt by Bukhārā at annexing the oasis of Merv, and he improved his relations with the Turcomans who became the first line of defence of the khānate. His successor, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, who was the most powerful *khān* of the 19th century, made a number of successful forays into the territory of the Ḳazaḳs, subdued the Ḳarā Ḳalpaḳs and ravaged Khurāsān.

Although it had repelled an attack by the Russians in 1839-40, Khīwa was forced to accept their economic and diplomatic demands, which had the result of reinforcing the Russian presence which was already showing itself in Central Asia. The conflict which broke out with Bukhārā and the Turcomans further enfeebled the already divided State, and in 1873 the Russians were able to take possession of the entire territory without striking a single blow. The peace treaty gave them the right bank of the Amū Daryā and made the *khān* of Khīwa a vassal of the Tsar.

The Turcomans continued their struggle against the Khānate and in 1918, the *khān* Isfandiyār (1910-18) was assassinated at the instigation of Djunayd Khān, the Turcoman chieftain, who reduced the new sovereign, Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh (1918-20) to the status of a puppet. After an initial failure in 1918, the Soviets waited until 1920 before putting an end to the khānate of Khīwa and on the 26 April 1920, the People's Republic of Khʷārazm was proclaimed, with a government of young Khīwans. On 5 September 1921, this was replaced by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Khʷārazm, controlled by the Bolsheviks, and in November 1924, it became the *oblast'* of Khʷārazm in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, with Khīwa as provincial capital (*rayon*); between 1918 and 1924, there was a considerable movement of resistance to the Soviets, led by Djunayd and supported by the deposed *khān*.

The Soviets did nothing to assist the development of the town. Although it is a centre for cotton-growing and has brickworks, dairies and a carpet-weaving industry, modern Khīwa no longer plays a vital role in the economic or political life of the Uzbek S.S.R.

Bibliography: see that for KHʷĀRAZM.

(W. BARTHOLD - [M. L. BRILL])

KHIYĀBĀNĪ, SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD (1879-1920), Persian religious scholar and political leader. Born in Khāmna, Ādharbāydjān, the son of a merchant, Khiyābānī received his early education there and then moved to Dāghistān in the Caucasus, where his father lived. After returning to Tabrīz, he studied *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, and Ptolemaic astronomy, and soon became a *mudjtahid* leading public prayers in two central mosques. Responding to the Iranian constitutionalists, Khiyābānī joined the Social Democratic Party and also became a leading member of the Ādharbāydjān Provincial Council which played a decisive role in the deposition of the anti-constitutionalist Shāh Muḥammad ʿAlī (1907-9). Khiyābānī was then elected to the second Parliament, where he rejected the 1911 Russian ultimatum and condemned the Persian government which, on the British recommendation, was willing to compromise. The Parliament rejected the ultimatum but the Regent, Nāṣir al-Mulk, dissolved Parliament and accepted the ultimatum, leading Khiyābānī to denounce this action in a long speech before the people of Tehran. He then fled to Russia, and later on returned to Tabrīz secretly. After the two Anglo-Russian treaties (1907 and 1915) there remained little room for the existence of Khiyābānī and his party. Suddenly, however, the 1917 Russian Revolution broke out and the Soviets withdrew the claims the Tsars had made against Iran. At this point, Khiyābānī and his friends re-established the Democratic Party and founded *Tadjaddud*, a newspaper which published Khīyābānī's speeches and articles. Among Khiyābānī's targets of attack were the British South Persia Rifles and the existing Persian régime as being submissive to foreigners. Before the end of the War, Ottoman troops invaded Tabrīz, arrested Khiyābānī, and imprisoned him in Riḍāʾiyya, but after the War he returned to Tabrīz. In 1919 the British signed an agreement with the Wuthūḳ al-Dawla which gave them control of the Iranian army, finances, and customs. Under the influence of Khiyābānī and others, the treaty was not passed in Parliament. The Wuthūḳ al-Dawla then suppressed Khiyābānī's party and resigned. Khiyābānī rose against the government (now in the hands of Mushīr al-Dawla) and in April 1920 he declared his province Āzādistān ("home of freedom"). Mushīr al-Dawla appointed Mukhbir al-Salṭana (Mahdī Ḳulī Hidāyat) governor of Ādharbāydjān, and the latter put an end both to the six-month old movement and to Khiyābānī's life.

Khiyābānī has been described as a rebel, and his movement as a separatist one. Khiyābānī's attachment to the Soviets has also been a matter of controversy. However, he has been widely recognised as a national hero, whose murder was lamented by poets such as Bahār, ʿĀrif, Ṣafwat, and Āgāh.

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(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

KHIYĀLA [see KHAYL].

KHIYĀR (A.), a legal term meaning the option or right of withdrawal, i.e. the right for the parties involved to terminate the legal act unilaterally. This option is always included in the legal act, and in this case, the act does not irrevocably bind its authors. The word *khiyār* implies a choice on the part of the holder of the right of option, who may either confirm the act or render it void; the legal act containing an option is not void in origin, but its validity is nevertheless precarious and subject to confirmation. The act giving rise to an option corresponds in western law to an act liable to a suspensory or resolutory condition, according to the nature of the option.

Options (*khiyārāt*) may be either conventionary or legal in nature.

1. Conventionary options. Included amongst these, there is first of all the conditional option, *khiyār al-sharṭ*, which is extremely important. This is the clause by means of which, in certain legal acts (in particular, contracts), one of the parties, or both of them, reserves the right to annul or to confirm, within a specified time, the legal act which they have just drawn up. This clause is undeniably equivalent to a purely potestative suspensory condition. The decision of the one confirming or rejecting the act does not have to be justified. The lawyers of the four schools adopted this institution without difficulty. The other conventionary option is the one called by the jurists that of designation (*khiyār al-taʿyīn*). It can only be inserted into alternative obligations, and allows the one making the stipulation to make his final choice between the different objects of one and the same obligation. Thus there are only two conventionary options, one common to all four schools and the other peculiar to the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs.

2. Legal options. On the other hand, legal options, in which the law automatically grants the options without the parties having to stipulate them, are very numerous. Some Muslim authors number them at seventeen. Fraud, injury, hidden defects, eviction, and many other deeds, are only to be sanctioned in Islamic law by means of option. In the *fiḳh* treatises, only a brief allusion is made to legal options, apart from the option in the case of a latent defect making the agreement void (*khiyār al-ʿayb* or *khiyār al-naḳiṣa*). The option of sight (*khiyār al-ruʾya*) presents a problem. It is rejected by the Shāfiʿīs, and there exists concerning it as many different doctrines as schools of legal opinion; see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 154. Some countries have introduced the principle of the option of sight into their new civil codes: Egypt (art. 419), ʿIrāḳ (arts. 517-23), Syria (art. 389) and Libya (art. 408). *Khiyār* is also to be found in Imāmī law (Persian civil code arts. 396-457). In the *fiḳh* treatises, there is no systematic exposition of the idea of option, although certain modern jurisconsults have tried to remedy this.

It should finally be noted that the system of options is not peculiar to patrimonial law. There exist also options in family law, e.g. in the case of incompatible marriages, or when a minor still below the age of puberty has been married by a *walī* other than her own father or grandfather; when the minor reaches his majority, he can choose between maintaining the marriage in being or dissolving it.

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(A. M. Delcambre)

KHIYĀR (in theology) [see IKHTIYĀR].

KHIZĀNA [see MAKTABA]

KHIZĀNE-I ʿĀMIRE [see KHAZĪNE].

KHLOṬ [see KHULṬ].

KHŌDJA in the strict sense is the name of an Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and some Sunnīs and Twelver Shīʿīs split off the Ismāʿīlī community. In a looser sense the name is commonly used to refer to the Indian Nizārīs in general including some minor communities like the Shamsīs in the area of Multān and some Mōmnas in northern Gudjarāt. The history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism on the Indian subcontinent, especially in the early centuries, is largely obscure because of a lack of reliable sources. The Khōdja religious literature [see SATPANTH] contains some highly legendary accounts of the activity of Nizārī *dāʿīs*, mostly unreliable chronological data, and bare lists and genealogies of the *pīrs* and their descendants. On the basis of this material a few comprehensive historical accounts have been written since the 19th century by Khōdjas and members of the related Imām-Shāhī community.

It is unknown if any of the Ismāʿīlī communities existing in India before the split into the Nizārī and Mustaʿlawī branches in 487/1094 subsequently joined

the Nizārīs. Khōdja tradition makes one Satgur Nūr, also called Nūr al-Dīn, the first *dāʿī* who, coming from Daylamān, was active in Pāṭan, Gudjarāt. Dates ascribed to his activity vary widely. According to one version he was sent by the *imām* al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1036-94) in order to preach for his son Nizār; according to another, by the *imām* al-Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi ʾl-salām (557-61/1162-6). He is alleged to have converted the Hindu king Siddharādja Djaysimha (d. *ca.* 1143). Yet his place in the lists of *pīrs* would seem to put him in the first two centuries of Islam, and he is even identified with the *imām* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. His shrine at Nawsarī appears to date from about the end of the 18th century. His historicity has been doubted. Evidence for the presence of Nizārīs in Gudjarāt in the first half of the 7th/13th century is too vague to be trusted. Most early Nizārī activity rather appears to have been centred on Sind.

The beginnings of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Sind are connected by tradition with the *pīr* Shams al-Dīn, though the previous *pīr*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who is also called the father of Shams al-Dīn, is mentioned to have already been sent from Alamūt to India. Legend, on the other hand, identifies Shams al-Dīn variously with Shams-i Tabrīzī, the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, or with the first post-Alamūt *imām* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who, it is alleged, turned the imāmate over to his son Ḳāsim-Shāh in order to come to India. While most of the religious poetry ascribed to him names Ḳāsim-Shah as the contemporary *imām* and thus would place him around the turn of the 7th/13th century, several dates mentioned in the poetry for his activity are in the first half of the 6th/12th century. A legendary account of his meeting with the Ṣūfī saint Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ of Multān (d. 665/1266) appears to be without historical foundation. His lifetime thus cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. He is described as having been active in Multān and Uččh in Sind and his shrine is located in Multān. The community of the Shamsīs claims to have been converted by him to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. They live in Multān, Rāwalpindi and elsewhere in Pandjāb and are mostly goldsmiths.

The next two *pīrs* on the traditional lists, Naṣīr al-Dīn and Shihāb (also Ṣāḥib) al-Dīn, are said to be the son and grandson of Shams al-Dīn. It is likely, however, that some minor figures were omitted. There is no information on their activity except that they worked clandestinely. Shihāb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-Dīn who is credited with the conversion of the Khōdjās from the Lohanas, a Hindu caste. He is also said to have given them the name Khōdja, derived from the Persian *khwādja*, master, which corresponds to the Hindu term *thakur* used in addressing Lohanas and Khōdjās, as the Lohanas are considered Kshatriyas. Death dates given for him range from 770/1369 to 819/1416. The latter date seems more reasonable. Ṣadr al-Dīn, according to tradition, also laid the foundation for the communal organisation of the Khōdjas by building the first three *djamāʿat-khānas* (assembly and prayer halls) and appointing their *mukhis* (leaders). The centre of his activity was Uččh and his shrine is not far from it near Djetur.

Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded as *pīr* by his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of whom a short vita was included by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642) in his hagiographical work *Akhbār al-akhyār*. His appearance in a list of *shaykhs* of the Suhrawardī order reflects the close links of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism with organised Ṣūfism throughout this period. According to the *Akhbār al-akhyār* he traveled widely before settling down in Uččh and converted many Hindus. The death dates mentioned for him range from 853/1449 to 895/1490. Most accurate are probably those giving 875/1470 or 876/1471. His shrine is outside Uččh. As Kabīr al-Dīn's successor, his brother Tādj al-Dīn was appointed by the *imām*. He was opposed by some of the numerous sons of Kabīr al-Dīn who were also quarreling among themselves. After Tādj al-Dīn's return from a visit to the *imām*, they accused him of embezzling the tithes for the *imām* and he is said either to have died of the shock or to have committed suicide, probably not very long after his brother's death. His grave is in Jhun in Sind. After his death Imām Shāh [*q.v.*], son of Kabīr al-Dīn, vainly tried to gain the allegiance of the Khōdjas in Sind. After a visit to the *imām* in Persia he settled in Gudjarāt, where he succeeded in converting numerous Hindus, mostly of peasant communities. Legend maintains that he converted Maḥmūd Begṛā, sultan of Gudjarāt, who gave his daughter in marriage to Imām Shāh's son Nar Muḥammad. Imām Shāh died in 919/1513 in Pīrāna, a town founded by him, where his shrine is located. Although he is not recognised as a *pīr* by Khōdja tradition and according to some accounts seceded from the Ismāʿīlī community, it appears more likely that the schism occured only under his son and successor Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad Shāh. The latter at an unknown date demanded that the *imām*'s tithe should no longer be sent to Persia but be turned over to himself, claiming that his father Imām Shāh had been the *imām* and that he was his successor. The majority of his followers accepted his orders and came to form the separate Imām-Shāhī community while a minority remained faithful to the Ismāʿīlī *imāms*.

The Khōdja lists of *pīrs* name after the *pīr* Tādj al-Dīn the *Pandiyāt-i jawānmardī*, a book of religious admonitions attributed to *imām* al-Mustanṣir II, in place of a person. According to tradition, the *imām* decided in view of the dissension in the *pīr*'s family after Tādj al-Dīn's death not to appoint any *pīr*, but instead to send the book as guidance for the faithful. There is, however, reason to assume that the book reached India only around the middle of the 10th/16th century, probably after the Imām-Shāhī secession. It may have been sent at that time with a view to easing the leadership crisis resulting from the schism. Only one *pīr* mentioned in some of the lists after the book was active in India, sc. *pīr* Dādū. He is said to have been sent by the *imām* from Persia to Sind with the mission of stopping the conversion of Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnism. He was forced to leave and settled first with some followers from Sind in Navanagar (Djamnagar) in Gudjarāt. In 1584 he moved to Bhudj where he died in 1593. An important role in reorganising the community and the prayer is ascribed to him.

After the end of the line of *pīrs* the *imāms* came to be represented at the local level in India by *wakīls* and *bāwās*. This development evidently reflects an attempt of the *imāms* to gain more direct control over the Indian communities. However, some local families of *sayyids*, i.e. descendants of the *pīr* Kabīr al-Dīn, retained much influence. Most important among these were the Kadiwala *sayyids* of Sind. Their ancestor, Sayyid Fāḍil Shāh, was active in Kaḍi around the middle of the 17th century. In Sind the family resided in Rali and after 1780 in Tando Muḥammad Khān. Shrines of early members of the family are located near these two places. Other members are known as authors of extant gnans. Two sons of Fāḍil Shāh, *pīr* Mashāyikh and Ḥasan *pīr*, played a

major role among the Mōmnas in northern Gudjarāt. Mashāyikh (d. 1108/1697 in Aḥmadābād) actively endeavoured to suppress Hindu practices in the community and cut his allegiance to the Ismāʿīlī *imāms*. His extant works espouse strictly Islamic practices and reflect Sunnī and Ithnā ʿAsharī tendencies. He is said to have cooperated with Awrangzīb in his wars against the Shīʿī rulers of Bīdjāpūr. His followers later quarreled whether he was a Sunnī or a Shīʿī. His brother Ḥasan remained loyal to Ismāʿīlism and became the saint of the Nizārī Mōmnas. In addition to his mausoleum in Thanapipli near Djūnāgaṛh, Khōdjas and Nizārī Mōmnas in 1717 built a shrine in his honour in Ganod in Gudjarāt.

The Khōdjas were active in the commerce between India and East Africa at least since the 17th century, and in the 19th century, especially after the ʿUmānī sultan Sayyid Saʿīd transferred his capital to Zanzibar in 1840, they came to settle in large numbers on the island and later in mainland East Africa. The coming of the Agha Khān [*q.v.*] Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh to India in 1840 led to an aggravation of earlier conflicts in the Khōdja community about the rights of the *imām*. In 1866 the judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould in a law suit brought against the Agha Khān by excommunicated members of the Bārbhai party fully upheld his rights and authority, and the dissidents definitely separated from the community as Sunnī Khōdjas. Later dissidents seceding in 1877 and 1901, formed Ithnā ʿAsharī Khōdja communities in Bombay and East Africa.

For Khōdja religious doctrine, see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA and SATPANTH.

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(W. MADELUNG)

KHŌDJA EFENDI, SAʿD AL-DĪN B. ḤASAN DJĀN B. ḤĀFIẒ MUḤAMMAD IṢFAHĀNĪ (1536-99), a famous Ottoman shaykhül-Islām, statesman, and historian.

Life. He was born in 943/1536-7 in Istanbul, and died there on 12 Rabīʿ I 1008/2 October 1599. His grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selīm I after the battle of Čāldirān, had served Selīm I as *ḥāfiẓ*, and his father Ḥasan Djān had been an intimate courtier to the same sultan. Saʿd al-Dīn studied under prominent scholars, entered the *ʿulamāʾ* career and became assistant (*mülāzim*) to the *mufti* Ebu 'l-Suʿūd [see ABU 'L-SUʿŪD] at the early age of twenty (963/1555-6). Soon after, he was appointed, with a salary of 30 aspers, to the Murād Pasha *madrasa* in Istanbul. In Shawwāl 971/May-June 1564 he was appointed, "with forty", to the *madrasa* of Yīldīrīm Khān in Bursa, and one year later was promoted to the *khāridj* rank. After another promotion in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 977/May 1570 he rose, in Ramaḍān 979/January-February 1572, to the rank of professor at one of the eight courtyards (*ṣaḥn*) attached to the Fātiḥ Mosque in Istanbul. When the preceptor (*khōdja*) of Prince Murād died, Saʿd al-Dīn was appointed in his place (Muḥarram 981/May 1573) and sent to Manisa. This was the beginning of a long period of prosperity and influence for Saʿd al-Dīn, who was henceforth known as Khōdja or Khōdja Efendi. When his pupil became sultan as Murād III, he followed him to Istanbul as *khōdja-i sulṭānī* (8 Ramaḍān 982/22 December 1574). As the sultan's trusted adviser, he soon became influential in politics, even in foreign affairs such as the establishment of relations with England. When Meḥemmed III succeeded to the throne in 1595, it was to Saʿd al-Dīn that he was expressly referred to for advice, the decree saying that "consultation (*meshweret*) should be held with Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn in all matters of appointing viziers and religious officials". Although Saʿd al-Dīn, in Murād III's special *medjlis-i meshweret*, had strongly advised against the "Long War" with Austria begun in 1593, it was he who backed up the wavering sultan Meḥemmed III, especially in the Eğri (Erlau) campaign. In the great *meshweret* on 20 October 1596 it was Saʿd al-Dīn who with his courage carried all with him, prevailing on the timid sultan to stand fast and eventually win the battle of Ḥāč Ovasī (Mezö Keresztes). After this triumph, Saʿd al-Dīn fell into disgrace over the appointment of the next Grand Vizier; on 9 Djumādā II 1005/28 January 1597 his opponents at court brought about his dismissal from the office of preceptor. Expressly ordered to refrain from intervention in state affairs, Saʿd al-Dīn remained in disgrace for 14 months. As soon as he could, in March 1598, the sultan fully rehabilitated Saʿd al-Dīn and raised him, against some resistance, to the office of *shaykh ül-Islām*, together with that of sultan's preceptor. This earned him the title *Djāmiʿ al-Riyāsatayn*. At this time Saʿd al-Dīn took the inefficacy of Saturdji Meḥmed Pasha as *serdār* on the Hungarian front as an opportunity to state his views: he drew up a memorandum, outwardly directed to the Commander, but obviously meant for his opponents at court and later circulated as a piece of *inshāʾ* (it was published by Naʿīmā in his official history). It voices the sense of impending misfortunes that threatened the Ottomans, and justifies, in the matter of *meshweret*, what Saʿd al-Dīn had done and was considering his duty: not to "meddle" with matters of state, but to render services to it. In 1599 this meant persuading both the sultan and his mother to pay out of their treasuries the funds needed for the next campaign. After a successful term of office as *mufti*, he died during prayer in the Aya Ṣofya Mosque.

As an eminent *ʿālim*, Saʿd al-Dīn distinguished himself, even more than for his learning, for his practical ability and political far-sightedness. Between 1579 and 1599 the preceptor of two sultans, the hero of Ḥāč Ovasī "was the main voice directing the state's domestic and foreign policies" (H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire*, London 1973, 97). When the new Head Astronomer, Taḳī al-Dīn, had convinced him of the necessity of revising Ulugh Beg's *Tables*, Saʿd al-Dīn at once persuaded the sultan to issue the *fermāns* necessary to establish an observatory in Galata (1577) This project was short-lived; the *shaykh ül-Islām* Ḳāḍīzāde Aḥmed Shams al-Dīn, an enemy of Saʿd al-Dīn, managed to have it destroyed already in 1580 (A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı türklerinde ilim*, Ankara 1943, 84-6; A. Suheyl Ünver, *Istanbul rasathanesi*, Ankara 1969, 35, 51-4, 61-2). But Taḳī al-Dīn's attachment to Saʿd al-Dīn is apparent in the grateful

dedications to him of several of his astronomical works. The Khōdja attracted writers and younger scholars of growing fame, some of whom worked as his assistants (Nishāndjīzāde, Nādirī) or were his protégés (Loḳmān); even Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, his severest critic, dedicated a book to him. The charge of nepotism and favouritism which was brought against him, especially by ʿĀlī, does perhaps deserve closer inspection within the framework of the times. Of his five sons one died before him; two became *shaykh ül-Islām* and two were *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*; three of his grandsons were *shaykh ül-Islam* (Ş. Turan, art. *Saʿd-ed-Dīn* in *İA*; I. H. Danismend, *Osmanlı devlet erkânı*, 119).

Works. Although he did write poetry, he was essentially a prose writer. He translated Arabic and Persian works into Turkish (see Turan's article in *İA*). His fame as a writer rests on his *Tādj al-tawārikh* begun under Selīm II and dedicated to Murād III in 982/1575. As a carefully-written history, based on critical examination of a number of named sources, the work rightfully superseded the older chronicles. It deals with the history of the Ottomans from their beginnings to the death of Selīm I. In it Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn displayed his celebrated powers of eloquence, but he was not showy or pompous, as has sometimes been alleged, indeed, the clarity of his exposition was not lost on contemporaries and later writers. While it is true that his *Tādj* abounds in Arabisms and Persianisms, he could often be simplicity itself: indeed, the contrasts are great and have only been disregarded to some extent because Saʿd al-Dīn is habitually classed among the writers of "ornamented prose". On the many MSS. of the *Tādj*, see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, 125-6; M. Aktepe, *Hoca Sa'dedin Efendi'nin Tâcü't-tevârih'i ve bunun zeyli hakkında*, in *TM* xiii, 106-10; Turan, art. in *İA*; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 105-6. The work was printed in two volumes at Istanbul in 1279/1861. Based on this edition, a modernised version in Latin script by İ. Parmaksızoğlu has begun to appear in 1974. The book found early recognition in the West, and parts of it have been translated; see Babinger, *GOW*, 126. A continuation of the *Tādj al-tawārikh* is Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī's (d. 1025/1616) *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. An abridgement is the first part of Ḥasan Bey-Zāde's [*q.v.*] *History*. Şolaḳzāde (d. 1067/1657) and Djizyedārzāde (d. 1208/1794) made extensive use of the *Tādj*.

Saʿd al-Dīn's *Selīm-nāme*, a collection of anecdotes based on the recollections of his father Ḥasan Djān, was printed together with the *Tādj al-tawārīkh* (ii, 221-401).

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KHODJA ELI [see ḳodja eli]

KHODJAEV (Faizullah Khodja) (1896-1938), Bukhāran revolutionary and nationalist, was born in Bukhārā the son of a wealthy merchant. In 1907 he went with his father to Moscow, where he received a Russian education. In 1913 he joined the so-called Djadīd Muslim reformist movement [see djadīd], which was opposed to the feudal régime of the Amīr. In 1917 he became a member of the newly formed Young Bukhāran Party and in December left for Tashkent with the avowed object of working for the overthrow of the Amīr. By 1920 he had become leader of the Young Bukhārans. He declared himself in favour of the *Sharīʿa* remaining the basis of the new republic of Bukhārā, at the foundation of which he aimed, but this was, and still is, pronounced a mistake by the Communist Party of Russia. On the final overthrow of the Amīr's régime in September 1920, Khodjaev became a member of the Communist Party and was constituted head of the newly created Peoples' Soviet Republic of Bukhārā. He vigorously opposed the counter-revolutionary Basmačī movement led by Enwer Pasha, the Turkish ex-Minister for War. For this and other services to the Bukhāran people, he was awarded in 1922 the Order of the Red Banner. Visiting Berlin in 1922, Khodjaev became active in trying to establish economic relations with European countries. This policy was seen as aiming at the economic independence of Bukhārā and in 1923 incurred the serious disapproval of the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist Party, to the setting up of which Khodjaev had always been opposed. In the same year, however, he took part in the 12th Party Congress in Moscow as delegate of the Bukhāran Communist Party. On the delimitation of the Central Asian Republics in 1924, the greater part of the former khānate of Bukhārā was embodied in the Uzbek SSR, of which Khodjaev was in 1925 appointed President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, a post which he retained until his downfall in 1937, when he was dismissed from office and arrested. He was later indicted on a number of charges which included those of plotting against the Soviet state for the independence of Turkestan, of secretly aiding the Basmačis, and of being a British agent. While much of the indictment was probably based on fabricated evidence, there is little doubt that, as he himself admitted during the trial, Khodjaev was aiming at the national independence of Turkestan. He insisted, however, that he was not actuated by anti-Russian or anti-Bolshevik feelings. He was executed in 1938. Excluded from the list of other Central Asian personalities posthumously rehabilitated between 1955 and 1957, Khodjaev was not rehabilitated until 1966 on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birth. Although he was then said to have made "errors of a nationalist character", he was described as "a prominent revolutionary". The long biographical introduction to the edition of his selected works published in 1970 is wholly laudatory, refers only briefly to his differences with the Party authorities and makes no mention of his downfall, trial and execution.

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KHODJAND [see khudjand].

KHŌĪ, Khūy, Iranian town (population in 1951: 49,000), situated in long. 45° 02′ E., lat. 38° 32′ N., in the *shahristān* of the same name in the *ustān* of West Ādharbāydjān; the Kurdish district of Quṭūr is included in the *shahristān* of Khōī.

The town lies at an elevation of 1040 m./3,444 ft., in a plain known locally as *Khōī čukūrī* ("the Khōī depression"), because all the surrounding areas are at a higher elevation. The mountains surrounding the Khōī plain protect the city from the cold winter winds (the Harāwīl range along the Turkish frontier to the north-west averages over 11,000 feet), and consequently Khōī has a warmer climate than either Tabrīz or Riḍāʾiyya. Minimum winter temperature is —14° C/6.8 F; summers are very hot with hot southerly winds. The economy of the region is partly pastoral, partly agricultural; crops include grain, pulses, tobacco, apricots and cotton. The region has a mixed population of Sunnīs and Shīʿīs whose first language is either Turkish or Kurdish (the name Khōī is said

to mean "salt" in Kurdish, and certainly salt-mines are still worked in the area). In the *bakhsh* of Shāhpūr there are several Christian villages.

In ancient times, Khōī acquired commercial importance by virtue of its location on the silk-route. In Ṣafawid times, the proximity of Khoī to the Ottoman frontier made it a town of great strategic importance; in 920/1514 Shāh Ismāʿīl I suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Ottoman sulṭān Selīm I on the plain of Čāldirān [*q.v.*], some 70 miles north-west of Khōī. In Ḳādjār times the strategic value of the town continued because of its proximity to the Russian frontier; the ruins of the walls built by General Gardane early in the 13th/19th century at the request of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh are still visible. More recently, Khōī saw fierce fighting between nationalist and royalist forces prior to World War I.

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KHOḲAND, Arabic orthography, Khwāḳand, later written Khuḳand (which is given a popular etymology, *khūḳ* + *kand* = town of the boar), a town in Farghāna [*q.v.*], where see also for the other spellings and the foundation of an independent Özbeg kingdom with Khoḳand as capital in the 12th/18th century. The accession of the first ruler of this Miñ dynasty, Shāhrukh, was followed by the building of a citadel; another citadel later called Eski Urda was built by his son, ʿAbd al-Karīm (d. 1746). ʿAbd al-Karīm and his nephew and successor Irdānā Bī are several times mentioned in the history of the Atalīḳ Muḥammad Raḥīm, afterwards Khān of Bukhārā (d. 1759, see BUKHĀRĀ); Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī, *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*, Asiatic Museum Ms. c. 581b, especially fols. 33b, 145b). When the Kalmuck empire was destroyed and the frontiers of the Chinese empire advanced up to Farghāna (1758), Irdānā also was forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty; the Chinese records on this matter are cited by J. Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, i (1825), 81 ff. from the *Tai ts'ing yi t'ung či*. Irdānā later was a member of a coalition of Muslim rulers of Central Asia, which applied to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], the ruler of Afghānistān, for help against China. The alliance had no further results, although Aḥmad Shāh in 1763 appeared in Turkestan at the head of an army and occupied the territory between Khoḳand and Tāshkend (at the same time an invasion of the land of the Ḳarā-Ḳirgiz was made from Khoḳand, Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 83), but he had soon to retire again on account of the claims of his enterprises in other directions. ʿAbd al-Karim's grandson, Nār Būta Beg (probably reigned 1188-1213/1774-98, cf. L. Zimin in *Protokolī Turk kružka lyub. arkheologii*, xviii, 102, and Walidow, *ibid.*, xx, 112 f.), was also nominally under Chinese suzerainty. To the early years of this reign belongs the journey of the Russian sergeant, Filipp Yefremov, who was taken prisoner by the Ḳirgiz in 1774 and sold in Bukhārā and 1782 returned to Russia via India and England. According to his *Travels* (F. Yefremov, *Stranstrovaniye v Bukharii, Khivye, Persii w Indii*[2], St. Petersburg 1794, 59 f.), Nārbūta was already entitled Khān "by the Chinese", was allied with China and at enmity with Bukhārā. No mention is made of prominent buildings in the capital (the Medrese Mīr was built in the reign of Nārbūta); on the other hand, a high pillar (apparently a minaret), said to be over 280 feet high in the market-place in Marghīnān, is described. According to Filipp Nazarov (see below), this "tower" was visible for a distance of 50 versts (over 30 miles).

Nārbūta's two sons, ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, are the real founders of the state and city of Khoḳand as we later know it. The chronology of these reigns (1212-1237/1798-1822) is not sufficiently established; even the year in which ʿĀlim was assassinated and ʿUmar raised to the throne is variously given in the sources. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī* (ed. Pantusov, 106) ʿUmar died in the year 1237/1821-2 (in the cyclic reckoning the year of the horse = 1822 is given); according to Nalivkin (Russ. original, 101; French tr., 124), which here follows another source (the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥakīm Khān), ʿĀlim was not murdered till the spring of 1232 (i.e. 1817, not 1816, as in Nalivkin); on the other hand Nalivkin himself in another passage (Russ. orig. 185; French tr. 228) puts the building of the chief mosque of Khoḳand by ʿUmar Khān in 1231/1816. The Russian interpreter Filipp Nazarov, who was in Khoḳand in the winter of 1813-14, calls the ruler of Khoḳand Amir Walliami (*Zapiski o nyekorotīkh narodakh Srednyey Azie*[1], St. Petersburg 1821, 50 ff. This is probably for *Walī al-Niʿamī*, not *Walī Miyanī*, as in Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 43. The ruler at this time was only 25 years of age; this statement can only refer to ʿUmar, not to the much older ʿĀlim; according to ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Bukhārī also (ed. Schefer, 102), this embassy and the cause of it (the murder of the Khoḳand envoy by a Russian soldier in Petropavlovsk) both took place in the reign of ʿUmar Khān. According to ʿAbd al-Karīm, 99, ʿĀlim had already been killed in 1224/1809, which cannot be right, as we have a document of his dated Djumādā I, 1225/June 1810 (*Protokolī Turk kružka, lyub. arkh.*, iii, 165 f.). The change of ruler must therefore have taken place between 1810 and 1813.

In the oldest known document of his reign, dated 1213/1798-9, ʿĀlim still regards himself as the representative of an unnamed Khān; later he appears as an independent ruler with the title *Khān* or *Amīr*; after the conquest of Tāshkend, his power was as great as that of the Amīr of Bukhārā. In ʿUmar's reign in 1814 (so Nazarov; not so late as 1819, as in Nalivkin, Russ. orig. 110 f.; French tr. 134 f.), the town of Turkistān with the parts of the Ḳirgiz steppes belonging to it was incorporated in the kingdom of Khoḳand. ʿUmar thereupon took the title of *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. There were several wars with Bukhārā regarding the possession of Ura Tübe in the reigns of both ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, and the town indeed remained a bone of contention between the two states right down to the Russian conquest.

ʿUmar's domestic policy was quite different from that of his predecessor. Like many other Central Asian rulers, ʿĀlim had made up his mind to break the power of the Özbeg families and therefore surrounded himself with mercenary troops from the highlanders of Ḳarātigin, Darwāz and other lands (*Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, 42 f.). The war against the nobles was, as frequently elsewhere, combined with a war on the religious classes, especially the dervish orders. The historians on this account describe ʿĀlim as a godless tyrant (*ẓālim*); on the other hand they praise the piety and justness of ʿUmar, who was put on the throne by ʿĀlim's murderers. ʿUmar built the present chief mosque of Khoḳand, which was also used as a *madrasa* and therefore is known as the Madrasa-yi Djāmiʿ. ʿUmar was also fond of poetry and wrote poems himself under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of *Amīr*; verses by the Khān himself, his officials

and favourites were collected in a special anthology (afterwards printed) entitled *Madjmūʿat al-shuʿarāʾ* by M. Hartmann in *MSOS*, vii, Westas. Stud., 87 ff. It was probably ʿUmar who founded the town of Shahr-i Khān (west of Andīdjān); the great canal, led to it from the Ḳarā Daryā, Shahr-i Khān Sāy, completely altered the irrigation of Farghāna.

ʿUmar's son and successor, Madali (properly Muḥammad ʿAlī), was 12 at his accession (according to others 14). During the first half of his reign, the khānate of Khoḳand reached its greatest power and extent. In the south the districts of Ḳarātigīn, Darwāz, and Kulāb, which now belonged to Bukhārā, were all conquered; in the north-east taxes were levied on the Ḳarā Ḳirgiz, on the Great and on a part of the Central Horde of Ḳazak Ḳirgiz; the Khān's representatives even appeared among the tribes of the Great Horde which led a nomadic life on the other side of the Ili [*q.v.*]. The rebellion of Khodja Djahāngīr in Kāshgharia (1826), which received support from Khoḳand, met with no success; nevertheless, the officers of the Khān were allowed by the Chinese government to collect taxes in the "six towns" (*altī shahr*): Aḳsū, Ush Ṭurfān, Ḳāshghar, Yangishahr, Yārḳand and Khotan. Like Khoḳand, where one of the largest *madrasas* bears the name of Madali Khān, Tāshkend attained considerable prosperity; from 1835 the *Beglerbegi* of Tāshkend was given the administration of all the northern provinces of the kingdom, and a memorial of this period is the great Beglerbegi Madrasa. The excavation of the great Khān Harīḳ canal in the region of Tāshkend also belongs to this period (*Protokoli Turk kruzhka, lyub. arkh.*, iii, 175).

In spite of the great extent of his kingdom, the authority of the Khān was not firmly established; his vicious life and cruel rule had aroused general discontent. Naṣr Allāh, *amīr* of Bukhārā, is said to have been asked by people in Khoḳand itself to put an end to his rule. The Khoḳand army was completely defeated; the capital itself was taken by the enemy (for the first time since the foundation of the kingdom); Madali was killed while trying to escape (1258/1842). The conquerors were driven out again in the same year and Shīr ʿAlī, a cousin of ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, was placed on the throne; but down to the Russian conquest, domestic peace was never restored for any length of time. The reigns of Shīr ʿAlī (1842-45) and his sons Khudāyār (1845-58 and 1865-75) and Mallā (1858-62) and several short-lived rulers were a period of continual confusion and bloody fighting, notably between the Özbegs of the Ḳïpčaḳ tribe and the "Sarts", i.e. the native population. Khudāyār, who was still a minor, was raised to the throne by Musulmān Ḳul, the chief of the Ḳïpčaḳ; the Ḳïpčaḳ drove the Sarts out of their houses in the capital and took possession of the canals in the country; the Sarts were only allowed the water necessary for their fields on payment of a fixed sum. In 1269/1852 Musulmān Ḳul was overthrown by Khudāyār and put to death; the land again passed to the Sarts. Mallā then relied on the support of the Ḳïpčaḳ and restored to them the lands taken by the Sarts. All this warfare, internal and external was waged with great ferocity; after Khudāyār's capture of Ura Tübe in 1264/1848, a tower of skulls (*Kelle minār*) was built from the heads of the slain enemy. Banished pretenders usually took refuge in Bukhārā, and taking advantage of these dissensions, the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā Naṣr Allāh was able to advance as far as Khudjand [*q.v.*] in 1275/1858.

In spite of all this, the khānate retained its former extent down to the Russian conquest of the later 19th century. Russian forces had been in contact with troops from Khoḳand since 1850 on the upper Syr Daryā, and in the north-east of the khānate between the Ču and Ili rivers since 1860. All these regions were under the *Beglerbegi* or governor appointed by the Khān for Tāshkend (see above), who was also responsible for the maintenance of agriculture; the governor Mīrzā Aḥmad (1853-8) is said to have organised irrigation works from the town of Turkestān or Azret to the Ču valley. In 1864 Tāshkend fought off a Russian attack, and immediately afterwards, a Khoḳandī force attacked the town of Turkistān, by then Russian-held. Subsequent Russian intervention was facilitated by the conflicting interests of the Iranian townspeople or Sarts and the nomadic Ḳïpčaḳ elements of the rural areas, mentioned above, and also by the discords between the Central Asian khānates. The ruler of Bukhārā Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. Naṣr Allāh was invited to secure Tāshkend for himself, when that town seemed likely to fall to the Russians; but in 1865 the Russians captured Tāshkend, whereupon the Khān of Bukhārā marched on Khoḳand, occupying Khudjand and Khoḳand and forcing Khudāyār of Khoḳand to acknowledge the suzerainty of Bukhārā. In 1866, as part of the operations against both Khoḳand and Bukhārā, General Romanovski advanced up the Syr Daryā, thereby driving a wedge between the two khānates. After the fall of Khudjand, Khudāyār came to terms and agreed to become a Russian vassal and to pay an indemnity.

Thus began the last phase of the khānate's nominally independent existence. Despite all the internal dissensions and intrigues, the economic condition of the khānate seems to have been prosperous enough, with flourishing local textile, carpet-weaving and other crafts; according to a Russian observer in 1867, the town had a population of 80,000, with 15 *madrasas* and several hundred mosques. Traditional Muslim learning was, indeed, far from moribund in all three of the Central Asian khānates in this the last phase of their existence. During this period, several buildings were erected in the town of Khoḳand, including the palace or *urda* of the Khān, and the *madrasas* of Ḥākim Āyīn and Sulṭān Murād Beg, built by the Khān's mother and brother.

Until 1875, it seems to have been the Imperial Russian government's intention to retain the khānate in a similar status to those of Bukhārā and Khīwa. But disturbances within the khānate, and attacks on Russian-held territory, continued, and in 1875 there was a popular rising against Khudāyār Khān led by his kinsman Pūlād Khān, and the former regions of the khānate then annexed by Russia, such as Khudjand and Kuraminsk, joined the revolt. A Russian invasion inevitably led to the capture of Khoḳand by General Von Kaufman. The Treaty of Marghilān was made with the new Khān, Naṣr al-Dīn b. Khudāyār, by which all the territory of Khoḳand on the right bank of the Syr Daryā was ceded to Russia. But fighting nevertheless continued in the eastern part of the khānate, until Russia finally occupied the whole of the khānate, deposed the line of the Miñ Khāns and annexed all their lands to Russia. The imposition of direct rule over the khānate was especially important to Russia at this time, because Khoḳand's eastern frontier marched with Kāshgharia or Chinese Turkestan, then controlled by the rebel Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], himself a Khoḳandī who had fought against the Russians at the capture of Aḳ-Masdjid (Kyzyl-Orda) on the middle Syr Daryā in 1853, and was not surprisingly hostile to Russia. As part of the Governor-Generalship of Russian Turkestan, Khoḳand now

became an *oblast* under the ancient name of Farghāna. In the 1898 administrative re-organisation, Khoḳand became a *uezd* of the *oblast* of Farghāna. The town of Khoḳand itself continued to be the chief town of the region, with 11,636 inhabitants in 1911, but with the newly-founded town of New Marghilān, later Skobolev, as the governor's seat.

The Muslim peoples of the former khānate played a major rôle in the anti-Russian rebellions of 1916, when the Imperial government attempted to call up non-Russians for labour service in the war. In the following year, it was the focus of the Muslim movement for the autonomy of Turkestan as the Tsarist régime broke up, and in December 1917, the Fourth Extraordinary Regional Muslim Congress met in the town of Khoḳand and declared the autonomy of Turkestan. Early in 1918, however, the Tashkend Soviet declared the government set up in Khoḳand under Muṣṭafā Čakayev to be counter-revolutionary, and in February 1918 Red Army forces attacked the town of Khoḳand, which was defended only by a hastily-raised Muslim militia, captured it, and conducted a savage massacre in which several thousands of the inhabitants were killed. After this, Muslim desires for self-determination in the region were expressed by the guerilla activities of the Basmačis [*q.v.*].

Under the Soviets, Khoḳand forms a *rayon* or district of the Fargana *oblast* of the Uzbek SSR. It is now an important centre for light industry, in which silk and linen manufactures are prominent. The palace of Khudāyār is now the town's museum. The population in 1970 was 133,000.

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(W. Barthold - [C. E. Bosworth])

KHOKARS, a powerful hill-tribe inhabiting the Jehlum area in the north-west of the undivided Panjab. The Khokars were a dominant race of the province at the time of the first Muslim invasion of the Indian sub-continent; their origins are as shrouded in mystery as those of any other Panjab tribe, but that they were originally Hindus seems hardly open to question.

The earliest mention of the Khokars occurs in Ḥasan Niẓāmī's *Tādj al-ma'āthir* which refers to an insurrection of the tribe under their chiefs named Bakan and Sarki. The next contemporary chronicle to contain a reference to the Khokars is Minhādj-i Sirādj's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, which says that they were encouraged by Malik Khusraw, the last Ghaznawid ruler of Lāhawr, to rise against their Djammū overlords. History also records a military contact near Lāhawr between the Khokars and a force of the fugitive Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmī in 620/1223.

Extending their sway beyond their traditional stronghold in the country between the Jehlum and the Chenab, the Khokars held a considerable area east of the Beas. In 647/1250 they were masters of most of the upper part of the Panjab, but they are no more heard of until the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluḳ when they again created disturbance. Yaḥyā Sirhindī's *Ta'rikh-i Mubārakshāhī* describes the seizure of Lāhawr in 797/1394 by the Khokar chief Shaykhā and his long-standing feud with Sārang Khān, governor of Dipālpur, resulting in the former's defeat.

The Khokars played a significant role in offering resistance to the invading hordes of Tīmūr in India. After Shaykhā's arrest by Tīmūr in 801/1398, the Khokars disappear from history, but his son Djasrat, who escaped from Samarḳand, whither Tīmūr had taken him as a prisoner, emerges later in 823/1420 as a force to reckon with. For more than twenty years, this indefatigable Khokar warrior proved to be the cause of constant worry to the Sultans of Dihli. In 845/1441, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh conferred Dipālpur and Lāhawr on Bahlūl Lōdī and charged him to chastise Djasrat, but the wily Khokar came to terms with Bahlūl and urged him to oust the Sayyids and occupy Dihli. However, Djasrat was murdered in 846/1442 by his queen, a daughter of Bhim Deo, Rādjā of Djammū, because her father had been put to death by him. After Djasrat, the Khokars were left leaderless, and coupled with the rise of the Lōdī power in the Panjab, the Khokar ambitions finally came to nought.

Scholars and historians have often confused the Khokars with the Gakkhars, a totally distinct tribe, settled in the same province. Firishta in all probability means Khokars when he describes the Gakkhars as a race of wild barbarians, devoid of religion or morality, practising polyandry and female infanticide. Similarly, in his article, *A history of the Gakkhars*, in *JASB*, xl/1 (1871), I. G. Delmerick has attributed the achievements of the Khokars to the Gakkhars. As a matter of fact, the Khokars were spread all over the central districts of the Panjab centuries before the Gakkhars acquired a foothold in the Salt Range, to which they remained traditionally confined (cf. H. A. Rose, *The Khokars and the Gakkhars in the Punjab history*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxvi (1907), 1-9).

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KHOMAYR [see KHUMAYR].

KHOSRAW [see KHOSREW, KHUSRAW, KISRĀ].

KHOSREW BEG, sandjaḳ beg of Bosnia, was born in Serez (Macedonia) *ca.* 885/1480. His mother, the princess Seldjūḳ, was a daughter of Sultan Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*], his father Ferhād being a South Slav

from Herzegovina (C. Truhelka has shown that "Radivoj, the brother of the Sultan's son-in-law", to whom the people of Ragusa [*q.v.*] sent gifts, was Ferhād's brother). Taking part in Sultan Süleymān's campaign against Belgrade (927/1521), Khosrew Beg was appointed *sandjaḳ beg* of Bosnia on 13 Shawwāl/15 September of the same year, a fortnight after the conquest of the city. Having stayed four years in Sarajevo, he was removed from office because he failed at the siege of Yayče. Some six months later he returned to his post, which he kept until he died, over sixty years old, in 948/1541, except for an interruption of a few years (1533-6), during which he was at Belgrade *sandjaḳ beg* of Semendria.

Distinguishing himself by his successful campaign, Khosrew Beg was nick-named *Ghāzī*; even today he is well-known among the Bosnian Muslims by the name of *Gazi Husrev-beg*. Due to his military activities, Turkish power spread widely in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (Obrovač, Yayčel, Banğaluka, Požega, Klis, GorJan).

His campaign brought Khosrew Beg great riches which he spent on enlarging Sarajevo. During his governorship, the city grew into an important centre. Three charters of foundation (*waḳfiyye*) attest his activities: two (938/1531 and 944/1537) for the Khosrew Beg mosque (*Begova džamija*) next to which was erected the mausoleum (*türbe*) in which he was buried, and one (943/1537) for the *Kuršumlija medresa*. The *Begova džamija* is one of the most outstanding specimens of Islamic architecture in Yugoslavia, and an imposing monument of the Turkish period in Sarajevo. The *waḳf* founded by Khosrew Beg has been of great importance for the city of Sarajevo and for the cultural life of the Muslims in Bosnia and Hezergovina in general. Up to the 20th century, many public buildings were erected with its revenues. It still exists, but much property was lost in the 11th/17th century, especially at the great fire in 1697 when Prince Eugene of Savoy made his breakthrough at Sarajevo. In course of time, many estates belonging to the *waḳf* were lost, including recently at the land-reform in Yugoslavia after 1918.

In the charter of foundation of the *medrese*, Khosrew Beg ordered a library to be attached to the school. During the governership of Topal ʿOthmān Pasha in Bosnia (1861-9), the library was separated from the school, and the books were transferred in 1864. After 1867 books and documents from other libraries and institutions were brought to this library, known as *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka*. In 1963 it held 6,456 Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, and many have been added since. There are also *ca.* 3,500 documents of the Turkish period, 400 charters of foundation and 84 registers (*sidjill*) of the *ḳāḍī*s of Sarajevo.

Other monuments in the town for which Khosrew Beg was responsible include a *khānaḳāh*, a *ḥammām*, a *bedesten* of 90 stalls and the Ṭashlī Khān, a caravanserai provided with 60 lodgings.

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(B. Djurdjev and J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont)

KHOSREW, Mollā, a famous Ottoman jurist, whose real name was Meḥmed b. Farāmurz b. ʿAlī. According to one statement he was of Turkoman (tribe of Warsaḳ) descent and born in the village of Ḳarghīn (half way between Sīwās and Toḳat); according to others, however, he was of "Frankish" descent and the son of a "French" nobleman who had adopted Islām. According to Saʿd al-Dīn his father was of Romaic (*Rūm*) descent. Khosrew became a pupil of the famous disciple of Taftazānī, Burhān al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Herāt (cf. *Isl.*, xi, 61 and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, ii, 430), and received a teaching post in the Shāh Malik *medrese* in Adrianople; in 848/1444 he became *ḳāḍī* of Adrianople and later *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumelia. On the death of Khiḍr Beg [*q.v.*], the first *ḳāḍī* of Constantinople, he succeeded him and was at the same time *müderris* at the Aya Ṣofya. Feeling hurt at Mollā Kurānī [*q.v.*] being promoted over him, he went to Bursa in 867/1462 and built a *medrese* there. In 874/1469 he returned to Istanbul by command of the Sulṭān, became *Shaykh al-Islām* and died there in 885/1480. His body was taken to Bursa and buried in the court of the mosque founded by him. He also founded a mosque in Istanbul, which bears his name (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 201; J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 87, No. 428).

Mollā Khosrew was a celebrated jurist, many of whose pupils became famous in after life. He also attained a wide reputation as an author. His two most important works are the often-annotated *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ Ghurar al-aḥkām* on the principles of legal practice, written in 877-83/1473-7 (printed at Cairo 1294 and 1305), also a dogmatic work *Mirḳāt al-wuṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl* (printed at Cairo 1262 and Istanbul 1304). On other works by him, cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 589 ff. and Brockelmann, II, 226-7.

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(F. Babinger)

KHOSREW PASHA, Bosniak (?-1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Bosnian in origin, Khosrew was taken into the palace service and rose to the office of *silāḥdār*. When, in Muḥarram 1033/October-November 1623, the dissident (*zorba*) *oda bashi*s of the Janissaries demanded the replacement of their *agha* by someone not of the corps, Khosrew passed out of the *enderūn-i humāyūn* to become *Yeñičeri aghasī*.

The state was at this time going through a critical period: the dominance of the Janissaries in internal affairs had reached new heights with the execution of ʿOthmān II (Radjab 1031/May 1622); Ābāza (Meḥ-

med) Pasha [*q.v.*] was in revolt in Erzurum; and the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I was soon to take Baghdād (Rabīʿ I 1033/January 1624). In Shaʿbān 1033/May 1624 Khosrew Agha, as *agha* of the Janissaries, left Istanbul with the *ḳapīḳulu* soldiery in the train of the Grand Vizier Čerkes Meḥmed Pasha [see MUḤAMMAD PASHA ČERKES], who had been given the command against Ābāza Pasha. Khosrew is mentioned as having fought courageously in the victory over Ābāza's forces near Kayseri in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1033/September 1624. When Čerkes Meḥmed died in winter quarters in Tokat (Rabīʿ II 1034/January 1625), Khosrew and the *bashdefterdār*, Bāḳī Pasha, wrote to the capital urging the appointment of the *beglerbegi* of Diyārbekir, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] as his successor, an action Khosrew came to regret on learning that he himself might have been considered for the office. Though he was soon after given the rank of vizier, he is said by Pečewī, then with the army, not to have been able to overcome his disappointment and to have hoped that Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed might fail in the subsequent campaign against Baghdād (Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 403, 405).

In Ramaḍān 1034/June 1625 Khosrew and the forces which had wintered in Tokat joined the army under Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed to march against Baghdād. The ensuing siege of that city, which lasted for nearly eight months (Ṣafar-Shawwāl 1035/November 1625-July 1626), was unsuccessful, but Khosrew again distinguished himself by his bravery, especially when the Ottomans were near to rout in the third of the battles (Ramaḍān 1035/June 1626) with a relieving force of some 30,000 soldiers under Shāh ʿAbbās himself. (For an undated imperial decree sent to Khosrew during this siege, see Ferīdūn Beg, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264-5, ii, 89-90).

Following the failure at Baghdād, both Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha and Khosrew Agha were dismissed (Rabīʿ I 1036/December 1626), though neither was disgraced. Summoned to the capital by the sultan, Murād IV, Khosrew arrived in Radjab 1036/March-April 1627 and was made a *ḳubbe* vizier (and thus Pasha). The inability of the new Grand Vizier, Khalīl Pasha, to counter the renewed threat from Ābāza Pasha in 1627 led to the former's dismissal. The sultan is said to have placed great trust in Khosrew Pasha's courage and in his ability to control the army (Pečewī, ii, 409); and in the consultation over the choice of a new Grand Vizier the arguments of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Yaḥyā Efendi that it was time to try a new face and that Khosrew's unparalleled reputation for valour made him the best man for the post silenced the other ministers. Because there were viziers senior to him, notably the *ḳāʾim maḳām* Radjab Pasha [*q.v.*], he was not made Grand Vizier immediately but was first appointed governor of Diyārbekir and sent to İzmit, where the imperial seal was delivered to him on 1 Shaʿbān 1037/6 April 1628. In his letter of appointment he was charged first with subduing Ābāza Pasha, then with marching against the Ṣafawids; and he was also given wide discretion in the making of appointments and the administration of affairs generally (see Ferīdūn Beg, ii, 90-5, for the *berāt*).

Having made careful preparations for the campaign against Ābāza, Khosrew moved towards Tokat. Through harsh measures against wrongdoers and those whom he regarded as having failed in their duty, he succeeded in establishing strict discipline in the army. He reached Tokat on 28 Ramaḍān 1037/1 June 1628, where he remained for some seven weeks before a report that Ābāza, concerned by desertions from his forces, was seeking aid from Shāh ʿAbbās spurred him to move quickly against Erzurum. His considerable reputation for bravery persuaded increasing numbers of Ābāza's followers to desert to him, a tendency which he further encouraged by treating the deserters well. Ābāza had laid siege to Ḥasanḳale but returned to Erzurum on hearing of Khosrew's advance. At the suggestion of the governor of Ḥasanḳale, Khosrew advanced on Erzurum at great speed with a picked force, arriving before Ābāza could complete his preparations (29 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1037/30 August 1628). During the siege which followed, Khosrew again encouraged desertions by promises of pardon and employment in the army. Recognising the impossibility of resistance, Ābāza surrendered on terms on 23 Muḥarram 1038/22 September 1628, and Khosrew thus brought to an end a problem which had bedevilled the state for some six years. A Ṣafawid force coming to Ābāza's aid was surprised and defeated by the governor of Ḳars, its commander, Shamsī Khān, being captured and sent to Khosrew. Having decided not to winter in the field, Khosrew returned to Istanbul with both Ābāza and Shamsī Khān in his train and made a triumphal entry into the city on 12 Rabīʿ II/9 December. Ābāza, pardoned in accordance with the terms of the surrender, was appointed governor of Bosnia.

Though Khosrew fell ill in the spring of 1629, he recovered and was appointed commander for the campaign to retake Baghdād. He left Üsküdār on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1038/9 July 1629 and arrived in Mosul on 1 Djumādā I 1039/17 December 1629. An unusually hard winter, with continuous heavy rains and even snow, caused severe flooding over a large area and created great difficulties for the army. On 13 Djumādā II/28 January 1630 the army left Mosul for Baghdād. Having suffered considerable losses of men and matériel in the crossing of the flooded river Zāb, Khosrew convened a *dīwān* in which it was decided that to besiege Baghdād in the present conditions was impossible and that the time would be better spent in a pre-emptive attack on the ruler of Ardalān [*q.v.*], Khān Aḥmad, who might otherwise threaten their rear. As the army advanced, many of the Kurdish *begs* submitted to Khosrew. Reaching the district of Shahrizūr, Khosrew was persuaded to rebuild the fortress of Gulʿanbar, built by Sulaymān I and subsequently destroyed by Shāh ʿAbbās. The work was begun on 1 Shaʿbān 1039/16 March 1630 and took some fifty days to complete. During the stay at Gulʿanbar, Khosrew sent a force to take the fortress of Mihribān, on the road to Hamadhān. The garrison surrendered, but the Ottoman force was then attacked by a Ṣafawid army under the *khān-i khānān*, Zaynal Khān. In the ensuing battle the Ottomans, with some difficulty, won the day (22 Ramaḍān/5 May). Moving further east, the Ottomans sacked the palace of Khān Aḥmad at Ḥasanabād and, on 27 Shawwāl/9 June, reached Hamadhān, which had been evacuated by the Ṣafawids. They laid waste the city, and, with the intention of marching on Ḳazwīn, advanced to Darguzīn, which they also sacked. It was there decided that an attack on Ḳazwīn would prove both difficult and ultimately pointless and that it was past time to return to the main aim of the campaign, the recovery of Baghdād which was now some sixty stages distant. The army departed from Darguzīn on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1039/21 June 1630 and marched towards Baghdād, meeting serious resistance only from the ruler of Luristān, sent against them by Shāh Ṣafī, whom they overcame on the plain of Čamkhāl, near Nihāwand, on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja/14 July. Reaching the environs of Baghdād in early Septem-

ber, Khosrew began on 28 Ṣafar 1040/6 October 1630 what proved to be a fruitless siege of the city. Five days after an unsuccessful full-scale assault on 3 Rabīʿ II/9 November it was decided to withdraw. During the course of the siege Khosrew had been persuaded by the local Arabs to garrison the fortress at Ḥilla; and leaving a sizeable force there, he departed with the army for Mosul, where he arrived on 7 Djumādā/I/12 December. While the army dispersed for the winter, Khosrew, in ill-health, prepared to winter in Mosul.

When the news that the Ottomans had abandoned the siege of Baghdād reached Kurdistan and the Shāh, an army under Khān Aḥmad attacked the Ottoman garrison at Dertenek. The defenders fled to the newly-built fortress at Shahrizūr (Gulʿanbar) which was subsequently attacked by a large army under Khān Aḥmad and the Ṣafawid *khān-i khānān*; news of their advance caused the Kurdish *begs* to switch their allegiance to the Ṣafawids. The garrison at Shahrizūr evacuated the fortress, but subsequently engaged the Kurdish-Ṣafawid army in battle, only to be heavily defeated; three of the Ottoman commanders reached Mosul on 18 Djumādā I/23 December and were put to death by Khosrew. The victors meanwhile destroyed Gulʿanbar. A Ṣafawid army under Shāh Ṣafī then laid siege to Ḥilla, which they succeeded in taking despite stout resistance. The loss of Shahrizūr and the siege of Ḥilla persuaded Khosrew to retire to the relative safety of Mārdīn. Having made arrangements for the repair of the fortifications at Mosul, he left on 18 Djumādā II/22 January 1631 and arrived in Mārdīn on the 29th/2 February. (For further details of the Hamadhān/Baghdād campaign from the Ṣafawid side, see Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Dhayl-i Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1938, 39 ff.)

From Mārdīn a request was sent to the capital for men (in particular a large force of Tatars), money and supplies for another campaign against Baghdād in 1631. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/June 1631 Khosrew moved to Kočḥiṣār, a short distance to the southwest of Mārdīn, where he spent the summer months awaiting the arrival of the Tatars, several thousand of whom had set out in the spring, and trying to decide on his course of action. When he finally determined to move towards Mosul (Ṣafar 1041/September 1631), heat, fatigue and disease had so affected the army that it was urged that the campaign be abandoned until the following year. Khosrew had little choice but to agree and retired toward Diyārbekir where he entered winter quarters on 3 Rabīʿ II/29 October.

By this time, however, he had already been replaced as Grand Vizier by Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, the decision to do so having been taken in Istanbul on 29 Rabīʿ I 1041/25 October 1631. Naʿīmā (*Taʾrīkh*, iii, 76-9) lists a number of underlying reasons for his dismissal, chief among them his excessive dependence upon, and consequent currying of favour with, the troublesome elements in the army (*zorbas*), this in turn leading to instances of oppression and malfeasance (see also ii, 441-3, where Naʿīmā gives details of Khosrew's securing the dismissal of a *Yeñi-čeri kātibi* who had been appointed with specific instructions from the sultan to end the abuses in the enrolment of Janissaries and to prevent improper entries in the registers of the corps). The decisive factor, however, appears to have been his failure to retake Baghdād despite a substantial investment of men and resources. When the news of his dismissal reached Diyārbekir (21 Rabīʿ II/16 November), the army immediately protested, threatening to kill the messenger who had brought the news and urging Khosrew to remain until they could make representations to the capital on his behalf. Khosrew calmed them, however, accepted his dismissal and left Diyārbekir (26 Rabīʿ II/21 November), surrendering the imperial seal in the vicinity of Malaṭya. A recurrence of gout forced him to halt in Tokat, where he was to remain until his death.

Khosrew Pasha's dismissal became the focus of a serious rebellion in the capital, incited, it is said, by the vizier Radjab Pasha, who coveted the Grand Vizierate. Those involved were the *ḳapiḳulu* who had been recalled from Diyārbekir for the winter and a number of individual *zorbas* who, having built up their own followings and made themselves virtually independent in various parts of Anadolu and Rūmeli, had agreed to attempt to restore Khosrew to the Grand Vizierate and had converged on the capital. Demandding the deaths of seventeen leading men identified as those who had brought about Khosrew's dismissal, the rebels succeeded in assassinating Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, who was replaced by Radjab Pasha (19 Radjab 1041/10 February 1632: Pečewī, ii, 420, wrongly cites the execution, not the dismissal, of Khosrew as the cause of this rebellion). Deeply angered by these events, Murād IV held Khosrew to be the cause and determined on his execution. Appointing Murtaḍā Pasha to the governorship of Diyārbekir, he charged him secretly with putting Khosrew to death. Despite opposition from the people of Tokat as well as Khosrew's followers, this end was accomplished when Khosrew ordered an end to resistance and accepted his fate. The news of his death, which became public knowledge in the capital on 19 Shaʿbān 1041/11 March 1632, provoked yet another serious rebellion, forming part of the general disorder which obtained until Murād IV was able decisively to assert his authority in June of the same year.

Though Khosrew Pasha is credited in the sources with considerable personal bravery and with taking great pains in the preparation of his campaigns, these qualities are overshadowed by what is regarded as his excessive severity, even bloodthirstiness, to demonstrate which numerous examples are given. On this aspect of his character Naʿīmā remarks: "He had no hesitation in putting to death men whose execution neither the *sharʿ* nor reason required, who perhaps did not deserve so much as a rebuke" (iii, 77). His success over Ābāza Pasha, a considerable achievement, is seen as having made him arrogant and headstrong, qualities which fitted ill with his relative inexperience. In the accounts of the Hamadhān/Baghdād campaign he is faulted from the military point of view for having allowed himself to be persuaded by the Kurds to rebuild Gulʿanbar and by the Arabs to garrison Ḥilla, since neither was defensible unless Baghdād were taken, and both projects, though each in a different way, were distractions from that basic aim. In contrast to the generally unfavourable impression of him, and especially of his character, which emerges from the sources, however, one might note the apparently spontaneous protest by the army at his dismissal; the attempt by the people of Tokat to defend him; and, while allowing for the selfish ends of some of those involved, the strong reactions aroused in Istanbul first by his dismissal and then by his execution. These events suggest that he was, perhaps, more widely admired, even at the end, than the sources, and particularly Naʿīmā, would lead one to believe.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 52, 66, 84, 94; 101-42 *passim*; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 401-25 *passim*; Ṣōlāḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 742-50; Naʿīmā,

Ta'rīkh, Istanbul 1281-3, ii, 293, 320, 343-4, 378-80, 401-3; 419-49 *passim*; iii, 2-105 *passim*; Munadjdjim Bashī, 661, 663-8; ʿOthmānzāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā*ʾ, 74-6; Ferīdūn Beg, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264-5, ii, 87-96; Murtaḍā Naẓmī-zāde, *Gulshan-i khulafā*ʾ, Istanbul 1143, 74 ff.; *Relation de ce qui s'est passé entre les armées du Grand Seigneur et du Roy de Perse depuis la fin de l'année 1629 jusqu'à présent, où est descrit le troisième siège de Babylone*, Paris 1631; *İA*, art. *Ḫusrev Paşa* (H. İnalcık). (H. İNALCIK - R. C. REPP)

KHOSREW PASHA, DĪVĀNE or DELI, Ottoman governor and vizier, and elder brother of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was a Janissary of Bosnian origin, but became a deserter at the outset of his career, and for several years lived an adventurous life, as evoked by ʿĀlī in his *Kunh al-akhbār*. He returned to grace at an unknown date, and then became food-taster (*čashnigīr*) at the Palace, intendant of the corps of guards (*ḳapudjī*) and then equerry to the sultan. His conduct during the Čāldirān campaign gained him the governorship (*beglerbeglik*) of Ḳaramān on 25 August 1514. He took part in the conquest of Diyārbakr in 1515, in the Egyptian campaign of 1516-17, and in the suppression of the Ḳızılbash revolt of Shāh Welī in 1520 and that of Djānbirdī Ghazālī [*q.v.*] in the following year.

At the beginning of 1521 he became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia, and then of Diyārbakr at the death at the end of that same year of Bıyıḳlı Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]; he was to remain for ten years in this post at Āmid, with responsibility for watching over the security of the frontiers with Ṣafawid Persia and for consolidating Ottoman authority in the Kurdish principalities which had recently rallied to the Porte. During the winter of 1531-2, his disputes with Ulama Pasha, a Ṣafawid refugee who had been made commander-in-chief of the troops in eastern Anatolia and was at that time in favour with the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, led to his dismissal. In 1532 he became governor of Anatolia for a second time, and took part in the "German" campaign of that same year. Trace is then lost of him until he turns up as *sandjaḳ begi* of Aleppo and then *beglerbeg* of Damascus in 1534, and charged with various military duties during the "campaign of the two ʿIrāḳs". Whilst the Ottoman army was wintering at Baghdad in 1534-5, the sultan nominated him as *beglerbeg* of Egypt in place of Khādim Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*].

Khosrew Pasha's brief tenure of office in Cairo (February 1535-December 1536) was marked by such an enormous increase in the revenue from Egypt (*irsāliyya* [*q.v.*]) that the Porte had suspicions about the legality of the means used to collect it. A commission of enquiry was unable to prove his guilt, but he was nevertheless dismissed from his office. In fact, the evidence on his administration in Diyārbakr and in Egypt reveals a brutal, largely unscrupulous and highly mendacious official, but also a remarkably efficient one. The Ottoman chroniclers of Egypt (Yūsuf, Meḥmed b. Yūsuf al-Khallāḳ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) stress moreover the unusual prosperity and security which the land enjoyed under his rule.

He was replaced at Cairo by the powerful vizier Khādīm Süleymān Pasha, whose previous ten years' tenure of the governorship he had endeavoured to denigrate in the eyes of the Porte, evoking in Khādīm Süleymān Pasha a tenacious hatred against him. For the third time, Khosrew Pasha became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia at the beginning of 1537, and then of Rumelia in June 1538. His services during his tenure of these offices (the Moldavian campaign of 1538 and the capture of Castelnuovo in 1539) led the sultan to appoint him as fourth vizier in 1541, Khādīm Süleymān Pasha being Grand Vizier and Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] second vizier. It seems very probable that the latter's ambitions were the cause of the ruin of the other two. As the sultan's son-in-law and enjoying the support of his influential mother-in-law Khürrem Sulṭān, Rüstem was able to rouse against each other very skilfully the old enemies Khādīm Süleymān and Khosrew in such a way that they came to blows in the sultan's presence in 1544 and were both deprived of office for this affair. Rüstem Pasha then became Grand Vizier. In despair at having lost his offices and powers, Khosrew Pasha allowed himself to starve to death in this year, one of the very rare cases of suicide amongst Ottoman officials of this period.

Bibliography: J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, *Notes et documents sur Dīvāne Ḫüsrev Paşa*, in *RO* (1979), and bibliography cited there.

(J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT)

KHOSREW PASHA, MEḤMED (?-1271/1855), Ottoman Grand Vizier, educated in the Palace and raised to the post of head *čukhadār* on the accession of Selīm III [*q.v.*] in 1203/1789. He entered the service of Küčük Ḥüseyn Pasha, a protagonist of military and naval reform, who became Admiral (*Ḳapudan-i deryā*) in 1206/1792. In 1215/1801 Khosrew sailed with the fleet to Egypt, where he commanded a force of 6,000 and co-operated with the British in the recapture of Rashīd and the defeat of French forces. In recognition of his services he was soon afterwards appointed *wālī* of Egypt.

In Egypt he attempted to establish the *niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*] army and disband the irregular *bashi bozuḳ* troops imported from Rumelia for the war against the French. When he attempted to stop their pay, the *bashi bozuḳ* forces rose in revolt and defeated Khosrew's own troops. Then Ṭāhir Pasha attacked Khosrew, forcing him to withdraw to Damietta and declared himself *wālī* of Egypt. Shortly afterwards, Ṭāhir was murdered, leaving Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and the Mamlūks real masters of Egypt. In Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1218/July 1803, the Mamlūks defeated Khosrew near Damietta and threw him into prison. On his release by Muḥammad ʿAlī 8 months later, he was removed from the governorship of Egypt.

His next appointment was as *wālī* of Diyārbekir (1218-19/1803-4), followed by various governorships in Rumelia. He was active in the Russo-Turkish war which broke out in 1221/1806 as *wālī* of Silistra and military commander on the Danube front. In recognition of his services, he was appointed *Ḳapudan-i deryā* in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1225/January 1811 and commanded the Ottoman fleet in the Black Sea until the conclusion of a peace in Ramaḍān 1227/September 1812. He was dismissed in 1233/1818, and afterwards served in a number of provincial governorships. As *wālī* of Erzurum he was appointed military commander (*serʿasker*) in the east, with instructions to pacify rebellious Kurdish tribes whose activities had led to a clash with Persia. However, his mishandling of the affair led to a rebellion by the former *mutaṣarrif* of Bāyezīd, while the Persians, taking advantage of the situation, captured Bāyezīd, Erdjīsh and Bitlīs. The Porte transferred him to the governorship of Ṭrabzon, and in Ṣafar 1237/September 1821 appointed in his place the former Grand Vizier Meḥmed Emīn Raʾūf Pasha.

With the outbreak of rebellion in the Morea, Khosrew Pasha was again appointed *Ḳapudan-i deryā* (Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1238/December 1822) and detailed to

pursue the rebels in the Aegean. For this purpose, he constructed a fleet of shallow-draught vessels, suitable for pursuit in shallow waters, and attempted to cut off sea communications between Morea and the islands, at the same time victualling Ottoman troops on the Greek mainland. However, during the siege of Missolonghi (1240-1/1825-6), rivalry often broke out between Khosrew and Muḥammad Alī's son Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who was commanding an Egyptian force on the Sultan's behalf. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad ʿAlī sought Khosrew's dismissal from the admiralty and were eventually succesful. He was instead appointed *wālī* of Anadolu (Anatolia).

Khosrew, however, retained the confidence of Maḥmūd II, who recognised him as a protagonist of military reforms and as being instrumental in introducing European tactics to the fleet. In 1242/1827 the Sultan therefore appointed him *serʿasker* of the newly formed army, the *ʿasākir-i manṣūre-yi muḥammadiyye*, where he also began to introduce European tactics and training techniques. His influence in the capital increased after the outbreak of war with Russia in 1243/1828, when he engineered the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Selīm Meḥmed Pasha and the appointment of his own former slave and nominee, Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha. He also secured a commandership on the front for his former slave Khalīl Rifʿat Pasha, and the dismissal of the *serʿasker* on the Russian front, Agha Ḥüseyn Pasha. Meanwhile, the Russians crossed the Balkans and advanced on Edirne. Khosrew advised the Sultan to seek a peace, at the same time taking extraordinary measures to prevent panic in Istanbul, to the extent even of executing certain advocates of surrender. This, and the unpopularity of his westernising measures in the army, almost provoked a popular revolt. He was present at the peace negotiations in the presence of the French, English and Prussian ambassadors. His influence was now at a height, and he used it to remove his rivals from positions in the government, replacing them with his own slaves, and to have the former Grand Vizier, Selīm Meḥmed Pasha, dismissed from the governorship of Rumelia.

During the Russo-Turkish war, Muḥammad ʿAlī had made excessive demands to the Sultan and was now threatening ʿAkkā. At this point, Mahmūd placed the matter in the hands of Khosrew who, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1247/April 1832 appointed Agha Ḥüseyn commander of the army in Anatolia. After Muḥammad ʿAlī's victory and advance on Istanbul, Khosrew invited military instructors from Europe, among them the famous Von Moltke. During this period he had the complete confidence of the Sultan, and his responsibility for the security of the capital and the fact that he advanced many of his numerous personal slaves to positions in the government, further increased his influence. By marrying his own men to the Sultan's daughters, he insinuated his way into Palace circles.

However, in Shawwāl 1252/January 1837, two of his own protégés, Khalīl and Saʿīd Pashas, secured his dismissal as *serʿasker*, while in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1253/June 1837, his great rival Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha became Foreign Minister. Khosrew was retired on a pension. His absence from public affairs did not last long. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1254/March 1838, he received the chairmanship of the Reform Committee (*medjlis-i wālā*) and presided over the councils which met in his villa to discuss the Egyptian question.

A further deterioration of affairs in Egypt and the death of Maḥmūd II in 1255/1839 caused a grave crisis in the empire. It was at this juncture that Khosrew literally seized power, by grabbing the Imperial Seal from the Grand Vizier, Raʾūf Pasha, during the funeral of Maḥmūd II, and declaring himself Grand Vizier. This led to the defection of his rival, the *Ḳapudan-i deryā*, Aḥmed Fevzī Pasha, who sailed with the fleet to Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt, with the intention of returning with Egyptian troops and deposing Khosrew. Muḥammad ʿAlī for his part, demanded Egypt and Syria for himself and the dismissal of Khosrew. Neither plan succeeded. Khosrew remained in his post, but the Foreign Minister, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, seized the initiative and, partly no doubt to win the sympathies of the European powers over the Egyptian question, had the famous *Khaṭṭ-i Sherif* of Gülkhāne proclaimed, marking the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era. Khosrew was still Grand Vizier, but Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha now had the sympathies of the Palace and was able to press for his dismissal and the reinstatement of Raʾūf Pasha. He then had Khosrew tried and convicted for bribery by the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*medjlis-i wālā-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*) and exiled in Djumādā 'l-Ūlā 1256/July 1840 to Tekirdaği.

In the following year, the Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd permitted his return to Istanbul, where a change in government permitted his return to power. In Ṣafar 1262/January 1846, he was appointed *serʿasker*, in which position he removed his predecessor Riḍāʾ Pasha's nominees and replaced them with his own men. During this period of office, he opened the Military School at Küčük Taḳsīm. However, later in the same year, he was removed from office, and the new Grand Vizier, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, took care to prevent his further rise to power. He died, at the age of more than ninety, on 13 Djumādā 'l-Ākhira 1271/3 March 1855.

Bibliography: see article *Ḥusrev Paşa* by Halil Inalcık in *İA*, of which the foregoing is a summary. (Ed.)

KHŌST, Arabic spellings Kh.w.st or Kh.wāst, the name of various places in Afghānistān. The most likely etymology for the name is that given by G. Morgenstierne in his *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo 1928, 98: that it is an Iranised form *hwāstu, cf. Skr. *suvāstu*- "good site" (which became the place-name Swāt [*q.v.*] in the North-West frontier region of Pakistan).

The mediaeval Arabic and Persian geographers mention what appear to be two places of this name in northern Afghānistān. Those of the 4th/10th century mention Khasht as a town on the upper Herī Rūd on the borders of Ghūr and Gharčistān (cf. Ibn Ḥawkal², 457, tr. 441, and Muḳaddasī, 349), and this is apparently the Khōst mentioned three centuries or so later by Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 244, as a town of Ghūr; see Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 410, 417.

Distinct from this seems to be the Khōst further north near Andarāb and on the borders of Badakhshān, the district which the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century) refers to as (?) Yūn, cf. tr. Minorsky, 109, 340-1, perhaps the Khuwāsht of Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 398, and the Kʿwat-sit-to of Hsüan-Tsang, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 241. It is frequently referred to in Tīmūrid and early Mughal times. In 884/1479 we hear of one Mīr ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs being given the governorship of Khōst, "one of the most important districts in Badakhshān and Ḳunduz" (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 103). One of Bābur's wives, Māham, apparently came from here; his daughter Gul-rang was born here, and he visited it on various occasions, see the *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, index.

In modern times, the most important region bearing the name Khōst is that comprised within the modern Afghan province of Pakhtia, lying to the south of the Sefīd-Kūh range in the basin of the Kaitu, an affluent of the Kurram river which drains eastwards to the Indus; hence the ethnic and tribal connections of Khōst with the regions of Kurram, Kohat and northern Waziristan on the modern Pakistani side of the Durand Line have always been close. Khōst now forms an important forestry region of Afghānistān, and in the southern, sub-tropical zone, dates, citrus fruits, etc. are grown; recent Afghan governments have made considerable agricultural investment here (see J. Humlum *et alii*, *La geographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 101, 105, and J. C. Griffiths, *Afghanistan*, London 1967, 119-20). In the 1920s, Khōst was the epicentre of a conservative, traditionalist Pathan rebellion against the tentative reforms of King Amān Allāh, which seriously weakened the ruler's position and damaged the economic health of the country (March 1924-January 1925) (see W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan*³, London 1967, 204-6; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan, politics of reform and modernization, 1880-1946*, Stanford 1969, 282-4; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 449, 459, 479).

Finally, the *Imperial gazetteer of India*, iii, 138, vi, 306, mentions a Khōst in Balūčistān, the site of a small coalfield, 35 miles east of Quetta.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHOTAN, a town of the People's Republic of China, in the autonomous region of the Uyghurs. The town, and the territory which depends on its resources as an oasis, lie between the desert of Taklamakhan and the massif of Kuen-luen on the one hand, and the Kara-Kāsh and Yörüng-Kash rivers on the other. The kingdom of Khotan became known to the Chinese world in about 125 B.C., following the mission of Khang K'ien, under the name Yu-t'ien. The name represented by this transcription seems to have had no connection with the town of Yotkan. Although numerous archaeological relics have been found at that site, Yotkan cannot correspond to Yu-t'ien. In fact, according to Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, 412, s.v. "Cotan"), Yu-t'ien corresponds to *'Odan, with the variant *'Odon arising from the transcription Yu-tuen given by Hiuan-tsang (*ibid.*, 409); the name encountered in the Khotanese texts is just a transcription of the Chinese Yu-t'ien under the form Yüttina, while documents of the 4th century in Kharoshtī script give the form Khotana (L. G. Gercenberg, *Khotanosakskiy yazik*, 10). Yotkan is a ruined pre-Islamic cemetery, approximately 8 km. west of the town itself.

In fact, the kingdom of Khotan was not really known to the Chinese until after the conquest of the Tarim basin, carried out by Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), in the years following 110 B.C. and through the reconquest by the later Han between 73 B.C. and *ca.* 170 A.D. Little is known of the history of the ruling dynasty and the name of the town is always transcribed Yu-t'ien in the Chinese sources. From the latter we learn that the population of the kingdom reached a total of 50,000. All that we can say is that this population spoke a language of Iranian type, which has become known as a result of discoveries made at the beginning of the 20th century and which has been deciphered principally by Lüders, Sten Konow and H. W. Bailey. It now seems that the Khotanese spoke a dialect of the Saka language.

It was in the course of the first centuries A.D. that the kingdom of Khotan received Buddhism. According to the Tibetan tradition, which agrees in some points with the account given by Hiuan-tsang, Buddhism was introduced to Khotan by a Kashmiri monk called Vairocana, during the reign, almost certainly legendary, of king Vijayasambhava (E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, in *Sinica Leidensia*, xi, Leiden 1972, 340-1). This assessment is confirmed by the fact that one of the oldest dated Buddhist monuments is from 269 A.D. (A. Stein, *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan*, 1902, 405).

In the 7th century, Hiuan-tsang writes in his *Memoirs* (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, ii, 299): "We arrive in the kingdom of K'iu-sa-tan-na. (*Note:*) In Chinese, this signifies "Breast of the Earth"; it is the formal name used in the region. The local language uses the expression "Kingdom of Huan-na". The Hiong-nou call it Yu-touen; the Hou (Iranians), Ho-tan; the Indians, K'iu-tan. Formerly they (the Chinese) called it Yu-t'ien; it is an incorrect form". (On this passage, cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 409-17).

Thus, in the T'ang period, the polite and literary form is "Gostana" or "Gaustana", difficult to interpret according to Pelliot; the local language used the expression Xuân-nâ (Ḫuana ?), this name faithfully rendering the name which appears in the Khotanese texts under the form Hvatāna, Hvamna, and Hvam; the nomads of the north would have pronounced it *'Odan or *'Odon, a name which is found much later in Syriac, translated from Persian, in the story "*The History of the Patriarch Mar Yaballahâ and the monk Rabban Sâumâ*, published by Chabot (Paris 1895, 22), where the latter identifies the town of "Lôtôn" with Khotan. In fact "Lôtôn" is an erroneous form from the Persian original, where the *lām* has appeared as a result of confusion with the initial *ālif*, whence we deduce the correct form "Odon" proposed by Pelliot fifty years ago, while Budge (*The monks of Kûblâi Khân*, London 1928, 138) and Montgomery (*The history of Yaballaha III*, New York 1927) have retained the form "Lôtôn". This form appears in the works of Kāshgharī (Brockelmann, 251), with "Odon" and "Khotan". Finally, the Iranians would have pronounced it Ho-tan (Xuât-tan) which assumes an original *Ḫwatan, precursor of the Khotan of the Muslims, while the Indians would have pronounced it K'iu-tan (*K'iut-tan) which presuppose a form Khutan or Khotan. The land was known to the Tibetans under the name of Li-yul, "land of Li", although they knew the town under the name of Hu-ten, which is just a transcription.

In the T'ang period, the kingdom of Khotan was bounded to the south by the Kuen-luen, while in the east its territory touched that of Kroraina (Niya, Čerčen and the Lob-Nor region), and in the west that of Kāshghar (Khyesa) which stretched from the Pamirs and T'ien-shan to Maralbashi and beyond. The language used throughout the Khotan region was Saka-Khotanese, which was related to the Tadjik vernacular of the Pamirs, of which no ancient evidence has yet been recovered, to the language of Kāshghar in the west and north, of which some traces have been recovered at Tumshuk (the Turkish name of a site whose ancient name has disappeared), and in the east to the language spoken in Kroraina, of which apparently no relics remain.

The kingdom of Khotan at that time had a large population which had, no doubt under the influence of Buddhism, lost all interest in expansion and showed an extreme aversion to matters of war; Hiuan-tsang noted that the Khotanese were remarkable

craftsmen with a considerable taste for literary pursuits, also for music and dance. The region was the centre of a considerable commercial activity, being placed on the southern branch of the Silk Route, which was in use throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages; through the Khotanese texts we possess accounts of the travels of officials to Kashmir and Kansu, which permit us to gain an acquaintance with the geography of Central Asia, in particular the names of towns; thus we find that Kāshghar is Kyesa, Niya is Niña, Čerčen is Ysabaḍā parrūm, Urumči is Yirrūmcinā, Turfan is Tturpanā, Leou-lan is Raurata, Yumen kouan is Kviyikye, etc.

The dynasty of the kings of Khotan in the T'ang period (7th-10th centuries), the family name of which was apparently Vija (preferable from Viśa) was in existence before that time, for the history of the Suei (83, 5b) mentions, according to Pelliot (*op. laud.*, 419) a king called Vijayavikrama; under the T'ang, the dynasty is known to us from a list which can be reconstructed from the texts of the History of the T'ang and which can be partially cross-checked by reference to the names preserved in the Khotanese texts; a certain number contained in the latter cannot be placed with certainty in this list; these are: Viṣanakhan, Viṣakirti, Viṣavikram and Viṣasagrama. On the other hand, there are some that can be dated, in particular the last kings of the dynasty: Viṣasambkhava (912-966), Viṣaśura (967-977) and Viṣadarma (978-982) (Gercenberg, *op. cit.*, 12). It was shortly afterwards that the kingdom of Khotan was conquered by recently-converted Muslim Turks; the kingdom of Khotan was henceforward to be one of the collection of Turkish states in the region which constituted Turkestan.

The town of Khotan, unlike Kāshghar and the northern part of the Tarim basin, is not mentioned by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* in the description of the Turkish tribes (§ 13, p. 96) in the section of the Yaghmā of eastern Turkestan, but in that of China (§ 9, p. 85). As the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* dates from the year 372/982-3, it may be supposed that in about the year 980, when king Viṣadarma, was alive, Khotan and its territory formed a sort of enclave between the region of Kāshghar which was occupied by the descendants of Satuḳ Bughrā Khān (died 344/955-6) and the territories belonging to China and Tibet; the king of Khotan, according to this source (p. 85), styled himself "Ruler of the Turks and the Tibetans" (*ʿaẓīm al-Turk wa 'l-Tubbat*).

A little later, Gardīzī, who was writing after 431/1040, reports (according to Barthold, *Otčet o poiezdkie v Srednyaya Aziya, 94*) that even the town of Kai (?), situated at fifteen days' march from Khotan in the direction of China, was under the domination of Toghuzghuz Turks (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 255). According to Gardīzī, the inhabitants of Khotan were Buddhists, but he mentions a Muslim cemetery to the north of the town (*ibid.*, 255, n. 3), and in the town itself two Christian churches, although no documentary evidence of this has been found. As regards the Muslim world, Gardīzī shows us that in the first half of the 5th/11th century, Muslim proselytism was already actively exercised in Buddhist circles, and it is possible that the implanting of this group was a contributory cause of subsequent events.

At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Turkish rulers of Kashghār had become very powerful (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 79 ff., particularly 88-90), and had founded the dynasty of the Ḳarākhānids (see ILEK-KHĀNS). The son of Bughrā Khān Hārūn, himself the grandson of Satuk Bughrā Khān, who called himself Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf and reigned in Kāshghar from about 401/1010, decided, for reasons unknown to us, to conquer the territory of Khotan. Seeing that he died in 423/1032 (Ibn al-Athīr s.a.), it is likely that the conquest of Khotan was accomplished sometime between the years 1013 and 1032, for we possess money struck in his name at Kāshghar and at Yarkand from 404/1013-14 onwards (A. Markov, *Inventarniy katalog*, etc., 192 ff.). On the conquests of Khotan, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 281, n. 2.

Later, Khotan, like Kāshghar, passed under the authority of the Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*], and subsequently under that of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy [*q.v.*]. After these events, the crisis arising in Central Asia as a result of the expansion of the Mongol empire led the Kharāzm-Shāh to make an agreement with Küčlüg, who had deposed and expelled his father-in-law, the Gür-Khān of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy, and a partition of the western sector of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy empire took place, between the two rulers, giving to the Khʷārazm-Shāh the territory to the east of the Syr-Daryā as far as the heights of Kāshghar and of Khotan (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 356-7); after his succession to the throne, Küčlüg, who had married the daughter of the Gür-Khān, a Buddhist fanatic, undertook a fierce persecution of Islam in the regions under his authority, particularly in Khotan, after his agreement with the Khʷārazm-Shāhs [*q.v.*]. According to Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 65-6, 70-3), Küčlüg persecuted the Muslims cruelly and crucified the *Imām* ʿAlā' al-Dīn Khotanī at the door of his *madrasa* in Khotan. In the time of Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*], nothing more was known of this martyr; even his tomb was unknown (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, 218, and ch. xlii). Thus there was no indigenous historical tradition at Khotan, or if there was, the texts have been lost. Arabic and Persian geographical literature provides us with only the most meagre of information; the real situation is misrepresented by al-Samʿānī (f. 189b) and by Yāḳūt, who followed al-Samʿānī in his own writing (ii, 403).

Under the reign of Ögedey, Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 517) reports that "the lands between the banks of the Amū-Daryā and the frontiers of Khitāy were placed under the orders of the Chief Minister Maḥmūd Yalavač and of his son Masʿūd Beg; those included Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Kāshghar, Djand, Khʷarazm and Farghāna". Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1971, 94), also writes as follows: "The Ḳa'an (Ögedey) placed all the lands of Khiṭāy under (the orders of) Maḥmūd Yalavač, and (the region of) Besh-Balīḳ and Ḳarā Khodjo, with the territory of Uyghuristān, Khotan, Kāshghar, Almalīk, Qayalīḳ, Samarḳand and Bukhārā as far as the banks of the Oxus under (the orders of) Masʿūd Beg, the son of Yalavač". In the remainder of his work, he makes no further mention of Khotan; nevertheless, under the year 1253, Barthold (*12 Vorlesungen*, 184) writes as follows: "After the re-establishment of order, the frontiers of his government (sc. of Masʿūd Beg) were extended further: to him were subjected Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Kāshghar, Djand, Khʷārazm and Farghāna". After the death of Mengü (Möngke) in 1259, a conflict arose between Ḳubilay [*q.v.*] and his younger brother Ariḳ-böge in the course of which a cousin of Ariḳ-böge, the Čaghatayid Alugu, took to himself the entire area entrusted to the authority of Masʿūd Beg; the latter appealed to Ariḳ-böge who gave him full authority to dispossess Alugu, but in the course of his mission he

went over to the side of Alugu who died *ca.* 1266. As Arik-böge had been eliminated during this period, Kubilay appointed in his place another Čaghatayid, Barak, who took possession of part of the former possessions of his grandfather Čaghatay, but Barak was compelled in his turn to submit to Kaydu, grandson of Ögedey, who sought to reconstitute the territory given to him by Čingiz Khān. (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 184-6). Finally, a more or less stable equilibrium was established between Kubilay and Kaydu, so much so that according to a passage of Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i, 188; ed. Hambis, Paris 1955, 62-3), it is reported that in the 1270s Khotan was under the authority of the Emperor of China, while Yarkand depended on Kaydu.

While Central Asia was the object of partition between great powers, it is nevertheless certain (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 188-9) that a number of indigenous dynasties survived as vassals, especially at Khotan. In reference to these last, Barthold mentions some Persian verses of which the date is unknown, which were composed in honour of the sulṭan of Khotan, Munmish-Tegin, the last words being quoted in Turkish (*cāndān bizī ey shah kigüyād Turk "yavlak karī bolmish Munmish Tāgin"*. Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195) also mentions the fact that Djamāl Karshī, in the appendices (*Mulḥaḳāt*) to his translation of an Arabic dictionary of the 4th/10th century, devotes considerable space to the town of Khotan, giving a brief description and a list of some persons native to the place. Again according to Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195), Muḥammad Ḥaydar (*op. cit.*, tr. Ross, 301) writing in Kāshgharia, distinguished according to his own terms, four classes at Kāshghar and at Khotan; first—*tümen*, the peasantry; second—*kawčin*, the army; third—*oymak*, the nomads (who were entitled to a certain quantity of grain, textile goods, etc.); and fourth—the class of the officials and the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Much later, it seems that Khotan shared the fate of other towns in the Tarim basin, in particular of Kāshghar and other towns in the same region; in the 18th century it was a part of the state established by the Khōdjas, who defeated the descendants of Čaghatay, and were compelled to submit to the domination of the Djungar, and later, in *ca.* 1760, to that of the Manchus who eliminated the Djungar. Later still, in the seventh decade of the 19th century, Khotan was obliged to accept temporary domination by Yaʿkūb Beg and after the death of the latter in 1877 to submit once again to the Manchus. With regard to a historical work completed on 11 Shaʿbān 1311/24 February 1894 in Khotan and dealing with events subsequent to 1280/1863, cf. *Bull de l'Acad.* (1921), 209; cf. also the chapter on the Khōdjas of Khotan in *Taʾrikh-i emeniyye*, ed. Pantusov, 161 ff. The principal source for the history of this region is provided by reference in the Chinese dynastic histories and in other works concerning the autonomous region of the Uyghurs itself, which have appeared in Chinese from the 18th century to the present day. It is there that the documentation concerning the town of Khotan is found.

The town itself, like all those in the Tarim basin, has known a variety of activities, but the silk industry which has continued from the Han period to the present day is the principal activity. At the time of writing, the industrialisation of the region is being developed by the People's Republic of China, although it is not possible to assess what progress is being made; it seems that the Chinese government is concentrating there on the search for raw materials. There is no certainty about the population figures; according to Kornilov, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, 273, the population amounted to only 15,000; according to E. and P. Sykes, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia*, London 1920, 216, the population was 50,000.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see especially E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 47 ff., 246 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, 93 ff.; on the state of the Khōdjas and their connections with Khotan, cf. *idem*, *Der islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1905, 195 ff. and the index. These sources may be completed by numerous works in Chinese.

(L. Hambis)

KHOTIN (in Ottoman Turkish usage Khōtīn; in modern Turkish and in Romanian, Hotin; Polish Choczim and variants; German Hwthyn (15th/century), Chotim, Chotin, Chotczyn, etc.; Italian (18th/century) Cucino; and other forms): a fortress and town on the right (formerly Moldavian) bank of the Dnestr (Turla), 20 km. south of Kamenets Podolsk (Kamaniče [see KAMĀNIČA]). Khotin is now (since the end of World War II) in the Ukrainian S.S.R., and forms the administrative centre of the *rayon* of the same name in the *oblast* of Černovits (Cernauti, Czernowitz).

Khotin, which occupied an easily-defensible site at the point where the important mediaeval trade route from the Baltic to Constantinople crossed the Dnestr, was from the mid-14th to the late 18th century a military stronghold and commercial entrepôt of some importance. The region of Khotin, which was, in the 16th and 17th centuries, disputed between Poland and Moldavia, had attracted Ottoman attention as early as the reign of Meḥemmed II, and in the 16th century Muslim merchants frequented the route via Khotin to Poland. Khotin was besieged unsuccessfully by ʿOthman II in 1030/1621; thereafter it was restored to Moldavian control, and is so described by Ewliyā Čelebī, who visited it in the retinue of Melek Aḥmed Pasha in 1658 (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 124-5). In 1084/1673 Khotin was occupied by the Poles, but it was regained by the Ottomans in the following campaign season (Silaḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 628 ff.). The Ottoman occupation of Podolia in 1083/1672 carried the frontiers of the Empire beyond the Dnestr, but with the retrocession to Poland of Podolia, and the evacuation of Kamaniča in 1110/1699, Khotin became the most important Ottoman fortress in the region of the upper Dnestr; this importance was to increase in the course of the 18th century, as the conflict with Russia became ever more acute.

Khotin was occupied by the Russians in 1713; on its return to the Ottomans in 1125/1714, the old fortifications were rebuilt and increased in height by more than a half, as part of a general strengthening and rebuilding programme, which was supervised by a special commission sent from Istanbul. The contemporary Moldavian historian Cantemir described the Khotin of this period as the most elegant and well-fortified town of Moldavia, praise which is echoed in an Ottoman description of the town written at the same time. Also in 1125/1714, Khotin and its surrounding districts were removed from the jurisdiction of Moldavia and reorganised as an *eyālet*, as part of the strengthened Ottoman frontier defences along the right bank of the Dnestr, becoming, in the words of a German observer, "die einzige Vormauer der Moldau".

The 18th century stronghold of Khotin consisted of the medieval *ič kalʿe* and the more extensive new outer works encircling the old fortress on three sides.

In the outer walls were four gates: their names are variously given as the Istanbul (or Jassy) gate, the Temeshvar gate, the Water Gate and the Ukraine or Bender gate. Within the outer fortress were two baths, two principal mosques and, near the Istanbul gate, a *bezestān*. Inside the Istanbul gate, on the right, lay the barracks of the artillery and the supply-train, the residences of their *aghas*, and the headquarters of the *defterdār*. On the left was a large and well-constructed reserve granary. Further towards the *ič ḳalʿe* were situated another bath, the office of the *yeñičeri aghasi*, and the barracks of the Janissaries of the fortress. Higher up, towards the old fortress, was situated the *serāy* of the *pasha* of Khotin, and the mosque of the *wālide sulṭān*. Khotin was, however, yet again occupied several times by Russian forces in the course of the 18th century: in 1152/1739 (by Münnich) and again in 1183/1769 (by Galitsin). In 1788 Khotin was occupied by an Austrian force; later, after the conclusion of the Peace of Jassy, Khotin was restored for the last time to Ottoman rule. After 1806 it remained in Russian hands, except for the period 1918-47 when the territories south of the Dnestr formed part of Romania.

Bibliography: I. Dlugosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri xii*, Leipzig 1711, ii, 544 ff.; St. Sarnicius, *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae*, Cracow 1585; N. Iorga, *Studiĭ istorice asupra Chilieĭ şi Cetăţiĭ-Albe*, Bucharest 1899, index, s.v. Hotin; J. Nistor, *Die auswärtigen Handelsbeziehungen der Moldau im XIV., XV., und XVI. Jhdt.*, Gotha 1911; Pečevi, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 376 ff.; J. Sobieski, *Commentariorum Chotinensis belli libri tres*, Danzig 1646; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7 to 1938, v, 123-4; Vienna, Nat. Bibl., MS. H. O. 231 (= Flügel, no. 1283) (includes an 18th century topographical description of Khotin by an officer of the garrison; abridged translation (by Schlechta-Wssehrd) in *SBWAW*, Ph.-Hist. Kl. (1862), 550-93; text and translation by C. J. Heywood in preparation); D. Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae* (= *Operele*, i), Bucharest 1872, 16; Str. Dimitrov, *Nyakoliko dokumenti* ... [on Khotin], in *Fontes Orientales*, ed. A. S. Tveritinova, ii, Moscow 1956; A. Decei, in *İA*, s.v. *Hotin* (with further bibliography); *Geschichte des gegenwärtigen Krieges zwischen Russland, Polen und der Ottomanischen Pforte* (36 pts., Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1771-5), pt. v, pp. 14 ff., 39 ff., 51 ff.; *Carte von Chotin und der umliegenden Gegend, 1788*, Vienna, n.d.; Bodo Ebhardt, *Der Wehrbau Europas im Mittelalter*, ii, Stollhamm 1958, 609, 637 (plan and illustration of the fortress). (C. J. Heywood)

al-KHUBAR, a town on Saudi Arabia's Persian Gulf coast (26° 17′ N, 50° 12′45″ E). The name is most likely a colloquial plural derived from the word *khabrāʾ*, meaning "a small pond formed by rain".

The first permanent settlers on the spot were members of the tribe of al-Dawāsir who landed in 1341/1923 after fleeing the island of al-Baḥrayn in fear of British reprisal following clashes with Shīʿī elements. ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Dawsarī is generally regarded as the first settler of al-Khubar. Other tribesmen who landed at nearby al-Dammām a few weeks earlier subsequently moved to al-Khubar. Prominent among the early inhabitants were Muḥammad b. Rashīd and his brother ʿĪsā, Ḥusayn Bū Surayḥ, Khālid b. Mībar and his brother Nāṣir, Saʿd b. Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ b. Djumʿa (author's father). The settlers built huts of palm fronds along the sea shore. For two decades the village depended on small-scale pearling and fishing for its survival. No more than 20 boats left the village each pearling season; the crews came partly from the village, but mostly from nearby oases. In the early 1930s ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad returned to al-Baḥrayn with a group of the villagers, mostly crew members of his pearling fleet.

Al-Khubar remained a small fishing and pearling village covering an area of less than 0.5 km.² until 1935. In that year the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (later the Arabian American Oil Company) built a pier at al-Khubar to support the early oil well-drilling at nearby al-Ẓahrān. In 1357/1938 a storage and shipping terminal was built at al-Khubar, and barges started carrying Saudi Arabian oil to the refinery of the Bahrain Petroleum Company (Bapco); this marked the beginning of the export of Saudi Arabian oil. The importance of al-Khubar port has diminished since 1369/1950, when a deep-water pier began operating in al-Dammām; the al-Khubar harbour facilities now accommodate only fishing fleets and coastal ships. The city itself, however, now covering an area of 8 km², thrives as one of the most active business centres on the Kingdom's Gulf coast, second only to al-Dammām. Commercial enterprises that were given their original impetus by the oil industry now flourish independently, supported by both the public and private sectors of the economy. With modern office buildings and living quarters, with stores displaying merchandise from all over the world, and with substantial job opportunity, al-Khubar attracts foreign communities of various nationalities.

(ʿAbdallah S. Jumʿah)

KHUBAYB b. ʿAdī al-Anṣārī, one of the first martyrs of Islām. The main features of his story common to all versions are as follows: After the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*] (on the chronology of which, see below) a small body of ten of the Prophet's followers was discovered and surrounded between Mecca and ʿUsfān by 100 (or 200) Liḥyānīs who belonged to the Hudhayl. The leader of the hard-pressed little band, ʿĀṣim b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (according to others, the leader was al-Marthad), proudly refused to yield. He and six others were killed whereupon Khubayb, Zaid b. al-Dathina and a third surrendered; the latter fell a victim to his stubbornness and the two former were taken to Mecca and sold. Khubayb fell into the hands of the Banu ʾl-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf, who on the expiry of the sacred period, took him out of the Ḥaram to al-Tanʿīm, bound him to a stake and killed him with lances (*ṣabr^an*) in revenge for al-Ḥārith, whom Khubayb had killed in the battle of Badr. Before he was tied to the stake, Khubayb asked for time to perform two *rakaʿas*, which became a *sunna* for martyrs, comparable to the last prayer of Christian martyrs. Khubayb is said to have recited two verses at the stake to the effect that he as a Muslim martyr cared nothing about the treatment of his body as Allāh was able to bestow his blessing even upon his severed members. *Ḳunūt* formulae uttered by him besides these verses have also been handed down in which he appealed to Allāh for vengeance on his enemies. Those present are said to have shown great trepidation at this curse of the dying man; it is related that Abū Sufyān hurriedly pressed the little Muʿāwiya to the ground to protect him from the consequences of the ill-omened words; and Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir used to fall into long swoons whenever he thought of the scene.

A comparison of the accounts shows discrepancies and idealising features. Before his death ʿĀṣim prayed to Allāh asking him to communicate news of the event to his Prophet in Medina, which actually happened.

His corpse was protected by a swarm of bees so that the enemy could not reach it and later it was carried away by a deluge of rain. According to al-Wāḳidī, 155, however, Muḥammad received news of the event at the same time as that of Biʾr Maʿūna; and according to Ibn Hishām, 641, it was not ʿĀṣim, but Khubayb, who prayed to Allāh asking him to cause Muḥammad to be informed. According to al-Zuhrī and ʿUrwa (see the latter's brief account in al-Wāḳidī, 156) the ten men were sent out as a *sariyya* to spy upon the Meccans; according to Ibn Hishām, 638, al-Wāḳidī, 157 and Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 39-40, iii/2, 33-4, ten teachers of religion, who were on their way to a tribe to instruct them, were treacherously placed at the mercy of the enemy by their guides. This story is too much like that which has been woven round the drama of Biʾr Maʿūna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wāḳidī, 227, tells us under the year 628 that Khubayb was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans. The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uḥud, as ʿĀṣim fought there. In the official *Sīra*, the incident is recorded under the name *Yawm al-Radjīʿ* and put by Ibn Hishām in the year 3 and by al-Wāḳidī in the year 4.

The figure of the protomartyr Khubayb lent itself readily to embellishment. The daughter of al-Ḥārith (according to others Māwyis, a client of Hudjayr b. Abī Ihāb), in whose house he was kept a prisoner, saw him one day eating grapes, although these could not possibly be obtained in Mecca. When his martyrdom approached, he asked for a knife with which to remove the hair on his privy parts (as was usual in such cases); the woman sent a little boy with it to him, but became terrified at the thought of his possible revenge; when Khubayb noticed her terror, he calmed her with the assurance that no such cruelty need be feared from him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have grown in Ibn Hishām to a whole poem. The same author (644 ff.) gives the elegies uttered over him. For how his corpse was taken from the Ḳuraysh and swallowed up by the earth, see Ṭabarī, i, 1436-7 = *Iṣāba*, i, 862.

Bibliography: al-Zuhrī's or Abū Hurayra's tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 294 ff., 310-11, and in al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, bāb 170; Ibn Isḥāḳ's version, 638 ff., goes back to ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Ḳatāda; al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 156 ff. (cf. 226-7) compiled the whole story from various sources; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 33-4; al-Diyārbekrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1203, i, 454 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 860 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 111 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Anno 4, § 7, 8; Anno 6, § 2; Ṭabarī, i, 1431 ff., who gives the two main versions; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tab. 77, on his genealogy. (A. J. Wensinck)

KHŪBMESĪḤĪS, the members of an obscure heretical movement in 11th/17th century Istanbul that preached the superiority of Jesus to the Prophet Muḥammad. The term derives from Persian *khūb* "good, virtuous", and *mesīḥ* = Messiah". Some description of their tenets is to be found in Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 129. Rycaut attributes to the Khūbmesīḥīs a belief in Jesus as "God and Redeemer of the World", and says that it is "principally maintained amongst the gallants of the Seraglio". Although adherence to the doctrine was liable to bring death, and its followers commonly practised secrecy, they might be recognised by the white turbans they wore. According to Rycaut, in addition to designating a member of the movement, the term Khūbmesīḥī entered general usage as a description for anyone of mild and affable disposition. The accuracy of this information in all its points is not to be assumed; many of the statements of Rycaut on religious matters are demonstrably erroneous. The Khūbmesīḥī movement presumably found its inspiration in the teaching of Ḳābiḍ, executed in Istanbul in 934/1527, after some delay, for alleging that the spiritual rank of Jesus was superior to that of the Prophet. Rycaut makes no mention of Ḳābiḍ, however, nor do any of the sources on Ḳābiḍ (e.g. Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 124-6) attribute to him the foundation of the Khūbmesīḥī movement.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Hamid Algar)

KHUBZ (A.) generic term (nomen unitatis: *khubza*) meaning bread, whatever the cereal employed, e.g. corn [see ḲAMḤ], barley [see SHAʿĪR], rice [see RUZZ] etc., and whatever the quality, the shape and the method of preparation. There exists nevertheless, in literary Arabic and, to a greater degree in the various dialects, a certain number of metaphors and of specific terms which cannot all be mentioned in this brief article, and the ellipsis of the word *khubz*, in expressions denoting a particular type, causes the semantic range of the fundamental notion to be appreciably enlarged: thus *khamīr* for *khubz*un *khamīr*un "leavened bread", *faṭīr* for *khubz*un *faṭīr*un "unleavened bread" etc. The baker is called *khabbāz* (but in Morocco this is known only in its feminine form *khabbāza*; see below), or *farrān* "oven-worker" (which however in Morocco means a communal oven), and a bakery is called *makhbaz* or simply *furn* "communal oven" (in technical usage corresponding to *kūsha* "lime-kiln" etc.). All these terms apply to precise cases which will be summarised later.

The economy of ancient Arabia was such that the Arabs could not make bread the basis of their diet [see GHIDHĀʾ, i], so that the expression *ākil al-khubz* "bread-eater" was a laudatory epithet implying considerable affluence (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 211). Nevertheless, the nomads occasionally ate a *ṭulma* ("flat bread", for *khubz*u *ṭulmat*in), that is a kind of pancake cooked on a heated stone, or a *malla* ("hot ash", for *khubz*u *mallat*in) also called *malīl*, a thicker loaf cooked under ash according to a process similar to that described by A. Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*², Paris 1948, 63) in talking of *ḳorṣ*: on arrival at the halting place, the Bedouin kneads flour with water and salt (if he has got it), but without adding yeast, and makes a sort of pie which he cooks in ash, turning it frequently to prevent burning. E. Laoust (*Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 89-90) has collected in Berber (where bread is called *aghrum*) a text which refers to some very similar practices.

For their part, the sedentary people, who were familiar with the whitest flour (*ḥuwwārā*) and bread of the finest quality which they cooked in an oven (*tannūr*), did not eat it regularly. They used to crumble it, however, to make a broth (*tharīd*) which the Prophet placed above all other foods (al-Bukhārī, *kitāb al-aṭʿima, bab* 27) and it is known that, according to the tradition, Hāshim [*q.v.*] owes his name to the fact that he crumbled (*hashama*) bread to make broth; this economical dish was highly thought of for a long period after Islam.

The conquest of several nations which produced corn in abundance increased in the various classes of society, and in varying degrees, the consumption of

bread, which was from that time considered, with nuances, "the subsistence of the land-dwellers, the basis of nourishment and the prince of foods" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 114) and city-dwellers who did not offer it to their guest unstintingly are taken to task (*ibid.*, 182). The *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* (see index, s.v. KHUBZ) provides interesting details regarding wheat-bread and its use, but in general it gives a picture of an affluent class, whose members were in a position to own a slave charged with the functions of a waiter or of a majordomo rather than a baker, but called *khabbāz* because of the importance attached to bread (*ibid.*, 48).

The same work (108), while giving valuable information on the refined standard of cuisine then practised, shows that bread was never eaten alone, and that it was incorrect to offer it dry, (*khubz*ᵘⁿ *kafār*ᵘⁿ). In the more affluent circles, it did not constitute the most substantial part of the diet and was rather used for dipping or was eaten from side-plates, while in poorer families and from a very ancient period, it was always accompanied by some condiment (*udm*) designed to make it palatable; in the present day, a term taken from the root *ʿd w*: *ʿadū*, or *dj w z* "to fan": *djwāz, jwāz, dwāz*, clearly expresses this idea; however, the interested parties probably do not take into account the imbalance which they create in thus adding lipids to the proteins and glucoses contained in bread. It should be stressed however that not everyone was in a position to eat it regularly, and even today, it still constitutes a rare luxury for certain particularly impoverished populations; for the more affluent, the basis of the diet is often, in many regions, boiled rice, ground corn (*burghul*) or kuskus (see KUSKUSŪ).

Since the classical period and, to a large extent, to the present day, there have existed various categories of bread which can be reduced to the following, while it may be noted that the dialectical vocabulary, extremely variable and rich, deserves to be the object of a linguistic-geographical study, whose ethno-sociological results could yield useful information:

— in Iraq, rice cultivated in the region of Baṣra was used probably by a limited number of bakers (among whom a popular poet, al-Khubz'aruzzi [*q.v.*] was to become famous) to make a bread which was quite cheap and accessible to the poorer classes, as well as to those who lived an ascetic life-style (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 5); in the other regions where it was cultivated, notably in Palestine and Egypt, rice was more often consumed in other forms (see M. Canard, *Le riz dans le Proche-Orient*, in *Arabica*, vi/2 (1959), 122 ff.);

— white bread, made with pure wheat-flour (*ḥuwwārā*) was in general confined to the more affluent families, but it seems to have been in widespread use in a number of countries, such as Palestine and Egypt; physicians actively recommended it, although it was less nutritious than

— bread of coarse-ground flour (*khushkār* and vars.) which was consumed by people of less means;

— bread made from common wheat, perhaps mixed with a little barley-flour;

— semolina bread (*samīdh/samīd*);

— barley bread, more coarse, mention of which appears frequently in the ḥadīth; ascetics judged it to be sufficient, but many poor families even today, must be content with it; in North Africa, *kesra*, and in the Near-East, *ḳurṣ*, are often nothing more than pancake of barley-flour, pure or mixed with a little wheat-flour;

— to this list it is appropriate to add the bread manufactured, in times of hardship, with flour of maize, millet or sorghum (*dhura*) or even of some wild plant, such as *sameḥ* in Jordan.

Apart from various pastries based on wheat-flour, bread was presented, with variations on which we cannot dwell here, in two principal forms;

— *ruḳāḳ*, very thin, was cooked on a slab of iron (or later, of stone) heated on a hearth or a brazier. This slab, called *ṭābaḳ/ṭābil* in the Middle Ages, is still in use in the Near East where it is convex and bears the name *ṣādj*; in the Maghrib, similar baking is not unknown, but a type of earthenware casserole is more often used, and bread thus prepared is called *marḳūḳ* or *maṭlūʿ* (cf. E. Laoust, *op. laud.*, 89 for the Berber world);

— *raghīf*, or (from Persian) *djardaḳ/djardhaḳ* is a round bread (*muḥawwar*) quite thick and cooked in an oven. But there is a distinction there between the domestic and the communal oven. The former (*tannūr*; currently *ṭābūn/ṭābūna*) has the form of an upturned jar without a base or of the frustrum of a cone open in the upper part; it is heated by means of embers placed inside and the raw dough is spread on the sides, on the outside (see Beaussier and Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *ṭābūn*). In certain regions there is also still to be found a *tannūr* dug into the earth, while in Jordan (Jaussen, *Moab*, 63) *ṭābūn* refers to a small construction in which is placed a sort of cooking-pot, surrounded by embers to cook the dough in the interior. In encampments the oven is replaced by a pottery plate (*ghannāy* or *ḥammāṣ* in Tunisia) which is heated on a brazier (*kānūn*) or even, on occasion, by heated stones.

As for the communal oven (*furn*, *kūsha*) it is found in various parts of the towns as well as in the villages, and it is there that individuals normally cook their bread for consumption at home. Until recently, in the Maghrib at least, it was considered dishonourable to buy one's bread outside, and the kneading of the dough, an essentially feminine occupation, was the duty of the mistress of the house or of a servant. On a large wooden tray (*ḳaṣʿa/gaṣʿa*), the housewife put, sometimes with a little bran, flour of corn or of barley or of both, or even of semolina, in quantities sufficient to provide food for several days, added yeast and salt, then poured in hot water and kneaded the dough which she then cut into pieces and left to rise on a tray in a warm place. A journeyman baker (*ṭarrāḥ* in Morocco) went round the houses, took the trays, imprinted on each piece a distinctive mark and took it all to the bakehouse.

The baking done, the baker came and handed over to each family the tray and the bread belonging to it. The wages of the baker consisted of a piece of bread which he baked and sold to his profit; in al-Andalus, this bread was called *poya* (and vars.) and this term has survived under the form *pīwa/pūya/būya*, in some regions of Morocco and of Algeria to designate the salary of the baker, even after it became the practice to pay him in cash (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 242-3; this work contains, pp. 2-39, 127-51, an extremely vivid text relating to the journeymen and the bakers, notes and a bibliography.)

Thus there were no real bakeries, and there was no *sūḳ* reserved for the making and the sale of bread. However, foreigners, individuals and bachelors were able to obtain it, either from certain women who kneaded extra pastry in order to sell the surplus bread in the streets, at a price fixed by the *muḥtasib*, or from bakers or retailers; in fact the *farrān* sold not only the small amounts of bread that they had

received in wages (for they were in principle forbidden to mix the pieces of dough to make large loaves; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, §§ 115, 148), but also the bread which they made on their own account. The authors of works of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] especially al-Saḳaṭī (G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, Paris 1931, 26-32 and *passim*; Spanish tr. P. Chalmeta, in *al-And.* (1968 ff.), §§ 53-67 and *passim*), enumerated in detail the frauds committed by these bakers, in such matters as the mixing of flours of different qualities (and even the addition of white earth), as well as malpractices in the baking and in the weighing of the bread, and also the rules of hygiene which were to be observed by the bakers and the traders who, in particular, were not allowed to work at professions such as those of the butcher or the fishmonger. (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, ed E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955, 89-90; French tr. R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/2 (1960), 201-2). In spite of these precautions, the quality was not always high, and bread sometimes contained gravel and other impurities (cf. M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, i/3 (1954), 299).

The price of bread, sold by weight and not by the loaf, was fixed by the *muḥtasib*, but it varied enormously, and it is the price of corn which provides the most convenient basis for estimating the cost of living; we confine ourselves to referring to E. Ashtor's fundamental work, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, and to the article ṬĀḤŪN for all matters relating to the different types of flour.

As in other civilisations, bread is treated with great respect. It is always broken and it should never be cut with a knife. A crumb which falls to the ground is picked up, raised to the lips and swallowed; a piece of bread found on the road is put, for the benefit of some destitute person, in a place where it will not be trodden on and soiled. And even though it does not constitute, strictly speaking, the basis of the diet, it is given in the Arabic dialects names which refer to life and to subsistence; *ʿaysh*/*ʿish*, *maʿīsha*, *kūt*, etc. And it is not absolutely certain that the magical purposes that it served have totally disappeared.

However, the situation described above has now been perceptively modified in the sense that, in the towns at least, it is from the bakeries that the population buys the bread that it needs; but if the making of bread has borrowed from the West certain modern processes, anyone can still easily obtain *khubz ʿarabī* prepared and presented as in ancient times. Also, in the countryside the tradition is still alive.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, index; A. von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, I. *Brot und Salz*, in *SBWAW*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., lxx (1890), 1-34; L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1931, 63-4/168; Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *Machriq*, xxxv (1937), 371 ff.; R. le Tourneau, *Fès*, Casablanca 1949, 329; E. Strauss (Ashtor), *Prix et salaires a l'époque mamlouke*, in *REI* (1949), 49-94, *passim*; Ashtor, *Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Annales ESC* (Sept.-Oct. 1968), 1018-21 and bibl. cited there; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 186; A. Amīn, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Cairo 1953, 293; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 419; D. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris 1964, 99; R. ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Amman 1973-4, s.vv. *ṣādj*, *ṭābūn*.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-KHUBZAʾARUZZĪ (many possible vocalisations), ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM NAṢR B. AḤMAD B. AL-MAʾMŪN, popular poet of Baṣra, who probably died in 327/938. He made rice bread (*khubz aruzz*) in a shop at the Mirbad [*q.v.*], where his biographers show him as surrounded by a circle of admirers who were especially attracted by his *ghazal* verses on boys, these being his speciality. It does not seem that he should be included in the list of those poets whose belligerence involved them in contests and controversies, nor does he seem to have been inclined, like so many of his compatriots, to attack the honour of others; because of this last fact, al-Masʿūdī's information that he had to flee into Arabia in order to avoid the vengeance of one of the Barīdīs [*q.v.*] is dubious. This same author states that his verses, set to music, were sung everywhere, but except in error, the *Aghānī* cites none of them. At all events, his *Dīwān*, put together by his friend Ibn Lankak [*q.v.*], must have spread considerably beyond the confines of his native town and even of Baghdad, where he lived for some time. This is confirmed by the fact that this illiterate (*ummī*) poet was highly appreciated by a person who held fast to the classical tradition like Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*], who attributes to him "ingenious shafts of wit and subtle inventions, in a closely-knit form and a chaste style, with no superfluities". The judgments of the biographers and anthologists confirm this appreciation, which the extant fragments of his work do not however seem entirely to justify; but the complete *Dīwān* must have been much richer and must have had enough originality to have stimulated the jealousy of a certain "great poet", thus referred to briefly by Ibn Sharaf.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 372-4 = §§ 3531; *Fihrist*, i, 160; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 132-5; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 112; Ibn Charaf, *Questions de critique littéraire*, ed. and tr. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 37; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 206-8 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 218-22; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 296-9, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 760; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 276-7 (s.a. 330); Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 329; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 276 (s.a. 317); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 337-8. (CH. PELLAT)

KHUDĀ BAKHSH, a notable bibliophile of Muslim India, the founder of the celebrated Oriental Public Library, at Patna, Bihar, India. He was born in 1824 at Chapra, and received his education in the University of Calcutta. After obtaining his degree in law, he began to practise as a lawyer at Patna at the age of twenty-six. He soon achieved considerable success in his profession, and was appointed a public prosecutor, which post he held for many years. In 1894, he was invited to serve as the Chief Justice of the High Court at Hyderabad, Deccan. On his retirement in 1898, he lived a quiet life at Patna, where he died in 1908 and was buried in the precints of the library he had founded. In recognition of his public services, the order of C.I.E. was conferred on him in 1903 by the British Government of India.

Khudā Bakhsh had inherited his passion for collecting rare Arabic and Persian manuscripts from his father. When his father died in 1876, he left him a collection of 1,400 manuscripts, with the behest to make it into a *waḳf* as soon as circumstances should permit him to do so. He continued to make substantial additions to it, till the number of manuscripts had reached 4,000 in 1891, when the collection, along with the building which accommodated it, was made into a public trust. The *waḳf*-deed was duly executed on 29 October 1891, and the library was formally opened by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Bihar. It was given the name of the "Oriental Public Library", though the people have

often persisted in calling it the "Khudā Bakhsh Library" after the name of the generous donor.

A new era in the history of the Library opened in 1903, when it was visited by Lord Curzon, then Governor-General and Viceroy of India. He was deeply impressed by its literary treasures, and ordered that a suitable new building be erected to accommodate them. He also discussed plans for the proper preservation and safe-keeping of the manuscripts; and at the same time he directed Dr. E. Denison Ross, then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, to make suitable arrangements for the proper cataloguing of the manuscripts.

Twenty-eight volumes of the catalogue have so far (1970) been published, in addition to two Supplements and an Index. The work of cataloguing is still in progress. The library at present contains 4,232 Arabic and 4,238 Persian manuscripts, in addition to a number of printed books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, English, French, German, Latin and other languages.

Khudā Bakhsh was survived by his son Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh, Barrister-at-Law. Like his father, he too was a legal practitioner, but found time to write a number of essays and papers on Islamic history and civilisation, which have been collected in book form. He also translated into English some of the works of Alfred von Kremer and Joseph Hell, and was accordingly characterised by D. S. Margoliouth as an "interpreter of Indian Islam to Europe and of European Orientalism to India". He was a liberal and a modernist in his social and religious views.

Bibliography: V. C. Scott O'Connor, *An eastern library*, Glasgow 1920; Salah-ud-Din Khuda Bakhsh, *My father, his life and reminiscences*, Calcutta 1909; information supplied by the present Librarian. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

KHUDĀBENDE [see ULDJAYTU]

KHUDĀWAND (P), God, lord, master. There is no established etymology for this word and no Middle or Old Persian antecedent. It is used in Ghaznawid times in the sense of lord or master (cf. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, *Tārikh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1971, 23, 435, and *passim*). In documents and letters belonging to the Saldjūḳs and Khʷārazmshāhs it is used as a term of address to the sultan, usually with some qualifying word or phrase such as *khudāwand-i ʿālam* "lord of the world" (cf. Muntadjab al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 4; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muʿayyad Baghdādī, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1937, 139, 341). *Khudāyagān-i ʿālam* and other similar combinations are also found in the same sense. *Khudāwand*, with or without a qualifying phrase such as *walī niʿam*, is also used as a form of address to government officials (civil and military) and to patrons in general. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Mayhanī in his manual on the art of the secretary, *Dastūr-i Dabīrī*, written in 575/1180, mentions *khudāwand-i ʿālam*, *khudāwand-i djahān*, *khudāyagān-i djahān and khudāwand-i walī-niʿam* among the forms of address accorded to the sultan (ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1962, 13, 15). He also includes *khudāwand* among the titles of the *wazīr* (*ibid.*, 16).

The terms *khudāwand-i aʿẓam*, *khudāyagān-i ʿālam* and similar combinations are common in Djalāʾirid, Aḳ Ḳoyunlū and Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū documents. The derivative term *khudāwandagār* is common as an honorific for *wazīrs* and commanders under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm (A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 329) and in Ottoman usage (I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich 1967; H. Inalcık, *İA*, art. *Pâdişâh*). See also E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris 1837-45, i, 64 ff., and F. Taeschner, *Die Werke der Familie Dai Qaraǧa Beg in Brussa*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 175).

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KHUDĀWENDIGĀR (P.) "lord, owner, master"; in Ottoman usage, it was used as (1) the title of Murād I, and (2) the name of the *sandjaḳ* and province of Bursa.

1. The title *Khudāwendigār* was used for commanders and viziers during the Saldjūḳ period (Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Khōyī, *Ghunyat al-kātib wa-munyat al-ṭālib fī rusūm al-rasāʾil wa-madjmūʿ al-faḍāʾil*, ed. N. Lugal-Adnan S. Erzi, Ankara 1963, 4-5; M. C. Şahabettin Tekindağ, *İzzet Koyunluoğlu Kütüphanesinde bulunan Türkçe yazmalar*, in *TM*, xvi 1971, 134-5). As an attribute, the term was used for mystics like Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh (Eflāḳī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959, i-ii, index). The word became widely used, especially after its usage as a title for the Ottoman sultan Murād I (761-91/1360-89) (Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 100, 103-4, 105-9, 112, 163, 166; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşaeli livası*, Istanbul 1952, 172), but the early Ottomans historians (e.g. ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, Neshrī, Orūč, Bihishtī) do not mention this title. In 9th/15th century documents, when referring to the reign of Murād I, the phrase *Khudāwendigār zamanında* is used without mentioning the Sultan's name (H. Inalcık, *Hicri 835 tarihli Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 154; *Ḳānūn-nāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. H. Inalcık and R. Anhegger, Ankara 1956, 77, 81; Çağatay Uluçay, *Saruhanoğulları ve eserlerine dair vesikalar*, Istanbul 1946, ii, 44, 48). The 10th/16th century historians accord Murād I the title of *Khudāwendigār*. Also, Murād I was sometimes addressed as *Ghāzī Khünkār* (Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 175) and it has been argued that the word *khünkār* is a variant form of *Khudāwendigār* (for the form *khundkār* used in a document of 848/1444, see Halil Inalcık, *Arvanid livası*, 9). On the evidence of the documents, the term *khudāwendigār* was used for the successors of Murād I from Bāyezīd I to Selīm I (Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, i, 118, 124, 149, 151-2, 154, 165, 187, 290, 304, 373, 377; A. Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde bulunan Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 49-50). As applied to these Sultans, it had the same meaning as the terms *pādishāh* and *khudāwend* (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi Library, no. 1970, ff. 15b, 16a; Tekindağ, *op. cit.*, 135, n. 3); but in the 11th/17th century, it was applied to Murād I exclusively (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, 14).

2. The use of Khudāwendigār as a name for the province of Bursa started after its conquest when Orkhān gave the town, together with its surrounding lands, to his son Murād as a *sandjaḳ* (Neshrī, *Djihān-numā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 56; ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1915, 43). However, there is no record in the contemporary sources that this name was used during the reign of Murād I (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 656). At this early period, Bursa was the capital of the Ottoman leader, himself called the *emīr-i kebīr*, and the province was therefore called after him *beg sandjaghı* (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa şeriye sicillerinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in fermanları*, in *Belleten*, liv,

698, 702; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadi ve içtimai tarihi (1558-1589)*, Ankara 1971, ii, 284, 309). The oldest document relating to the region and calling it Khudāwendigār is the *Khudāwendigār liwāsi taḥrīr defteri* dated 892/1487 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Tapu Defteri no. 23). From this date onwards, the term *Khudāwendigār sandjaghi* was sometimes used instead of "the *sandjaḳ* of Bursa" (M. Akdağ, *op. cit.*, ii, 310; H. T. Dağlioğlu, *xvi asırda Bursa (1558-1589)*, Bursa 1940, 31, 41 and *passim*). The *Khudāwendigār sandjaghi* in the *eyālet* of Anatolia was organised as a separate province in the 19th century. This province consisted of the *sandjaḳs* of Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Bilecek, Erdek, and Biga in 1846-7; it was reduced to a mere *mutaṣarrıflıḳ* in 1860, but restored to the status of a province again in 1861-2. Khudāwendigār, according to the provincial organisation regulation of 1864, consisted of Kütahya, Kocaeli, Karesi, Karahisar-i Sahib and the central *sandjaḳ* of Khudāwendigār itself (Vecihi Tönük, *Türkiye'de idâri teşkilât*, Ankara 1945, 110, 128, 130, 164).

Bibliography: apart from the references already mentioned in the text, see Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI yüz yıllarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zırai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 396; *Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyıhası*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, *Tarih Vesikaları*, Istanbul 1942, 463; *Koçi Bey risalesi*, ed. Ali Kemali Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 99; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reich*, repr. 1963, i, 81; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des Sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Paris 1967, 162-3; J. H. Kramers, *EI*[1], s.v. (C. ORHONLU)

KHUDJAND(A), a town and district in Central Asia, now the town and *oblast* of Leninabad in the Tadzhik SSR, the town lying in 40° 17′ lat. N. and 69° 37′ long. E. The mediaeval town was strung out along the left bank of the middle Sīr Daryā at the southernmost bend of its course and at the entrance to the Farghāna valley. It lay in the ill-defined borderlands between the Transoxanian districts of Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ushrūsana [*q.v.*], and was generally reckoned as being connected administratively with one or other of these two in the early middle ages. Its destinies were, however, frequently linked with those of the region of Farghāna [*q.v.*] to the east, the frontier between the two districts being marked, according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), tr. 115-16, by the town of Wāthkath or Wān Kath.

At the time of the Arab invasions of Transoxania, there was a local ruler or *malik* of Khudjand, apparently dependent on the ruler of Farghāna. The town was captured by the Arabs in 103-4/722, when anti-Arab elements of the Soghdians who had retreated thither were dislodged by Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī's troops, with a savage massacre of the besieged (Ṭabarī, ii, 1439 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 189; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 62-3). It must nevertheless have been speedily lost to the Arabs shortly afterwards when the local rulers of Soghdia were joined by the Ḳaghan of the Western Turks or Türgesh, Su-lu, and the Arabs temporarily expelled from most of Transoxania. Not surprisingly, the people of Khudjand joined those of Farghāna, Ushrūsana, Čaghāniyān, etc. in supporting the rebellion of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth during the years 190-3/806-9, according to Yaʿḳūbī.

The geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries now describe Khudjand and its district as a fertile and prosperous one, with many orchards and vineyards, although the town had to import grain from Farghāna and elsewhere. Ibn Ḥawḳal states that Khudjand had a *ḳuhandiz* or citadel with a prison; a *madīna* or inner city; and a *rabaḍ* or outer city, where the local ruler's palace, the *dār al-imāra*, lay. As befitted a frontier region, the inhabitants were warlike and generous. Furthermore, the town was an important centre for river navigation along the Sīr Daryā. This same author describes the district of Khudjand as extending southwards towards Washgird and Čaghāniyān, sc. to the Buttamān Mts. separating the basins of the upper Sīr Daryā and the upper Oxus. The only other town of the Khudjand district was Kand or Kand-i Bādhām "Kand of the almonds", so-called for a local product, almonds; this was presumably on the site of the modern village of Kan-i Badam, some 40 miles from Khudjand-Leninabad, visited by the American traveller E. Schuyler in the mid-1870s en route for Khoḳand (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, ii, 457, 489; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 479; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 157-8, 164-5; Schuyler, *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, ii, 3-4). A considerable number of *ʿulamāʾ* bearing the *nisba* of "al-Khudjandī" are mentioned by e.g. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 53-6, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 348; most notable of these is the mathematician and astronomer Abū Maḥmūd Ḥāmid al-Khudjandī, d. 390/1000 [*q.v.*].

Khudjand was a place of importance under the Ḳarā-Khānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*], and in the early years of the 5th/11th century, from 406/1015-6 onwards, Arslan Khān Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, originally ruler in Talas, minted coins there (see R. Vasmer, *Zur Münzkunde der Qarāḫāniden*, in *MSOS*, Westas. Studien, xxxiii (1939), 90-1, and E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzpragungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the mid-5th/11th century it was the frontier town between the eastern khānate of Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn under the sons of Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf and the western one of Transoxania under Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm. It was also at Khudjand that in 531/1137 the Ḳarā Khiṭāy invaders won a victory over the Ḳarā-Khānid Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad.

During the period of the Mongol invasions, Khudjand was in 617/1220 stubbornly defended after the fall of Samarḳand by the governor Temür Malik against a besieging force of 20,000 Mongol troops and 50,000 pressed levies, and after abandoning the citadel, he sailed away down the river and eventually reached Khwārazm (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 277-8; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 92-4). In the next century, under the Čaghatayids, the *ulus* of the important Djalāyir tribe in the Khāns' following was the district around Khudjand, until in 778/1376, after the revolt of the Djalāyirs, they were disbanded by Tīmūr and dispersed from the region (Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii. *Ulugh Beg*, 9, 26). Bābur, in the period of his struggles in Farghāna against the kinsmen who were his rivals for power, used Khudjand as a centre for operations in 903/1497-8; he has given an enthusiastic description of the walled town or *ḳurghan* of Khudjand and its many amenities (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 7-8, 89-92).

It was the connections of the Mongols and their epigoni in Central Asia with their kinsmen in northern China which stimulated mentions of Khudjand in the Chinese annals of the 14th century, e.g. as Hu-ch'an

in the *Yüan-shi*, and an early 14th century Chinese map shows it as Hu-jan; mediaeval Chinese travellers call the Sīr Daryā the Ho-ch'an or Hu-k'ien "river of Khudjand", following Arabic usage of such terms as *Nahr Khudjand* or *Nahr al-Shāsh* for that river (cf. Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 54-5).

After being under Özbeg rule, Khudjand became part of the Khānate of Khoḳand at the beginning of the 19th century, but in 1842 was captured by the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā, Naṣr Allāh b. Ḥaydar (see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates*, London 1899, 215-16). In May 1866 Khudjand fell to the Russian armies of General Romanovski after a bloody siege of eight days, in which 2,500 of the defending Khoḳandī force were killed, and the town was then used as a base for the final reduction of the Khānate of Khoḳand (see *ibid.*, 251-2; Schuyler, *op. cit.*, i, 312 ff., 339, 354; R. A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917, a study in colonial rule*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, 23-5, 34-5). In 1875 the Russian garrison in Khudjand was for a while besieged there by a rebellious faction in the Khānate of Khoḳand, and it was this revolt in Khoḳand which led to the final annexation of the Khānate by Russia [see KHOḲAND]. Under Tsarist rule, Khudjand eventually became part of the Samarḳand *oblast* of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan.

Under the Soviets, Khudjand was in 1936 re-named Leninabad, and this name was also given to the northern *oblast* of the Tadzhik SSR. It is now the second most important industrial and cultural centre of the Republic after Dushambe (the Stalinabad of 1929-61), with manufactures of cotton, silk and footware, food processing, and with orchards and vineyards outside the town. The population in 1970 was 103,000 (see *BSE*², xxiv, 513-5).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**KHUDJANDĪ**, ABŪ MAḤMŪD ḤĀMID B. AL-KHIḌR, astronomer and mathematician, originally from Khudjand in Transoxania. He lived under the protection of the Buwayhid Fakhr al-Dawla (366-87/976-97) and died in 390/1000.

From amongst his mathematical works, there has survived in Cairo the manuscript of a treatise on geometry. We know that he was concerned with the resolution of equations of the third degree by geometrical methods and that he demonstrated, in an imperfect manner, that the sum of two cubed numbers cannot be another cube. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*K. Shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*, Istanbul 1891, 108-20) affirms that Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī [*q.v.*], Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāḳ [*q.v.*] and al-Khudjandī are the three authors to whom are attributed the discovery of the sine law called by the latter the "astronomical law" (*ḳānūn al-hayʾa*), because of its frequent use in astronomy, and he gives the proof which he offered of this law (cf. C. Schoy, *Behandlung einiger geometrischen Fragepunkte durch muslimische Mathematiker*, in *Isis*, viii (1926), 260-3). However, P. Luckey, in his *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreiechtsrechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940-1), 416, 418-9, rejects al-Khudjandī's part in this in principle, because we are concerned here with a person whose outstanding work was in the field of practical astronomy.

Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Taḥdīd nihāyat al-amākin*, in *RIMA*, viii (1962), 107, states that al-Khudjandī was "unique in his age" (*awḥad zamānihi*) for the construction of astrolabes and other astronomical instruments. Some manuscripts have been preserved of his treatise *Fī ʿamal al-āla al-ʿāmma*, in which is described a universal instrument (*al-āla al-ʿāmma* or *al-shāmila*) to be used in place of the astrolabe or quadrant. He constructed an armillary sphere and other instruments, and must have worked on theoretical questions concerning the laying out of the plan of an astrolabe, since Abū Naṣr Manṣūr gives two methods of al-Khudjandī's for determining the position of the circles of the azimuth on the astrolabe by the intersection of the equator and the *muḳanṭarāt* (*Risāla fī madjāzāt dawāʾir al-sumūt fī 'l-asṭurlāb*, in *Rasāʾil ilā 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948, 3-9). His most important work in the sphere of astronomical instruments was the sextant called *al-suds al-fakhrī* (sc. dedicated to Fakhr al-Dawla) which he made in order to determine the obliquity of the ecliptic. He described this instrument and the observations which he was able to make with it in his *Risāla fī 'l-mayl wa-ʿarḍ al-balad* (ed. L. Cheikho, in *Machriq*, xi (1908), 60-8). Al-Bīrūnī gave a detailed analysis of this in his *Taḥdīd*, 101-8, which is said to be based on the *Maḳāla fī taṣḥīḥ al-mayl* of al-Khudjandī (probably to be identified with the R. *fī 'l-mayl* cited above). This sextant had a diameter of 40 *dhirāʿ*s or cubits (al-Bīrūnī: 80 cubits) constructed at Ṭabrūk near Rayy and set down on the plan of the meridian; it was surrounded by walls and covered over by a roof, part of which was vaulted (*ṭāḳ*) and with an aperture 3 spans (*shibr*) in diameter (al-Bīrūnī: one span) coinciding with the centre of the sextant. With this instrument it was possible to take the height of the sun; the sun's light threw a circle on to the sextant and, in order to determine the centre, al-Khudjandī used a circle of the same radius which had two perpendicular diameters which he placed on the circle thereby lit up. Al-Khudjandī asserted that the sextant was his own invention, and he boasted that, by using it, he could make calculations down to the very second. Similar instruments seem to have been employed in the observatories of Marāgha (founded before 660/1261-2) and at Samarḳand (built in 823/1420).

With this *suds al-fakhrī*, al-Khudjandī observed the meridian height of the sun at the summer and winter solstices of the year 384/994; the procedure involved consisted in making observations on two consecutive days at the time of the solstice and in determining, by interpolation, the exact moment of the passing of the sun into the solstice. He was able to do this in the month of June, but clouds prevented him from repeating the procedure in December, so that the exactness of the whole operation was somewhat affected. His observations were made in the presence of a group of leading scholars who drew up a report. The result was: $\varepsilon = 23° 32' 19''$ ($21''$ according to al-Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1954, i, 364), a value which, compared to those worked out by the Indian astronomers (24°) and Ptolemy ($23° 51'$) justified al-Khudjandī's belief in a progressive reduction in the obliquity of the ecliptic. Al-Bīrūnī, who believed that ε was a constant (*Taḥdīd*, 107-8, 116; *Ḳānūn*, i, 364) emphasises that al-Khudjandī told him verbally that the aperture of the vault by which the sun's rays came in had been displaced downwards by a span before the observations regarding the winter solstice were made, so that it did not coincide exactly with the sextant's centre. This fact may explain the decrease in the value of ε in relation to other determinations made roughly around the same time.

Al-Khudjandī made other observations; he fixed the latitude of Rayy at $35° 34' 39''$ (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 86-7, 99, 238; *Ḳānūn*, ii, 612), and he asserted that he had observed the planets for Fakhr al-Dawla by

means of armillary spheres and other instruments (*R. fi 'l-mayl*, 62). The final result of this work was the compiling of *al-Zīdj al-fakhrī*. An incomplete copy in Persian of a *zīdj*, preserved in the Majlis Library in Tehran (ms. 181) may be based on al-Khudjandī's observations; the period of the tables of average movements is 600 of the Yazdagirdī era, sc. about two centuries after al-Khudjandī's death (see E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, N.S., xlvi (1956), 133, No. 60).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see Suter, *Mathematiker*, 74; Brockelmann, S I, 390; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 307-8; P. Kunitzsch, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara* iii/1. *al-ʿulūm: al-falak, al-tandjīm, al-mīḳāt*, Cairo n.d. 5; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 667-8; Sevim Tekeli, *al-Khujandī*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vii (New York 1973), 352-4; J. Samsó, *Estudios sobre Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāq*, Barcelona 1969, 51, 89-93; A. L. Sédillot, *Mémoire sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B.-L.*, i, (1884), 202-6; O. Schirmer, *Arabische Bestimmungen der Schiefe der Ekliptik*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, lviii (1926), 43-88 (esp. 43-6, 63-79); E. Wiedeman, *Über den Sextant des al-Chogendi*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, ii (1919), 148-51; idem, *Avicennas Schrift über ein von ihm ersonnenes Beobachtungsinstrument*, in *AO*, v (1926), 81-167; J. Frank, *Über zwei astronomische arabische Instrumente*, in *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenkunde*, xli (1921), 193-200; A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 118-21, 198-9, 277, 283.

(J. Samsó)

KHUDJISTĀN, a small town or village of mediaeval Islamic Bādghīs [*q.v.*], lying to the northeast of Harāt in modern Afghānistān, and described by the mediaeval geographers as being mountainous, possessing agricultural lands and having warlike inhabitants (Iṣṭakhrī, 268-9; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 441, tr. Wiet. 426; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 104, 327; Yāḳūt, ii, 404; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et litt. de la Perse*, 197). Although within a Sunnī region, Khudjistān itself was one of the last centres for the Khawāridj in eastern Iran, and the population are described as Khāridjīs and extremists (*shurāt wa-ghulāt*).

Its main claim to fame is that it gave birth in the 3rd/9th century to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī. He was a commander in Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's army, but after the fall of the Ṭāhirid capital Nīshāpūr to Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in 259/853, he made a bid for independent power in Khurāsān, with a base of power in Harāt and Ṭukhāristān, against the Ṣaffārids, until he was killed by one of his own *ghulāms* in 268/882. Worthy of note is the detail that Khudjistānī was allegedly launched on his career as a condottieri through hearing the martial poetry of a local author, Ḥanẓala of Bādghīs, who must have been one of the very earliest writers of verse in New Persian (Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahar maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 26-7, revised tr. 27-9, cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persanes (IXe-Xe siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 17-8, 53).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KHULDĀBĀD, a town in the northwestern part of the former Ḥaydarābād state, now in Maharashtra state of the Indian Union, and situated in lat. 20° 1′ N. and long. 75° 12′ E; it is also known as Rauza (sc. Rawḍa). It is 14 miles from Awrangābād and 8 from Dawlatābād [*q.vv.*], and a particularly holy spot for Deccani Muslims, since it contains the tombs of several Muslim saints and great men, including the Niẓām-Shāhī minister Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*]; Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh, founder of Ḥaydarābād state [*q.v.*]; and above all, of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], who died at Aḥmadnagar in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1118/March 1707 and was buried at the *rawḍa* or shrine of Shaykh Zayn al-Ḥaḳḳ, and of his son Aʿẓam Shāh. After Awrangzīb's burial, the place was called Khuldābād, the monarch's posthumous name being *Khuld-makām* "He whose abode is eternity" (see *Cambridge hist. of India*, iv, 302).

Bibliography: *Gazeteer of Aurangabad District*, Bombay 1884; *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], xv, 285; *Murray's Handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*[21], London 1968, 59-61.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHULʿ [see ṬALĀḲ].

KHULḲ [see AKHLĀḲ].

KHULM, a town of northern Afghānistān lying in the lowland region to the south of the upper Oxus at an altitude of 1,400 ft./450 m. and in lat. 36° 42′ N. and long. 67°41′ E.; it is situated some 30 miles/50 km. to the east of modern Mazār-i Sharīf and, according to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, two *marḥalas* or 10 *farsakhs* to the east of Balkh [*q.v.*]. It further lies on the Khulm River which flows down a narrow valley from the Hindu Kush past the town of Haybak and then Khulm itself until it peters out short of the Oxus. It is possible that this river is the Artamis of the Greek geographers.

The mediaeval geographers describe Khulm as the centre of a flourishing agricultural district, with luscious fruits, and as enjoying a healthy climate; the *kharādj* or land-tax was levied on the extent of irrigated land. The grapes and other fruits of Khulm were still the subject of much praise by the Scottish traveller Alexander Burnes in the early 19th century. The road from Balkh eastwards into Badakhshān and to Andarāba and the silver mines of Pandjhīr also passed through Khulm (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 427, 432; *Ḥudud al-ʿālam*, 108).

Regarding the pre-Islamic history of Khulm, it has been conjectured that Khulm is the Aornos mentioned by Arrian as conquered by Alexander the Great in the winter of 330-329 BC (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i/2, 2659). The Buddhist Chinese traveller of the early 7th century, Hiuen-Tsang, seems, however, to mention it as the kingdom of Hu-lin, whose chief town had over 10 Buddhist monasteries with more than 500 monks (see T. Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's travels in India*, London 1904, i, 106, 109). In the period of the Islamic conquests in Central Asia, it is mentioned at various times in the course of warfare, e.g. in 90/708-9 when Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] made his final attack on the Hephthalite leader Ṭarkhān Nīzak (Ṭabarī, ii, 1205-6, 1219, with mention of the *shiʿb Khulm* "defile or valley of Khulm"), and in 119/737 when Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī was endeavouring to expel from Ṭukhāristān the united forces of the Turkish Khāḳān Su-lu of the Western Türgesh, the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj and the local princes of the Oxus valley principalities and of Soghdia, and the Khāḳān endeavoured in vain to take the town (Ṭabarī, ii, 1603, 1615). Once pacified, the district was settled by Arabs of Tamīm, Ḳays, Azd and Bakr (Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-6, v, 180). Khulm also figures in the tax-assessment for Ṭukhāristān in the time of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir's governor-

ship (years 211-12/826-8) under the sum of 12,300 dirhams per annum (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 36, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 218); and in the fighting around Khulm in the later 3rd/9th century between the Ṣaffārids and other contenders for power in Khurāsān, the condottieri Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī [see KHUDJISTĀN] in 268/881-2 defeated ʿAmr b. Layth's ally Abū Ṭalḥa Manṣūr b. Sharkab near the town (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 209). Culturally, Khulm was of sufficient note to produce, according to Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 180-3, a well-known poet, Kaʿb b. Aḥmad, and several legal and theological scholars.

We hear little of Khulm under the rule of the successive Turkish and other dynasties of eastern Iran like the Saldjūḳs and Tīmūrids, but it was clearly within these centuries that the Turkicisation of these lands south of the Oxus took place, so that in modern Afghānistān, the population of the region is largely Uzbek.

In the period after Nādir Shāh, sc. in the later 12th/18th century, the region came under the control of a local ruler of Uzbek stock, Ḳilīdj ʿAlī Beg of Khulm. He held, according to Elphinstone, the title of *Ataliḳ* from the Durrānī kings of Kābul and paid deference to them, but was left virtually independent in return for protecting the northern borders of Afghānistān against Uzbek incursions from beyond the Oxus. It was because of these depredations that the seat of government for the Khulm region was in the early 19th century transferred from Khulm to Tash Ḳurghan 4 miles/6 km. to the south, and this has become the site of the modern town of Khulm. Various British travellers visited it at this time. W. Moorcroft (1824) mentions that the tyrannical Muḥammad Murād Beg, ruler of Ḳunduz and much of the region north of the Hindu Kush, had compelled the inhabitants of Khulm proper to transfer to his own capital of Ḳunduz. Old Khulm certainly now fell into decay, whilst New Khulm or Tash Ḳurghan flourished. Concerning population, Elphinstone (1809) estimated that Old Khulm contained about 8,000 houses, and Burnes (1832) that New Khulm had some 10,000 inhabitants. Subsequently, the sons of Ḳilīdj ʿAlī Beg reigned from Khulm over an area comprising Khulm, Haybak, Ṭalaḳān, Andarāb and Mazār-i Sharīf as vassals of Muḥammad Murād Beg, but in the early 1850s Dōst Muḥammad of Kābul [*q.v.*] succeeded in bringing Badakhshān and the Uzbek principality of the Khulm district under his own control, and henceforth it formed part of the dominions of the kings of Kābul.

Present-day New Khulm-Tash Ḳurghan forms part of the Afghān province of Samangān, within which it and Haybak are the main towns, Khulm, however, being the more populous of the two (population estimated by Humlum at 30,000 in *ca.* 1950); both towns benefit by being on the main road from Kābul to Mazār-i Sharīf and the Russian frontier.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 67-8; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et litt. de la Perse*, 211; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies*, London 1842, ii, 184, 195-200; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara, together with a Narrative of a voyage on the Indus*, London 1834, i, 202-12, 230-1, ii, 346 ff.; W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab . . . from 1819 to 1825*, London 1841, ii, 396, 409, 412-3, 415-7, 420, 426, 429 ff., 441, 448 ff.; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 150, 155.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHULṬ, the classical form of the name of a tribe of northwestern Morocco pronounced Khloṭ (but ethnic, Khulṭi). The Khloṭ came into North Africa with the invasions of the Banū Hilāl in the 5th/11th century, and formed part of the "mixed" Arab people known as the Djusham; according to Ibn Khaldūn and other historians, the Khloṭ allegedly belonged to the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ. The Djusham spread throughout the central Maghrib, settled there and took part in all the wars which desolated Barbary. After the Almohad conquest, they vainly tried to rebel, and not long afterwards, the Banū Ghāniya [see IBN GHĀNIYA] had little trouble in engaging them as their auxiliaries after the capture of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA]. The Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr, once victorious over his enemies, punished their allies and accordingly transported to the oceanic shores of Morocco the Djusham and Riyāḥ Arabs. The latter were established in the Hibṭ and the Gharb, and the first group in the Tāmesnā (Shāwiya), depopulated since the extermination of the Berghawāṭa [*q.v.*] by the Almoravids.

Under al-Manṣūr's successors, the intrigues of the Almohad *shaykh*s found excellent support in the two component groups of the Djusham, the Khloṭ and the Sufyān, whose jealousies yet further aggravated the internecine conflicts. In 621/1224 the Khloṭ espoused the cause of the pretender al-Maʾmūn against the caliph al-ʿĀdil, who was supported by the Sufyān. In 625/1228, al-Maʾmūn was proclaimed caliph; in 630/1233 his son al-Rashīd succeeded him, but because of their misdeeds and violence, he was obliged to take strong measures against the Khloṭ chiefs, who then rebelled and took the side of the pretender Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir. The Sufyān, now reconciled with al-Rashīd, attacked the Khloṭ on the banks of the Umm al-Rabīʿ and a frightful carnage ensued. The Khloṭ sought vengeance by proclaiming as caliph the Andalusian pretender Ibn Hūd, but al-Rashīd pursued them, drove them back, and captured and then executed their chiefs (635/1237-8). Much weakened and browbeaten into obedience, they took part in the caliphs' expeditions, but their rivalry with the Sufyān was in no way extinguished and proved fatal to the Almohads. In 646/1248, at the siege of Tamzesdekt against the Zayānid pretender Yaghmorasen, this rivalry brought about the caliph al-Saʿīd's death and the Almohads' defeat.

The Marīnid sultan Abū Thābit treated the Khloṭ harshly for their violence (707/1308), but he took advantage of their assistance in order to destroy the power of the Riyāḥ. They were then settled on the former's lands, in the Azghār and the Hibṭ, and formed part of the *makhzan* [*q.v.*] of the Moroccan sultans, made marriage alliances with these rulers and provided for them provincial governors, ambassadors and advisers. They subsequently passed into the service of the Banū Waṭṭās and gave no support to the Saʿdids, who at first held them at arm's length despite the importance of the tribe which, according to Leo Africanus, could put 12,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry into the field. However, the Khloṭ's important part in the Moroccan victory of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin against the Portuguese gave them entry in part at least to the *makhzan* of the Saʿdids. At the time of the latters' decadence, the marabout pretender al-ʿAyyāshī [*q.v.*], who sought to compel them to march against the Christians of Larache, was unable to bring them to obedience and was assassinated by them (1048/1638-9). Under the ʿAlawids, the Khloṭ took the side of the petty princelings of northern Morocco who had made themselves in-

dependent under the cover of waging holy war. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl and his successors, after first reducing them to submission, deprived the Khloṭ of their status as a *makhzan* tribe and favoured the establishment in their region of heterogeneous elements, the Ṭlīḳ and Badāwa groups, who inevitably afflicted and reduced the power of the former occupants of the land.

Bibliography: Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon have provided the most complete information about the habitat, ethnography, administrative organisation, political position and the splits among the Khloṭ in their article *Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkous*, in *AM*, iv-vi (1905-7). (A. Cour)

KHUMĀRAWAYH B. AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN, second Ṭūlūnid ruler of Egypt and Syria. He was born in Sāmarrā in 250/864 and, after the abortive rebellion of his brother ʿAbbās [*q.v.* in Suppl.] against Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], was designated heir-apparent as early as 269/882. In an unprecedented act in the history of Muslim Egypt, the popular Khumārawayh came to power upon the death of his father on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 270/10 May 884 without the caliph's sanction, but rather with the general approval of the military and civil authorities of the Ṭūlūnid régime. His brother ʿAbbās was forced to pay homage to his rule, and was assassinated under obscure circumstances only a few days after Khumārawayh's accession. Khumārawayh reigned for twelve years; on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 282/18 January 896 he was killed, a victim to a palace cabal, by one of his own slaves.

Khumārawayh inherited both a stable and wealthy polity from his father—the treasury is said to have contained ten million dīnārs, thanks to Ibn Ṭūlūn's far-sighted internal and external economic policy—and also an unresolved struggle with the court of Baghdād. Since he had come to power only through his father or rather through his father's generals, the caliph regarded him as an usurper. Immediately upon receiving the news of Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, al-Muwaffaḳ, the ruler of the eastern half of the ʿAbbāsid empire and strong man in the Baghdād court, broke off the negotiations which had led to the *de facto* recognition of Ibn Ṭūlūn as governor of Egypt and Syria. One of Ibn Ṭūlūn's foremost generals, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, then changed sides and urged al-Muwaffaḳ to attack Khumārawayh and reconquer Egypt, exploiting Khumārawayh's lack of political and military experience (al-Kindī, 234, ii, 4-5). Two generals of the caliph with al-Muwaffaḳ's sanction now invaded Ṭūlūnid Syria: Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, the governor of Mosul whom al-Muwaffaḳ had appointed "legal" governor of Egypt and Syria in 269/882-3, and Muḥammad b. Dīwdād Abi 'l-Sādj of Anbār. The defection of the Ṭūlūnid governor of Damascus and finally the appearance of Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaḳ (the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid) leading an ʿIrāḳī army challenged Khumārawayh's control over Syria even further. In Shawwāl 271/February-March 885 (Grabar, 68) Aḥmad's troops met the Egyptians under Khumārawayh's command in the tragi-comic Battle of the Mills (*al-Ṭawāḥīn*) in southern Palestine. Both Aḥmad and Khumārawayh ignominiously fled from the battlefield; the military decision in Khumārawayh's favour was secured by the capable and courageous Ṭūlūnid general Saʿd al-Aysar. After his victory he went to Damascus and rebelled, though unsuccessfully, against the humiliated Khumārawayh. Khumārawayh's long-term strategy of achieving a rapprochement with the ʿAbbāsid court is reflected in the exceptional clemency with which he treated his ʿIrāḳī prisoners of war. In the following years his realm was considerably extended. He beat decisively, though with inferior forces, Ibn Kundādj, who submitted to him and brought areas as far east as Ḥarrān (Grabar, 75) under Khumārawayh's control. The Djazīra became part of the Ṭūlūnid lands when its governor Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj sought Khumārawayh's protection. On Khumārawayh's own initiative, Yāzmān of Ṭarsūs finally accepted Ṭūlūnid sovereignty over Cilicia.

In Radjab 273/December 886 al-Muwaffaḳ and Khumārawayh eventually came to terms. Khumārawayh discontinued the public slandering of al-Muwaffaḳ in the sermons of Egypt and formally acknowledged ʿAbbāsid sovereignty. In return he was granted the *de jure* governorship of both Egypt and the lands of Syria (al-Shaʾmāt) for thirty years for himself and his progeny (*wulduhū*). Thus not only his own succession, but also the dignity of his family, were recognised by the caliph. The time limit imposed, however, clearly shows that the caliph regarded the Ṭūlūnid rule over Egypt and Syria to be temporary and revocable, unlike the privileges granted to the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] of Ifrīḳiya. Unfortunately, the financial provisions of this first treaty between Khumārawayh and al-Muwaffaḳ are not recorded in the sources. Syria now became an integral part of the Ṭūlūnid domains; in the provincial capitals of the Shaʾmāt, Ramla/Filasṭīn, Ḥimṣ, Ḥalab and Anṭākiya, new mints were set up.

In Radjab 279/October 892 al-Muʿtaḍid, the son of al-Muwaffaḳ, succeeded al-Muʿtamid as caliph. In a new treaty he readily confirmed these arrangements with Khumārawayh. The annual tribute to be paid by Khumārawayh as vassal to al-Muʿtadid was fixed at a rate of presumably 300,000 dīnārs, supplemented by 200,000 dīnārs to be paid for each preceding year of his rule. The sources are vague and inconsistent on these crucial figures. Khumārawayh lost the territories east of the Euphrates, Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa and Diyār Muḍar around al-Rāfiḳa, where coins had been struck on his behalf before 279/892. The important and prestigious *ṭirāz*-manufactures of Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria remained under the control of the caliph. Ṭūlūnid coins bore his along with Khumārawayh's name.

Khumārawayh's limited autonomy made him susceptible to honours bestowed upon him by the caliph, the most exalted and highest sovereign of the Muslim community. In 279/892, through the mediation of his closest adviser, al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ al-Djawharī, he arranged for one of the great political marriages of mediaeval Islamic history. He offered his daughter Ḳaṭr al-Nadā to the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid's son ʿAlī, but the caliph took her as a bride for himself. It remains unclear whether or not this marriage, which entailed an exorbitant dowry of one million dīnārs, was a calculated device on the part of the caliph to wreck the finances of his dangerously wealthy and powerful vassal. The splendid nuptials of Ḳaṭr al-Nadā lived on in the memory of the Egyptians well into the Ottoman period, as is recorded in the chronicles and the folk-literature.

Khumārawayh's frivolity and generosity are well attested in the sources. He had sumptuous palaces and gardens built for himself and his favourites. To his contemporaries, his awesome blue-eyed palace lion epitomised his prodigality. He was said to ride no horse more than once. Becker (*Beiträge*, ii, 191) connects his addiction to luxury and debauchery with his status as heir to the capable and successful founder of a dynasty. "Rule was something self-evident to him, something given. He liked to exercise it, but shied from the burdens which were indispensable for

it". When Khumārawayh was murdered in 282/896, the treasury was empty. All the wealth Ibn Ṭūlūn had amassed had been squandered within a few years. In Khumārawayh's rule the *dīnār*'s worth sank to one third of its former value (Hassan, 245). Under Khumārawayh's sons Djaysh and Hārūn who succeeded him in rapid sequence, the political and financial demise of the Ṭūlūnid state was still further accelerated. In 292/905 ʿAbbāsid troops sacked Ibn Ṭūlūn's new city of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ and brought back for thirty years direct ʿAbbāsid rule to Egypt.

Khumārawayh's military prowess was notable. After the disaster of al-Ṭawāḥīn he showed strategic skills and astounding personal bravery; he is said to have killed the rebellious Saʿd al-Aysar with his own hands. He could rely on the multi-racial army of his father, composed mainly of Turkish, Greek and Sudanese military slaves and some, mainly Greek, mercenaries; he strengthened its force with numerous fresh soldiers from Turkestan. Yet in contrast to his father, he lacked undisputed authority over the military. He tried to compensate for this with overly-generous special distributions that further undermined the precarious finances of the state.

Possibly under ʿAbbāsid influence (al-Muʿtaḍid had his own élite body of military slaves, *al-mukhtārūn*), Khumārawayh established a corps d'élite, *al-mukhtāra*, composed of unruly Egyptian Bedouins of the Eastern delta, on whom he bestowed various privileges. By converting these tribesmen into a loyal and efficient bodyguard he reasserted control and brought back peace to this strategic region between the centres of Egypt and Syria. Significantly enough, there seem to have been no Turks among Khumārawayh's *mukhtāra* soldiers; he seems rather to have used them to offset the predominant influence of his own Turkish entourage. One thousand Negroes formed a less highly privileged special contingent within the *mukhtāra*.

Already under Khumārawayh, the civil administration of Egypt passed gradually into the hands of the Madhārāʾī family who later, during the ʿAbbāsid intermezzo and under the Ikhshīdids, directed the finances of the country. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Madhārāʾī began his illustrious career by bringing under his control the *barīd*, the intelligence and communications service. Khumārawayh's relations with the religious establishment of Egypt were strained; his libertinism and frivolity made him the target of harsh attacks both in contemporary and later historiography.

Khumārawayh's prodigal rule encouraged a rich life. Few traces of his splendid architectural and cultural monuments and the minor arts are preserved. His patronage of scholarship and poetry is well known; the grammarian Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 329/944) was his protégé and the teacher of his sons. Al-Ḳāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Maryamī (d. 317/929) wrote encomia to celebrate Khumārawayh's triumphs on the battlefield.

Bibliography: See *EI*¹ s.v. (Sobernheim). Among the Arabic sources the contemporary historian Ibn al-Dāya [*q.v.*] must be ranked first; fragments of his chronicle of the Ṭūlūnids are preserved in Ibn Saʿīd's *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*; as far as Khumārawayh is concerned, this important text unfortunately only contains a few remarks on his appointment as heir-apparent, see Ibn Saʿīd, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers, in *Semitistische Studien*, i (1894), 74 ll. 4 ff.; al-Kindī, *K. al-Wulāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden/London 1912, 233-41; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1902-3, ii, 180-98; Z. M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides. Etude de l'Egypte Musulmane à la fin du IXe siècle 868-905*, Paris 1933, 107-33 and *passim*; O. Grabar, *The Coinage of the Tulunids*, New York 1957, 59-78; Rainer Glagow, *Das Kalifat des al-Muʿtaḍid billāh (892-902)*, Diss. phil. Bonn 1968, 22-3, 61-7, 70-3.

(U. Haarmann)

KHUMAYR (pronounced locally Khmīr, in French Kroumir), an element of the population which has given its name to a mountainous massif extending along the north-west littoral of Tunisia. The Djebel Khmīr, or Kroumirie, forms part of the administrative district of Djenouba, which covers an area of 3,000 square km. and has a population of 255,000, of whom 225,000 are peasants (census of May 1966).

The massif of the Khumayr, a Tunisian extension of the Atlas range, consists of a series of contrasting sandstone flexures running along a south-west - north-east axis. The two extremities of the massif, separated by the cultivated limestone depression of Ghazwān, present palpable differences in spite of the overall unity. The western Kroumirie has its highest point at Djebel Ghorra in an altitude of 1,202 m., and the eastern Kroumirie, very difficult of access in spite of its modest altitudes, reaches a height of 1,014 m. at Djebel Bīr which dominates Aīn Draham. Everywhere the contrasting forms of rockstrata, deeply furrowed anticlinals and sheer synclinals, give a wild aspect to a landscape covered by a forest 47,000 hectares in area. Of the trees 70% are cork-oak, 20% are zean oak, and 10% other species, including the wild olive. Often the undergrowth consists of fern. Other species have recently been introduced, notably the parasol pine (*bunduḳ*). The level of rainfall in Kroumirie is the highest in Tunisia, with an average of 1 m. per year and a maximum of 1,575 m. at Aīn Draham. In spite of the abundant rain and relatively plentiful falls of snow, the massif suffers from shortage of water. Springs are certainly numerous, but they are dispersed over a wide area and their output is feeble. Some springs even dry up in summer.

In ancient times, the massif of the Khumayr did not escape penetration by the Romans. Three routes crossed it: in the longitudinal axis, the road from Carthage to Hippo Regius (Bône, now called Annaba) via Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta), in the transverse axis the road from Simittu (Chemtou) to Thabraca (Tabarka), of which numerous traces have been discovered, and the road from Vaga (Béja) leading to the same destination via Trisipa. Thabraca, originally a Carthaginian market-town, and from the 4th century one of the richest dioceses in Africa, was the centre for the export to Rome of the products of the massif, timber for building and wild animals, as well as oil, wheat and minerals. "A city of luxury, where art has its place alongside commerce" (P. Gaukler, *Mosaïques*, 155), Thabraca has given us some very fine mosaics.

It is curious that throughout the mediaeval period, the massif of the Khumayr has gone unnoticed by the historian. The silence of our sources is complete. It is only in modern times, and in contemporary times in particular, that it has begun to play a historical role, appearing at the same time as a place of refuge and of resistance, escaping almost completely the power of the Tunisian authorities.

The Khumayr had cordial and profitable relations with the colony of Genoese fishermen established since 947/1540 on a rocky island of 40 hectares in area separated from Tabarka by a channel 500 metres wide. They were acutely affected when this islands was unexpectedly attacked and forcibly recovered by

ʿAlī Pasha in 1153/1740 (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 124). In 1183/1769-70, the Khumayr gave asylum to the pretender ʿUthmān al-Ḥaddād, who was ultimately captured and executed (*ibid.*, ii, 165). In 1260/1844 they gave their support to another pretender, who claimed to be a descendant of ʿUthmān Bey. The latter also was captured through a trick and beheaded (*ibid.*, iv, 78-9; ed. A. Abdesselem, 116-7). In 1282/1865, ʿAlī Bey, at the head of the military mission (*maḥalla*) responsible for the levying of taxes, bled the region of Béja white, but did not dare venture into the massif, which was subject to tax only within agreed limits (Ibn Abī al-Diyāf, *op. cit.*, vi, 55, 65). However, the mountain-people were not involved in the insurrection of 1864—they did not feel that it concerned them—nor in the troubles of 1867-8.

It was in 1881 that they came abruptly to the fore. The Khumayr were in the habit of pillaging their neighbours, including those in Algeria. Seeing that the Caīd of Tabarka, to whom they were theoretically answerable, had no control over them, the French authorities, in the context of a complex policy which had the effect of setting various powers in competition with one another, decided to act. They set in motion the process which culminated in the establishment of the protectorate over Tunisia. On 24 April 1881, the French Army of Algeria marched into Tunisia; two days later they occupied Kef without a battle; on 13 May it was the turn of Aīn-Draham, and the following day the French routed the Khumayr at Ben Mtir after a number of fierce skirmishes.

Regarding the origins of the inhabitants of the massif, we have no precise and reliable information. The name Khumayr does not appear in any mediaeval text. In the period when Ibn Khaldūn was writing, that is to say, the 8th/14th century, the region between Béja and the sea was inhabited by Hawwāra Berbers, by that time completely arabised, with whom there had been blended various elements of Arab descent, notably the Hudhayl (*ʿIbar*, vi, 288-9; tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 279).

The Khumayr pose an insoluble puzzle to the historian. They only make their appearance in the 19th century, and even for this period there are only scraps of information in the archives, when they pillage their neighbours, or when the *maḥalla*s try in vain to force them to pay taxes. Who are they? They themselves say that they are Arabs, and it is true that there is an oasis in the Yemen called Khumayr (Yāḳūt, ii, 390, iii, 406) and there is a Ḳaḥṭānid tribe which bears the name Banū Khamr (Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāya*, 247), of which Khumayr could be a diminutive. Legend would also have us believe that they are the descendants of a certain Khumayr b. ʿUmar, an eminent companion of the conqueror of the Maghrib, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. A descendant of Khumayr, Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Djimāl, is supposed to have died, worn out by *djihād*, in the heart of the massif, on a small plateau about 5 km. south-west of Aīn Draham. The mausoleum raised to him in this place perpetuates the legend and unites the Khumayr in an almost total veneration for their patron saint and presumed ancestor. According to another tradition, the Khumayr originally lived in the south of Tunisia and were ruled by the Shābbiyya of al-Ḳayrawān. In the 18th century they were forced to emigrate towards the north, occupying the massif to which they gave their name.

The Khumayr are divided into a number of segments. The most important in the eastern Kroumirie are the Awlād ʿUmar, the Ḥwāmdiyya, the Awlād Ibn Saʿīd, the Saʿādiyya, the Urāhniyya, and the Twādjniyya in the region of Tabarka; the Salūl, the Hudhayl, the Awlād Musallim, the Khrāysiyya, the Djdāydiyya, the Djwābliyya, the Mlāykiyya, the Awlād Mūsā, the Awlād Hilāl, the Ḥumrān, the Dabābisa, and in particular the ʿAṭāṭifa in the region of Aīn Draham; the Gwādiyya, the Tbāniyya, and the Shiḥiyya in the region of Fernana. In the western Kroumirie, there are found the Banū Māzin, the Awlād ʿAlī, the Khzāra, the Mrāsin, and the Washtāta. It would be futile to attempt to distinguish between Berbers and Arabs among these tribes. The population of the massif is in fact the result of an immense and long-term ethnic fusion, dating back to the mediaeval period if not further, a fusion which was doubtless accelerated by the infiltration of the Banū Hilāl in the mid 5th/11th century, and of the Sulaym at the start of the 7th/13th century. Let it be stated explicitly that the local Arabic dialect contains no traces of Berber, and that sometimes the nomadic tent is found incongruously pitched on the mountain itself.

The geographers of the Middle Ages show little interest in the massif of Kroumirie in its own right. Their main concern is to describe the itineraries. The first, Ibn Ḥawkal, who visited the Maghrib in the mid-4th/10th century, tells us that the main highway (*al-djādda*) from Tunis to Tabarka passed through Béja (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 76). Al-Bakrī, who was writing in the mid 5th/11th century, tells us that from Béja one would reach Tabarka in three stages, passing through Bāslī and Darna (*Masālik*, 56-7/120-1). Al-Idrīsī (mid-6th/12th century) mentions two routes from Tunis to Tabarka, the one passing through Bizerta, and the other branching off after Béja. (*Nuzha*, 84-5). It is clear that this road system follows the routes inherited from ancient times.

We have no precise information regarding urban settlement in the massif during the Middle Ages. It is only just possible to follow the evolution of Tabarka. We have seen that it was a very prosperous place in ancient times. In the 4th/10th century, according to Ibn Ḥawkal it was nothing more than "an unhealthy village" (*ḳarya wabīʾa*), infested by scorpions, its only claims to importance being the movement of ships between it and Muslim Spain and its status as a customs station (*op. cit.*, 76). In the 5th/11th century al-Bakrī noted that impressive ruins of ancient monuments were still to be seen at Tabarka, and that the place enjoyed a certain prosperity on account of the activity of its port. In the 6th/12th century, according to al-Idrīsī, it was nothing more than a fortress (*ḥisn*), thinly populated and surrounded by gangs of Arab bandits, men with respect for neither law nor religion. Finally, at the start of the 16th century (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 549) it was nothing more than "an abandoned port".

Today, Tabarka (population 4,000), is a port of modest size whose primary function is the export of cork from the massif of Kroumirie, 3-4,000 tons per year. There is also fishing and the limited exploitation of coral, and the town has profited, albeit on a relatively minor scale by comparison with other regions, from the growth of tourism in Tunisia. The most important settlement on the massif is Aīn Draham, at an altitude of 800 m., a summer resort and a centre for boar-hunting; Fernana, at 275 m., is principally a market-centre; Babouche is little more than a frontier-station controlling the border-crossing into Algeria; at Oued El-Lil, near the hamlet of Ben Mtir, there was constructed in 1955 a dam with a capacity

of 73 million cubic m. to produce Hydro-electric power and to provide Tunis with water. Another dam, at Oued El-Kebir, is in the process of construction. In spite of efforts at re-organisation, settlements continue in the main to be scattered, according to the location of wells and agricultural small-holdings. Huts and shacks built of branches have not yet disappeared

In fact, the massif of the Kroumirie, dependant on a silvo-pastoral economy, is impoverished. The standard of living of the inhabitants is the lowest in Tunisia. The most important source of income is provided by the extraction of cork. The cultivation of tobacco is also moderately profitable. The breeding of cattle, sheep and goats, in which the methods used have not evolved at all in the course of time, provides only a mediocre income. Attempts at improving the cultivation of trees, by introducing apple, pear, and cherry-trees to the area, have yielded only very limited results. Products of local craftsmanship—Kroumirie carpets in white, black and beige; wooden kitchen-utensils; embroidery—are not much in demand outside the region and provide employment for a very small number. Finally, let it be added that the hot and sulphurous springs of Bordj al-Ḥammām, much appreciated from the earliest times for their medicinal properties, have led to the establishment in 1966 of a modern spa resort, built presumably alongside the ruins of the ancient baths and given the name Ḥammām Bourguiba. Enlarged in 1973, this resort is attracting an ever-growing Tunisian clientèle.

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(M. TALBI)

KHUMBARADJI, bombardier, grenadier (Persian *khumbara* "explosive projectile, grenade, mortar bomb", etc.), a term used in the Ottoman military organisation. The bombardiers in the Janissary corps and the *Khumbaradji* unit in the Djebedji corps are thought to have been first introduced in the 9th/15th century. The *Khumbaradjis* were of two types, the *ulūfeli* ones, who were paid, and the *tīmār*-holders, who formed the majority of them and who served in the fortresses. The *Khumbaradjis* were neglected until the beginning of the 12th/18th century. Khumbaradjī Aḥmed Pasha [see AḤMED PASHA BONNEVAL] was appointed by Maḥmūd I in 1144/1731 to reorganise the Khumbaradjis; under his reorganisation, 301 soldiers from Bosnia were registered as paid *ulūfelis*, and thus a separate corps of bombardiers was formed. Each 100 soldiers became an *oda*, and each *oda* was to have 1 captain (*yüzbashī*), 2 *ellibashīs*, and 10 corporals (*onbashīs*) (*Taʾrīkh-i Sāmī-Shākir Ṣubḥī*, Istanbul 1198, 58 a-b). In the Ayazma palace at Üsküdar, there were constructed a barracks and a factory for the Khumbaradjī corps, and later, their numbers increased to 601, half of whom were *ulūfelis* and the other half *tīmār*-holders (for the activities of Khumbaradjī Aḥmad Pasha, see also Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 45137; for the number of *Khumbaradjis* on the strength at 8 Ramaḍān 1152/December 1739, see Cevdet tasnifi-Askeri kısım, no. 37485). The *Khumbaradji* corps, which expanded until 1160/1747, was neglected thereafter, but in 1197/1783, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, there were attempts to improve it again (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 85; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, Istanbul 1944, ii, 125-6). During the reign of Selīm III, when the army was organised on western lines, the *Khumbaradjī* corps was also included in the plan of reform. According to the decree of 1206/1792, the *Khumbaradjī* corps, whether paid or *tīmār*-holders, were to be concentrated on Istanbul and the names of those absent were struck from the pay rolls. Also, there were to be 10 *Khumbaradjī* soldiers and five assistants (*mülāzim*) for each *Khumbara*, so that the whole corps would comprise 500 *Khumbaradjī* soldiers and 250 assistants. Out of every 10 soldiers, one was to be considered as the *khalīfe*, and the other 9 as his aides (*yamaks*); out of every 5 *Khumbaradjis* one was to be an officer with the title of *ser-khalīfe*, and the most notable among the officers was to be *odjak ketkhüdāsī*, another *čāwūsh*, and another *ʿalemdār* or standard-bearer; beside the chief bombardier (*Khumbaradjī-bashī*), who was responsible for the soldiers' discipline, there was to be appointed a superintendent (*nāẓir*) from among the state officials (Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün hatt-ı humâyunları Nizâm-i cedit* (*1789-1807*), Ankara 1946, 45-6; for the text of the regulation relating to the bombardiers' corps, see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 356-8). The barracks for their training were built at Hasköy on the Golden Horn shores in Istanbul. A more detailed ordinance for the *Khumbaradjis* was prepared and put into effect in 1211/1797 (Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 40887). In the move-

ment to dethrone Selīm III, the *Khumbaradjis* sided with the rebels, but when the Janissary corps was abolished in 1241/1826 during the reign of Maḥmūd II, they supported the government action (Djewdet, *op. cit.*, xii, 157; Esʿad, *Üss-i ẓafer*, Istanbul 1293, passim). When a new army was established under the title of the *ʿAsākir-i Manṣūra*, the *Khumbaradjī* corps was reorganised and retained within it (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1290, i, 159), but was included in the artillery division and was to be headed by the *Topdju-bashī* (later by the *Topkhāne-i ʿāmire müshirliği*). There was one *Khumbara* regiment (*alay*), with two battalions (*taburs*) in existence in 1248/1832 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6744), and four years later, 109 cavalrymen and 229 foot soldiers, a total of 338 soldiers (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6750).

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KHUMM [see GHADĪR AL-KHUMM]

KHUNĀṢIRA, an ancient fortified settlement situated some 60 km. to the south-east of Aleppo and 100 km. to the north-east of Ḥamāt, on a route through the desert—on the fringes of which it lies—connecting Aleppo with Baghdād. The foundation of the place is attributed to Khunāsir(a) b. ʿAmr of the Banū Kināna (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 290 and ii, 349), but it is probably older than this. Yāḳūt (s.v.), who cites also al-Khunāṣir b. ʿAmr, the representative of Abraha al-Ashram, may be echoing a later legend. In the Umayyad period, this chef-lieu of the *kūra* of al-Aḥaṣṣ owed its fame to the fact that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had a stronghold constructed there in which he frequently resided (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 343 = § 2188; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, i/1, 28; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951, i, 42, 46). Ibn Ḥawḳal (*K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*², 179, tr. Kramers-Wiet, Beirut-Paris 1964, 176), describes the role played by al-Khunāṣira at a time when the state's power had become relaxed and the routes in the interior of Syria were uncertain, so that travellers from Aleppo to Baghdād preferred to journey through the desert where they could enjoy, for a price, the protection of the Bedouins. In 515/1121 it was captured and destroyed by Baldwin II, who carried off to Antioch the gates of the citadel (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, 201), after which the place was abandoned (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-dīn*, Damascus 1967, i, 179). Nevertheless, there still exists a place there called today Khanāṣir.

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KHUNĀTHA bint Bakkār b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghāfirī, wife of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, sultan of Morocco (1082-1139/1672-1727). She was highly versed in literature and the religious sciences and acted as an adviser to her royal spouse. In 1143/1731, during the reign of her sons Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, she performed the Pilgrimage; and at Mecca, she bought buildings and established them as *awḳāf*, in particular, a house in the Bāb al-ʿUmra, one of the gates of the Holy House, which she placed at the disposal of students. The memory of her sumptuous pilgrimage was commemorated by the *shaykh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ṭabarī, *imām* of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, in a splendid poem. She died at Fās in Djumādā I 1159/May-June 1746 and was buried in the mausoleum of the Shorfa in Fās al-Djadīd.

Her writings include a letter addressed to the people to calm their fears over the neighbouring Turks, and a commentary on the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī.

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KHUNDJĪ, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān (860-927/1455-1521), Persian religious scholar and political writer, who as a staunch Sunnī fiercely opposed Shāh Ismāʿīl, left Iran and fled to Uzbek Transoxania.

Khundjī's background, both on the side of his father (of the famous Rūzbihān family, cf. Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī) and of his mother (of the Ṣāʿidī family), made him a member of the wealthy and influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Fārs who were important as *soyūrghāldārs* and who enjoyed the high esteem and the protection of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu rulers. Khundjī received an exceptional scholarly training; in his native Shīrāz he studied under the great Shāfiʿī Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī [*q.v.*], the author of the *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī*. Dawānī's preoccupation with political thought is likely to have influenced Khundjī's own interest in a practical application of the norms of the *sharīʿa* in a post-Mongol, Sunnī state, as his sophisticated manual of government, *Sulūk al-mulūk*—which he wrote shortly before his death on the suggestion of the Uzbek ruler ʿUbayd Allāh Khān in Bukhārā—attests. He was introduced to Ṣūfism by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ardistānī, a follower of the Suhrawardiyya *ṭarīḳa*. With him he travelled to Egypt and Palestine and he devoted a *manāḳib* biography to him which has not, however, come down to us. Khundjī himself joined the Djahriyya order, an offshoot of the Naḳshbandiyya, possibly only after he had left Ādharbāydjān and Iran and had settled at the Uzbek court. Khundjī represents the typical intellectual Ṣūfī of his time, for whom *taṣawwuf* is an indispensable item in the academic curriculum. He wrote a commentary on the *Waṣiyyat-nāma* of ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Ghudjuwānī [*q.v.*], one of the great precursors of the Central Asian Naḳshbandiyya. Khundjī eulogised Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband and extensively quoted his doctrines; he sought and cherished the friendship of the disciples of the famous Naḳshbandī popular leader

Kh^wādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [*q.v.*], who had dominated religious and political life in Transoxania in the second half of the 9th/15th century. At the same time, Khundjī fiercely opposed any excess and abuse in mysticism, particularly the doctrine that man can acquire divine attributes through *fanāʾ*. For him, such exaggerated mysticism was as much *irtidād*, apostasy, as the pernicious *ghuluww* of Shāh Ismāʿīl I. Khundjī's paramount concern in all his writings is the protection of the revealed *sharīʿa* from any infringements. In his sharp differentiation between types of mysticism, one is reminded of Ibn Khaldūn's *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil ilā tahdhīb al-masāʾil*; an influence from Ibn Khaldūn on Khundjī cannot be ruled out. Khundjī also severly attacked the semi-pagan religious practices of the nomadic Uzbeks, such as the institutionalised pilgrimage to the tombs of local saints; however, he does not seem to have been very successful with these admonitions.

It was from the well-known Mamlūk historiographer and polyhistorian al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*] that Khundjī owed his initiation into the sciences of *ḥadīth*, i.e. the discipline for which he acquired particular fame in his century. In Uzbek Central Asia, he became known as the "paragon of the traditionalists" (*sanad al-muḥaddithīn*). He studied law, theology, the Arabic sciences and *ḥadīth* with al-Sakhāwī in Medina; his proficiency is attested by the very complimentary *tardjama* which al-Sakhāwī, who was normally very critical of his students and compeers, included in his biographical dictionary of 9th/15th century celebrities. Among Khundjī's writings on tradition, one might mention an Arabic *risāla* on the big fire in Medina in 886/1481, *Hidāyat al-taṣdīḳ ilā ḥikāyat al-ḥarīḳ* (ed. Muḥammad Dānishpazhūh, in *Yādnāma-yi īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 77-113), which is a methodically exemplary study based on *ḥadīth*.

Khundjī began his public career at the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan, whose attention he had attracted in 892/1487 with a copy of his lost—possibly panegyrical—work *Badīʿ al-zamān fī ḳiṣṣat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*. He served as a *kātib* in Yaʿḳūb's *dīwān*, and dedicated to him and his unfortunate son Baysonḳor his chronicle of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu house, the carefully-composed *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* (partial translation by V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490—An abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi Amīnī*, London 1957; full edition under preparation by John Woods, Chicago). In this work, which is the most important single narrative source on the history of the later Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers, Khundjī presents himself as an active courtier, who probably participated in the cabal to overthrow Yaʿḳūb's first minister ʿĪsā of Sāva who had tried to re-islamise the fiscal system of the state, thus endangering the *soyūrghāls* of Khundjī's affluent *ʿulamāʾ* relatives. The most significant passages of this chronicle are his diatribes against Ismāʿīl's grandfather and father, Shaykh Djunayd and Ḥaydar [*qq.v.*], whose self-styled religious authority he reviled in vitriolic language.

After Ismāʿīl's accession to power in 907/1501, he fled in 909/1503 to Kāshān, where he wrote his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's treatise *Kashf al-ḥaḳḳ wa-nahdj al-ṣidḳ wa 'l-ṣawāb*, entitled *Ibṭāl nahdj al-bāṭil wa-ihmāl kashf al-ʿāṭil* (partial edn. and German tr. by I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šīʿa und der sunnitischen Polemik*, in *SBWAW*, lxxviii (1874), 475-86). There he questions the originality and consistency of Imāmī *fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and disqualifies Shīʿī dogmatics as a bad reproduction of Muʿtazilī (that is, in itself reprehensible) *kalām*. A hundred years later, the Shīʿī Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī (d. 1019/1610), a victim of Djahāngīr's anti-Shīʿī religious policy, again wrote a refutation of Khundjī's treatise. Khundjī's book has had a lasting influence on Shīʿī-Sunnī polemics in the Arab lands, even in the 20th century. Khundjī, who himself held the *ahl al-bayt* in high esteem and wrote poems in praise of the twelve *imāms* (see the text in Muḥammad Amīn Khundjī, *Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī*, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, iv (1335/1956), 178-9) and, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Mashhad in the company of Shaybānī Khān [*q.v.*], of the eighth *Imām* ʿAlī Riḍā (see Khundjī, *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1341/1962, 336-8), accused the Ithnā-ʿAsharī theologians of placing more emphasis on the slander and cursing of the Prophet's Companions, and the *shaykhayn* Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in particular, than on the due veneration of the immaculate family.

On his flight to the east, which also took him to Tīmūrid and later Uzbek Herāt, Khundjī passed through Ṭūs, where he was inspired, as he describes in a touchingly impressionistic and intimate account, by the decaying ruins of al-Ghazālī's tomb in the solitude of the steppe (*Mihmān-nāma* 352). Al-Ghazālī was Khundjī's revered model whom he quotes extensively. On this occasion Khundjī pledged that he would make an effort to emulate the great master and bring to the land of Khurāsān, in this age of great calamity, a revival of the orthodox religious sciences. He came to Bukhārā, to the court of Shaybānī Khān, the successful Uzbek ruler, who had ended Tīmūrid rule in Transoxania and Herāt and had conquered most of western Khurāsān. He gained access to and was to dominate the scholarly *madjālis* in which the Khān, himself a cultured man, had scholars discussing questions on religion, particularly on the compatibility of certain policies with the *sharīʿa*, e.g. the issue whether it was permissible for the Muslim Uzbeks to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by their semi-pagan Ḳazaḳ enemies. Khundjī compiled at the court before 916/1510, perhaps at the suggestion of the ruler himself, the unique "guest-book of Bukhārā" (*Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, see above; partial German tr. by Ursula Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts—Das Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḫārā des Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbihān Ḫungi—Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Freiburg 1973) as a token of gratitude to his host and friend Shaybānī Khān. This work defies any formal classification. Its beautiful language and style evidences his literary talent. We find here, in a loose, more or less chronological sequel, passages on tradition, refreshingly natural descriptions of the scenery of Turkestan in spring and winter, surprisingly personal and autobiographical sketches (Khundjī tells us, unusually, much about himself, e.g. his fits of hypochondria), and straightforward narrative passages. In the latter he e.g. gives an account of the manners of the Ḳazaḳs, the cousins and at the same time the most dangerous enemies of the Uzbeks to their north. He devotes special attention to Shaybānī Khān and to his nephew ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, who much later was to lead the Uzbek federation back to political power.

The impelling idea of the *Mihmān-nāma* was the effort to drive Shaybānī Khān into attacking and exterminating the Shīʿī heresy from Iran and reviving the legal order of the *sunna* in Iranian homeland. He unsuccessfully opposed the scheme of defeating the Ḳazaḳs in the rear of the Uzbeks first, before marching against the Ṣafavids, whose deeds Khundjī denounced—in a familiar *topos*—as even more abomi-

nable than the unbelief of the Franks, who were *kuffār ab origine*. He expatiates on the apocryphal *ḥadīth* of Ḥārith, both in the *Mihmān-nāma* (95-107) and in a separate *risāla*: Ḥārith, the prototype of Shaybānī Khān, saved the true doctrine of Islam from a heretic tribe which slandered and vilified the companions of the prophet and the four orthodox caliphs, an unconcealed allusion to Shāh Ismāʿīl, the foe, and his damnable creatures, the Ḳizilbāsh [*q.v.*]. Khundjī's concept of history is remarkable. He regards the Uzbeks as another manifestation of the nomadic migrations from Inner Asia to the Muslim East, destined to overwhelm Iran and ʿIrāḳ and to bring back justice to these lands, just as the Saldjūḳs had done. He praises the legendary past of the Uzbeks and predicts a glorious future for them. He elevates Shaybānī Khān, beyond the bounds of conventional encomium, to appear as a *mudjaddid* of his age.

The catastrophe of Marw in 916/1510, when Shaybānī Khān was slain in battle by the Ṣafawid army, shattered Khundjī's dreams. His advice had proved fatal for his protector and sovereign. Taking into account the vulnerable personality of the author, which shines through so often in the autobiographical passages of the *Mihmān-nāma*, this turn of events must have had drastic effects on Khundjī. He passed the following two years in hiding in Samarḳand which had returned to the rule of the Tīmūrid Bābur, Ismāʿīl's half-hearted ally. In 918/1512 Khundjī suddenly re-appears delivering an eloquent sermon in Samarḳand (cf. Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī, *Badāʾiʿ al-waḳāʾi*, ed. A. N. Boldyrev, Moscow 1961, i, 45 f.), which had been recaptured by the Uzbeks under ʿUbayd Allāh Khān.

Fulfilling a vow made at the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī in the hour of greatest affliction, ʿUbayd Allāh commissioned Khundjī to compile, as a guide for a righteous Sunnī ruler, the *Sulūk al-mulūk* (ed. Muḥammad Niẓāmuddīn, Hyderabad/Dn. 1386/1966). In form this didactic work displays features of the Mirror for Princes books; in its topics and in the arrangement however, it belongs to the tradition of the manuals of government, such as al-Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*. It represents a highly intelligent attempt to harmonise the norms of the *sharīʿa*, as developed in the first centuries of Islam, with the realities of a tribal confederation, the body-politic of which is nomadic and Turkish, and not Islamic. Khundjī gives the prescriptions and legal interpretations both according to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* of the Turkish Uzbeks and his own, Persian, Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. He carefully juxtaposes lengthy passages on the legal norms, with numerous quotations from the *ḥadīth* and the canonical textbooks, with highly realistic and sober opinions on the present state of affairs. This can be observed in his treatment of taxation; he appears to equate certain aspects of the canonical *zakāt*-duties with the prevailing Mongol *tamghā*-imposts. Even more significant is his chapter on the *djihād*. He took his lesson from the catastrophe of Marw. No longer does he call for *djihād* against the Ṣafawids at all costs, lest the blood of innocent subjects of Ismāʿīl be shed. He even concedes (and thereby joins the mainstream of traditional Sunnī polemics) that the Twelver Shīʿī doctrine does allow for the observance of the precepts of the *sharīʿa*, such as legal marriage contracts, the call to prayer etc. We do not know to what degree Khundjī's enlightened doctrines were taken up by ʿUbayd Allāh, an energetic and pious ruler, who despite the bitter polemics on both sides, kept religious issues largely out of his long controversy with the Ṣafawids over the possession of Khurāsān. His fame lived on at least in Central Asia; the increasing isolation of Transoxania from the Sunnī central lands probably accounts for the little influence which his writings—particularly the *Sulūk al-mulūk*, which was explicitly directed to a broad audience of Sunnī rulers—exercised outside the Uzbek domains. An effect on political thought in Mughal India is more likely, yet remains to be investigated.

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KHUNZAL (self designation, Khunzami; Russian designations, Khunzalī, Gun(d)zalī, Gunzebi, Gunzibtsī, Enzebi, Nakhad; other designations, Khunzeb, Gunzeb), a numerically small people of the eastern Caucasus. Khunzal forms with Bezheta, Dido, Ginukh and Khvarshi [*qq.v.*], the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group, of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were, ethnically, 106 Khunzals, and 129 claiming Khunzal as their mother tongue; in 1933 (estimation by Grande) there were 616 Khunzals. The Khunzals inhabit four *auls* on the upper course of the Avar Koysu in the Tliarata district of the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. They live in the highest and most inaccessible part of mountainous Dāghistān. This isolated position has protected the Khunzals from exterior influences, and they have maintained to a great degree many of the patriarchal customs. The Khunzals are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite. The economy has remained traditional: raising sheep with a transhumance system, agriculture on terraces, and handicrafts (especially leather work).

Khunzal is a purely vernacular language, and the Khunzals use Avar as their first literary and second spoken (sometimes first) language, having Avar as the language in primary education. Russian is the second literary language. They are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars.

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KHURĀSĀN, today the north-easternmost *ustān* or province of Persia, with its administrative capital at Mashhad [*q.v.*]. But in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the term "Khurāsān" frequently had a much wider denotation, covering also parts of what

are now Soviet Central Asia and Afghānistān; early Islamic usage often regarded everywhere east of western Persia, sc. Djibāl or what was subsequently termed ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, as being included in a vast and ill-defined region of Khurāsān, which might even extend to the Indus Valley and Sind. Thus the Armenian geography traditionally attributed to Moses of Khoren depicts Khurāsān as stretching from Gurgān and Ḳūmis in the southeastern Caspian region to Badakhshān and Ṭukhāristān on the upper Oxus and Bāmiyān in the Hindū Kush (see J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 47 ff.).

Topographically, Khurāsān in the modern, restricted sense is dominated by a zone of mountain ranges running roughly NW-SE, a continuation of the Alburz chain, and connecting that chain with the Paropamisus and Hindū Kush ranges of northern Afghānistān; in a district such as that of the Kūh-i Bīnālūd to the north of Nīshāpūr, these mountains rise to 11,200 feet. To the north, open steppes and deserts run down through the Soviet Turkmenistan SSR to the Caspian Sea and the Amū-Daryā basin. To the south, there lies an extensive region of landlocked deserts and salt flats, such as the Dasht-i Kawīr, the Dasht-i Lūṭ and the Hilmand basin of Sīstān, but within this region is situated an important upland zone, that of Ḳāʾin and Birdjand, the early Islamic province of Ḳūhistān [*q.v.*], one massif of which, the Kūh-i Mūminābād, rises to 9,100 feet. There is thus considerable topographical diversity, but only in the more northerly mountain zone do adequate rainfall, perennial streams and accessible wells permit a relatively flourishing agricultural and pastoral economy; here, the population is quite dense for Persia. Elsewhere, and especially in the more southerly parts, there is usually an oasis pattern of life, with much dependence on wells and on *kārīz*s or *ḳanāt*s. Also, until the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī at least, there was a substantial minority of nomads in Khurāsān, composed mainly of Göklen and Yomut Turkmens, and some Hazāras, Taymūrīs and Balūč. (See for the geographical, topographical and demographic background, Admiralty handbook, *Persia*, London 1945, and *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, chs. 1, 2, 5, 18, 19; and for the historical geography of the older period, Marquart, *op. cit.*, Le Strange, 382-432, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, § 23).

The present population of Khurāsān is very mixed. There is of course the still-important Iranian substratum, but there are extensive other groups, such as Turkmens, Kurds, Balūč, Arabs, and Taymūrīs and Hazāras from Afghanistan. The presence of these varied races is a concomitant of Khurāsān's strategic position as a bastion facing Inner Asia and as a corridor between the steppes and the civilised, settled lands of the Middle East. Pressure on Khurāsān by the Inner Asian nomads has been intermittent from the earliest known times till the later 19th century, when permanent political frontiers were established and the free movement of peoples thus impeded. Khurāsān was therefore the gateway through which Alexander the Great passed to Bactria and India, and conversely, that by which Turkish peoples from the Saldjūḳs onwards and then the Mongols entered Persia. The result has been an ethnic commingling in Khurāsān, especially as the rulers of Persia, whether Persian, Arab or Turkish, have, in pursuance of their historic task of defending their northeastern frontiers, at various times planted colonies of auxiliaries and guards; for political reasons, colonies of peoples like Lurs were settled there as late as the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Nevertheless, whilst the basically Iranian ethnic and linguistic nature of northern Khurāsān at least has been overlaid, this process has not gone so far as in a Turkicised province like Ādharbāydjān; the Ḳāʾin and Birdjand region, in particular, is still predominantly Persian.

In Sāsānid times, Khurāsān was one of the four great provincial satrapies, and was governed from Marw by an Ispahbadh (MP form *Spāhpat*; [see ISPAHBADH]). Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 201, enumerates as comprising Khurāsān under the Sāsānids the following districts: Nīshāpūr, Harāt, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Fāryāb, Ṭālaqān, Balkh, Bukhārā, Bādghīs, Abīward, Gharčistān, Ṭūs, Sarakhs and Gurgān. In times of military expansion, Sāsānid arms pushed beyond Marw; thus Ṭabarī, i, 819, says that Ardashīr Bābakān extended his power over Khʷārazm and Ṭukhāristān. In fact, many local princes must have remained as Sāsānid feudatories, holding offices like those of *marzbān*s or frontier wardens; many of these achieved temporary independence when the Sāsānid monarchy collapsed under the Arab onslaught. To the immediate east of Sāsānid Khurāsān lay the lands of their enemies, the powerful northern branch of the Hephthalite confederation, with its centres in Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405, mentions that there was ruling over Harāt, Bādghīs and Pūshang a local potentate, called by him the *ʿaẓīm* or "mighty one", who must have been a Hephthalite chief. The ancient pattern of hostilities between the rulers of Persia and the Hephthalites was to be taken up by the Arab governors of Khurāsān in the Umayyad period (see further, HAYĀṬILA).

It was at Marw that the last Sāsānid Emperor, Yazdagird III, made his stand before his betrayal by the local *marzbān* Māhūya and his murder in 31/651. Meanwhile, the Arabs had already appeared in Khurāsān. During ʿUmar's caliphate, forces from Baṣra penetrated as far as Ṭabasayn in the Great Desert, and a determined attack on the province was made in the following reign of ʿUthmān when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] was governor of Baṣra (sc. from 29/649 till 35/655). An expedition eastwards was mounted by the men of Kūfa under Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī, travelling along the northern route between the Alburz and the central deserts, and another one by the Baṣran army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir and his lieutenant al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays, approaching via Kirmān and Ṭabasayn, a route which was for long preferred as an easier and safer route than that of the modern highway and railway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It was the Baṣran army which made most progress, and in 31/651-2 reduced Nīshāpūr to obedience, receiving the submission of local rulers and former Sāsānid governors in most of the other towns of Khurāsān. In the following year, the last great stronghold of the Sāsānids, Marw al-Rūdh, fell to al-Aḥnaf after fierce fighting, but the local *marzbān*, Bādhām, was confirmed in his office and possessions there in exchange for a relatively light tribute. The permanent pacification of Khurāsān was, however, a protracted process. Local potentates frequently rebelled against Arab control and appealed to outside powers like the Hephthalites, the Western Turks or Türgesh, the Soghdians, and even the Chinese Emperors (who claimed a vague sovereignty over Central Asia, and with whom certain Sāsānid pretenders took refuge). In particular, the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya meant a relaxation in Khurāsān of Arab control, which had subsequently to be re-imposed by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (re-appointed governor of Baṣra and the east by Muʿāwiya from 41/661 to 44/664)

and his generals. Thus an important expedition was sent against Sīstān and Zābulistān under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, in the course of which Kābul was reached, and according to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 409, Balkh was restored to obedience and the great Buddhist shrine of Nawbahār despoiled.

A period of stronger Arab rule came with the appointment in 45/665 of Ziyād b. Abīhi as governor of Baṣra and the east. During the Umayyad age, authority over the extensive provinces of Khurāsān and Sīstān (within which were included at times, as noted above, such distant regions as Transoxania, Farghāna, eastern Afghānistān, Makrān and Sind) was exercised in the first place by the governors of Baṣra, for Baṣran troops, and especially the men of the North Arab or Ḳaysī tribes of Tamīm and Bakr, were prominent in the overrunning of the eastern Persian lands, though in the governorship of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (78-82/697-702), considerable numbers of that governor's fellow-tribesmen of the Yamanī Azd were settled in Khurāsān. Since the turbulent province of ʿIrāḳ always demanded the personal presence and attention of the governors of Kūfa and Baṣra, the latter appointed deputies in Khurāsān and often in Sīstān also; and all these appointments tended to reflect policy trends and personal ascendancies at the heart of the caliphate in Syria. In Ziyād's time, attempts were made, against strong resistance from the local peoples and from the Hephthalites, to reduce Ṭukhāristān to obedience. This was achieved by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād and his son ʿAbd Allāh, in the case of Balkh and the lands up to the Amū-Daryā, in the years after 51/671, but the Hephthalite threat was not finally removed till the governor Ḳutayba b. Muslim captured and killed their leader Ṭarkhān Nīzak in 91/710 and took as a hostage the Turkish *Yabghu* (in the Arabic texts, *Djabbūya*) of Ṭukhāristān. But even after this, Arab rule was far from secure. The Arabs made Marw their military centre, and by the end of the 1st century A.H. were beginning to settle down permanently in the Marw oasis and probably to intermarry with the indigenous Persian population. But their solidarity in the face of external threats from enemies like the Türgesh and Soghdians was adversely affected by the tribal divisions and feuds between the Ḳays faction, numerically superior and generally dominant, and the Yamanīs, and also by the fact that control by the caliphs was difficult to exercise from distant Damascus. See for events in Khurāsān during the Umayyad period, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 47-70; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, esp. ch. 8; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*; Spuler, *Iran*, 5 ff.; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971; idem, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970; and idem, *Khurasan at the time of the Arab conquest*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 479-90.

The last decades of Umayyad rule were characterised by tribal warfare amongst the Arabs, which, amongst other things, delayed the consolidation of Arab control across the Amū-Daryā in Transoxania; noteworthy in this connection is the prolonged revolt in Ṭukhāristān from 116/734 onwards of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*]. Large numbers of Arab troops continued to reach Khurāsān, so that according to the historian Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, there were 40,000 Muslims in Khurāsān by 112/731. The last Umayyad governor there, Nasr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī (120-30/738-48) [*q.v.*], was faced latterly by the spread of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* or revolutionary movement from its centre at Marw under a political adventurer of consummate skill, Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. This movement had been organised, from the caliphate of Hishām onwards, under local *naḳībs* or representatives of the ʿAbbāsid family in Marw, until Abū Muslim took over the leadership there in 128/746, apparently drawing his prime support from the older-established Arab settlers in the district, those whom Ṭabarī and the anonymous author of the *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* edited by Gryaznevich call the *ahl al-taḳādum* (see Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 155-8). By 130/748 Abū Muslim was undisputed master in Marw and Nasr b. Sayyār had been forced to flee towards the west.

Since Khūrāsānī support was so decisive in the rise of the ʿAbbāsids, the province enjoyed considerable favour from the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs; cf. the encomium of the Khurāsānīs as "our party, our helpers and the people of our *daʿwa*" in a *khuṭba* or oration pronounced at Hāshimiyya by al-Manṣūr and reported by Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 203 ff., and the similar sentiments quoted from Ibn Ḳutayba in Muḳaddasī, 293-4. Khurāsānian guards and officials, the *Abnāʾ al-Dawla*, continued to be the mainstay of the régime till towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when there began the wholesale adoption of slave troops as the nucleus of the Caliphal army and household [see GHULĀM]. Many Khurāsānīs migrated westwards into ʿAbbāsid service, such as the Barmakī family from Balkh [see BARĀMIKA]; this process was accentuated when al-Maʾmūn, the former governor in Marw, achieved the caliphate in 198/813 with the support of the Persian east against his brother al-Amīn.

The Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] governed Khurāsān for the ʿAbbāsids, as faithful servants of the caliphs rather than as autonomous rulers, for some fifty years (205-59/821-73). They were of arabised, Persian *mawlā* stock, one member of whom had been secretary to an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* or propagandist in Khurāsān, Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī. Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn was one of al-Maʾmūn's generals, and was in 205/821 appointed governor of Khurāsān and the east. The Ṭāhirids were strenuous supporters of Sunnī orthodoxy and the established Perso-Islamic social hierarchy against Shīʿī and older Iranian religious movements in the Caspian provinces and Transoxania, and also against heterodox currents of Persian socio-religious protest which were racking the Persian countryside at this time (see G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938). Under the Ṭāhirids, Khurāsān blossomed economically and culturally. We find ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-45) showing his concern for his province's welfare by his commissioning a book on water rights and the regulation of *ḳanāts*, the characteristic means of irrigation throughout much of Khurāsān; this *Kitāb al-Ḳunī* was, according to the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī, still in use two centuries later. Whereas in the early Islamic period Khurāsān had been economically and culturally backward compared with western Persia (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Khorasan: Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 107-74), its agricultural prosperity now increased; according to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 308, tr. 138, the *kharādj* or land tax of Khurāsān under the Ṭāhirids amounted to 40 million dirhams a year. It benefited from commercial traffic connecting ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād with Central Asia and the fringes of the Indian world, and a luxury product like the edible earth of Nīshāpūr was, according to Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 192, tr. Bosworth, 132, exported all over the

Islamic world, including to Egypt and the Maghrib. Above all, Khurāsān derived much advantage from the transit trade in Turkish slaves, which were a regular component of the annual tribute forwarded to the caliphs by the early ʿAbbāsid governors, the Ṭāhirids, and later, the Sāmānids, and which often fetched high prices; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], ii, 452, tr. ii, 437, says that he saw more than once in Khurāsān slaves sold for 3,000 dīnārs. (Further on the Ṭāhirids, see Bosworth, ch. 3, *The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 90-106).

The Ṣaffārid adventurer from Sīstān, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, overthrew Ṭāhirid rule in Khurāsān, entering their capital Nīshāpūr in 259/873, and in the ensuing years, Khurāsān was fought over by various contending generals, until the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] defeated ʿAmr b. Layth in 287/900 and incorporated Khurāsān into the Sāmānid dominions. Under what is described in the sources as the beneficent rule of the Sāmānids, Khurāsān continued to be within the mainstream of Sunnī religious orthodoxy and culture. It had become already under the Ṭāhirids a vigorous centre of Arabic literature and of Sunnī legal and religious scholarship. There is a large representation of Khurāsānī scholars in such literary biographical works as Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr* and the continuations of Bākharzī and Iṣfahānī. Khurāsānī theologians and traditionists were prominent in Sunnī, especially Shāfiʿī and Ashʿarī, learning, and in such theological and philosophical movements as those of the Muʿtazila and Karrāmiyya [*qq.v.*]. The extremist Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī sect had pockets of support in the east, and Khurāsānī ascetics and mystics played important rôles in the development of Ṣūfism. It is, of course, well-known that Khurāsān and the eastern Iranian world in general had a crucial part in the renaissance of the New Persian language and its literature from the 3rd/9th century onwards; see Browne, *LHP*, i, 445 ff., and Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 133 ff.

As the Sāmānid amīrate disintegrated in the later 4th/10th century under external attack from the north and internal revolt by unruly Turkish generals, Khurāsān passed under the rule of the Turkish Ghaznawid dynasty [*q.v.*]. In 384/994 the founder of the line, Sebüktigin, had been given the governorship of Balkh and the eastern parts of Khurāsān, and in 388/998 his son Maḥmūd consolidated his power in the whole of the province, which was to remain under Ghaznawid control for forty years. The riches of Khurāsān did much to finance the successful Ghaznawid war machine, but the financial exactions of Ghaznawid officials and a series of disastrous famines made the Sulṭāns' rule there unpopular. Hence Nīshāpūr and the other towns were not averse during the period 428-31/1037-50 from surrendering to the incoming Oghuz nomads led by the Saldjūḳ family; and the Saldjūḳ victory at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040 sealed the fate of Ghaznawid rule over those parts of greater Khurāsān to the west of Badakhshān and the central Afghān mountain massif.

Under the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns, Khurāsān was an important province of their empire, even though the founder Ṭoghrïl Beg soon moved his capital westwards from Nīshāpūr to Ray and Iṣfahān. Khurāsān and the east were initially ruled by Ṭoghrïl's brother Čaghrï Beg Dāwūd, whose son and grandson Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh were to raise the Saldjūḳ empire to its apogee. In general, firm rule brought peace to the towns of Khurāsān. This was temporarily ended in the uncertain years after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092—the local historian of Bayhaḳ or Sabzawār, Ibn Funduḳ, comments on the recrudescence of sectarian strife and the activities of the para-military *ʿayyār* groups in the town—but stability returned under the long reign of Sandjar, who was firstly governor in the east and then Sulṭān for a total of over sixty years. The intellectual and cultural vitality of Khurāsān remained unimpaired, and four of the original nine *madrasas* or colleges founded by the great Vizier Niẓām al-Mulk were, according to his biographer Subkī, in towns of that province, sc. in Nīshāpūr, Balkh, Harāt and Marw. One effect of the Oghuz migrations into Persia was the arrival of Turkmen groups in northern Khurāsān, where suitable pasture was to be found for their flocks. These nomads remained an unassimilable element of Saldjūḳ Khurāsān, until neglect of their interests by the central government drove them into revolt towards the end of Sandjar's reign, leading to the Sulṭān's own capture by the Oghuz and effective deposition in 548/1153.

In the decades preceding the Mongol invasions, post-Saldjūḳ Khurāsān was held by various Oghuz tribal leaders and by former Saldjūḳ generals, and was then fought over by the Ghūrids and Khwārazm-Shāhs [*qq.v.*], until the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad finally overthrew his Ghūrid rivals in the opening years of the 7th/13th century. (See, for the history of Khurāsān in the Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳ periods, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, part II and III, and idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, ch. 5, v, ch. 1).

The Mongol hordes of Čingiz Khān, driving the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn before them, appeared in Khurāsān in 617/1220, and seized control of its towns. Whilst not all of the notorious massacres of the Mongols may have been perpetrated at the original surrender of some towns, but at the time of subsequent revolts, Marw and Nīshāpūr, which resisted fiercely in 618/1221, suffered appallingly. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 256, places the number of dead in Marw at 700,000, and Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 163-4, has the figure of 1,300,000 for the Marw oasis as a whole. Even allowing for statistical exaggeration, the Mongol invasions undoubtedly devastated Khurāsān to a far greater degree than the Oghuz incursions of the 5th/11th century had done, as is amply demonstrated in the accounts of European and Muslim travellers and geographers of the following period of the Il-Khānids, e.g. those of Marco Polo, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, etc. As well as the population losses and destruction of settlements, the increased proportion of Turkish and Mongol nomads in the province accentuated the existing trend from Saldjūḳ times towards pastoralisation and the decline of agriculture; moreover, the arbitrary Mongol system of taxation bore especially heavily on cultivators and landholders, according to I. P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, ch. 6. Certainly, Khurāsān never recovered its cultural and intellectual position within Persia as a whole; the Il-Khānids made their centre in western Persia, and Djibāl, Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ became the foci of political activity and artistic and literary life. The towns of Khurāsān continued to suffer from the warfare between the Il-Khānids and the Čaghatayids, and a place like Harāt only became a major centre with the florescence of the Tīmūrids in the 9th/15th century.

After the death of the Il-Khānid Abū Saʿīd in 736/1335, various local dynasties arose in Persia, including in Khurāsān the Karts or Kurts and the Sarbadārids [*qq.v.*]. The Karts arose in Harāt during the 7th/13th century, and successive rulers with the

title of *malik* or king retained power there till the deposition by Tīmūr of the last ruler, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, in 791/1389. The Sarbadārs stemmed from Bayhaḳ, and in the middle years of the 8th/14th century they held this region of western Khurāsān, extending to Dāmghān and even holding Nīshāpūr temporarily, till they too were extinguished by Tīmūr in 783/1381. Tīmūr made his own capital at Samarḳand in Transoxania, but his son Shāh Rukh became governor of Khurāsān for his father in 799/1397 and ruled there for fifty years until his death in 850/1446-7. Towns like Harāt and Marw were rebuilt, and a considerable degree of prosperity restored; and under the Tīmūrid prince Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Bayḳara (875-911/1470-1506) [*q.v.*], Harāt and Khurāsān enjoyed a period of political stability and of brilliant cultural and artistic life.

In the early 10th/16th century, Khurāsān was overrun by the Özbeg chief Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān and his hordes, but three years later, in 915/1510, the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I killed the Khān and incorporated Khurāsān into the Ṣafawid dominions. The Ṣafawids were, however, unable to hold Balkh, and lost it permanently in 922/1516. Warfare with the Özbegs remained endemic in northern Khurāsān, with the possession of frontier towns like Marw oscillating between the two powers. Noteworthy in the Ṣafawid period—one in which Persia became in majority a Shīʿī land—was the rise in importance of the great shrine of the *Imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] at Mashhad, originally the village of Sanābād, where both the eighth *Imām* of the Shīʿa and the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd were buried. The shrine was already splendidly ornamented in Il-Khānid times, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted (*Riḥla*, iii, 77-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 582-3), and was increasingly enriched by the Tīmūrids and Ṣafawids. Shāh ʿAbbās I endeavoured to encourage the Shīʿī pilgrimage to Mashhad, since the holy places of ʿIrāḳ, such as Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, were often in Sunnī, Ottoman hands. In the comparatively peaceful period of Ḳādjār rule, Mashhad gradually attained its modern position as the principal city of Khurāsān.

With the resurgence of tribalism and the political upheavals of the 12th/18th century, Mashhad became Nādir Shāh's capital, and he made his military redoubt in the massif of Ḳalʿat-i Nādirī in northern Khurāsān, but after Nādir's death in 1160/1747, the eastern parts of Khurāsān passed for a while into the control of the Durrānī Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh [*q.v.*], and by 1163/1750, Balkh, Harāt, Mashhad and Nīshāpūr were all in his possession. But the blind, half-Ṣafawid grandson of Nādir, Shāh Rukh, had meanwhile been raised to power in Khurāsān, and remained there as nominal ruler at least till his death in 1210/1796.

Once Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār had made firm his power over the whole land of Persia, control over Khurāsān was fully restored to the central government, now installed in Tehran. But the depredations of the Özbegs and other Turkmens continued to make life in northern Khurāsān chronically insecure; the progress of commerce and agriculture was inhibited, and many Persians were carried off and enslaved by raiders from the Central Asian amirates. These causes of friction were only ended by the Russians' virtual annexation of Khīwa in 1873 and the crushing of the Tekke Turkmens at Gök Tepe in 1881. After this last victory, the Persian government was not strong enough to withstand Russian pressure, and the Russians annexed the Marw oasis in 1884. Relations with the amīrs of Afghānistān had meanwhile continued to be bad, with contention over possession of Harāt. The town was besieged in vain by the Persians in 1838, and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh fought a brief war with Britain in 1856-7 over a temporary Persian seizure of Harāt. After this, overt Persian attempts on these districts of western Afghānistān ceased, though disputes over the demarcation of the boundary between Khurāsān and Afghānistān were not finally settled till the definitive demarcation of the whole boundary as far south as Sīstān in 1934-5.

Khurāsān and the provincial capital Mashhad are now fully connected with Tehran by a metalled road, a railway and air services. The present population of the province (1966 census) is 2½ millions, with Mashhad now the third largest city of Persia with 409,000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: This is largely given in the article, but note for the earlier period the flourishing genre of local histories, e.g. of Bayhaḳ, Nīshāpūr, Balkh and Harāt (see Storey, i, 353 ff.). The political and social history of the province must be largely extracted from such general works as the books of Spuler, *Iran* and *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Sykes' *History of Persia*, the relevant chapters of the *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, and above all, the published and forthcoming volumes iv-viii of the *Camb. hist. of Iran*. For the 19th and early 20th centuries, the works of European, mainly British, travellers, officials, consuls, etc. are a prime source, e.g. those of J. B. Fraser, C. Metcalfe MacGregor, the Hon. G. C. Napier, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, C. E. Yate, P. M. Sykes, W. Ivanow, etc.

(C. E. Bosworth)

Banū **KHURĀSĀN**, the dynasty which, taking advantage of the anarchy initiated in Zīrid Ifrīḳiya by the Hilālī invasion, governed Tunis 454-522/1062-1128 and 543-554/1148-59. When leaving Ḳayrawān to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya (449/1057), the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs had left Ḳayrawān and Tunis in the protection of a Ṣanhādjī chieftain Ḳāʾid b. Maymūn. The latter seems to have exercised no authority at Tunis, which was probably evacuated by the Ṣanhādja, regrouping at al-Mahdiyya or in Ḥammādid territory, and independent. Ibn Khaldūn states that it fell prey to a Hilālī *amīr*, a son-in-law of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, ʿĀbid b. Abi 'l-Ghayth who reduced the inhabitants to slavery; this episode, undated, seems to have been no more than an isolated raid of which the effects were short-lived. According to the same author, a mercenary leader, Ḳahrūn b. Ghannūsh, who became governor of Tunis, was banished from there because of his bad administration; subsequently he made a stronghold for himself in the arches of the aqueduct at Manzil Daḥmūn, a refuge of brigands which the Tunisians succeeded in destroying with the aid of the Riyāḥid *amīr* Muḥriz b. Ziyād. One imagines the Tunisians paying ransoms and tribute to the nomads, the rulers of the plains, but wishing to be protected against these marauders.

In the West, the Ḥammādid principality, still intact, and indeed reinforced by the downfall of the Zīrid state, passed into the hands of an energetic, far-sighted sovereign, al-Nāṣir (454/1062). His power was quickly consolidated by the rallying to his side of Sfax and Ḳasṭīliya. It was only to be expected that Tunis should have considered doing the same thing, and accordingly a delegation of Tunisian *shaykhs* went to the Ḳalʿa to ask the Ḥammādid prince to choose them a governor. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Nāṣir, prudently no doubt, contented himself with advising them to choose for themselves a *shaykh* who would govern them whilst he confined himself to observing them, taking his time to study

the situation (*yaḳūmu bi-amrihim khalāla mā yanẓuru ilayhim*); they chose one of the leaders of their own community but he refused, and it was then that ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān took power in the name of al-Nāṣir. According to Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ was appointed by the Ḥammādid immediately following the reception of the embassy of the Tunisian *shaykhs*. This historian, who makes no mention of the election of a Tunisian *shaykh*, proposed initially by al-Nāṣir, seems to have condensed his account of events; possibly there was a second deputation which returned with the designation of the Khurāsānid, or even with the governor in person.

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān, a native of Tunis, was quite probably, says Ibn Khaldūn, of Ṣanhādjī origin; without this affirmation one would have to postulate for him a Khurāsānī descent; in Tunisian dialect, Khurāsān became Khrīsān (the cupola of Sīdī Bū Khrīsān).

He bore only the title of *shaykh* and ruled the city assisted by a council of *shaykhs*, a kind of senate partaking, no doubt, of the nature of the Berber *djamāʿa*. Nothing more is known of the institutions, certainly of a rudimentary nature, of this oligarchic republic. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ showed himself a good administrator, knowing how to assert himself and gain the sympathy of the population. To put an end to the brigandage of the Hilālī Arabs, he had the wisdom to agree to pay them an annual tribute (*itāwa maʿlūma*); this *modus vivendi* probably made conditions favourable for the exploitation of neighbouring lands, for the provision of food supplies, for industry, and commerce.

The Ḥammādid suzerainty seems to have been no more then nominal; besides, al-Nāṣir was occupied warding off the Hilālī peril and in 457/1064-5, at Sabība, he suffered a defeat as great as that of the Zīrid at Ḥaydarān in 443/1052. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs took advantage of his cousin's defeat to attack Tunis (458/1065-6); after a siege lasting fourteen months, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ submitted to him and recognised his suzerainty, but the authority of the Zīrid of al-Mahdiyya seems to have been exercised in Tunis no more than had been that of the Ḥammādid of Ḳalʿa. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ governed for a further thirty years until his death (488/1095). His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz succeeded him. One may suppose, on the basis of an inscription on the foundation of a mosque dated Ramaḍān 485/5 Oct. - 3 Nov. 1092 where he is called *al-shaykh al-adjall* (the most venerable *shaykh*) that before his father's death he bore at least some of the authority. In addition, the frieze on the cupola of Sīdī Bū Khrīsān says that this mausoleum was built in Djumādā II 486/29 June - 27 July 1093 by "the victorious power" (*al-sulṭān al-manṣūr*) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Abu 'l-Ṭahir ʾIsmāʿīl, both of them sons of *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān; from this we may suppose that at this date, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, doubtless aged and sick, had handed over the reins of government to his two sons. It seems that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whom Ibn Khaldūn accuses of "a feeble spirit", at least to a certain extent shared power with his brother Ismāʿīl.

Tunis must have broken with the Zīrid of al-Mahdiyya, since the sources state that Tamīm attacked and took it again in 491/1097-8.

The epitaph has survived of *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān who died on 5th Muḥarram 499/17th Sept. 1105, also that of the *amīr* Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān, who died on 12th Radjab 500/8th March 1107; so the latter must have reigned from 5th Muḥarram 499 to 12th Radjab 500 with the title of *amīr*. Had he seized power? Had he aimed a blow at the power of the council of elders? Whatever the explanation, his nephew Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz put him to death and his son Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl fled to Bizerta.

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān showed himself a dictator, abolishing the authority of the *shaykhs*, many of whom were exiled to al-Mahdiyya and elsewhere, and he sought the favour of the jurists with whom he liked to surround himself. He built the *Ḳaṣr* (palace) of the Banū Khurāsān, surrounded Tunis with ramparts and obtained from the Hilālī Arabs a guarantee to watch over the safety of travellers. Ibn Ḥamdīs wrote a panegyric of this prince, considered by Ibn Khaldūn the most remarkable of his family.

In 510/1116-17, he was obliged to submit to ʿAlī the Zīrid of al-Mahdiyya who sent an army to besiege Tunis, but in 514/1120-1 it was al-ʿAzīz the Ḥammādid of Bougie who laid siege to Tunis and imposed this suzerainty upon it. Finally, in 522/1128, a general of the Ḥammādid Yaḥyā b. al-ʿAzīz attacked Tunis. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went out of the city, surrendered and was banished, with all his family, to Bougie where he died. Tunis was entrusted to Ḥammādid governors who continued to rule there until 543/1148-9.

There followed for the Tunisians a period of anarchy; they were threatened simultaneously by the Normans—already masters of Djerba (530/1135), of Tripoli (541/1146), of Gabès (whose chieftain, a usurper, recognized them in about 541/1146-7), of al-Mahdiyya, of Sousse and of Sfax (these three taken in the same year, 543/1148)—and by the Ḥammādids of Bougie who were making preparations to subjugate them unconditionally; in addition, they were harassed by Muḥriz b. Ziyād, the Riyāḥid *amīr* of La Malga (al-Muʿallaḳa, between Tunis and Carthage). They took as their chief the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, son of the *imām* Abu 'l-Ḥasan. With his approval, they made an astonishing *volte-face*, deciding to appoint Muḥriz b. Ziyād as their king. In reply to their invitation, the Riyāḥid approached Tunis; the *ḳāḍī* and the *shaykhs* came in procession to meet him; but a cry taken up by the crowd, "No obedience to an Arab or a Ghuzz (sc. a Turcoman)", caused the enterprise to fail. It seems that the ruling class, having acted out of realism or for the defence of their own interests, were foiled by public opinion. Muḥriz b. Ziyād made his way back to La Malga where he was joined by the *ḳāḍī* who had been chased out of Tunis.

In order to put an end to the civil war, the Tunisians decided on a restoration of the Banū Khurāsān. A deputation went to Bizerta to fetch Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ who was hauled up at night over the city walls of Tunis in a wicker basket. This secret entry, which is not adequately explained by the closure at night of the city gates, suggests that the population was not unanimous in the decision to adopt him as *amīr*. Seven months later he was betrayed by his brother's son, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who seems to have had him drowned. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ remained in power for about ten years. He killed the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. Ḥalwān, his son and the son of his sister Ibn al-Bannād, fearing lest they conspire against him with the Arabs, doubtless with Muḥriz b. Ziyād.

Nevertheless, it was thanks to a unit commanded by Muḥriz b. Ziyād, which had penetrated into Tunis,

that the inhabitants, under siege by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, son of the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, made a successful sortie and forced the enemy to retire. On the last day of Djumādā I 552/ 10th July 1157, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reported to the archbishop of Pisa the victory which he had just won over the Maṣmūda, in a letter preserved in the archives of Pisa confirming the verbal terms of a commercial treaty between Pisa and Tunis.

He was succeeded by his nephew ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān (in about mid-February 1159). But five months later (about mid-July 1159), Tunis was laid under siege by a formidable army and fleet under the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and surrendered. A deputation of twelve (or seventeen) *shaykhs* went to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to ask for peace. After an initial refusal, and long equivocation, he accepted. In the list of these *shaykhs*, unfortunately incomplete, we notice nine names: three brothers, the Banū ʿAbd al-Sayyid, Hāshimī *sharīfs* (the epitaph of another member of this line, dating from 528/1113, is qualified by *faḳih* and *imām*), and two sons of Manṣūr Ismāʿīl and their paternal cousin; so we are dealing here with an oligarchy, and, once more, it is making terms with the enemy. In fact, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin promised to respect the lives, families and goods of the *shaykhs* who had come to negotiate, in return for their readiness to surrender, but he made the same guarantees to the other inhabitants of the city and environs only after they had handed over to him half of their goods.

The last of the Khurāsānids, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, had not only to surrender half of his goods, but also to accept exile in Bougie; once these conditions were accepted, he left Tunis that same day, but died on the road.

Tunis has kept some relics of the Banū Khurāsān, sc. the mosque of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr (*ca.* 499/1106), which probably adjoined their palace (no longer in existence), and not far from Sīdī Bū Khrīsān street, a *Ḳubba*, their funeral mausoleum in the centre of a necropolis excavated by S. M. Zbiss, to whom we owe the establishment of an epigraphic musuem and the publication of a number of tomb-inscriptions of the men and women of this family.

Bibliography: exhaustive references in H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962, index, 842. (H. R. Idris)

KHURĀSĀNĪ, Ākhūnd Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim (1839-1911), a distinguished Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of Iran; born in Ṭūs, he received his early education in Mashhad, pursued traditional studies including natural philosophy in Tehran in 1860, and moved to Nadjaf in 1861 for further studies. He studied under Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, the then sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* of the Shīʿī world. After the latter's death (1894), Khurāsānī was recognised as the legitimate successor to Shīrāzī. He proved to be a resourceful teacher, lecturing daily before more than 1,000 students of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and producing as graduates of his courses some 120 *mudjtahids* (Mahdī al-Mūsawī, *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1968, 147-8). He established three religious (*ibid.*, 148) and some modern schools in ʿIrāḳ (ʿAbd Allāh al-Fayyāḍ, *al-Thawra al-ʿIrāḳiyya al-kubrā sana 1920*, Baghdād 1967, 82 ff.). Since 1906 Khurāsānī's name has been associated with the Persian Constitutional Revolution as one of its most influential supporters. He and two other *mudjtahids*, Ṭihrānī and Māzandarānī, issued numerous *fatwās* and manifestos, sent many telegrams, wrote many letters to responsible authorities in Persia and Turkey, and organised two uprisings. Led by Khurāsānī, the Persian *ʿulamāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ intensified their campaign after Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's abrogation of the constitution in 1908, and in a *fatwā* they declared that obedience to the Shāh and the payment of taxes to his government were un-Islamic (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i Mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1951, 730) and strongly condemned their clerical opponent Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (*ibid.*, 528). Khurāsānī's activities were not favoured by ʿAbd äl-Ḥamīd II of Turkey. Thanks to the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, however, there appeared a degree of mutual co-operation between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the Turks, and Khurāsānī openly supported the Turkish Revolution. He even threatened to dethrone ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd upon the latter's counter-revolution in 1909 (Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan Nadjafī Ḳūčānī, *Siyāḥāt-i sharḳ*, Mashhad 1972, 474-6).

Living in an Ottoman province, ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsānī and other Persian constitutionalists seem to have been led to an agreement of expedience with the Young Turks. We see Khurāsānī, for instance, sanctioning the Pan-Islamic policy of the Young Turks (*RMM*, xiii (1911), 385-6) and at times, despite his being a Shīʿī *mudjtahid*, calling the Ottoman sultan "caliph" (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), 240-1; Niẓām al-Dīn-Zāda, *Hudjūm-i Rūs bi-Īrān*, Baghdād 1913, 45). In support of the sultan, he also declared a holy war against the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911 (*al-ʿIlm*, ii (1911), 246-7, 290-7, 338-42). In return, Khurāsānī appealed to the sultan to interfere in favour of the Persian constitutionalists: once in 1909 when he was successfully working towards the dethronement of the foreign-backed Shāh (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), 240-1), and another time when, upon the Anglo-Russian invasions of Iran in 1911, the deposed Shāh vainly attempted to regain his throne (*Hudjūm-i Rūs*, 45-6). In both cases Khurāsānī, leading many of his supporters, set out for Persia to mobilise the masses; the first uprising was stopped because of the Shāh's downfall (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), and iv (1912), 36-40), and the second one was postponed because of Khurāsānī's sudden death (*Hudjūm-i Rūs*, 58-67).

Despite the allegation concerning Khurāsānī's ties to the Oudh Bequest (Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, *Tārīkh-i rawābiṭ-i siyāsī-yi Īrān va Ingilīs*, Tehran 1953, vi, 1741-5), he does not seem to have favoured the British. Since the Russian troops were suppressing the Persian Revolution and the British were thought to have supported it, Khurāsānī sent delegates to the British Consulate in Baghdād seeking co-operation (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977), though this proved useless because of the British commitment to the 1907 Convention. From then on, we see Khurāsānī in an equal opposition to the two powers. He expressed his deep mistrust in the Shāh, and paid no attention to the intercession of the two powers under whose pressures the Shāh had to promise the re-establishment of the Persian constitution; Khurāsānī only insisted upon the deposition of the Shāh and the declaration of a genuine constitutional régime (Hairi, *Why did the ʿUlamāʾ participate in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909?*, in *WI*, xvii [1976-7].

Bibliography: (in addition to the sources given above): Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl*, i, Nadjaf 1964; Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i hidjdah-sāla-yi Ādharbaydjān*, Tehran 1954; Muḥammad Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrāniyān*, i-ii, Tehran 1953, 1970; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, i, Tabrīz 1967; Mahdī

Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥal-i ridjal-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1968; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910. (ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

AL-**KHURAYMĪ** [see ABŪ YAʿḲŪB AL-KHURAYMĪ]

AL-**KHŪRĪ**, FĀRIS (1875?-1962) a Syrian politician, a Christian, who played a very important role over a period of almost half a century. Born in a Lebanese village on the slopes of Mount Hermon, he studied at Ṣaydā then at the school in Beirut which was later to become the American University, while also working as a teacher. When family affairs took him to Damascus in 1899, he took up residence in the Syrian capital, learned Turkish and French and was employed as an interpreter in the British consulate. His political career began in 1909 when he joined the Committee of Union and Progress. As legal adviser to the municipality of Damascus (1910-38) he was elected a member of the municipal council of the town in 1914, took part in 1918 in the Council of State which met in Istanbul, participated in the creation of the Arab Academy, and then occupied a number of important political offices: Minister of Finance in 1920, of National Education in 1926, President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1943 and then from 1946 to 1949, and President of the Council of Ministers in 1944-5 and in 1954-5. At the same time, he was President of the Bar of Damascus (1920-36), for a short time Professor of Law (1922), a founder member of the People's Party (1925), then of the Nationalist Bloc (*al-Kutla al-Waṭaniyya*, 1928), and was a member of the delegation which negotiated with France the Treaty of 1936. After the war he was appointed Syrian delegate to the United Nations, and presided over the Security Council in 1947 and 1948. He retired from active life in 1955 and died on 2 January 1962.

Fāris al-Khūrī was a calm, level-headed man whose essential aim was to achieve the supremacy of justice. He was a man of great culture and erudition, and his powers of oratory were widely recognised. After the beginning of this century he took an interest in events outside the Arab world and derived from them the inspiration for his literary, more precisely his poetic, production, for this man of politics was also a poet. His classical background gave him the idea in 1898 of preparing an anthology entitled *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī laṭāʾif al-ʿArab* which has remained unedited, but he continued subsequently to compose verses, of which the total number is close to 2,000. His poetry is neo-classical in style and comprises a number of *ḳaṣīdas* on various events, notably on the Russo-Japanese War, panegyrics and obituary tributes dedicated to his friends or to distinguished personalities, a single *hidjāʾ* (of sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, which he later regretted), and some love poems, including three *muwashshaḥāt*; another product of his classical education is a *takhmīs* of the *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*]. He also found the time, in spite of his many commitments, to write two legal works: a *Mūdjaz fī ʿilm al-māliyya* (1924, 1937) and the *Uṣūl al-muḥākamat al-ḥuḳūḳiyya* (2nd ed. 1936).

Bibliography: In addition to the archival information held by the family, whose material is unedited, there have been two monographs on Fāris al-Khūrī: Ḥannā al-Khabbās and Djurdjī Ḥaddād, *Fāris al-Khūrī*, Beirut 1952, and Muḥammad al-Farḥānī, *Fāris al-Khūrī wa-ayyām la tunsā*, Beirut 1964. See also *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain*, Paris, i-xxxii (1945-55), index; Nasīm Sh. al-Khūrī has presented at the Lebanese University in 1973 a *Dīwān Fāris al-Khūrī* containing all of his poetic work which is accessible, together with a detailed bibliography; this work should be published. (ED.)

AL-**KHURMA**, an oasis in western Saudi Arabia situated at lat. 21° 54′ N and long. 42° 2′ E, which became prominent in Arabian politics during the first quarter of this century. The oasis lies in the middle reaches of Wādī Taraba or Turaba (also shown on maps as Wādī Subayʿ). The companion oasis of Taraba [*q.v.*], capital of the tribe of the Buḳūm, is farther up the valley about 75 km. to the south-west. Another 75 km. downstream from al-Khurma the valley passes by the wells of al-Ḳunṣuliyya and then ends at ʿIrḳ Subayʿ, whose sands keep the flood-waters from joining the main drainage system emptying into Wādi 'l-Dawāsir [see (DJAZĪRAT) AL-ʿARAB]. The oasis is close to the northern tip of Ḥarrat Nawāṣif, the southern part of which is called Ḥarrat al-Buḳūm. The road from al-Khurma to al-Ṭāʾif runs south of west over the range of Ḥaḍn, often taken as marking the eastern geographical limit of al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]. About 80 km. north of al-Khurma is the ancient gold mine of Ẓalim, attempts to rework which in recent times proved a failure. Beyond Ẓalim to the north is the present main highway from Djudda and Mecca to al-Riyāḍ (Darb al-Ḥidjāz); earlier, many pilgrims and a considerable amount of trade went along the track through al-Ḳunṣuliyya and al-Khurma.

The relatively small population of al-Khurma is made up of tribesmen from the western section of Subayʿ [*q.v.*], who regard the oasis as their capital, Sharīfs, and black freemen. The chief place in the oasis is Ḳaṣr Khālid, named after a former *Amīr* (see below), and the other principal settlements are al-Sūḳ and al-Sulaymiyya.

Unlike Taraba, al-Khurma is not mentioned by Hamdānī, though it may have been inhabited even before his time. Its first appearance in history seems to have been in 1212/1798, when the Sharīf Ghālib b. Musāʿad, a determined foe of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], pitched his camp there with a host of "Bedouins, townsmen, Egyptians (*maṣāriyya*), and Maghribīs" (Ibn Bishr, i, 112) while making a sweep through the southwestern oases in an effort to halt the spread of the reform movement. Surprised by Wahhābī warriors under the leadership of Hādī b. Ḳarmala of Ḳaḥṭān and Rubayyiʿ b. Zayd of the Dawāsir, Ghālib and his host fled pell-mell, losing many hundreds of men and rich booty. This catastrophe compelled Ghālib to rescind in 1213/1799 the ban that for some years prevented the Wahhābīs of Nadjd from making the pilgrimage.

With the resurgence of the Wahhābiyya in this century under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd, possession of al-Khurma became a crucial issue. Many Khurmans had remained attached to the reform movement since the preceding century. As Wahhābī proselytising also won new adherents in the west, the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī of Mecca tried to assert sovereignty over al-Khurma, which would have carried his authority well towards the east. In the words of Philby, "Khurma itself was a locality of little importance, economically or politically, though it occupied a strategic position as the back-door to Najd. Its real significance was as a symbol of the struggle for Arabian hegemony, which had now been transferred from the old cockpit of the Qasim [see AL-ḲAṢĪM] to the frontiers of the Hijaz" (*Arabian jubilee*, 60). The British government held that al-Khurma, which it thought was not very far away from al-Ṭāʾif (the actual distance is 190 km.), fell within al-Ḥusayn's sphere. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, on the other hand, avowed that he had inherited all

the territory that had belonged to his forefathers, including al-Khurma.

The Sharīf Khālid b. Manṣūr Ibn Lu'ayy, said to have been named *amīr* of al-Khurma by al-Ḥusayn, became a convert to the Wahhābiyya, as a result of which al-Ḥusayn detained him in Mecca for a time; al-Ḥusayn also rebuked the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī* of al-Khurma for preaching in the Wahhābī vein. The Khurman Wahhābīs were devout enough to be reckoned as belonging to the ranks of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*]. Late in 1335/1917 al-Ḥusayn's son ʿAbd Allāh delivered ultimata to Khālid demanding that he return to his original loyalty. Khālid rejected the ultimata, and the Khurmans called on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for help. Sympathetic though he was to their cause, he was occupied elsewhere and could do little for them. During 1336/1918, expeditions sent by al-Ḥusayn to subdue al-Khurma were repulsed one after another by Khālid and the Ikhwān.

Infuriated by the tenacious and successful resistance of the little oasis, al-Ḥusayn in Shaʿbān 1337/May 1919 deputed his son ʿAbd Allāh with a martial array, well armed by Arabian standards, to settle accounts there once and for all. On the way, ʿAbd Allāh paused at Taraba, where Khālid and the Ikhwān, striking suddenly at night, won a signal victory reminiscent of the one achieved by their Wahhābī predecessors over the Sharīf Ghālib. No serious military obstacle then barred the way to al-Ṭā'if and Mecca, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz chose to bide his time. When the move in that direction leading to the capture of Mecca was finally made in 1343/1924, al-Khurma and Taraba provided the springboard for Khālid and the Ikhwān.

The *hidjra* of the Ikhwān beside Khālid's castle in al-Khurma is said to have been founded after the battle of Taraba. The British explorer Philby visited the oasis in 1336/1917 and again in 1351/1932, as well as a year or two before that while hunting with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited under AL-IKHWĀN, see ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-madjd*, Mecca 1349; H. Philby, *Arabian highlands*, Ithaca, N. Y. 1952; G. Troeller, *The birth of Saudi Arabia*, London 1976. (G. RENTZ)

KHURRAMĀBĀD, chief town of the *shahristān* of the same name in the Iranian province of Luristān (*ustān* 6), situated in long. 48° 21′ E., lat. 33° 29′ N.; population of the *shahristān* (1966): 259,000, elevation above sea-level: 4,700 feet.

The town is first mentioned under its present name in the 8th/14th century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, who states: "this was fine town, but it is now in ruins" (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 74). To the south-east of the town, along the banks of the Khurramābād river, and also to the south-west, are remains dating from the time when the site, then known as Dīz-i Siyāh, was the capital of the Saldjūḳ *atābegs* of Lur-i Kučik [*q.v.*], who governed the area from 580/1184 and whose last representative was killed by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1006/1597. At a still earlier date, the Sāsānid town of Shāpūrkhwāst seems to have occupied the site (thus Minorsky, in *EI*[1], LURISTĀN, who supports Rawlinson *contra* Le Strange, *Lands*, 201-2).

This mountainous region, inhabited by Lurī-speaking tribes, remained remote until almost the end of the 13th/19th century, when it was finally opened up by the construction of the Tehran-Ahwāz highway; this reduced to 12 days the 40-50 days previously required for the journey from the Persian Gulf to Tehran via Shīrāz.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references in the text): ʿAlī Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān* (*Intishārāt-i dā'ira-yi djughrāfiyā'ī-yi sitād-i artish*), vi, Tehran 1330/1951, 139; Major Rawlinson, *Notes on a march from Zohâb, etc. in the year 1836*, in *JRGS*, ix/1 (1839), 97 ff. (R. M. SAVORY)

KHURRAMIYYA or KHURRAMDĪNIYYA refers in the Islamic sources to the religious movement founded by Mazdak [*q.v.*] in the late 5th century A.D. and to various Iranian, anti-Arab sects which developed out of it under the impact of certain extremist Shīʿī doctrines. Although the Khurramīyya are sometimes mentioned separately besides the Mazdakiyya, Ibn al-Nadīm, following Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, is no doubt right in stating that the name Khurramiyya, as also Muḥammira [*q.v.*], originally meant the movement of Mazdak in general, and not merely a branch of it. Al-Masʿūdī's assertion that the Khurramiyya are distinct from the Mazdakiyya evidently relates to the later development, since he at the same time identifies the former with the followers of Abū Muslim. The Persian name Khurram-dīn ("joyous or agreeable religion") may, as has been suggested, have been chosen by the sectarians in analogy to the name Vēhdēn which the Zoroastrians applied to their own religion, though it seems also possible that it was coined by their Zoroastrian opponents. In the Islamic sources, it is usually explained as referring to their libertinist and hedonistic view that everything agreeable to the senses is permitted. Other explanations of the name, that it is derived either from Khurram, a district of Ardabīl, or from Khurrama, the wife of Mazdak, are probably unfounded.

Although the sources do not mention the Mazdakite movement in early Islamic times, it is evident that Mazdakite communities were dispersed in the countryside of many regions of Iran with the heaviest concentration in the province of al-Djibāl. The coalescence of the Khurramiyya with various extremist factions of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] began during the upheavals of the late Umayyad age. Al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1588, reports that the ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* Khidāsh [*q.v.*], who was active before 118/736 in the area of Naysābūr and Marw, taught the religion of the Khurramiyya and permitted promiscuity. Al-Nāshi' identifies the Khurramiyya of Khurāsān with the Khidāshiyya, who held that the imāmate had passed from the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī by forfeiture to Khidāsh, and who furthermore denied the death of the latter. According to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, the Ḥārithiyya, the extremist supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] who after his death in 131/748-9 chose various chiefs of their own, were called Khurramiyya. It is likely that these two sects were partially recruited from the local Mazdakites in Khurāsān and western Iran, which was controlled by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya for some time. The strongest impact on the Mazdakite Khurramiyya was made, however, by the figure of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], who as the leader of the revolutionary movement which overthrew the Umayyad caliphate and as the victim of ʿAbbāsid perfidy came to symbolise Persian self-assertion against Arab dominance. Many heresiographers fully identify the Khurramiyya with the Muslimiyya, who considered Abū Muslim as their *imām*, prophet or an incarnation of the divine spirit. Abū Ḥātim's statement that the Rizāmiyya belonged to the Khurramiyya is to be understood in the same sense, for he and some other sources explain this name as meaning the radical, anti-ʿAbbāsid followers of Abū Muslim.

The *daʿwa* of Abū Muslim evidently gained numer-

ous Mazdakite adherents during his lifetime. After his murder in 137/755, the Khurramiyya in Khurāsān, according to al-Mas'ūdī, rose in revolt. Some of them denied his death and expected his early return to establish justice in the world. Others affirmed his death and held that the imāmate had passed to his daughter Fāṭima. They were known as the Fāṭimiyya. The Zoroastrian Sunbādh [see SINDBĀD], a former associate of Abū Muslim, led an army of rebels from Naysābūr to al-Rayy where his following swelled rapidly. According to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, it was composed of Mazdakites, Shī'is and Zoroastrians. Sunbādh predicted the end of the Arab empire and promised to destroy the Ka'ba. Abū Muslim, he asserted, had not died and would shortly reappear, together with Mazdak and the Mahdī. By the latter, who is not identified, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya may have been meant. The revolt was suppressed after 70 days and the leader was killed. Another former associate or *dā'ī* of Abū Muslim, known as Isḥāḳ al-Turk, after the former's murder fomented an insurrection in Transoxania, affirming that Abū Muslim was alive in the mountains of al-Rayy and would return. He is also reported to have previously taught that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Zoroaster, who himself was alive and would reappear to restore his religion. Nothing is known about the exact date of the activity of Isḥāḳ and the fate of his movement. It has been suggested, on the basis of the account of Gardīzī, that the governor of Khurāsān, Abū Dāwūd Khālid (d. 140/757) was killed by followers of Isḥāḳ and that the rebel leader Barāzbanda, whom Abū Dāwūd's successor 'Abd al-Djabbār joined when he revolted against the caliph al-Manṣūr, also belonged to Isḥāḳ's movement. The first suggestion is highly conjectural and the second quite unlikely; the white-clad (*sapid-djāmagān*) murderers of Abū Dāwūd were, according to Gardīzī, the followers of one Sa'īd the weaver (*djūlāh*), and Barāzbanda claimed to be Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd (read: Muḥammad?) al-Hāshimī (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347, 123 f.). About two decades after the death of Abū Muslim, al-Muḳanna' [*q.v.*], also a former member of his *da'wa* and of the Rizāmiyya, appeared in Transoxania to lead another revolutionary movement. His following was composed of white-clad (Ar. Mubayyiḍa [*q.v.*], Pers. Sapīd-djāmagān) Soghdian peasants and by Turkish tribesmen. He claimed to be the final divine incarnation after Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, Muḥammad and Abū Muslim (a different report adds Shayth and substitutes 'Alī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya for Abū Muslim) and taught the transmigration of souls and sexual license. The sect of the Mubayyiḍa is still mentioned as surviving in the 6th/12th century.

The latter two movements usually are not called Khurramiyya in the sources, though as branches of the Muslimiyya they were covered by the name in its wider sense. There is no specific information on their doctrine about Mazdak and the role of Mazdakites in them. Al-Bīrūnī, however, states in general terms that al-Muḳanna' prescribed for his followers "everything Mazdak had brought" and al-Shahrastānī counts the Mubayyiḍa as one of the neo-Mazdakite sects and as a variety of the Khurramiyya. They may have been crypto-Mazdakites before the coming of al-Muḳanna' (see A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Vosstanie Mukannī-Dviženie lyudey v belīkh odeždakh*, in *SO*, v [1948], 35-54).

The use of the name Khurramiyya is more prevalent for the neo-Mazdakites in western Iran. In 162/779 the Muḥammira, i.e. the Mazdakites, of Djurdjān rose and made common cause with the Khurramdīniyya, i.e. the Muslimiyya, claiming that Abū Muslim was alive and promising to restore his reign. They put Abu 'l-Ghazā', the young grandson of Abū Muslim, at their head and reached al-Rayy before they were defeated by 'Umar b. al-'Alā'. At the same time, the Khurramiyya of Iṣfahān revolted. Again in 180-1/796-8 the Muḥammira of Djurdjān rose and for a brief time held sway over the province. In 192/808 the Khurramiyya revolted in Ādharbaydjān and the regions of al-Rayy, Hamadhān and Iṣfahān. The insurrection was quickly suppressed by 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik and Abū Dulaf al-'Idjlī.

The anti-Arab and anti-Muslim activity of the Khurramiyya reached its climax in the great rebellion of Bābak [*q.v.*] al-Khurramī in Ādharbaydjān (201-23/816-38). Bābak had become the chief of the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Badhdh in Ādharbaydjān in succession to Djāwīdhān b. Shahrak, whose prophetic spirit, he claimed, had settled upon him. Djāwīdhān was alleged to have predicted the victory of Mazdakism under his successor. The sources offer little information on the religious doctrine of Bābak and his followers. Their connection with the Muslimiyya is indicated by the fact that some people, according to al-Dīnawarī, held Bābak to be a son of Muṭahhar, son of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim. The revolt later spread outside Ādharbaydjān. In 212/827-8 the Khurramiyya rose in the area of Iṣfahān and al-Karadj and some of them joined Bābak in Ādharbaydjān. In 218/833 they revolted around Iṣfahān under their chief 'Alī b. Mazdak and in Fārs. As 'Alī b. Mazdak took al-Karadj, the sectarians joined him in large numbers. After a bloody defeat by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm near Hamadhān, some of them retreated and pillaged in Iṣfahān, while others under their leader Bārsīs fled to Byzantine territory. They were enrolled in the Byzantine army and are mentioned in 223/838 fighting under the emperor Theophilus against the Muslims.

'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī treats a sect called Māzyāriyya, followers of the Ḳārinid ruler of Ṭabaristān, Māzyār [see ḲĀRINIDS] (d. 225/840), as the second major branch of the Khurramiyya besides the Bābakiyya. Māzyār, whose revolt against the caliphate developed out of his quarrel with the big landowners of the lowlands of Ṭabaristān and his rivalry with 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, was certainly not a Mazdakite, although he was accused of having aided Bābak. In his political struggle he came to rely on the non-Muslim elements of the highlands, particularly Zoroastrians, but evidently also Mazdakites. The Khurramiyya of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān may have continued to honour his memory as the account of al-Baghdādī suggests.

According to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, the rebellions of the Khurramiyya in the area of Iṣfahān continued after the execution of Bābak until the year 300/912-3. First they rose during the reign of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), and again sacked al-Karadj. Later, at an unspecified date, one Bāryazdshāh succeeded in fortifying himself in the mountains of Iṣfahān. The Khurramiyya joined him and raided caravans and villages. Only after some 30 years was he seized and executed. Still in 320-1/932-3, 'Alī b. Būya conquered several fortresses previously held by the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Karadj and captured great treasures.

Khurramī communities are mentioned in the 4th/10th century in the regions of Fārs, al-Ahwāz, Iṣfahān, al-Burdj, al-Karadj, Māsabadhān, Mihridjānḳadhaḳ, al-Ṣaymara, Dīnawar, Nihāwand, Hamadhān, Kāshān, Ḳumm, al-Rayy, in the mountains of

Ṭabaristān, al-Daylam, Ādharbaydjān, Armenia, Shahrazūr, Djurdjān, Balkh and Khurāsān. It has been accepted on the basis of a report of Miskawayh (ed. Amedroz, *Eclipse*, ii, 299; tr., v, 321) that Khurramiyya living along the coast of Makrān and Kirmān were subjugated in 360/971 by a general of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The name al-Khurramiyya is, however, a corruption in the manuscript and should be read al-Djurūmiyya. This is evident from the text of Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 451) which is based on Miskawayh as well as from Miskawayh's mention of the same people called al-Djurūmiyya later under the year 364/974-5 (ii, 359 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 482; Hilāl in *Eclipse*, iii, 377: al-Djurūm; this point is also made by C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 123 n. 34). The latest mention of surviving Khurramiyya communities is for the first half of the 6th/12th century in the region of Ansābādh and Darkazīn, north-west of Hamadhān (al-Bundārī, *Mukhtaṣar zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 124), and in Ādharbaydjān.

According to al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), the Khurramiyya in his time mostly belonged to two divisions, the Kūdakiyya and the Lūdshāhiyya). (variants Kūdshāhiyya, Kurdshāhiyya). The former were probably named thus because of their veneration of Mahdī b. Fayrūz, the son (or grandson?) of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, whom they called *kūdak-i dānā*, the omniscient boy. They are also mentioned in other sources and apparently constituted the great majority of the Khurramiyya in western Iran. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/924) states that the extremist factions which originally developed out of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement were known under different names in different regions; in the country of Iṣfahān as Kūdakiyya and Khurramiyya, in al-Rayy and elsewhere in al-Djibāl as Mazdakiyya and Sunbādiyya, in Dīnawar and Nihāwand as Muḥammira and in Ādharbaydjān as Dhaḳūliyya (or Dafūliyya). It is not clear if the latter name implies a distinction in religious doctrine between the Khurramiyya in Ādharbaydjān and elsewhere in western Iran, though any such differences were most likely not substantial. Abū Dulaf b. Muhalhil, who visited al-Badhdh about the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentions a place there were the Muḥammira known as the Khurramiyya consecrated their flags and where they expected the coming of the Mahdī. Probably the *kūdak-i dānā* or, in any case, a descendant of Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima, is meant

The reports of the Muslim sources about the doctrine and practices of the Khurramiyya are mostly summary and biased. An exception is the account of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, which is based on his personal acquaintance with members of the sect and his reading of some of their books. The Khurramiyya were dualists holding that the principle of the world was the light, some of which had become effaced and turned into darkness. They all believed in the transmigration of souls in human, animal, and angel bodies. Prophetic revelation in their view never ceased and the same divine spirit inhered in all prophets. They had no religious law but, according to Muṭahhar, had recourse to their *imāms* in legal matters. Messengers whom they called angels (*firīshtagān*) made the rounds among them. They were much concerned with cleanliness and purity, tried to win people's favour through acts of kindness and strictly avoided bloodshed except when they decided on rebellion. They expected the appearance of a descendant of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, as the Mahdī who would make their cause prevail in the world. Wine was considered particularly blessed by them. According to Muṭahhar, some held promiscuity licit with the consent of the women and, in general, any fulfillment of natural desires as long as no one was harmed. The more extravagant clichés of some sources concerning their sexual libertinism deserve no credence. There is no sound evidence for community of goods among them.

The Mazdakite and Manichaean basis of these beliefs is manifest. The attempts of some sources to establish a close link between the Khurramiyya and the Ḳarmaṭīs and Ismāʿīliyya must be viewed with reserve. There is no evidence for any influence of Khurramī doctrine on Ismāʿīlī doctrine or of any large-scale conversion of Khurramīs to early Ismāʿīlism.

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KHURRAMSHAHR, chief town (population in 1966: 88,536) of the *shahristān* of the same name (population in 1966: 156,281) in the Iranian province of Khūzistān (*ustān* 6), and situated in long. 48° 09′ E., lat. 30° 25′ N. Its elevation above sea-level is 8 m./26 ft., and the climate is hot and humid, with summer temperatures rising to 58° C./136° F., and a winter minimum of 8° C./46° F.

The present town is the successor of a number of settlements which, since ancient times, have been located in the general area where the Kārūn (Dudjayl) river and the combined Tigris and Euphrates rivers flow into the Persian Gulf a few miles apart. Elamite and Achaemenid settlements were succeeded, in Islamic times, by Bayān and Muḥriza, which were included by the Islamic geographers in the province of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam. The earlier settlements were situated on the Kārūn river itself, the later ones on a channel cut to link the Kārūn and the Tigris-Euphrates estuary (now called by the Arabs Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, and by the Persians Arwand-rūd). The construction of this channel (known at different times as Jūy-i Bayān; Jūy-i ʿAḍudī (after it had been widened by the Buwayhid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; and the Ḥaffār channel) created the island of Ābādān [see ʿABBĀDĀN],

the site of the National Iranian Oil Company's refinery.

After being mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century), the site is not heard of again until the beginning of the 13th/19th century, when a fort called Kūt al-Muḥammara ("Red Fort") developed into the town of Muḥammara governed by Arab shaykhs of the Kaʿb tribe. The new town was situated on the Ḥaffār channel, one mile from its confluence with the Kārūn. The rise of a rival port at the end of the Persian Gulf was regarded by the Ottomans as a threat to the prosperity of Baṣra, and in 1254/1838-9 they sacked the town, which was, however, subsequently ceded to Persia by the Treaty of Erzerum in 1847. This treaty was violated by the Ottomans in 1886 by the construction of a fort at Fao, at the mouth of the estuary, which enabled them to harass shipping bound for Muḥammara.

In 1925, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī brought the virtually autonomous shaykhdom of Muḥammara firmly under Iranian control, and in 1937 the name of the town, by a decision of the Iranian cabinet, was changed to Khurramshahr. During World War II, the port facilities at Khurramshahr were greatly expanded, and a 75-mile branch line was constructed to link the city with the Trans-Iranian railway at Ahwāz. After further development under the Second Seven-Year Plan (1955-62), Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf; its exports include dates, milk-products, skins and wool.

The 1912-14 Boundary Commission took as the international boundary with ʿIrāḳ the low-water line on the Iranian side of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. This left the navigation channel to Khurramshahr under ʿIrāḳī jurisdiction, and resulted in constant friction between the two countries. This dispute appears finally to have been settled by the agreement signed on 6 March 1975, whereby Iran and ʿIrāḳ agree that the international boundary shall be the *talweg*, or line of deepest water.

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(R. M. Savory)

KHURREM (P. "cheerful, smiling") is a name of both men and women. The most famous bearer of it is the Khāṣṣekī [*q.v.*] and beloved wife of Sulaymān I [*q.v.*], who was born in the early years of the 16th century and died on 26 Djumādā II 965/15 April 1558. Because of the necessary seclusion of her life, few facts about her are known. It is, however, certain that Sulaymān remained passionately devoted to her from their meeting, probably in Istanbul after his accession on 17 Shawwāl 926/30 September 1520, until her death; hence her power, by which she altered the course of the Ottoman Empire. This power, for which she is hated, brought upon her charges of witchcraft (Bassano, *Costumi*, Roma 1545, 18*v*.) and sorcery (Busbecq, *Omnia* ..., Basel 1740, 72-3), but Navagero's remark (Albèri, *Relazioni* iii/1, 74), "she knows the Sultan's nature very well", seems nearer the truth. According to the tradition established by Hammer-Purgstall (*GOR*, iii, 673), she was Polish, from Rogatin (Polish: Rohatyn) on the Gnilaya Lipa river, now in the Ukrainian SSR, then in the Little Russia of Poland, the daughter of a Greek Catholic *papas*; possibly her name was Aleksandra Lisowska (see *Belleten*, xxiii, 230). The area, an old Ruthenian settlement, was subjected to frequent Tatar raids; she may have been carried off on one of these and sold as a slave in Istanbul. It may not be a coincidence that she had a mosque built later in the ʿAvret Pazarī quarter, near the female slave-market. Other traditions, of little reliability, make her Slav, Circassian, Sienese, even French. She may have been presented to Sulaymān by his mother Ḥafṣa Sulṭān or by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] (Bassano, *loc. cit.*, 18*v*)., with whom she was to share Sulaymān's affection. She was called Khurrem (variants: Churram, Currem, Hürrem) but is known in Turkish histories generally as Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān and in Western accounts as Roxelana (variants: Roxolana, Roxelane, Rossolana, Rossane, la Rossa, la Rosa), probably all referring to her origin as a Russian or even a Ruthenian woman (*Belleten*, xxiii, 229), but not meaning "Rose", "Redhead", nor Baudier's ingenous "Roxana" to Sulaymān's Alexander the Great (*Inventaire*[2], Paris 1620, 344). Bragadin in 1526 (Albèri, iii/3, 102) describes her as "young not beautiful, but graceful and small".

As heir-apparent in Manisa, Sulaymān seems to have favoured two ladies, Gulbahār and Gulfem, said to be variously of Circassian, Albanian, Montenegrin and Crimean origin. Gulfem bore him Murād in 919/1513 and Maḥmūd in 921/1515, but both these sons died in 927/1521. Gulbahār bore Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] in 921/1515; thus, by 1521, as mother of the Sultan's eldest surviving son, she was Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān and, after Sulaymān's mother, foremost in the Imperial Harem, then housed in the Old Palace. However, Khurrem had captivated Sulaymān, borne him a son Meḥemmed [*q.v.*] in 927/1521 and, after a squabble reported by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 75), during which Gulbahār had called her "sold meat", had ousted her. Gulbahār devoted herself to her son Muṣṭafā and, when she died in 988/1580, was buried beside him in Djem Sulṭān's mausoleum in Bursa (Refik, *xvi. asırda Istanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1935, 8). Gulfem, no rival, was accepted by Khurrem and lived with her ladies; after her death, in 969/1561-2, a mosque was constructed in her memory in Üsküdar.

There is unanimous agreement that Sulaymān made Khurrem his legal wife by giving her the *kābīn* (dowry), said to be 5,000 ducats annually, but no hint as to when this took place. It may have been after the birth of Meḥemmed. An undated letter in the Archives of the Bank of St. George, Genoa, describes the wedding festivities in some detail (see Davey, *The Sultan and his subjects*, London 1907, 18-19). In 928/1522 their daughter Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān [*q.v.*] was born, the next year a son ʿAbd Allāh (died 932/1526) and, on 24 Radjab 930/28 May 1524, the future Sultan Selīm II [*q.v.*]. Khurrem bore two more sons, Bāyezīd in 932/1526 and, in 937/1530 Djihāngīr, a hunchback much loved by his father. The circumcisions of Muṣṭafā, Meḥemmed and Selīm were celebrated together with great pomp in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 936/July 1530, after which Muṣṭafā, as *sandjaḳ-beg* of Ṣarukhān, departed with his mother to Manisa. On 4 Ramaḍān 940/19 March 1534 the wālide Ḥafṣa Sulṭān died. During the night of 21-2 Ramaḍān 942/14-5 March 1536, Ibrāhīm Pasha was assassinated in the Sultan's bedchamber in Topkapı Sarayı. Khurrem's influence is suspected in this murder, out of jealousy and fear for her children's lives after Ibrāhīm had declared in favour of Muṣṭafā as heir, but there is no proof of this. With Ibrāhīm's death, however, all her rivals had been removed.

In 945/1539 Khurrem began a long series of pious bequests with the construction of the Haseki mosque in Istanbul, the first commission of the new Chief Architect Sinān [*q.v.*]. It is in the former ʿAvret Pazarî, now Haseki district, and comprises two *medreses*, a *mekteb*, a *sabîl* and a hospital (finished 957/1550) which, as the Haseki Kadınlar Hastanesi, is still in use for women. Sinān also built another mosque on her behalf at Edirne, *ʿimārets* near the Kaʿba at Mecca, at Medina and at Edirne, and baths in the Aya Sofya and Yehudiler districts of Istanbul. Her other charitable works include a caravanserai and fountains at Edirne and a richly endowed *ʿimāret* at Jerusalem.

On the night of 27 Ramaḍān 947/25 January 1541 a fire swept through the Old Palace (Luṭfī, *Tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1341, 384). Khurrem seems to have moved at once with her ladies to Topkapı Sarayı, where she remained. With a woman lodged for the first time at the political centre, there begins at this date the *Ḳadînlar salṭanatî*, the rule of women, during which the policies of the Ottoman Empire were directed by a succession of foreign favourites, until the death of Murād IV's mother in 1061/1651. In the Genoese Archives there is a description of Khurrem's apartments, probably written in 1542 (see Davey, *Sultan*, 21-3), and also in Bassano (*loc. cit.*, 17v.). On 21 Ṣafar 948/16 June 1541 Khurrem had Muṣṭafā dismissed to Amasya and on 3 Shaʿbān 949/12 November 1542 her own son Meḥemmed was appointed *sandjaḳ-bey* of Ṣarukhān, the heir-apparent's post (*Kanunı armağanı*, 249). One year later, on 8 Shaʿbān 950/6 November 1543, Meḥemmed died in Manisa. Sulaymān was inconsolable; in a deed of gift to Khurrem made some eight years later (Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², i, 608-10), with all his other sons still alive, he calls her "the mother of my late son Meḥemmed". On 13 Ramaḍān 951/28 November 1544 Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], husband of Mihr-i Māh since 945/1539, was appointed Grand Vizier. He was devoted to the policies of his mother-in-law and wife, foremost of which was the destruction of Muṣṭafā so that one of Khurrem's sons might succeed. The law decreeing that a Sultan at his accession must have all his brothers executed created such a desperate struggle for life within the Sultan's family, of which the pathetic aspect is well illustrated by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 77). Their scheming was crowned with success on 27 Shawwāl 960/6 October 1553, when Sulaymān witnessed the execution of his brilliant and popular eldest son in camp at Eregli near Konya. To pacify the infuriated army Rüstem Pasha was dismissed at once and Ḳarā Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] appointed Grand Vizier .Djihāngīr, proceeding with his father on the Persian campaign, died of pleurisy at Aleppo on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 960/29 November 1553. A few weeks later Muṣṭafā's son Meḥemmed, born at Amasya in 953/1546, was executed at Bursa. His death also is attributed to Khurrem's plots, as is the execution in office of Ḳarā Aḥmad Pasha on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 962/29 September 1555 and the immediate reinstatement of Rüstem Pasha. He and Khurrem plotted for the succession to pass to Bāyezīd, the younger but abler of Sulaymān's surviving sons, but neither of them lived to see the end of the struggle between the two brothers which resulted in Bāyezīd's execution in Persia at Selīm's instigation on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 969/23 July 1562. Barbarigo tells us (Albèri, iii/3, 148) that in her last years Khurrem would not allow Sulaymān out of her sight; both infirm, they spent the winter of 965/1557-8 in Edirne together, and she returned to die in Istanbul in April. She is buried in her mausoleum, built by Sinān beside Sulaymān's near the Süleymāniyye mosque. Due largely to her intrigues Selīm, Sulaymān's least worthy son, remained alone to succeed his father.

A number of Khurrem's letters exist. Seven letters to Sulaymān, written between 1526-53, published in modern Turkish transcription in Uluçay, *Osmanlı sultanlarına aşk mektuplari*, Istanbul 1950, are preserved in the Archives of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum as TKS Arşivi nos. E. 5038, 5662, 5859, 5926, 6036, 6056, 11480. In 1548 and 1549 she and Mihr-i Māh wrote to Sigismund Augustus of Poland; the originals are in Warsaw, AGAD, Arch. Kor., Dz. turecki, teczka 110, nos. 218, 219, 221, 222: French translations by Askenazy, *Listy Roxolany*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, x (1896), 113-7. A correspondence with Persia ensued over the building of the Süleymāniyye mosque, with Khurrem answering Shāh Tahmāsp's wife's letter of good wishes to her in 962/1555 (reference to copies in Hammer-Purgstall's Ms. in *GOR*, ix, 375: items 499, 500) and the Shāh's sister's letter of congratulations after the completion in 964/1557; published in Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², ii, 63-6. There are many deeds of gift made by Sulaymān to Khurrem; see, for example, Heyd, *Ottoman documents*, Oxford 1960, 143, and *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman sergisi*, Istanbul 1958, nos. 71, 90, 102, 125. Some examples of embroidery said to be Khurrem's work are preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum and the Türk İslâm Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul.

Khurrem's fame spread through Europe in her lifetime. It is unlikely that she ever sat for a portrait, but several portraits of her exist. In Topkapı Sarayı there is an oil painting (see cover of Uluçay, *Aşk mektupları*), made from the engraving in Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum*, Frankfurt 1596, and two other portraits (see Uluçay, 7, 20). Sokolnicki, *La Sultane Ruthène*, in *Belleten*, xxiii, 1959, 229-39, lists further portraits in Florence, Venice and Vienna, the latter bearing the same inscription as Uluçay, 20, and probably identical to it. There is a fine engraving of her by Melchior Lorich in *Turckische Figuren* (see Rouillard, *The Turk*, Paris 1938, plate 23). Khurrem's story inspired drama and literature in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, including two French plays, *La Sultane*, Paris 1561, and *Roxelane*, Paris 1643; see Rouillard, *The Turk*, 421-66, and Chew, *The Crescent*, New York 1937, 497-503.

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(S. A. Skilliter)

KHURSĀBĀD, a village situated 36° 40′ N. and 43° 10′ E. in the plain 17 km. to the north-east of Mosul, in the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Mawṣil. It is the site of the ancient Assyrian royal city Dur Shar-

rukin, "The Fortress of Sargon". The earliest excavations there were undertaken by Paul Emile Botta in 1843 when he was the French Consul at Mosul, and he has been described by Parrot as "the first systematic excavator of a Near Eastern site". He himself described his work in a series of letters which he wrote after each important find and he carefully copied all the inscriptions he discovered, although at that time Akkadian was still an undeciphered language. Victor Place continued the excavation of the site from 1852-5, but then it was abandoned until G. Loud worked there on behalf of the Oriental Institute of Chicago for eight seasons from 1927-35. Since then a number of stone reliefs from the palace, including two famous colossal bulls, have been removed to the Iraq National Musuem in Baghdad (1938, 1943) and the Directorate-General of Antiquities of Iraq resumed excavations for a short period in 1957.

Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) built the city between 717 and 707 when he moved the centre of his administration from Kalkhu (modern Birs Nimrūd), and the city is a model of Assyrian town-planning. It has seven fortified gates and the early excavations revealed the rooms of the palace and the houses of the palace officials. There are a number of shrines to various deities (called by Botta the Harem) and a ziggurat (which Botta described as an observatory). The later American excavation discovered the temple of Nabu who, with his consort Tashmetum, was a god of vegetation and recently it has been suggested by Postgate that the fertility ritual of the sacred marriage was performed in this building. The entrance to the palace was flanked by a pair of massive, winged, human headed bulls (as in other Assyrian cities) and the walls were decorated with detailed reliefs of battle scenes and festival processions. A number of glazed brick panels have also been recovered from the site and chemical analysis of the blue glazes derived from copper suggests that lead was being used as a flux, a technique that was forgotten but later re-developed.

Cuneiform inscriptions show that the city was completed just before Sargon died. It was during his eighth military campaign, on which he plundered towns and villages in north-western Iran, that he was ambushed and killed (705 B.C.) and his corpse was left unburied as "food for the birds of prey". The priests seem to have interpreted this final humiliation as a sign of divine punishment, and his son Sennacherib abandoned the city and turned his attention to the rebuilding of Nineveh, which remained the capital of Assyria until the empire was overthrown in 612 B.C. The most important document for historical research which has been discovered at the site is a list of the names of the kings of Assyria together with the length of their reigns as far back as Irishum I (1852-1813). Although there are inconsistencies of detail between this list and the King list from Asshur [see ATHŪR] in Suppl. and the records of astronomical observations, it does provide the basic framework for the study of Assyrian history.

The palace is built on a raised platform and planned around an open courtyard which was accessible to the public. This gave access to an inner courtyard which seems to have been reserved for those in special positions of authority. The throne room was approached from the inner courtyard through a triple doorway flanked by monumental sculptures. A staircase led from the throne room to the private living rooms. Because of the absence of any relief carving in the throne room it has been suggested that this was originally decorated with mural paintings but no traces have survived.

Sargon had the construction of the city described in detail on the pavement stones in the palace gates with these words: "[the king] built the city at the foot of Mount Musri above Nineveh and named it Dur Sharrukin. He erected palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and terebinth as his royal dwelling place. In front of the gates he built a portico, as in a Hittite palace, which in the Amorite language is called a *bit ḫilāni*." It is particularly interesting to note that he received inspiration for at least one architectural detail from his western expedition.

When the site was first discovered, Botta thought he had found the much more famous city of Nineveh, for he was so astounded by the size and obvious splendour of the ancient city. Layard raised objections to this identification because he thought it was too far away from the Tigris. Neither of them appeared to know the traditional identification in Arabic historical sources; Yāḳūt describes the village as the site of an ancient city called Ṣarʿūn, which probably reflects an earlier corruption of Ṣarghūn.

When excavations began, E. Flandin was sent by the French government to copy the sculptures which had been found. It was identified with Dur Sharrukin after the inscriptions of its founding king had been translated. He had had it built as a strategic defence against the troublesome Cimmerian attacks from the north and had cobbled the main exit roads so that his troops could be transported efficiently with their supplies. The ancient walls surround an area of 320 hectares with the citadel occupying 20 hectares. Yāḳūt mentions that the village of his day (which he refers to as Khurustābād) had good irrigation. The modern village supports a small population (the average density of the area is 29.5 persons per km.²) situated on the eastern bank of the river Khawsar at the northern end of the Djabal Maḳlūb.

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(M. E. J. Richardson)

KHURSHĪD, *ispahbadh* [*q.v.*] of the Dabūyid line in Ṭabaristān. It was long believed that there were two Khurshīds, because of errors in interpreting coin legends; Mordtmann, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1871), 30, 36, dated three coins of this prince to the years 70, 60 and 64 of the Ṭabaristān era, and this led people to posit the existence of a Khurshīd I who reigned 50-60 T. and a Khurshīd II who reigned 88-116 T. (idem, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 110, cited by Unvala, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 11). He was followed by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 132, who also read 64 T. on a coin which

he attributed to Khurshīd I, who must in his opinion have reigned 60-4 T. Vasmer, in *EI*[1] art. MĀZANDARĀN was the first to perceive this false reading, which he explained by the resemblance between *shast* = 60 and *dahsat* = 110 in the Pahlavi script. Accordingly, Vasmer dated the coins to 110 and 114 T., instead of 60 and 64 T., and he therefore denied the existence of two Khurshīds, especially as the local sources make no mention of a Khurshīd I. Unvala, p. 7, § 4, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 11, confirmed Vasmer's conclusions, and remarked that the coins of the alleged Khurshīd I are absolutely identical with those which Mordtmann attributed to Khurshīd II. As for the bronze coin dated by Mordtmann (*ZDMG*, xix, 474, No. 170) to the year 70 T. and attributed to Khurshīd I, Vasmer corrects this false reading to 107 T. (*EI*[1], *loc. cit.*). Unvala (p. 9, § 16, coin No. 800 in his catalogue) confirms Vasmer's dating, and observes that to date the coins to 64 and 70 T. and attribute them to Khurshīd I would interrupt in an inexplicable fashion the series of coins issued by Farrukhān the Great (60-79 T.). One must thus cease speaking of two Khurshīds, as does Spuler in *EI*[2] art. DĀBŪYA.

The *ispahbadh* Khurshīd is therefore the last Dabūyid prince, who reigned in Ṭabaristān 89-110 T./123-44 A.H./740-61 A.D. according to his coins, which corresponds closely with the information of local chroniclers. In fact, Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 40, gives him a reign of 13 years, to which should be added 8 years of the regency of his paternal uncle Sārūya (Ibn Isfandiyār, 113). But elsewhere (319), he gives him a reign of 51 years, which cannot even be given credence as an indication of his age. Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 140, states that Khurshīd was still young when his father Dādhburzmir died. According to Ibn Isfandiyār, *loc. cit.*, Dādhburzmir's brother Sārūya acted as regent for 8 years, but his sons wanted to keep the throne in their own line, hence plotted against their cousin Khurshīd, who had reached his majority. The latter managed to defeat them and recovered his throne (*ibid.*, 113-14). He was a real petty king, with a personal guard, an army and representatives in the various districts of Ṭabaristān (*ibid.*, 114-16). He even sent an embassy to the Chinese court of the Tʿang, in *ca.* 746 (Abel-Rémusat, i, 254, ii, 166-49): "In the fifth year Tian-pao, the king Hu-lu-han sent an embassy to the Imperial Court and received in exchange the title of King of Kuei-Sin" (submission to vassalage). These royal pretensions explain his rebellion under the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (127-32/744-50; cf. Balādhurī, 338), but he had to submit to Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī in 131/749 (Ṭabarī, ii, 2016). After al-Manṣūr's execution of Abū Muslim in 137/755, Sunbādh revolted and entrusted to Khurshīd part of the treasures of Abū Muslim (Ṭabarī, iii, 86, 119; Niẓām al-Mulk, tr. Schefer, 267-8, tr. Darke, 212). After his defeat, Sunbādh sought refuge in Ṭabaristān, but Khurshīd had him killed by his cousin, in order to get his hands on the rest of Abū Muslim's treasures (Ibn Isfandiyār, 117-18). The caliph al-Manṣūr had to send his son al-Mahdī to Rayy to recover Abū Muslim's property (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 369; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 312, 314). Khurshīd refused to send his son as a hostage, but had to pay a heavier tribute, at the level paid to the Sāsānids (Ibn Isfandiyār, 118).

This submission did not last long, since he took advantage of the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, governor of Khurāsān, to cut off tribute in 141/758 (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 309-10; Balʿamī, iv, 380). This time, the caliph decided to finish once and for all with his vassal's insubordination and to annex his principality. His army invaded Ṭabaristān and they made contact with each other without fighting, forcing Khurshīd to take to the mountains, where he shut himself up in the fortress of al-Ṭāḳ (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 310). A long siege followed, but the place was finally captured in 142/759-60. Khurshīd managed to flee for refuge in Daylam (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 387; Ibn Isfandiyār, 121), but his family fell into the hands of the Muslims and were sent to the ʿAbbāsid court (Balādhurī, 339; Ṭabarī, iii, 136-7, 139-49). There is great confusion over the names of these captive princesses, and certain chroniclers identify them with the daughters of the *maṣmughān* of Dunbāwand and not with Khurshīd's family (Vasmer, 91, 100-1). However, various of this prince's daughters became concubines of al-Manṣūr, his brother al-ʿAbbās, and al-Mahdī, who had a son of al-Bakhtariyya (or al-Buhturiyya, according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 193) called al-Manṣūr. It was al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī who refused the caliphate, as offered to him by the people of Baghdād in 201/817, after the choice of the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā as al-Maʾmūn's heir-presumptive. He merely agreed to become governor of ʿIrāḳ for al-Maʾmūn (Ṭabarī, iii, 1001, 1005-6). Another of Khurshīd's daughters, usually named as Shakla, also became the concubine of al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, iii, 140; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314). She gave him a son, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], sc. the anti-caliph of 201-4/817-19, who accepted his acclamation by the Baghdād populace after his half-brother al-Manṣūr's refusal. All this shows that one cannot set up against each other, in a simplistic fashion, the son of the "Persian concubine" (al-Maʾmūn) and the son of the "Arab princess" (al-Amīn), since the ʿIrāḳīs did not hesitate in 201/817 to set up the son of a Persian concubine (al-Manṣūr and then Ibrāhīm) against the son of another Persian concubine (al-Maʾmūn), who was moreover the very nephew of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.

Khurshīd gathered an army in Daylam and Gīlān and in 143/760 tried to regain his principality (Ṭabarī, iii, 141-2), but meeting no success, killed himself the following year (Balʿāmī, iv, 381; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314). His son, who was on an embassy to China, learnt of the annexation of Ṭabaristān, as recorded in the Chinese annals: "He was honoured by the title of supernumerary officer-general, and awarded a purple cloak and a golden fish. Whilst he was staying in the capital, the black-robed Arabs conquered his lands" (Abel-Rémusat, i, 254). The other local dynasties of Ṭabaristān (the Bāwandids [*q.v.*] of Mount Sharwīn, the Ḳārinids [*q.v.*] of Mount Ḳārin and the Zarmihrids of Miyāndurūd) were kept as tributaries under the oversight of ʿAbbāsid governors resident at Āmul. These last continued to mint coins with Khurshīd's name till 114 T. (he having killed himself in 110 T.), which has led many historians to think that Khurshīd reigned till 115 T. The first extant coin minted in the name of an ʿAbbāsid governor is that of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim in 147/764 (cited by H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 124; it will be published shortly by R. Curiel, of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris).

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic chroniclers (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*; Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn al-Faḳīh; Ibn Ḳutayba; Ṭabarī, etc.) and the Persian ones (Balʿamī; Ibn Isfandiyār, *An abridged translation of the History of Ṭabaristān*, by E. G. Browne, Leiden 1905; Niẓām al-mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. and Fr. tr. Ch. Schefer ed. and Eng. tr. H. Darke; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān . . .*, ed. B. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1850), the following should be consulted: J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr . . .*;

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al-KHURṬŪM (Khartum, Khartoum), a city at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, now the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. The name is said to be derived from the resemblance of the site to an elephant's trunk. At the time of the Turco-Egyptian invasion (1821), Khartum was a small village, the residence of a holy man. It was chosen as the military and administrative headquarters of the conquered territories by the governor, ʿUthmān Bey Djarkas, in 1824. With the extension of Turco-Egyptian rule, the pacification of the Sudan, and the opening-up of the Equatorial Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], Khartum developed into a flourishing town with a heterogeneous population, which included European traders, consular officials and Catholic missionaries. After the outbreak of the Mahdist revolt, the defence of Khartum was assumed by the governor-general, C. G. Gordon Pasha (General Gordon), a British subject in the khedivial service. The town, which had been under close siege from October 1884, fell to the Mahdī on 26 January 1885, Gordon being among the slain. During the Mahdist period, the capital was transferred to Omdurman (Umm Durmān), on the left bank of the Nile below the confluence, and Khartum was abandoned, apart from the dockyard (*al-tarsāna*), where the steamers of the Mahdist state were maintained, and the gardens, which became a source of revenue. After the defeat of the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] at Karari in September 1898 by Anglo-Egyptian forces, the restoration of Khartum was begun by Kitchener, the *serdār* and governor-general. Although again the administrative centre and the principal place of residence for Europeans, Khartum did not equal Omdurman in extent or population during the Condominium (1899-1955). Together with Omdurman and Khartum North it forms a conurbation known as "the Three Towns" (*al-Mudun al-Thalāth*).

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KHŪRYĀN-MŪRYĀN, a group of islands in the bay of the same name on the south coast of Arabia, lying along latitude 17° 30′ N between longitudes 55° 30′ and 56° 30′ E. The islands, principally of granite and limestone formation, are the peaks of a submarine ridge. From west to east they are Ḥāsikiyya, Sawdā, Ḥallāniyya, Ḳarzawt and Djubayla. Ḥallāniyya is both the largest (about 8 miles long and 23 in circumference) and the only inhabited island of the group. At its centre it rises to a peak some 1,500 feet above sea-level. Its vegetation is scanty: only a few marine shrubs, some scattered tamarisks and occasional mimosas relieve the monotony of the landscape. The water is brackish, the best being obtained from a couple of wells sunk by a RAF survey party in 1963. Sawdā, the second largest island (3 miles long), is equally barren, though it was once inhabited. So also, apparently, was Djubayla, to judge from a few tombs on the island. Djubayla and Ḥāsikiyya, the westernmost island, lying only 20 miles from the mainland, are the haunts of thousands of seabirds, including pelicans and goosanders.

The Khūryān-Mūryān Islands were early identified with the so-called seven successive islands of Zenobios, and as such they marked the frontier between the kingdom of the Parthians and the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt. From this it would appear that the Parthian frontier should be located in the innermost corner of Khūryān-Mūryān Bay. Over the centuries the inhospitality of the islands has forced their inhabitants to seek their livelihood from the sea. In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] records that the islanders, who were then politically under al-Shiḥr, were very poor in winter and only managed to make a moderate living in the sailing season. They used to sail to ʿUmān, Aden and the Yemen. Their main source of revenue was tortoise shell, which they traded to the Yemenīs, and occasionally very beautiful amber, for which they sometimes got very high prices. Al-Idrīsī calls the bay containing the islands Djawn al-Ḥashīsh (Bay of Herbs). The Khūryān-Mūryān Islands in their turn were frequented by Arabs from Shiḥr and Mukallā in the Ḥadramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and from Ḥudayda in the Yemen, to dig guano from Ḥāsikiyya and Djubayla Islands, where the seabirds down the centuries had left rich deposits. The guano was used as agricultural fertiliser, especially in the cultivation of tobacco.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans in modern times to record the existence of the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands. Affonso d'Albuquerque discovered them in 1503, and they appear thereafter in Portuguese sources as the Curia-Muria Islands, with Ḥāsikiyya as Asquié, Sawdā as Sodié and Ḳarzawt as Rodondo. Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] from Ra's al-Khayma descended upon the islands in 1818, possibly with the intention of using them as a base for attacks upon shipping. The local inhabitants were driven or carried off and the islands remained unpopulated for several years afterwards. Sometime before or, more probably, after this incursion (the sources are unclear) the islands came into the possession of a sub-section of the Māhrā tribe, the Ibn Khalfān, residing in the vicinity of Mirbāṭ on the coast of Dhufār (Ẓufār [*q.v.*]). It is from this clan that the islands have derived the name by which they are known to the Arabs of southern Arabia—Djazāʾir bin Khalfān. By the middle of the 13th/19th century—and possibly a decade or so earlier—the islands had become a dependency of the sultanate of Masḳaṭ. French planters from Réunion Islands occasionally resorted to the islands to load guano for use as fertiliser, and it was the existence of these valuable deposits that led the British government in 1854 to ask the Sulṭān of Masḳaṭ, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭan, to cede the islands to Great Britain. The deed of cession was signed on 14 July 1854 and the guano deposits were worked from 1857 to 1859. A cable station was set up on Ḥallāniyya Island in 1861, only to be abandoned a year later when the Red Sea-Karachi cable proved unworkable.

From 1854 onwards, the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands were formally designated a dependency of the British colony of Aden, although administrative control over them was vested in the British political resident in the Persian Gulf, since it was more practicable for the British political agent at Maskaṭ to visit them than it was for the political resident (later governor) at Aden. When British rule over Aden ceased on 30 November 1967, the islands were handed back to the Sulṭān of Maskaṭ, despite the protests of the Aden successor government, the People's Republic of South Yemen, that it was entitled to succeed to sovereignty over all the dependencies of the former colony. Since that time the islands have been administered as part of the *wilāya* of Dhufār of the sultanate of ʿUmān. Ḥallāniyya Island is still populated, the number of inhabitants having remained fairly constant over the past century—36 in 1883, 50 in 1936, 70 in 1947 and 53 in 1976. They still derive their living from the sea, and especially from the great shoals of sardines which appear off the islands in late October each year, at the end of the south-west monsoon. Of late, foodstuffs and medical treatment provided by the ʿUmānī authorities in Salāla have gone some way to alleviate the rigours of the islanders' existence.

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(A. GROHMANN-[J. B. KELLY])

KHUSDĀR [see KALĀT]

AL-KHUSHANĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤĀRITH, Mālikī faḳīh and biographer, originally from Khushan near Ḳayrawān. After studying *fiḳh* at the latter place and at Tunis, he left his homeland *ca.* 311/923, passing through Ceuta, where he was held back some time by teaching (he is said also to have corrected the orientation of the mosque there), and travelling to Spain. He resided in the Marches, and completed his legal training, especially from Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh [*q.v.*], and ended up by enjoying the favour of the heir to the throne, prince al-Ḥakam, who procured for him the job of *ḳāḍī* of inheritances (*mawārith*) at Pechina, then that of the *shūrā* of Cordoba and after that, summoned him to his own side. He was something of a poet (though accused of committing faults here), and was considered to have a certain manual dexterity and to practise alchemy; he seems also to have acquired some medical expertise which allowed him, after his disgrace following al-Ḥakam's death in 366/976, to live by making up electuaries (*adhān*). He is said to have died in 371/981, but this date is not accepted by all his biographers, who however knew very little information about the last years of his life.

Al-Khushanī is credited with a hundred or so works and treatises composed at al-Ḥakam's behest, who was, as is well-known, a great lover of books. Amongst the titles cited here figure *al-Ittifāḳ wa 'l-ikhtilāf fi madhhab Mālik*, *al-Taḥāṣur wa 'l-mughālāt*, *al-Futyā*, *al-Taʿrīf*, *al-Mawlid wa 'l-wafāt*, *al-Nasab* and *al-Iḳtibās*, which do not seem to have survived. His fame, however, rests on his biographical works. As well as a *Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus* and a *K. Fuḳahāʾ al-Mālikiyya*, which are no longer extant, al-Khushanī left two collections of especial interest. The first one which one thinks of is his *T. Ḳuḍāt al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. into Spanish by Ribera, Madrid 1914. Basing himself on written sources, archives and oral traditions, the author traces the biographies of the *ḳāḍīs* of al-Andalus from the conquest till 357/968, in a lively and instructive manner; and if he lacks a critical spirit in relaying, for instance, the fictitious story of the first three judges in Cordoba, he nevertheless does not omit items of information which are sometimes unfavourable to the Umayyads.

The second work which has been preserved, the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, has been published by M. Ben Cheneb in his *Classes des savants de l'Ifriqiya*, Algiers 1915-20, as a continuation of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Abu 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*]. These *Ṭabaḳāt*, which the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] utilises freely in his *Madārik* under the title of *Taʾrīkh al-Ifrīḳiyyīn*, calling the author in familiar fashion Ibn Ḥārith, contain biographies of scholars who did not belong to the Mālikī school, and most remarkably, of converts to Shīʿism established in Ifrīḳiya by the Fāṭimids. It is the opinion of R. Brunschvig (*Un aspect de la littérature historico-géographique de l'Islam*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 150-1) that this exile, unable to come to terms with the doctrine imposed upon his native land, may have written this work at the demand of al-Ḥakam, who was eager to know about the situation there; in this respect, the *Ṭabaḳāt* are interesting for the information which they give on the Fāṭimids, but the author, far from being impartial, paints a gloomy picture of the *ʿulamāʾ* who remained behind in Ifrīḳiya and were compelled, according to his view, to rally to the new masters, either out of financial cupidity or from fear of persecution.

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(CH. PELLAT)

KHUSHHĀL KHĀN KHAṬAK, Pashtun poet and a warrior chieftain (1022-1100/1613-89), Khushḥāl Khān is recognised as the national poet of the Pashtūns.

1. Life. Son of Shah-bāz Khan and grandson of Yaḥyā Khān who, in turn, was the son of Malik Akōṛay, leader of a clan of the Khaṭak [*q.v.*], the boy Khushḥāl accompanied his father in tribal wars. After his father's death in a tribal battle, Khushḥāl succeeded him as *khān* or chieftain, and was recognized as such by Shāh Djahān, the Mughal Emperor. Khushḥāl served Shāh-Djahān in his army's campaigns in Balkh and Badakhshān in 1055/1645, but later, in the time of the Emperor Aurangzīb, the governor of Kābul aligned himself, along with some of Khushḥāl's uncles and cousins, against Khushḥāl. In 1074/1664, Khushḥāl, then 51 years old, was summoned by the governor to Peshāwar, where he was arrested and dispatched in chains to a fortress in Djaypūr. He was released two years later, but was not allowed to return home until 1080/1669. For the rest of his life, his sympathies rested with the rebel Pashtūn tribes. In his poems he preached unity of the Afghān tribes to resist Mughal domination. Khushḥāl greatly admired the Afrīdī chieftain Daryā Khān, who defeated the Mughal army at Landī Kōtal in the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR Pass] in 1083/1672, while leading a confederation of Afrīdī and Muhmand tribesmen. Accompanied by one of his loyal sons, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Khaṭak, Khushḥāl fought and defeated the Bangash tribe, which supported Mughal rule. He also had to fight his third son, Bahrām, whom the Mughals sponsored in attempts to replace Khushḥāl as chieftain. In 1085/1674, he voluntarily relinquished his chieftainship to his eldest son, Ashraf, also a poet who was later (1044/1683) jailed by the Mughals. Khushḥāl declared himself a rebel and spent rest of his life with Afrīdī friends in the inaccessible eyries of Tīrāh, a zone "never effectively occupied by any government in all history". He travelled from tribal area to tribal area, seeking assistance and refuge. He was relentlessly pursued by his treacherous son, Bahrām, but evaded capture and died in the Afrīdī country in 1100/1689. The armed resistance which he encouraged by his pen and emphasised by his sword is "to be counted among the causes that brought about the dramatic collapse of the Mogul Empire in India" (Sir Olaf Caroe).

2. Literary Works. Khushḥāl, a prolific poet, constantly chanted his love of beauty, honour, and justice. As part of his opposition to Aurangzīb and his forces, Khushḥāl preached union of all Afghān tribes and encouraged revolt against Mughal rule:

> "My sword I gird upon my thigh
> To guard Afghān honour and fame:
> Its champion in this age am I,
> The Khaṭak Khān, Khushḥāl my name".

Khushḥāl also celebrates his successes and laments his subsequent misfortunes. He chastises those Pashtūns who accept gold rather than give battle to the Mughals.

As well as poetry, he wrote manuals on falconry, folk medicine, a dialogue between the pen and the sword, an account of his imprisonment and exile, and a geography of Swāt. "His lyrics and epics, alike present his religious devotion, occasionally in mystic terms, his patriotic feelings, his moral code, his many loves in object or joyful mood, and many other subjects" (D. N. MacKenzie). Khushḥāl rightly claims to be the originator of Pashtō poetic form and metre, but it must be remembered that he had a predecessor, Mīrzā Anṣārī. Both these early Pashtō poets used the Darī or Persian poetic mould, but instead of strictly applying the classical rules of prosody to Pashtō, they adopted the metres of popular Pashtō songs to verse forms known in Persian. "This metre is syllabic in nature, but the pattern is made by the stress usually recurring on every fourth syllable" (MacKenzie).

Khushḥāl further left many *ghazal*s in Persian under the pen-name of Rūḥī, and a Persian *ḳaṣīda* or ode on the futility of this world in same metre as the *Baḥr al-abrār* of Amīr-Khusraw Dihlawī; this Persian poetry is amongst the best of that written in the so-called *Sabk-i Hind* or "Indian style".

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(RAVAN FARHADI)

KHUSHḲADAM, AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR ABŪ SAʿĪD SAYF AL-DĪN AL-NĀṢIRĪ AL-MUʾAYYADĪ, Mamluk sultan of the Burdjīs (regn. 19 Ramaḍān 865 - 10 Rabīʿ I 872/22 June 1461 - 9 October 1467). By origin a Rūmī (i.e. perhaps a Greek, but the term had a wide range of meanings), he was born *ca.* 815/1413. Brought as a boy to Egypt by the slave-merchant Khʷādjā Nāṣir al-Dīn, he was purchased by the sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, whence his two *nisbas*. He rose through the grades of promotion of the Royal Mamlūks as *khāṣṣakī*, *sāḳī* and *amīr*, finally succeeding al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad b. Īnāl as *atābak al-ʿasākir* in Egypt when the latter became sultan in Djumādā I 865/Feb. 1461. The *atābakiyya* was at this time the highest in rank of the great offices of state, but had no specific functions; its holder was also styled *amīr kabīr*, i.e. the senior *amīr*. The reign of al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad was soon disturbed by the intrigues of Djānim al-Ashrafī, the governor of Damascus, who sought to usurp the sultanate with the support of his *khushdāshiyya*, the Ashrafiyya, i.e. the Mamlūk household of al-Ashraf Barsbāy [*q.v.*]. The Ashrafiyya were at first opposed by their rivals, the Ẓāhiriyya, i.e. the household of al-Ẓāhir Čaḳmaḳ [*q.v.*], whose chief Djānibak al-Ẓāhirī (formerly governor of Djudda) skilfully won the agreement of the two factions to the deposition of al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad and the installation of Khushḳadam as a compromise candidate until the arrival of Djānim from Syria. Since Khushḳadam was not of "the Nation" (*al-djins*, i.e. not a Circassian), it would be easy to depose him at will. Thus Djānibak alleged, but he rightly calculated that once Khushḳadam was recognised as sultan, he would be difficult to oust. He was accordingly proclaimed, and his supporters captured the Citadel of Cairo with little resistance, al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad being arrested and sent to imprisonment in Alexandria.

The new sultan was thus faced at the outset with both an over-mighty kingmaker and a powerful rival. Djānibak, who was appointed *dawādār kabīr* (a great office of state of growing importance in the later Circassian period), was at first the effective ruler (*mudabbir al-mamlaka*). When Djānim al-Ashrafī advanced to Khānḳāh Siryāḳūs, north of Cairo, Djānibak succeeded in obtaining an oath of loyalty to the new sultan from him, and Djānim returned, loaded with gifts, to Damascus (Shawwāl 865/July 1461). Some months later, Djānim was removed from office, and fled to Uzun Ḥasan of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] in Ṣafar 866/Nov. 1461. With a force of Mamlūks and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turcomans, he subsequently crossed the Euphrates and advanced to Tall Bāshir (Shawwāl 866/July 1462), but the invasion came to nothing, and in the following winter he was killed in Edessa. The sultan was now strong enough to procure the murder of Djānibak (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 867/August 1463); an event which was followed by the arrest of leading members of the Ẓāhiriyya faction. Khushḳadam's coup against the Ẓāhiriyya was, however, abruptly halted, probably because of a conspiracy against him in his own Mamlūk household. A reconciliation was effected through Ḳāyitbāy al-Ẓāhirī (the future sultan), and the offices and *iḳṭāʿ*s of the Ẓāhiriyya were restored.

There were no major foreign developments during the reign. Suzerainty was maintained over King James of Cyprus (who had been installed with the help of a Mamlūk contingent sent by al-Ashraf Īnāl [*q.v.*] in 864/1460), although in a clash between the king and the sultan's resident in Cyprus, the latter was killed, and Famagusta, which he had held, passed into the king's possession (868/1464). Another vassal-state, the march-principality of Elbistan [*q.v.*] under the Turcoman dynasty of Dulghādir (Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*]), was disturbed by a succession-struggle following the murder of its ruler, Malik Arslān, in 870/1465. Two pretenders, Shāh-Budaḳ and Rustum, successively backed by Khushḳadam, failed to hold their position against a third Dulghādirid, Shāh-Suwār, who had Ottoman support and at the end of the sultan's reign was threatening northern Syria. Khushḳadam sent orders to the governors of Tripoli and Ḥamāh to assist Aleppo, and made provisional arrangements for an expeditionary force from Egypt (Muḥarram 872/August 1467). There are some indications of a resurgence of Arab tribal power during the reign. Five expeditions were launched between 866/1462 and 869/1465 against the Labīd tribe of al-Buḥayra; while a few months before the sultan's death, he sent a punitive force against Shaykh Mubārak of Banū ʿUḳba, who had plundered the provisions for the pilgrims in the vicinity of Ayla. One of his last acts was to approve an expedition to Upper Egypt, where the *kāshif* had been defeated in a fight with Yūnus b. ʿUmar, the chief of the powerful tribe of Hawwāra [*q.v.*]. The sultan died a few days later. Shortly before his death, an assembly of magnates had elected the *atābak* Yalbāy al Īnālī al Muʾayyadī to succeed him.

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(P. M. HOLT)

KHUSRAW [see ANŪSHIRWĀN, AMĪR KHUSRAW, KHOSREW, KISRĀ, PARWĪZ].

KHUSRAW FĪRŪZ, name of the last Būyid ruler, better known by his *laḳab* of al-Malik al-Raḥīm. He succeeded his father Abū Kālīdjār in ʿIrāḳ in 440/1048. Most of his reign was spent in disputing with his brother Fulādh Sūtūn the possession of Fārs and Khūzistān and in trying to maintain discipline amongst the Turkish troops of his general al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. There is no discernible doctrinal reason for his adoption, in defiance of the caliph, of an epithet reserved for God. In any case, the enfeeblement of the Būyid dynasty allowed the caliph in question, al-Ḳāʾim, to recover a certain amount of political authority, seen in the appointment once more of a vizier to the caliph, Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*]. A group within the caliphate, in which Ibn al-Muslima was a driving force, hoped to throw off the Būyid tutelage as the Sunnī sultan, the Saldjūḳ Toghril Beg approached, at the invitation also of Fulādh Sūtūn. In 448/1055 Toghril entered Baghdād, after having promised to respect al-Malik al-Raḥīm's position as his vassal, but a rebellion gave him a pretext to arrest the Būyid ruler, and the latter died two years later in prison at Rayy.

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KHUSRAW MALIK [see GHAZNAWIDS].

KHUSRAW PASHA [see KHOSREW PASHA].

KHUSRAW SHĀH [see GHAZNAWIDS].

KHUSRAW SULṬĀN, eldest son of the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] by the daughter of Rādjā Bhagwān Dās, was born at Lahore in 995/1587. He was a favourite with his grandfather, Akbar, who perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He rebelled against his father in the first year of the latter's reign (sc. in 1015/1606), was defeated and imprisoned. He made a second conspiracy in Afghānistān, and this having been detected, he was, with one interval, kept in confinement for the rest of his life. He died at Asīrgaṛh near Burhānpūr in the Deccan in 1031/1622, in suspicious circumstances, and was in all probability murdered by Shāh Djahān. His sister had his body buried in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād. His two sons, Dāwar Bakhsh, otherwise Bulākī, and Garshāsp, were put to death at Shāh Djahān's accession.

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KHUSŪF [see KUSŪF].

KHUṬBA (A.), sermon, address by the *khaṭīb* [*q.v.*]. The *khuṭba* has a fixed place in Islamic ritual, viz. in the Friday-service, in the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. On the Friday it precedes the *ṣalāt*, in all the other services the *ṣalāt* comes first. A short description of the rules for the *khuṭba* according to al-Shīrāzī (*Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 40), one of the early Shāfiʿī doctors [*q.v.*], may be given here.

(a.) One of the conditions for the validity of the Friday service is that it must be preceded by two sermons. The conditions for the validity of these sermons are the following: the *khaṭīb* must be in a state of ritual purity; his dress must be in accord with the prescriptions; he must pronounce the two *khuṭbas* standing and sit down between them; the number of auditors required for a valid *djumʿa* must be present [see ṢALAT].

Regarding the sermon itself, there are obligatory: the *ḥamdala*, the *ṣalāt* on the Prophet, admonitions to piety in both *khuṭbas*, prayer (*duʿāʾ*) on behalf of the faithful, and recitation of a part of the Ḳurʾān in the first *khuṭba* or, according to some doctors, in both. It is commendable (*sunna*) for the *khaṭīb* to be on a pulpit or an elevated place; to salute the audience when directing himself towards them; to sit down till the *adhān* is pronounced by the *muʾadhdhin*; to lean on a bow, a sword or a staff; to direct himself straightway to his audience; to pray (*duʿāʾ*) on behalf of the Muslims; and to make his *khuṭba* short.

(b.) Regarding the *khuṭbas* on the days of festival the same author says (42) that they are like those of the Friday-service, except in the following points: the *khaṭīb* must open the first with nine *takbīrs*, the second with seven. On the *ʿīd* he must instruct his audience in the rules for the *zakāt al-fiṭr*, on the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* in the rules for the sacrifice of this day. It is allowable for him to pronounce the sermon sitting.

Regarding the *khuṭbas* of the service during an eclipse, al-Shīrāzī (43) remarks that the preacher must admonish his audience to be afraid, and in the service in times of drought he must ask Allāh's pardon, in the opening of the first *khuṭba* nine times, in the second seven times; further, he must repeat several times the *ṣalāt* on Muḥammad as well as *istighfār*, recite verse 9 of Sūra LXVI, elevate his hands and say Muḥammad's *duʿāʾ* (which is communicated by al-Shīrāzī in full). Further, he must turn towards the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] in the middle of the second *khuṭba* and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it on till he puts off all his other garments.

These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Islamic pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the *khaṭīb* must sit down between the two *khuṭbas*; it explains why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow; for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge. It is not easy to see why the *khuṭba* precedes the services on Friday, whereas on the days of festival and the other special occasions *ṣalāt* comes first. *Ḥadīth* tells us that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the first to change this order by pronouncing the *khuṭba* before the performance of the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 6 and especially the pathetic picture in Muslim, *ʿĪdayn*, trad. 9).

It is also said that Marwān was the first to hold the *khuṭba* on these days on a pulpit, the old custom being a service without *minbār* or *adhān*. According to other authorities (cf. Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 78, 79, and al-Nawawī's commentary) the *khuṭba* before the *ṣalāt* was an institution going back to ʿUthmān or even to ʿUmar. The common opinion of traditionists is, however, that it was an innovation due to the general tendency of the Umayyads to favour their own dynastic interests rather than those of religion. If this opinion should be right, the innovation as well as the holding of the *khuṭba* in a sitting attitude may be looked upon as an endeavour to go back to the pre-Islamic judicial rites concerning *minbar* and *khuṭba*.

Regarding the prayer on behalf of the faithful (*duʿāʾ li 'l-muʾminīn*) it must be observed that in this prayer before the Friday-*ṣalāt* it has become customary to mention the ruling sovereign. The history of Islam is full of examples of the importance which was attached to this custom, especially in times of political troubles, the name mentioned in this *duʿāʾ* betraying the *imām*'s political opinion or position. Though it is not prescribed by law to mention the ruler's name, the suppression of the name at this occasion exposed the *khaṭīb* to suspicion. In countries where Muslims lived under non-Muslim rule, even a prayer for the worldly prosperity of the ruler could expose the *khaṭīb* to suspicion on the part of his fellow-Muslims (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, 13 f. = *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 430 f.; idem, *Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht*, in *Ind. Gids*, vi/1, 809 f. = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 214 f.). The custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the 5th century B.C. in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Pap. i, line 26; cf. also Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, i, 286.

Several of the characteristics of the *khuṭba* prescribed by the doctors of the law occur also in *ḥadīth*. The *khuṭbas* of Muḥammad usually begin with the formula *ammā baʿdu* (al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 29). Side by side with the *ḥamdala* (Muslim, *Djumʿa*, tr. 44, 45) the *shahāda* occurs (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 302, 343: "A *khuṭba* without the *shahāda* is like a mutilated hand". In a large number of traditions it

is stated that Muḥammad used to recite passages from the Ḳur'ān (e.g. Muslim *Djum'a*, tr. 49-52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 86, 88, 93 etc.). The *khuṭba* must be short, in accord with Muḥammad's saying: "Make your *ṣalāt* long and your *khuṭba* short" (Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 47). Just like the *ṣalāt* the *khuṭba* must be right to the purpose (*ḳaṣd*an, Muslim, *Djum'a* tr. 41). The audience must be silent and quiet; "who says to his neighbour 'listen', has spoken a superfluous word", al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, *bāb* 36). The two *khuṭbas* pronounced by the standing *khaṭīb*, who sits between them, are based on Muḥammad's example (al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, *bāb* 27; Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 33-5; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 35, 91, 98). During the *adhān* Muḥammad used to sit on the *minbar*; the *iḳāma* was spoken when he had descended (in order to hold the *khuṭba* standing); this order was observed by Abū Bakr and 'Umar (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 449 *bis*).

Neither the term *khuṭba* nor the verb *khaṭaba* in their technical meaning occur in the Ḳur'ān. Even in the passage containing an admonition not to abandon the Friday-service for worldly profit, it is only the *ṣalāt* which is mentioned (Sūra LXII, 9-11). It would be wrong to conclude from this silence that the *khuṭba* did not yet form a constituent part of worship in Muḥammad's time. Still, it is not probable that the different kinds of service were accurately regulated from the beginning. *Ḥadīth* has preserved descriptions showing that Muḥammad's *khuṭba* often did not have much to do with the regular sermon of later times. Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-diyāt*, *bāb* 13, reports, for example, that the Prophet pronounced two *khuṭbas* at the end of a complaint raised against a collector of the *zakāt*. Still, it is not possible to distinguish between the kinds, as may appear from the following traditions. According to one of them related on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī it is said that Muḥammad on the days of festival used to open the service with the *ṣalāt*; then he pronounced the *khuṭba* "and his *khuṭba* usually consisted in the command to participate in some mission or expedition" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 56 f.). A similar statement is to be found in Muslim, *'Īdayn*, tr. 9: "When Muḥammad had concluded the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival by the *taslīm*, he remained on his feet and turned to the sitting audience; when he wanted to send a mission or when he desired some other arrangement, he gave his orders on it; he used also to say: give alms, give alms; ... then he went away. This state of things asted till Marwān, etc.". This is a very simple description of the service and would be a considerable support to the view that a service with a fixed order only arose long after Muḥammad's time. Yet it must not be forgotten that the description just translated betrays the tendency to contrast the simple service of the Prophet with the highly official style introduced by Marwān, who even had a *minbar* built on the *muṣallā*. According to another tradition, the Prophet once interrupted his *khuṭba* in order to reply to a stranger who had asked for instruction in the Muslim faith (Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 60); he is also portrayed as interrupting the *khuṭba* to call out directly to a man (*ibid.*, tr. 54-9).

However uncertain the value of these traditions may be, it seems not out of place to suppose that a fixed order of service on Friday and the days of festival arose only after Muḥammad's lifetime. This order reposes on three elements: the early-Arabian *khuṭba*, Muḥammad's *sunna* and the example of Jews and Christians.

In his study on the history of Muslim worship C. H. Becker endeavoured to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the days of festival on the one hand, and the mass on the other. But this view was opposed by Mittwoch, who found in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to *adhān* and *iḳāma*, to the *ḥamdala*, the recitation of the Tora (first *khuṭba*) and the recitation from the Prophets (second *khuṭba*). It is perhaps impossible to decide the question; probably the example of the Jewish as well as that of the Christian liturgy exercised influence on the final constitution of the Muslim worship.

It is customary to pronounce the *khuṭba* in Arabic; nevertheless, this rule is not infrequently broken in non-Arabic speaking lands.

The history of the *khuṭba* in Islam remains to be written, and the study of oratory from the *minbar* or pulpit likewise remains to be undertaken. On the latter point, the enquirer might utilise with profit the texts (of varying degrees of authenticity) of those sermons of the Prophet given in the *Sīra*, in the *ḥadīth* collections and in historical texts, as well as in those *adab* works which have preserved specimens of famous *khuṭbas*. Collections like those of Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriḳī [*q.v.*] and the specially-compiled anthologies of sermons used by the professional *khaṭībs*, just as the secretaries used collections of model letters, would also be found useful. Collections of this latter type are often arranged according to the calendar, i.e. there are four sermons for each month plus supplementary ones for festival days, the Prophet's birthday and his *mi'rādj* or night-journey (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hss.*, iii, 437).

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leiden 1925, 71 f., 109 f.; Shaykh Niẓām, *al-Fatāwī al-'Ālamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828 ff., i, 205 f., 210 f., 214 f.; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥillī, *Kitāb Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1893, i, 44, 48; C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, Giessen 1906, 331 ff., idem, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 374 ff.; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, (1913), no. 2; see also KHAṬĪB.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHUTTALĀN, KHUTTAL, a region on the right bank of the upper Oxus river, in what is now Soviet Central Asia, lying between the Wakhsh river and the Pandj river (sc. the head waters of the Oxus), called the Wakhshāb and Djaryāb in mediaeval times. It was bounded on the west by the topographically similar regions of Čaghāniyan and Wakhsh [*qq.v.*], and was often administratively linked with Wakhsh (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 402). Khuttal was a land of rich pastures in both the river valleys and on the upper slopes of the hills, where the famed horses of Khuttal, known even to the Chinese, were reared; the geographers advert frequently to the Khuttalī and Ṭukhārī breeds, and the men of Khuttal were celebrated for their knowledge of horse-breeding, farriery and veterinary science, and for their skill in making saddles and other accoutrements (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 113). The valleys ran northwards towards the Buttamān mountains, which separated Khuttal from the upper Zarafshān river valley; gold and silver were mined there, and there dwelt in these mountains two fierce and predatory groups, the Kumīdjīs and the Kandjīna Turks, both of them probably remnants of Hephthalite peoples [see KUMĪDJĪS].

The form Khuttalān, with the plural ending, is early attested, for this is found in the very early New Persian satirical verses composed by the local

people against the Arab commander Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī when he unsuccessfully raided Khuttal in 108/726-7, see Ṭabarī, ii, 1492, 1494, 1602. Later Persian poetry requires forms like Khutlān or Khatlān, whilst the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 119, spells Khatulān. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, gives both Khatlān and Khuttal, with his main entry under the latter form. In the Chinese annals we find forms like Kʿo-tut-lo, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-300. An etymological connection with the name of the Hephthalites, within whose northern kingdom Khuttal certainly fell [see HAYĀṬILA] is certainly not impossible.

The principal town of Khuttal and the residence of its ruler was at Hulbuk to the south of the modern centre Kulāb/Kulyab, whilst Nučārā or Andīčārāgh is described as the main trading centre. Other towns enumerated by the geographers include the important centres of Halāwand and Munk, the latter probably corresponding roughly to the modern Baldjuwān; according to Yaʿḳūbī, Munk was on the borderland with Rāsht and the Turkish lands, sc. those of the Kumīdjīs, etc. Clearly, Khuttal was a prosperous and well-settled region at this time.

In the pre-Islamic period, the local rulers bore the titles Khuttalān-Shāh or Khuttalān-Khudāh and Shēr-i Khuttalān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40). The Arab invaders did not gain full control of Khuttal till the end of the Umayyad period. The rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*] received support from the local ruler, and in retaliation, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī led two expeditions into Khuttal in 119/737. These provoked an appeal for help to the Khāḳān of the Türgesh or Western Turks Su-lu, and the Arabs had to retreat hastily (Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 81-3). The region was not fully secured till 133/750-1, when Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, governor of Balkh, drove out the ruler (*malik*) of Khuttal, who fled first to the Turks and then to China, where he was granted the honorific title of *Yabghu* (Gibb, *op. cit.*, 95; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue occidentaux*, 168, 216.

In the ensuing century or so, Khuttal came under the rule of the Banīdjūrids or Abū Dāwūdids, who exercised power on both sides of the upper Oxus. In the Sāmānid period, the *amirs* of Khuttal were in loose tributary status only to the Sāmānids, sending presents but not taxation to Bukhārā (Muḳaddasī, 337), and they exercised suzerainty south of the Oxus, for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 109, says that the *dihḳān* of the small principality of Yūn in Badakhshān was tributary to the *amir* of Khuttal. In the warfare of 336-7/947-9 between the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Naṣr and Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, all the vassal rulers (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) along the upper Oxus were stirred into revolt by Abū ʿAlī, including the *amir* Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar of Khuttal, the *amir* of Rāsht and the Kumīdjīs (Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 36-7, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 157-8, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 248).

Under the early Ghaznawids, Khuttal was strategically important as being in the buffer zone between the Ghaznawids and their Ḳarakhānid rivals. Khuttal is included with Čaghāniyān and Ḳubādhiyān amongst the territories enumerated in the ʿAbbāsid Caliph's investiture diploma of 422/1031 to Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (Bayhaḳī, in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 54), but it was also claimed by the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlī-tigin [see ILEK-KHĀNS], who stirred up the Kumīdjīs to harry the region. Unlike as in the neighbouring principality of Čaghāniyān, where the Muḥtādjī *amirs* remained, no separate family of local rulers is mentioned for Khuttal at this time; Ghaznavid influence was exercised directly, seen in Masʿūd's appointment of *a ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* for Khuttal (Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 178).

In the Saldjūḳ period, however, various local *amirs* are mentioned. An *amir* of Khuttal rebelled against Alp Arslan in 456/1064, but was killed (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 22), and in 553/1158 there was a campaign by the lord of Khuttal, one Ibn Shudjāʿ Farrukhshāh, formerly a vassal of Sandjar, against the important crossing-place of Tirmidh, taking advantage of the chaos in Khurāsān consequent upon Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz and then his death; this Ibn Shudjāʿ is said to have claimed descent from the Sāsānid emperor Bahrām Gūr (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 155). In the period of the Ghūrids and Khʷārazm-Shāhs, no separate native dynasty is mentioned. Like Wakhsh, it may have been part of the Ghūrid empire and may have become one of the small principalities into which that empire broke up, see Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī[2], Kabul 1341-3/1962-4, i, 387, 392, tr. Raverty, 426, 236, 490. A Djalāl al-Dīn ʿUmar of Wakhsh, apparently from the Bāmiyān branch of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*], was carried off into captivity in Khʷārazm *ca.* 612/1215, according to Nasawī, see Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 372.

In the 8th/14th century, Khuttal was likewise one of the small states into which Čaghatay's empire disintegrated; Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī records that the ruler of Khuttal Kay Khusraw was killed by Tīmūr for treasonable contacts with Khʷārazm (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 243). Later, Khuttal was one of the dependencies of the region of Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] and was controlled by the later Tīmūrid *amir* of Ḳunduz. Then in the 10th/16th century it passed under Özbeg control. The name Khuttal now disappears from use, being replaced by that of the modern town of Kulāb; one of the last recorded uses of the old name is in the dynastic history of the Özbegs, the *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* of Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī (begun in 1044/1634). After being included in the Khānate of Bukhārā during the 18th and 19th centuries, the mediaeval region of Khuttal now forms part of the Tadzhikistan SSR.

Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 402, also mentions a village of al-Khuttal in ʿIrāḳ on the Baghdād-Khurāsān high road near Daskara.

Bibliography: Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-303; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 57-8; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 438-9; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 21 n. 1; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 109, 119-20, 339 (map), 341, 359-61; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, index. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHUZĀʿA, an ancient Arab tribe of obscure origin. Muslim genealogists assuming a Muḍarī origin of Khuzāʿa based their argument on an utterance attributed to the Prophet according to which the ancestor of the tribe, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] was a descendant of Ḳamaʿa (= ʿUmayr) b. Khindif, thus tracing their pedigree to Muḍar (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saḳāʾ, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 78; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 34; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, Cairo 1956, ii, 44-5; Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 7-8, 11; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabāʾil al-ruwāh*, al-Nadjaf 1386/1966, 97-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 222-4; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʿallamī, Hyderabad 1385/1966, V, 116). Some sections in Khuzāʿa asserted that

they were descendants of al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. The claims for Muḍarī descent made by some groups of Khuzāʿa were firmly rejected by genealogists, who asserted that both Ḳamaʿa and al-Ṣalt died childless. (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Ms. B.M., Add. 23297, fol. 4b, ll. 9-10; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms. Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi, 19, fols. 84b-86a; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 34 ult., 38-9; Muṣʿab, *op. cit.*, 11-12). Muṣʿab, recording the Muḍarī genealogy of Khuzāʿa, confirmed by an utterance of the Prophet, remarks cautiously that the pedigree uttered by the Prophet is certainly true, provided that it was actually said by him (Muṣʿab, 8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 98). Harmonising traditions, trying in the usual way to bridge the contradictory reports about the origin of Khuzāʿa, claim that the mother of Luḥayy married after the death of Ḳamaʿa the Yamanī Ḥāritha and the child traced his pedigree to the Yamanī father who adopted him (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 46). Another tradition states that Ḳamaʿa married, begot children, but clashed with his relatives, left for al-Yaman and allied himself with the Azd (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 35, ll. 1-2). The Yamanī tradition, on the other hand, records a lengthy list of ancestors of Khuzāʿa beginning with Luḥayy (= Rabīʿa) b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru ʾl-Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Azd. The pedigree is traced back, of course, to Ḳaḥṭān (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 45, ll. 5-10; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 97; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, 468; al-Ḥāzimī, *ʿUdjālat al-mubtadī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Kānūn, Cairo 1384/1965, 54).

The traditions about the beginnings of the rule of Khuzāʿa in Mecca, ascribing Khuzāʿa to Azd, record a lengthy story about the migration of the tribal groups of Azd from al-Yaman to the North. While some tribal divisions continued their migration to Syria (Ghassān) and ʿUmān (Azd Shanūʾa), the Khuzāʿa separated (*inkhazaʿat*) and managed to get control of Mecca. One of the traditions reports that the leader of the Azd asked Djurhum [*q.v.*], the tribe which ruled Mecca at the time, to permit them to stay in the territory of Mecca until their foragers would find for them suitable pasture-grounds, threatening war if they were denied this. In fact, when Djurhum refused to grant permission, Khuzāʿa fought them, defeated them and got possession of the Sanctuary of Mecca. Another tradition, on the authority of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, reports that the custodianship of the Kaʿba was gained legally by Khuzāʿa, as their leader Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha married Fuhayra, the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Djurhumī; his son ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa (i.e. ʿAmr b. Luḥayy) had thus a legal basis for his claims to the custodianship. In the protracted battles which ensued between Khuzāʿa and Djurhum, Khuzāʿa defeated Djurhum, who had to leave the city. A third tradition ascribes the decline of the Djurhum in Mecca to their deterioration and moral decay. Afflicted by plagues, God's chastisement for their wickedness, they were extirpated, and only few survivors from amongst them left Mecca; the custodianship of the *ḥaram* was then taken over by Khuzāʿa. A diverse tradition gives a quite different account of the events, sc. that Khuzāʿa took over the control of Mecca from Iyād [*q.v.*]. A peculiar version of this tradition transmitted by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār reports a battle which followed some clashes between the ruling Iyād and Muḍar in which Iyād was defeated. Iyād got permission to leave Mecca on the condition that Muḍarī women married to Iyādīs would be returned to Muḍar if they wished. Among the returned women was a Khuzāʿa woman named Ḳudāma. Khuzāʿa, the report states, traced at that time their pedigree to Muḍar. As the Iyād failed to carry with them into exile the pillar with the Black Stone, they decided to bury it. The Khuzāʿī woman revealed to her people the place of the buried Stone and advised them to ask from Muḍar the custodianship of the Kaʿba as reward for finding the pillar with the Black Stone. Muḍar complied and Khuzāʿa got control of the Kaʿba, and retained this office until the arrival of Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 26 f.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, al-Nadjaf 1384/1964, i, 208; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, ed. Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriḳ, Hyderabad 1384/1964, 344 f.; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nudjūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, i, 183). Another tradition reports that Djurhum were driven out through a joint action of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Kināna and the Banū Ghubshān of Khuzāʿa (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, i, 370; "Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Khuzāʿa", as recorded in the article DJURHUM above is an error).

These stories allotting exceptionally long lives to the rulers of Djurhum and Khuzāʿa have the character of folk-tradition in which were embedded elements of *muʿammarīn*-tales, edifying stories about righteous and pious men (see e.g. the story of Wakīʿ b. Salama of Iyād and his servant Ḥazwara, in al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 26, and Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 346-7), accounts of battles and clashes in the popular style of the *ayyām al-ʿarab*, and recollections of legends about the migrations of tribes caused by a dam breaking in South Arabia. The tradition focuses around the person of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, almost unanimously putting on him the blame for the wicked innovations in the faith of Abraham and for the introduction of idol-worship, especially that of Hubal, into Mecca. There is, however, a contradictory tradition asserting that it was Khuzayma b. Mudrika, one of the ancestors of Ḳuraysh, who introduced the worship of Hubal and stating that Hubal was consequently called "Hubal Khuzayma" (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 37, no. 77; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 51 inf.). As in the case of Iyād, some traditions mention among the Khuzāʿa a *homo religiosus*, Abū Kabsha, who in his search after the true religion worshipped Sirius. The unbelievers used to refer to the Prophet as Ibn Abī Kabsha in the early period of his prophethood, pointing out his deviation from the current beliefs of his people. (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 129; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-maʾmūn* (= *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*), Cairo 1382/1962, i, 333; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 91, 327; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 131; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, 1387/1967, xvii, 119; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 77, 158; al-Kāzarūnī, *Sīrat al-nabī*, Ms. B.M. Add. 1499, fol. 231a-b, ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, ed., *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 100 (al-Fayrūzābādhī, *Tuḥfat al-abīh fīman nusiba ilā ghayri abīh*).

These conflicting and contradictory stories seem to indicate that the formation of the tribe of Khuzāʿa took place over a long period of time, ramifying into various tribal units. The main area of abode of the tribe was between Mecca and Medina.

When Ḳuṣayy arrived in Mecca aiming to gain control of the city, he had to subdue the ruling Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Kināna, the Khuzāʿa and their abettors, the Ṣūfa. The different stories about the enigmatic Ḳuṣayy resemble in their outline the stories about the former rulers of Mecca; his marriage with Ḥubbā bint Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya gave legitimacy to his custodianship of the Kaʿba. Another manner of

legitimisation, the tale of how this office was purchased by Ḳuṣayy for a goat's skin of wine from the drunken Abū Ghubshān, is recounted in the compilations of proverbs and stories of fools (al-ʿAskarī, *Djamharat al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 387, no. 585; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fi 'l-amthāl al-sāʾira*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1972, i, 139, no. 126; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1965, 135, no. 190; al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthal*, ed. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1379/1959, i, 216, no. 1167; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā*, Beirut, n.d., 42). The court of Abū Ghubshān (*dār Abī Ghubshān*) was extant in Mecca in the second half of the 3rd century of the Hidjra (al-Fākihī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, Ms. Leiden, or. 463, fol. 456b, l.15). Like the preceding rulers, he fought, according to another account, the two tribes Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa and crushed their power. His wife Ḥubbā revealed, as in the story of Iyād, the place where the pillar with the Black Stone was buried, and so the true worship of the Kaʿba could be resumed (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 73; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1374/1955, xvi, 31). The relations between Ḳuṣayy on the one side and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa on the other were settled on the basis of the judgment of the arbiter Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, called al-Shuddākh. The verdict granted Ḳuṣayy the custodianship of the Kaʿba and provided that Khuzāʿa should be left in the area of the *ḥaram* (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, fols. 51a, inf.—51b, sup.).

In the new régime set up by Ḳuṣayy, in which the scattered tribal units of Ḳuraysh were gathered and settled in Mecca, the groups of Khuzāʿa played an important role in strengthening the power of Mecca, aiding Ḳuraysh to extend their influence among the tribes. Khuzāʿa was included in the organisation of the Ḥums. Two tribal groups of Khuzāʿa, the Muṣṭaliḳ and Ḥayā, were included in the organisation of the Aḥābīsh, the allies of Ḳuraysh (see e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿānī 'l-Kabīr*, Hyderabad 1368/1949, 998, l. 4; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 178; al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Iʿtibār fi-bayān al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh min al-āthār*, Hyderabad 1359, 150; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, fols. 48b-49a sup.; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 41; Yāḳūt, s.v. Makka; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945, 245; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1885, 18). Together with Muḍarī tribes, Khuzāʿa worshipped al-ʿUzzā and Manāt; together with the Daws they worshipped Dhu 'l-Kaffayn (Yāḳūt, s.v. Manāt; Ibn ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār*, Beirut 1388/1968, i, 415; Ps. Aṣmaʿī, *al-Shāmil*, the section *Tawārīkh al-anbiyāʾ*, Ms. B.M. Or. 1493, fol. 27a; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 318). The involvement of Khuzāʿa and Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt in the affairs of Mecca and their influence can be gauged from the story about the agreement between Ḳuraysh and Thaḳīf concerning the mutual rights of these two tribes to enter Mecca and Wadjdj: the Thaḳīf complied with the demands of Ḳuraysh, fearing the strength of Ḳuraysh, Khuzāʿa and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 280).

The considerable number of names of Khuzāʿīs married by Ḳurashīs recorded in the sources bears evidence of the close relations between Ḳuraysh and Khuzāʿa. Indeed, when Khuzāʿa decided to ally themselves with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, they stressed that he was "borne" by Khuzāʿī women (*fa-ḳad waladnāka*). In the same style the Khuzāʿī ʿAmr b. Sālim addressed the Prophet with the words *ḳad kuntum waladan wakunnā wālidā* when he came asking his help against the Banu Bakr and Ḳuraysh (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar fi funūn al-maghāzī wa'l-shamāʾil wa 'l-siyar*, Cairo 1356, ii, 164-5, 182).

When the Prophet was on his *hidjra* to Medina he met, according to one tradition, Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī [*q.v.*] with a large group of his people; he and his people embraced Islam and prayed behind the Prophet. These Aslam, a branch of Khuzāʿa, allied themselves very early to the Prophet and warriors of Aslam took part on the side of the Prophet in his campaign. The agreements of the Prophet with Aslam (see Ḥamīdullāh, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-siyāsiyya li 'l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa 'l-khilāfa al-rāshida*, Cairo 1376/1956, 191-4, nos. 165-70) bear evidence to the friendly relations between the Prophet and Aslam. After the murder of the people of the expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*], the Prophet invoked God's blessing for Aslam (*wa-Aslam sālamahā Allāhu*; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 350). When the Prophet mobilised the forces for the conquest of Mecca he summoned the Aslam, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Medina, to present themselves in Medina. In fact, 400 warriors of Aslam, among them 30 riders, took part in the conquest of Mecca. The two standard bearers were Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb and Nādjiya b. al-Aʿdjam of Aslam (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 123; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, vi, 398, no. 8647; al-Wāḳidī, 799-800). Aslam, along with Ghifār, Muzayna and Djuhayna, were pointed out by the Prophet as surpassing in virtues the mighty tribes of Tamīm, Asad, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and Ghaṭafān (al-Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, Cairo 1327, vi, 11-13; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1301, vi, 395-7). Commentators of *ḥadīth* are unanimous in saying that this high position was granted to them because they hurried to embrace Islam.

The attitude of the Muṣṭaliḳ, another branch of Khuzāʿa allied with the Banū Mudlidj of Kināna and included in the Aḥābīsh organisation linked with Ḳuraysh, was however quite different towards the Muslim commonwealth of Medina. Their leader, al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār, gathered the forces of his tribe for an attack against Medina. The forces of the Prophet attacked the Muṣṭaliḳ at Muraysīʿ in 5/627, defeated them and took captives and booty. The Prophet married the captured daughter of the leader, Djuwayriyya (al-Wāḳidī, 404-13).

Another branch of Khuzāʿa, the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, played a decisive role in the struggle between Mecca and the Prophet. The dissensions and clashes between the Kaʿb and their neighbours, the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, led the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr to opt for an alliance with the Prophet in the pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya, whereas the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt allied themselves with Mecca. A group of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt aided clandestinely by some leaders of Ḳuraysh attacked the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr at al-Watīr and killed some of them. The orator of the Kaʿb, ʿAmr b. Sālim, appeared at the court of the Prophet in Medina and addressed him, reminding him of the alliance of the Kaʿb with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, pointing out the killing of the Kaʿb at al-Watīr, and urging him to revenge his allies. The Prophet responded and promised aid for victory (*nuṣra*). The request of a man from the ʿAdī b. Amr, the brethren of Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, to be included in the promise was answered by the Prophet's remark that Kaʿb and ʿAdī are one corporate body (*wa-hal ʿAdiyyun illā Kaʿb wa-Kaʿbun illā ʿAdī*: Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, Beirut 1967, vi, 164; Ibn al-Baḳḳāl, *al-Fawāʾid al-muntaḳāt*, Ms. Ẓāhiriyya

madjmūʿa, 60, fol. 85b; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 73-5). It is evident that the tendency of this tradition is to establish the position of the ʿAdī b. ʿAmr in the Prophet's invocation and to stress their role in the expedition against Mecca. Whether the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr were already Muslims when they applied for help is disputed by scholars (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, ii, 182, penult. says that they were unbelievers; al-Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifāʾ*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1389/1970, ii, 288, that they were Muslims; and see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, iv, 36, n. 4). According to some commentators of the Ḳurʾān, vv. 13-15 of *Sūrat al-Tawba* ordering fighting against the people who had broken their solemn pledges (*alā tuḳātilūna ḳawman nakathū aymānahum* ...) were revealed in connection with the wicked attack of the Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt against the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62 (nos. 16535-16547); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, iii, 214-15; idem, *Lubāb al-nuḳūl*, Cairo 1373/1954, 114; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 86-7; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī l-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Nadjātī and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Nadjdjār, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 425).

When the Prophet went out against Mecca, he was joined by the tribesmen of Kaʿb who stayed in Medina; the main troop of Kaʿb joined the forces of the Prophet in Ḳudayd. The troop of the Kaʿb, numbering 500 warriors, had three standards carried by Busr b. Sufyān, Abū Shurayḥ (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1349, vi, 400; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1377/1957, iv, 294-5; al-Wāḳidī, 801 ["Ibn Shurayḥ" in *ibid.* l.2 is an error]) and ʿAmr b. Sālim. It is noteworthy that the Prophet permitted the Kaʿb to fight the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt in Mecca for some additional hours after he had ordered all other troops to stop fighting (see *ibid.* 839, al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 388; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 144, al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Iʿtibār*, 153; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, iii, 97 inf.). It may be remarked that a group of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt hasted to join the forces of the Prophet. When Abū Sufyān looked at the marching troops of the Prophet and noticed the force of the Bakr he remarked sadly "By God, they are an inauspicious people; because of them Muḥammad raided us" (al-Wāḳidī, 820; Ibn ʿAsākir, vi, 401).

The meritorious attitude of Khuzāʿa towards the Prophet is fairly reflected in Muslim tradition. The Prophet is said to have stated that Khuzāʿa was intimately linked with him. (*Khuzāʿatu minnī wa-anā minhum*; *Khuzāʿatu l-wālidu wa-anā 'l-waladu*: see, e.g. al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-akhbār*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 78b; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, iii, 83; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1385/1965, xiii, 55, no. 316). The Ḳurʾān is said to have been revealed to the Prophet in the dialect (*lugha*) of the two Kaʿbs, Kaʿb b. Luʾayy and Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, because they shared the same abode (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 55; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 99). A special privilege granted by the Prophet to Khuzāʿa was that he awarded them the rank of *muhādjirūn*, permitting them to stay in their abode (*ibid.*, 100). It was a Khuzāʿī, Tamīm b. Usayd, whom the Prophet entrusted with the restoration of the border-marking stones (*anṣāb*) of the *ḥaram* of Mecca (Mughalṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 319a, inf.-319b; al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1383/1964, iii, 387, no. 861).

The leader of the Kaʿb, Busr b. Sufyān, according to one tradition, was appointed by the Prophet as the tax-collector of the Kaʿb. In 9/630 they were prevented from handing over their taxes by groups of the Banu 'l-ʿAnbar and Banu 'l-Hudjaym ("Ibn al-ʿUtayr" and "Banū Djuhaym" in al-Wāḳidī, 974 are errors) of Tamīm; against these two Tamīmī groups the Prophet sent a troop commanded by ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn (al-Wāḳidī, 974 f.). In the account it is emphasised that the Kaʿb were believers, paying the *ṣadaḳa* willingly. A special tax-collector was sent to the other branch of Khuzāʿa, the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ (Ibn Saʿd, iii, 440 inf.).

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to carry the *dīwān* of Khuzāʿa to Ḳudayd and distributed there payments to the people of the tribe (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿUmar al-Ṭabbāʿ, Beirut 1377/1957, 634; Ibn Saʿd, iii, 298).

Khuzāʿī warriors participated in the conquests of Islam and groups of Khuzāʿa settled in the various provinces of the Arab empire. Some people of Khuzāʿa took part in the revolt against ʿUthmān in Medina (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad al-Zayn, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1381/1962, iv, 300, l.19). Some groups of Khuzāʿa joined ʿAlī and fought on his side in the battle of Ṣiffīn, and some Khuzāʿīs in Khurāsān were among the ʿAbbāsid agents who paved the way for the new dynasty.

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Hi<u>sh</u>ām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, index; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nu<u>dj</u>ūm al-ʿawālī*, i, 159 f., 181-6, ii, 123-4, 173-4; al-Bakrī, *Muʿ<u>dj</u>am mā 'stā<u>dj</u>am*, index; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, x, nos. 2085, 2092, 2114, 2123, xiii, nos. 338-346, 395-6, 402-5, 409, 425; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, *al-Muḥabbar*, indices: Ibn Durayd, *al-I<u>sh</u>tiḳāḳ*, index; al-Fāsī, *<u>Sh</u>ifā' al-<u>gh</u>arām*, i, 359-78, ii, 44-59; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Ma<u>gh</u>āzī*, index. (M. J. KISTER)

AL-**<u>KH</u>UZĀMĀ** (A.) "lavender" has for a long time been considered as the origin of the name of Alhucemas, on the coast of the Rīf of Morocco, and this etymology is still given in *EI*[1] (art. ALHUCEMAS). Since the problem raised by this toponym has not yet been satisfactorily resolved, and since moreover Alhucemas has now, since Morocco's achievement of independence, been "arabised" to al-Ḥusayma, it is under AL-ḤUSAYMA that an article on the place will be found in the Supplement.

<u>KH</u>ŪZISTĀN, a province of south-western Persia, and the land of the Hūz/Ḥūz/<u>Kh</u>ūz (Hussi/Kussi), the Οὔξιοι/Uxii of Strabo and Pliny. The province of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān corresponds more or less to the ancient Elam and to the classical Susiana, and the names of its present capital, Ahwāz [*q.v.*], its ancient capital, Susa [*q.v.*], and the town of Ḥawīza [*q.v.*], all reflect the name of its inhabitants in Elamite times.

Essentially, the province consists of alluvial fans formed by the Kar<u>kh</u>a and the Kārūn [*qq.v.*] rivers and situated between the Zagros mountains and the sea; near the Persian Gulf, partially saline mudflats merge into a zone of tidal marshes, and the coastline is pierced by deep tidal estuaries known as *<u>kh</u>or*. The province is bounded on the west by the Irano-ʿIrāḳī border; on the north by Luristān [*q.v.*]; on the south by the Persian Gulf; and on the east by the river Hindiyān or Hindī<u>dj</u>ān. The chief towns are: Ābādān [see ʿABBĀDĀN]; Ahwāz [*q.v.*]; <u>Kh</u>urram-<u>sh</u>ahr [*q.v.*]; Da<u>sh</u>t Mī<u>sh</u>ān; Dizfūl; and <u>Sh</u>ū<u>sh</u>tar [see <u>SH</u>USTAR]. The population of the province (1,614,576 in 1966) is mainly hybrid Arab-Persian.

The climate of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān is hot and, in summer, so humid that water drips from the trees. Both the Greek and Muslim geographers speak eloquently of the heat. Strabo, quoting an unknown source (Nearchos?), says that in Susa at mid-day lizards and snakes could not cross the streets quickly enough to avoid being frizzled, and that barley spread out in the sun jumped as though it had been placed in an oven (*Geography*, xv.3.10). There was general agreement that snow rarely fell in <u>Kh</u>ūzistān, and water rarely froze. The great heat is accounted for by: (1) the lack of elevation (average altitude in southern <u>Kh</u>ūzistān = 10 metres/32.80 feet, rising to 100 metres/328 feet in central <u>Kh</u>ūzistān); (2) the southerly inclination of the land, which exposes it to the maximum effect of the sun's rays; (3) the hot winds in summer from the Syrian desert and Arabia; (4) the clayey nature of the soil, which retains the heat; (5) the lack of open water, snow-covered mountains or forests to the west to moderate the heat of westerly winds. Because of its climate, <u>Kh</u>ūzistān did not have a good reputation as a place in which to live; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 130, describes the people of Ahwāz as "yellow-faced", and quotes a popular belief that "whoever establishes himself in Ahwāz becomes wanting in brains, and every aroma that is carried there loses its scent on account of the climate". Despite this, the province was noted for a perfume manufactured there from violets (B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 389).

Despite the disadvantages of its climate, <u>Kh</u>ūzistān from earliest times was noted for its prosperity. Unlike the regions of the Iranian plateau, <u>Kh</u>ūzistān has never lacked for water, which is provided in abundance by the Kar<u>kh</u>a, Diz and Kārūn rivers and their tributaries. The province was the breadbasket of the Achaemenid empire. Strabo states that "Susis abounds so exceedingly in grain that barley and wheat regularly produce one hundredfold, and sometimes two hundredfold" (*Geography*, xv.3.11). In Sāsānid times, extensive urban settlements, and cultivated lands watered by large-scale irrigation works, were protected from the destructive raids of the bedouin by a defensive ditch known as *<u>kh</u>andaḳ Ṣābūr*. In the 4th/10th century, <u>Kh</u>ūzistān had a monopoly of the sale of cane-sugar throughout Iran, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and Arabia. Other important crops included citrus fruits, dates, melons, cotton and rice. The waters of the Persian Gulf provided abundant fish. The other basis of the province's prosperity was trade; from early times, Ahwāz had been the centre of an important road network and a recognised crossing-place on the river Kārūn.

Under the two great pre-Islamic Iranian empires, that of the Achaemenids and that of the Sāsānids, <u>Kh</u>ūzistān was firmly under the control of the central government. To the Achaemenids, it was the province of Uvaja, and Susa was the administrative capital of the empire; for the Sāsānids, it formed part of the "super-province" (*pā<u>dh</u>g<u>h</u>ōs*) of Nēm-rōz (the South), and was divided into seven *kūras*. In 17/638 the Muslim Arabs, after a reconnaissance raid across the Kārūn, launched a major attack on <u>Kh</u>ūzistān under ʿUtba, captured Ahwāz, and completed the subjugation of the province by 19/640. In the 3rd/9th century <u>Kh</u>ūzistān, and particularly the city of Ahwāz, suffered as a result of the Zan<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*] rebellion, and considerable damage was done to the irrigation systems. During the succeeding four centuries, <u>Kh</u>ūzistān was governed in turn by the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS], the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs [*q.v.*] and the Īl<u>kh</u>ānids [*q.v.*].

In the 9th/15th century, following the onslaughts of Tīmūr on the Iranian world, a local Arab <u>Sh</u>īʿī dynasty, the Mu<u>sh</u>aʿ<u>sh</u>aʿ [*q.v.*], established itself at Ḥawīza, on the old course of the Kar<u>kh</u>a river on the western edge of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān, and enjoyed about seventy years of independence. In 914/1508, however, <u>Sh</u>āh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī [see ISMĀʿĪL I], after his capture of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, occupied Ḥawīza, Dizfūl and <u>Sh</u>u<u>sh</u>tar, and received the submission of the Mu<u>sh</u>aʿ<u>sh</u>aʿ *sulṭāns*. Like the rulers of other petty states along the Ottoman-Ṣafawid border during the 10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries, the Mu<u>sh</u>aʿ<u>sh</u>aʿ *sulṭāns* played one side off against the other, often very much to their own advantage. As a consequence of Mu<u>sh</u>aʿ<u>sh</u>aʿ rule, the western portion of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān became known, from early Ṣafawid times, as ʿArabistān. In later Ṣafawid times, the title of "*wālī* of ʿArabistān" was conferred on the Mu<u>sh</u>aʿ<u>sh</u>aʿ *sulṭāns*. In the Ṣafawid administrative system, the *wālīs* were the highest in rank of the four categories of *umarā-yi sarḥadd*, or "*amīrs* of the marches", and, of the four *wālīs*, the first in rank was the *wālī* of ʿArabistān, who was "higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a *sayyid* family, his valour and the number of his tribes" (*Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, London 1943, 44). When the Af<u>gh</u>āns invaded Iran in 1135/1722, the Mu<u>sh</u>aʿ<u>sh</u>aʿ *sulṭāns* threw in their lot with the invaders. In 1140/1727 <u>Kh</u>ūzistān was temporarily occupied by the Ottomans, but in 1142/1729 Nādir <u>Kh</u>ān Af<u>sh</u>ār [see

NĀDIR SHĀH] reoccupied the province and made the Mu<u>sh</u>a'<u>sh</u>a' *sulṭāns* his vassals.

In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, the Mu<u>sh</u>a'<u>sh</u>a' dynasty steadily lost ground to Arab tribesmen of the Banū Ka'b and Banū Lām [*qq.v.*]. The former had begun to migrate in large numbers from central and southern Arabia into southern Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran during the 11th/17th century; at the height of their power, in the latter part of the 12th/18th century, their sway extended from Baṣra to Bihbihān (in the province of Fārs, just east of the <u>Kh</u>ūzistān border). The Banū Lām were nomads inhabiting regions along the lower course of the Tigris, and between 1788 and 1846 some 17,450 families from this tribe moved into Iranian territory. These immigrants lived a life that was neither completely settled nor truly nomadic, but gradually a sedentary way of life became the norm. The Banū Ka'b not only intermarried with Iranians, but adopted <u>Sh</u>ī'ism, and wore a compromise style of dress consisting of Persian tunic and trousers under an Arab *'abā'*. Still later Arab arrivals, however, the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], who in 1812 migrated to Ḥawīza and ousted the Ka'b from that area, have remained Sunnīs. As a result of this great influx of Arabs, the name of 'Arabistān was, by the 19th century, usually applied to the province as a whole. In the 19th century, control of the province virtually passed from the hands of the central government into those of the *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>s* of Muḥammara (<u>Kh</u>urram<u>sh</u>ahr), and it was not until 1925 that Riḍā <u>Sh</u>āh Pahlawī [*q.v.*] overthrew the <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> of Muḥammara and restored the proper name of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān.

After the collapse of the Ṣafawid dynasty (1135/1722), the prosperity of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān sharply declined. A number of factors seem to have been involved: (1) hostility between Iranian and Arab elements; (2) the extensive damage to agriculture and to the settled communities caused by both the recent Arab immigrants and by the indigenous transhumant tribes like the Lurs and Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārīs (A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 157-8); (3) the constant raiding of trade caravans by the Banū Lām; (4) the breakdown of the authority of the central government, which led to general neglect and maladministration, and the instability caused by frequent changes of governors; (5) oppression by tax-collectors. In some areas the Arab *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>s* levied taxes five or six times a year (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 292). It was only after the discovery of oil at Masdjid-i Sulaymān in <u>Kh</u>ūzistān in 1908 that the economy of the province began slowly to recover, and this trend was accelerated by the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938; the line ran through Ahwāz, and its southern terminal was Bandar-i <u>Sh</u>āhpūr.

In the last twenty years, <u>Kh</u>ūzistān's prosperity has increased exponentially. Many large oilfields are connected by road and pipeline with the refinery at Ābādān and with the terminal at Bandar-i Māh<u>sh</u>ahr (formerly Bandar-i Ma'<u>sh</u>ūr). Ābādān, a virtually uninhabited site fifty years ago, is now Iran's fifth city (estimated population, 1975, 320,000). In 1961, the deep-water tanker terminal on <u>Kh</u>ārg Island was opened. The construction of the massive Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlawī dam on the Diz river (1962) has not only provided the province with hydro-electricity but with water for the large-scale development of market-gardening and other agricultural projects, including the resumption of the cultivation of sugar-cane; other dams are planned. <u>Kh</u>urram<u>sh</u>ahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf. More recently, the development of the natural gas industry has taken place on a large scale; in 1973, 8.7 billion cu. m. of natural gas were exported to the U.S.S.R. The petrochemical industry is expanding at a great rate. The rapidly developing <u>Dj</u>undī<u>sh</u>āpūr University at Ahwāz now has over 2,000 students. The words of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, written one thousand years ago, now once again hold true: "This province is more prosperous than any province adjoining it. Great rivers and running waters are found in it. Its countryside is flourishing and its mountains are full of utility" (129-30).

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<u>KH</u>VAR<u>SH</u>Ī (self-designation, Kedaes hikwa, <u>Kh</u>uani, <u>Kh</u>var<u>sh</u>al; in Russian, <u>Kh</u>var<u>sh</u>intsī) an ethnic group in the Caucasus whose language forms, with Be<u>zh</u>eta, Ginu<u>kh</u>, Dido and <u>Kh</u>unzal [*qq.v.*] the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 1,019 ethnic <u>Kh</u>var<u>sh</u>īs, of whom 1,018 gave <u>Kh</u>var<u>sh</u>ī as their maternal tongue. They formerly lived in five *auls* (including <u>Kh</u>var<u>sh</u>ī and In<u>kh</u>orari) on the upper course of the Ori-Tsḳalis, a southern affluent of the Andi-Koysu in the south-west of the Bagulal district of the Dā<u>gh</u>istān ASSR; in 1944, they were resettled in the district of Vedeno in that same republic. They lived originally in an isolated region of high mountains, which long preserved them from any marked degree of outside influence and allowed them to retain their patriarchal customs. They are Sunnīs of the <u>Sh</u>āfi'ī legal school.

Their traditional economy was based on sheep-rearing, with a system of transhumance, and also on terraced agriculture and various crafts; their present-day economy is essentially similar, with the added element of cattle-rearing.

<u>Kh</u>var<u>sh</u>ī is purely a vernacular language; Avar is used as the first literary language, and also as the second (sometimes first) spoken language, since it is used as the medium for primary education. Russian is the second literary language. Both linguistically and culturally, the <u>Kh</u>var<u>sh</u>īs are now being assimilated to the Avars [see further AVAR, DĀ<u>GH</u>ISTĀN, DIDO, AL-ḲABḲ].

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ĶIBLA, the direction of Mecca (or, to be exact, of the Kaʿba or the point between the *mīzāb* or water-spout and the western corner of it), towards which the worshipper must direct himself for prayer.

i.—Ritual and Legal Aspects

From very early times the direction at prayer and divine service for the worshippers was not a matter of choice among the Semitic peoples. There is already an allusion to this in I Kings, viii, 44 and it is recorded of Daniel (Dan., vi, 11) that he offered prayer three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem (which has remained the Jewish *ķibla* to this day). As is evident from the names of the quarters of the heavens, the whole life of the Semitic peoples was turned eastwards. The Essenes prayed in the direction of the rising sun and the Syriac Christians also turned eastwards at prayer (*Ancient Syriac documents*, ed. Cureton, 24, 60; *Acta martyrum occid.*, ed. Assemani, ii, 125). It may therefore very well be assumed in agreement with the tradition that Muḥammad appointed a *ķibla* at the same time as he instituted the *ṣalāt*. It is certain that in the period immediately following the *hidjra* the direction taken by the Jews was also used by the Muslims. Tradition places the alteration in the *ķibla* to 16 or 17 months after the *hidjra*, in Radjab or Shaʿbān of the year 2, probably rightly, for in this period we have the important change in Muḥammad's attitude to the Jews. Disappointed at the slight success of his preaching among the Jews of Yathrib, he began to turn more and more to the old Arabian tradition and make the religion of Ibrāhīm the basis of all monotheistic religions. The Kaʿba was brought into prominence as a religious centre and the *ḥadjdj* began to be talked of as a Muslim rite. At the same time a beginning was made with the eviction of the Jewish tribes of Yathrib. The alteration in the *ķibla* is a not unimportant fact in this series of events and this train of thought. The Ķurʾān verses, II, 136 ff., refer to this: "What has induced them to abandon their former *ķibla*? Say: to Allāh belongs the east and the west. He guides whomsoever he pleaseth unto the right path ... We only appointed your previous *ķibla* to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels ... Turn then thy face toward the holy *masdjid*; turn your face to it wherever you are".

The importance placed by Muḥammad himself upon the change is clear from these words. It is not necessary to assume with the tradition that it was brought about by scornful remarks of the Jews regarding Muḥammad's dependence on the prescriptions of their religion (so Ṭabarī, i, 1280). In other traditions, the new *ķibla* is represented as that of Ibrāhīm (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 378, ii, 13). Here we have a glimmering of the real truth of the matter, namely the connection with Muḥammad's new politico-religious attitude. According to one tradition (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 32; *Tafsīr*, Sūra II, *bāb* 14) the revelation of the above quoted verses from the Ķurʾān was communicated to the believers in the morning *ṣalāt* in Ķubāʾ; according to another story Muḥammad had with a portion of the community performed two *rakʿas* of the *ẓuhr* prayer in a mosque of the Banū Salima, when he turned round to the direction of Mecca (Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 139). The mosque received the name of *masdjid al-ķiblatayn*, "the mosque of the two ķiblas".

If it may then be considered established that Muḥammad and his community turned towards Jerusalem at the *ṣalāt* during the early years of the *hidjra*, the question still remains, what was his *ķibla* before the *hidjra*? In Tradition two answers are given to this question and a third deduced by harmonising the other two. According to one, Muḥammad in Mecca observed the *ķibla* to the Kaʿba (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 4; Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 138); according to the other story the *ķibla* had always been Jerusalem (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 3, 8, *Annales*, i, 1280; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 2); according to the third (Ibn Hishām, 190, 228) Muḥammad in Mecca was careful to have the Kaʿba and Jerusalem in a straight line in front of him at the *ṣalāt*. The first view is influenced by the theory of the "religion of Ibrāhīm" for al-Tibrīzī also makes ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib already know that Ibrāhīm appointed the Kaʿba as *ķibla* (*Ḥamāsa*, i, 125). If the second opinion had not an historical basis, one does not quite understand how it could have arisen, for Tradition does not like to acknowledge Muḥammad's dependence on Jewish practice. This view seems therefore to be the most probable. It is further mentioned as a distinguishing peculiarity of Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr that even in the period before the *hidjra* he would not turn his back on the Kaʿba (Ibn Hishām 294); this tradition would lose its point if the old *ķibla* had been in the direction of the Kaʿba. Besides these traditional views, others have been put forward in recent years. According to Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala and Stockholm 1926, 4 (cf. Buhl, *Mohammed's liv*, 212) the original *ķibla* was to the east. Andrae bases his view not on the material of Tradition but on the general agreement between early Muslim and Christian religious usages. Schwally said that the Jerusalem *ķibla* was introduced into Mecca, perhaps as a Jewish-Christian institution (*Geschichte des Qorans*, i, 175, note k).

The direction of the *ķibla* was, or is, not assumed at the *ṣalāt* only and with the points of the toes (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28; *Adhān*, *bāb* 131; Nasāʾī, *Sāhw*, *bāb* 25; *Taṭbīķ*, *bāb* 96), but also at the *duʿāʾ* (Bukhārī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 24), at the *iḥlāl* or *iḥrām* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 29) and after the stone-throwing at the central Djamra (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 140-2); the head of an animal to be slaughtered is turned to the *ķibla* and the dead are buried with the face towards Mecca (Lane, *Manners and customs*, Paisley and London 1899; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/1 243; v, 409).

In the *ḥadīth* it is forbidden to turn towards Mecca when relieving nature (Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 11; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 61; Nasāʾī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18-20). On the question whether it is allowable in doing this to turn one's back to Mecca and thus in some parts of Arabia be facing Jerusalem no unanimity prevails (cf. Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 14; *Khums*, *bāb* 4; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 29; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, *trad.* 59, 61-2; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 4); one should not expectorate in the direction of Mecca (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 33).

The observance of a *ķibla* is given in old traditions along with the performance of the *ṣalāt* and ritual slaughter as a criterion of the Muslim: The Prophet of God said: "The command has been given me to fight the people till they say: There is no god but Allāh; when they say these words, perform our *ṣalāt* and slaughter in our way, their blood and their property shall be inviolate for us", etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28; cf. *Aḍāḥī*, *bāb* 12). One of the terms for the orthodox community is *ahl al-ķibla wa 'l-djamāʿa*. In many Muslim lands the word has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies; thus *ķibla* (pronounced *ibla*) means in Egypt and Palestine, south, whereas in the Maghrib, east.

In the mosques the direction of the *ṣalāt* is indicated by the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*]; in classical *ḥadīth*, this word does not occur and *ḳibla* is used to mean the wall of the mosque towards which one turns. At a *ṣalāt* outside a mosque, a *sutra* [*q.v.*] marks the direction. In Egypt, small compasses specially made for this purpose are used to ascertain the *ḳibla* (Lane, *op. cit.*, 228). It should be noted that many mosques are not accurately but only approximately orientated (according to the *djiha*, see below). It sometimes happens that this error has been later corrected by the drawing of lines or the stretching of threads. This is, for example, the case in many mosques of Indonesia where the faithful at the *ṣalāt* take their direction not from the *miḥrāb* but from such indicators.

The laws relating to the *ḳibla* are here given very briefly only and according to the Shāfiʿī school as laid down in al-Shīrāzī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, 20). The adoption of a *ḳibla* is a necessary condition for the validity of a *ṣalāt*. Only in great danger and in a voluntary *ṣalāt* on a journey can it be neglected. But if one is on foot or can turn his steed round, it should be observed at the *iḥrām*, *rukūʿ* and *sudjūd*. One should turn exactly in the direction of the *ḳibla*, and one who is near it can do so with certainty. According to others, when one is distant only the general direction (*djiha*) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the *mihrāb* within a mosque; when not in a mosque one follows the direction of reliable people: only a man who is in a deserted region is allowed to ascertain the direction for himself by means of certain indications. For details of the laws see the *Bibliography*.

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(A. J. WENSINCK*)

ii.—ASTRONOMICAL ASPECTS

The determination of the *ḳibla* was an important problem for the scientists of mediaeval Islam. Although essentially a problem of mathematical geography, the determination of the *ḳibla* can also be considered as a problem of spherical astronomy. Thus most Islamic astronomical handbooks or *zīdj*s, of which close on 200 were compiled during the millenium beginning in 750 A.D., contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*. In addition, several dozen mediaeval manuals for timekeeping deal with the topic. In contrast, the number of treatises dealing specifically with the *ḳibla* problem is quite few.

The *ḳibla* at a given locality is a trigonometric function of the local latitude, the latitude of Mecca, and the longitude difference from Mecca. The derivation of the *ḳibla* in terms of these three quantities was the most complicated of the standard problems of mediaeval Islamic spherical astronomy, and the solutions to the *ḳibla* problem proposed by the leading astronomers of mediaeval Islam bear witness to the development of mathematical methods from the 3rd/9th to the 8th/14th centuries and to the level of sophistication in trigonometry and computational techniques attained by these scholars. Already in the 3rd/9th century Muslim scholars had derived exact solutions using the construction of Greek mathematics known as the analemma (in which the various significant planes involved in a specific problem are either projected or folded into a single working plane, whereupon the geometrical solution can be derived graphically or the trigonometric solution can be derived by plane trigonometry) or using the classical Theorem of Menelaos for the complete spherical quadrilateral. Later *ḳibla* methods included trigonometric solutions based on projection methods or on the simpler corollaries of the Theorem of Menelaos. Certain Muslim astronomers contented themselves with approximate solutions, which were adequate for practical purposes. The final mathematical solution to the *ḳibla* problem was the table compiled by the 8th/14th century astronomer al-Khalīlī, displaying the *ḳibla* for all latitudes and longitudes.

The mathematical problem
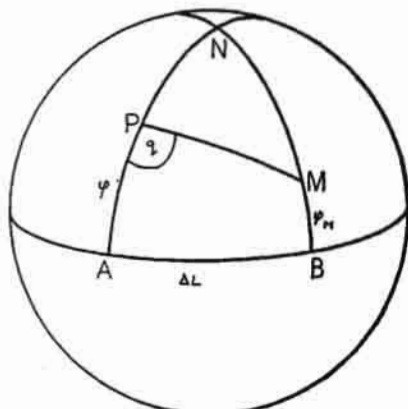
Fig. 1

Fig. 1 shows a locality P and Mecca M on the terrestrial surface. The point N. represents the north pole, and the meridians at P and M are shown as NPA and NMB, where A and B lie on the equator. In mathematical terms the *ḳibla* at P is defined by the direction of the great circle through P and M. In mediaeval Arabic the angle q between the arc PM and the local meridian NPS was called *inḥirāf al-ḳibla*, and the complementary angle between PM and the east-west line through P was called *samt al-ḳibla*. If φ and φ_M denote the latitudes of the locality and of Mecca (= PA nd MB), and ΔL denotes their longitude difference (= AB), then q is a function of φ, φ_M, and ΔL, and can be determined by spherical trigonometry. The modern formula, which can be derived from an application of the spherical cotangent rule to ΔNPM, is:

$$q = \cot^{-1} \frac{\sin \varphi \cos \Delta L - \cos \varphi \tan \varphi_M}{\sin \Delta L}.$$

The exact solutions proposed by the mediaeval astronomers are less direct but ultimately equivalent to this.

Although the problem of determining the *ḳibla* is a problem of mathematical geography, it is mathematically equivalent to the astronomical problem of determining the azimuth or direction of a celestial body with given declination for a given hour-angle, and as such it was usually treated by the mediaeval

astronomers. Indeed, the *ḳibla* problem may be transferred to the celestial sphere simply by considering the zenith of Mecca rather than Mecca.
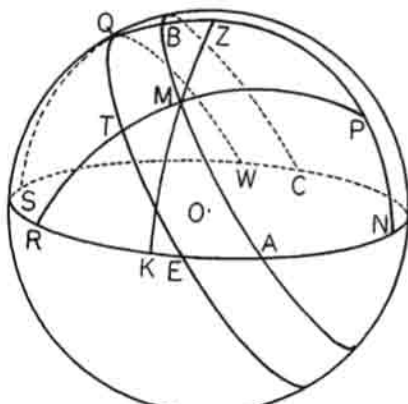
Fig. 2

Fig. 2 shows the zenith of Mecca M on the celestial sphere for a locality O. The local horizon is NESW and the local meridian is NPZS. EQW is the celestial equator, P is the celestial pole, and ABC is the day-circle of M. PMTR is the meridian of Mecca. Now:

$$PN = \varphi,\ MT = \varphi_M, \text{ and } QT = \Delta L,$$

and the problem is to determine the azimuth of M measured from the meridian by the arc SK = q. Most mediaeval methods involve first finding the altitude of the zenith of Mecca above the local horizon, measured by the arc MK = h. This is equivalent to finding the complement of the distance between the two localities. Thus the problem of determining q (φ, φ_M, ΔL) is mathematically equivalent to determining the azimuth a (φ, δ, t) of a celestial body with declination δ (measured by MT) when the hour angle is t (measured by QT) and the local latitude is φ (measured by PN). Indeed, several Islamic *ḳibla* methods state simply that if one faces the sun on the day when the solar declination is φ_M at the time when the hour-angle is ΔL (before or after midday, according as the locality is west or east of Mecca), then one is facing Mecca.

In the sequel a selection of methods is presented to illustrate the variety and sophistication of some of the few mediaeval *ḳibla* determinations that have been investigated in modern times. The notation has been modified in order to relate to that used in Fig. 2. For the details of the original constructions the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed in the bibliography. Those methods that are trigonometric in character are represented by means of trigonometric equations; in the original texts the relations are written out in words. The capital notation for trigonometric functions denotes that they are to a base other than unity: thus, for example, $\text{Sin}\ \theta = R \sin \theta$ where R is generally 60 and occasionally, in the case of works following the Indian-Sāsānid tradition, 150. Likewise $\text{Cos}\ \theta = R \cos \theta$, $\text{Vers}\ \theta = R \text{ vers } \theta = R\ (1 - \cos \theta)$, etc. The radius of the celestial sphere is taken to be R.

The trigonometric procedures outlined by the Muslim astronomers can also be performed geometrically using a grid of the kind which occurs on the circular instruments known in mediaeval Arabic as *al-dustūr* and *al-s̲h̲akkāziyya*, or the related quadrants known as *al-rubʿ al-mud̲j̲ayyab* and *rubʿ al-s̲h̲akkāziyya*. Most Islamic treatises on these instruments contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*.

Approximate solutions

A popular approximate method for determining the *ḳibla* which occurs in the *Zīd̲j̲* of the Syrian astronomer al-Battānī (*fl.* Raḳḳa, *ca.* 297/910) and in several unsophisticated Islamic astronomical works such as *al-Mulak̲h̲k̲h̲aṣ fi 'l-hayʾa* by al-D̲j̲ag̲h̲mīnī (*fl.* K̲h̲ʷārazm, ? *ca.* 725/1325) is the following.
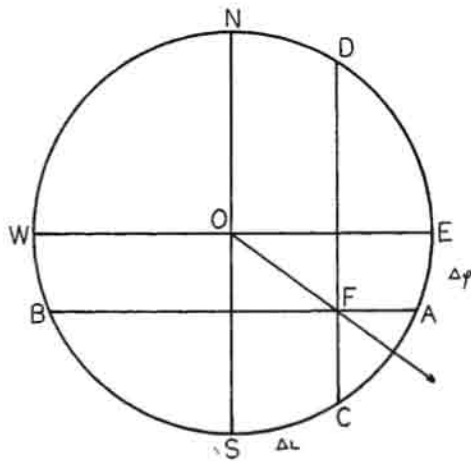
Fig. 3

Fig. 3 shows the construction for a locality where Mecca is to the south east. Mark the cardinal directions NWSE on a horizontal circle centre O and radius R and measure arcs $EA = WB = \Delta\varphi = \varphi - \varphi_M$ southwards and $SC = ND = \Delta L$ eastwards. Next draw AB and CD, and denote their point of intersection by F. Then OF defines the *ḳibla*. This method is equivalent to an application of the formula

$$q = \text{Sin}^{-1} \left\{ \frac{R\ \text{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\sqrt{\text{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \text{Sin}^2\ \Delta L}} \right\} = \text{Tan}^{-1} \left\{ \frac{R\ \text{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\text{Sin}\ \Delta\varphi} \right\}.$$

Certain Muslim astronomers also used tables based on this formula and displaying values of q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) for each degree of both arguments from 1° to 20°. A feature of these tables is that the entries for $\Delta\varphi = \Delta L$ are all 45°0′.

Another approximate solution to the *ḳibla* problem is outlined in a treatise related to al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī (*fl.* Bag̲h̲dād, *ca.* 215/830). Here the formula

$$q = \text{Sin}^{-1} \left\{ \frac{\left[\dfrac{\text{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \text{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right] R}{\sqrt{\text{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \left[\dfrac{\text{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \text{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right]^2}} \right\},$$

with the trigonometric functions to base $R = 150$ rather than $R = 60$, is outlined in words. The table displaying q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) that accompanies this treatise was rather popular with later Muslim astronomers and exists in several manuscript copies, some of which are of Syrian, Yemenī, and Turkish provenance. Yet other approximate *ḳibla* tables based on non-trivial formulae are found in the *As̲h̲rafī zīd̲j̲* of the Persian astronomer Sayf-i Munad̲j̲d̲j̲im (*fl. ca.* 710/1310), the *Zīd̲j̲* of the Persian astronomer S̲h̲ams al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲im al-Wābiknawī (*fl. ca.* 725/1325), and

in a treatise on the quadrant by Ibn Ṭaybughā (*fl.* Aleppo, *ca.* 751/1350).

Exact solutions

Four exact solutions to the *ḳibla* problem are outlined below. The first and second illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the analemma construction, and the way in which it can be used to derive complicated formulae of spherical trigonometry from a plane figure. The third and fourth illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the Theorem of Menelaos and its corollaries. Al-Khalīlī's *ḳibla* table, which is perhaps the most sophisticated trigonometric table compiled in the mediaeval period, illustrates the competence of an 8th/14th century scholar in the algebra of functions and computational techniques.

A geometric *ḳibla* construction proposed by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (*fl.* Baghdād and Damascus, *ca.* 235/850) involves an analemma in which the working plane is considered consecutively as the meridian, equatorial, meridian, and horizon planes. Ḥabash's method may be summarised as follows (see Fig. 4). On a circle centre O and radius R mark the cardinal directione NWSE, and then draw arc WQ $= \varphi$, arc QB $= \varphi_M$, and arc QT $= \Delta L$. Draw the diameter QOR and the parallel chord BC with midpoint G. Mark the point M_2 on OT such that $OM_2 = GC$ and draw the perpendicular M_2M_1 onto BC. Next draw M_1L parallel to WE and M_1IJ parallel to SN to cut WE in I and the circle in J. Finally, construct the point M_3 on M_1L such that $OM_3 = IJ$ and produce OM_3 to cut the circle at K. Then OK defines the *ḳibla*.

This construction may be explained as follows. Firstly, QOR and BGC represent the projections of the celestial equator and the day circle of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Secondly, M_2 represents the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the equatorial plane. If we then imagine the equatorial plane to be folded into the meridian plane, M_2 moves to M_1, which is thus the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Furthermore, M_1IJ is the projection in this plane of the almucantar through the zenith of Mecca, whose radius is thus IJ. Also M_1I and IJ measure the distances from the zenith of Mecca to the prime vertical and to the line joining the local zenith to O, respectively. Finally, we consider the horizon plane the working plane; by virtue of the construction, M_3 is the projection of the zenith of the Mecca in this plane. Thus OK defines the *ḳibla*.

From such a geometric construction a trigonometric solution for the *ḳibla* problem can be derived with facility. Indeed, from the analemma construction for the *ḳibla* proposed by Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo, d. 430/1039: a single formula for q (φ, φ_M, L) equivalent to the modern one can be derived directly. Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, d. 399/1009) proposed the following trigonometric solution to the *ḳibla* problem. Firstly from the quantity

$$h = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\dfrac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M + \mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}\right\},$$

and then the *ḳibla* is defined by

$$q = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\Delta L\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M}{\mathrm{Cos}\,h}\right\}.$$

Ibn Yūnus offered no justification for this procedure, but his formulae can be derived from an analemma construction such as the one proposed by Ḥabash.

Fig. 4

If in Fig. 4 we draw the perpendiculars GH and GV from G to SN and M_1Y, then we have

$$M_1V = \left\{\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M}{R^2}\right\},$$

since

$$M_1V = M_1G\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi}{R}$$

and

$$M_1G = OF = OM_2\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R} = GC\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}$$
$$\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also

$$GH = OG\,\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}\;\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}.$$

Furthermore, since the arc JN measures h, we have $M_1Y = \mathrm{Sin}\,h$. But $M_1Y = MV + VY = MV + GH$. Ibn Yūnus' first formula follows immediately.

Next we observe that M_3Y and M_2F both measure the distance of the zenith of Mecca to the meridian and are hence equal. Thus

$$M_3Y = M_2F = OM_2\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}\;\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also, since the arc JN measures h, and OMf is by construction equal to IJ, we have OMf = IJ = Cos h. Ibn Yūnus' second formula follows immediately, since q measures the arc SK.

Ibn Yūnus also compiled a table displaying the solar altitude in Cairo when the sun is in the azimuth of Mecca. His table gives values for each degree of solar longitude, corresponding roughly to each day of the year. Tables of this kind were contained in the main corpora of tables for timekeeping that were used in such centres as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Istanbul, and an isolated table of this kind was compiled for the observatory at Marāgha in north-western Persia. The solar altitude in the azimuth of Mecca is occasionally displayed graphically on the backs of astrolabes.

Al-Nayrīzī (*fl.* Baghdād, *ca.* 287/900) solved the *ḳibla* problem by four successive applications of the Theorem of Menelaos. His solution involves finding

successively the arcs TR, SR, MK and KS in Fig. 2, as follows. Firstly, find TR using

$$\frac{\text{Sin PS}}{\text{Sin SQ}} = \frac{\text{Sin PR}}{\text{Sin RT}}\,\frac{\text{Sin TE}}{\text{Sin EQ}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin }(180^\circ - \varphi)}{\text{Sin }\varphi} = \frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ + \text{TR})}{\text{Sin TR}}\,\frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - \Delta L)}{\text{Sin }90^\circ}.$$

Secondly, find SR using

$$\frac{\text{Sin PQ}}{\text{Sin QS}} = \frac{\text{Sin PT}}{\text{Sin TR}}\,\frac{\text{Sin ER}}{\text{Sin ES}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin }90^\circ}{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - \varphi)} = \frac{\text{Sin }90^\circ}{\text{Sin TR}}\,\frac{\text{Sin ER}}{\text{Sin }90^\circ},$$

whence ER and SR ($= \overline{\text{ER}} = 90^\circ - \text{ER}$). Thirdly, find MK ($= h$) using

$$\frac{\text{Sin SP}}{\text{Sin SZ}} = \frac{\text{Sin PR}}{\text{Sin RM}}\,\frac{\text{Sin MK}}{\text{Sin KZ}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin }(180^\circ - \varphi)}{\text{Sin }90^\circ} = \frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ + \text{TR})}{\text{Sin }(\text{TR} + \varphi_m)}\,\frac{\text{Sin MK}}{\text{Sin }90^\circ}.$$

Finally, find KS ($= q$) using

$$\frac{\text{Sin KS}}{\text{Sin SR}} = \frac{\text{Sin KZ}}{\text{Sin ZM}}\,\frac{\text{Sin MP}}{\text{Sin PR}},$$

that is

$$\frac{\text{Sin }q}{\text{Sin SR}} = \frac{\text{Sin }90^\circ}{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - h)}\,\frac{\text{Sin }(90^\circ - \varphi_M)}{\text{Sin }(90^\circ + \text{TR})}.$$

Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Kh*arazm and Ghazna, d. after 442/1050) proposed several different methods for finding the *ḳibla*, based on a variety of different procedures. In his work on mathematical geography, the *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*, al-Bīrūnī derived the longitude difference between Mecca and Ghazna mathematically using the distances between staging posts on the major caravan routes, and then derived the *ḳibla* at Ghazna using four different methods, including spherical trigonometry (using Menelaos' Theorem), solid geometry (using procedures equivalent to those standard in solving timekeeping problems), and the analemma. Al-Bīrūnī's solution to the *ḳibla* problem in his major astronomical work *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, compiled after the *Taḥdīd*, is more elegant than his solution by spherical trigonometry in the earlier work. It was also proposed about thirty years previously as an alternative solution by Ibn Yūnus. Al-Bīrūnī proved its correctness by spherical trigonometry. Ibn Yūnus presented it algebraically with no justification, but he appears to have derived most of his formulae for spherical astronomy by projection methods rather than by spherical trigonometry. Al-Bīrūnī's treatment of the problem illustrates the progress made by Muslim scholars in spherical trigonometry during the tenth century. Whereas his predecessor al-Nayrīzī had laboriously used Menelaos' Theorem, al-Bīrūnī used its simpler corollaries, the spherical Sine Rule and the "Rule of Four Quantities".

Al-Bīrūnī first outlined an algebraic procedure for finding q using four auxiliary arcs which we call θ_1, θ_2, θ_3, and θ_4. Since he used $R = 1$ rather than 60 his trigonometric functions are the same as the modern ones. First find θ_1, "the distance on the day circle", thus $\sin\theta_1 = \sin\Delta L\cos\theta_M$. Then find θ_2, "the local latitude adjusted for the horizon (of Mecca)", using $\sin\theta_2 \dfrac{\sin\theta_M}{\cos\theta_1}$, and θ_3, "the correction to the latitude", using $\theta_3 = \varphi\text{-}\theta_2$. Then find θ_4, "the distance between the two localities", using $\cos\theta_4 = \cos\theta_3\cos\theta_1$. Finally, q is given by

$$\sin q = \frac{\sin\theta_3\cos\theta_1}{\sin\theta_4}.$$

Fig. 5

Al-Bīrūnī's justification of this procedure is equivalent to the following. In Fig. 5, which is essentially the same as the diagrams in the manuscripts of the original text, the base circle represents the horizon, with N and S the north- and south-points. The local meridian is SZPN where Z is the local zenith and P is the celestial pole. M is the zenith of Mecca and GLJ and MPL are respectively the horizon and meridian at Mecca. ZMK is the altitude circle of M and MHJ is a great circle with F as pole. Thus PN $= \varphi$, PL $= \varphi_M$, and MPZ $= \Delta L$, and it is required to find SK ($= q$). Al-Bīrūnī observed that (by the spherical Sine Rule).

$$\frac{\sin\text{MP}}{\sin\text{MH}} = \frac{\sin\angle\text{MHP}}{\sin\angle\text{MPH}},\ \text{i.e.,}\ \frac{\cos\varphi_M}{\cos\angle\text{F}}\,\frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\sin\Delta L},$$

whence $\angle$ F ($= \angle$ PFL) is known. Thus θ_1 is the complement of $\angle$ F. Similarly

$$\frac{\sin\angle\text{F}}{\sin\angle\text{PLF}} = \frac{\sin\text{PL}}{\sin\text{PF}},\ \text{i.e.,}\ \frac{\cos\theta_1}{\sin 90}\,\frac{\sin\varphi_M}{\sin\text{PF}},$$

whence PF is known.

Thus θ_2 is PF. Thirdly, since FN $=$ PN $-$ PF $= \varphi\text{-}\theta_2$, θ_3 measures FN. Fourthly, al-Bīrūnī states that by the "Rule of Four Quantities"

$$\frac{\sin\text{FZ}}{\cos\angle\text{G}} = \frac{\sin\text{FH}}{\sin\text{HJ}},\ \text{i.e.,}\ \frac{\cos\theta_4}{\cos\angle\text{G}} = \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\cos\theta_1},$$

(note that $\cos\angle\text{G} = \cos\angle\text{FGN} = \cos\text{IQ} = \sin\text{ZI}$) so that θ_4 measures $\angle$ G.

Finally, he points out that (by the spherical Sine Rule)

$$\frac{\sin\angle\text{G}}{\sin\angle\text{F}} = \frac{\sin\text{FN}}{\sin\text{GN}},\ \text{i.e.,}\ \frac{\sin\theta_4}{\cos\theta_1} = \frac{\sin\theta_3}{\sin\text{GN}},$$

whence $q = \text{SK} = 90^\circ - \text{GN}$.

Al-Khalīlī (*fl.* Damascus, *ca.* 766/1365) compiled a *ḳibla* table based on an accurate formula and displaying $q(\varphi, \Delta L)$ for each degree of φ from 10° to 56° and each degree of ΔL from 1° to 60°. Al-Khalīlī's table thus contains a total of almost 3,000 entries, and the *ḳibla* is computed to degrees and minutes. The vast majority of the entries are either correct or in error by ± 1 or ± 2 minutes, a remarkable achievement. Table 1 shows a section of al-Khalīlī's table.

Table 1

Sample Entries from al-Khalīlī's *Ḳibla* Table
(The errors in the minutes are shown after each entry)

ΔL ij	34°	35	36°	37°
25°	66°55′ + 1	64°59′	63° 9′ + 1	61°20′ − 1
24	65 39 + 1	63 39 − 1	61 45 − 2	59 56 − 2
23	64 17	62 16 − 1	60 19 − 2	58 29 − 1
22	62 52	60 50	58 50 − 2	56 58 − 1
21	61 25 + 2	59 18	57 18	55 24
20	59 50 + 1	57 42 + 1	55 41 + 1	53 46 + 2
19	58 10	56 2 + 2	53 59 + 3	52 2 + 2
18	56 25 + 1	54 14 + 2	52 10 + 2	50 12 + 2
17	54 33	52 19	50 14 + 1	48 17 + 2
16	52 34	50 20 + 1	48 13	46 14 − 1
15	50 30 + 2	48 15 + 3	46 8 + 2	44 9 + 1
14	48 16 + 2	46 0 + 2	43 54 + 2	41 56
13	45 52	43 38 + 2	41 33 + 2	39 38 + 1
12	43 23 + 3	41 8 + 2	39 6 + 3	37 12 + 1
11	40 42 + 4	38 26 − 1	36 29 + 2	34 40 + 2
10	37 46	35 38	33 43	31 59
9	34 42 − 1	32 40 − 1	30 50 − 1	29 12
8	31 28 − 1	29 34	27 51	26 18 − 1
7	28 7 + 2	26 19 + 1	24 44 + 1	23 20 + 1
6	24 31 + 2	22 54 + 2	21 30 + 2	20 14 + 1
5	20 44 + 1	19 20 + 1	18 7 + 2	17 2 + 2
4	16 49 + 2	15 38 + 1	14 36	13 44 + 1
3	12 43	11 48 − 1	11 1 − 1	10 21
2	8 33	7 56	7 24	6 57 + 1
1	4 19 + 1	4 1 + 2	3 45 + 2	3 33 + 4

Al-Khalīlī does not describe the way in which he compiled his *ḳibla* table. However, in his introduction to the table he expresses his approval of the *ḳibla* method of al-Marrākushī (*fl.* Cairo, *ca.* 679/1280). This involved first finding h using

$$\text{Sin } h = \text{Sin } (\varphi + \varphi_M) - \text{Vers } \Delta L \, \frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \varphi}{R^2},$$

and then applying the standard Islamic formula for finding the azimuth from the celestial altitude, namely

$$q = \text{arc Cos} \left\{ R \, \frac{\left[\dfrac{\text{Sin } h \text{ Tan } \varphi}{R} - \dfrac{R \text{ Sin } \delta}{\text{Cos } \varphi} \right]}{\text{Cos } h} \right\}.$$

Both of these formulae can be derived from Fig. 4. If al-Khalīlī did use precisely this method to compile his *ḳibla* table, it may be that he also used his universal auxiliary tables (*al-djadwal al-āfāḳī*) to facilitate the computation. These tables which were specifically designed for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude, display the three functions

$$f\varphi(\theta) = \frac{R \text{ Sin } \theta}{\text{Cos } \varphi}, \; g\varphi(\theta) = \frac{\text{Sin } \theta \text{ Tan } \varphi}{R},$$

$$\text{and } G(x, y) = \text{arc Cos} \left\{ \frac{Rx}{\text{Cos } y} \right\}.$$

The procedure for finding $q(\varphi, \Delta L)$ would be to first find h $(\varphi, \Delta L)$ using the simple formula of al-Marrākushī and then to use the auxiliary tables to apply the formula

$$q(\varphi, \Delta L) = G\,\{x(\varphi, \Delta L), h\}$$

where

$$x(\varphi, \Delta L) = g\varphi(h) - f\varphi(\varphi_M).$$

This latter procedure is easily shown to be equivalent to the standard azimuth formula.

Al-Khalīlī also computed the *ḳibla* for 44 localities in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. These are likewise very carefully computed. Sample entries from this list are shown in Table 2. Several other *ḳibla* lists were compiled by mediaeval Muslim astronomers, and the geographical tables in late Islamic *zīdj*s often display the *ḳibla* alongside the latitudes and longitudes of important localities.

Alignment of Mosques

Now even though the mediaeval astronomer might have been aware of an exact formula for computing the *ḳibla*, the accuracy of his *ḳibla* determinations depended on the geographical data that he had at his disposal. Mediaeval longitude determinations, based either on simultaneous observations of lunar eclipses in different localities or on measuring distances between the localities, were generally not very accurate. Mediaeval latitude determinations,

Table 2

Sample Entries from al-Khalīlī's *Kibla* List
(The errors are derived using the mathematically correct formula and al-Khalīlī's coordinates)

Locality	Longitude	Latitude	*Kibla*	Error
Gaza	57°0′	32°0′	42°46′	+ 1′
Hebron	56 30	31 35	45 21	— 6
Jerusalem	56 50	32 0	43 14	— 2
Damascus	60 0	33 30	29 4	+ 1
Beirut	59 15	33 20	31 59	— 4
Baᶜlabakk	60 0	33 50	28 25	+ 1
Hamā	61 45	34 45	20 32	— 2
Aleppo	62 10	35 50	17 42	0
Mārdīn	64 0	37 55	9 48	0
Baghdād	70 0	33 25	13 19	0
Kūfa	69 30	31 30	13 12	+ 1
Mecca	67 0	21 30	-	-

on the other hand, based on observations of the solar meridian altitude, were generally more accurate. Even so, the most popular values used by Muslim astronomers for the latitude of Mecca were 21°, 21° 20′, 21° 30′, and 21° 40′, whereas the accurate value is 21° 26′. This explains why mediaeval mosques may be incorrectly oriented even though their *miḥrāb*s [*q.v.*] were erected in a *ḳibla* direction computed by competent mathematicians.

Another reason why mosques may be incorrectly aligned is that their *ḳibla*s were not computed from geographical data at all but were inspired by tradition. Thus, for example, mosques in the Maghrib and the Indian subcontinent generally face due east or due west, respectively. Likewise, in early Muslim Egypt, the *ḳibla* adopted was the azimuth of the rising sun at the winter solstice. Several mosques in Cairo face this direction, which was favoured as the *ḳiblat al-ṣaḥāba* but which is about 10° off the *ḳibla* computed mathematically using mediaeval geographical coordinates and about 20° off the true *ḳibla* for Cairo. No survey has yet been made of the orientation of mediaeval mosques. Such a survey would be of considerable interest for the history of Islamic architecture as well as the history of science.

Bibliography: Several of the following secondary sources contain descriptions and analyses of mediaeval *ḳibla* methods. There exist numerous Islamic astronomical works containing *ḳibla* methods that have not been investigated in modern times. On the *ḳibla* method of Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Samarḳand, d. 853/1449), which is none other than the method of Ibn Yūnus and al-Bīrūnī, see L. A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg: traduction et commentaire*, (Paris 1853), 116-21. On the approximate methods of al-Battānī and al-Djaghmīnī, see C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum* (Milan and Rome 1899-1907), i, 318-9, and ii, p. xxvii; and G. Rudloff and A. Hochheim, *Die Astronomie des Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn ᶜOmar al-Ǵagmīnī*, in *ZDMG*, xlvii (1893), 213-75 (esp. 271-2).

The first serious investigations of Islamic *ḳibla* methods were conducted by C. Schoy (see his article KIBLA in *EI*[1]). The methods of Ibn al-Haytham and al-Nayrīzī were discussed in his *Abhandlung des al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haiṯam (Alhazen) über die Bestimmung der Richtung der Qibla*, in *ZDMG*, lxxv (1921), 242-53; and in his *Abhandlung von al-Faḍl b. Ḥâtim al-Nairîzî über die Richtung der Qibla*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.*, Math.-phys. Kl. (Munich 1922), 55-68 (also contains a list of *ḳibla* values for various cities, taken from an 8th/14th century Syrian source). Schoy's other studies on the *ḳibla* include *Die arabische Sonnenuhr im Dienste der islamischen Religionsübung*, in *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*, N.F., xi (1912), 625-9; *Mittagslinie und Qibla*, in *Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1915), 551-76; *Die Mekka- oder Qiblakarte (Gegenazimuthale mittabstandstreue Projektion mit Mekka als Kartenmitte)*, in *Kartographische und schulgeographische Zeitschr.* (Vienna 1916), 184-5; and *Gnomonik der Araber*, in E. von Bassermann-Jordan, ed., *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, Band 1F (Berlin-Leipzig 1923) (esp. 33-43 and 84-6 on the methods of al-Battānī, Ibn Yūnus, and Abu 'l-Wafāʾ).

On al-Bīrūnī's *ḳibla* methods, see his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masᶜūdī*, ed. M. Krause, Hyderabad 1955, ii, 522-8; Schoy, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des ... al-Biruni ...*, Hanover 1927, 70-1; and E. S. Kennedy, *A commentary upon Bīrūnī's Kitāb Taḥdīd al-Amākin*, Beirut 1973, esp. 198-215. Ḥabash's construction is discussed in E. S. Kennedy and Y. Id, *A letter of al-Bīrūnī: Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib's analemma for the Qibla*, in *Historia Mathematica*, i (1974), 3-11.

Al-Khalīlī's *ḳibla* table is analysed in D. A. King, *Al-Khalīlī's* Qibla *Table*, in *JNES* (1975), (which also contains references to other mediaeval *ḳibla* tables and a discussion of the determination of the *ḳibla* using a quadrant). Ibn Yūnus's table displaying the solar altitude in the azimuth of the *ḳibla* is discussed in idem, *Ibn Yūnus' Very useful tables for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, x (1973), 342-94 (esp. 368). Considerable additional information on *ḳibla* determinations is contained in the forthcoming publication by idem, *Studies in astronomical timekeeping in mediaeval Islam. ii. A survey of mediaeval Islamic tables for regulating the times of prayer*.

Several lists of geographical coordinates of cities and the corresponding *ḳibla* values, taken from Islamic astrolabes, are given in R. T. Gunther, *The astrolabes of the world*, i, Oxford 1932, see esp. 24-6. On mediaeval Islamic longitude determinations, see Schoy, *Längenbestimmung und Zentral-meridian bei den älteren Völkern*, in *Mitt. der kaiserlich-königlichen Geographischen Gesell.*, xii (1915), 27-62; Kennedy's commentary on al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥdīd* (mentioned above); and F. Haddad and E. S. Kennedy, *Geographical tables of mediaeval Islam*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv (1971), 87-102.

On the analemma in mediaeval Islamic astronomy, see the reference cited in the study by E. S. Kennedy and Y. Id (mentioned above). On the development of spherical trigonometry and computational techniques in mediaeval Islam, see P. Luckey, *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreieckrechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940), 405-46; Kennedy, *Al-Bīrūnī's Maqālīd ᶜIlm al-Hayʾa*, in *JNES*, xxx (1971), 308-14, and the references there cited; and King, *Al-Khalīlī's auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, iv (1973), 99-110. (D. A. King)

AL-KIBRĪT, sulphur. The Arabic term is derived from Akkadian *kuprītu* through Aramaic *ku/ebhrithā*. The Arabs knew both sedimentary and volcanic brimstone. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *K. al-Murshid*, Ms. Paris 2870, f. 20a, mentions a place where "white" brimstone was to be found on the

shore of the Dead Sea and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (see also Muḳaddasī, 184), in fact the deposits of brimstone to be found in clay, mixed with gypsum and calcium carbide, on the right bank of the river Jordan at a mile from the Dead Sea (see C. Hintze, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, i/1, Leipzig 1904, 68 ff.). Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī (*al-Risāla al-thāniya*, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 22, tr. 54-5, ed. P. Bulgakov, Moscow 1960, 34) mentions already a sulphur spring on Mount Damāwand [*q.v.*] around which brimstone had crystalised, and this volcano showed immense deposits of brimstone. The same author (*ibid.*, 43 = Yāḳūt, ii, 619) knows also the sulphur springs of Dawraḳ [*q.v.*] in Khūzistān.

In general, four sorts of brimstone are distinguished: yellow, white, black and red (see *WKAS*, i, 536). Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī, *K. al-Asrār* (ed. M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1964, 3), however, differentiates these even further into 1. pure, massive, yellow brimstone; 2. pure, granular, yellow brimstone; 3. white, ivory-coloured brimstone; 4. white brimstone mixed with soil; 5. black brimstone, adulterated with stones; and 6. red brimstone. Descriptions like *kibrīt ḳāni'* "bright red brimstone", *kibrīt dhahabī* "golden brimstone", *kibrīt dhakar* "male brimstone", *kibrīt baḥrī* "brimstone of the sea", *kibrīt nahrī* "brimstone of the river", etc. are also found. These descriptions indicate the various modifications and qualities: brimstone deposited by springs is mostly fine-grained and yellow-white; elementary brimstone is often contaminated with bitumen, selenium and arsenic. These various descriptions, however, were of course not used by the Arabs to indicate a strict classification.

A special case was the "red brimstone" (*al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*). According to Aristotles' *Stone-book* (ed. J. Ruska, Heidelberg 1912, no. 26, p. 161 = Ibn al-Bayṭar, *K. al-Djāmi'*, iv, 49) it shines by night over a distance of many parasangs, as long as it is left in its place of occurence. Others maintained that red brimstone was a mineral to be found in the valley of the ants, marched through by Solomon (Ibn Samadjūn, in Ibn al-Bayṭar *loc. cit.*). These are fairy-tales. Al-Rāzī (*K. al-Asrār, loc. cit.*) knew already that "red brimstone" does not exist as a mineral, and this scepticism was wide-spread. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Risāla fi 'l-Djidd wa 'l-hazl*, ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1943, 93; ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 271) remarks that "red brimstone" is easier to be found than a trustworthy friend, and the caliph al-Mu'taḍid bi-llāh (279-89/892-902) said that two things exist only in name: the phoenix (*'anḳā' mughrib*) and *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 154). In this sense is also to be understood al-Maydānī's proverb "more costly than red brimstone" (see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, i, 18, 220, ii, 149) and Bilawhar's saying (ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1971, 33) that his merchandise is better than red brimstone. The solution to this enigma is that *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* is a pseudonym for the elixir, by means of which silver can be changed into gold (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 103, *WKAS*, i, 536 a25-b2).

The position of brimstone in the mineral system has been determined more than once: in Aristotles' *Stone-book*, compounds of brimstone and arsenic form one group together with salts and boraxes, without a fixed classification. The authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum* (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries) counted red, yellow, black and white brimstone, together with orpiment, realgar, quicksilver, camphor and ammonia among the "spirits" (*al-arwāḥ*, τὰ πνεύματα), as opposed by the "metallic bodies" (*al-adjsām*) and the "mineral bodies" (*al-adjsād*). Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-Shifā'*, *al-Ṭabī'iyyāt*, v, ed. Madkūr, Cairo 1965, 20-2) divides all minerals into four classes: the stones (*al-aḥdjār*), the salts (*al-amlāḥ*), the fusible bodies (*al-dhā'ibāt*) and the brimstone-like ones (*al-kabārīt*). Brimstone has become here a general notion indicating those substances in which wateriness has been combined with earthiness and airiness and which have then been consolidated by cold. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib*, 203-45, brimstone, together with quicksilver, pitch, naphtha etc. belongs to the viscous substances (*al-adjsām al-duhniyya*).

Already in the Middle Ages brimstone was an important mineral raw material. It was for instance used in bleaching. Thus the "brimstone of the river" (*al-kibrīt al-nahrī*) was also called *kibrīt al-ḳaṣṣārīn*, the "brimstone of the bleachers" (Galen, *K. al-Awdiya al-mawdjūda bi-kull makān*, in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 49, below). Together with bitumen, fats, oil, etc., brimstone was a component part of Greek fire [see NAFṬ], and from the 7th/13th century onwards it was used with salpetre and charcoal, to make gunpowder.

Brimstone was also widely used in medicine. According to Dioscurides (*Mat. med.*, v, 107; Arabic tr. ed. C. E. Dubler, Tetuán-Barcelona 1952-7, 423) brimstone avails against a cough, against pus that is stuck in the chest, and against asthma. If a woman is fumigated with brimstone, she will have a miscarriage. Leprosy, cutaneous eruptions and other skin diseases are treated with brimstone, which, if mixed with natron, dissipates itching. Finally, brimstone avails against the stings of poisonous animals, against jaundice, cold, sweat, podagra, ear-ache and deafness. The same indications are found in Galen, *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.*, ix, 3, 9 (Vol. xii, 217, Kühn; Arabic tr. in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 50); 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *K. Firdaws al-ḥikma*, 122, 224, 271, 322, 324, 407 (cf. W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 380-2), Ya'ḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (cf. *The medical formulary of al-Kindī*, ed. M. Levey, Milwaukee 1966, ff. 95b, 101b, 133b), al-Rāzī, *K. al-Ḥāwī*, xvii, 55, and Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 191. The *dawā' al-kibrīt* is one of the important electuaries. It equals theriae and avails against fever, cough, asthma, tetanus, dropsy, against stings of poisonous animals etc. ('Alī b. Rabbān 445; al-Madjūsī, *K. al-Malakī*, ii, 536; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ii, 191).

The curative properly of sulphurous water is often praised: Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī (*op. cit.*, ed. Minorsky, 12, tr. 43, ed. Bulgakov, 21, Yāḳūt, ii, 317) mentions the sulphurous springs in the neighbourhood of Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] in 'Irāḳ, which avail against manifold diseases. According to Aristotles' *Stone-book* (no. 26, pp. 113, 162) bathing in sulphurous springs is good for open wounds, tumours, itching, scabies and fever. Baths in sulphurous water avail also against trembling (*irti'āsh*) (Philagrises, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, i, 44, see Galen, *De tremore et palpitatione*, vii, 600, Kühn). Finally, sulphurous water is curative of articular pains (Rufus, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xi, 199), hemiplegia (*fālidj*, 'Alī b. Rabbān, *Firdaws*, 197) and elephantiasis (*djudhām*, ibid.).

To the many palliatives which were recommended for expelling vermin from houses there are always included fumigations with sulphur (Rāzī, Ḥāwī, xix, 320-33), which was also used in magic as an ingredient of talismans (Pseudo-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, 243-6, German tr. by Ritter and Plessner, London 1962, 254-8).

Sulphur played a prominent part in alchemy (see AL-KĪMIYĀ'). Distillation of sulphur and the action

of sulphurous vapour on metals gave occasion to many observations and conjectures. Since sulphur is liberated in the distillation of most materials, it was believed to be a fundamental part of all minerals. In particular, it was assumed that the metals consisted of quicksilver and brimstone. If the parts of both materials are in an ideal ratio to each other, gold originates (see Dimashķī, *Nukhba*, 50 ff.). Sulphur is therefore also called "the mother of gold" (*umm al-dhahab*, see *K. al-Kanz*, ms. Berlin 4191, f. 51a).

The alchemists invented many pseudonyms for sulphur, like "the yellow, red or white bride") *al-ʿarūs al-ṣafrāʾ*, etc.), "the red soil" (*al-turba al-ḥamrāʾ*), "the colouring spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-ṣābigh*), "the saffron" (*al-zaʿfaran*), "the divine secret" (*al-sirr al-ilāhī*). The breath-taking smell of burning brimstone gave it the name "the suffocater" (*al-khannāķ*). Because brimstone combines quicksilver, it was also called "the fetter of the volatile" (*ķayd al-ʿābiķ*). Conversely, the term *kibrīt* was also used in various combinations as pseudonym of other substances, e.g. *kibrīta lā taḥtariķ* "incombustible sulphur" (see *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 168) designates the elixir of gold. (For the problem of the pseudonyms, see J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Alchemistische Decknamen*. Beiträge LXVII, in *SPMSE*, lvi-lvii (1924-5), 20-33 = E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 599-612; A. Siggel, *Decknamen in der arab. alchem. Literatur*, Berlin 1951).

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ĶIBṬ, the Arabic term for the Copts or native Christians of Egypt. The term is a derivative of the Greek *Aigyptos*, a phonetic corruption of the Ancient Egyptian *Ha-Ka-Ptah*, i.e. the house or temple of the god Ptah, signifying Memphis. The Greeks used the word for Egypt and the Nile, hence the word "Coptic" is originally the equivalent of Egyptian. Curtailment of both prefix and suffix from the Greek term gives us *Gypt* > Arabic rendering *Ķibṭ*. According to Semitic sources, however, this term is derived from Kuftaim, son of Mizraim, a grandchild of Noah who first settled in the Nile valley and imparted his name to the city of Ķufṭ or Gufṭ near Thebes or modern Luxor [see ĶIFṬ]. This latter theory is commoner among Arab writers who call Egypt *Dār al-Ķibṭ*, sc. the home of the Copts who were the Christianised descendants of the ancient Egyptians at the time of the Arab Conquest of 20-1/640-2.

Apparently the Copts were not unknown to the pre-Islamic Arab traders whose caravans penetrated the fringes of the Fertile Crescent and to some extent touched Egypt. More directly, the Copts came into the life of the Prophet Muḥammad through Maryam the Copt who was a gift from al-Muķawķas [*q.v.*] and who bore him his short-lived and only son Ibrāhīm. The Prophet is said explicitly to have told ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that "Allāh will open Egypt to you after my death. So take good care of the Copts in that country, for they are your kinsmen and under your protection". This is said to have appeared in the first *khuṭba* by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ after the conquest, and in it he subsequently admonishes his Muslim audience to "Cast down your eyes therefore and keep your hands off them".

Though the caliph ʿUmar was hesitant to grant ʿAmr approval for the conquest of Egypt, certain factors in the Egyptian situation favoured the invaders. The Copts were restive under Byzantine rule. In pursuance to the policies established by Justinian (527-65), the Emperor Heraclius (610-41) in 631 appointed Cyrus (al-Muķawķas in Arabic sources) as prefect, army commander and patriarch of the whole of Egypt in order to facilitate the securing of both political and religious uniformity in that crucial part of the Empire. Byzantine taxation was also felt as oppressive. Cyrus forced the Copts to abjure their Monophysitism in favour of the Byzantine Chalcedonian profession and his legionaries pursued their native Patriarch-elect Benjamin I (623-62), who fled to the desert monasteries and remained in hiding until the removal of the Melkite Greeks from Egypt.

It was in these circumstances that ʿAmr crossed the eastern frontiers of Egypt [see MIṢR] and entered the country. Cyrus realised by then that he was fighting a lost battle, because the Copts wanted a change of masters at any cost. While the servitude of the latter was complete in civic, financial and religious matters, the Arabs cared more for the revenues from the province than for interference with the religion of the Copts. They did not distinguish between Melkites and Monophysites, and the Copts as Christians were regarded as a protected people (*Ahl al-Dhimma*), in return for payment of the *djizya* [*q.v.*].

When the Byzantine régime finally ended with the fall of Alexandria in 641, the Greek Melkite population was granted safe-conduct to depart with Cyrus, and the native Patriarch Benjamin I was summoned to emerge from hiding. His appearance in Alexandria was honoured by ʿAmr, and the Copts at last regained their religious liberty and even appropriated most of the Melkite churches and foundations then rendered vacant. Thus the new era augured well, and perhaps Muslim monotheism might have been interpreted as bordering on Coptic monophysitism, thus creating a temporary bridge between the two religions in the eyes of those who were unaware of their philosophies in details of doctrine and future developments.

From this moment, the relationship between the Copts and the Arabs was based pre-eminently on revenue and taxation. The Arabs recognised the elaborate system of government in Egypt, and left the administration unchanged in the hands of the Copts. In the first year, ʿAmr was able to raise 12 million *dīnār*s in revenue, but the caliph ʿUmar was dissatisfied and removed ʿAmr, nominating ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. al-Sarḥ [*q.v.*] to succeed him. The new governor was then able to raise 14 million *dīnār*s in the second year.

From 21/642 to 254/868, Egypt was directly under Caliphal control through a viceroy, and ninety-eight governors were appointed by the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. The average tenure of each governor was about two years, too brief a period for any constructive work. But caliphal policy aimed at removing governors before they had sufficient time for

trying to break away from the central government. In the circumstances, a governor's sole concern was simply to squeeze the maximum taxation from the subjects, not only to pay the necessary dues to the central government, but also for his personal enrichment. The depletion of the resources of the country was also often aggravated by low Nile floods and the spread of disease and plague.

The worsening of the economy meant heavier pressure and exactions for the Copts. The results of this situation were three-fold: many Copts fled to the desert monasteries to escape the poll-tax from which clerics were exempted, although this privilege proved to be ephemeral; some turned to Islam for the same reason, although wholesale conversions did not take place because the caliphs usually discouraged them in order to safeguard their revenue; and some rose in revolt, not infrequently reinforced in their insurrection by Muslim settlers.

Perhaps the Bashmuric Rebellion of 214-15/829-30 in the marshlands of the lower Delta was the most serious of those local insurrections. The caliph al-Maʾmūn had to come in person to Egypt to fight the Bashmuric rebels and to pacify the Copts. The outcome of a steadily deteriorating situation was a neglect of the irrigation system, the blocking of canals with sand and silt, and the ruination of the Nile dykes. In addition to a decline in the number of Coptic farmers, the steady shrinkage in the arable soil led to the fall of the revenue to 3 million *dīnārs* by the 3rd/9th century until the last of the ʿAbbāsid governors, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], assumed power in 254/868 and doubled the *kharādj* and the *djizya*; now even the clergy and the desert monks lost their customary exemption from payment. In the same year Ibn al-Mudabbir was imprisoned by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. The latter soon introduced numerous financial reforms which earned for him the loyalty of the inhabitants. The leniency and understanding towards the Coptic subjects of the Ṭūlūnids (254-92/868-905) and the Ikhshidids (323-58/935-69) [*qq.v.*] stood in contrast to the rule of Ibn al-Mudabbir, from whose imposts the Coptic clergy were once again exempted.

It would be wrong to judge Ibn Ṭūlūn by his harsh treatment and incarceration of the Coptic Patriarchs Shenouda I (859-80) or his successor Khāʾīl III (880-90), caused by internal dissensions amidst the Coptic clergy themselves. An undeserving deacon and monk who wanted a bishopric hatched conspiracies against the Patriarchs, together with the bishop of Sakha, who had been excommunicated for misdemeanour. They went to the governor with false reports about the Patriarchs, including the worst of accusations in the eyes of a Muslim ruler, that is, trying to bring Muslims into apostasy and sending them to the desert monasteries to become monks. As usual, this was coupled with accusations that the Patriarchs were avaricious and possessed masses of gold. The truth was revealed in the end, and the Patriarchs regained their liberty after signing a warrant for debt, which they tried to repay through money raised from charity and from simoniacal practices.

The state revenue had declined to 3 million *dīnārs* at the advent of Ibn al-Mudabbir, and he aimed at doubling it without mending the cause of its decline. Realising that the cause of this deficit was the decline of agriculture, Ibn Ṭūlūn introduced land and irrigation reforms which ultimately improved the revenue. Even with exemptions, the revenue rose to 4 million *dīnārs* before Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, in addition to accumulated savings of 10 millions in the treasury and the execution of an extensive building program. With the help of Ibn Kātib al-Firghānī, an accomplished Coptic architect, he constructed the Nilometer at the southern end of Rawḍa (Rōḍa) Island [see MIḲYĀS] and his famous mosque with its external spiral minaret. Muslims commonly destroyed churches in order to use their materials and pillars in building mosques. To save the churches, Ibn Kātib promised the governor to construct the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn without having to utilise pillars from churches. Thus the new pillars were built of massive masonry supporting pointed arches long before their use in Gothic art in Europe, and only two small marble pillars were placed on the flanks of the *ḳibla*. The mosque still stands as a testimony to the architectural genius of the builder and the return of the country to affluence.

During the years of stability in the rule of both these dynasties of governors, the Copts enjoyed a great degree of tolerance and prosperity. It is recorded that Ibn Ṭūlūn cultivated the habit of retiring to the al-Ḳuṣayr monastery south of Fusṭāṭ for rest and recuperation, and the first Ikhshīdid, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj (323-34/935-46) used to participate in the celebrations of the Coptic Epiphany, according to the contemporary 4th/10th century historian al-Masʿūdī. Both dynasties entrusted the Copts with key positions in government.

The really favourable position of the Copts, however, was still to come, viz. under the Shīʿī Fāṭimid dynasty (358-567/969-1171), if we except the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]), who ended by persecuting Copts, Jews and even Muslims. Hence the Copts, whose religious freedom had been undisturbed and who had occupied the highest positions in the administration during the reigns of al-Muʿizz (358-65/969-75) and al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96) now faced forced apostasy or persecution by the unbalanced monarch, and many of their churches were levelled to the ground. However, towards the end of his reign, al-Ḥākim apparently fell under the spell of a priest named Anba Salomon during his visits to the monastery of al-Ḳuṣayr on the Ḥelwān road south of Cairo, and eventually began to wear a monks' garment, while his atrocities ceased.

During the caliphate of al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1020-36), the re-building of churches was again authorised, and Christians who had been forced to apostasise were permitted to return to their faith. Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], who visited Egypt in the reign of his successor, al-Mustanṣir, remarked that nowhere in the world of Islam had he seen Christians enjoy as much peace and prosperity as did the Copts. The strongest Fāṭimid vizier, Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], and his son al-Afḍal, both Armenian converts to Islam, favoured the Copts and relied on their service. Ultimately, the sixty-sixth Patriarch Christodoulos (1046-77) decided to move his seat from Alexandria to Cairo in order to be within easier access to the central government.

Only towards the end of Fāṭimid rule, when internal disorder grew, did Copts and Muslims alike suffer in the ensuing broils and confusion, and the fate of the Copts was further aggravated by the outbreak of the Crusades. It would therefore seem that the Copts reached the height of power and prosperity, but also latterly some of their worst tribulations, during the Fāṭimid era.

The advent of the Sunnī Ayyūbid dynasty (564-648/1169-1250) re-established internal stability and

eliminated the confusion of the age of the last Fāṭimid caliphs, but these times proved rather a mixed blessing for the Copts. In the course of his fighting the Crusaders in the Holy Land and the Christian kings of Nubia in the south, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's suspicions led him to dismiss the Copts from government service. It was probably on this occasion that Zakariyyā' b. Abi 'l-Malīḥ b. Mammātī (a corruption of the Coptic *Mahometi*) of Asyûṭ, a Copt who held the joint secretaryship of the War Office and the Treasury, decided to apostasise with his family and become a Muslim, in order to retain his high office for himself and his descendants. His son al-Asʿad inherited his father's office, and compiled one of the few cadastres of mediaeval Egypt (*al-Rawk al-Ṣalāḥī*), leaving a record thereof in his *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother, Shams al-Dawla, who led the Nubian campaign, destroyed in the years 567-8/1172-3 the monastic settlement of Bawīṭ in Middle Egypt, the Coptic city of Ḳufṭ, which sank into insignificance thereafter [see KIFT], and the important Convent of St. Simeon (*Anba Hidra*) across the Nile from Aswān. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn further decided to remove the imposing building of the Cathedral of St. Mark in Alexandria for fear that it might serve Crusader inroads with a fortified site, and the Copts tried in vain to ransom this church.

It would however be erroneous to accuse the Ayyūbid sultans of continuous intolerance and persecution of the Copts. One of their first deeds was to suppress Ibn al-Mudabbir's substitution of the lunar for the solar calendar in order to shorten the year and thus get more taxes. They left most of the Coptic churches standing, and generally refrained from interference with religious freedom. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself granted the Copts an imposing monastery adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, which they own to the present day as *Dayr al-Sulṭān*. The sultan's successes against the Crusaders and the recapture of Jerusalem in 583/1187 seem to have terminated his early apprehensions about the Copts. The Copt Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Maʿālī, surnamed Ibn Sharāfī, became his private secretary. Two Coptic architects, Abū Manṣūr and Abū Mashkūr, were employed to repair and extend the fortified walls of Cairo and to build the Cairo Citadel on the Muḳaṭṭam hills overlooking the capital, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's most enduring monument which became the fortified seat of successive governments and dynasties.

In the reign of Sultan al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn (596-615/1200-18 [*q.v.*]), the Saphadin of western chronicles, a Copt by the name of Ibn al-Miḳāt assumed the administration of the War Office. In the Crusade of Damietta of 1218, the Coptic inhabitants participated in the defence of the city and with their clergy suffered greatly at the hands of the Latins. Again in the Crusade of St. Louis in 1249-50, notable Copts were to be found in the Sultan's camp. A number of Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid sources show that numerous Copts earned some of the highest titles of honour in the state such as *al-Ra'is, Hibat Allāh, al-Amdjad, al-Asʿad, al-Shaykh, Nadjīb al-Dawla, Tādj al-Dawla,* and *Fakhr al-Dawla*. The Church historian Yaʿḳūb Nakhla Rufayla collected as a sample some 30 Coptic names bearing these titles.

Two important processes were in progress since the Arab conquest, the Islamisation of Egypt and the Arabisation of Egypt, and these two processes should not be confused. That there should be a measure of conversion to Islam under early Arab rule was inevitable. The apparent kinship between Coptic monophysitism and Islamic monotheism might have played a role in a still amorphous body of doctrine, but the vexatious *djizya* or poll tax, increasing at a steady rate, left the impecunious Coptic taxpayer only one way to escape, sc. that of Islam. It is known that most caliphs discouraged wholesale conversion, in defence of a depleted inflow of revenue to the treasury. How can we explain, therefore, the eventual numerical superiority of Muslims as against the shrinkage of the Copts in Egypt? E. L. Butcher implausibly ascribed it to the popularity of the monastic life and called it "suicide of a nation". The Muslim social historian, Aly Mazahéri describes this phenomenon as "ethnic exhaustion", and discards the assumption of wholesale conversion. It does not seem that a single, facile answer can be given here.

The Arabisation of Egypt, on the other hand, is a more transparent process. A study of the papyri indicates that at first the Copts conducted the administrative records in Coptic, and that the Arabs, who did not know the native language, accepted their procedures thus. Then the year 86/705 witnessed the issuance of an edict by the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik imposing for the first time the use of Arabic in state records. At this point, bilingual papyri begin to appear in an intermediary stage. Meanwhile, the Copts hastened to master the language of the new rulers, but the clerks persisted in the use of bilingual protocols in the papyri. As to the use of Arabic in public life, this must have been a slower process, although we may note the compilation of Coptic grammars and Coptic dictionaries in the 13th century, which is probably to be regarded as an indication to national Coptic efforts to keep the torch of the Coptic language burning amongst those who were fast losing it. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that Coptic was becoming extinct at that early date. The same century produced eminent Coptic writers such as Ibn al-ʿAssāl [*q.v.*] and other members of his family, who were perfectly conversant with Coptic, Greek and Arabic. As late as 1673, the traveller Vansleb reported that he met the last Copt who really spoke Coptic; and Benoît de Maillet, an 18th century French consul in Egypt, stated that he found whole villages in Upper Egypt whose residents spoke Coptic. In the present century, Werner Vycichl is quoted by the Coptologist William Worrell to have discovered Coptic-speaking communities at Zēniya and other isolated villages in Upper Egypt. Of course, the liturgy is still celebrated today in Bohairic Coptic, together with Arabic, in Coptic churches. The Arabisation of Egypt is an undisputed reality, but the total extinction of the Coptic language is still a debatable problem.

The later Middle Ages brought difficulties for the Coptic communities. The Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1517) who were originally slave soldiers bought by the Ayyūbid sultans, ended by seizing power from them, and they then continued to reinforce their army by more slave purchases. They were therefore men of varied ethnic and religious origins and had nothing in common with the Egyptians except the bond of Islam; and it is doubtful whether any of them was fully aware of the doctrines of their faith or the language of the Coptic people. Internal insecurity and increasing poverty and isolation now began to drive the Coptic populace into desperation. Skilled Copts continued to work in the Muslim administration, but as soon as they rose to wealth and power, the Muslim mob tended to clamour for their dismissal from office and to start a wave of

church destruction. As mob fury became overpowering, the Mamlūk sultans had often to yield to public pressure and unseat the Copts and condone the assaults on their religious foundations. Yet after a short period, confusion usually supervened in the government machinery, and the sultans were constrained to reinstate the Copts in office once more.

On one occasion, a group of exasperated Copts decided to retaliate against Muslim oppression. In 720/1320, a number of Coptic monks from Dayr al-Baghl ("The Monastery of the Mule") south of Cairo, formed a secret pact to use arson against mosques and Muslim quarters in the capital. Once while the city was ablaze, four of these monks were seized carrying naphtha and other incendiary substances. The Sultan ordered them to be burnt and the Copts were again dismissed from office. The infuriated mob continued their destruction of more churches. From 678/1279 to 851/1447, forty-four churches are reported to have been levelled to the ground in Cairo alone. The Patriarch Yohannes X (1363-9) was summoned by the Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764-78/1363-76), and he and the archons or elders of the Coptic community were subjected to abject humiliation and confiscation of property, partly to appease the populace and partly to raise funds for waging war against the Cypriots in retaliation for their sack of Alexandria in 766/1365.

Occasional spells of relief for the oppressed Copts came only as a result of foreign intervention from three main sources. The first was from Constantinople, where the Byzantine emperor, himself harassed by the Ottoman Turks, pleaded at the Sultan's court on behalf of the remaining Melkite minority. The second was from Aragon, whose kings were for commercial reasons, usually on good terms with the Mamlūk monarchs, though their intercession was essentially on behalf of the churches in the Holy Land and only incidentally for the Copts. The third and perhaps the most important source of mediation came from Abyssinia, whose Negus had a strong bargaining power on behalf of the Copts in the counter-threat of ill-treatment of the Muslims under his dominion, and in the imaginary menace of deflecting the course of the Nile to the detriment of Egypt.

The harassed Coptic patriarchs also hoped tentatively for an undefined form of assistance from the western world, without jeopardising their delicate position with the sultans. One such glimmer of hope appeared at the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-9), which aimed at the union of the Churches of East and West, separated since the Chalcedonian schism in 451. We know that a certain Yuhannes, Abbot of the Coptic Monastery of St. Anthony on the Red Sea, was a signatory to the *Decretum pro Jacobitis* declaring the formal union of the Churches. But the agreement long remained in abeyance until 1586, when Rome sent a delegation to Patriarch Yuhannes XIV (1571-86) in order to discuss the practical application of the union. The Patriarch and a few bishops were agreeable, though the majority of the community remained apprehensive; the sudden death of the Patriarch ended this abortive mission.

By then the Ottoman Turks had been established in Egypt since its conquest by Selīm I in 922/1517. Egypt became a dependent province with a vast empire, and the sultans derived their revenue from a governor, an Ottoman Pasha, whom they invested with the provincial government for brief periods. There was a Turkish garrison headed by a general independent of the governor, while the local administration was left in the hands of the surviving Mamlūk *amīrs*. Tax farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) became the practice and the tax farmers and village headmen were subjected to all sorts of pressures for the payment of excessive dues, not only for the sultan in distant Istanbul, but also for the enrichment of a whole hierarchy of the administration. Within this framework, the Copts worked as clerks and tax collectors mainly in local Mamlūk households. Though they suffered occasional, temporary dismissals from service, they were not goaded by the outbreaks of mob fury as in Mamlūk times. In fact, they suffered, together with the Muslim inhabitants, from the depredations of the Arab nomads who used to descend on villages in the countryside for looting. The land became isolated and its inhabitants sank into lethargy and ignorance until the French Expedition of 1798-1801 arrived under Napoleon and opened Egypt to western influences.

Perhaps the most significant Coptic document after the rout of the Mamlūks and the settlement of the French was a petition submitted to Napoleon by a notable Copt, Girgis al-Djawharī, imploring him to lift Coptic disabilities, in keeping with the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the French Revolution. However, the French, whose leaders feigned conversion to Islam in order to court favour with the Muslim majority, decided to overlook his plea and thus avoided the semblance of partisanship. Nevertheless, they did not hesitate to select the best candidates for the administration irrespective of religious considerations. Hence the same Girgis al-Djawharī became the head of the taxation department. They also nominated a commission of twelve to administer local justice. Six of these were Copts and the chairmanship fell to Muʿallim Malaṭī, a Copt about whom we possess no documentary evidence. But the real hero in Coptic annals emerged in the personality of Muʿallim Yaʿḳūb Ḥanna (1745-1801), whose meteoric career began in the predominantly Coptic city of Asyūṭ, in Upper Egypt.

Originally a humble civil servant under Sulaymān Bey, a Mamlūk *amīr* in charge of Asyūṭ province, he learned the equestrian art and the rudiments of Mamlūk warfare from his master and even participated in Mamlūk hostilities against the Turks. Later, when the French attempted to conquer Upper Egypt under Desaix, he played a prominent role in saving the French expedition from collapse. Then after the disastrous naval battle of Abūḳīr, which gave Nelson and the British command of the sea, Napoleon left and Kléber succeeded him with an empty treasury, while Turkish infiltrators played upon religious sentiment and incited the Muslim population of Cairo to rebellion. It was in these precarious circumstances that Yaʿḳūb, with the approval of the French authorities, recruited a Coptic legion of 2,000 Coptic youths to be trained by professional officers under his own command, first as Colonel, then in 1801 as General.

Still more spectacular in Yaʿḳūb's career was his dream of Egyptian independence from both the Turks and the Mamlūks. The documents pertaining to this chapter in his biography were discovered and brought to light by an eminent Muslim historian, the late Professor Shafīḳ Ghurbāl. The departing French made the stipulation that any native desirous to leave with them should be permitted to do so. Thus the General, together with a few companions, left Egypt with the French on the British ship *Pallas*, in the hope of convincing the rulers of Europe

that the only solution of the Egyptian question was the independence of Egypt. Yaʿḳūb died on the high seas on 16 August 1801 leaving the fulfilment of his mission to his accompanying delegation. Apart from his secret deliberations with the captain of the *Pallas* Joseph Edmonds, preserved in the memoirs of his interpreter Lascaris, a Knight of the Order of Malta, his correspondence was communicated or signed by proxy and addressed to Bonaparte and his foreign secretary Talleyrand (23 September 1801) as well as to the British Lord of the Admiralty, Earl St. Vincent (4 October 1801).

Curiously, the man destined to realise Yaʿḳūb's vision was Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-49), the Macedonian soldier who came to Egypt as the head of a Turkish force and succeeded in founding the dynasty in Egypt which did not end till 1953. Under the new régime, the enfranchisement of the Copts went a long way. With increasing security and acceptance, it became less necessary for them to congregate in fortified quarters for self-defence, and they began to scatter all over the big cities side-by-side with their Muslim compatriots. They even took courage to fight for the removal of a few remaining disabilities in the Coptic Congress at Asyūṭ in 1911, clashing with a countermovement in the Muslim Congress in Alexandria. Both, however, were confined to a war of words and were discouraged by the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (1892-1914); eight years later both sides were engaged within the Wafd Party in the struggle against the British protectorate over their common homeland. The only cases of violence in contemporary history have consisted of localised incidents of arson against churches by the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN], whose organization was eventually suppressed by Djamal (Gamāl) ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1966.

In recapitulating the story of the status of the liberated Coptic community in modern times, we should not forget two 19th century movements. The first was an educational and cultural one sponsored by the Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-61), known as the Father of Coptic Reform. He founded public schools including the first girls' school in Egypt, and imported a printing press, the second in the country after the Būlāḳ press. On the international scene, he carried out with success a conciliatory embassy in 1856-8 with the Emperor of Ethiopia on behalf of the Khedive Saʿīd (1854-63). But he did not live to realise his grand dream of an oecumenical union with the Greek Church, the Russian Church and the Anglican Church; it is said that this enterprise disturbed the Muslim authorities and hastened the visionary Patriarch to his grave. The second movement was a natural corollary to the first, for western education created a Coptic élite who strove in the pursuit of establishing a more democratic system of government in community affairs and in the management of church property. This met with staunch resistance in the clerical conservatism of the age of Cyril V (1874-1927), and the project of a Community Council (*Madjlis Millī*) has been in abeyance ever since.

Within the framework of the Islamic legal structure, the Copts made several gains of capital importance. The abolition of the *djizya* came to pass in 1855 during Saʿīd's reign, and this was coupled with the acceptance of the Copts into military service. At his accession, the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pasha (1879-92) publicly proclaimed the principle of equality of all Egyptians in every way, irrespective of their ethnic origin or religion; this was later formalised in a decree of 21 July 1913 and again in the Constitution of 1922.

In a period of more than thirteen centuries of Islamic rule, it seems that the density of population of Egypt has varied from time to time. At the Arab conquest, judging from the papyrus tax returns, the Copts must have been at least 12 millions. Owing to many hardships, occasional failure of Nile floods and diminution of cultivable soil, recurrent plagues, conversions to Islam and flight to the desert monasteries, we must assume the existence of a downward trend in the number of Copts throughout the Middle Ages and Ottoman Turkish times. We note that their number sank to approximately one million souls. However, the latest three official itemised censuses of the population reveal the following figures:

Year	*Total population*	*Muslims*	*Copts*	*Jews*	*Other religions*
1947	18,966,767	17,397,946	1,501,635	65,639	1,547
1960	25,984,101	24,068,252	1,905,182	8,561	2,106
1966	29,943,810	27,919,528	2,018,305	2,484	3,493

It is difficult to accept the above figures unhesitatingly. This is largely due to the fact that Coptic villagers have always shown a reticence in divulging the real size of their families. The newly-founded Census Department in the Institute of Coptic Studies in Cairo has been working with the local country priests in assessing the Coptic population; suggestions of a Coptic population from four to six millions in the year 1974 have been put forward.

The basic causes of the survival of the Copts are both internal and external. Internally, the Copts clung to their Church as a cementing element in their private life. Coptic ethnicity and faith became a profound faith, a way of life, and an intangible doctrine of ethnic consciousness. Externally, it is fair to admit that Islam shares in the credit of this survival. Under the aegis of Islamic dynasties, there came dark times when the violence of the majority could well have exterminated minority groups with the concurrence of the rulers; yet this did not happen, despite such difficult periods as the reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in the 5th/11th century.

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(A. S. Atiya)

ḲIBṬĪ [see ČINGANE].

ḲIDAM (A.) in the technical vocabulary of philosophy and theology denotes eternity. It must be distinguished from *azal* and from *abad* [*q.v.*]. Al-Tahānawī writes: "*Azal* is the constant duration of existence in the past, as *abad* is its constant duration in the future." As opposed to temporal origin (*ḥudūth*), it is the fact of having been preceded by nothing else (*al-lā masbūḳiyya bi 'l-ghayr*): *azal* implies the negation of a first beginning (*nafy al-awwaliyya*); it is therefore a case of eternity *a parte ante*, and *abad* is eternity *a parte post*. *Azal* and *abad* are essentially identical in God (*inna abaduhu ʿayn azalihi*), for they mean that the two relative extremities which are the beginning and the end are both "cut off" from God (*inḳiṭāʿ al-ṭarafayn al-iḍāfiyyayn ʿanhu*). For Him they are negative attributes (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, commentary on the Most Beautiful Names of God, sūra VII, 180; *azalī* and *ḳadīm* are classed among the real and negative attributes. First, *awwal* is regarded as real, accompanied by relationship and negation (*ṣifa ḥaḳīḳiyya maʿa 'l-iḍāfa wa 'l-salb*). He is eternal, in the sense of *azalī*, that which is not preceded by nothingness, that which is in existence before any rational conception of a first beginning (*ḳabla taʿaḳḳul al-awwaliyya*), and in the sense of *abadī*, that which persists beyond any rational conception of an ultimate term (*baʿda taʿaḳḳul al-ākhiriyya*). Through these various definitions there come to light two conceptions of pre-eternity and post-eternity. The first is that of endless duration (*lā nihāyata lahu*) which extends either towards the past, or towards the future (in which case it is also known as *al-la-yāzāl*, that which does not cease to be). This scheme (cf. below) raises many difficulties in the solution of the problem of the creation of the world, since it introduces the concept of an infinite time before the moment of this creation. The second is more philosophical: the two eternities are nothing more than negative conceptions, to which contemplative thought has recourse in order to grasp the idea of eternity in relation to time, but which do not correspond to the reality of an infinite time in the two senses: they are relative to the mode of thought belonging to the human spirit, which as al-Rāzī points out (cf. below), cannot conceive of itself outside time. The reality which is hidden behind these imaginary concepts is that of God and of His subsistence through His essence (*baḳāʾuhu bi-dhātihi*), that is, of a being totally unaffected by time and temporality.

So what does *ḳidam* denote? Etymologically, the term should be associated with *azal* since it is a root expressing the idea of anteriority. The *LA* says of it exactly the same as al-Tahānawī says of *azal*: "It is the contrary of temporal origin (*naḳīḍ al-ḥudūth*)". Ibn Manẓūr also explains it through the roots *ʿataḳa* and *sabaḳa* ("to precede in a race"). It should in fact be noted that the idea of anteriorness in time or space is linked to that of superior worth, as would appear from the substantive *ḳadam* and from its Ḳurʾānic use: *ḳadam ṣidḳ* (X, 2) which al-Zamakhsharī interprets as *sabīḳa wa-faḍl wa-manzila rafīʿa*, a priority, a higher abode that God is preparing for the Believers. Another explanation is that in advance a gift has been prepared for them on the part of God (*ḳad sabaḳa lahum ʿind Allāh khayr*) which unites the two ideas of anteriorness and of the excellence of the divine gifts. It may be noted further, with regard to *ḳadam* ("step", whence the fact of being a step ahead of the others, of precedence) that the *LA*, as well as al-Ḳurṭubī in his commentary, quotes verses of Dhu 'l-Rumma [*q.v.*] where the expression of Bedouin mentality may be seen: *ḳadam* is associated there with high nobility and acts of splendour (*mafākhir*). Since the qualities of Bedouin ethic were in general transferred by Islam to God, it may reasonably be supposed that the root *Ḳ-D-M* served not only to connote the anteriorness of God, but also His ontological pre-eminence over all things, while it must be made clear that this is not an anteriority and a pre-eminence relative to others, as in the case of *mufākhara* which implies rivalry, but qualities that are transcendental and absolute. It is in this sense that the *LA* says that God is *al-Muḳaddim*, because he precedes all things (*yuḳaddim al-ashyāʾ*) and He puts them in their place (*yaḍaʿuhā fī mawāḍiʿihā*). But the terms *ḳidam* and *ḳadīm* in the sense of eternity and the

eternal, are technical creations (*iṣṭilāḥāt*); they are not Ḳur'ānic. The *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, in the *Sharḥ*, writes that according to the principles of the language *ḳadīm* is that which has existed for a longer time than something else (*mā taḳādama wudjūdhuhu*) and he quotes the verse (XXXVI, 39) where God compares the moon to an old palm (*ka 'l-ʿurdjūn al-ḳadīm*). As for the word *ḳidam*, it does not occur in the Ḳur'ān. The revealed Book conveys the idea of divine eternity through that of transcendence. God is al-Mutaʿālī (XIII, 9), and this name, according to al-Rāzī, belongs to him on the grounds that he is utterly removed (*munazzah*) in His essence, in His attributes and His actions from all that may not be asserted of Him. In consequence, He is outside time, Eternal, and it is thus that the term *ḳadīm*, taken absolutely (*al-Ḳadīm*) denotes God Himself.

Al-Tāhānawī also makes *ḳidam* the opposite of *ḥudūth* [*q.v.*]. These two terms denote attributes of existence and are studied together. Essence (*māhiyya*) is qualified only in regard to the qualification of the corresponding existence. They may be applied to nothingness, according to whether it is preceded by existence or not; thus one may speak of an eternal nothingness or nothingness resulting from obliteration. *Ḳidam* and *ḥudūth* may be taken according to reality (*ḥaḳīḳiyyan*) or according to relation (*iḍāfiyyan*).

1. Real eternity consists in the fact of not being preceded by another thing according to an anteriority which is essential and not temporal. This is what is known as essential eternity (*ḳidam dhātī*), which consists in the fact of needing absolutely nothing other than the self in order to exist. This implies the necessity of the being. The Eternal in this sense is the necessary Being. On the contrary, origin (*ḥudūth*) is the fact of having been preceded by something in existence according to an essential anteriority, which in this case may or may not also be a temporal anteriority (for example, the world is essentially the result of an origin, it is *muḥdath*, but nothing precedes its time; man is also essentially engendered, but his parents existed in the time previous to his birth). In a certain sense, time is the result of an origin (*ḥādith*), because if it has been preceded by nothing which could have existed before it in a temporal way, an absurd hypothesis, it does not have the absolute existence of necessary Being and at every instant it renews itself. It is possible to understand in particular by eternity the fact of not being preceded by the non-existence of a temporal anteriority: this will then be called temporal eternity (*ḳidam zamānī*), and the eternal in terms of time is therefore "that of which the time of existence has no first beginning". Similarly, one may talk of a temporal origin (*ḥudūth zamānī*) where the existence of a being is preceded by non-existence in time. Thus we define that which is the fruit of a temporal origin (*al-ḥādith al-zamānī*) as that which is preceded in time by its non-existence, according to the well-known formula: *lam yakun, thumma kāna* ("it was not, then it happened"). In this sense, time is not *ḥādith* because nothing can pre-exist itself.

2. As for relative *ḳidam*, it implies that the past time of the existence of a being is greater than that of the existence of another. But this sense cannot be conveyed by the word eternity. It concerns the antiquity of a being compared to the novelty of another, and *ḳadīm* means ancient, old, like *ʿatīḳ*. Conversely, *ḥudūth* will be novelty, *ḥādith*, that which is new.

Al-Tāhānawī adds that essential eternity is more particular (*akhaṣṣ*) than temporal eternity, which in its turn is more particular than relative eternity or antiquity. Thus necessary Being, which is *ḳadīm dhātī*, is also eternal according to a temporal point of view, since it is preceded neither by nothingness nor by that which is other than itself. But the converse is not true: thus the attributes of eternal Being, which are not preceded by nothingness since they are concomitants of its eternal essence, are not eternal in themselves and so do not have *ḳidam dhātī*. The same could be said of the world which is *ḳadīm zamānī* according to the *falāsifa*, but which is not however *ḳadīm dhātī*, because it depends on its cause, which is other than itself. As for *ḳidam iḍāfī*, it is not co-extensive with *ḳidam zamānī*. In fact, the past time of an existence may be greater compared with that which subsequently occurs for the first time. This applies to the father who is *ḳadīm* in relation to his son, but who is not thereby *ḳadīm zamānī*, because he is born of parents. So if we compare the world to a man, both of these have a history made up of successive events. In relation to one of these events, the past of the world and of this man extend over a time greater than that of the new happening. Each of them will therefore be called *ḳadīm* in relation to it. They are both *ḳadīm iḍāfī*. But the world is not only *ḳadīm* in this context: it is so in itself, because there has never been a time where it did not exist. Man is only *ḳadīm* in relation, for example, to the event of his paternity: doubtless he preceded it, but precisely according to an antecedence which is only relative to it. On the contrary, in the context of origins, it is *ḥudūth iḍāfī* which is the most particular; then comes *ḥudūth zamānī* and finally *ḥudūth dhātī*. This is because everything whose existence in the past covers a lesser time-span (*aḳall*: that is to say *ḥādith iḍāfī*) is preceded by nothingness, and is therefore *ḥādith zamānī*. *A fortiori*, it is *ḥādith dhātī*. This analysis has clearly been influenced by the thought of philosophers who tend to associate eternity with the ontological necessity of the *wādjib al-wudjūd* and *ḥudūth* with continuity. Theologians simply understand by *ḳadīm* that which is not preceded by nothingness, or in the vocabulary of al-Tāhānawī, *ḳadīm zamānī*.

To what does the notion of eternity apply? *Ḳidam* relates first to the essence of God. On this point all the philosophers and religious scholars are in agreement. On the question of the eternity of the attributes of God, there are differences of opinion among the *mutakallimūn*. God is eternal because He is not subject to an origin, and being, cannot be other than *muḥdath* or *ḳadīm*. So if God were subject to origin, in order to exist He would need another being to create him, a *muḥdith*. But the question would apply to the latter too and so on to infinity. So one must affirm the existence of God as eternal Creator, as it is expressed by ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*al-Ṣāniʿ al-ḳadīm*). This argument, which bears a philosophical mark, is not the exclusive property of the Muʿtazilīs. It is found in the same or similar terms in the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī, in the chapter where he shows that the agent which produces beings subject to origin (*fāʿil al-muḥdathāt*) cannot itself be the fruit of an origin. It is found in the *Kitāb al-Irshād* of al-Djuwaynī, where he proves that the existence of the Eternal "does not inaugurate itself" (*wudjūd al-ḳadīm ghayr muftatiḥ*); in the same place he gives an interesting and precise observation on the concept of an existence that has no beginning: does this not imply an infinite succession of moments? He replies

that the moment of a thing is defined by the fact that it is contemporary with other things. Now God is not contemporary with any other thing. So the eternity of God is implied by his uniqueness.

The Ashʿarī school admits the eternity of the divine attributes. On the contrary, the Muʿtazilīs express the major principle that "God has no co-eternal", according to the formula of ʿAbd al-Djabbār in the *Sharḥ* (*lā ḳadīma maʿ Allāh*). Nevertheless, they recognise as eternal four attributes: existence, life, knowledge and power. In fact, according to al-Djubbāʾī and the majority of the learned men of the school, these four attributes necessarily belong to God through his essence, therefore they are also eternal. His knowledge is His being in acts of knowledge (*kawnuhu ʿālim^an*) and the same applies to the other *ṣifāt*. Or furthermore, He knows through a knowledge which is Himself (Abu 'l-Hudhayl), etc. They do not say that He possesses eternal knowledge, but that he has not ceased to be in acts of knowledge (*lam yazal ʿālim^an*), etc. ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān refused to say that God possesses knowledge, any more than He possesses eternity (*ḳidam*); but it may be said that He is eternal (*ḳadīm*). Contrariwise, Ibn Kullāb thought that God is in acts of knowledge through a knowledge belonging to Him, and so on. To say that He is eternal, is to assert that He has not ceased to be in His Names and Attributes (*lam yazal bi-asmāʾihi wa-ṣifātihi*; *Maḳālāt*). The essence of God alone is eternal, not in the sense that it is stripped of all attributes, but on the contrary, clad in all that belong to God. Some of his disciples claimed that God is eternal through an eternity (*ḳadīm bi-ḳidam*), others that He is eternal, but not through an eternity (*ḳadīm lā bi-ḳidam*). We begin to deal here with pure subtleties of language, as in the distinction between the two expressions "God has not ceased to be" and "God has not ceased to be through the eternal attribute of eternity." A passage from the *Maḳālāt* deserves notice, however; "The supporters of the theory of attributes (*aṣḥāb al-ṣifāt*) differ in opinion concerning the attributes of the Creator: are they eternal or have they had an origin? Some say that they are eternal. Others declare: "If we say that the Creator is eternal in His attributes, we do not need to say that His attributes are eternal; so we say neither that they are eternal, nor that they have had an origin." According to al-Tāhānawī, Abū Hāshim added a fifth eternal attribute to the four abovementioned; holiness (*al-ilāhiyya*), which is distinct from essence. This is reminiscent of the *divinitas* of the 12th century theologian of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée. It is no doubt to this thesis that ʿAbd al-Djabbār alludes when he writes that, according to Abū Hāshim, the attributes belong to God necessarily, and by virtue of that to which he confirms in his essence (*li-mā Huwa ʿalayhi fī dhātihi*). So it is through divinity that these attributes are eternal. For Sulaymān b. Djarīr and other Ṣifātiyya, the attributes belong to God necessarily through "notions (*li-maʿānī*) which can be qualified neither by existence nor non-existence, nor by origin nor eternity" (*Sharḥ*). It is the concept of notional attribute (*ṣifa maʿnawiyya*), a term that has been translated variously as "essential", "qualitative", or even "entitative". It is nothing other than the qualification made necessary by the notion that one has of God. *Maʿnā* is always a notion signifying *cum fundamento in re*. The attribute *maʿnawī* therefore is not essence; neither is it a "thing" in God. It is that which the reality of God demands that one says of God. But, here too, that which is eternal is God and his essence, and the *ṣifa maʿnawiyya* escapes all ontological alternatives. Nevertheless, according to ʿAbd al-Djabbār, certain disciples of Ibn Kullāb reified the *maʿānī* and considered them to be eternal; for them the four aforementioned attributes are fitting to God by means of the *maʿānī azaliyya*, which may be translated by "eternal entities". (We may note with ʿAbd al-Djabbār that here *azalī* has the sense of *ḳadīm*, as often happens.) The *Ḳāḍī* points out however that these Kullābiyya did not dare employ this formula in its absolute sense, so as not to run counter to the unanimity of the Muslims over the denial of co-eternal attributes.

From the same root as *ḳidam* is the 5th form *maṣdar*, *taḳaddum*, which occurs in a very interesting commentary by Rāzī on Ḳurʾān, LVII, 3: "He is First and Last". The word *taḳaddum* (antecedence) has several meanings: (1) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-taʾthīr* where the antecedent exercises an influence over the consequent, for example, the movement of the finger entails that of the ring; (2) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-ḥādja*, based on the need which the consequent has of the antecedent; thus the number one is anterior to the number two without being its cause; (3) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-sharaf*, according to worth; thus Abū Bakr has precedence over ʿUmar; (4) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-martaba*, according to a hierarchical order, either sensible, such as the place of the *imām* in prayers before the faithful who pray; or rational, such as the place of the genus in relation to the species; (5) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-zamān*, temporal anteriority or *ḳabliyya*; to which al-Rāzī adds (6) "But I think that there is a sixth division which is *like* the anteriority of certain parts of time in relation to others; this anteriority is not temporal, otherwise it would be necessary for time to develop another time, to the point of infinity. Thus the present would be within another present which would be within a third present... and all these presents would be present at the present moment (*kulluhā ḥāḍira fī hādhā 'l-ān*). But the ensemble of these moments would be posterior to the ensemble of past moments, to the extent that there would be another time for the ensemble of times (*madjmūʿ al-azmina*), which is absurd, for, being a time, it would have to enter into the ensemble of times. Consequently, it would be both within and outside this ensemble, which is impossible. "Furthermore, this anteriority of parts of time in relation to one another is not an anteriority according to causality, nor according to need, otherwise they would co-exist; evidently it is not according to worth, nor according to space. It is therefore a sixth kind of *taḳaddum*. Now the Ḳurʾān shows that God is First (Primus, not prior) for all that is not Him, and al-Rāzī shows here that this qualification only fits the necessary, first and unique Being, for all that is not Him is possible (*mumkin*) and the possible exists only through origin: it is *muḥdath*. But what is the nature of this divine anteriority? It is not owed to an act of influence, for the agent and the patient are relative one to another and co-existent. It is not a priority founded on need, since the precedence here is absolute. It is not a precedence owed to worth, for it cannot be said that God is more worthy or more noble (*ashraf*) than possible, since He is incomparable (although in one sense, necessary existence implies a fulness of being besides which the existence of the possible is deficient). As for anteriorities according to time or space, they have no meaning for God, because time and space are possibles which depend on an origin.

God, being anterior to the totality of times, is not anterior according to time, otherwise the divine anteriority would have to enter into the ensemble of times, since it would be a time; but it would have to be exterior to it, because it would contain them all and that which contains is other than what is contained. This would be an absurdity. Apparently al-Rāzī is proposing, in so far as concerns God, a sixth kind of anteriority which is not without analogies to the anteriorities of parts of time in relation to one another. However, these are not identical and that is why al-Rāzī, when introducing his sixth division, does not say it is, but only that it is *like* ... In conclusion, we know that God is First in a universal manner (*ʿalā sabīl al-idjmāl*), not in a detailed manner (*ʿalā sabīl al-tafṣīl*). As for grasping the reality of this priority (*awwaliyya*), human intelligences have not the means, since they cannot escape temporal forms. We may note that a similar division of *taḳaddum* is to be found in the *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* of al-Ghazālī, except that the *taḳaddum bi 'l-ḥādja* is called *taḳaddum bi 'l-ṭabʿ*, in a case where the antecedent is not suppressed by the suppression of the consequent, but the consequent is suppressed by the suppression of the antecedent (as with a series of numbers), and except that *taḳaddum bi 'l-taʾthīr* bears the name *taḳaddum bi 'l-dhāt* (in the relation of cause to effect).

The doctrine of the eternity of the world [see ABAD] was upheld in Islam only by the *falāsifa*, directly following the systems of thought of the Greek philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Philo of Alexandria, Proclus, and John Philoponos the Grammarian. The two *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī and of Ibn Rushd deal with it in a detailed fashion. The fundamental argument is that it is impossible to conceive a temporal beginning to the world, a moment of time in which it was created, in such a way that an empty time preceded the creation. In fact, if, as Aristotle maintains, time is the numerical measurement of movement (a theory taken up by the *falāsifa*, see ḤARAKA), movement demanding a mobile thing, moving bodies, the physical world and in particular the stars, then it is impossible for time to have existed before the existence of the world. Furthermore, if it existed, it would be eternal or created. But eternity does not conform with time that is changing and elapsing (*sayalān*): each of its parts is new in relation to the preceding part, and time renews itself (*yatadjaddad*) in every one of its instants. If time is *ḥādith* in each of its parts, it has all the more reason for being so in its totality. So it is created: but then the problem arises: is it created in time and did a time exist before time? That is absurd. This is the argument as taken on the part of the world. On the part of God, given a temporal creation, what did the Creator do before creating. Was He inactive? That is not his nature and it is written (II, 255) that "Neither weariness nor sleep take hold of Him". Besides, if He was first inactive, then active, a change would have taken place in Him, which is inadmissible. What would have induced Him to create at the moment when He undertook His creation? A *muradjdjiḥ*, something which could have turned the scales in the sense of the act of creation? But this *muradjdjiḥ* is eternal or created. If it is eternal, the world must also be eternal, unless some other thing could prevent this *muradjdjiḥ* from acting; this is known as *tark al-muradjdjiḥ*. This *tark* in its turn will be created or uncreated. If it is eternal, there must have been, for creation to have taken place, the intervention of a *tark tark al-muradjdjiḥ*, and so on. If now the *muradjdjiḥ* is created, the question applies to it as to the world.

For their part, the theologians who believe in the creation of the world in time object on the grounds that if the world is eternal, it has no beginning, it has never ceased to exist and consequently it has existed for an infinite period of time. Now, according to an Aristotelian principle, it is impossible to traverse an infinite time. If there is an infinity of instants to traverse in order to arrive at the present instant that exists, it is impossible to arrive there and it does not exist. This is a contradiction. The same reasoning is made in considering the infinite chain of causes: the effect that exists at present could not possibly exist. The difficulty arises from the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. But to say that the world is eternal is to affirm that while remaining in the interior of the world and of the time which is linked to the world, one will never find a moment which could be its first beginning. One will need to go back indefinitely, but not to infinity: in other words, we are dealing here with an indefinite, or in the language of Aristotle, with an infinity in power, not an infinity in action. In short, the objection supposes that the expression "not having a beginning in time" means "having a beginning in infinite time." Besides, an infinity may be traversed if it is contained; between two points on a line, an infinite number of points is traversed. Ibn Sīnā seems to have held this view with regard to the problem of the first cause, analogous to the problem of the first beginning. If one considers the ensemble (*djumla*) of causes within this world, it is clear that each one of them is at once cause and effect. Therefore, one cannot insert into this ensemble a first cause which would be without cause. "Every ensemble of which each unit is an effect caused demands a cause exterior to these units." In such a hypothesis of a causal chain "every series composed of causes and effects, whether finite or infinite, shows itself, if it contains within itself only caused effects, to need a cause that is exterior to it, but is definitely in continuity with it, as with a limit (*tattaṣilu bihā ṭarafan*)". If the components of this ensemble are infinite, we are then dealing with a limited infinite ensemble. That is to say, that in the search for the first cause, it will be seen to stand out as a limit to the infinite which thought can never reach and towards which it strives. But its action does not need to traverse the infinite discontinuity of causes and effects in order to act *hic et nunc*, for, as Ibn Sīnā points out "every cause of an ensemble which is not one of the units of that ensemble is in the first place cause of these units and in consequence cause of the ensemble." Such is one of Ibn Sīnā's points of view on this question, according to the *Ishārāt*. Another objection to the theory of the eternity of the world is based on astronomy. We have an example of it in the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Having declared that to an infinite time one can add nothing, and having thus shown that the infinity of centuries to come adds nothing to the infinity of centuries passed, Ibn Ḥazm writes: "In its circular orbit, Saturn makes one revolution in thirty years, and it has never ceased to turn. The greatest sphere, in these thirty years, makes approximately 11,000 revolutions, and it has never ceased to turn. Now beyond any doubt, 11,000 revolutions is greater than one alone. Consequently, that which is infinite will be approximately 11,000 times greater than that which is infinite, which is absurd." This is a

crucial variation on the same theme: the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. The reasoning of Ibn Ḥazm is ingenious, but it ignores the powers of the infinite.

And what of the end of the world? Plato apart, the philosophers held the view that that which has a beginning has an end, and correspondingly that which has no beginning has no end. From a creationist perspective, one could, however, admit that God will not destroy that which He has created, in such a way that the world could have been created, but eternal *a parte post*. For the philosophers, the universe cannot perish, but a part of it may disappear. For the theologians who believe in the end of the world, there remain Paradise and Hell which are eternal in the sense of *abadī*; in fact, it is written that the Chosen and the Damned shall dwell there eternally (*hum fīhā khālidūn*, as the Ḳurʾān says in a number of places). But on the basis of the verse where God describes Himself as the Last, Djahm b. Ṣafwān supposed that Paradise and Hell shall also have an end, and he found a confirmation of his theory in verses 107 and 108 of Sūra XI, "To dwell there eternally as long as the heavens and the earth remain". Thus God will find Himself as absolutely alone in post-eternity as he was in pre-eternity.

Bibliography: See the bibl. to ABAD. Texts which should be especially consulted: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*; Bāḳillānī, *K. al-Tamhīd*; Djuwaynī, *K. al-Irshād*; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, ch. on those who say that the world is eternal; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, 4th principle, 1st question: explanation of the number of the eternal (*azaliyya*) attributes. Studies and articles: M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins*, Beirut 1965; R. Arnaldez, *La pensée religieuse d'Averroès*, in *SI*, vii (1957); idem, *Introd. to the De aeternitate mundi of Philo of Alexandria*, with Fr. tr. of J. Pouilloux, Paris 1969; E. Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt*, Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1965.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

ḲIFṬ, ḲUFṬ, ḲAFṬ, ancient Coptos, a small town of Upper Egypt situated where the Nile approaches its closest to the Red Sea (some 40 km. north of the ruins of Thebes, and about 2 km. to the east of the river). In Pharaonic times it was connected with the exploitation of the minerals in the hills between the Nile and Red Sea and with trade through the eastern part of Egypt, and enjoyed its greatest florescence in the Greek and Roman periods. Strabo describes the organisation of traffic up the Nile to Coptos, then by caravan across the desert to the Red Sea, and calls it a "town inhabited by the Egyptians and the Arabs together". In fact, it was a centre of attraction for the peoples of the eastern desert coming to trade there, above all, for the Bedja [*q.v.*], who doubtless received from there their Christianity; a bishop of the Bedja resided at Coptos-Ḳifṭ. It formed the centre of a pagarchy, then of a *kūra*, but then the position of Ḳifṭ as a starting-point for tracks to the Red Sea (in 132/750 some members of the Umayyad family fled there temporarily, probably with the intention of escaping) lost importance when the mainstream of oriental trade started using the Persian Gulf instead.

The tribes of the Nile-Red Sea deserts started attacking the Nile valley; Ḳifṭ was plundered with impunity in 204/819 by the Bedja, who were still Christian, and not till 212/828 was a rampart constructed to protect the settlement. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, al-Masʿūdī wrote that Ḳūṣ was more important than Ḳifṭ, whose lapse into disfavour he connects with the distance of the Nile channel from the town. In fact, the skilful traders of Ḳūṣ had been able to benefit by the river, the only commercial axis still flourishing, because of the commerce with Nubia, whilst the tracks were all deserted; when they were utilised once more, with the revival of oriental trade under the Fāṭimids in the 5th/11th century, Ḳifṭ revived, but by then Ḳūṣ had assumed the first place, by now a provincial capital. Ḳifṭ nevertheless acquired a numerous, mixed population, especially as relations with the Ḥidjāz had over a long period led to the settlement there of ʿAlid families. It was no doubt their influence which explains the considerable expansion there of Shīʿism and its fidelity to the Fāṭimids after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's assumption of power; a conspiracy, leading to a revolt in 572/1177, was savagely repressed. Consequently, Ḳifṭ left to Ḳūṣ the task of imposing the Sunnī counterrevolution on the Ṣaʿīd. The departure of certain families from the town (e.g. that of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī) is probably to be connected with these events; Ḳifṭ does not seem to have had a *madrasa* like the other small towns of Upper Egypt, and it soon lost its *ḳāḍī* (it passed under the jurisdiction of the representative of the *ḳāḍī* of Ḳūṣ). Its territory remained a *waḳf* whose revenue went to support the *sharīf*s of Mecca. In the Mamlūk period, Ḳifṭ was nothing more than a small agricultural centre in a countryside where the cultivation of sugar cane provided the main means of livelihood, and it has remained thus to the present day.

Bibliography: Strabo, *Geography*, ed. Muller, ii, 664-5, 692; Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 98; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 50; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 51-2, tr. 49-50; Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 48; *Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, in *Patrol. Orient.*, iii, 499-504; Yāḳūt, iv, 152; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 106-11; Ibn al-Djīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya*, Cairo 1899, 195; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités, descriptions*, ii, 63; ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv, 104; Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 148. (J.-C. GARCIN)

AL-ḲIFṬĪ [see IBN AL-ḲIFṬĪ].

KIHĀNA (A.) means divination in general. *Lā kihāna baʿd al-nubuwwa* "there is no divination after the prophetic mission"; if it were necessary to be content with this dictum, frequently repeated in the Tradition, such an article as this would be out of place in an *Encyclopaedia of Islām*. But once the precise sense of this term has been established and the range of concepts which it covers outlined, the reader will agree that it is, on the contrary, far from superfluous.

The word itself, both in terms of the conceptual aspect (*kihāna*) and the pragmatic aspect (*kahāna*) is a legacy, through its root at least, from the earliest Semitic antiquity [see KĀHIN]. Because of this fact, it covers all the concepts and all the practices which are connected, closely or distantly, to the general concept of divination or the art of knowing that which cannot be spontaneously known. The current division of divinatory methods into inductive and intuitive is also to be found in the immense Arab-Islamic corpus of Arab-Islamic mantic literature, without always taking on the nature of a rigid classification, in that the two types of method may overlap or be used concurrently.

It is fruitless to search for a theoretical definition of divination in the impressive mass of divinatory documents contained in the literatures of the Semitic languages, throughout the ancient period. At the most, there are to be found descriptive definitions,

consisting of a list of the techniques which it comprised, according to places and periods. It is such a pragmatic definition which may be drawn from the Arabic documentation reckoned to preserve pre-Islamic traditions.

But in the mediaeval era, with the impact of Greek and Hellenistic philosophical thought, there was born, among the Arabs and the Islamised Iranians, a taste for theoretical definitions and methodical classifications. Already, in the works of a polygraph like al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956) there are recorded a number of attempts at theoretical definitions which have been summarised, by T. Fahd in *La divination arabe*, 43-5; cf. *Murūdj*, iii, 347 ff. = §§ 1233 ff. Some philosophers, such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, have tackled this problem and attempted to elucidate it (cf. *La divination arabe*, 51-63). Then came Ibn Khaldūn who put together all these speculations (*ibid*; 45-51). He emphasises that as a branch of prophetic practice, divination constitutes the lowest echelon. Like prophecy, it is a divine gift entrusted to a privileged group, men and women. In fact, according to al-Ḳazwīnī, there exist illuminated and celestial souls which possess the faculty of knowing the names of the spirits. These are the souls of prophets and saints; they are also the souls of physiognomists, of soothsaying genealogists and of those who see the future by means of past and present events. "As for the souls of the soothsayers", he continues, "they receive spiritual knowledge and see through it the contingencies of beings which appear in dreams and in other manifestations" (i, 317-22; *La divination arabe*, 50-51).

So, divination is seen to be theoretically legitimised by inclusion in the mainstream of prophecy (on divination and prophecy see *La divination arabe*, 63-90). But, for practical purposes, it was necessary to strip it of all that was obsolete and too closely linked to paganism. From that point was born, in Islamic literature, a detailed inventory of divinatory practices, with precise definitions of the techniques listed. In their taste for the classification of knowledge, encyclopaedists and bibliographers finished by conferring upon the concept of divination an epistemological quality. We shall begin with the most detailed classification, that of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 34-5), who draws the data of his inventory from his predecessors, from Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*) to Ṭāshköprüzāde (*Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*).

Islamic divination, a legacy both of ancient Semitic divination and of Hellenistic divination, is divided into three categories:

I. *Firāsa* [*q.v.*], or physiognomancy, and its ramifications. Under this heading, eleven "sciences" are listed:

1. *ʿilm al-shāmāt wa 'l-khīlān* "beauty-spots and birthmarks" (see SHĀMĀT and *La divination arabe*, 390-3).
2. *ʿilm al-asārīr*, "chiromancy" (see AL-KAFF and *La divination arabe*, 393-5).
3. *ʿilm al-aktāf*, "omoplatoscopy" (see AL-KATIF and *La divination arabe*, 395-7).
4. *ʿilm ʿiyāfat* (read *ḳiyāfat*) *al-athar* "observation of footprints (on the ground)" (see ḲIYĀFA and *La divination arabe*, 370-3).
5. *ʿilm ḳiyāfat al-bashar*, "divination by morphoscopic and genealogical lines" (see FIRĀSA and ḲIYĀFA and also *La divination arabe*, 370-90).

6-7-8. *ʿilm al-ihtidāʾ fi 'l-barārī wa 'l-ḳifār*, "the sense of orientation in deserts"; *ʿilm istinbāṭ al-maʿādin* "the detection of minerals"; *ʿilm al-riyāfa*, "the detection of wells". These three categories may be put together under the heading of "divinatory observation of the ground" (see MĀʾ and *La divination arabe*, 403-6).

9. *ʿilm nuzūl al-ghayth* "the knowledge of (signs foretelling) rainfall". This consists in meteorological divination with its various techniques: neromancy, capnomancy, anemoscopy, phyllomancy, brelomancy, etc. (see ANWĀʾ, MALḤAMA and *La divination arabe*, 407-17).
10. *ʿilm al-ʿirāfa*, "knowledge of the future by means of past events". This definition suggest that it is a case *strictu sensu* of inductive divination, although initially *ʿirāfa* implied a certain intuitive, and consequently gnostic and esoteric, awareness (see KĀHIN and *La divination arabe* 113-19).
11. *ʿilm al-ikhtilādj*, "palmomancy" (see IKHTILĀDJ and *La divination arabe*, 397-402).

II. *Siḥr* [*q.v.*] or magic, and its ramifications.

12. *ʿilm al-kihāna*, "divination" (astrological divination, involving incantations and invocations to the stars). Thus the influence of Hellenistic ideas led to the division of divination into two types, traditional divination or *ʿirāfa* and astrological divination, which underwent a great expansion in the Hellenistic period and which the Arabs came to know through the many translations of Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi and Hindu astrological writings (see NUDJŪM and *La divination arabe*, 478-97).
13. *ʿilm al-nīrandjāt*, "white magic" (see NĪRANDJ and T. Fahd, *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, vii (1966), 184 ff.).
14. *ʿilm al-khāwaṣṣ* "knowledge of the properties of divine names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*), of prayers (*daʿāwī*), of numbers (see DJAFR and ḤURŪF) and various other special things" (see KHAWĀṢṢ AL-KURʾĀN; *La divination arabe*, 214-45; *Le monde du sorcier*, 175-6).
15. *ʿilm al-ruḳyā*, "sympathetic actions or sorcery" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier, loc. cit.*).
16. *ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim*, "conjurations of demons or incantations" (see SIḤR and *Le monde du sorcier*, 164-5).
17. *ʿilm al-istiḥḍār*, "the evocation of spirits in physical form" (see ISTINZĀL and *Le monde du sorcier*, 170 ff.).
18. *ʿilm daʿwat al-kawākib* "the invocation of (the spirits of) the planets" (see NUDJŪM and *Le monde du sorcier*, 169 ff.).
19. *ʿilm al-filakṭīrāt* (φυλακτήρια), "the art of making phylacteries" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du du sorcier*, 172 ff.).
20. *ʿilm al-khafāʾ*, "the art of making oneself instantly invisible" (see NĪRANDJ and *Le monde du sorcier*, 184 ff.).
21. *ʿilm al-ḥiyal al-sāsāniyya*, "the art of trickery and forgery" (see *ibid.*).
22. *ʿilm al-kashf ad-dakk*, "the art of disclosing frauds" (see *ibid.*).
23. *ʿilm al-shaʿbadha*, "conjury" (see *ibid.*).
24. *ʿilm taʿalluḳ al-ḳalb*, "charms" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.).
25. *ʿilm al-istiʿāna bi-khawāṣṣ al-adwiya*, "the art of employing the properties of drugs" (see ADWIYA).

III. Judicial astrology (see NUDJŪM) and its ramifications.

26. *ʿilm al-ikhtiyārāt*, "hemerologies and menelogies (see IKHTIYĀRĀT and *La divination arabe*, 483-8).
27. *ʿilm al-raml*, "geomancy" (see KHAṬṬ and *La divination arabe*, 195-204).
28. *ʿilm al-faʾl*, "omens" (see FAʾL, ʿIYĀFA; *La divination arabe*, 431-519).
29. *ʿilm al-ḳurʿa*, "rhapsodomancy" (see ḲURʿA; *La divination arabe*, 214-19).

30. *ʿilm al-ṭīra*, "ornithomancy" (see FAʾL, ʿIYĀFA; *La divination arabe*, 431 ff., 498-519).

As can be seen, in this inventory, Islamic divination avails itself of methods belonging to magic and astrology. A single term embraces all these arts: *ʿilm al-g̲h̲ayb*, "the art of apprehending the invisible". Any method permitting the acquisition of supernatural knowledge or assumed to do so is considered as relevant to divination.

IV. The disciplines omitted in this inventory.

31. Divination by dreams (see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYĀ; *La divination arabe*, 247-367; Fahd, *Les songes et leur interpretation selon d'Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, ii (1959), 127-58. The absence of oneiromancy among the divinatory techniques is justified by the fact that it occupies in Islam a higher place than that of divination in the sphere of religious inspiration. It is closer to prophecy, of which it constitutes one of the forty (or forty-six) parts (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 343), while divination is the lowest echelon.

32-4. Among cleromantic practices, only rhapsodomancy and geomancy are mentioned. (32) Belomancy (see ISTIḲSĀM; *La divination arabe*, 181-8), (33) lithoboly (see RAMY AL-D̲J̲IMĀR; *La divination arabe*, 188-95), (34) *maysir* (see AL-MAYSIR; *La divination arabe*, 204-14).

The absence of these practices in the above inventory is due to the fact that they were associated with pagan culture and they were for this reason prohibited in the Ḳurʾān.

35-41. The use of the oracle (in its various forms: *sadjʿ*, *rad̲j̲az*, *hātif* [*q.vv.*], ventriloquism, and necromancy; see, *La divination arabe*, 148-9), which was still popular in pre-Islamic Arabia, (36) extispiciny, (37) hepatoscopy, (38) teratomancy, (39) medical diagnoses, (40) lecanomancy, (41) ordeal, mantic disciplines much used in ancient Mesopotamia, are present only as vague survivals in Islamic divinatory literature (cf. the index of techniques and ideas in *La divination arabe*, 591-3, and J. Nougayrol, *La divination babylonienne*, in *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, i, 28-81).

If the diviner ceased officially to exist in Islam, divination survived, but considerably changed, adapted progressively to the taste of the period and enriched by new Hellenistic, Iranian and Hindu practices, to which were added the local practices of the conquered territories. At the end of this period of adaptation and enrichment, Islamic divination progressively lost its primitive oracular nature to become a τέχνη, an art or a science (*ʿilm*). It is thus, for example, that to belomancy, condemned by the Ḳurʾān because of the its connections with paganism, there succeeded *ʿilm al-ḳurʿa* or rhapsodomancy, *ʿilm al-d̲j̲afr* and *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* or onomatomancy, *ʿilm k̲h̲awāṣṣ al-Ḳurʾān*, a combination of rhapsodomancy and iatromancy, *ʿilm al-raml* or geomancy and *ʿilm al-zāʾird̲j̲a*, a sort of machine for producing omens. To oneiromancy, in the sense of dream-messages received directly from the divinity by a man or by his substitute and often expressed in explicit language, there succeeded *ʿilm al-taʿbīr* or oneirocriticism. To *ḳiyāfa* or physiognomancy, there succeeded *ʿilm al-firāsa* or physiognomony and the ramifications indicated above. The sphere of *faʾl* or omens was enriched by the transition of the Arabs from a nomadic to a sedentary culture, while preserving nevertheless, its original structure, especially where ornithomancy was concerned (cf. *La divination arabe*, 525-6).

Islamic divination resembles a crucible in which the divinatory practices of Semitic and Hellenistic antiquity were fused. The rich divinatory literature written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish conveys an imposing heritage the study of which will contribute to a better understanding of ancient and mediaeval *Weltanschauungen*.

Bibliography: It is impossible to give here all the relative bibliographical items, but see for these T. Fahd, *La divination arabe, études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, cf. esp. 529-65. Amongst more general works, there are A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and divination among the Hebrews and other Semites*, London 1938, French tr. Paris 1941; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945; J. Maxwell, *La divination*, Paris 1927; J. Nougayrol and contributors, *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les regions voisines*, Paris 1966; A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, *La divination*, i-ii, Paris 1968. See also the bibls. of the various articles quoted within the present article.

(T. FAHD)

ḲĪḲĀN / KĪKĀN [see KILĀT].

KILĀB B. RABĪʿA, an Arab tribe belonging to the group of tribes called ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*]. The territories and pre-Islamic history of the tribe are described in that article. Kilāb was considered to have ten main divisions, of which the chief for a time was D̲j̲aʿfar b. Kilāb, from which came leaders of the whole of ʿĀmir. The most serious war of the Fid̲j̲ār [*q.v.*] resulted from the killing of ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl of Kilāb by al-Barrāḍ b. Ḳays al-Kinānī. Divisions within the tribe are reflected in hostility to the Muslims and friendship with them. Two men of Kilāb joined in attacking the Muslims at Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*]; but al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān became a Muslim and both called on his tribe to accept Islam and raided a recalcitrant section (al-Ḳurṭāʾ).

Bibliography: Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, index; al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, i, 340; al-Wāḳidī, ed. J. M. Jones, 349, 534, 805, 886-8, 973, 982; *Naḳāʾid D̲j̲arīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A. A. Bevan, esp. 662 ff.

(W. M. WATT)

KILĀT, KALĀT, KELĀT, the name of a town and of an extensive region, formerly a K̲h̲ānate, of Balūčistān, now a District of Pakistan.

(1) The town (often called Kalāt-i Balūč to distinguish it from the Afg̲h̲ān Kalāt-i G̲h̲ilzay) lies in lat. 28° 53′ N. and long. 66° 28′ E. at an altitude of 6,800 feet, and has in recent centuries been the centre of the K̲h̲ānate of Kalāt; until the rise of Quetta as a military base of British India [see KWAṬṬA] it was the most important town of Balūčistān. The name Kalāt or Kilāt represents Arabic *ḳalʿa* and Persian *ḳala/ḳalāt*, often pronounced *kilā/kilāt* in Indo-Muslim usage; in Balūčī we have *k̲h̲ilāt* "fortress, citadel", cf. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 480, s.v. *khelát*, this last being the form of the name usually found in Anglo-Indian sources of the period. On locally-minted coins we find the name of the town both as *K.lāt* and as *Ḳ.lāt* (W. H. Valentine, *The copper coins of India*, London 1914, ii, 223).

In earlier times, the town was known as Kalāt-i Sēwa, from a legendary Hindu king, or as Kalāt-i Ničārī, after the local Brahūī tribe of Ničārīs. The name is not found in any of the early Islamic histo-

rians and geographers, but it is very probable that Kalāt marks the site of mediaeval Kīzkānān or Ḳīḳān, judging by the latter's position in the itineraries; it seems to be the Ki-kiangna of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuentsang (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 275-6). Ḳīḳān and Būḳān were raided by the Arab commander Sinān b. Salama al-Hudhalī and then by al-Mundhir b. al-Djārūd al-ʿAbdī as early as Muʿāwiya's caliphate (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433-4). In the 4th/10th century, Kīzkānān is named as the residence of the local ruler of the region of Ṭūrān (on which see Minorsky in *EI* [1] s.v.), whom Ibn Ḥawḳal [2], 324, tr. Kramers-Wiet 317-8, calls Muʿtazz b. Aḥmad, adding that he recognised the ʿAbbāsids in his *khuṭba* (a point probably made by Ibn Ḥawḳal because the adjacent province of Sind at this time acknowledged the Fāṭimids and the Ismāʿīlī imāmate). However, the capital of the region was located not long afterwards at Ḳuṣdār, modern Khuzdār, 80 miles to the south of Kīzkānān/Kalāt [see ḲUṢDĀR]. In the early Ghaznawid period, it is recorded that Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd went lion-hunting in the district of Kīkānān (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 126).

Since approximately the 9th/15th century, Kalāt has been in the hands of Brahūīs of the Kambarānī tribe, from whome the later Aḥmadzay Khāns of Kalāt were descended. In the 18th century, the Khāns recognised the suzerainty of Nādir Shāh Afshār and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*qq.v.*] during their Indian campaigns, and their power in Balūčistān grew. The greatest of the chiefs of this period, Naṣīr Khān b. ʿAbd Allāh, tried to shake off Afghān control, and though Aḥmad Shāh defeated him in battle, the latter was unable to take Kalāt town from Naṣīr Khān, despite three attempts (1172/1758). It was Naṣīr Khān who built the citadel of Kalāt, known as the Mīrī, which became the Khān's palace. We possess descriptions of Kalāt during the first half of the 19th century by travellers such as H. Pottinger (1810), who mentions the mud-brick defensive walls pierced with gun-holes and the ample water supply from a spring, which also turned several mills (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 40-51), and C. Masson (1830s), who describes the colony in Kalāt of Bābī Afghāns, expelled thither by Aḥmad Shāh from Ḳandahār, and who numbers the houses there at *ca.* 800, giving a population of say 3-4,000 (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 50-6, 96-8, 177-8).

In 1250/1834 the Afghān ruler Shāh Shudjāʿ al-Mulk took refuge in Kalāt with Miḥrāb Khān b. Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir after his failure to recover Ḳandahār from Kūhandil Khān, governor there for his brother Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. During the First Afghān War (1839-42) Miḥrāb Khān was drawn into conflict with the British force which advanced on Ḳandahār in 1254/1838 through the Bōlān Pass in order to reinstate Shāh Shudjāʿ. Kalāt was stormed in 1255/1839 and the Khān killed in the fighting; the districts of Kaččhī, Shāl and Mustang in the northern part of the Khānate were taken from Kalāt and ceded to Shāh Shudjāʿ, temporarily placed on the throne of Kābul, and British Agent installed in Kalāt. This last was killed by Brahūī tribesmen soon afterwards, leading to a second British occupation in 1257/1841. The ceded territories were now returned to the Khān, and with the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Panjab in 1849, British influence was brought right up to the frontiers of the Khanāte. The Khāns themselves suffered several decades of disputed authority and tribal turmoil, till in 1876 the Government of India was compelled to intervene, and Capt. (later Sir Robert) Sandeman negotiated an agreement between the Khān and rival chiefs, making Kalāt a protected native state, with a British Political Agent to be henceforth stationed at Quetta. The northern *taḥṣīls* of the Khānate, Quetta, Nushkī and Naṣīrābād were leased to Britain in perpetuity, to form British Balūčistān, and the right to levy transit dues at the Bōlān Pass commuted for an annual subsidy (see T. H. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 39-87, 117-82, etc.). Even so, further intervention was necessary in 1893, when the tyrannical Mīr Khudādād b. Miḥrāb was deposed from his Khānate by the Government of India.

The earthquake of 1935 affected Kalāt badly, as well as Quetta and Mustang, demolishing most of the old town and causing widespread economic damage through destruction of the irrigation *kārīzs* [see ḲANĀT]. In 1940 strained relations and clashes between the Khān of Kalāt and the chief of Khārān [*q.v.*] to the northwest of Kalāt led to the recognition of Khārān as a separate native state under the control of the British Political Agent. Early in 1948 the Khān of Kalāt acceded to Pakistan and his Khānate became part of the Balūčistān States Union, with the Khān no longer an independent ruler but enjoying a privy purse from the central government.

(2) The province. This included by the 18th century the districts of Sarawān, Djahlawān, Kaččhī and Makrān, and the tributary states of Las Bēla and Khārān. In 1955 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, and Kalāt became a separate District under a Deputy Commissioner, whilst Khārān, Makrān and Las Bēla formed separate Districts. Kalāt District is today the biggest in area of all Pakistan, covering 30,931 sq. miles in area and with a population, made up of Brahūīs, Balūč, Jhāts, etc., of 341,420 (1961 census).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KILĀT (KALĀT)-I **NĀDIRĪ**, "the most famous fort of Central Asia", located some 70 miles north of Mashhad near the Irano-Soviet border, on a spur of the Ḳarādja-Dāgh Mts. Kalāt-i Nādirī consists of a high valley (altitude 2,500-3,000 feet), some twenty miles long and running west-east, which is converted into a natural fortress by walls of virtually unscalable rock to the north and south. The height of the southern rampart is 700-800 ft; the northern rampart is even higher. These walls are breached at only five points: Darband-i Arghūn on the south-west; Nafta on the north; Kushtanī Darband on the south-east; Čūbast on the west; and Dihča on the north-west.

In 683/1284, the rebellious Mongol prince Arghūn took refuge there after his defeat at the hands of

the Ilkhān Tekūder. In 782/1380-1, Tīmūr launched numerous assaults on Kalāt-i Nādirī without success; the fortress eventually fell as a result of pestilence. In 1153/1741, Nādir Shāh, who had previously used Kalāt-i Nādirī as the headquarters from which he set out to free Iran from the Afghāns, chose it as the site for the treasure-house in which he deposited the loot from his Indian campaign; the treasure-house was built by Indian craftsmen from massive blocks of Marāgha marble. After Nādir's death, his son Riḍā Ḳulī and fifteen members of his family were executed at Kalāt-i Nādirī by the future ʿĀdil Shāh.

Today, Kalāt-i Nādirī has reverted to its earlier name of Kalāt, and constitutes one of the five bakhshs of the shahristān of Darragaz.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

ḲİLBURUN (Ḳinburun), a sharp cape or headland at the mouth of Dnieper (Özi) river on the Black Sea coast of South Russia; this Turkish name was given to it by the Turks because it looked as slender as a single hair (*ḳıl*). It lies at 2 sea miles's distance from the fortress of Özi or Oczakof, and at the tip of the cape was a fortress built by the Ottomans. Within the Ḳılburun promontory is an inner estuary 40 km. long and 8-10 km. wide (P. Minas Bijişkyan, *Karadeniz tarih ve coğrafyasi*, tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969, 100). The salt obtained from the lakes in the vicinity of Ḳılburun increased its importance economically.

Ḳılburun came into prominence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century as a result of the Cossack invasions towards the Black Sea coastlands (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 72, 103), hence fortresses were built in various places, including Ḳılburun, against Cossack raids (Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 152). The one constructed at Ḳılburun had a staff of 193 persons (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 4891). It became of especial strategic importance to the Ottomans when the Russians started descending the rivers to the Black Sea, and major reconstructions were accordingly undertaken in 1709 and 1733-4 (Muzaffar Erdoğan, *Lale devri Mimarı Kayserili Mehmed Ağa*, Istanbul 1962, 58-9, 81). In time of war, the Ḳılburun garrison worked in collaboration with the garrison of Özi (Oczakof) opposite to it, in defence of the mouth of the Dniepr. The Russians succeeded in capturing Ḳılburun for a while during the 1736-8 Ottoman-Russian war, but were later obliged to return it after demolishing it. The fort was again captured in 1772 during the 1768-74 Ottoman-Russian war, and this fact was accepted by Turkey at the settlement of Küčük Kaynardja. Ottoman forces which tried to recapture it during the 1787-91 war failed decisively to do so (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 32). Ḳılburun fort was occupied by a French force on 17th January 1855 during the Crimean War, but finally demolished by Russia in 1860. Ḳılburun, on which there is a small fishing village, is now within the Ukrainian SSR.

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(C. ORHONLU)

ḲILĪD AL-BAḤR [see ČANAḲ-ḲALE BOGHAZI].

ḲILĪDJ ALAYI [see TAḲLĪD-I SAYF].

ḲILĪDJ ʿALĪ PASHA [see ʿULŪDJ ʿALĪ].

ḲILĪDJ ARSLAN I, also known to the Crusaders, like his father, under the name Sulaymān/Soliman, son of Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush [*q.v.*], second Saldjūḳ prince of Asia Minor. At an early age, he was in Antioch when his father was killed in battle fighting Tutush [*q.v.*], and he was handed over as a hostage to Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] who conquered Syria in 1086. On the death of the latter (1092) he managed to escape, and arrived in Nicaea, his father's former residence, where he seems without much difficulty to have had himself accepted as sovereign by the semi-autonomous Turcoman chieftains who were waging against Byzantium a policy of entente with the Basileus, who for his part, threatened on all his frontiers, sought to use against his other opponents those of the Turks whom he hoped gradually to assimilate or to neutralise. Ḳılıdj Arslan was especially anxious to maintain relations with the Turkish East, which other Turks, in particular the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] were threatening to cut off. In summoning his father to Nicaea, Alexis Comnenus had in effect brought his Turks far in advance of what then was still the principal zone of Turcoman population.

It was in these circumstances that the Crusades intervened, enabling Alexis temporarily to abandon the task of dealing with the Turks. Ḳılıdj Arslan crushed the Peasant Crusade of Peter the Hermit, but was subsequently forced to give up Nicaea, along with his harem, to the Barons' Crusade, and was later beaten by the Christians again on the edge of the Anatolian plateau at Dorylaeum. These victories of the Christians enabled Alexis Comnenus to regain control of the entire Aegean coast of Asia Minor; but the Crusaders did not stay in Asia Minor, and the Turkish forces, who being still semi-nomadic in character had been repelled but not destroyed, returned behind the backs of the Crusaders. The danger had furthermore led to a temporary reconciliation between Ḳılıdj Arslan and Dānishmend, which led to the annihilation, in 1100-1, of the rearguard troops of the Crusaders, an operation in which Dānishmend, it is true, played the more significant role; the latter, at the head of his troops, deprived the Franco-Armenians of the strategic centre of Malatya, vital to Ḳılıdj Arslan's links with the East. Also, when Dānishmend died in 1104, Ḳılıdj Arslan, who had become reconciled with the Greeks to the point of sending them contingents to fight other enemies (1106), came and occupied the place.

From there he was able to control Upper Mesopotamia, where the lieutenants of his Eastern Saldjūḳ cousins were in conflict with one another. When the enemies of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]

appealed to him for help, he confronted the army of the latter on the Khābūr, and was killed (1107). This was for a long time the last intervention by the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the East, and the roughly-constituted Turkish state was definitively enclosed within Asia Minor proper.

Bibliography: The sources include Anna Comnena, Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian and the Latin historians of the First Crusade; the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr and the chroniclers of Syria (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ in the unedited part of Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ed. S. Dahan) and of al-Djazīra (Ibn al-Azraḳ, unedited).

The modern bibliography is given in Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, and O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, Ankara 1971). (CL. CAHEN)

ḲILĪDJ ARSLAN II, son and successor of Masʿūd I, and one of the most important sultans of Rūm (1155-92).

Masʿūd had, in dealing with the Greeks, succeeded in restoring the position of the Saldjūḳs in relation to the Dānishmendids who were divided by quarrels over the succession. Ḳilīdj Arslan at first maintained this policy, and carried it to the extent of offering the Basileus Manuel Comnenus at Constantinople in 1162 a form of allegiance which, in concrete terms, cost him nothing. He was then able to make himself master of a portion of the Dānishmendid possessions, and he would have taken them all had he not been confronted by the powerful ruler of Muslim Syria, Nūr al-Dīn. The latter, champion of the Holy War against the Christians, pretended indignation at Ḳilīdj Arslan's relations with the Greeks. The two princes in fact were alternately allied and at odds, Ḳilīdj Arslan helping Nūr al-Dīn to deprive the Franks of their possessions on the Syro-Anatolian frontiers with the object of sharing them with his rival, and Nūr al-Dīn extending his power over this territory as soon as the Saldjūḳ sultan withdrew. The conquest of Egypt by Nūr al-Dīn's lieutenants Shīrkūh and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn crowned his glory, and Ḳilīdj Arslan's enemies persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to undertake an expedition into Asia Minor which forced Ḳilīdj Arslan to recognise what remained of Dānishmendid territories. On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, he annexed them (Malatya in 1177) thus accomplishing, from the Byzantine territories in the West almost to the furthest limits of the East, the political unity of Asia Minor.

He no longer needed to deal with the Greeks, and on his side, Manuel Comnenus, though strengthened by the general success of his foreign policy, was uneasy at the growing power of the sultan, and decided that he must put an end to it. In 1176, at the head of a powerful army, he advanced on to the Anatolian plateau, but was crushed at Myriokephalon. This was, after an interval of a century, a replica of Mantzikert, which showed that henceforward there existed a Turkey which could never be further assimilated. If Ḳilīdj Arslan showed moderation in his official policy, the pressure of Turcomans on the frontiers led him to reach out to the upper valleys of the Aegean coast and, in spite of opposition from Rhodes, to the sea itself.

This expansion could not take place without risk. Trouble with the Turcomans, breaking out to the east of the Saldjūḳ State, grew more intense, with these Turcomans supplying troops ready to serve any ambitious chief. Whether for this reason or not, Ḳilīdj Arslan divided the territories under his suzerainty between his nine sons, a brother and a nephew. Needless to say, the latter quarrelled among themselves and one of them, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, with support from some Turcomans, forced his aged father to accept his protection at Konya. These events were interrupted by the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa; the latter, an enemy of the Byzantines, had established diplomatic relations with Ḳilīdj Arslan who, indifferent to Syro-Palestinian affairs, was inclined to promise him free passage. But Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's Turcomans attacked the Germans, who converged on Konya (1190). Shortly after, the old sultan succeeded in escaping from the semi-captivity in which his son was holding him, and took refuge with another of his sons, the son of a Greek mother, who was established on the western borders. It was there that he died, at the age of seventy-seven.

Bibliography: Sources include the Byzantine writers Cinnamos and Nicetas Choniatus, the Armenians Matthew of Edessa and Gregory the Priest, Michael the Syrian, and the Arab authors cited in the preceding Bibliography. References to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in *ibid.* and in N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, Damascus 1968. (CL. CAHEN)

ḲILĪDJ ARSLAN III, the young son of the sultan of Rūm Rukn al-Dīn, who reigned only a few months (1204-5), after which the majority of the *amīrs*, worried at the general dangers inherent in the rule of a minor, deposed him in favour of Kay Khusraw I [*q.v.*].

ḲILĪDJ ARSLAN IV, better known by his *laḳab* of Rukn al-Dīn, one of the sons and successors of Khusraw II (1246). It was at the beginning of the period of the Mongol protectorate that, the three sons of the late sovereign all being minors, the senior *amīrs*, in order to safeguard the unity of the state, sought to install, under their own executive power, a sultanate shared jointly between the three young princes; Ḳilīdj Arslan was sent on a mission to the Mongol chief Batu to persuade him to accept this solution. This very mission alone established a special relationship between Ḳilīdj Arslan and the Mongols, and for many years two opposing parties were in conflict; the one, taking him as its figure-head, believing that the only possible course of action was to submit to the Mongols, the other, rallying behind his brother ʿIzz al-Dīn, seeking to organise resistance with the aid of the Turcomans of the West and in alliance with the Byzantines. Successive schisms resulted, leading on each occasion to a division, temporary at first, between the territories in the east, favouring the Mongols who were close by, awarded to Ḳilīdj Arslan, and those of the west, left to ʿIzz al-Dīn. United for the last time in 1260, the two brothers participated in a campaign against Syria under the orders of the Mongol chief Hülegü. Eventually, ʿIzz al-Dīn fled to Constantinople, and Ḳilīdj Arslan remained sole sultan. This did not mean that he exercised power; power in fact belonged to the *perwāne* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, the favourite of the Mongols. When Ḳilīdj Arslan came of age and showed resentment towards him, the *perwāne* had him strangled (1265).

Bibliography: Sources include the Muslim historians of Anatolia Ibn Bībī, Aḳsarāyī and the anonymous author from Konya of the *Saldjūḳ-nāma*; the Arabic historians Baybars al-Manṣūrī (unedited) and Yūnīnī; and the Syriac one Bar Hebraeus. General references to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in the previous Bibliographies. (CL. CAHEN)

KILIFI, headquarters of Kilifi District in the Coast Province of Kenya, in lat. 4° S, is a small port which was an independent sultanate until 1592, including the present Kioni, Kitoka and Mnarani. The large Friday mosque, the wealthy *décor* of the adjacent tombs, and the walls and gatehouse, show that Mnarani was the chief amongst these settlements in medieval times. The cemetery is noteworthy for eleven inscriptions in 15th century *naskhī* script. Excavations by J. S. Kirkman in 1954 showed that the site was occupied from the end of the 14th century until some time in the 17th century when, as Capt. W. F. W. Owen recorded in 1833, it was destroyed by Galla tribesmen. The Sultan of Kilifi sent an ambassador to greet the Turkish commander Amīr ʿAlī Bey at Mombasa in 1586, and in 1589 joined him against the Portuguese in Mombasa. Following a long feud with Malindi, Kilifi was razed by the Portuguese with local allies in 1592, but recovered. It was to Kilifi that Sultan al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad of Mombasa withdrew in protest against the Portuguese Captain of Mombasa's exactions in 1612.

Bibliography: J. Strandes, *The Portuguese period in East Africa* (1899), ed. J. S. Kirkman, 2nd edn., Nairobi 1968; E. Axelson, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600*, Cape Town 1973; J. S. Kirkman, *Mnarani of Kilifi*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959); P. S. Garlake, *Early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); Capt. W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of voyages*, New York 1833.

(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

ḲILLAWRIYA, Calabria (in Yāḳut is found Ḳillawriya, and in Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Ḳalawriya, both of these close to the Byzantine Καλαβρία, Kalavria, in Italian Calabria).

It is very likely that the Arabs, coming probably from Spain, launched attacks across the sea against certain coastlands of Calabria even before Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] landed in Sicily in 212/827, thus providing the Muslims with a base for military operations against the Italian mainland.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (M. Amari, *BAS*, Leipzig 1857, text 228), followed by Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*, 469), the first serious operation against Calabria took place in 225/839-40. With the capture of Messina in 228/842-3, it became easier for the Muslims of Sicily to undertake devastating raids and lengthy sieges, by means of which they were able to keep the Calabrian territory under continual threat from their incursions. This state of affairs lasted until the time when Constantinople decided to take the offensive and operations for the recovery of this region were entrusted to Nicephorus Phocas, who in 272/885-6 inflicted severe losses on the enemy. The Saracens, however, speedily counter-attacked. Possibly encouraged by the traditional hostility in southern Italy between the Lombard princes and the Byzantine imperial governors, they managed in the course of the following three years to assemble in Sicily a fleet meant for attacking Calabria. Operations began in 275/888, and ended in the waters of Milazzo by the rout of the Byzantine army, the sack of the town of Reggio and the resumption of the raids, henceforth continuous, into the interior of Calabria.

However, it was at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that the Muslim offensive grew more violent, under the stimulus of the savage Aghlabid prince Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm, who had been compelled, as a result of his unbridled despotism, to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh [see AGHLABIDS]; in order to expiate his misdeeds, he undertook a "holy war" in Sicily and Calabria, where he wrought, without any scruples, enormous devastations, attacking persistently Cosenza, before whose walls he died in 289/902.

The first Kalbid [*q.v.*] ruler to resume military operations in Calabria with both regular land and naval forces was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who captured Reggio in 339/950 and built there a mosque, which was however diverted from this usage after only four years; two years later, the same ruler gained a great victory over the Byzantine forces beneath Gerace.

The sequence of raids, sieges and movements of resistance on the part of the Christians continued until the point when, in 372/982, the Emperor Otto II decided to end this situation by simultaneously attacking both the Muslims and the Byzantines, whose troops, in this state of affairs, helped each other against the Frankish ruler. The latter's troops gained an initial success, but had to flee when his army was defeated before Stilo. In the period between this defeat and the occupation of Calabria by the Normans towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Calabrian region was once again the scene of clashes (in the course of the naval battle before Reggio in 395/1005, the Pisans inflicted a defeat on the Muslims), of unusual ententes between Christians and Muslims, and of exhausting trials for the local population, which suffered violent raidings and incursions and was never able to benefit from a stable Muslim régime which, in other places and in more favourable circumstances, was often the mediating force for the transmission of the genuine values intrinsic in its culture.

Bibliography: The texts of the greater part of the Arab geographers (above all, al-Idrīsī), chroniclers and historians, which involve Calabria, may be found in M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 1st Appendix, Leipzig 1875, 2nd Appendix, Leipzig 1887, and *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², ed. C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-9 (cf. the index s.v. Calabria, Reggio, Bruzzano, Gerace, Stilo, Tiriolo and Cosenza).

(U. Rizzitano)

KILLIZ, a town of northern Syria, situated to the north of Aleppo between the two rivers ʿAfrīn and Ḳuwayḳ, north of Aʿzāz and on the road from Aleppo to ʿAyntāb. It was apparently known to the Assyrians, since a letter in cuneiform script (Harper, no. 1037, Brit. Mus. K 13073, obv. 3) mentions a town Ki-li-zi. In Roman times, Killiz was called *Ciliza sive Urmagiganti* (*Itin. Ant.*, ed. Pinder-Parthey, 84). In the mediaeval period it seems to have been of no importance. It is mentioned by Ps. Denys of Tell-Mahré at the time of the revolt against the Patriarch Dionysius in 817. One should read Killiz instead of Kalaz or Shalaz in Bar Hebraeus, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 339, 342, and Killiz instead of Ḥalīf in Michael the Syrian, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Chabot, iii, 23.

The Arab geographers do not seem to mention Killiz. Yāḳūt is somewhat confused. His Ḳilliz (iv, 158, cf. 168) refers to somewhere which he places near Sumaysāṭ or Samosata, but his Killiz (iv, 299) really does mean our Killiz, a town in the *nāḥiya* of ʿAzāz (Aʿzāz) between Aleppo and Antich, and he believes that it should be written Ḳilliz. The place in the region of Samosata is probably not Killiz but al-Kalīs or al-Kalis, which Ḳudāma lists among the frontier settlements of Diyār Bakr and which Ibn Ḥawḳal², 196 (1st edn., 131) places on the May-

yāfāriḳīn-Malaṭya route, and which is consequently not near to Samosata/Sumaysāṭ but to Shimshāṭ (on this al-Kalīs, see Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 249-50).

Killiz and Mardj Killiz are mentioned in verses of Abū Firās (in regard to Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns), which Yāḳūt also cites (*Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahhān, 115, v. 128, 150, v. 137). Since his successor Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿd al-Dawla neglected to pay tribute owed to Byzantium according to the treaty of 359/969, the Domesticus Bardas Phocas led an expedition into Ḥamdānid territory, stormed Killiz and carried off its inhabitants into captivity. At the time of the Crusades, Killiz fell within the Frankish territories, no doubt after the capture of Aʿzāz by Roger of Antioch in 1118-19, for in 1124 the Turcoman *amīr* Balaḳ, who had become master of Aleppo, attacked Aʿzāz and his troops laid waste the region of Killiz. Killiz presumably fell into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn at the same time as did Aʿzāz, sc. in 1150.

Although Killiz is some distance away from the important meeting-place of routes near Aʿzāz, it has nowadays eclipsed Aʿzāz in importance. The present town is in Turkey (see *Guide bleu* under Killis), and *ca.* 1948 had 24,000 inhabitants; Cuinet had given 20,000 in 1891, 15,000 of which were Muslims. The town was in the 10th/16th century the residence of the Druze Jumblatt family [see DJĀNBULĀṬ]. According to Hartmann, ancient Killiz was the modern Tanzimé Khān, where can still be found enormous pieces of stone, whilst the little garden Ilezī Baghčesi, 20 minutes' journey to the east of Killiz, is traditionally pointed out as being the ancient site of the town or at least of part of it, since it is assumed that Ilezī contains the name Killiz, and there are at that site traces of an ancient settlement.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 158, 299; Sayf al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 440, 508; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ed. Rosen (Rozen), in *Imperator Vasiliy Bolgaroboyca, Izvlečeniya iz letopisi Yakhii Antiokhiyskago*, 19, 166, 171-2 (repr. London 1972), Ar. text, 17; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, in *Patr. Or.*, 415 (207), ed. Cheikho, 165; Canard, *Sayf al-daula, recueil de textes*, 127, 145, 384; *idem*, *H'amdanides*, 224-5, 232, 851; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, i, 392, 513, 574, ii, 101, 147, 567; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps des Croisades*, 139, 298; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 486; M. Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde*, xxix, 485; idem, in *Mitteil. der vorder-asiat.-aegypt. Gesellschaft* (1896), 106; Barthélemy, *Rec. de trav. relatifs à la philol. et à l'archeol. égypt. et assyr.*, 1897, 34 (erroneous identification of Killiz with Kurus-Cyrrhos); Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 185 ff.; R. Hartmann, *Geogr. Nachr. über Palästina und Syrien in Ḫalīl aẓ-Ẓāhirīs Zubda ...*, diss. Tübingen 1907, 63; Meissner, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 266; Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*, 1917, 257 ff.; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, viii, 229, 503, 507; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byz. Reiches*, 95, 104. (M. CANARD)

KILWA, the name of various localities and islands of the east coast of Africa, amongst which should be mentioned KILWA KIVINYE, on the mainland (8° 45′ S.) about 140 miles south of Dār al-Salām (Dar es Salam), and in particular, the QUILOA of the Portuguese (Kulwa in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 191 ff., tr. Gibb, ii, 379 ff., and in the ms. B.M. Or. 2666, but Kilwa in Yāḳūt s.v.). This last is today called KILWA KISAWĀNI, and is situated on an island near to the Tanzanian coast, 150 miles south of Dār al-Salām (8° 58′ S., 39° 34′ E.). It is the site, covering about one km.², of the capital of a region which stretched from the Rufiji River to Sofala in mediaeval times and was the greatest of the Islamic trading states in East Africa.

Barros, *Da Ásia*, 1552, preserves an anonymous abbreviated *Chrónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*, composed perhaps before 1507; an independent 16th century *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa*, by an anonymous Shīʿī author, survives only in B.M.ms.Or. 2666, dated 1862. Neither is complete. A 19th century Swahili *History* is of little value. Coins of at least seven rulers are certain, and with them, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Muḥammad al-Fāsī sustain the historicity of the documents. After 1500, numerous accounts occur in Portuguese and French sources. In 1960-5 H. N. Chittick excavated the chief buildings.

The chronology is controversial. Chittick's deletion from the text of Barros of some fifteen rulers must be regarded as unacceptable. He dates the earliest occupation to *ca.* 800. The finds agree well with the documentary sources as they stand. They describe a dynasty of "Shīrāzī" settlers from the Gulf established *ca.* 957. The founder, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, bought the island from the preceding pagan ruler, marrying his daughter. For two centuries the expanding trading centre was often at war with neighbouring islands. In the 12th century it acquired the monopoly of Sofala's gold trade with its hinterland; its former governor, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, was Sultan of Kilwa *ca.* 1131-70, and "master of the trade" of Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia and the mainland. Essentially, it was an entrepôt trade serving Arab Indian Ocean routes, in gold, ivory and some slaves, against imported textiles, beads, and Near and Far Eastern ceramics. Under Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, *ca.* 1170-89, many important buildings were erected in a new style. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, otherwise unrecorded, issued the first coinage in the late 12th century. About 1294 Mahdalī *sayyids* succeeded the original dynasty, possibly by female descent. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kilwa in 1331: the people were black, orthodox Shāfiʿīs, and devoted to *djihād* against mainland unbelievers.

Vasco da Gama sailed past Kilwa in 1498. In 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was the first Portuguese to levy tribute. Francisco d'Almeida took it by storm in 1505. Contemporary accounts attest its wealth. A Portuguese fort controlled it until 1512: its economy was ruined by the Portuguese seizure of the Sofala trade in 1505. A population of perhaps 10,000 in 1500 had already dwindled to about 4,000 by 1587, when marauding Zimba massacred 3,000 inhabitants. Kilwa never recovered. After the ʿUmānī capture of Mombasa from the Portuguese in 1698, Kilwa also was made tributary to ʿUmān. In the 18th century the slave trade developed greatly, but Zanzibar was the main entrepôt. Zanzibar finally absorbed Kilwa in 1843, deporting the last sulṭān. When Germany acquired the mainland in 1886, some surviving royalties threw their records in the sea, lest they fall into infidel hands.

Bibliography: J. de Barros, *Da Ásia*, 1552, ed. A. Baião, Coimbra 1930; G. Ferrand, *Les sultans de Kilwa*, in *Mem. H. Basset*, Paris 1928, 239-60; B.M. ms. Or. 2666, ed. S. A. Strong (in Arabic), *The history of Kilwa*, in *JRAS* (1895), tr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Medieval history of the coast of Tanganyika*, 1962, with detailed bibliography, and *The East African coast: select documents*, 1962, 2nd edn. 1975; J. Walker, in *EI*¹ Suppl., and in *Num. Chron.* (1936, 1939); Freeman-Grenville, *Num. Chron.* (1954, 1957, 1963, 1971), and *The French at Kilwa Island*, 1965; H. N.

Chittick, *Kilwa: an Islamic trading city on the East African coast*, Nairobi 1974, with detailed bibliography; B. G. Martin, *Arab migrations to East Africa in medieval times*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Afr. Hist. Stud.* (1975); S. A. Rizvi, in Sāʿīd Hamdūn and Noël King, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Black Africa*, 1975; R. W. Beachey, *The slave trade of Eastern Africa*, 1976; see also the Bibl. given by J. Walker in *EI*[1], Suppl., s.v. (G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

AL-**ḲILY**, also AL-ḲILĀ, according to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Liḥyānī also *al-ḳilw* (see al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 170, § 643); the word is derived from aramaic *ḳelyā*), potash, potassium carbonate [K_2CO_3], but also soda, sodium carbonate [Na_2CO_3] (both materials were not clearly distinguished, therefore the Arabic term is kept in what follows.) *Al-Ḳily* thus indicates the salt which is won from the ashes of alkaline plants, but is also confusingly used for the ashes themselves and the lye. As synonyms are given *s̲h̲abb al-ʿuṣfur* and *s̲h̲abb al-asākifa* (Ibn Maymūn, *S̲h̲arḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 345). The plants or families of plants *rimt̲h̲* (Haloxylon articulatum Cav.) and *ḥamḍ* (Chenopodiaceae) serve as the standard plants employed. According to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (*op. cit.* 104, § 411 = *LA*, s.v. *ḳ-l-y* = Ibn al-Bayṭār, *D̲j̲āmiʿ*, IV, 31) the best potash is won from *al-ḥuruḍ* (Arthroenemum c.q. Seidlitzia), the so-called "potash of the dyers" (*ḳily al-ṣabbāg̲h̲īn*). The other sorts sufficed for the fabrication of glass. The extraction of *ḳily* is concisely but accurately described by al-Layt̲h̲, the editor of the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. *ca.* 170/786): the plants *al-g̲h̲aḍā* (Arthroenemum c.q. Salicornia) and *al-rimt̲h̲* are burnt while green; the ashes are slaked with water which then consolidates into *ḳily* (see *LA*, s.v.).

Ḳily is used for various purposes: in the absence of soap (*ṣābūn*), clothes are washed with it (see *LA*: Yāḳūt, iii, 465). Chemists used it to manufacture pungent lyes (Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, *K. al-Asrār*, ed. M. T. Dānis̲h̲-Paz̲h̲ūh, Tehran 1964, 76, 108 f.; J. Ruska and K. Garbers, *Vorschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wassern bei Ǧābir und Rāzī*, in *Isl.* xxv (1939), 1-34).

A prominent part is played by *al-ḳily* in the manufacture of glass. It is melted together with sand and magnesia and thus produces the "substance of glass" (*d̲j̲awhar al-zud̲j̲ād̲j̲*, Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 407). Above all, it happens that the glass easily absorbs the various colorations (see Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Nuk̲h̲bat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 80; J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935).

Because of its biting, burning and purifying effect *al-ḳily* is used in medecine to treat skin diseases like vitiligo (*bahaḳ*), leprosy (*baraṣ*), scabies (*d̲j̲arab*) and also wounds and sores (*d̲j̲irāḥ, ḳurūḥ*). Morbid growths are also etched with it (Masīḥ al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, who lived in the time of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, in Ibn al-Bayṭār, iv, 31; ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, Berlin 1928, 322; Pseudo-T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra, *K. al-D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 114; Ibn Sīna, *Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 248; *The medical formulary of al-Samarqandī*, ed. M. Levey and N. al-Khaledy, Philadelphia 1967, 148; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, 233). Many people apply *al-ḳily* and vinegar on scorpion stings (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 102).

Bibliography: E. Wiedemann, *EI*[1], s.v. *al-Ḳily*; idem, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, index, 825; E. Seidel, in *Isl.*, i (1910), 258; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1928, i, 635-50; A. Steiger and J. J. Hess, *Soda*, in *Vox Romanica*, ii (1937), 53-76; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 358 f. (no. 594); D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 234-8, and index; M. Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, ii (forthcoming), s.v. *qily*. (M. ULLMANN)

KIMĀK (in the texts usually Kīmāk, often wrongly vocalised Kaymāk), an early Turkish people living in western Siberia on the lower course of the Irtis̲h̲ River and on its tributaries the Is̲h̲im and Tobol, possibly as far north as the confluence of the Irtis̲h̲ and Ob and as far west as the Ural Mts.; they are mentioned in Islamic sources from the 3rd/9th century onwards.

The most detailed accounts of the Kimāk and their territories are in the anonymous *Ḥudud al-ʿālam* (begun 372/982-3), tr. Minorsky, 99-100, 304-10, and in Gardīzī's *Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 257-9. There is considerable confusion in these and other sources on the localisation of the Kimāk, possibly reflecting a major historical displacement of the tribe or else a confusion between their winter and summer pastures; but there must certainly have been confusion from the fact that the two major sources above believed that the Irtis̲h̲ flowed westwards through the Urals, becoming the Kama and joining the Volga in Bulg̲h̲ār. The *Ḥudūd* places the Kimāk to the west of the Ḳirg̲h̲īz and to the east of the Ḳīpcaḳ [*qq.v.*], but all the sources agree that to the north of them lay the forest lands inhabited by savage peoples who exchanged their goods by dumb barter. The fur-trapping Ḳirg̲h̲īz tribe of the K.s.y.m (* Kis̲h̲tim?) mentioned by the *Ḥudūd* as living near the Kimāk may have been Samoyedes or a Yenisei Palaeo-asiatic people (see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, 107-8). The Kimāk also had connections with the Og̲h̲uz to the south of them, and are said to have visited the Og̲h̲uz pasture-grounds in summer, possibly explaining why Muḳaddasī, 274, says that Sawrān on the middle Sīr Daryā is a frontier post against the G̲h̲uzz and Kimāk.

A legendary account of Kimāk origins given by Gardīzī mentions seven component groups, such as the Īmī, Īmāk, Tatār, Bayāndur, K̲h̲īfcāḳ, etc., and in his section on the Yag̲h̲mā tribe (ed. Ḥabībī, 260), he gives to the chief of the Kimāk the titles *s̲h̲ad* and *tutug̲h̲/tutuḳ*. The *Ḥudūd*, however, mentions that the ruler of the Kimāk is called the K̲h̲āḳān and has under him eleven subordinate chiefs. Two routes northwards to the Kimāk country from the northern fringes of Transoxania are mentioned: one from Ṭarāz or Talas, taking 80 days by swift horse (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, Ḳudāma, the *Ḥudūd*), and another more westerly route from Yāngi-kant or Dih-i Naw near the Sir Daryā mouth (Gardīzī). The country of the Kimāk was excessively cold, so that the Kimāk lived in subterranean dwellings in winter and hunted on skis. They were in part pastoralist nomads, but were also trappers of sable and marten furs, which were exported to the Islamic lands; also mentioned is the *k̲h̲aland̲j̲* hardwood of the forest zone, brought from the Kimāk lands and used for making bowls and such-like table ware (see D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 54, tr. Pellat, 77: *k̲h̲aland̲j̲iyya kīmākiyya*). The only town, or rather encampment, of any signifi-

cance, was the Khāķān's summer residence, Namakiyya (*Yimakiyya?). The Kimāk worshipped fire and water and venerated the Irtish; according to Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī in Yāķūt, *Buldān*, iii, 448, the Turks' "magnetic rainstone" belonged to the Kimāk.

The main significance of this remote people, who can never as such have been Muslim and who impinge little on Islamic history, is that the much more important people of the Ķīpčak [*q.v.*], the later Comans or Polovtsi, apparently sprang from them and eventually overshadowed them. By the late 5th/11th century, the Kimāk, whom Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, iii, 22, tr. Atalay, iii, 29, names as the Yamak (*Yimāk), were reckoned as a group of Ķīpčaķ, but different in origin; it is clear that the remnants of the earlier Kimāk were now being absorbed into the rising tribal confederation of the Ķīpčaķ. In the ensuing period, the name "Kimāk" fades into oblivion, although we belatedly hear of the Yimāk in association with the Ķīpčaķ and Ķanghlī [*q.v.*] at the time of the appearance of the Mongols; thus Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, tr. Houdas, 44, 72, says that the Khwārazm-Shāh's mother Terken Khātūn was of the Baya'ut branch of the Yimāk.

Bibliography (in addition to the references given in the article): J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F., xiii (1914), 89-113 and *passim*; idem, *Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Völkerkunde von Mittelasien und Sibirien. 2. Die Iki Imāk*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii (1919-20) [= *Festschrift F. Hirth*], 293-6.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶIMĀR, the name given in Islamic geographical and travel literature to Khmer or Cambodia. The geography and political organisation of South-East Asia early became of interest to Islamic scholars because of trade links with Further India and China, and information was brought back by, *inter alios*, Arab and Persian merchants and navigators. Some of this information relates to the Khmer kingdom on the lower Mekong River, an outpost of Indian cultural and religious life, which lasted from the beginning of the 9th century to the middle of the 13th century (see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrème-Orient*, Paris 1929, 559-68, 587-8; G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*[3], Paris 1964, ch. vii, § 1, viii, § 1, ix, § 1, x, § 1, xi, § 1, Eng. tr. *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu 1968).

Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 66, 68, mentions Ķimār as a place on the route to the Far East. Some decades later, Ibn Rusta, 132-3, tr. Wiet, 148-50, devotes considerable space to the customs of the kings of Ķimār, their justice, their severity against fornication, adultery and wine-drinking, and he remarks on the flourishing state of the ascetic and eremitical life there; Muslim merchants were welcomed and not molested, and one Islamic funerary inscription has in fact been found in Cambodia [see KITĀBĀT. 8. South-East Asia]. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 169 ff., = §§ 178 ff., has a lengthy anecdote on the relations of the king of Ķimār and the ruler named as *al-Maharādj*, the usual designation in the Islamic sources for the ruler of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Zābadj, Zābidj), centred on Palembang in Sumatra but also controlling the Malayan peninsula. Ibn Rusta names as his source one Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāķ who had resided for two years in Ķimār, probably early in the 3rd/9th century under the great king Jayavarman II Parameśvara of Angkor (802-50); information from this authority came first to Ibn Khurradādhbih, who referred to Ķimār only cursorily, and was eventually utilised even by al-Idrīsī, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi 'khtirāq al-'āfāq *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 29, 142.

The *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* (372/982), tr. Minorsky, 86-7, mentions three great kingdoms of South-East Asia, sc. Ķāmarūn (Kāmarūpa, Assam [see ASSAM and KĀMRŪP], Ṣanf (Čampa, southern Annam or South Vietnam) and Ķimār, and it states that two of the most precious products of Ķimār were elephants' tusks and aloes wood. The aloes wood of Ķimār (*'ūd ķimārī*) is much-mentioned in Islamic sources, as is that of Čampa (*'ūd ṣanfī*), but there is considerable confusion in the sources about the origins of the different kinds of aloes wood stemming from eastern India and South-East Asia, with a particular uncertainty over the wood of Ķimār and that of Kāmarūpa. Moreover, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 240-1, 241-2, when speaking of Djāwa (possibly Sumatra, since Sumatra and Java were frequently confused or even regarded as one island by the Muslims) mentions Ķ.māra as part of that land (*min ba'ḍ bilādihā*) and the Ķ.mārī variety of aloes wood as being particularly fine. See, in regard to these problems, the discussions about the various varieties in Ya'ķūbī, *Buldān*, 367-8, tr. Wiet, 238-9; and also Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, commentary, 128-9, and J. D. Latham, *Arabic into mediaeval Latin: Letter C, M.L.D.*, in *JSS*, xxi (1976), 135-7 (on the linguistic problems involved).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, commentary, 240-1; Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text 39, tr. 51-2, commentary, 152-4; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrème-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1913-14, i, 229-30 (= Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī's information on Ķimār), and index s.v. "Khmèr".

(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶIMĀR is the most common Islamic term for gambling, which is strictly forbidden according to Muslim law. The prohibition goes back to the references to *maysir* [*q.v.*] in Ķur'ān, II, 219/216, and V, 90 f./92 f. *Maysir* was expressly equated with *ķimār* in general, supposedly already by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, Cairo 1375, 325). Voices querying this assumption, and the assumption that the Ķur'ān had the legal classification of "forbidden" in mind, were rarely raised, and then only for the sake of argument. For all we know, the Muslim ban on all gambling has existed since the time of the Prophet in the same form as later on, and has remained in force throughout. Gambling was conceived as a transaction in which property changed hands arbitrarily and unproductively, something falling also under the injunction of Ķur'ān, IV, 29/33, against frivolous and worthless (*bāṭil*) business transactions. Economic theory, and economic realities, tended to favour a strict view of what constituted gambling.

According to Muslim sources, universal and reckless gambling was endemic in pre-Islamic Arabia. Although the Muslim attitude toward the *Djāhiliyya* no doubt contributed to this view, gambling was probably widely practised, and in a variety of ways, among which the drawing of arrows and the stake racing of horses and camels were the most prominent. The actual *maysir* game, as painstakingly reconstructed from stray verses of poetry by later scholars, principal among them Ibn Ķutayba, *al-Maysir wa-'l-ķidāḥ* (Cairo 1342), is presented to us as a kind of ceremonial lottery organised for charity.

Several gambling stories lead into the time of the Prophet. Thus, wagering with unbelievers by Abū Bakr "before gambling was forbidden" is mentioned in the Ḳur'ān commentaries in connection with Ḳur'ān, XXX, 1-4/1-3; it appears to be a rather old story, though hardly historical. Another, no less famous story, reported in connection with the battle of Badr, that of Abū Lahab gambling with al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām, may also be old, but its connection with gambling can be shown to be mostly a later elaboration. The Ḳur'ān clearly indicates the social and religious undesirability of gambling: it is something causing quarrels, and it interferes with the performance of worship and prayer. However, the commentators were at a loss to cite any particular occasion for the prohibition. While there is much room for speculation, no convincing historical explanation can be offered, unless there is some significance in the fact that the *awā'il* literature credits a contemporary of the Prophet, al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*], with being the first to forbid gambling.

In spite of its being prohibited, gambling, or what was considered as such, seems to have always flourished everywhere in the Muslim world and at all levels of Muslim society. Lotteries proper appear to have been unknown in Islamic times, and wagering on unstaged events is not much attested (cf. for instance, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Būlāḳ 1286-7/1869-70, i, 127, 141). Favourite outlets for the gambling instinct were, among board games, backgammon (*nard* [*q.v.*]), played with six-sided dice, and, among sports, horse racing [see FURŪSIYYA]. Other board-games, such as merels (*ḳirḳ*) and "fourteen" (*sh/djahārdah/arbaʿata ʿashara*), could involve stakes; chess (*shaṭrandj* [*q.v.*]) and draughts [see KHARBGA], when played for stakes, fell into the category of gambling. Important sports suspected of being devices for gambling were archery (*ramy al-nushshāb* [*q.v.*]) and pigeon flying [see ḤAMĀM], as well as competitions such as footracing, swimming (*sibāḥa*), or, more significant as an organised activity, wrestling (*muṣāraʿa*). Fighting games of animals, looked upon with disapproval on the basis of the Prophetic warning against inciting animals against each other (*taḥrīsh*, *Concordance*, i, 446b, 64-66) and humanitarian principles, included cock [see DĪK] and dog [see KALB] fights. Playing cards (*kandjifa* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) are attested since Mamlūk times (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk playing cards*, ed. R. Ettinghausen and O. Kurz, Leiden 1971). All these activities, of course, could be, and were, undertaken and enjoyed for their own sake without any accompanying gambling, and the gambling habits connected with them differed considerably. According to Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwī* (Cairo n.d. [1384-6]), iv, 308, *nard* was mostly played for stakes, while chess usually was not. The gambling that did take place was commonly in the form of stakes put up by the participating players themselves or, in the case of sports competitions involving animals, by the owners of the animals. However, although our information on this point is most deficient, it is clear that spectators, too, engaged in gambling on the outcome of the games and sports they watched.

While gambling by outsiders was clearly and indubitably illegal, the main problem for jurists was the determination of what constituted gambling by virtue of the manner in which the stakes were put up. The *ḥadīth* expressly permitted competitions with camels (*khuff*), horses (*ḥāfir*), and arrows (*naṣl*) (*Concordance*, i, 480a, 16-18), and there are stories establishing precedents set by the Prophet. Later jurists were inclined to deny the legality of stakes in connection with any other kind of sports contests and, in particular, board-games (of which *nard* was often declared illegal, even when played without stakes, because of its dependence upon dice). However, the permissibility of the legal sports was rationalised on the ground of their usefulness for military preparedness, an argument which, in practice, could be extended to other sports, even though jurists were usually hesitant to do so. The crucial question of how stakes, where they were at all admissible, could be legally established, was considered under three basic aspects: the establishment of stakes by a non-participant such as, for instance, the government, by one of the participants, and by both (or all) participants. The first two cases were legal (with some doubts in the second case as to what is to be done with the stake if the donor himself is the winner). The third constituted illegal gambling. In order to make it legal, the presence of a "legaliser" (*muḥallil* [*q.v.*]) was required, i.e. the participation of someone who did not contribute to the stakes. There exists a *ḥadīth* to this effect (*Concordance*, ii, 402a, 15-17, etc.). However, the legality of this procedure was debated. Mālik personally did not admit the device of the *muḥallil*, with the consequence that later Mālikīs differed in their attitudes. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya and his followers rejected it forcefully. Legal attitudes towards potential gambling games in general can be said to cut across school lines. Shāfiʿism, whose basic text on games was *Kitāb al-Umm* (Būlāḳ 1324), vi, 213, was sometimes attacked, with little justification, for its alleged somewhat more lenient attitude. It should also be noted that by and large the legal literature paid comparatively scant attention to gambling, the reason being not so much the scarcity of gambling activities as the clearcut stand of the law as to its illegality. Occasionally we come across interesting statements, such as the one by the Ḥanafī Ḳāḍīkhān, *Fatāwī* (Calcutta 1835), iv, 587, suggesting that a Muslim could legally gamble with non-Muslims in non-Muslim territory.

The official handling of gambling offenders was determined by the peculiar nature of the circumstances under which gambling took place. Sporting events were mostly held in the open, but much other gambling went on in private. In the larger cities, there were gambling casinos (*dār al-ḳimār*, *ḳimār-khāne*, and other terms), where gambling was encouraged even to the extent of tempting losing gamblers with offers of loans (cf. Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. and tr. K. L. Tallqvist, Leiden 1899, 30/63). Ordinary taverns, as later on the coffee houses [see ḲAHWA], also had the reputation of allowing gambling (in connection with board-games) on their premises. These could be raided, if local authorities saw fit to do so. However, unless public annoyance resulted, or complaints were lodged, the legal authorities, presumably represented primarily by the office of the *muḥtasib*, had little power or incentive to interfere with voluntary activities undertaken by mutual consent in the privacy of the home. If brought before the authorities, gamblers were liable to discretional (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]) punishment. Jurists considered habitual gamblers as having forfeited their *ʿadāla* and their capacity to function as witnesses, thus decisively downgrading their social and legal standing. Social degradation was commonly associated with gambling, at least in literature and theory. In real life, this probably affected only those who were unable to afford the losses incident to their gambling.

Excessive gambling, though evidently not un-

common, is not frequently attested. We hear about the gambler in moderate circumstances who brought ruin upon himself and who neglected his family (cf. Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, al-Nadjaf 1381/1961, 210), or the poet al-Tallaʿfarī [*q.v.*] whose compulsive gambling made him a liability in court circles and kept him from advancement, or the—fictitious—Ṣūfī who intentionally freed himself from all worldly possessions by gambling them away (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 202). Most gambling probably involved the minor losses that the losers were somehow able to absorb. It lies in the nature of gambling activities, especially where they are illegal, that reliable statistics with respect to them are unobtainable, and we have, of course, nothing to go on in the way of statistical information for the Muslim Middle Ages. We can only guess that gambling as such, common as it was, was nevertheless in no way a major economic factor or disruptive social force.

In addition to the legal injunction against it, the social stigma it carried, and its unsuitability for the economic environment created by Islam, gambling also presented a challenge to the metaphysical presuppositions of monotheism. Gambling was felt to be a manifestation of trust in blind fate and of an attempt at interference with, and thus disrespect for, the divine government of the world. A clever story, circulating since at least the 3rd/9th century (cf. in particular, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, *Risālat ḥikmat waḍʿ al-nard wa 'l-shaṭrandj*), praised *nard*, with its reliance upon chance, as representative of the orthodox view of predetermination and trust in God, and blamed chess for the freedom of choice it requires of the player as something akin to Muʿtazilī doctrine. The story appears to have been meant originally as the opposite of what it seems to suggest, namely, as an argument for the superiority of the Muʿtazilī view of free will, while taking a dim view of gambling as supporting the idea of blind chance in the realm of metaphysics.

Thus the factors that in Islam fought against the human propensity for gambling were numerous. They were, moreover, reinforced by the generally disdainful attitude toward "play and amusement" (*liʿb —lahw*) in all forms professed by religious scholars and intellectuals. This did not eliminate gambling in Islam but, to all appearances, succeeded in keeping its impact upon society largely under control.

Bibliography: T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus*, Oxford 1689-94; Mez, *Renaissance*, 382-4 (Eng. tr. 403-6). References to gambling are as sporadic in the modern scholarly literature as they are in the primary sources. A first attempt to bring the available information together has been made by F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, which contains the full documentation for the present article. (F. Rosenthal)

AL-**KĪMIYĀʾ**, alchemy. The word is derived from Syriac *kīmīyā* which in its turn goes back to Greek χυμεία χημεία "the art of casting or alloying metals" (see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English lexicon*, 2013). The Arabs believed that *al-kīmiyāʾ* was a loanword from Persian (Ibn Durayd, al-Djawālīḳī), from Hebrew (al-Akfānī) or from Greek and had the meaning of "artifice and acuteness" (*al-ḥīla wa 'l-ḥidhk*, according to al-Khafādjī) or "solution and division" (*al-taḥlīl wa 'l-tafrīḳ*, according to Ibn Sallūm, 11th/17th century). As synonyms of *al-kīmiyāʾ* were used *al-ṣanʿa* (for ποίησις), *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* (for ἡ Θεία τέχνη), *ʿilm al-ṣināʿa*, *al-ḥikma*, *al-ʿamal al-aʿẓam* (for τὸ μέγα ἔργον) etc. In abbreviation alchemy is also called *al-kāf*, which serves also as pseudonym (see *WKAS*, i, 439b, 29 ff.).

The Arabs have defined alchemy more than once. Its task is to make gold and silver without falling back upon the corresponding ores (*ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa min ghayr maʿādinihā*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 351); it should lend colourings to the metals which they did not have before (Djābir b. Ḥayyān, *Textes choisis*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1935, 141), and it should alter the specific qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) of the mineral substances so that gold and silver can be obtained through certain artifices (*ḥiyal*; Ghazālī, *Tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 270); through alchemy harm and poverty are done away with (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, iv, 286, 305). The theme of alchemy is therefore the transmutation of base metals into precious ones. And thus certain limitations are given: retrology and mineralogy do not belong to alchemy in the strict sense, although the alchemist must of course have an exact knowledge of minerals (as well as of animal and vegetable substances). In the same way, fabrication of glass and falsification of precious stones (see the *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis*, ed. O. Lagercrantz, Uppsala 1913) belong no more to alchemy than metallurgical activities like extracting iron, gold and silver from their ores, so precisely and impressively described by al-Hamdānī (*K. al-Djawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968). Nor does the technical chemistry of the craftsman, namely the manufacture of tints, colours and perfumes, come within the field of alchemy. The title *Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr* (ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948) which al-Kindī gives to his book on the falsification of perfumes is as metaphorical as the *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda* with which the mystics entitled their writings (see *WKAS*, i, 515b). Finally, it should be mentioned that the notion of "pharmaceutical chemistry" did not exist in the Islamic Middle Ages. The often very complicated "compound medicines" (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are prepared by the physician or the apothecary according to Galen's work *De compositione medicamentorum* or to the many *Aḳrābādhīnāt* [*q.v.*] composed by the Arabs. There were of course points of contact between the various professions: the metallurgists and perfumers worked with the same instruments and appliances as the alchemists. Some of the latter also excelled in the related sciences, like Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, who classified the minerals. Alchemy, however, the art of transmuting metals, has to be singled out from the other more technically orientated professions because of its theoretical foundations.

Alchemy originated among the Greeks. In order to prevent misunderstandings, it should be mentioned that the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology* (the genuineness of which is disputed) is neither a writing about chemistry in the modern sense of the word nor was it a starting-point for alchemy. It discusses only the primary qualities as causes of all changes in nature (see J. During, *Aristotle's chemical treatise Meteorologica, Book IV*, Göteborg 1944; H. Happ, *Der chemische Traktat des Aristoteles, Meteorologie IV*, in *Synusia, Festgabe W. Schadewaldt*, Pfullingen 1965, 289-322). *Ca.* 200 B.C. Bolus of Mendes knew certain techniques of colouring, and such techniques, combined with neo-Platonic, gnostic and hermetic ideas (Stoic philosophy seems also to have had some influence) helped alchemy to assert itself in Egypt (H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, 2, Leipzig-Berlin 1920, 121-54). From the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (see F. Sherwood Taylor, *The origins of Greek alchemy*, in *Ambix*, i (1937), 30-47; J. Lind-

say, *The origins of alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, London 1970) date a number of writings disseminated under the names of Hermes, Thoth, Agathodaimon, Cleopatra, Moses, Solomon, Mary, Jesus, Democritus (or Democrates), Zarathustra, Astanes etc. At the beginning of the 4th century these pseudographs are joined by the writings of Zosimus of Panopolis (= Akhmīm [*q.v.*]), the genuineness of which is better vouched for. In the 6th century the neo-Platonic philosopher Alymiodorus and emperor Heraclius wrote also on alchemy. A not inconsiderable amount of these Greek writings were translated into Arabic, but we have no exact information about times and places of these translations. It seems however that the first were made towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and that the greater part of these writings came to the Arabs in the 3rd/9th century (D. M. Dunlop, in *JRAS* (1974), 6 ff., makes it clear that the assertion according to which a work of Zosimus was translated into Arabic already in 38/659, is false). It is possible that in some cases there may have been intermediary translations in Syriac (for Syrian alchemy, see R. Duval in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, ii, Paris 1893), but it is not clear whether Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and his pupils took part in the work of these translations. Most of the Greek writings have only been preserved in a very poor and fragmentary way. The oldest codex is Marcianus 299 dating from the 11th century (see M. Berthelot and Ch. E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, i-iii, Paris 1887-8; J. Bidez, F. Cumont *et alii*, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, i ff., Brussels 1927 ff.). Since the Arabic translations are thus two hundred years older, and the Arabs at that period still knew an essentially greater amount of Greek writings than we do at present, the oriental tradition is of the greatest importance. It is certain that the study of Arabic alchemical literature will bring to light Greek works which have been lost in their original language.

Unfortunately, Arabic alchemistic literature has remained until now still a *moles indigesta*. Very many manuscripts have been preserved, but only an extremely small part of their contents has been disclosed through catalogues or published. Consequently, it is not yet possible to sketch out a history of Arabic alchemy. In particular, the beginnings of this science in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries are still largely wrapped in darkness. It may however be stated that already in the period in which the *Corpus Gabirianum* (end of the 3rd/9th—beginning of the 4th/10th centuries) and the works of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] were compiled, an important literature must have come into being, whose authors might have been Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Christian, Persian or Indian wise men and philosophers. This pseudographic literature uses to a great extent the same names that served early Greek alchemy as designations. Some writings are in fact translations of Greek works; others were composed directly in Arabic but are imitations of Greek examples. It should however not be assumed that all sentences of Greek wise men, quoted by the Arabs, are taken from specific writings which are ascribed to these wise men. It seems rather that some of them originate only from doxographical collective works.

Nevertheless, a great number of Greek notions are found in these writings. The etyma of the terms *al-kīmiyāʾ*, *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* etc. have already been mentioned above. The metals are called *al-adjsād*, corresponding to τὰ σώματα, quicksilver and sulphur are *al-arwāḥ* τὰ πνεύματα. Elixir, *al-iksīr* is the loanword τὸ ξηρίον, the distilling apparatuses *al-uthāl* and *al-anbīḳ* are derived from τὸ αἰθάλιον and ὁ ἄμβιξ, the processes *tabyīḍ*, *taswīd*. *tashmīʾ*, *taṣdiʾa* etc. are adaptations from λεύκωσις μέλανσις, ἐγκήρωσις, ἴωσις. In the same way a number of pseudonyms are imitations of Greek models, e.g. *ziʾbaḳ sharḳī* from ὑδράργυρος ἀνατολική, *zabad al-ḳamar* from ἀφροσέληνον, *kibrīta lā taḥtariḳ* from Θεῖον ἄκαυστον and *laban al-ʿadhrāʾ* from γάλα παρθενικόν (for other pseudonyms formed with *laban*, see *WKAS*, ii, 25 ff.). To these are added whole theorems: *al-ṭabīʿa tafraḥ bi 'l-ṭabīʿa* is the innumerably repeated ἡ φύσις τῇ φύσει τέρπεται, and *lam tafʿal al-ṭabīʿa shayʾan bāṭilan lā fāʾidata lahū* corresponds to ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ποιεῖ μάτην. All this shows without any doubt the origin of Arabic alchemy.

We thus possess a great number of Arabic writings, fragments and quotations in which our attention is caught by the names of Pythagoras, Archelaus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Porphyrius, Galen, Democritus, Zosimus and Theosebeia, Secundus "the silent philosopher" and many others. Often Hermes Trismegistus [see HIRMIS] is mentioned, who in the opinion of the alchemists was the first to speak about alchemy (*ʿilm al-ṣanʿa*, see *Fihrist*, 351). The writings attributed to him, *al-Risāla al-falakiyya al-kubrā*, *Risālat al-Sirr*, *Tadbīr Hirmis al-Harāmisa*, *al-Dhakhīra al-iskandariyya*, etc. have introductions in which in a legendary way is described how these texts were found in temples, caves and sepulchral vaults. The "Emerald table", a brief text full of symbols, was considered to be the key to the ultimate secrets of nature (see J. Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur*, Heidelberg 1926; M. Plessner, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Tabula Smaragdina*, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 77-113). Sentences by Hermes are to be found in almost every Arabic alchemistic work (see e.g. H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis, F. Sherwood Taylor, *The sayings of Hermes quoted in the Māʾ al-Waraḳī of Ibn Umail*, in *Ambix*, iii (1949), 69-90). Apollonius of Tyana [see BALĪNŪS] is considered to be the intermediary of the hermetic wisdom. Under his name a big commentary on the "Emerald table", the so-called *Kitāb Sirr al-khalīḳa*, an allegorical book on the seven metals, the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām al-sabʿa*, and other writings were disseminated. Agathodaimon [see AGHĀTHŪDHĪMŪN] is also associated with Hermes. In the *Risālat al-Ḥadhar* he communicates before his death to his pupils the secret of alchemy. Finally they are joined by Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, *Kleopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation*, in *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 158-75). Mary the Jewess, the Persian wise men Djāmāsfand and Ostanes, Mani, an Indian called Biyūn, Adam, Moses, Korah (Kārūn) and many others, whose writings and sentences became known to the Arabs at a relatively early period. This largely still uninvestigated complex of the pseudographs was enlarged by the Arabs since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and rendered even more opaque by stamping as alchemists the Umayyad prince Khālid b. Yazīd, the son-in-law of the Prophet, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Imām* Djaʿfar al-Sādiḳ [*qq.v.*] and the mystics al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd [*qq.v.*]. The alleged writings and doctrines of all these Greek, Persian, Jewish and Arabic authorities form the groundwork for the two large alchemistic corpora which came into being at the turn of the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, namely the *Corpus Gabirianum* and the writings of

Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (the mutual relation of these two cycles has been discussed by J. Ruska and K. Garbers, *Vorschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wässern bei Ǧābir and Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, xxv (1939), 1-34). Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], who may have died *ca.* 196/812, is considered to be the author of the first work. Meanwhile, P. Kraus has proved that these writings cannot have originated before the second half of the 3rd/9th century and that a team of authors must be supposed (for this problem see also F. Rex, in *Isl.* xlix (1972), 305-10; idem, in *Deutsche Orientalistik am Beispiel Tübingens*, Tübingen 1974, 86-8). Accordingly, the writings of the so-called Ibn Waḥshiyya and the *Muṣḥaf al-djamāʿa*, whose Latin translation carries the title *Turba philosophorum*, may have originated at the turn of the century. In the *Turba* a congress of alchemists is pictured, in which Pythagoras takes the chair and Archelaus records the minutes, while nine pre-Socratic philosophers present their doctrines (J. Ruska, *Turba philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, Berlin 1931; M. Plessner, *The place of the Turba Philosophorum in the development of alchemy*, in *Isis*, xlv (1954), 331-8; idem, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung. Studien über Text, Herkunft und Charakter der Turba Philosophorum*, forthcoming). In the 4th/10th century Muḥammad b. Umayl [*q.v.*] was outstanding with writings of a hermetic-allegorical character, followed in the 5th/11th century by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Kāthī, pseudo-Madjrīṭī with the *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and Muḥammad b. Bishrūn. In the 6th/12th century the most important alchemists were the poet and statesman Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī and the preacher in Fās, ʿAlī b. Mūsā, called Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs. Around the middle of the 7th/13th century, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Sīmāwī (*Book of knowledge acquired concerning the cultivation of gold by Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-ʿIrāqī*, ed. E. J. Holmyard, Paris 1923) worked in ʿIrāḳ, and in the 8th/14th century the Egyptian Aydamir b. ʿAlī al-Djildakī [*q.v.*] produced an unprecedented number of books in which he summarised and commented upon everything which had been written before him on alchemy and magic. In the following period a number of authors still further appear who are of importance partly as compilers, partly as producers of brief original writings, like al-Izniḳī (= ʿAlī Čelebī), al-Maṣmūdī, Bel Mughūsh al-Maghribī and others. In the second half of the 11th/17th century Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr Allāh b. Sallūm, the court physician of sultan Meḥemmet IV (1058-99/1648-87), tried to introduce into Arabic medicine the chemical concepts of Paracelsus, which gave the alchemists the chance to set about new ways. They did not however avail themselves of these; on the contrary, they continued until recent times the ancient fruitless search for the "philosopher's stone" (G. Salman, *Archives Marocaines*, vii (1906), 451 ff.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 215, Eng. tr. J. H. Monahan, Leiden-London 1931, 162 ff.; E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xii; C. Barbier de Meynard, *L'Alchimiste, comédie en dialecte turc azeri*, in *JA*, 8e série, vii (1886), 5-66; Osman Nevres, in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, iv/2, Istanbul, n.d., 92 ff.).

In the Middle Ages Arabic works were translated into Latin. We have in Latin versions the *Tabula smaragdina*, the *Tabula chemica*, the *Practica Mariae prophetissae*, the *Liber de compositione alchemiae* of Morienus (translated by Robert of Chester in 1144; partly translated by J. W. von Goethe, *Die Schriften zu den Naturwissenschaften*, Part 1, Vol. vi: *Zur Farbenlehre, Historischer Teil*, revised by D. Kuhn, Weimar 1957, 131 ff. Part 2, Vol. vi: *Ergänzungen und Erklärungen*, Weimar 1959, 439-41), the *Liber secretarum alchemiae* of Calid, the *Liber de septuaginta* and the *Liber misericordiae* of Geber (E. Darmstaedter, *Eine lateinische Übersetzung des grösseren Kitâb alraḥma*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xvii (1925), 181-97) and many other works (see M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, repr. Graz 1956, *passim*). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935, 11). Thus they introduced a process which leads via Arnald of Villanova, the Latin "Geber" and Paracelsus to Robert Boyle (1627-91), Joseph Black (1728-99), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) and finally to the miracle of modern chemistry. But they also gave important impulses to European cultural history; it may suffice to mention Jakob Böhme, the Rosicrucians, Novalis and Goethe (see R. D. Gray, *Goethe, the alchemist. A study of alchemical symbolism in Goethe's literary and scientific works*, Cambridge 1952).

This concise historical survey makes it clear that Arabic alchemy holds a key-position in the development of chemical thinking as a whole. However, in glaring contrast to its importance, it has been regrettably neglected by research until now. Most of what historians of science have written on the Arabic alchemists is second-hand, based on obsolescent literature and disfigured by gross errors. A vast and fertile field lies here open to research; access to it, however, is not easy.

Alchemy is an extraordinary complex phenomenon which combines many divergent trends. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī in his *K. al-Asrār* exerted himself in particular to build up a sober system. The Djābir-writings contain concepts of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] which came into existence *ca.* 263/877. The authors introduce also into their thinking magical, arithmological, astrological and biological reflections. The hermetic writings and those of Ibn Umayl are marked by gnosis, others are coloured by strong mysticism. So it becomes understandable that Ibn al-ʿArabī (*Futūḥāt*, ii, 357) can indicate alchemy as a "natural, spiritual, divine science" (*ʿilm ṭabīʿī rūḥānī ilāhī*). As a whole, it was a natural philosophy which aimed not only at teaching the transmutation of the metals, but also at the whole connection of the world. For many scientists, however, the effort to refine matter was inseparable from purification of the soul. The alchemists expressed their insight in theoretical discourses, and also in allegorical stories, myths, visions and poems (Pseudo-Khālid b. Yazīd, Ibn Umayl, Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs). In order to protect themselves against prosecution by orthodoxy or against competitors, they used pseudonyms and availed themselves of obscure, encoded expressions. All this renders the writings apparently abstruse. It was therefore bound to happen that the "Aufklärer" counted the history of alchemy among the *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (J. C. Adelung, Leipzig 1785-9), and even in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* E. Wiedemann still remarked: "Often it cannot be understood how reasonable beings could have written such things". Only the science of religion and depth-psychology have

smoothed the way for a more justified and significant explanation of alchemy. J. Evola, C. G. Jung and M. Eliade in particular have rightly shown how alchemy is dominated by mythical, mystical and gnostic ways of thinking. There remains, however, the task of decoding the Arabic texts through exact historical-philological studies, and thus laying foundations which will no longer permit rash conclusions and approximate assertions.

Until now it has not been possible to say much about the theoretical foundations of Arabic alchemy, and even this little only incidentally. The way theories are built up differs considerably from one author to the other, and even in the corpus of writings known under the name of Djābir b. Ḥayyān and thus claiming unity, they show quite varying concepts. Hence only a few basic notions can be given here, which cannot be generally applied.

Transmutation is possible because the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of metals form only one single species (*djins*). They are differentiated only in accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) which can be proper (*dhātiyya*) or occasional (*ʿaraḍiyya*). The accidents, however, are not stable but changeable, as can be seen in nature. Indeed, the metals grow in the bowels of the earth over long periods. In a sort of maturation process they change from base into precious metals until finally they become gold. According to some scientists, this conversion comes about under the influence of the stars. The alchemist is able to hasten this process in his retorts and to achieve by his skill in one day that for which Nature needs a thousand years. The literature gives hundreds, even thousands of recipes for making gold. Basically three methods can be distinguished:

1. The first method is based on the quicksilver-sulphur theory. In quicksilver water and earth are present, sulphur contains fire and air and thus both substances together hold the four elements. When the particles of sulphur and quicksilver are mixed and enter into a close compound, the heat generates a process of maturation and cooking which result in the various kinds of metals. If the quicksilver is clean and the sulphur pure, if the quantities (*maḳādīr*) of both substances stand in ideal relation to one another and if the heat has the right degree (*iʿtidāl*), pure gold (*dhahab ibrīz*, ὄβρυζον) comes into being. If before maturation coldness enters, then silver originates; if dryness, then red copper. The more disturbing factors enter, the more low-grade the metals become: thus originate tin (*raṣāṣ ḳalāʿī*), iron (*ḥadīd aswad*), plumbago (*usrub*) and antimony (*kuḥl*) (see Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, ii, 106 ff.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 204 ff.). The alchemist, then, exerts himself to imitate nature. He tries to discover how much sulphur and how much quicksilver is contained in gold and how great the heat must be to bring about the maturation process. If he succeeds in establishing these conditions, he is able to synthesise gold. It should perhaps be added that "quicksilver" and "sulphur" did not necessarily mean for the alchemists the chemical elements Hg and S, but that by these terms they understood rather the basic principles of fluidity and inflammability (they speak of *ziʾbaḳ radjrādj* and *kibrīt muḥtariḳ*).

2. The second method is based on the doctrine of the relations of quantities (*ʿilm al-mawāzīn*) propagated by the authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum*. The alchemist tries to establish the mutual relation of the metals according to volume and weight (*ḥadjm wa-wazn*) and to construct on the ground of these data a body with corresponding volume and weight (for details of these strongly speculative doctrines, see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, 187-303, ch. "La théorie de la balance").

3. The most important and most recommended method, however, consists in projecting an elixir [see AL-IKSĪR]. An elixir can be made from mineral, but also from vegetable and animal matter. It is thrown upon a base metal which precedingly has been transposed into the passive (or black i.e. without any quality) condition; it permeates it like yeast pervades dough, and transmutes it into gold which is more valuable than mineral gold.

All these theories were based on premises which could neither be proved nor refuted. Therefore no real progress could be recorded in the dispute of the Muslim scientists about the possibilities of alchemy. It was significant that among the arguments advanced against the alchemists the reference to the *de facto* failure of all endeavours played only a small part. The alchemists admitted the difficulty of their undertaking, but emphasised that it must be possible to rediscover the secret of making gold, undoubtedly known to the wise men of old. The dispute was above all enacted in the theoretical field. Philosophical and theological arguments were put forward and conclusions based on analogy were often drawn.

ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Djāḥiẓ's [*q.v.*] standpoint towards alchemy is not completely unequivocal. He is sceptical, but poses the question whether once in five thousand years it could be possible to make gold, when the various factors, like the quality of the elements, the right period, the correct position of the stars etc. would coincide accidentally (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 374 ff.). It seems paradoxical to him that it is possible to make glass from sand, but that it is impossible to transmute brass and quicksilver into gold and silver, although quicksilver more resembles molten silver than sand does pharaonic glass.

Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī composed the *K. Ibṭāl daʿwā 'l-muddaʿīn ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa min ghayr maʿādinihā*, a refutation of those who pretended to be able to win gold and silver otherwise than from ore. According to him mankind is unable to achieve acts which are reserved to nature. This polemic writing was immediately contested by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī.

Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) was of the opinion that transmutation of metals is possible because, according to Aristotle's stonebook, the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of the metals belong to only one single species (*djins*). But it was indeed extraordinarily hard to realise the transmutation, and a thorough study of logic, mathematics and natural sciences was a prerequisite. The alchemistic texts were rightly veiled by pseudonyms and symbols, because otherwise, anybody might be able to find out the secret of making gold, and gold would become useless as means of payment. This economic argument was repeated again and again by later authors (E. Wiedemann, *Journal für praktische Chemie*, clxxxiv (1907), 115-23; A. Sayılı, *Fârâbî'nin simyanın lüzûmu hakkındaki risâlesi*, in Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belleten*, xv (1951), 65-79).

The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) worked with obvious analogies taken from metallurgy, of which he possessed a thorough knowledge. In the same way as iron and steel could reach various degrees of good quality and pureness through metallurgy, i.e. through the skill of man, in the same way man is able to make in an artificial way gold that otherwise maturates in a natural way in the bowels of the earth

(*K. al-Djawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968, ch. xxxvi).

But the very assertion that man is able to imitate nature was contested peremptorily by Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī and Abū ʿAlī b. Sīnā: the alchemists were only able to make something that externally resembles the precious metals, but the senses do not perceive specific differences (*fuṣūl*) in the metals after the alchemistic operations, but only attributes and accidents (*lawāzim*, *ʿawāriḍ*); the substance (*djawhar*) of the base metals remains untouched (E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, *Avicennae de congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, Paris 1927, 85 f.; Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Shifāʾ, al-Ṭabīʿiyyāt*, v, ed. A. Muntaṣir *et alii*, Cairo 1385/1965, 22 f.; G. C. Anawati, *Avicenne et l'alchimie*, in *Convegno internazionale 9-15 April 1969* [*Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Atti 13*], Rome 1971, 285-341). Because of these utterances, Ibn Sīnā became the target for the polemics of all later alchemists, in particular of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī and Aydamir b. ʿAlī al-Djildakī.

With his *K. Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-istishhād*, written in 505/1112, al-Ṭughrāʾī produced the most important writing in defence of alchemy. He meets Ibn Sīnā's objection by stating that the alchemistic processes do not absolutely create a new *differentia specifica* (*faṣl*), but that through them matter is only prepared to take in the *differentia specifica* which is granted to it by the Creator. Al-Ṭughrāʾī's argumentation thus takes account of the front of orthodox theologians, whose criticism found a mouth-piece in Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalūsī, Ibn Taymiyya and the latter's pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 750/1349).

The latter's *K. Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda* contains a polemic of 200 pages against all secret sciences, especially astrology (see C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 33 f.). Like Ibn Sīnā, he is of the opinion that the alchemists only keep up appearances, but are in fact unable to make real gold and silver. The economic argument adduced by al-Fārābī to justify the disguise of the alchemistic writings is used by Ibn Ḳayyīm al-Djawziyya to refute alchemy itself: if man were able to make gold and silver, the economic order of the world, created by God, would collapse. Gold would lose its value if it were available in abundance. The social order would also be destroyed because nobody would be willing any more to be the slave of a master (J. W. Livingston, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: A fourteenth century defence against astrological divination and alchemical transmutation*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971).

Ibn Khaldūn also shows himself an adversary of alchemy, which in his opinion is in fact only a kind of magic (*siḥr*). With regard to Ibn Sīnā and al-Ṭughrāʾī his point of view is even somewhat more differentiated, without however alleging essentially new arguments (see G. C. Anawati, *La réfutation de l'alchimie par Ibn Khaldūn*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie, Vol. mém. A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 6-17). For this kind of polemic literature see also Abu 'l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh b. Malkā, *K. al-Muʿtabar*, ii, Hyderabad 1358, 231-6; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, ii, Hyderabad 1343, 214-18; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (A. Dietrich, *NAWG*, i (1964), no. 2, p. 106); Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashḳī, *K. Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 58-61; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *K. al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam*, i, Cairo 1305/1887, 9-13.

The theoretical expositions and speculations of the alchemists were partly complete in themselves, and partly completed by experiments in the laboratory. The experiences gained in such experiments gave again rise to new writings and theories. It is probable that alchemy had a greater part in the development of experimental science than medicine, pharmacology, physics and astronomy (see L. Thorndike, *A history of magic and experimental science*, i-viii, London-New York 1923-58). An important experimental achievement was the oxidation of quicksilver which had been exposed continuously to a very slow fire over forty days. Pseudo-Madjrīṭī describes the process in his *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and emphasises that the weight of the matter was the same before and after the experiment (E. J. Holmyard, *Makers of chemistry*, Oxford 1931, 78). The furnishing of a chemical laboratory is very impressively pictured by Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035) (see J. Dickie, in *al-Andalus*, xxix (1964), 243-310). There were many apparatuses: the *uthāl* (Latin *aludel*), used to distil and to sublimate, the *ḳarʿ* (*cucurbit*), a receiver over which was placed an alembic (*al-anbiḳ* [*q.v.*]), melting-pots (*būtaḳ*, pl. *bawātiḳ*), kilns (*tannūr*, pl. *tanānīr*, Latin *athannor*) to generate high temperatures, phials (*ḳinnīna*), casseroles (*ḳidr*, *tindjir*), pans (*sukurrudja*) and mortars (*hāwūn*). Many apparatus are named after their alleged inventors, like *attūn Fīthāghūras*, the "oven of Pythagoras", the *biʾr Zūsim*, the "pit of Zosimos" and the *ḥammām Māriya*, the bain-marie (see A. Siggel, *Verzeichnis der Apparate und Geräte, die in arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften vorkommen*, in *Deutsche Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Institut für Orientforschung, no. 1, Berlin 1950, 91-100; E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemical equipment*, in Ch. Singer *et alii*, *A history of technology*, ii, Oxford 1956, 731-52).

With such apparatus, vessels and ovens the procedures (*tadābīr*), i.e. certain chemical processes, were achieved. The methods of these procedures were essentially the same as those of Greek alchemy, and most of the Arabic *termini technici* are translations of Greek notions. The "solution" (*taḥlīl*, λύσις) of a matter is achieved by water, acids or lyes; the "putrefaction" (*taʿfīn*, σῆψις) is a process of decomposition furthered by water. Distillation and sublimation are indicated with *taṣʿīd* and *taḳṭīr*, calcination with *taklīs*. A substance is consolidated and fixed by *tadjmīd* and *taʿḳīd*. "Blanching" (*tabyīḍ*, λεύκωσις) indicates the making of silver, "reddening" (*taḥmīr*) the making of gold. Many alchemists, however, use these and many other expressions only symbolically or in a completely different meaning for fear that they might reveal their secret. Thus the understanding of alchemical texts is made extraordinarily difficult.

Since the alchemists were obliged from the earliest times to keep their esoteric knowledge secret (see *Papyrus Leidensis*, ed. C. Leemans, Leiden 1843, i, 10, 9: ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἔχε ὡς μεγαλομυστήριον, μηδένα δίδασκε), they used innumerable "pseudonyms", not only for the processes but also for the matters and elixirs. The same matter was often indicated with dozens of different names, and conversely, one and the same name was used to design different matters. These pseudonyms also have a Greek tradition. Thus the names of the planets serve as designations of the metals: *al-shams* is gold, *al-ḳamar* is silver, *al-mirrīkh* is iron, etc. Certain words contain the characteristics of a matter: *al-farrār* "the fugitive" is quicksilver, *al-ashḳar* "the reddish" is copper. Often names of animals are used: *al-ʿuḳāb* "the eagle" may designate sal-ammoniac, *al-ʿaḳrab* "the scorpion" and *ʿunuḳ al-ḥayya* "the snake-neck" can stand for sulphur, *ṭāwūs al-barbā* "the peacock of the Egyptian temple" for copper. The

meaning of such pseudonyms varied from one author to the other and from one workshop to the other; they had no general validity.

The first endeavours to solve this lexical problem were undertaken by the Arabs themselves: they composed glossaries or added to bigger theoretical works lists in which the meaning of the pseudonyms was explained. But the value of these lists is small. Only careful critical editions and competent lexicographical revisions of the sources may enable us to travel further in this thorny field, but in not a few cases it will probably be impossible to uncover now the original meaning of the alchemical recipes.

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(M. Ullmann)

ĶIHĀ [see ķunā].

ĶĪNALĪZĀDE, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Čelebi (916-6 Ramaḍān 979/1510-22 January 1572), Ottoman scholar. His grandfather, ʿAbd al-Ķādir from Isparta, was one of the tutors of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, while his father was the *Ķāḍī* Amr Allāh, known also as a poet. His grandfather used to dye his beard with henna, hence was by-named *ķinalī* ("the one with henna"). This nickname was applied to other members of the family as well. Ķīnalīzāde ʿAlī was born in Isparta in 916/1510 where he had his elementary education. His first tutor was one of his relatives, the *Ķāḍī-ʿasker* Ķadrī Efendi. Then, he went to different *madrasas* and completed his education under such scholars as Maʿlūl Emīr, Sinān, Merḥabā, Ķara Ṣāliḥ, and Čiwizāde Muḥyī al-Dīn. In 948/1541, he was assigned by the *Shaykh al-Islām* Abu 'l-Suʿūd (Ebüssuʿūd) to the *madrasas* of Ḥusām al-Dīn (the Ḥusāmiyye) in Edirne as *müderris*. He next taught in the *madrasas* of Ḥamza Bey and Welī al-Dīn-oghlī Aḥmed Pasha—both in Bursa—and in the two *madrasas* of Rüstem Pasha, one in Kütahya and the other in Istanbul, and in *madrasas* of Khāṣṣeki and Semāniyye, also in Istanbul. In the year of 966/1559, when the construction of the *madrasas* of the Süleymāniyye Mosque was completed, he was assigned to one of them as *müderris*, thereby reaching the highest of the academic ranks. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 970/July-August 1563, he was appointed as *ķāḍī* of Damascus to succeed Ķurd Čelebi. He remained in Damascus nearly four years, after which he was appointed to Cairo and then to Bursa. Two years later he was appointed *ķāḍī* of Edirne, after which he became *ķāḍī* of Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, in Muḥarram 979/June 1571 he became *Ķāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia. This same year, while in Edirne with Selīm II, he died (6 Ramaḍān/22 January 1572) from an attack of gout, a complaint he had contracted during his earlier residence in Edirne. His funeral, attended by many of the statesmen and scholars of his time, took place at the Eski Djāmiʿ, and he was buried in the so-called Nāẓir cemetery on the road to Istanbul. In his youth, ʿAlī Efendi was famous for his memory and knew by heart numerous *ḥadīth*s and poems in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He was versed in most of the branches of the knowledge of his time, including mathematics, astronomy and rhetoric; and while in Egypt his mastery of the Arabic language was admired by all. His son, Ḥasan Čelebi, informs us that he wrote marginal notes to the *Kashshāf* of al-Bayḍāwī up to *Sūrat al-Hūd* and that he corrected other versions of these manuscripts. According to his son's *Tedhkiret al-shuʿarā*ʾ, ʿAṭayī's *Dhayl al-Shaķāʾiķ* and *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, his works may be summed up as follows: (1) the *Akhlāķ-i ʿAlāʾī*, his most famous work and an important source for the study of Ottoman culture. He completed this work on 25 Ṣafar 973/21 September 1565 when he was the *ķāḍī* of Damascus and dedicated it to ʿAlī Pasha, the *Beglerbegi* of Syria, hence its title *Akhlāķ-i ʿAlāʾī* (For an analysis of the work and its sources, and in particular for its dependence on the *Akhlāķ-i Naṣirī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, cf. the article by A. Adnan-Adivar in *IA*, iv, 710-11). (2) his *Dīwān*, which includes his poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian; (3) the *Ḥāshiye-yi tadjrīd*. He taught *tadjrīd* when he was *müderris* at the Ḥamza Bey Madrasa at Bursa, and wrote these marginal notes at that time; (4) *Ḥāshiye-yi Ḍurar u ghurar ilā niṣfihi*; (5) the *Kitāb al-Karāhat min al-Hidāya*; (6) *Risālatāni fī ḥaķķ al-wāķif*, written as a reply to Shāh Meḥmed Čelebi who had criticised one of his *fatwas* when ʿAlī Efendi was *ķāḍī* of Edirne; (7) the *Esʿāf*; (8) the *Risālet al-sayfiyya wa 'l-ķalemiyya*; (9) the *Ḥāshiye ʿalā Ḥasan Čelebi li-Shārḥ al-Mawāķif*; (10) his *Münsheʾāt*;

(11) the *Ḥāshiye-yi Kashshāf*; (12) the *Ḥāshiye-yi Bayḍāwī*; (13) the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Ḥanafiyya*; (14) the *Sharḥ-i Ḳaṣīde-yi Burde*.

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(MEHMED ČAVUŞOĞLU)

ḲINALİZÂDE, ḤASAN ČELEBI (953-12 Shawwāl 1012/1546 14 March 1604), Ottoman scholar and biographer. He was born in Bursa where his father ʿAlī Čelebi (see the preceding article) was *müderris* at the Ḥamza Bey Madrasa. He first followed the lectures of Nāẓir-zāde Ramaḍān Efendi, who was *müderris* between 967/1560 and 973/1562 at the Yeñi ʿAlī Pasha Madrasa founded by Semiz ʿAlī Pasha in Istanbul. Afterwards he became a student of Abu 'l-Suʿūd (Ebüssuʿūd) Efendi. He began his career in 975/1567 as a *müderris* at Bursa. One year later, upon the assignment of his father as *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, he was transferred to the Čukhādji Ḥādjdjī Madrasa as a *müderris*. Later he became *müderris* at the Sulṭāniyye Madrasa in Bursa, after which he taught at several *madrasas* in Istanbul, ultimately attaining an appointment to the Süleymāniyye. In Djumādā al-Ākhir 998/April 1590 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, following which he received the *ḳaḍā*'s of Cairo again, Bursa, Gallipoli, Eyyüb and Eski Zaghra respectively. While in this last post he became ill and returned to Istanbul. He then requested and received the *ḳaḍāʾ* of the small town of Reshīd in Egypt, where he died shortly after his arrival. Although credited with several minor works, his fame rests on his biographical dictionary of the Ottoman poets, *Tedhkiret al-shuʿarāʾ*, the autograph of which is in the Library of Istanbul University (TY 1737). This is the fifth work in this genre after those by Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿAhdī and ʿĀshïḳ Čelibi. Though completed at 994/1586, his own copy shows later revision and corrections. It is dedicated to Murād III and includes three sections: the first devoted to the *sulṭāns*, the second to the *shehzādes* and the third to poets proper, most of whom are also mentioned in previous *tedhkires*. Ḥasan Čelebi made use of the *tedhkire* of *Laṭīfī* [*q.v.*] and, in particular, that of ʿĀshïḳ Čelebi. As may be seen from the alterations in his autograph, his method was to adopt the information given by these two predecessors, recasting it in his own individual, elegant style. However, he sometimes criticises their views on the merits of certain poets and advances his own opinions. The information he has to give about the poets and scholars with whom he was personally acquainted gives his work a particular value.

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(MEHMED ČAVUŞOĞLU)

KINĀNA B. KHUZAYMA, an Arab tribe, genealogically related to Asad (b. Khuzayma) [*q.v.*]. The territories of Kināna were around Mecca from the Tihāma on the south-west, where they were next to Hudhayl, to the north-east where they bordered on Asad. There were six main subdivisions of the tribe, though more are sometimes mentioned: al-Naḍr (or Ḳays), the ancestor of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], which is reckoned a separate tribe; Mālik; Milkān (or Malkān); ʿĀmir; ʿAmr; ʿAbd Manāt. The latter was further subdivided. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt was a strong group, and included as parts Mudlidj, al-Duʾil and Layth, as well as the more independent Ḍamra. Ghifār [*q.v.*] is sometimes reckoned to Ḍamra and sometimes said to be Ghifār b. ʿAbd Manāt. Al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt was the main part of the Aḥābīsh [see ḤABASH, end], who were probably a collection of small groups without common ancestry (named as ʿAḍal, al-Ḳāra and al-Dīsh, all of B. al-Hūn b. Khuzayma, together with B. al-Muṣṭaliḳ of Khuzāʿ and sometimes B. Liḥyān of Hudhayl).

History. At an early date Fihr, the common ancestor of all Ḳuraysh, was leader of Kināna when they defeated a Ḥimyarite force. His descendant Ḳusayy [*q.v.*] had the help of men of Kināna in the fighting which gave him control of Mecca, and his position was consolidated by the arbitration in his favour of Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf of Layth, though most of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt opposed Ḳusayy. In the wars of the Fidjār [*q.v.*] the "day of Nakhla" resulted from the killing of a Kilābī by al-Barrāḍ b. Ḳays, a man of Ḍamra rejected by his tribe but protected by al-Duʾil, and a *ḥalīf* of Ḥarb b. Umayya (of Ḳuraysh). In general, Kināna, including Bakr, supported Ḳuraysh against Hawāzin, but some parts of Bakr continued to feel hostility towards Ḳuraysh, especially after the chief of Bakr was killed in revenge for a youth of Ḳuraysh. Because of this matter Ḳuraysh hesitated before setting out for Badr in 624, until a man of Mudlidj guaranteed that Bakr would not attack them from the rear. After this, however, Bakr supported Ḳuraysh against Muḥammad, and it was an attack by Bakr on Muḥammad's allies of Khuzāʿa which led to his conquest of Mecca in 630. In his force on this occasion Muḥammad had men from Ghifār, Ḍamra and Layth. Little is heard of the movements of Kināna after this. A prominent member of the tribe, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī [*q.v.*], is known as a supporter of ʿAlī, and is incorrectly alleged to be the founder of Arabic grammar. In 230/844-5 al-Ṭabarī mentions some Kināna as still near Mecca but apparently weak. They are also recorded in the Ḥawrān, and, in the 6th/12th century, in Upper Egypt and the western delta.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 79 f., 430-2, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des arabes avant l'islamisme*, index; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 350 f.; idem, *Nihāyat al-arab*, mentions most subdivisions; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, index of tribes; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, index; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156 f. (intercalators of months from Kināna), 195 f. (al-Barrāḍ), etc.; idem, *Munammaḳ*, index; al-Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 61-4.

(W. M. WATT)

KINĀYA (A.), a technical term of rhetoric corresponding approximately to "metonymy" and meaning the replacement, under certain conditions, of a word by another word which has a logical connection with it (from cause to effect, from containing to contained, from physical to moral, by apposition etc.). Etymologically, this term implies a sense of dissimulation found also in the word *kunya* [*q.v.*], which is considered by such a grammarian as al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 677) to be derived from *kināya*. *Kināya* constitutes a particular type of metaphor (*istiʿāra* [*q.v.*]) and it is distinct from trope (*madjāz* [*q.v.*]) in that the latter is only to be understood if taken in its figurative sense (e.g. *raʿaynā 'l-ghayth* "we have caused the rain to feed", where *ghayth* can only mean the grass appearing after a fall of rain). For some theorists, *kināya* covers allusion (of which the various forms are called *taʿrīḍ*, *talwīḥ*, *ramz*, *īmāʾ* and *ishāra*), but this is not so because, if it may be

taken both in its proper and its figurative sense, it demands, if it is to be genuinely understood, an effort of imagination on the part of the listener, who may otherwise turn a deaf ear; after al-Tha'ālibī, Ibn al-Athīr saw fit to put together *kināya* and *ta'rīḍ* in *naw'* xix of *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, so as to condemn the errors made by his predecessors in this regard and to make plain the differences which exist between the two concepts. On the other hand, euphemism, antiphrase and other methods of dissimulation of a more popular nature are to be included under the heading of *kināya*.

In general, if we are to follow Ibn al-Athīr, *kināya* describes a word or a group of words which may be interpreted either in their literal or figurative sense and are used to replace other words which are to be rejected, sometimes simply for considerations of style, sometimes out of respect for decency, avoiding the use of words likely to shock or judged to be of bad omen; a logical relation must however exist between the literal and the figurative, the *kināya* and the *maknī 'anhu*.

This is not the place to examine the other definitions proposed by the theorists and to take into account their disagreements regarding classification and nomenclature. We will simply observe that al-Sakkākī distinguishes three types: (1) *tamthīl* or assimilation of one thing to another (e.g. *naḳī al-thawb* "clean of clothing" meaning "exempt from moral vice". (2) *irdāf* "implication", a term which Ḳudāma (*Naḳd*, 88) invariably uses to the exclusion of *kināya* (e.g. *ṭawīl al-nidjād* "with long crossbelt", meaning "tall in stature", because the one cannot go without the other); in certain cases it is by a series of implications, more precisely of *ridf*s "pillion-riders" that the intended sense is reached (*kathīr al-ramād* "having a great quantity of ash" to express generosity, hospitality: in fact the abundance of ash implies successively abundance of fire, then of wood and of cooking for a large number of guests). (3) *mudjāwara* "proximity" or "association" (e.g. the container for the contained: *zudjādja* "bottle" = "wine").

Studies and chapters devoted to *kināya* contain first a number of quotations from the Ḳur'ān and from *ḥadīth*s which may be interpreted as metonomies; thus LXXIV, 4: *wa-thiyāba-ka faṭahhir*" and your clothing, purify" where *thiyāb* may be understood as meaning the soul, behaviour etc. Another characteristic example is provided by XXXVIII, 22/23: *la-hū tis'un wa-tis'ūna na'djatan wa-lī na'djatun wāḥida*, which is translated as "he has ninety-nine sheep and I have only one sheep", but where some, influenced no doubt by popular usage according to which the wife is called *na'dja* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 23, tr. Pellat, 40; *Ḥayawān*, i, 212), see a *kināya*. There seems little purpose in providing extensive examples of the ways in which the followers of allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*) can take advantage of this concept of *kināya* in order to justify all kinds of daring interpretations.

It must be said that the *fuḳahā'* themselves are sometimes obliged to take it into account where they have to use verses directly concerning the *Sharī'a*. This is the case for example with IV, 46/43, V, 9/6 where two *kināya*s appear: *aw djā'a aḥadun min al-ghā'iṭi aw lāmastumu 'l-nisā'* "if one (of you) has come from the place hidden from view or if you have touched women", then washing is obligatory; *ghā'iṭ* comes to mean latrines, then excrement, and *lāmasa* may be taken in a literal sense of "touching" or in the figurative sense of "having sexual relations with a woman", so this verb is of a type which provokes discussions. Another notable example is the text which demands, for the application of the legal penalty to the fornicator, the presence of witnesses testifying that they have seen *al-mīl fi 'l-mukuḥla* "the needle in the container for kohl"; but here the context leaves no doubt as to the true sense of the expression.

In these last examples it is a case of euphemisms whose purpose is to "palliate the ugly" (*taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ*), as al-Tha'ālibī says (*Kināyat*, 55), and it is the examples of this genre that the authors most often quote, borrowing them from the Ḳur'ān, from *ḥadīth*s, from poetry; generally they concern woman, the sexual organs, defecation, various forms of uncleanness and everything which is of bad omen. Some *kināya*s testify to great finesse, notably that quoted by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 350-4 = § 2550), where, in a letter addressed to al-Rashīd, the word *khayzurān* "bamboo", but also the name of the caliph's mother, is replaced by *ḳuḍbān*. Others however are criticised, notably the use of Abū Aws to describe a stone (*ḥadjar*), because the father of Aws was called *Ḥadjar* (al-'Askarī, *Ṣinā'atayn*, 370). There was thus ample scope for the making of puns, and the humorists did not hesitate to take advantage of this.

In the introduction to the *Kitāb Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān*, al-Djāḥiẓ makes fun of the hypocrites who cover their faces upon hearing a crude word, recalling that the most pious of the Muslims and the Prophet himself did not hesitate to use such words, and he adds that these words were created in order to be used and that it would be necessary to withdraw them from the Arabic language if one were not allowed to speak them. In the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (i, 33), he notes the unwillingness of his contemporaries to use the specific term for excrement and their habit of utilising a number of euphemisms to describe latrines: *makhradj*, *madhhab*, *khalā'*, *ḥashsh*/*ḥushsh*, *mutawaḍḍā'*, and excrement: *radjī'*, *zibl*, *ghā'iṭ*; others could be added to this list. An anecdote probably invented for specific purposes figures in several sources (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 330-3 = §§ 3490-2; al-Tha'ālibī, *Kināyāt*, 31; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ*, ed. Cairo 1314, ii, 270-1; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 215-6; etc.): a man is the victim of a joke in bad taste, in that he is asking for the latrines and appealing to a group of singing girls who pretend not to understand him. He tries one by one about eight different terms supposed to belong to various regions of the Arabic-speaking world (but the variants are too numerous to permit the drawing up of a linguistic map on the basis of this anecdote); to the words quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ we may add here at least *kanīf*, *mustarāḥ* and *mirḥāḍ*.

In this regard, W. Marçais (*Euphémisme*, 395-6) comments that in classical Arabic "the plurality of nomenclature sometimes contrasts with the simplicity of the items described. If the latter are by nature liable to shock, one's tendency is to attribute this discrepancy between means and ends to the practice of euphemism." It is quite possible in fact that, independent of dialectical variants, the abundance of synonyms is sometimes due to the listing, by the lexicographers, of euphemistic terms whose origin is not indicated. It is thus for example that Ibn Manẓūr lists, according to Ibn Khālawayh, eight verbs meaning "to menstruate" (s.v. root *ḥ.y.ḍ.*); *ḥāḍat* can in fact be replaced by: *nafisat*/*nufisat*, *darasat*, *ṭamithat*, *ḍaḥikat*, *kādat*, *akbarat* and *ṣāmat*.

It is not impossible that certain of the euphemisms which figure in the dictionaries belong to the language

of slang, but it is not always easy to determine the degree of decency of such and such a term of which the satirists make considerable use. In this connection, we quote only one epigram of *Diʿbil* (ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 204) where the sixth verse contains the word *ḳiththa*, "cucumber" the sense of which is all the more readily understood because of the appearance in verse four of *tisʿīn* "ninety" which means the anus. This last *kināya* is borrowed from dactylonomy (*ḥisāb al-ʿuḳad* [*q.v.*]), which supplies a large number of less obscene examples (e.g. "93" or "99" = miser"); see now Ch. Pellat, *Textes arabes relatifs à la dactylonomie*, Paris 1977, 21-2 and passim.

As a result of its undeniable expressiveness, to which the numerous examples cited by rhetoricians bears witness, the *kināya* preserves all its force in colloquial Arabic, for not only do slang expressions abound here, but also convention demands a strict caution in circles where superstitions continue to be strong. To antiphrase (*bṣīr* "clear-seeing" for "blind", already found in the name of Abū ʿAlī al-Baṣīr [see AL-BAṢĪR], who lost his sight; with this may be compared Ḳurʾān, XI, 89/87; *inna-ka la-anta 'l-ḥalīmu 'l-rashīd* "truly you are long-suffering and just", which must be interpreted in the contrary sense), to designation by a verb without subject *kānet shayḥa lāyḥa* "the situation was lamentable"), by an adverb or a pronoun (*ʿand-hā hādūk* "she is having her menstrual period"; cf. in a verse of Abū Nukhayla, *Aghānī*, xx, 382, *ḥarraktu-hū*, where the pronoun refers to an obscene word not expressed (likewise *aduʿu-hu*, in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, xvi, 209, l. 3 from bottom), and to euphemism pure and simple (in Morocco, *fākhər* "glorious" to describe coal (*faḥm*) because of its black colour), there are to be added voluntary alteration (*tasʿūd* [*təsʿud*] "you shall be happy" for the number "nine" because *təsʿa* also means "you shall be a beggar"), borrowing from other languages (the Turko-Persian *shishma* for "latrines"), the refusal to specify ("those who are not to be named" = the djinns) and other procedures. On this subject, one can only refer to W. Marçais, *Nouvelles observations sur l'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghribins*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves* of Brussels (*Mélanges Isidore Lévy*), xiii (1953), 331-98. For Berber, see E. Destaing *Interdictions de vocabulaire en berbère*, in *Mél. René Basset*, Paris 1928, ii, 177-277.

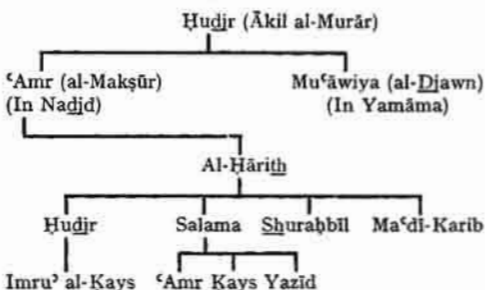
Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, 88-90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1356/1937, 472-4, 674-8; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda, passim*; Aḥmad al-Djurdjānī, *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabāʾ wa-ishārāt al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1326/1908; Thaʿālibī, *K. al-Kināyāt wa 'l-taʿrīḍ*, at the end of the preceeding item; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 368-70; Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Cairo 1356/1937, 189-96; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vii, 59-60; Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 41-2. See also KHAMSA, TAWRIYA and the bibl. to ISTIʿĀRA. (CH. PELLAT)

KINDA, a South Arabian tribal group, whose descent, real or imaginary, from Kahlān correctly identifies them as Arabs and distinguishes them, as it does the Azd, from Ḥimyar and other non-Arab inhabitants of South Arabia. The tribe spread all over Arabia in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., from the south to the centre to the north, and played a decisive role in the military, political, and cultural history of the peninsula before the rise of Islam.

1. The pre-Islamic period.

From Kinda (a *laḳab*, nickname for Thawr) are descended Muʿāwiya and Ashras, and from the latter are descended al-Sakūn and al-Sakāsik. The more distinguished branch was Muʿāwiya, and within Banū Muʿāwiya, the house of Ḥudjr, nicknamed Ākil al-Murār, became the most illustrious.

Genealogical table of the Banū Ākil al-Murār

Ḥudjr (Ākil al-Murār)
- ʿAmr (al-Maḳṣūr) (In Nadjd)
  - Al-Ḥārith
    - Ḥudjr
      - Imruʾ al-Ḳays
    - Salama
      - ʿAmr
      - Ḳays
      - Yazīd
    - Shuraḥbīl
    - Maʿdī-Karib
- Muʿāwiya (al-Djawn) (In Yamāma)

It was this Ḥudjr who, in the second half of the 5th century and supported by the power of Ḥimyar, moved into central and northern Arabia and assumed supremacy over the Arab tribes of Maʿadd. One of the celebrated *Ayyām*, battle days of the Arabs, Yawm al-Baradān, involves him with Ziyād b. al-Habūla, the Salīḥī client-king of Byzantium. It was his descendants, the Banū Ākil al-Murār, that dominated the political and military scene in Arabia for almost a century. He was succeeded by his son ʿAmr, nicknamed al-Maḳṣūr, while his younger son Muʿāwiya (nicknamed al-Djawn) ruled over al-Yamāma. Neither was distinguished, and it was his grandson, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, who became the best-known member of the house, an international figure known not only to the Arabs of the peninsula but also to Persia and Byzantium and to their Arab clients, the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids. Around 500 A.D. his two sons, Ḥudjr and Maʿdī-Karib, mounted an offensive against the Byzantine border and in 502 A.D. the Empire had to conclude a peace treaty with al-Ḥārith. For a short time he ruled over Ḥīra, adopting Mazdakism during the reign of the Persian king Kawād. Then leaving al-Ḥīra, he went over to the Byzantines, who assigned to him a phylarchate in Palestine, but he quarreled with Diomede, the *dux* of that province, and fled to the desert where he was killed in 528 A.D. either by the Lakhmid Mundhir or by a member of the tribe of Kalb.

Al-Ḥārith had divided the Arab tribes of Maʿadd among his four sons, Ḥudjr, Shuraḥbīl, Salama, and Maʿdī-Karib. After his death, rivalries broke out among them and brought about a bloody engagement, the first day of al-Kulāb, in which Shuraḥbīl was killed. Then the tribe of Asad rose against Ḥudjr and killed him. It was at this juncture, after the violent death of al-Ḥārith when the power of Kinda was in disarray, that Byzantium sent its two diplomats, Julian and Nonnosus, *ca.* 530 A.D., to Ḥimyar, Ethiopia, and Kinda for an alliance against the Persians. The services of Kinda were indispensable, and Byzantine diplomacy was finally able to compose differences between the Ḥimyarīs and the Kindīs by withdrawing Ḳays (probably the son of Salama) from central Arabia and arranging for the division of his dominion between his two brothers, Yazīd and ʿAmr. Ḳays visited Constantinople and was given a command in Palestine.

In the second half of the 6th century, the power of Kinda in central and north Arabia was clearly disintegrating. In addition to the fratricidal wars among the sons of al-Ḥārith in Nadjd, the Banu

'l-Djawn branch in al-Yamāma allowed themselves to be involved in the inter-tribal feuds of Tamīm and ʿĀmir; these resulted in the two battles of Shiʿb Djabala and Dhū Nadjab, which proved disastrous to the Banu 'l-Djawn. So precarious had the position of Kinda become that the tribe, according to the sources, decided to go back to its original home in Ḥaḍramawt.

A century or so of rule over such a vast area in the Arabian peninsula calls for an assessment of the role of Kinda in Arab history: (1) The dominion of Kinda represents the first attempt, however forcible, to impose unity on the tribes of central and northern Arabia; but this unity could not have been achieved without the support of Ḥimyar. (2) Kinda brought from the Ḥimyarī South a tradition of sedentary life; it ruled the Arabs from such urban spots as Ghamr Dhī Kinda, Baṭn Ākil, and Hadjar. (3) The house of Ākil al-Murār adopted Christianity, and must have been an important factor in disseminating it in central and northern Arabia. The most important Arabic Christian inscription of pre-Islamic times, commemorating the erection of a church in al-Ḥīra, is that of Hind, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr; and the Banu 'l-Djawn must have done their share in spreading Christianity in al-Yamāma. (4) Kinda contributed towards the spread of literacy among the Arabs and one Bishr b. ʿAbd al-Malik (from the Sakūn) is said to have learnt the art of Arabic writing in al-Ḥīra and to have taught it in Mecca, where he settled and married a sister of Abū Sufyān. (5) Kinda's greatest contribution, however, to the cultural life of the Arabs was Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], the foremost poet of pre-Islamic Arabia. Through him and through the unification of the Arab tribes for a century, Kinda accelerated the development of a common and standard Arabic language, transcending dialectal differences, a circumstance that attained its fullest significance with the rise of Islam.

While the Banū Ākil al-Murār were making history in the Fertile Crescent as well as in central and north Arabia, other Kindī groups were not idle in the south, where they rebelled against, as well as fought for, the Ḥimyarīs, with whom their relations as auxiliaries and clients remained close. They fought for Ḥimyar against the Lakhmid Mundhir, against Nadjrān and the Ethiopians, and also for Abraha [*q.v.*]. A measure of the military power of Kinda, in both the north and the south, is provided by the fact that of the twenty-one Djarrārūn (pl. of Djarrār, "leader of a thousand", chiliarch) of Yaman, eleven were Kindīs. Their military role in the south is evidenced by references to them in the Sabaean inscriptions (see below, Appendix).

The Arabic sources corroborate the Sabaean inscriptions on the importance of Kinda in the south and give prominence to Ḳays b. Maʿdī-Karib, also a member of Muʿāwiya but from the family of Banu 'l-Ḥārith. He was the lord of Kinda in Ḥaḍramawt, and is known to have adopted Judaism. Al-Aʿshā eulogised him and the famous al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] was his son. Kinda is counted among the Arab tribes who adopted Judaism in pre-Islamic times, and it must have been this Kinda in the south that became Judaised. Their Judaism could possibly support the view that the *Nasaʾa* (those in charge of intercalation in the pre-Islamic calendar) had been Kindīs before the tribe of Kināna took over the function after one of them had married a Kindī princess.

2. **The Islamic period.**

Although it was in pre-Islamic times that Kinda, sc. Kindat al-Mulūk, "Royal Kinda", had its heyday, the tribe retained some of its power and influence in the time of the Prophet and in Islamic times. In addition to the Banū Muʿāwiya, the Ashrasīs, especially the Sakūnīs, now come to the fore, and within the Sakūn the Tudjībīs become the most important group. The Kindīs crossed the paths of Muḥammad, the caliphs, and their governors, who enlisted their talents in the service of Islam, as is clear from the many personages listed in the pages of such works as Ibn Ḥazm's *Djamhara*. They appear at critical junctures in the history of Islam, displaying the same unruliness and spirit of independence that had characterised their tribal *ethos* in pre-Islamic times.

Al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] led the delegation of Kinda to Medina and accepted Islam, and so did four other Kindī chiefs, Mikhwas, Mishraḥ, Djamad and Abḍaʿa, leading another branch of Kinda (in some sources the four chiefs are associated with the Ḥaḍramawt delegation); Tudjīb also sent a delegation and accepted Islam. In 9/630 the Sakūnī Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik, master of the strategic point Dūmat al-Djandal in northern Arabia, submitted to Khālid b. Walīd. Perhaps the best measure of the continuing importance of Kinda in the newly-emerging world of Islamic Arabia is the fact that Muḥammad contracted marriages with two, possibly three, Kindī princesses, but these do not seem to have been consummated.

After the death of Muḥammad, Kinda led a furious insurrection in Ḥaḍramawt, in which al-Ashʿath and the four chiefs mentioned above were involved, and it was with great difficulty that the insurrection was finally put down; the four chiefs were killed, and Abū Bakr spared the life of al-Ashʿath, who espoused the cause of Islam enthusiastically, fighting at both al-Yarmūk and al-Ḳādisiyya and later with ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. Other Kindīs distinguished themselves in the conquests: Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana was one of the three or four main commanders appointed by Abū Bakr for the conquest of al-Shām or Syria and his front was al-Urdunn, which he conquered and later governed. Al-Simṭ b. al-Aswad, a member of Muʿāwiya, and al-Ashʿath b. Miʾnās, a Sakūnī, took part in the conquest of Ḥimṣ; the first is credited with the division of the city into quarters in which the Muslims settled.

It was during the caliphate of ʿUthmān that Kinda took part in what proved to be the turning point in the history of Islam, namely, the murder of the fourth Orthodox caliph. Many of the Sakūnīs had settled in Egypt, and in the rising against ʿUthmān they formed part of the Egyptian party of rebels which advanced against Medina. The weapon that actually killed ʿUthmān was wielded by a Tudjībī, Kināna b. Bishr by name, and two other Sakūnīs are also associated with the murder. A memorable event in the Second Civil War of Islam is also associated with a Kindī. It was al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr, a Sakūnī, whose catapults rained stones upon the Ḥaram when in 64/683 he conducted for the Umayyad Caliph, Yazīd, the siege of Mecca, during which the Kaʿba caught fire and was burnt down. More revelatory of the atavistic rhythm in the history of Kinda in Islamic times is the career of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, commonly known as Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], a member of Muʿāwiya, vividly aware of his Kindī and South Arabian origins and worthy of his grandfather al-Ashʿath. After extending the boundaries of the Dār al-Islām by his invasion of Zābulistān in 80-1/699-700, he raised the standard of revolt and marched against al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, where he was

finally beaten at the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim.

It was, however, in the Islamic Occident, in faraway Spain and as late as the 5th/11th century, during the period of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, that the Kindīs, unruly and rebellious as ever, achieved what figures such as Ibn al-Ashʿath in the Orient had been unable to achieve, namely, the carving out for themselves of an independent political existence, however shortlived this proved to be. The Tudjībids settled in Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa), Darawḳa (Daroca) and Ḳalʿat Ayyūb, in which cities they ruled, as they did also in al-Mariyya (Almeria), if the Banū Ṣumādiḥ were indeed Tudjībids, as is probable. Claims made by such historians as Ibn Khaldūn that the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*] of Toledo and the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz were Tudjībids, do not seem to have been substantiated by recent research, which affiliates them rather to a Berber ancestry.

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(I. Shahîd)

Appendix. The relations of Kinda with Saba and Ḥimyar.

Pre-Islamic Sabaean inscriptions furnish us with some useful references to Kinda in its epigraphic South Arabian form *Kdt*. Unfortunately, one of the earliest of those references is not at present securely dateable, since the precise chronology of the Sabaean texts is still in dispute; however, a date in the 3rd century A.D. seems possible. This text, Ja 576 (published in full by A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs*, Baltimore 1962), according to a recent re-interpretation offered by A. F. L. Beeston (*Notes on Old South Arabian lexicography VIII*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxvi (1973), 448-51), depicts for us a situation in which Mālik king of Kinda was head of a confederation in which a certain Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. ʿAwf, called "king of the *KHṢṢT*", was a subordinate member; the latter committed an act of agression against Saba, as a result of which the king of Kinda and his *shaykhs* were forced under duress to surrender the person of the actual offender, to pay an indemnity, and to give hostages to the Sabaeans.

In two other texts of approximately similar date (Ja 660 and 665) we find Kinda and Madhḥidj, together with other bedouin groups, placed under the overall control of a Sabaean official with the title "*kabīr* of the Arabs of the king of Saba, and Kinda, and Madhḥidj etc,", and evidently acting as bedouin auxiliaries of the Sabaean army. In an inscription published by Sharafaddin (*Yemen*, Taʿizz 1961, 44, bottom left), a mixed force of Sabaeans, Kindī Arabs and other elements, was commanded by two individuals bearing the title "*wāziʿ* of Saba".

In the early 6th century A.D., the Ḥimyarite king Yūsuf (= Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*]) was similarly employing Kindīs, together with members of the Murād and Madhḥidj tribes, under the control of a Sabaean commander belonging to the Yazʾan (in Islamic sources Yazan) family, as auxiliaries in his campaigns in central Arabia; see Ry. 508.7. (G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud-arabes X^e ser.*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxvi (1953), 296) from Kawkab, an isolated rock northeast of the Kāra mountains and on the edge of the Empty Quarter.

In the mid-6th century, the Ḥimyarite king Abraha [*q.v.*] claims to have installed a certain Yazīd b. Kabsha as "his *khalīfa* over Kinda"; it appears that this Yazīd later revolted, but was defeated by the Ḥimyarites and forced to renew his allegiance in the year 657 of the Ḥimyarite era (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, iv, 541). Five years later, in 662 of the Ḥimyarite era, Kinda was again campaigning in support of the Ḥimyarites, this time being given the particular mission of pinning down the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa tribe [*q.v.*] while the king was engaged on military operations elsewhere (Ry. 506, *op. cit.*, 277). (A. F. L. Beeston)

AL-KINDĪ, ʿABD AL-MASĪḤ B. Isḥāḳ, the name given to the author of a defence of Christianity presented in the forms of a letter written in response to that of a Muslim friend, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī, who invited his correspondent to embrace Islam. The names of these two characters are supplied only by al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050 [*q.v.*]) in a reference that he makes to this defence in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, 205). In fact, the author of the two letters, who states in the prologue that he does not wish to mention the names of the correspondents "for a certain reason", speaks only of a Hāshimī and a Kindī. But it should also be noted that the headings of certain manuscripts supply the name of Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī, not to be confused with the name of the first Muslim philosopher (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]).

The authorship of this defence is the object, among orientalists, of serious disagreements concerning his period and his sect. Taking as evidence the historical data supplied by the text, mention of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), of the sack of Mecca by Abu 'l-Sarāyā (199/815) and of the revolt of Bābak al-Khurramī (204/819), W. Muir believes that the date of the composition of the letter can be fixed at 215/830. But L. Massignon believes the composition to be later than the year 300/912, seeing that the author has borrowed from al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) his criticism of an opinion of the Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/940). Similarly, observing a parallelism between certain criticisms contained in the letter and in a work of the Muslim heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 298/910), P. Kraus concludes that the Christian author borrowed these criticisms from the latter and therefore the letter can only have been composed at the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

As for the sect to which the author of the apology belonged, the majority of orientalists make him a Nestorian, as is moreover indicated explicitly by his Muslim friend in his letter. The fact that he himself mentions the convent (*ʿumr*) of al-Karkh, a suburb of Baghdād, and Sābāṭ al-Madāʾin, near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, confirm this idea. But Massignon, considering that the distinction between the essence and

the attributes of the act is an "adaptation to Christian theology of the tenets of Islamic *kalām*", is led to identify the author with the celebrated Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 364/974). Similarly, M.-Th. de Alverny, on the basis of a passage in the Latin translation which treats the Nestorians as heretics, makes the author of the letter a Jacobite philosopher who, according to a concluding passage figuring only in the Latin version and a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris B. N. syr. 204), must have composed a work against Arius.

Now the publication of the work of a Jacobite theologian of the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Rāʾiṭa Ḥabīb b. Khidma, shows that, contrary to the opinion of Massignon, this distinction between the divine attributes dates from a period considerably before that of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, since it is found in the work of Abū Rāʾiṭa, from whom the author of the letter borrowed it, as well as the whole of the philosophical-theological section dealing with the unity of God (ed. G. Graf, *CSCO*, cxxx, 5-10). As for the fact of a Nestorian author borrowing from a Jacobite a discussion of the unity of God, this is not surprising, since there was no difference of opinion between them on this point.

Similarly, the publication of the Latin version has shown that in this version, conforming to the original Arabic, the Muslim tells his correspondent that of all the Christians, the Jacobites profess the worst doctrine while the Nestorians, his friends, are closer to the Muslims (379); and it is clear that the passage in the Latin version which describes the Nestorians as heretics (413), and which is nowhere corroborated by the Arabic text, arises from the fact that the translator has "revised" the text in a "Catholic" manner (400); as for the concluding passage where there is mention of a work against Arius, it seems, judging from its content and style, that it does not belong to the original text, and that it is a later addition.

Finally, it should be noted that in a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris, B. N. syr. 205), the text of the letter of the Muslim has been revised in manner favourable to the Jacobites, the name of the Jacobites being replaced by that of the Nestorians and *vice-versa*, and the writing of the name of Cyrillus being distorted (fol. 3b).

Presented as the work of a Nestorian Christian, a senior official at the court of al-Maʾmūn, this defence of Christianity is also a refutation of Islam, and is thoroughly documented, assessing the respective worth of the two religions from a historical and moral viewpoint. Translated into Latin in 1141, by Peter of Toledo and revised by Peter of Poitiers, the letter of al-Kindī played a very important role, in the East as well as in the West, in the polemic between Christians and Muslims.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], art. s.v. (L. Massignon); Brockelmann, S I 344-5; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 135-45; first edn, of the Arabic text by Anton Tien, London 1880; Eng. tr. in Sir William Muir, *The apology of al-Kindy*, London 1882; P. Kraus, *Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte*, in *RSO*, xiv (1933), 335-41; M.-Th. d'Alverny, *Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen-Âge*, in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale*, xxii (1947), 87-96; J. Muñoz Sendino, *La apologia del christianismo de al-Kindi*, in *Miscelanea Comillas*, xi (1949), 339-460; A. Abel, *L'Apologie d'al-Kindī et sa place dans la polémique islamo-chrétienne*, in *L'Oriente cristiano nelle storia della civilta*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CCCLXI (1964), Cuaderno No. 62, 501-23; G. C. Anawati, *Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chrétiens*, in *Euntes Docete*, xxii (1969), 380-92.

(G. Troupeau)

AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR MUḤAMMAD b. Yūsuf al-Tudjībī, historian of Egypt, was born on *yawm al-naḥr* (10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) 283/18 January 897 and died on Tuesday, 3 Ramaḍān 350/Wednesday, 16 October 961. He heard al-Nasāʾī, the author of the *Sunan*, when the latter lectured in Egypt, and appears to have lectured on *ḥadīth* himself. Among his teachers and historical informants, Ibn Ḳudayd (d. 312/924-5) seems to have been the most important one. His principal transmitters (cf. his *Judges*) was Ibn al-Naḥḥās (323-416/935-1025). This is about all that is known of his life. The authentic information goes back mostly to his contemporary, the historian al-Farghānī, who mentioned him in his continuation of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*; this information has fortunately been preserved in biographical notices added in Ms. Brit. Mus. add. 23, 324. The name of the town where he was allegedly born is in fact to be read *yawm al-naḥr*; this shows that no independent biographical information is preserved in the notice on al-Kindī in al-Maḳrīzī's *Muḳaffā*, reproduced by N. A. Koenig, *The history of the governors of Egypt*, New York 1908, 1, n. 5.

Al-Kindī's *Histories of the* (1) *Governors* (wulāt) *and* (2) *Judges* (ḳuḍāt) *of Egypt* are preserved in the above-mentioned Brit. Mus. manuscript. The definitive edition, provided with a careful introduction, is that of R. Guest, (GMS xix, Leyden-London 1912, reprinted in 1964, re-edition of the *Governors* by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Beirut 1379/1959). The *Governors* end with the year 334/946; they were briefly continued in the preserved ms. for a few decades to the coming of the Fāṭimids. The *Judges* end with the year 246/861 in the preserved text; they were perfunctorily supplemented by two hands through the first third of the 5th/11th century. Both works contain important information, and are early representatives of provincial historiography. As to political history, they afford a glimpse into events as seen from outside the centre of empire. As to judicial history, they reveal a good deal about legal institutions and practices. We may suspect, however, that they do not really compensate for the loss of the older, and early Fāṭimid, literature on Egyptian history. In Mamlūk times, al-Kindī's works together with what was then still known of the literature now apparently lost, were much used.

Al-Kindī is further credited with works on (3) the *Mawālī* (known from a considerable number of quotations), (4) the *Khiṭaṭ* of Egypt, (5) the *Khandaḳ* (the trench made by Ibn Djaḥdam around Fusṭāṭ in 65/684, cf. *Governors*, 46), (6) the *Great Mosque of the Ahl al-Rāya* (the mosque of ʿAmr), (7) the *Western Contingents* (*al-djund al-gharbī* or *al-adjnād al-gharābā*), and (8) *Marwān b. al-Djaʿd*, presumably the last Umayyad caliph (unless it dealt rather with al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam). (5) and (6) may have been parts of (4). The assumption that he also wrote an independent history (see Brockelmann, in *EI*[1], s.v. *al-Kindī*) is quite uncertain.

A brief treatise on the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* was compiled by al-Kindī's otherwise unknown son ʿUmar in the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. His authorship is indicated with some confusion at the beginning of the work and appears supported by the list of sources used, ending with Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī and Ibn Yūnus. Its transmitter was again Ibn al-Naḥḥās. Later authors took it for a work by Abū ʿUmar himself. It was first edited with a Danish

translation by J. Østrup, in *Oversigt over det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Forhandlinger*, Copenhagen 1896, 173-245. Another edition, by I. A. al-ʿAdawī and ʿAlī M. ʿUmar, appeared in Cairo in 1971 (including a reproduction of two pages of the ʿAkkā ms. supposedly dating from the 5th/11th century). Neither edition is complete with respect to the use of the available mss. material.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and Brockelmann, I, 155 f., S I, 229 f.; Sezgin, i, 358; Ḥasan A. Maḥmūd, *al-Kindī al-muʾarrikh*, Cairo n.d. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ, "The philosopher of the Arabs" whose distinguished genealogy is obligingly given by the bio-bibliographers, was born before the end of the 2nd/8th century and died in about the middle of the 3rd/9th (perhaps approximately 185-252/801-66).

An eminent universal scholar and philosopher, he lived in a period of intellectual ferment in the sphere of the sciences as well as in that of *kalām*: the period of the translations, and of the controversies concerning Muʿtazilism.

He was a companion of the caliphs al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim. To the latter he dedicated notably his *On first philosophy*, and to his son Aḥmad, who was a pupil of his, he dedicated a number of other treatises. His association with these two sovereigns, plus the fact that he fell into disfavour during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (and was even deprived temporarily of his extensive library), lead one to suspect at least a tendency towards Muʿtazilism on his part. This hypothesis is supported by several passages from his known works (where there are references to the negation of the divine attributes or to the excellence of the works of God), as well as by the titles of works which are known only from the bibliographies. The latter show the extent and the variety of the work of al-Kindī: almost 250 titles (according to the *Fihrist*) concerning all the sciences cultivated in his day (these include astrology but not alchemy, which he regarded as a form of trickery), also technical subjects of particular interest to the ruling classes with whom he was associated: the manufacture of glass, jewellery, armour and perfume.

It is impossible to give a complete account of al-Kindī's thought because of the relatively small number of documents which has survived (less than 40 extant titles, as many of them philosophical as scientific; the task of editing and evaluating a number of unpublished ones is as yet incomplete). In the meantime, one can sketch the general outline, or at least note certain significant features, on the basis of the available texts.

His general philosophical position is best expressed in the introductory chapter of *On first philosophy*. Besides certain definitions and technical statements concerning philosophy, sc. the principles of philosophy, the four "causes", the four "scientific questions", there is to be found there what is in effect both an advertisement for, and a defence of, philosophy (it should be remembered that this treatise is dedicated to the caliph).

Taking as his inspiration, and sometimes borrowing literally from, the opening of a book of Aristotle's *Methaphysics*, of which he quotes a passage (without, however, acknowledging his source), al-Kindī describes the progressive accumulation of true knowledge which has come about in the course of time, thanks to the efforts of the philosophers: from this he infers that "the truth must be acquired, from whatever source it comes", and the statements of the philosophers must be re-examined and completed. He violently criticises the opponents of philosophy who attack it in the name of religion, while they themselves, he says, are without religion. The content of "the science of things and their true nature", that is to say philosophy, is identical to that of the message of the prophets: the science of divine sovereignty and divine unity, the science of morality and ethics. Finally, a brief quotation from Aristotle's *Protreptic* (again not acknowledged), according to which it is logically impossible not to be a philosopher, is followed by a prayer invoking the assistance of God in the pursuit of knowledge.

Thus al-Kindī sets forth an intellectual orientation doubly opposed to that of the traditionalists; according to him, knowledge can come from various sources and can still be expected to develop; but equally, he claims to respect the prophetic message. In precisely the same spirit his epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* compares human knowledge (*ʿilm insānī*) with divine knowledge (*ʿilm ilāhī*); whereas the first depends on prolonged effort and preparation regulated according to a precise scheme, God inspires the prophets, when He so desires, and without them having recourse to the methods of "human knowledge", with a type of revelation condensed into a few phrases whose sense the philosopher can only explain at the cost of a lengthy process of elucidation.

This position of al-Kindī's, with regard to the sciences and to philosophy, derived from various sources on the one hand, to revelation and religious speculation on the other, emerges also in some ways from the information supplied by the bio-bibliographers. These emphasise that al-Kindī had an unequalled acquaintance with the ancient sciences (Ibn al-Nadīm), that he of all the Islamic philosophers was closest to Aristotle (Ibn al-Dj̲uldj̲ul), that he studied in depth the various branches of Greek, Persian and Indian wisdom (Ḳifṭī); but also that he combined in his works the principles of the Law and those of the rational sciences (Bayhaḳī) and that he wrote an essay on *tawḥīd* according to the methods of the logicians (Ibn al-Dj̲uldj̲ul).

Also, in a systematic list of his works such as is first to be found in the *Fihrist*, one notes the section of "books of dialectic" or of "controversy" (*kutub dj̲adaliyya*), many of which must have dealt with specific problems of *kalām*, such as prophecy, *istiṭāʿa*, divine unity, the creation of the body, of the atom, etc.

As regards the Greek philosophers, al-Kindī mentions by name Plato and Aristotle and hardly any others. We know on the one hand that he used the *Treatise on the heavens* of Aristotle, that he commissioned a translation of his *Metaphysics* and revised the translation of the *Theology* which was attributed to him. But careful scrutiny of his works shows that he must have been acquainted, directly or indirectly, with certain others, such as Epictetus, Proclus and probably John Philoponus; we find also echoes of the last phase of the teaching of the school of Alexandria as it is expressed notably in the writings of David. These various references to other authors and implied borrowings pose many problems, both historical and critical, which are far from being solved. Without doubt there are questions still to be asked.

The variety of these borrowings poses in addition a philosophical problem, which could only be solved by examining the entire corpus of works of our author and his precise chronology, and examining the con-

sistency and the development of his thought, and his vocabulary as well.

Without attempting to enter into the details of the philosophy of al-Kindī as it is known to us, we can say that he adopted from the Aristotelian tradition a certain number of concepts (the four causes, the categories of change etc.) and of propositions (the finiteness of the world, the impossibility of a corporeal infinitude as an act, the mechanics of intellectual perception etc.); from the Platonist tradition, he takes speculation on the soul in its relationship with the body and with the divine light and on its ascent to and beyond the heavens. Parenetic and semi-mystical in this last case, his style and method are by times extremely precise, very abstract, strained, proceeding freely and methodically by means of axioms and deductions of a geometrical regularity.

On the other hand, al-Kindī, who ceases to follow the Greeks where they are in disagreement with the Ḳur'ānic revelation (i.e. with regard to the creation, and the life-span of the Universe), is interested in establishing or formulating agreements between certain philosophical ideas and certain articles of the Islamic faith, even Muʿtazilī ones.

Thus the *On first philosophy*, after some reflections on the "one" and the "many", where we detect echoes of Proclus, concludes (that is to say, the first part of the book, which is all that has survived, concludes) with a kind of philosophical *tawḥīd* and with criticism of those who give attributes to God (the same theme is used in the essay *On the unity of God and finite nature of the world*). The epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* contains a philosophical commentary on verses 78-82 of Sūra XXXVI and the epistle *On the lowest prostration of the body* another on verse 6 of Sūra LV.

There are other detailed references to other works which could be quoted. It would appear that al-Kindī uses the same method in his choice of language where certain words or verbal roots are common to the vocabulary of religion and to that of the Greek translations (thus he refers to God by the name *al-wāḥid al-ḥaḳḳ*, which is both Ḳur'ānic and Neo-Platonist; he uses the word *rubūbiyya*, which belongs to the language of religion, in the title of the *Theology* attributed to Aristotle). It is important to analyse these various agreements and differences at this early stage of the history of *falsafa*.

In so far as one is able to judge from the bibliographical lists and the few treatises, of various lengths, which have survived, the scientific work of al-Kindī follows the same scheme as his philosophical work, sc. to revise and develop the findings of the ancient scholars in the light of new interests. He wrote essays on Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, on the astrolabe and on Hippocratic medicine; he also drew to a considerable extent on Asiatic sources, particularly for his knowledge of remedies.

On the other hand he followed ideas which were specifically his own, notably in his studies of optics and pharmacology. His article on perspective (known only in Latin under the title *De causis diversitatum aspectus*) follows Euclid, though without following him blindly. Three points are set out here in succession: the rectilinear propagation of light which Euclid postulated and which al-Kindī demonstrates; a theory of vision whereby the eye illuminates the object seen—this also is a Euclidean theory which al-Kindī modifies, giving three dimensions to the rays emitted by the eye (whereas for Euclid these were geometric lines); finally, a theory of mirrors. Here too, his study of burning mirrors is an adaptation, that is to say a revision, a criticism and a completion, of what Anthemios of Tralles had written on this subject.

The same method is used in the treatise *On compound medicines*. The ancients had studied the proportions of the four qualities (hot, cold, dry, wet) in simple medicines. Now this method had to be extended to compound medicines, and al-Kindī takes pains to explain mathematically the relation between increasing the number of parts of each quality, and the corresponding increase in the effect of the medicine on the organism.

Al-Kindī left a few pupils (Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, Abū Maʿshar), but not a school in the strict sense of the word. It is most of all as a universal scholar and as an astrologer that he has survived (to the point that those of his works which were available in Latin, were still being read in medieval times). Ibn Khaldūn quotes him at various points in his *Muḳaddima*, but does not include him in his list of Islamic philosophers.

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(J. JOLIVET - R. RASHED)

ḲINDĪL [see MIṢBĀḤ]

KINKIWAR, KANKIWAR, KANGĀWAR, a small town of western Persia (population in 1975, 13,144) situated in lat. 34°29′ N., long. 47°55′ E., and in the *bakhsh* of the same time in the *shahristān* of Kirmānshāhān. The town is almost equidistant from the cities of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān [*qq.v.*], and lies at an altitude of 1,467 m.; it is first mentioned by Isidore of Charax under the name "Concobar". The *bakhsh* comprises (1975) four *dihistāns*, with a total of some sixty villages and a population of about 38,435. The economy of the region is based on agriculture and trade.

The Kangāwar valley has since ancient times been an important staging post and centre of communications on the great highway from Mesopotamia to the Iranian plateau, and recent excavations have established that nearby sites such as Gawdīn Tappa and Sih Gabī were occupied several thousands of years prior to the foundation of Kangāwar itself, which probably occurred in Parthian times. The important temple to the goddess Anahita, recently discovered at Kangāwar, is thought to date from the 2nd century B.C.; its construction was erroneously attributed by early Muslim writers to the Sāsānid monarch Khusraw Parwīz.

In Islamic times, Kangāwar seems to have flour-

ished up to the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century. At about that time, most of the Saldjūḳ remains were destroyed by fire, and there seems to have been virtually no building on the site from Īlkhānid to Tīmūrid times, and little under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs.

In general, the Islamic geographers refer to Kangāwar as Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūṣ ("Robbers' Castle"). Al-Ṭabarī, i, 2649, says simply that it acquired this name because the Arab army on the way to meet the Persians at Nihāwand (21/642) had some of its baggage-animals stolen there. Centuries later, this reputation of the people of Kangāwar still prevailed: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. M. Dabīrsiyāḳī, Tehran 1336/1957) states that they were "first-class thieves" (Le Strange's translation in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 107, is inaccurate). From the name Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūs derived the *nisba* "Ḳaṣrī" (see Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 450).

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(R. M. Savory)

ḲINNASRĪN, an ancient town and military district in Syria; the name is of Aramaic origin and appears as Ḳenneshrīn in the Syriac texts. Composed of *ḳinnā* "nest" and *nasrīn* "of eagles", it is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud in the form of Kannishrayyā and the European historians of the Middle Ages called the area Canestrine. A distinction must be drawn between the town and the *djund*.

1. The town. At the present day, Ḳinnasrīn is nothing more than a little village surrounded by ruins, a day's journey to the south of Aleppo, on the right bank of the Ḳuwayḳ which flows into the nearby marshy depression of al-Matkh. The Arab geographers place it in the fourth climate. Yāḳūt, who gives various explanations for the origin of the name, says that the place was already populated in the period when the Amalekites, coming from the south, sought refuge there, and that the town had once been prosperous and strongly fortified, but that in his time (beginning of the 7th/13th century) it was nothing more than a village, owing its survival to its position in the centre of a district where a number of highways converged. In ancient times the town, founded by Seleucus Nicator, was called *Chalcis ad Belum*, and gave its name to the Syrian-Arab *limes*. In the 4th century A.D. Ḳinnasrīn was a commercial centre and a prosperous agricultural market-town.

Set at a highway intersection and with a much-frequented *khān*, the town occupied an important position in the defensive system of the Syrian frontier from Antioch to the Euphrates and from the *hamad* toward Tadmur. It played a strategic role of some importance for the Byzantine empire and at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century A.D. it came under attack from the Persians.

After their victory on the Yarmūḳ [*q.v.*], the Muslim Arabs went on to conquer northern Syria. At Ḳinnasrīn, the garrison of local militia offered some resistance to the troops of Abū ʿUbayda, [*q.v.*] and in Shaʿbān 17/August-September 638, the town was taken. Under the reign of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, the town's defences were dismantled. Profiting by the experience of the Byzantines, the Umayyads, in their turn, installed a military headquarters at Ḳinnasrīn, which rapidly became the capital of the rich agricultural region of which it was the centre. Until the 4th/10th century, the history of the town was not marked by any event of importance.

In 331/943, it was one of the most solidly constructed localities of the region. Two years later, in the spring, the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf al-Dawla was defeated there by the troops of the Ikhshīd of Cairo. In the second half of the 4th/10th century, Ḳinnasrīn became the object of contention in the struggle between the Byzantines and the Ḥamdānids. At the approach of the Byzantines, in 351/963, the inhabitants fled from the city in panic. After the Ḥamdānid period, Ḳinnasrīn began to decline to the benefit of Aleppo. In 355/966, when Nicephorus Phocas advanced against Aleppo, Sayf ad-Dawla fell back upon Ḳinnasrīn, but being unable to defend it, he evacuated the town and the Byzantines came and burned the mosques. Part of the population settled to the East of the Euphrates and the rest took refuge in Aleppo. Shortly after, the town was repopulated, but in 389/998 it was burnt down and reconstructed once again. In 422/1030, it was again sacked by the Byzantines. Rebuilt at the end of the 5th/11th century by Sulaymān b. Ḳuṭulmush [*q.v.*], it was destroyed by his enemy Tādj ad-Dawla Tutush, [*q.v.*] brother of the sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]. It remained virtually uninhabited. Nāsir i-Khusraw, passing that way in *Radjab* 438/January 1047, saw nothing but a poor village.

In the period of the Crusades, Ḳinnasrīn was to play only a strategic role and was scarcely populated at all. In Muḥarram 513/April-May 1119, without occupying Aleppo, Il-Ghāzī installed himself in Ḳinnasrīn, made it a depot for military equipment and made raids against Ḥārim, the Rudj and Djabal Summaḳ.

Some years later, Tughtakīn of Damascus joined forces with Aḳsunḳur and together they attacked Aleppo. Sawār, *amīr* of Aleppo in the name of Zankī, made Ḳinnasrīn an operational base. In 529/1134-5 Pons of Tripoli laid siege to the place, which was relieved by Zankī, arriving in haste from Ḥimṣ. The traveller Ibn Djubayr (end of the 6th/12th century) describes the town as being in a state of abandonment and ruin.

From the time of the Ayyūbid period (7th/13th century), Ḳinnasrīn is no longer mentioned as a town, but its *khān* is noted as a halting-place for caravans journeying from Aleppo towards the south, and, beyond the crossroads of al-Athārib, towards the west. Pilgrims continued to make their way to Tell Nabī ʿĪsā, one of the hills of the town, to the tomb (*maḳām*, *ḳabr*) attributed to the prophet Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*] which is in fact the burial-place of the *amīr* Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. In the Ottoman period, Ḳinnasrīn was nothing more than an impoverished village, bearing the name Eski Ḥaleb. At the present day, it has returned to its original name.

2. The djund. Around Ḳinnasrīn there extends a

vast undulating plain (*kūra*); this is one of the most fertile regions of northern Syria where, with the aid of irrigation, cereals, fruit trees and vines are cultivated. In 375 Saint Jerome, visiting the province where at that time monasticism and asceticism were developing, testified to its agricultural prosperity.

On the horizon, there are visible to the south the Djabal Zāwiya, to the west the Djabal Barīsha, to the north the Djabal Sam^cān and the plain of Mardj Dābiḳ punctuated by tells, while to the east there are the shining salt-marshes of Djabbūl. The Arabs penetrated at an early stage the territory of Ḳinnasrīn, which corresponded to one of the Byzantine administrative divisions of Syria, representing the Roman "Syria Prima" of which Antioch was the capital. In the 6th century, Arab tribes were encamped in the eastern part of the region between the Euphrates and Ḳinnasrīn. Among the battles which took place on this territory, one may note the victory won in 554 A.D. near the source of the ʿUdhayya by the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith over the Lakhmid al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīra.

After the Muslim conquest, Syria was divided into four *adjnād*: the *djund* of Urdunn, that of Filasṭīn, that of Dimashḳ and that of Ḥimṣ. The creation of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn is attributed by some (al-Ṭabarī and al-Dimashḳī) to Muʿāwiya, who installed refugees from Baṣra and Kūfa there in 22/643, by others (al-Balādhurī, Yāḳūt) to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, who detached some districts from the *djund* of Hims.

In the ʿAbbāsid period, following the conquests of al-Manṣūr and his successors, the *djund* grew in size towards the north; at this time it covered its greatest expanse of territory. It absorbed to the north Ḳurūṣ, Tīzīn, Dulūk, to the north-west ʿAynṭab at a distance of two days' march, and Ḳalʿat al-Rūm [*q.v.*] at a distance of five days' march from Aleppo. To the south, it included the districts of the two Maʿarras (M. Misrīn and M. al-Nuʿmān) and of Ḥamāt, and the territory of Sarmīn.

Under the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-92/786-809), the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn was deprived, to the west, of the territory stretching from Antioch to the coast, to the east, of the region lying between Aleppo and Manbidj, and to the north, of the *thughūr*, districts which were to constitute the region of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*]. The *djund* was then limited to the area lying to the south of Aleppo. This was the end of its period of military importance, but economic activity continued, as is shown by the increases in taxation and in the tribute payed to al-Maʾmūn. In the 3rd/9th century, the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn paid 350,000 *dīnārs* while that of Damascus paid only 120,000. In the mid-4th/10th century, the *djund* paid 400,000 *dīnārs* of *kharādj*, the same as Dimashḳ, and 370,000 of *ḥimāya* [*q.v.*]. The capital was then Aleppo, and the principal cities Antāḳiya, Ḳinnasrīn and Manbidj. Its limits were to the west, the coast from Lādhiḳiya to Bayās, to the north, Marʿash and the ʿAwāṣim, to the east the Euphrates between Sumaysāt and Bālis, and to the south, the region of Ḥamāt with Shayzar and Rafaniyya, a region claimed by both Ḳinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ.

In 349/961, Nicephorus Phocas attacked the region of Aleppo; he returned two years later to sow the ruins, and the population went in search of refuge elsewhere. The intervention of the Basileus led to the disappearance of the ʿAwāṣim, to the advantage of the Byzantines who occupied Antāḳiya. The reconstruction of northern Syria under the Saldjūḳs scarcely touched the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn. In the 12th century, the latter came under pressure from the Franks of Antioch, especially in 495/1102 when Bohemond demanded tribute. In Ṣafar 527/Dec. 1132, Fulk of Jerusalem and the armies of Antioch attacked the territory of Ḳinnasrīn and imposed a truce with the addition of tribute upon Sawār, the Aleppo representative of the *Atabeg* Zankī.

At the end of the 7th/13th century, the *djund*, which retained its name in spite of the dominance of Aleppo, retrieved from the Franks the province of Antāḳiya and the lands of Sarmīn.

Under the Ottomans, in the mid-11th/18th century, Hādjdjī Khalīfa still speaks of "the province of Ḳinnasrīn of which the capital is Aleppo". Later, the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn disappeared and was integrated into the *liwāʾ* of Aleppo.

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(N. Elisséeff)

ḲINṬĀR [see MAKĀYĪL].

ḲIPČAḲ, a Turkish people and tribal confederation; usually also written Ḳīpčāḳ or Ḳifčāḳ; the forms Ḳifčākh, Khifshāḳ, Ḳifshākh and Khifčākh are also found. The etymology of the name is uncertain: the origin of the Old Turkish word *ḳïvčaḳ* (*ḳïbčaḳ*), which is known only in the form *ḳïvčaḳ ḳovï* "unlucky" (Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 581), is conjectural, as well the connection with the Sagai word *ḳïpčaḳ* "irate, hot-tempered". The proper name Ḳïpčaḳ is recorded in the Uyghur texts. See Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 843-5. In later popular and learned etymologies (first in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Berezin = *Trudy Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vii, 23, later in Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 19) *ḳïpčaḳ* is connected with *ḳobuḳ* or *ḳobï* and explained as a "hollow tree trunk"; at the same time a legend is told of the birth of a boy from a hollow trunk; the boy is said to have been adopted by Oghuz Khān [cf. KIMĀK] and to have been given a separate territory as a fief. The relation of the tribe Ḳïpčaḳ, emerging in the Western Siberian steppes, to the other Turkish tribes is unclear. Gardīzī (text in W. Barthold, *Otčet v poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*,

82 = ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 258) mentions the Ḳïpčaḳ along with the Īmāk as a division of the Kimak [see GHUZZ] who lived on the Irtish, [*q.v.*] although the earlier anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 19a tr. Minorsky, 101, § 21, comm. 315-17) says that the Ḳïpčaḳ had separated from the Kīmāk and dwelled to the north of the Pečenegs. Ibn Khurraddādhbih, 31, l. 9, and, following him, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 329, l. 3, tr. Massé 388, mention the Ḳïpčaḳ along with the Kīmāk as a separate people. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, i, 273, describes the Yimāk (*sic*) on the Irtish as a subdivision of the Ḳïpčaḳ, not of the Kīmāk. In another passage of the same work (iii, 22) we are told that the Yimāk are a Turkish tribe (*djīl min al-turk*), the same "as we call Ḳïpčaḳ" (*wa-hum al-ḳifdjāḳiyya ʿindanā*); the Ḳïpčaḳ themselves thought they were a separate branch (*thumma atrāk ḳifdjāḳ yaʿuddūna anfusahum ḥizb^an^ ākhara*). The Kīmāk mentioned by Muḳaddasī, 274 l. 3, at Ṣawrān must have been Ḳïpčaḳ. In connection with the advance of the Ḳïpčaḳ from north to south is the appearance (first in the 5th/11th century in the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw; cf. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, i, 227) of the name *Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ* for *Mafāzat al-Ghuzz*, cf. *ibid.*, ii, 168. The Ḳïpčaḳ (Khifčāḳ) are already mentioned by Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 91, as neighbours of Khʷārazm. According to Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 102, the Ḳïpčaḳ appear in history for the first time in 514/1120-1 in Ibn al-Athīr, x, 399, as allies of the Georgians; according to Marquart (*ibid.*, 136) the kingdom of the Ḳïpčaḳ was founded by people who emigrated from Manchuria in connection with the rise of the Čurč (the Chinese Kin Dynasty); cf. thereon, P. Pelliot, in *JA*, ser. ii, xv, 125 ff. That the term Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ was also extended to South Russia is shown by the evidence of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* ed. Le Strange, 21, 238, that Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ is the same as Dasht-i Khazar. Altogether it seems to be sure, that in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries a loose political unit of Turkish tribes (including the Kīmāk) existed under this name in the above-mentioned territories. In the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes moved to the Russian steppes, pushing the Oghuz toward the western areas of the Pontus region. [see GHUZZ]. After 1064 they became the lords of these territories, which they kept until the Mongol invasion. Among the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes, the Ḳuman (called Polovtzī by the Russians and Comani by Western Europeans) were the dominant element which played an important role in the history of Byzantium, Bulgaria and Hungary. They are often identified with the whole of the Ḳïpčaḳ tribal confederation. The Ḳïpčaḳ in South Russia were exposed not only to the influence of Islam but also to that of Christianity; a prince of the Ḳïpčaḳ (Chinese Kin-čʾa) in the time of the Mongol invasion (the same prince is mentioned in Russian annals) was called George (Russ. Yuriy, hence Chinese Yü-li-ghi, in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 297 ff. and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 150). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Christian Ḳïpčaḳ at Ḳerč [*q.v.*]; the so-called "Codex Cumanicus" must be regarded as a memorial of the spread of Christianity among the Ḳïpčaḳ. The name Ḳïpčaḳ survived the Mongol invasion; it was later transferred to the empire of the Golden Horde. The Ḳïpčaḳ military slaves, coming to the Near East, especially to Egypt, played an important role in the history of this area as the Baḥrī Mamlūks [see AL-BAḤRIYYA and MAMLŪKS]. The first scant information concerning the language of the Ḳïpčaḳ is due to al-Kashgharī. According to his *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, ii, 253, iii, 23, the dialect of the Ḳïpčaḳ had the same phonetic pecularities as the dialect of the Ghuzz, with dj for *y* at the beginning of a word. The first linguistic record relating to the Ḳïpčaḳ (Ḳuman) language is the Codex Cumanicus. From the Ḳïpčaḳ Mamlūks, several linguistic monuments are known. From the Armenians in Poland and in Ukraine, speaking a special Ḳïpčaḳ dialect, several literary and other documents have come down to us. One section of the Turkish languages, according to the ethnic and historical relation of these peoples to the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes and regions, is also called Ḳïpčaḳ. The Ḳïpčaḳ are no longer mentioned after the Mongol period; like many other early names of peoples (Ḳarluḳ, Uyghur, Nayman etc.) the name Ḳïpčaḳ is found as the name of a family or of a minor tribal unit among the Bashkir, Nogai, Ḳïrghïz and Uzbek. The Ḳïpčaḳ are particularly associated with Farghāna in the modern history of Central Asia, cf. KHOḲAND.

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ḲÏR SHEHIR [see ḲÏRSHEHIR].

KIRĀʾ (A.), a legal term meaning the leasing or hiring out of things. This is a contract in every way like a contract of sale, but with this difference that a sale aims at transferring the possession of something in exchange for the sale price, whilst leasing or hiring out aims at the beneficial use or enjoyment of a thing for a fixed period to time in return for a hiring fee. It is accordingly the sale of a beneficial use (*bayʿ al-manāfiʿ*) and is built around the procedure for a contract of sale. The only differences are those which are inherent in the differing nature of the two contracts, but both of them come into the category of commutative contracts (*muʿāwaḍāt*), of which sale is the leading example. The term "commutative contract" is used in practice for all procedures (sale, exchange, loan, leasing or hiring out, settlement, etc.) in which we have the transfer of property (*milk*) or beneficial use (*manāfiʿ*) in return for the handing-over of an equivalent.

The essential elements of a contract of leasing or hiring out are (a) the contracting parties, the lessor (*kārī*) and the lessee (*muktarī*); (b) the object in question (*al-maʿḳūd ʿalayh*), i.e. the thing hired out and the sum corresponding to its beneficial use (*adjr*); and (c) the form or embodiment of the agreement (*ṣīgha*). The effects of a contract of this kind are those of a contract of sale, except for the differences arising out of the specific natures of the two contracts.

The contract is not dissolved by the deaths of either of the two contracting parties; the heirs have the power to re-negociate the contract. Hiring or leasing can always be annulled when there is an excuse (*ʿudhr*).

The types of objects which may be leased or hired out. Whilst *idjāra* [see IDJĀR] is the hiring out of a service and of movable objects, with the exception of ships and beasts which are used for

transportation, the term *kirāʾ* is used for these last and for immovable property. Hence in practice, *kirāʾ* may be a contract for transporting something. According to Ibn ʿArafa, it is in this case the sale of the beneficial use of an animal or of something else like a ship for purposes of transport. But the transporting of objects must be distinguished from the transporting of persons. Mālik sees there a *locatio operis*. Other Mālikīs pronounce in favour of a hiring out of services. The S̲h̲āfiʿīs consider this contract as a hiring out of objects. But in any case, the hiring out of beasts or burden and ships (*kirāʾ al-rawāḥil wa 'l-sufun*) is perfectly admissible, whether the beasts are individually determined or not.

Hiring out can cover land (*kirāʾ al-arḍ*), and the leasing of rural properties existed before Islam, under two forms: (a) *kirāʾ* involving payment of money; and (b) *kirāʾ* involving the making over of a proportion of the produce of the property (*muk̲h̲ābara*). This last form must have been the commoner one, in view of the scarcity of coinage.

The last type of hiring out of an object is *kirāʾ muʾabbad* or *conductio perpetua*, the lease in return for a quit-rent of ancient French law. It is the equivalent of our emphyteusis or emphyteutic lease. In Egypt, this institution is known under the name of *mudda ṭawīla*, in Algeria as *ʿanāʾ*, and in Morocco as *kirāʾ ʿalā 'l-tabḳiya*; all these names indicate the idea of a perpetual lease.

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(A. M. DELCAMBRE)

ḲIRĀʾA, reading. Applied to the Ḳurʾān, *ḳirāʾa* also means *recitation*. In the present article the term *ḳirāʾa* is used as follows: 1. in the general sense of the recitation (a) of single parts of the Ḳurʾān, as prescribed for the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), or the recitation (b) of the entire Ḳurʾān, which has become, in the course of years, an accepted spiritual exercise (*ḳirāʾa* = recitation); 2. to indicate a special reading of a word or of a single passage of the Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾa*, pl. *ḳirāʾāt* = variant); 3. to indicate a particular reading of the entire Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾa* = reading). In the third case one speaks of the *ḳirāʾa* of Ibn Masʿūd or of the *ḳirāʾa* of the people of Kūfa as opposed to the *ḳirāʾa* of other authorities or to the redaction authorised by ʿUt̲h̲mān.

The recitation of texts proclaimed by Muḥammad as revelation played from the very beginning a prominent part in the Muslim community. This is already evident from the fact that the collection of these revelations was designated as *ḳurʾān* "recitation". However, the Ḳurʾān had not yet been codified at the death of the Prophet and the form of Arabic letters used to note down single parts of it and later on the whole collection was very incomplete; in a group of consonants a choice between two or more readings was possible. Consequently, disagreements soon arose on exactly how to read the revealed text. The promulgation of a canonical redaction of the Ḳurʾān under the third caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān (soon after 30/650) was intended to remedy this evil. Copies of this redaction were sent from Medina to Kūfa, Baṣra and Damascus, the most important cities of ʿIrāḳ and Syria. After a relatively short period, this redaction seems to have been generally accepted as the official text, finally even at Kūfa where Ibn Masʿūd (d. 33/653), the distinguished Companion of the Prophet, who maintained a "reading" of his own, had at first called upon his followers to resist.

On the whole, the text of ʿUt̲h̲mān had a strong unifying influence, which was felt to an increasing extent. But a really uniform *ḳirāʾa* was not thereby guaranteed. During recitation, which was essentially based on oral tradition, readings deviating from the official edition continued to be followed. In so far as these readings went back to recognised authorities of the early period and to trustworthy witnesses, they were also noted by commentators on the Ḳurʾān and philologists, and turned to exegetic or linguistic account. Thus variant readings of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb (d. 29/649 or 34/654) and other early "readers", which deviated from the official text, were transmitted in early scholarly literature and have therefore come down to us, at least in extracts. The *ḳirāʾa* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) was later even inserted among the "fourteen readings" (see below).

Further development was on characteristic lines. The untramelled freedom with which the text had been treated in the earliest times was followed by a period of systematisation and limitation of the possibilities of the "readings" which the consonantal text and the oral tradition offered. However, complete unification was not achieved. People neither would nor could simply set aside the power of tradition. Thus the free choice on the *ḳirāʾa* was limited, but not entirely forbidden. While reading the officially accepted consonantal text (already in itself constituting a limitation), the "reader" could still make a choice between a certain number of authorities. In its detail the history of Ḳurʾān reading is very complex. The scanty and sometimes unreliable sources leave much uncertain. In general, however, the course of development is clearly recognisable, thanks in particular to the penetrating studies of G. Bergsträsser (in collaboration with O. Pretzl) and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). In this article only the essential aspects will be briefly mentioned.

Important progress in the standardisation of the "reading" was achieved by differentiating the letters *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, *y* etc. by means of strokes (later dots) and by introducing vowel signs. The redaction of ʿUt̲h̲mān, being officially recognised, gained in importance by this clarification. With the passage of time, other differences were gradually eliminated. Such a levelling seems at first to have been accomplished within single cities (*amṣār*), and later on through the influence of one city on another. Majority readings tended to prevail over minority readings, thus leading towards a general consensus. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Mud̲j̲āhid (d. 324/936), the influential *Imām* of the "readers" in Bag̲h̲dād, publicly and with governmental support brought this process to its logical conclusion. He banned further use of the *ḳirāʾat* of Ibn Masʿūd and other uncanonical readings. Ibn S̲h̲anabūd̲h̲, a contemporary and fellow-reader of Ibn Mud̲j̲āhid, complied with this ban only after he had been arraigned and flogged. In addition, Ibn Mud̲j̲āhid declared the reading of the ʿUt̲h̲mānic consonantal text, standardised by tradition and consensus, to be obligatory, and compelled Ibn Miḳsam, an other fellow-reader, to renounce the claim which he had maintained until that moment that he could decide for himself on the punctuation and vocalisation of the text. As authorities on the traditional reading of the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text, Ibn Mud̲j̲āhid recognised seven "readers" belonging to the 2nd/8th century, among whom were ʿĀṣim of Kūfa (d. 128/745) and Nāfiʿ of Medina (d. 169/785), whose readings have both remained authoritative

to the present day, that of ʿĀṣim in the east and centre of the Islamic world, and that of Nāfiʿ—with some exceptions—in North Africa from Egypt westwards. To the seven "readers" recognised by Ibn Mudjāhid were added later on three others, and afterwards another four, but these never attained the same standing as the first seven. Furthermore, since Ibn Mudjāhid, in mentioning ʿĀṣim—one of the Seven—had often named two others, Abū Bakr Shuʿba (d. 193/809) and Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796), who transmitted ʿĀṣim's reading independently of one another, it became customary to add also the names of two other traditionists to each of the other six and of the "Three after the Seven". Thus originated the bewildering number of names in the list of readers recognised as canonical (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 186-9; Blachère, 118-23; Bell-Watt, 49 ff.).

After the readings had been limited to the "Seven" recognised as canonical, and to the other "Three after the Seven" and "Four after the Ten", all the others were eliminated in the practice of recitation. The "readers" henceforward had to keep exclusively to the canonical readings. This however did not completely rule out the uncanonical "deviant" (*shawādhdh*) readings. They were later adduced as useful evidence in the practical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān and in the elucidation of linguistic problems. Besides his "Book of the Seven" (*Kitāb al-Sabʿa*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, see *Bibl.*) Ibn Mudjāhid also composed a "Book of deviant readings" (*Kitāb al-Shawādhdh*), which is not extant. The debate on the uncanonical *ḳirāʾāt* was carried on throughout the centuries in a scholarly literature of growing importance. Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī's (d. 316/928) *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* and Ibn Mudjāhid's works already mentioned were followed—to cite only a few of the most important names—by the monographs on uncanonical readings of Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980) and Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), by al-Dānī's (d. 444/1053) classical manual of the Seven Ḳurʾān-readings (verse version by al-Shāṭibī, d. 590/1194) and his works on orthography, punctuation of the vowels and other punctuation marks, by Ibn al-Djazarī's (d. 833/1429) works on the Ten readings and on the classes (*ṭabaḳāt*) of readers, and finally by al-Bannāʾ's (1117/1705) book on the Fourteen readings. For the practice of recitation, the literary tradition constituted, in contrast with early times, an almost indispensable complement to oral instruction.

The knowledge of Ḳurʾān-reading (*ʿilm al-ḳirāʾa*) had become a distinct theological discipline and had many practitioners, few of whom, however, wrote books on it. In this connection, it becomes understandable that the official Egyptian Ḳurʾān of 1924 (following the reading of ʿĀṣim in the tradition of Ḥafṣ) is not founded on early Ḳurʾānic manuscripts, but is the result of reconstructions derived from the literature on the readings (see Bergsträsser, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 5 ff.).

In the recitation by professional "readers" (see above), a distinction is made between an incantatory, a rapid and a moderate tempo (*tartīl* or *taḥḳīḳ—ḥadr—tadwīr*). The manner of execution can be designated as cantillation, but there are also intricate musical settings (see the studies by K. Huber and M. Talbi). The technique of reciting is laid down in detail in works on the *ḳirāʾāt*.

Special importance is attributed to the rules of pronunciation, including the theory of assimilation (*idghām* [*q.v.*], *iddighām*), the modification of *a* into *e* (*imāla*), extension (*madd*), forms of the pause (*waḳf*) and the conservation or alleviation (*tabdīl*) of *hamza* (see O. Pretzl's analysis of a typical treatise on the *uṣūl al-ḳirāʾa*, in *Islamica*, vi (1934), 230, 291-331). The time required for private oral instruction is greatly increased by the fact that, since Ibn Mudjāhid, several different *Imām*s and Schools of Readers have been officially recognised. According to a distinctive method known as "assembling" (*djamʿ*) "the Ḳurʾān verse is divided into small fragments, each one of which is recited as often as there are variants of it, each time with another variant" (see the instructive passage, "Koranlesungsunterricht", by Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 36-42). When the whole of the Ḳurʾān is recited, the separate readings must be considered as self-contained units; the "readers" are thus not free to combine the text of their recitation from different *ḳirāʾāt* (Bergsträsser, *ibid.*, 29 ff.). These, however, are details which concern only an élite of "readers". The great mass of the *ḳurrāʾ*, consisting largely of blind men, would in any case limit themselves from the start to the study of a single reading (*Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim*, in the west *Warsh ʿan Nāfiʿ*). In general, the originally large number of readings has given way in the course of centuries to a far-reaching uniformity both in the practice of recitation and in the theoretical *ʿilm al-ḳirāʾa*.

The history of the text of the Ḳurʾān and of the *ḳirāʾāt* has also been studied by European and American orientalists, notably Nöldeke and Goldziher, followed by A. Jeffery, G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). Important sources have been published, and separate stages of development reconstructed. Jeffery, and likewise Bergsträsser in association with Pretzl, planned an apparatus criticus for the Ḳurʾān. Bergsträsser and Pretzl had begun a systematic collection of photostats of early manuscripts of the Ḳurʾān in the hope of discovering variants not registered in the literature. Because of their untimely death (1933 and 1941), this research came to a standstill. Jeffery also died (1959) without having realised his vast project. The task, however, remains to evaluate the known and still unknown variants for the study of old Arabian dialects and in general for a future historical grammar of Arabic. Whether much will emerge to the profit of the historical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān remains to be seen. The harvest so far obtained by Bergsträsser and Beck is rather meagre and promises no new results of any importance. During the last years of his life, Pretzl himself had apparently "retreated from the generally high appreciation of the manuscripts and readings of the Ḳurʾān". August Fischer, who noted this *en passant* in a posthumous article (*Isl.* xxviii (1948), 5 f. n. 4), also cited a passage from Spitaler's obituary of Pretzl (*ZDMG* xcvi (1942), 163 ff.). In Fischer's opinion the Ḳurʾānic textual variants "*for the most part* (emphasis by Fischer) consist of no more than attempts at emendation made by philologically trained Ḳurʾān specialists on difficult passages in the ʿUthmānic redaction".

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ĶIRĀʾA [see TADRĪS].

ĶIRĀḌ (also *muķāraḍa* and *muḍāraba*, cf. below), a commercial arrangement in which an investor (*ṣāḥib al-māl*) or group of investors entrusts capital or merchandise to an agent-manager (*ʿāmil, muķāriḍ, muḍārib*) who is to trade with it and then return it to the investor with the principal and previously agreed-upon share of the profits. As a reward for his labour, the agent receives the remaining share of the profits. However, in case of a loss resulting from an unsuccessful business venture, the agent is in no way liable for the return of the lost investment. He loses his expended time, effort, and anticipated share of the profit, while it is the investor who exclusively bears the direct financial loss.

The *ķirāḍ* combined the advantages of a loan with those of a partnership (*sharika*); and while containing elements characteristic of both contracts, cannot be strictly classified in either category. In all Islamic legal writings, it is treated as a distinct and independent contract with a separate section or book (*kitāb*) devoted to it. As in partnership, profits and risks in the *ķirāḍ* are shared by both parties, the investor risking capital, the agent his time and effort. However, in the *ķirāḍ*, unlike a partnership, no joint capital is formed and the investor does not become directly or jointly liable with the agent in transactions with third parties; indeed, third parties need not ever be aware of the investor's existence. As in a loan, the *ķirāḍ* generally entailed no liability for the investor beyond the sum of money or quantity of commodities handed over to the agent; and in the event of its successful completion, the agent returned the capital plus a share of the profits (the latter, corresponding to the interest in an interest-bearing loan).

The agent's complete freedom under normal trading circumstances from any liability for the capital in the event of partial or total loss and the disjunction between the owners of the capital and third parties are novel and distinctive features of the *ķirāḍ* which made it a particularly suitable instrument for long-distance trade.

Although commercial arrangements resembling the *ķirāḍ* were known in the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world from the earliest times, it appears very likely that its direct origins were indigenous to the Arabian peninsula, having developed in the context of the pre-Islamic Arabian caravan trade. With the Arab conquests, it spread to the Near East, North Africa and ultimately to Southern Europe. Its introduction in the form of the *commenda* in the Italian seaports of the late 10th and early 11th centuries A.D. was germinal to the expansion of mediaeval European trade. The *ķirāḍ* was the subject of lengthy and detailed discussion in the earliest Islamic legal compendia (late 2nd/8th century). Its legal treatment in these early treatises bears the hallmark of long experience with the *ķirāḍ* as an established commercial institution. Although not mentioned in the Ķurʾān, numerous traditions attribute its practice to the Prophet and his leading companions (e.g. Shirbīnī, *Mughnī al-muhtādj*, ii, 309; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 18-19; Shaybānī, *Aṣl muḍāraba*, fol. 42). From the sparse indications available, it appears that this form of commercial association continued through the early centuries of the Islamic era as a mainstay of caravan and long-distance trade. In one of the very few mediaeval Arabic treatises of commerce, Dimashķī's *The beauties of commerce* (probably 5th/11th century), the *ķirāḍ* is cited as one of the three methods by which trade is carried out;

Ghazālī lists it among the six commercial contracts, "the knowledge of which is indispensable to anyone seeking gain in trade" (*Iḥyā'*, ii, 66). The documents from the Cairo Geniza (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries) are replete with numerous examples of *commenda* agreements which account for a considerable share of the commercial activity reflected in these documents. Thus we may conclude that not only in law, but in practice as well, the *ķirāḍ* constituted one of the most widespread instruments of commercial activity.

Three Arabic terms are used to designate this contract: *ķirāḍ*, *muķāraḍa*, and *muḍāraba* and the terms are interchangeable with no essential difference in meaning or connotation among them. The divergence in terminology was probably originally due to geographical factors. The terms *ķirāḍ* and *muķārada* apparently originated in the Arabian peninsula, and the term *muḍāraba* was of ʿIrāķī provenance. Subsequently, the difference was perpetuated by the legal schools, the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs adopting the term *ķirāḍ* and, to a lesser degree, *muķāraḍa*, and the Ḥanafīs the term *muḍāraba*.

As in the case of several other commercial arrangements, Islamic law justifies the licitness of the *ķirāḍ* contract on the religious grounds of traditional practice (*sunna*), the consensus of the community (*idjmāʿ*) and, more interestingly, on the practical grounds of its economic function in society. After quoting a series of traditions describing the *ķirāḍ*'s use in trade by the Prophet and his companions, Sarakhsī adds that it is also allowed: "Because people have a need for this contract. For the owner of capital may not find his way to profitable trading activity, and the person who can find his way to such activity may not have the capital. And profit cannot be attained except by means of both of these, that is, capital and trading activity. By permitting this contract, the goal of both parties is attained" (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 19).

Sarakhsī's summary of the *ķirāḍ*'s economic function highlights one of the most important aspects of this contract's rôle in Near Eastern commerce, and helps explain its widespread use in mediaeval trade. For the investor, the *ķirāḍ* served as a means of hiring trading skill, and for the agent-manager, as a means of hiring capital. Since, in the mediaeval commercial context, profit could be realised only by the combination of capital and trading activity, the *ķirāḍ*, especially for the purposes of long-distance trade, became an ideal instrument to attain a profitable goal.

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(A. L. Udovitch)

ĶIRĀN, in Islamic astrology "the conjunction". Without further qualification, this refers to the mean or true conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. The conjunctions of these two planets were combined, apparently by Sasanid astrologers, with the Hellenistic doctrine of the triplicities to form the basis of one of several methods of predicting the course of history available to mediaeval astrology.

The four triplicities were associated with the four sublunar elements as follows:

Fire	Earth	Air	Water
Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer
Leo	Virgo	Libra	Scorpio
Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces

Mean conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter occur once in about every 20 years with a longitudinal increment of about 242;25°; for twelve or thirteen conjunctions, then, or about 240 or 260 years, they stay within the same triplicity, and it takes about 960 years (i.e. approximately a millennium) for the conjunctions to return to the triplicity in which the cycle started. The return of the conjunctions to the triplicity of fire (to Aries) in about a millennium was thought to indicate the appearance of a new prophet; the transfer of the conjunctions from one triplicity to the next in about 240 or 260 years was taken to signify a possible change in the dominant dynasty; and the occurrence of each individual conjunction was believed to portend lesser shifts in political, military, or economic status. The details of these predictions depended upon the horoscopes of the beginnings of the solar years in which the conjunctions occurred.

This theory of conjunctions usually appears in consort with various other elements of political astrology, all of which seem to have originated in the Zoroastrian millennarianism of Sasanid Iran. These other methods are: the revolutions of the world-years; the cosmic cycles—i.e. the mighty, big, middle, and small varieties of the *ķisma*, the *intihā'*, and the *fardārs* of the planets; the mighty years of the planets; and the planetary lords of the millennia, centuries, decades, and single years. These elaborate systems for predicting religious and political change, together with the related theory of the conjunctions of the maleficent planets, Saturn and Mars, in Cancer every 30 years, appealed strongly to dissident groups in the early ʿAbbāsid period and later, and especially to these with Iranian connections; in particular, one may mention the Ķarmaṭians and the Ismāʿīlīs. Many leading astrologers wrote expositions of the significance of the conjunctions, including Māshā'allāh and Abū Maʿshar; through their writings, this form of political astrology was transmitted to Western Europe, where it became extremely popular during the Renaissance.

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ĶĪRĀŢ [see makāyīl].

ĶIRD (a., fem. *ķirda*, pl. *ķurūd, aķrād, ķirad, ķirada, ķarida*), a substantive having the general sense of "monkey", but representing in fact, among the simians of the Ancient World, only the members of two families, the colobids and the cercopithecids, the only primates known in ancient Arabia. Egypt, Abyssinia, Somalia, the Yemen and ʿUmān in fact constitute favourite habitats of baboons (genus *Papio*) and macaques or cynocephalous magots (genus *Macaca*). Both types live there in groups of which the total population can vary from a dozen to a hundred; each of these societies, which are based on polygamous family units, is subject to the authority of a male leader and this animal social organisation has not failed to attract the attention of those Arab writers who have spoken about monkeys. Since ancient times, the peoples of southern Arabia have looked with respect and circumspection tinged with an element of superstitious fear at the colonies of hamadryad baboons (*Papio hamadryas*) and of green baboons (*Papio anubis*) infesting the areas of high ground. In the times of the Pharaohs, the Egyptians deified these monkeys, and there was certainly a time when, in pre-Islamic Arabia, these animals were taboo. Were they demons incarnate, maleficent genii or metamorphoses of men? There was no shortage of questions for the credulous Bedouin to ask himself, and more especially, there was the ever-current legend according to which Solomon made a pact with the race of monkeys, setting them to guard the demons vanquished by the genii. Even in the 4th/10th century, Ibn al-Faķīh al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] and al-Masʿūdī report, with complete seriousness, that among these troupes of monkeys there is found one larger than the rest wearing at his neck the seal bestowed by Solomon. Apart from the involvement of the latter in the world of monkeys, there was alive in the minds of men the legend, of Talmudic origin (*Sanhedrin*, 109a), of the divine curse inflicted upon some of the builders of the tower of Babel; their expiatory punishment was to be changed into monkeys for all eternity. This curse was to be confirmed by the Ķurʾān (II, 61/65; VII, 166; V, 65/60) where it is said: "those whom He has cursed, He has changed into monkeys and pigs". Popular belief in such metamorphoses (*maskh*, pl. *musūkh* [*q.v.*], encouraged by successful fables such as the *Thousand and one nights* (for metamorphoses of men into monkeys, see nights 9, 12, 299, 624), was to persist for a long time in the bosom of Islam, in spite of categorical refutations on the part of the Prophet reported in certain *ḥadīth*s (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii, 243-4), according to Ibn ʿAbbās. More sceptical, al-Djāḥiẓ did not omit to set these alleged retrograde mutations in the realm of fiction (*Ḥayawān*, i, 309).

By nature less inclined towards superstition than the nomads, the settled people of the Yemen and of ʿUmān were familiar with the baboons of their region and also with other monkeys imported from East Africa, and were able at a very early stage to domesticate the young animals and to use them for such menial services as turning millstones; butchers and grocers used them to guard their goods (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The cunning and agility of the monkey were also exploited by thieves for picking pockets and housebreaking. So the monkey became a part of the every-day life of man, to almost the same extent as the dog, and the term *ķird* was no longer sufficient to differentiate between ages and sexes; a terminology based on exterior traits filled this gap. Thus the large male baboon was called *rubaḥ* or *rubbāḥ* (whence the form II verb *rabbaḥa* "to train monkeys"); he was known also as *ķurduḥ*/*ķurdūḥ*, *ḥawdal*, *ḥibn*, and his thick fur hood earned him the epithets *habbār*, *hawbar*. In the Ḥidjāz he was known as *hidjris*, a name for the fox in other countries. The female and the young monkey, smaller in stature than the male and with less hair, were known, according to different places and people, as *daḥya*, *ķishsha*, *ilķa*. In spite of these cases of domestication, which were in fact limited in number, relations between men and monkeys were not always so peaceable, and it happened quite often that as a result of the proliferation of the simian species, rural populations had to take issue with destructive and aggressive hordes; speaking of baboons, al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*. . ., 2nd clime, section 6) remarks that, in ʿUmān, it is sometimes necessary to repel them with spears and arrows, and al-Maķrīzī notes (*Khiṭaṭ*, and quoted in the *Manhal al-ṣāfī* of Ibn Taghrībirdī) in referring to a *ķāḍī* of Mogadishu in Somalia, that in about the year 800/1398 this town was actually invaded by monkeys which installed themselves there firmly, and that in 839/1435-6, the date of his meeting with the *ķāḍī*, this permanent occupation was still going on, causing grave annoyance to the inhabitants.

In spite of a fundamental quality of mischief, encouraged by captivity and a sometimes extreme lewdness, stigmatised by the adage *aznā min hidjris*, the Arabs recognised in the monkey qualities lacking in other animals, such as a concern for cleanliness expressed through a continuous and methodical process of delousing, its extreme agility, its astonishing ingenuity and above all its exceptional talent for imitation; these qualities were defined in proverbial expressions such as *aʿlam min hidjris* "more cunning than a monkey", *akyas min ķishsha* "more sly than a she-monkey", *amlaḥ min rubbāḥ* "more pleasing than a baboon", *aḥkā min ķird* "more imitative than an ape", and they summed all of this up in the antithesis *al-ķird ķabīḥ lākinnahu malīḥ* "rascal though he is, the monkey is agreeable".

The maritime trade of slavers and of Arab and Persian merchants in the Indian Ocean made known to the Muslim world a number of new species of cercopithics and a considerable trade in monkeys developed in the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The hunters, sea-farers from the coastal region of the Ḥaḍramawt, went by preference via the island of Socotra to the coast of East Africa (the country of the Zandj and the country of Sufāla) in search of the magnificent guereza colobes (*Colobus abyssinicus*) with its fine black pelt, an item of great luxury, exported at that time as far as Central Asia and Europe. Al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 7) speaks of an "Island of Monkeys" (*djazīrat al-ķurūd*), in the Indian Ocean (perhaps the island of Pemba or that of Mafia?), where the hunters from Khuria-Muria and of Socotra went to trap monkeys (that is to say, the green monkeys *Cercopithecus callitrichs*, the vervets *Cerc. pygerythrus*, the moustacs *Cerc. cephus*, the grivets *Cerc. Aethiops* and the nisnas *Cerc. pyrrhonotus*) with the aid of small boats propelled to the coast by the tide and the currents. These boats contained delicacies for bait and on the gunwales

there were towing ropes manoeuvred by cords attached to the ship. Attracted by the food, the quadrumans soon crowded together in the boats and it was necessary only to operate the recovery ropes and to bring on board the teeming cargo; depending on the species, some were killed and their pelts sent to the fur market, and others, with collars on their necks, were sold at a high price either to merchants or to aristocratic collectors of rare beasts or to itinerant animal showmen.

It is known, from the chroniclers, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, § 485) confirms it, that princes of India and of China kept trained monkeys, whose role was to detect poison in food and drink; the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī was advised by Chinese ambassadors to avail himself of the same precaution. But, a century earlier, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya already had his monkey which accompanied him in processions, mounted on an ass (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil received, from a king of Nubia, two monkeys, of which one could sew and the other model in clay. On the other hand, the sea-farers of Sīrāf and of ʿUmān, maintaining commercial links with India, the islands of Indonesia and China, were the principal source of information on Asiatic fauna and flora, information exploited by Arab geographers and encyclopaedists from the 3rd/10th to the 7th/13th century; these hardy adventurers brought back, on their return, specimens of quadrumans native to these regions, such as rhesus macaques (*Macaca mulatta*) and crab macaques (*Macaca irus*) and semnopithics or langurs, including the hanouman entellus (*Presbytis entellus*), all of these being untouchable beasts to the Indians. Certain of these monkeys were offered, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, by the *amīr* of ʿUmān, to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muķtadir bi-llāh to complete his menagerie (*Murūdj*, i, § 487); with hunting dogs and falcons, monkeys were regarded as princely gifts and they were to figure among the presents sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd to Charlemagne on the occasion of the two exchanges of ambassadors between the two sovereigns (181-5/797-801).

For its part, the Maghrib was well acquainted with monkeys through the numerous colonies of apes, known as Barbary macaques (*Macaca inuus*) in the Atlas. Very tame and friendly animals, they are a tourist attraction in the valleys of the Chiffa, in Algeria, and it is well known with what vigilant care the British keep their few specimens imprisoned on the Rock of Gibraltar.

The monkey has always and everywhere had, with its grimaces its mimicry, its mischief and its agility, the power of amuse crowds; among showmen and jugglers, the exhibitor of monkeys (*ķarrād, ķurādātī, ķuraydātī*) was assured, in the Islamic countries, of success in the company of strolling players, in public places, at fairs and in markets. Yemenis and Somalians were the experts in this profession, which, while relatively lucrative, was held in considerable contempt by the upper classes; so, according to Ibn al-Faķīh, Khālid b. Ṣafwān, in the course of an oratorical contest between the people of North and South Arabia, threw this insult at Ibrāhīm b. Makhrama al-Kindī: "You other Yemenis, you are nothing but exhibitors of monkeys. . ." In spite of this disapproval of public entertainers who were, it must be said, in many cases rogues, the mass of the people, both rural and urban, were attracted to open-air entertainments and to exhibitions of rare and "clever" animals, whether these were monkeys, dogs, bears, or goats. As trained quadrumans were a source of hilarity, the people readily abandoned the term *ķird* to designate them, substituting expressions of a happier psychological effect; thus, in Syria and in Lebanon, the monkey was called *saʿdān* "lucky charm" and his trainer became the *saʿādnī*, while in Iran, ʿIrāķ, Turkey and Egypt it was *maymūn/mīmūn* "fortune" which prevailed and which by a coincidence perhaps not fortuitous could quite well be linked to the Greek μιμώ "ape" from the verb μιμοῦμαι "imitate, mimic". In the same spirit, the entire Maghrib instinctively adopted, in parallel to the classical substratum, *ķerd/gerd* (pl. *ķrūd, krūda/grūd, grūda*) and the Berber *ibki* (pl. *ibkan*) and *iddū* (pl. *iddawn*), the arabised Persian adjective *shādī* (pl. *shwada, shwāda, shwādī*) "gay, joyous" which must have been introduced by the Turks and which ʿIrāķ also made its own. Also in the Maghrib, the popular negro *Bū Saʿdiyya*, parodying black magicians, to the terror of small children, is often accompanied in his acts by a trained monkey, which he makes dance to the sound of the tambourine or of the *ghayṭa* [*q.v.*].

Arab authors have said very little about the tricks which the exhibitors of monkeys trained their pupils to perform. Al-Masʿūdī notes simply that the Nubian grivet exhibited in the fairs astonishes the audience by his surprising agility in climbing to the top of a spear fixed in the earth. As for al-Djāḥiẓ who, as an objective naturalist, enquired into the behaviour of monkeys employed by the *aṣḥāb al-ķirada* (*Ḥayawān, passim*), he makes no mention of the kinds of acrobatics that were displayed in public. It is nevertheless easy to imagine them for anyone who has witnessed the displays given in Morocco by the wandering troupes of the Ulād Sīdī Aḥmed ū Mūsā, the native showmen of the Sus, with their performing monkeys, and this on the occasion of local patronal festivals like that of *Lāllā Kassāba* (see E. Laoust, *Noms et cerémonies des feux de joie*, in *Hespéris* (1921), 44). In addition, the ambience of these travelling shows with their dense crowds of curious onlookers has been finely caught by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] in his delightful *maķāma ķirdiyya* (*Maķāmāt*, Cairo 1923, 104-6; Fr. tr. S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1827, iii, 246-7) where the *ķārrād* is none other than the waggish Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī constrained by vicissitudes to occupy this dismal condition. One of the most familiar street characters, the exhibitor of monkeys, is not absent from the stories of the *Thousand and one nights*, notably in the very salacious tale of the nymphomaniac princess who ravished one of his animals (Nights 355-7).

In Islam, as elsewhere, to liken a man to a monkey was one of the most degrading insults. Among the Muslims of Spain, in periods of friction between the communities, while the pig and the dog were used as epithets for the Christians, the name "monkey" was generally reserved for the Jews, in reminiscence of the Ķurʾānic verses quoted above (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1953, 240-1). In Ifriķiya, under the Aghlabid dynasty, the *ķāḍī*, in his zeal for *djihād* [*q.v.*], enjoined upon Jews and Christians the wearing on the shoulder of a square of cloth bearing the picture of a monkey in the case of Jews, and a pig in the case of Christians; these same symbols were to be shown on a board nailed to the door of their houses (according to al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs, apud* H. R. Idris, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ifrikiya*, in *REI* (1935), ii, 142). The satirical poets did not hesitate to use derogatory comparisons with monkeys to brand those whom they were attacking; this was

done by the Andalusian Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī in referring to the famous *amīr* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (Pérès, *op. cit.*), as was done before him by Abū Nuwās, proclaiming his hatred of the Barmakids [see BARĀMIKA] in this opening verse *hād͟hā zamānu 'l-ḳurūdi*. . ., "This is the age of the apes. . ." (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1953, 519; Beirut 1962, 415).

Under the scheme of Ḳurʾānic law, eating the flesh of the monkey is forbidden, since the animal is omnivorous and has canine teeth; an additional and fundamental reason for this prohibition is the instinctive revulsion, which is natural to the primates, the family to which the human race belongs, for the idea of devouring another member of the same family. For the evolved human being, eating the meat of the ape would be close to cannibalism. Nevertheless, ancient medical opinion held the flesh of the monkey to be an effective preventive agent against elephantiasis (*d͟jud͟hām*). Certain other parts of the animal, such as the teeth, the hair and the skin, possessed "specific qualities" (*k͟hawāṣṣ*) (see al-Damīrī, *loc. cit.*), which modern science has relegated to the rank of absurdity.

Finally, regarding the term *ḳird*, it should be noted that in astronomy the asterism ζ, λ *Canis majoris* and ύ, κ, θ, γ, λ, μ, ε *columbae* is wrongly called *al-Ḳurūd* "the Apes" in some treatises, a mistake arising from a misspelling of *al-Furūd* "the Hermits" (see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algiers (1951), ix, 181).

With *ḳird*, there has not so far been any reference to other than colobids and cercopithecids; it might also be asked what conception the Arabs had of the large anthropomorphic, or anthropoid, apes. These number no more than eleven species world-wide, seven gibbons, two chimpanzees, one gorilla and one orang-outang; none of these species exists in Arabia, and to find them one must go either to Indonesia or to central Africa. It is impossible, however, not to see in one or other of these primates the mysterious *nasnās/nisnās* (pl. *nasānis*) of the mediaeval Arab writers, and there can be no doubt that such a "demi-man" with human face, and vertical stance, without a tail and possessing the faculty of speech, but also covered with a thick fleece, usually russet-coloured, was originally nothing other than an anthropomorphic ape observed by sea-faring Arab merchants of the Indian Ocean, and only the gibbon (*Hylobates lar*), found in Malaysia, Indochina, Burma and the Himalayas, corresponds fairly accurately to this description. Ibn al-Faḳīh, who is quoted by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAd͟jāʾib*, in the margin of al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 191) and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] say, with reference to Sumatra (*d͟jazīrat al-Rāmnī* = Lambri), that "there are found there human beings of both sexes, who go bare-footed and without clothing. Their speech is incomprehensible and they live in the tree-tops. They are entirely covered with hair and they live on a diet of fruit; they constitute an innumerable people who flee at the approach of man . . . these beings are four spans in height, their language is a kind of whistling and their faces are covered with russet-coloured down. . ." Al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 8) adds that their movement through the trees is accomplished by means of the arms alone and no use is made of the feet, which gives the impression that they are flying from one branch to another. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 136) writes of the colonies of siamang gibbons (*Symphalangus syndactylus*) with black fleece and white mask which he encountered on the southern coasts of the Indies. As for the recently-discovered Asiatic orang-outang, the gorilla and the chimpanzees of Africa, these remained on the peripheries of knowledge until the 12th/18th century. Besides, in so far as they were known, their height, greater than that of man, meant that they could not be identified with the half-man which the *nasnās* is, by definition; the root *n.-s.-n.-s.* evokes in fact the idea of smallness and weakness. The reports of those who saw gibbons were rapidly distorted by the imagination of those who transmitted them to the point where the *nasnās* became a monstrous semi-anthropomorphic creature, one-eyed and one-legged, moving with successive bounds at a tremendous speed, in times past hunted for its meat in the Yemen. With the *s͟hiḳḳ*, another half-human monster, the *nasnās* is not without analogy with the *monoculus* and the *satyrus* of Pliny. Understandably, sceptical minds demanded visual proof of the existence of such phenomena and to this end the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil, according to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd͟j*, i, § 491), instructed the famous doctor and translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] to find for him some of these curiosities; it seems that the scholar brought back from his explorations two authentic *nasnās*, but nothing further is known of the episode.

Modern philologists, like P. Anastase-Marie, have gone so far as to see in the term *nasnās* the Greek νάννος "dwarf" (see Amīn Maʿlūf, *Muʿd͟jam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. *Ape*, 13-18); it cannot be denied that the two words have the same sense and one would thus be led to see, in the origin of *nasnās*, besides the gibbon, a human pygmy. Al-D͟jāḥiẓ, while not believing in them, lists a number of these fabulous beings which really existed in the popular imagination, and, this being an interesting fact, he assimilates the *nasnās* to the *wāḳ-wāḳ* and to the people of Gog and Magog (*Ḥayawān*, i, 189; vii, 178). Now the Arab geographers recognised three countries jointly said to be the land or the island of the *Wāḳ-Wāḳ* (or the *Wāḳ-Wāḳs*), the first situated below the country of the Zand͟j [*q.v.*], beyond Sufāla "of gold" (Mozambique); the second in the most eastern islands of Malaysia (the Philippines, Celebes, the Moluccas); and the third in the extreme north of the Sino-Asiatic continent; it is found that these three countries correspond quite closely to those inhabited by particularly small peoples, the Negrillos and the Akkas in Africa, the Negritos in Malaysia, in Deccan and in the southern Himalayas, and the Lapps, the Samoyedes, the Tungus and other nomadic ethnic groups of the arctic and sub-arctic regions. It may thus be supposed that those who encountered these pygmy people by chance identified them in their accounts with the *nasnās*, as had also been the case with the gibbon; and a detail which may corroborate this interpretation is the insistence of the authors on the faculty of speech attributed to the *nasnās*. Nevertheless, there remains the mystery of the alleged existence of the *nasnās* in the Yemen, and we can hardly be satisfied by the *ḥadīt͟h* (see *LA*, under *n.-s.-s.*) according to which the *nasnās* were the metamorphoses of men from the two cursed tribes of ʿĀd and T͟hamūd [*q.vv.*]. Was there, in Arabia, a small anthropoid ape, or a race of human pygmies? The question and its solution belong to the realm of palaeontology and of prehistory.

In fact, in historical times, the Arab peoples, having never encountered this fabulous *nasnās* in their own countries, quite naturally applied the term to all the small long-tailed flat-faced African monkeys with which the exhibitors made them

familiar (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 353-4), and modern systematic practice has simply ratified the vox populi in retaining the name "nisnas" and applying it to the Somalian *Cercopithecus pyrrhonotus*. In conclusion, having been born out of confused images of the gibbon and a pygmy in travellers' tales, to become subsequently a monstrous human mutation blighted by divine punishment, the *nasnās* has finally been placed, by common logic, in one of the families defined by *ḳird*.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, and Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1356/1937; Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, *K. al-Buldān*, tr. H. Massé, *Abrégé du livre des pays*, Damascus 1973; Ibn Taghrībirdī-G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Ṣâfî*, Cairo 1932; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* (*K. Rudjār*), ed. Leiden, *Opus geographicum*, 5 fascs., 1970-5; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Cairo 1346/1928; N. Elisséef, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut 1949; R. and D. Morris, *Men and apes* (with bibliogr.), London 1966, Fr. tr. *Hommes et singes*, Paris 1967, and coll. "Marabout", MU No. 219, Paris 1971; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman* (*VIIIe-XIe siècle*), in *Annales ESC* (May-June 1969); B. Heuvelmans, *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées* (ch. "Les bêtes à face humaine d'Indo-Malaisie"), Paris 1955, i, 13-233; E. G. Boulenger, *Les singes*, Paris 1942.

(F. VIRÉ)

KIRESUN [see GIRESŪN].

ḲIRGIZ, a Turkish people, mentioned as early as the oldest Chinese accounts of Central Asia (from the 2nd century A.D.) under the name Kien-Kuen, which according to P. Pelliot (*JA*, Ser. 2, vol. xv, 137) goes back to a Mongol word, singular *ḳirḳun*. The lands of the Kirgiz are not exactly defined in these sources; according to a very reliable source, the land of the Kien-Kuen lay north-west of the land of the K'ang-Kiu, i.e. of Sogdiana. The name Ḳirghīz first appears in the Orkhon inscriptions of the 8th century; at that time the Kirgiz (as the contemporary Chinese annals also tell us) lived on the Upper Yenisei (Turkish Kem), north of the Kög-men or Sayan mountains. The same name (Kūkmān) is also mentioned in Gardīzī (W. Barthold, *Otčet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 86 = ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 262); according to this source, the capital of the Khān of the Kirgiz was 7 days' journey north of these mountains. There is also said that the Kirgiz had red hair and a white colour of skin (*surkhī-i mūy wa sapīdī-i pūst*), which is explained by their alleged relationship with the Slavs; the same anthropological features, of which there is no longer any trace among the modern Kirgiz, are mentioned in the Chinese *T'ang-shu*; linguistically, the Kirgiz were then already Turkicised. They did not come to the fore politically till about 840 A.D., when they succeeded in conquering the lands of the Uyghur in Mongolia. Nothing was known in Muslim lands of this event; Marquart's endeavour (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 91-2) to connect with this the story in Djāḥiẓ of the defeats of the Toghuzghuz, can be utterly rejected; like Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje, 262, l. 13) Djāḥiẓ only refers to the hostility between the Toghuzghuz and the Kharlukh (Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*]). Iṣṭakhrī (ed. de Goeje, 9-10) and others mention the Kirgiz (Khirkhīz) as eastern neighbours of the Kimāk [see KIMĀK] and as northern neighbours of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz; in the east their lands are said to have stretched to the ocean. The most important article of export for trade with Muslim lands was musk. The ethnic and historical continuity between the Kirgiz and the people living today under the same name in the USSR is supposed but not proved. The Kirgiz were probably driven out of Mongolia in connection with the foundation of the empire of the Khitāy in the beginning of the 10th century [see ḲARĀ KHIṬĀY] and the advance of the Mongol peoples; on the other hand, a body of Kirgiz must have migrated as early as this century southwards to the present abode of the genuine Kirgiz (Kara Kirgiz); according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 18a, tr. Minorsky, 98, comm. 293-4, even the town of Pančūl (the modern Aḳṣu in Chinese Turkestan) was in possession of the Kirgiz. The Kirgiz are not mentioned again in this region till the 16th century; what the Chinese Č'ang-Te, who was there in 1259, records of the Kirgiz (especially on the use of dog-sledges, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, i, 129) he had only been told, and did not see himself, and these stories probably do not refer to the people of the land he passed through. The main body of the people had probably remained on the Upper Yenisei; the Ḳarā Khiṭāy when driven out of North China had to fight with these Kirgiz during their trek westwards. In the fertile region of the modern administrative district of Minusinsk the Kirgiz gradually adopted agriculture and a settled mode of life. According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 17b, tr. Minorsky, 97, comm. 286) there was only one town among the Kirgiz, called Kemidjkat, where their Khāḳān lived, and no other towns or villages, but only tents; on the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn says (ed. Berezin, *Trudī Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.* vii, 168-9) that the Kirgiz had "many towns and villages". From these and similar statements Radloff has drawn the conclusion (*JA*, Ser. 6, vol. ii, 328) that the present state of Kirgiz culture is much lower than it used to be.

In the 13th century the Kirgiz on the Yenisei had to submit to the Mongols under Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]. Negotiations for their submission were already begun in 1207, but it was only settled in 1218 when the last rebellion was put down. After the decline of the empire of the descendants of Čingiz Khān the Kirgiz had sometimes to be under the yoke of the Mongols, sometimes of the Kalmucks, and sometimes of the Russians; in 1607 they recognised the suzerainty of the Ḳazāḳ, but by 1609 we find them killing a tax-collector sent by the Ḳazāḳ. In 1642 they were described by the Kalmuck Khān Batur as Kalmuck, in 1646 by the Russian plenipotentiary Daniyil Arshinskiy as Russian subjects. In 1703 they were transferred by the Kalmucks, by arrangement with Russia, southwards to the region of the modern Semirečye; they are then said to have numbered 3,000-4,000 tents. As mentioned above, a portion of the Kirgiz had migrated at a much earlier date; shortly after 1514 a certain Muḥammad is mentioned as being invested as Khān of the Kirgiz by Saʿīd Khān the ruler of the Mongols (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, London 1895, 141); in the 16th century the Kirgiz were for the most part under the rule of the Khāns of the Ḳazāḳ. The Kirgiz were called *Burut* by Kalmucks; they were nearly all driven out from Semirečye to Farghāna and Ḳarātegīn; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire by the Chinese (1758-9) that they returned to their old settlements in the southern part of Semirečye. At this date the name Kirgiz was transferred to the Ḳazāḳ by the Russians; to distinguish them from the latter, the true Kirgiz were called

Black Kirgiz (Ḳarā Ḳirghiz). The term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated. In Semirečye, the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz, outwardly at least, professed Islam; in their epic, which takes its name from the principal hero Manas, the wars against the Kalmucks are described as wars of religion. Unlike the Ḳazāḳ, the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz had neither princes or nobles; the elders, called *Manap*, were not chosen by any kind of election but owed their position entirely to their personal influence. Owing to the continual state of war, the tribes of the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz did not break up into small subdivisions as was the case with the tribes of the Ḳazāḳ; an *aul* (camp) of the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz comprised the members of a whole tribe and therefore occupied a much greater area than an *aul* of the Ḳazāḳ. In the 18th century authority over the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz was claimed by the Chinese, in the 19th first by the Özbegs in Farghāna and later by the Russians; the final establishment of Russian rule dates from 1864. The prosperity of the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz has been seriously affected by the Russian colonisation and particularly by the rising of 1916, when a considerable portion of the people migrated to China; the Russian government resolved—but nothing came of it owing to the revolution of 1917—to take from the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz all their grazing-grounds except the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation.

Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ, from the Özbeg, cf. ABU 'L-KHAYR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924/1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the 16th century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomadic kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr, and later still even held the town of Tāshkent. In the 17th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"; the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the 17th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sayrām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this, the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement embodying this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse; but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khayr negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the 18th century; but it was not till the 19th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sultans" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last popular leader of the Ḳazāḳ was Kenesarī, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and Orenburg from 1842 in the mountains of Ala Tau; several risings were stirred up until 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Ṣiddīḳ). Another son, Aḥmad, later wrote the life of his father Kenesarī and of his brother Sadik, entitled: *Sultanī Kenisara i Sadik. Biografičeskiye očerki sultana Akhmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotano dlya pečati i snabženo primečaniyami E. T. Smirnovīm*, Tashkent 1889 (review by V. Rosen in *Zap.*, iv, 122-3).

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the 19th century by the Özbegs of Farghāna and Khīwa and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the Ḳazāḳ. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of Turkestan (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882) (Semirečye belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestan), the government of Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand, after the Revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "Ḳazāḳistān". Today the Kirgiz form one of the Union Republics in the USSR. The number of the population in the Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic was 3,145,000 in 1973 (43.8% Kirgiz, 24.2% Russians, 11.3% Uzbeks, etc.). The whole number of Kirgiz living in the USSR was 1,452,000 in 1970. The number of Kirgiz living in China and Afghanistan is over 100,000. The Kirgiz language belongs to the northwestern (Kipchak) group of Turkic languages.

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ukazatel' literaturï po istorii, arkheologii i ėtnografii Kirgizii (1750-1917), Frunze 1958. The fullest history of the Kirgiz steppes is that by A. Levshin, *Opisaniye Kirgiz-kaisakskikh ord i stepey*, St. Petersburg 1832; this is supplemented by many quotations in Velyaminov-Zernov, *Issledovaniya o kazimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, ii. Of general works, see W. Barthold, *Histoire des turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, Paris 1952; D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Eurasie Centrale*, Wiesbaden 1963; S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizï i ikh ėtnogenetičeskie i istoriko-kul' turnïye svjazi*, Leningrad 1971. On everyday life (esp. of the Ķazāķ) in the 19th century: W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*[2], Leipzig 1893, i; idem, *Proben der Volkslitteratur, etc.*, iii, v. On laws: N. Grodekov, *Kirgizï i Karakirgizï Syr-Daryinskoy oblasti*, Tashkent 1889. On present conditions: *Obzor narodnogo khozyaystva Kirgizskoy A.S.S.R. 1924 god*, Pod red. Y. P. Krutilina; S. A. Tokarev, *Ėtnografiya narodov SSSR. Istoričeskiye osnovï bïta i kul'turï*, Moscow 1958 (with a lengthy bibliography). On language and literature: *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, i-ii, Wiesbaden 1959-64. (W. Barthold - [G. Hazai])

KIRID [see iķrītish].

ĶIRIM, a peninsula jutting out into the Black Sea south of the Ukraine (Russian Krïm; English Crimea; French Crimée; German Krim; with an area of 25,500 km²), connected with the mainland by the isthmus *ca.* 8 km. wide of Perekop (in Turkish Or Ķapï), and ending to the east in the peninsula of Kerč [*q.v.*]. The northern and central parts are flat; to the south lies a mountainous area consisting of three ranges, the most southern of which, Mt. Yayla (1,545 m. high), falls down steeply to the coastal strip. The climate is relatively mild and on the south-eastern coast similar to that of the Mediterranean area. The water of the few rivers and brooks—especially that of the Salghïr—is used for irrigation. The flat grounds are cultivated; in the mountains there are pastures besides woods, and wine-growing is not without importance. Some minerals are found (iron ore near Kerč, fluorspar near Sevastopol) and at present there is also all kinds of industry.

In antiquity, the peninsula was inhabited by the Scythians. From the 6th century B.C. onwards, Greek colonies existed on the coasts. Around 480 B.C. these formed the Bosporean State, whereas in the 1st century B.C. they belonged for a short time to the Pontian kingdom. From 63 B.C. onwards, the Roman Empire wielded supreme rule (see *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new ed. by G. Wissowa, vi. Halbband, Stuttgart 1899, cols. 2254-69; H. G. Gundel, *Die Krim im Altertum*, in *Das Gymnasium*, liii (1942), 117-38). In the 4th century A.D. first the Goths came, then the Huns. Until 1239 the Byzantine empire held the Chersonese (Old Russian Korsun'), while the main part of the peninsula belonged to the territory of the Khazars [*q.v.*]. During the 10th and 11th centuries there was the Russian colony Tmutarakan' (probably near modern Taman'), important in relations with Byzantium. From around 1030 the peninsula was dominated by the Kumans or Ķïpčaķ [*q.v.*], and from 1239 by the Tatars of the Golden Horde. They also wielded a sort of supreme rule over the Genoese colonies that came into existence here (since 1261-5, especially in Kaffa, mod. Feodosiya, see kefe). These colonies took over the role of the Byzantine Chersonese and became of great significance for trade with Byzantium and the Mediterranean area until their downfall in 1475. They were to a certain extent tributary to the Tatars. Occasional plunderings of these towns by the Golden Horde (see batu'ids), e.g. in 1298-9, or sieges, e.g. 1343, remained incidental.

Ķïrïm is only rarely mentioned by the Arab geographers (and even then partly following the Italian reports, as by Idrīsī). The first contact with Islam dates from a campaign of the Rūm Saldjūķid sultan Kay Ķubād ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II [*q.v.*] (616-34/1219-36). After the Golden Horde occupied the peninsula, first in 1223 and then, definitively, in 1238-9, the religious situation did not change immediately. At the instigation of the Egyptian Mamlūks (who entertained trade relations with the peninsula) a mosque was erected at Old Ķïrïm (also Solkhat/Solghad); another was built later by the Khān Özbeg (712-42/1313-41) [*q.v.*].

During the latter's reign, Sunni Islam had gained a firm footing among the Tatars of Ķïrïm, like among the rest of the Golden Horde. From Egypt shortlived influences of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] asserted themselves.

Next, there existed of old also Jewish settlements, but little is known about them in these centuries except from tombstones. Karaites or Ķarāʾīm [*q.v.*] were found at Čufut Ķale, and the Orthodox Christians had a bishopric of Gothia at Old Ķïrïm. Western or Latin Christianity, supported mainly by the Franciscans, was represented by the Genoese until the downfall of the latter in 1475. Already in 1261 a Latin bishop is mentioned, and in 1318 the bishopric of Kaffa was founded. Its jurisdiction stretched from Varna (in modern Bulgaria) to Sarāy [*q.v.*], the capital of the Golden Horde. The bishopric of Cherson, which came into being in 1303, was definitively established in 1333, with parishes in the individual towns. From here efforts were made to effect a union with the other Christians and to start missionary work among the Tatars, but at the end of the 14th century these attempts came to an end for lack of success. From 1351 until after 1370 there had even existed a Latin bishopric at Sarāy.

In the 14th century, during embittered fights with the Venetians in the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea, the Genoese founded trading factories in Sughdaķ (Russian Surož), in Balaklava (then Cembalo), in modern Sevastopol, in Tana (Azóv, Turkish Azaķ [*q.v.*]) and in Moncastro (Aķ Kirmān [*q.v.*], Rumanian Cetatea Albă, since 1368) to the west of the mouth of the Dnĕstr. Until 1343 the Venetians had a colony at Tana (Azóv). Besides Italians, who had their own rule and system of justice, there were living in these towns Arabs from various Near Eastern lands; Turks from Anatolia; Lurs [*q.v.*]; Greeks; and above all, such a large number of Armenians that Ķïrïm was sometimes called Armenia Magna or Armenia Maritima. About the Crimean Goths we are informed by reports of the 13th century, and latterly in the 16th century by Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, ambassador of the Austrian emperor to Süleymān II (see E. S. Forster, *The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, Oxford 1927, repr. 1968; W. von den Steinen, *Vier Briefe Busbecqs aus der Türkei*, 1926). Since that time they have merged with the Ķïrïm Tatars.

The Mongols of the Golden Horde had a governor on the peninsula (*ḥākim* or *wālī*), who kept up his own diplomatic relations with the Nile valley. We hear also of an "*amīr* of the right wing" and "of the left wing of the army". Until the middle of the 15th century Ķïrïm, thinly populated except for the coasts, remained a centre, especially through Byzantine intermediaries on the Dardanelles, for trade with Egypt. For a long period *via* the Ķïrïm slaves

(Mamlūks) were sent to that country, while all kind of goods (fine shawls, perfumes and the like) found their way from there to Ḳirim, and further to the Volga along the road of Sughdaḳ, Old Ḳirim, and Perekop. Trade with Anatolia was also important. The traffic was later taken over by Trebizond, which had remained Byzantine until 1462. The Genoese brought European goods (linen and ceramics) to Ḳirim and to further on. In the 15th century especially, the commercial highway ran along the bank of the Bug *via* Luck and Lemberg to Breslau.

Both in Old Ḳirim, the peninsula's seat of government in these centuries, and in Eski Yurt, many goods were warehoused. The currents of trade manifested themselves also in the artistic construction of buildings and in ceramics. These showed influences from Sarāy, Saldjūḳid Asia Minor, Egypt and the Genoese colonies, as we know since the excavations of 1924-8. Besides trade, a part was played by the manufacture of salt, the gathering of honey (which went as far as Khwārazm) and grapes, and by horse-breeding and tanning.

Notwithstanding all these developments, Ḳirim remained until the 15th century only an annexe of the Golden Horde and occasionally a refuge for ambitious claimants in their struggle for power, like Nokhay in 1291 and Mamay in 1359. Around 1345-8, 85,000 persons allegedly fell victim to the Black Death, and in 1395 the peninsula was ravaged by Tīmūr. Attempts of the double kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to push as far as the Black Sea and to endanger also Ḳirim were foiled in 1399 by the victory of the "mayor of the palace" Edigü (Russian Yedigey) on the Vorskla. The latter had his base here during his struggle with Witold of Lithuania, until he died in 1419.

During the civil wars which ravaged the Golden Horde from 1359 onwards, princes of the Mongol ruling dynasty who were descendants of Čingiz Khān and his grandson Togha Temür (the son of Djoči), had settled on various occasions in the peninsula. At the beginning of the 15th century they had apparently adopted the family-name of Girāy [*q.v.*] or Kerey. Relying upon the noble family of the Shīrīn, Devlet Berdi had established himself in Ḳirim after 1426, and in 1427 he tried to enter again into relations with Egypt. But he (and since 1427 also his brother Ḥādjdjī Girāy [*q.v.*]) encountered opposition from the ruler of the Great (until then, the Golden) Horde. In August 1449 Ḥādjdjī formally declared himself ruler of Ḳirim. With the help of the Turkish sultan and the Polish-Lithuanian king Casimir IV, he was able to hold out until his death in 1466, first in his residence Ḳirḳ Yer and later in the valley of Bāghče Sarāy [*q.v.*]. He and later his son again and again took in fugitives of the decaying Great Horde, and they thus became rulers of the strongest among the Tatar states that came into being. On the northern shore of the Black Sea a strip of land where the Noghāys [*q.v.*] lived, and since 1484 also the Budjāḳ [*q.v.*], came gradually under the rule of the Ḳirim Khāns.

After rather lengthy succession disputes, Mengli Girāy I [*q.v.*], one of Ḥādjdjī Girāy's eight sons, got the upper hand. He was to become the real founder of the independent Ḳirim state, in spite of the fact that he had to recognise Ottoman supremacy after the conquest of Kaffa in 1475 by the Sultan's troops. The Girāy family was then recognised as enjoying in Ḳirim the sole rights of succession and immunity. Since Islām Girāy II (992-6/1584-8) [*q.v.*], their name was mentioned in the *khuṭba* after the Sultan's; they had the right to strike their own coins; and they could grant asylum. They remained independent in internal policy and had at their disposal a richly-ramified officialdom which followed more and more the Ottoman Turkish pattern. Under the continuous political preponderance of the Sultan, co-operation between the two states generally passed off without too much friction, in spite of many dangerous tensions at times. Joint military expeditions were regularly organised; in 1476 and 1538 into Moldavia, in 1543 for the first time into Hungary. From the time when the Turks had conquered Kilia and Aḳ Kirmān (1484) and the Poles had been defeated in Moldavia (1497), the khanate of Ḳirim was in direct contact with the Turkish dominions in the Balkan peninsula. In the north-east the Čerkes [*q.v.*] and Kabards [*q.v.*] were subjects of the Ḳirim-Khāns, and thus the Black Sea became until 1739 a Turkish-Tatar inland sea.

Relations with the Christian powers in the north changed when, from 1470-2 onwards, Casimir IV decided to co-operate more and more with the Great Horde. The Ḳirim Khāns turned to the Grand Dukes of Moscow, who between 1468 and 1571 were exempted from paying tribute. With certain fluctuations in details, both states remained loyal to this alliance until the fall of the Great Horde in 1502, and even extended it, while the kings of Poland-Lithuania in 1480 and later repeatedly neglected their commitments to the Horde. From that period onwards, this double kingdom was exposed to attacks from both the Muscovites and the Ḳirim-Tatars, who again and again invaded Podolia, Volhynia and Galicia and more than once laid Kiev, Černigov and other towns under contribution (for the Tatar incursions between 1474 and 1569, see J. Ochmański, *Organizacja obrony przed Tatarami w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskim* ("The organisation of the defence against the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"), in *Studia i materiały do historii wojskowości* ("Studies for the history of the army"), v (1960), 349-98, esp. 362-4). Under these circumstances the Great Horde got into great difficulties, especially after the death of Khān Aḥmed in January 1481. Until the very end of this state, officers, soldiers and even princes of the ruling house continued to desert to the Ḳirim-Khāns (see M. Małowist, *Kaffa: kolonia genueńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453-1475* ("Kaffa, the Genoese colony in the Crimea and the eastern problem in 1453-75"), Warsaw 1947 (*Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* ("Publications of the Historical Institute of the University of Warsaw"), ii). Even after a temporary treaty of peace between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Lithuania in 1493, the latter's contact with Ḳirim remained so close that the Khāns were able to mediate in 1496 for the establishing of diplomatic Russian-Turkish relations, initially in the main for commercial reasons (see V. E. Syroečkovskiy, *Puti i snosheniya Moskvi s Krimom na rubeže xvi veka* ("Ways and relations of Moscow with the Crimea at the turn of the 16th century"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, iii (1932).

When in June 1502 the Great Horde was finally defeated to the east of Kiev and close to where the Desna joins the Dnyěpr, and their last Khān was forced to flee to Lithuania (where he was executed in 1505), the Ḳirim Khān, in accordance with his claim, assumed the rights of the former Golden Horde and demanded tribute "without subterfuge" from Moscow and Lithuania. To the Grand Duke of Lithuania he offered a treaty "after straightening

out relations". In addition, Mengli Girāy felt himself responsible for the security of the khānates of Ķāzān [q.v.] and Astrakhān [q.v.] and thus ran into increasing difficulties with Moscow (K. Pułaski, *Mendli-Girāy* (sic), *chan Tatarów perekopskich* ("Mengli-Giray, Khan of the Perekop Tatars"), Warsaw 1882). Under these circumstances, a treaty with Sigismund I Augustus (1506-48) of Poland and Lithuania was of great importance to Mengli Girāy I. But the negotiations had not yet been concluded when the Ķīrīm Khān died at a great age in 1515 (J. Pajewski, *Projekt przymierza polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta* ("A project of treaty between Poland and Turkey under Sigismund Augustus"), in *Księga ku Czci Oskara Haleckiego*, Warsaw 1935).

Under Mengli Girāy I, Ķīrīm reached its cultural zenith. The area was opened up to Ottoman Turkish culture. Artists from the Islamic cultural environment and also Italian, often Genoese, artisans who had remained in the country after 1475, such as Augustino da Garibaldi and Vincento da Zugulfi, found work here, especially as architects and stone carvers. Intellectual and literary circles came also into being. Of special artistic importance was the Khān's palace at Bāghče Sarāy [q.v.], whither Mengli Girāy had transferred his residence from Old Ķīrīm. It is actually in ruins today, but the Zendjirli Madrasa has been preserved.

In view of the position of power which Meḥmed Girāy I (1515-22) [q.v.]) had inherited from his father (V. E. Syroečkovskiy, *Muchammed-Geraj i ego vassali* ("Meḥmed-Girāy and his vassals"), in *Učёniye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, lxi (1940)), the new Khān also aspired to the position of the Golden Horde and wanted to unite all Tatars under his rule. His son Ṣāḥib Girāy [q.v.] in 1521 succeeded in driving away a Khān of Ķāzān who was friendly to Moscow and, in spite of the resistance of Astrakhān, in incorporating his territory into that of his father. Having become Khān (1532-51) after his father had been murdered and Islām Girāy I [q.v.] had been put aside, he did not however succeed in holding out after a defeat inflicted on him by Moscow on the Oka in 1541 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *Tarih-i Sahib Giray han (1532-1551)*, crit. ed., tr., notes and glossary, Erzurum 1973 (Atatürk Universitesi yayınları 212)). On the contrary, Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-84) who had born the title of Tsar since 1547, carefully collected his forces for a campaign which brought under his control Ķāzān [q.v.] in October 1552, and Astrakhān [q.v.], firstly in 1554 and definitively in 1556. Thus the Volga valley was opened up to Russia right down to the Caspian Sea, the waterway to Caucasia and the north coast of Persia lay free and the Russians got an extensive new region for settlement. Dawlat (Dewlet) Girāy I (1551-77 [q.v.]) finally saw himself confined to the Ķīrīm Khanate and its northern hinterland. After the manifold disturbances of the preceding decades he tried to collaborate again with Poland-Lithuania, which saw itself more and more threatened by Moscow and both of which merged into one single state in the Union of Lublin in 1569 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *1532-1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nin siyasi durumu*, Ankara 1973 (Atatürk Üniversitesi yayınları 289)).

However, the Khān was dissatisfied, as was Sultan Süleymān II, by the fact that so many Muslims had become subject to Orthodox Christian sovereignty. The two sovereigns entered upon a close treaty of alliance and for the time being supported Tatar revolts against the supremacy of Moscow; these revolts are echoed in the legends around Čora Batir (Saʿādat Šākir, *Čora Batyr. Eine Legende in dobrudscha-tatarischer Mundart*, Cracow 1935). Dewlet Girāy attempted to relieve them by marching against Russia in 1555. But his fear that the Sultan might enlarge his influence in Ķīrīm by stationing his own troops there made him abandon a plan of supporting the Ottomans effectively. Thus the Sultan received little help from the Ķīrīm Khān for his attempt to connect with a canal the Volga and the Don, at the place where they draw the nearest to each other (near modern Volgograd). He could rely only on the Noghāys [q.v.]. Consequently, when in the winter of 1569 the Turkish troops were defeated between Astrakhān and the Sea of Azov, the enterprise of Selīm II fell through. He had hoped to establish in Ķīrīm a base for his campaign against Shīʿī Ṣafawid Persia, and to activate from there economic relations with Central Asia (H. İnalcık, *Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü* (1569), in *Belleten* xii 146 (1948), 349-402; Eng. tex t in *AÜDTCFD* (1947), 47-106; A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil boyu. 1569 Astarhan seferi, Ten-İdil kanalı ve XVI-XVII yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus münasebetleri*, Ankara 1966 (*AÜDTDF* Yayınları 151); P. A. Sadikov, *Pokhod Tatar i Turok na Astrakhan v 1569 godu* ("The campaign of the Tatars and Turks against Astrakhan in 1569"), in *Istoričeskiye Zapiski*, xxii, Moscow 1947, 132-66). When in 1571 the Turkish fleet became decisively weakened by the defeat at Lepanto [see AYNA-BAKHTĪ], any plan of a Turkish advance against Russia had to be abandoned. On the other hand, Ķīrīm was thus freed from the feared guardianship of the Sultan, although it also lost his direct protection.

The Khān availed himself immediately of this freedom at his rear to march against Moscow. In 1571 the city fell for the last time into Tatar hands and was burnt down. The Tsar was forced to declare himself prepared to resume paying tribute (*tīsh/tiylsh*). It was only Peter the Great who was able to free himself decisively from this obligation. At this point, the Tsar was unable to counter-attack, as a result of his military engagements in the west in regard to Livonia.

Ķāzān and Astrakhān thus remained in Russian hands. In order to change this situation, Khān Meḥmed II, the Fat (Semiz; reigned 1577-84) made new endeavours (Kırımlı Abdulla oğlu Hasan, *İkinci Mehmed Giray Han/Khān Meḥmed Girāy II*, in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii (1934), 1). Since Turkish help failed to come because of the war with Persia (1578-90), the Khān sought an alliance against Moscow with Poland, Lithuania and even with Pope Gregory XIII. He held out a prospect of conversion to Roman Catholicism, which caused the Popes to send several ambassadors between 1571 and 1583. A Ķīrīm embassy was honourably received at Vilna in 1579 (Stanisław Kryczyński, *Nieudana misja katolicka wśród muzułmanow litewskich w XVI w.* ("A failed Catholic mission among the Lithuanian Muslims in the 16th century"), in *Przegląd Islamski* (1935), 3/4, 11-14).

But not even in this way could Meḥmed Girāy II achieve a real success. He was forced to put *ca.* 5,000 soldiers at the disposal of the Sultan for the war against Persia. When the successor to the throne, the Kalghāy [q.v.], was taken captive by the Persians, the Khān himself interfered in the war against the Shāh. This led to friction with the Sublime Porte and in the course of the ensuing unrest in Ķīrīm, the Khān was murdered in 1584.

The new Khān, Ghāzī Girāy II (1588-1608) [q.v.],

got the upper hand after lengthy disturbances. He also came forward as a poet (H. Ertaylan, *Gazi Geray Han, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1958; C. M. Kortepeter, *Gazi Giray II, Khan of Crimea, and Ottoman policy in eastern Europe and the Caucasus, 1588-1594*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xliv/102 (1966), 139-66). His attack against Moscow in 1591 failed, and during the Turkish campaign against Hungary of 1592-1606 he had, in the same way as his predecessor, to provide troops for the Sultan, which on various occasions led to friction (B. Kocowski, *Wyprawa Tatarów na Węgry przez Polskę w 1594 r.*, Lublin 1948; M. Alekberli, *Borʾba Ukrainskogo naroda protiv turetsko-tatarskoy agressii vo vtoroy polovine XVI/pervoy polovine XVII vekov* ("The struggle of the Ukranian people against the Turkish-Tatar attack in the 2nd half of the 16th and the 1st half of the 17th centuries"), Saratov 1961.

During these various wars, Ķīrīm itself remained free of military incursions, and so the administration there could follow its even course. Public roads and inns were secure, and documents which survived the conflagration of the Khān's palace (in 1736) testify to well-organised archives and the regular proceeding of the Islamic law concerning justice, inheritance and marriage. Customary law (*ʿāda* [*q.v.*]) also played a rôle. The horse trade and rates of exchange of foreign currency were officially supervised. As in other Islamic countries, the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] was the supreme court of judicature. There were 48 judicial regions in the lowlands and 19 in the mountains, where, except for the infliction of the death penalty, convictions could be pronounced without right of appeal "insofar as the conviction was in accordance with the laws". However, in the administration of justice, corruption as always played a rôle that could not be disregarded.

The Tatars enjoyed personal freedom and, as in earlier centuries, passed for a friendly and hospitable people. Women were entitled to personal property, and took part now and then in public life, diplomatic negotiations or even in military expeditions; and occasionally they devoted themselves to poetry and literature.

Until the age of fifteen, the education of children of the ruling house was often left to Čerkes [*q.v.*], who taught them riding and the use of weapons. (Up to the 19th century other Caucasian peoples, including the Ossets, also had their children brought up by Čerkes.) The hardships thereby endured were supposed to influence many *khāns* up to their old age and to counterbalance Ottoman urban culture. In the course of time, however, rulers and high officials turned more and more to Istanbul for the education of their children; also, many a Girāy prince lived there as a hostage. Thus Turkish cultural influence became more and more important during the 17th and 18th centuries. Ottoman Turkish gradually began to supersede Ķīrīm Tatar as the written language; Turkish melodies (played on drums, clarinets and later also violins) may well have merged into local musical tradition; but confinement of women in harems increased.

In this way, the ties with Turkey were strengthened, but they also reinforced dependency upon the Sultans, who more and more intervened, by deposing, and occasionally reinstating, many a *khān*. Thus the stability of the regional government was undermined both by the power of Istanbul and by the growing independence of the Begs, who possessed wide powers within their fiefs and fought out among themselves many a personal feud. The noble families, the prominent ones being the Shīrīn, the Ķuluķ, the Bārīn, the Manṣūr and the Sulesh, enjoyed tax freedom. The state revenues consisted largely of certain customs duties, payments by individual governors, indirect taxes (mainly on salt) and an annuity of the Sultan. Direct taxes, as far as they were levied, consisted (at least officially) of the *ʿushr* [*q.v.*] and *zakāt* [*q.v.*].

The interventions of the Sublime Porte bound Ķīrīm the more closely to Turkey because no other policy of alliance was now possible with any power to the north (B. Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624-1629* ("Poland and Tartary in 1624-9"), Lodz 1948). Bad harvests in the Crimea, whose agriculture normally secured the subsistence of its inhabitants, may have caused the Tatars to plunder again and again the south-western regions of Poland and Lithuania (W. Czapliński, *Sprawa najazdów tatarskich na Polske w pierwszej polowie XVII w.* ("The problem of the Tatar incursions into Poland in the first half of the 17th c."), in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* lxx/3 (1963), 713-20; M. Horn, *Skutki ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1605-1633 na Ruś Czerwoną* ("The economic consequences of the Tatar invasions in 1605-33 in Red Russia"), Breslau 1964; J. Coldberg, *Chronologia i zasięg najazdów tatarskich na ziemie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1600-1647* ("Chronology and reach of the Tatar invasions into the land of the Republic of Poland in 1600-47"), in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, vii/1, 3-71). Properly speaking, these incursions had no political motivation, but they were to such an extent prejudicial to relations with the neighbours to the north-west that there could be no more question of combined action against the common enemy Moscow, which now became more and more threatening to both parties; also, the Ķīrīm Khāns themselves suffered repeatedly from the unrest of the nomads. When at the treaty of Pereyaslavlʾ in 1654 the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelʾnitskiy, who had been supported by the Tatars, changed sides and joined Moscow, the Tsar became a direct neighbour of the Crimean *khāns*. Now at last the Polish-Lithuanian king sought alliance with Islām Girāy III (1644-54 [*q.v.*]). They undertook a common military expedition against Moscow, which ended in 1655 with the victory of Ochmatów (J. Rypka, *Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmelnyćkyj*, in *Festschrift für Jar. Bidlo*, Prague 1928; idem, *Weitere Beiträge zur ...*, in *Archiv Orientální*, ii (1930); idem, *Další příspěvek ke korespondenci Vysoké Porty s Bohdanem Chmelnickým* ("Further contribution to the correspondence. . ."), in *Časopis Národního Muzea*, 1931; idem, *Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Feridūns Münseʾāt*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 249-69; O. Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 266-98). The Tatars now also took part in the campaigns of the Poles against the allied forces of the Russians, Swedes, Brandenburgers, Transylvanians and Cossacks (in the period of the "Deluge") and fought in 1656 together with them before Warsaw, in Prussia and in Greater Poland. Many captives and rich booty were brought to the Crimea. Khān Meḥmed Girāy IV (who reigned for the second time 1654-66) concluded a treaty with the Polish king over the partition of the conquered regions; the Islamic areas, like Ķāzān and Astrakhān, were to fall to the Crimean khānate. Both peoples fought shoulder-to-shoulder against Transylvania in 1657 and against Moscow in 1660 (the Battle of Tsudnov) (L. Kubala, *Wojna brandenburska i najazd*

Rakoczego i wojna moskiewska ("The Brandenburg War, the invasion of Rákóczy and the Moscow War"), Lemberg-Warsaw 1913; A. Hniłko, *Wyprawa cudnowska w 1660 r.* ("The campaign of Tsudnov in 1660"), Warsaw 1931). The Tatar army numbered at this time 20,000-30,000 troops at the most; higher accounts (up to 150,000 and even 200,000) are probably false (O. Górka, *Liczebność Tatarów krymskich i ich wojsk* ("The number of the Crimean Tatars and their armies"), in *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, viii/2, 1936). Single military units had their own standards, while the cavalrymen brought spare horses along with them. Victuals consisted mainly of millet, which was milled in leathern mortars. Prisoners of war were enabled to ransom themselves as far as possible; not infrequently they were humanely treated. In accordance with Islamic law, there may have been many freedmen.

The alliance between Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean k͟hānate came to an end when Meḥmed Girāy was deposed in 1666 and the armistice of Andrusovo, between Poland-Lithuania and Moscow, was concluded in 1667. The political situation changed further when Peter Doros͟henko (1665-76), the hetman of the Cossacks "of the left bank", submitted to the Sultan out of dislike for the equalising policy of Moscow (D. Dorošenko and J. Rypka, *Hejtman Petr Dorošenko a jeho turecka politika* ("Hetman P. D. and his Turkish policy"), in *Časopis Národního Muzea*, Prague 1933; Ch. Hilbert, *Osteuropa 1648-1681 bei den Zeitgenössischen osman. Historikern*, typewr. thesis, Göttingen 1948).

At the instigation of the Turks, K͟hān ʿĀdil Girāy (1666-71) had to collaborate with the Cossacks and therefore fell out with Poland-Lithuania. The ensuing war made Podolia in 1672 into a Turkish province, and thus the Sultan's empire reached its greatest expansion ever to the north of the Black Sea. Attempts by K͟hān Selīm Girāy I (1671-8) at mediation failed because of the Sultan's uncompromising attitude (J. Woliński, *Pośrednictwo tatarskie w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1674-1675 r.* ("Tatar mediation in the Polish-Turkish War 1674-5"), in *Polityka narodów* iv (1954)/4). The new k͟hān, Murād Girāy (1678-83), tried to free himself from subordination to Turkey and wanted to replace the *S͟harīʿa* by "the Law of Čingiz K͟hān" (*Töre, Yasa*), a daring enterprise which naturally angered the *ʿulamāʾ*. In accordance with his political principles, he remained aloof during the Turkish march against Vienna in 1683, and his army corps did not take part in the battle of the Barren Mountain Kahlenberg. As a punishment, he was banished to Bulgaria (Kırımlı Abdullah oğlu Hasan, *Viyana önünde Kırım suvarileri*, in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* ii (1933), 21-2, 348-53). Nevertheless, relations between the Tatars and Poland-Lithuania remained tense until the Peace of Carlowitz (1699 [see ḲARLOVČA]).

The Tsars availed themselves of this dissension. After the Cossacks of the left bank of the Dnyepr had come again under their control, two Russian armies marched against the Crimea in 1686 and 1687. While K͟hān Selīm Girāy (who reigned for the second time in 1684-91) succeeded in defending the peninsula itself, Azóv was lost to Peter the Great in 1699, and thus the k͟hānate was divided for several years into two parts, sc. the peninsula and the region towards the Caucasus. In order to counterbalance Azóv while it was in Russian hands, the fortress of Yeñi Ḳalʿe was founded near Kerč (B. H. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman empire*, London 1949).

During this turbulent period, the cultural significance of the k͟hānate declined. Artistic creativity was small, although Islamic influences from the Crimea and from Turkey are clearly recognisable in contemporary Poland (T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku* ("Islamic art in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries"), Cracow 1935; F.-K. Spuhler, *Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit: die sog. Polenteppiche*, doctoral thesis, Berlin 1968).

The victory of the European coalition over the Sultan in the great war of 1682-99 was of serious consequence for Ḳırım. Pressure from the north made itself more and more felt. The planned co-operation with the Swedish king Charles XII (1697-1718) and with the hetman of the Cossacks Ivan Stepanovič Mazepa, in which G͟hāzī Girāy III (1704-7) [*q.v.*]) was very interested, failed owing to the Russian victory near Poltava in 1709. It is true that the allies succeeded in forcing Peter the Great, hemmed in by Turkish troops near the Pruth, to retrocede Azóv, but this was all that could be achieved: a protest of K͟hān Dewlet Girāy II (who reigned for the second time 1708-13) remained unsuccessful (A. N. Kurat, *Prut seferi ve barışı* ("The Pruth campaign and peace"), Ankara 1951). More and more the Tatars began to fear and reject the adversary from the north (G. Veinstein, *Les Tatars de Crimée et la seconde élection de Stanislas Leszczyński*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et slave*, xi (1970), 24-92), especially when the Russians invaded Ḳırım in 1737 and 1738, destroying many cultural monuments, among them Bāg͟hče Sarāy [*q.v.*]. In 1739 the Tatars and Turks had to abandon Azóv definitively to the Russians (Z. Veselá, *Turets͟kij traktat ob osmanskik͟h krepostʾyak͟h severnogo Pričernomorʾya v načale XVIII veka* ("A Turkish treatise on the Ottoman fortresses on the north coast of the Black Sea at the beginning of the 18th century"), in *Vostočniye istočniki po istorii narodov yugo-vostočnoy i ts͟entralʾnoy Evropi*, ii, Moscow 1960, 98-139). As in Poland-Lithuania, the strength of Ḳırım was diminished by the heavy toll of human life, the demoralising defeats, the increasing interference of the Porte in Crimean affairs, the manifold struggles among the princes of the ruling house, and a fairly protracted revolt of the Nog͟hays [*q.v.*] around 1758 (see B. Kellner-Heinkele, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Saʿīd Giray Ḫān. Eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg i. B., 1975). An attempt at a new alliance between Poland-Lithuania, Ḳırım and Turkey remained without further result during the 18th century (W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja* ("Poland and Turkey") *1683-1792*, Warsaw 1936; D. Oljančyn, *Do istorii torhovli Ukraïny z Krymon* ("Contribution to the history of the trade between the Ukraine and Ḳırım 1754-8"), Lemberg 1933). An offer of alliance made to the Crimean k͟hān by Frederick the Great in 1761, at the most difficult moment of the Seven Years' War, led to no result either (H. Scheel, *Ein Schreiben des Krim Giray Khan an den Prinzen Heinrich, den Bruder Friedrichs des Grossen*, in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, Ankara 1958, 213-20).

On the other hand, the devastations of the war years stimulated the zest for living of the Crimean Tatars which, during the last decades of their freedom, flowered into a second cultural bloom, and which found its most important expression in the reconstruction of the *k͟hān*'s palace at Bāg͟hče Sarāy in 1740-3. The Sultan made a present of a valuable library, and in 1763 a new stateroom (*Dīwān*) was erected, richly decorated with paintings and sculp-

tures. Former hydraulic works, like aqueducts and canals, were restored and preparations made for a new period of prosperity.

But already in 1771, Russian armies had again marched into the Crimea. Khān Selim Girāy III (second reign 1770-1) tried to make a stand against them, in vain, because the Sultan himself pressed hard by a war (1768-74), against the Tsarina Catharine II, was unable to render effective help. Many people perished and many places were destroyed. The Russians marched as far as Kaffa and the Khān had to flee to Istanbul (A. Mačanov, *Bor'ba Tsarskoy Rossii i Turtsii za obladeniye Krîmskim Khanstvom* ("The struggle of Imperial Russia and Turkey for the domination of the Crimea"), Moscow 1929).

Thereupon the nobility decided to appoint a *khān* who was friendly to the Russians and to accede to the Russian occupation of the fortresses of Kerč, Yeñi Ḳalʿe and Kaffa. Thus the independence which the Sublime Porte was forced to grant to the Ḳîrîm at the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardje [*q.v.*] in 1774 (E. I. Družinina, *Kyučukkayandardžiyskiy mir 1774 goda: ego podgotovka i zaklyučeniye* ("The peace of K. K. in 1774: preparation and conclusion"), Moscow 1955), and the renunciation of its rights over these fortresses, on the Kubań and on the Taman peninsula, were only fictions, the more so because Kerč and Yeñi Ḳalʿe were at that time already directly subject to Russia (V. D. Smirnov, *Sbornik vîbora važnĕyshikh dokladov i ofitsialnikh dokumentov otnosyashč ikhsya k Turtsii, Rossii i Krîmu* ("Selection of the most important reports and official documents with reference to Turkey, Russia and the Crimea"), St. Petersburg 1881 (bearing mainly on the period 1768-74); F. A. Unat, *Kırım tarihi veya Necati efendinin Rusya sefaretnamesi 1769-75*, in *Tarih vesikaları* iii (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues); *Mubadele. An Ottoman-Russian exchange of ambassadors* [*1775/76*], annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz and M. Mote, Chicago-London 1970).

Even the Russian concession at the treaty of Aynalî Ḳavaḳ in 1779 to declare the Sultan "in his capacity of caliph" to be the head of all Muslims could not prevent Crimean independence from coming to an end. Already two years earlier, the successor to the throne, Shāhīn Girāy, had succeeded as Khān with the help of the Russians and the Noghays (F. F. Lashkov, *Shagin-Girey, poslĕdniy krîmskiy khan* ("Sh. G., the last Crimean *khān*"), in *Kiyevskaya Starina*, Sept. 1886, 36-80). He was educated in Salonica and Venice, had become acquainted with Russia while living there as ambassador, and was open-minded to European and especially to Italian culture. Like the last Polish king, he thought about reforming the state, mainly after the Russian example. He thus transferred the capital to Kaffa, on the sea coast, probably after the example of the Russian transfer of their capital to St. Petersburg. He invited foreign instructors to train his army of 6,000 troops, limited the *waḳf*s [*q.v.*] while indemnifying the *ʿulamāʾ* with a pension, and introduced under foreign supervision a new silver coinage. A council of ministers consisting of 12 members was created, and finances were set up anew by introducing financial registers. These reforms burdened the country with considerable debts, and Russia availed itself of the ensuing discontent. Besides, the khanate became upset by a new revolt of the Noghays in 1781 and a rebellion of two brothers of the Khān, who saw himself forced to flee to Grigoriy Aleksandrovič Potĕmkin, the governor of the regions newly conquered by the Russians in the south (the Ukraine). After the Khān had returned to his country with Russian help, Catharine II pressed him under deceitful promises to abdicate. Shāhīn Girāy saw no escape from giving in to this pressure and from abandoning his country to Russia, to which it has belonged ever since (A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970; N. F. Dubrovin, *Prisoedineniye k Rossii Krîma. Reskripti, pis'ma, relatsii i doneseniya* ("The union of the Crimea with Russia. Rescripts, letters, accounts and notes") i-iii, St. Petersburg 1855; idem, *V'ezd poslednyago krîmskago khana Shagin-Gireya iz Rossii v Turtsiyu* ("The journey of the last Crimean Khan Shāhīn Girāy from Russia to Turkey"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshčestva istorii i drevnostey*, xiii (1883), 132-56).

The annexation of the peninsula to the Russian empire (first as the Tauris region, and then from 1796 onwards as the New Russia Government) brought about shiftings of the population which must be mentioned here. Already in 1779 the Orthodox Christians of the Crimea, for centuries subordinated to "the Bishop of Gothia", had been removed to Southern Russia at the latter's instigation: 31,280 people from 6 towns and 60 villages settled around Mariupolʾ (A. L. Berthier-Delagarde, *K istorii khristianstva v Krîmu* ("Contribution to the history of Christianity on the Crimea"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshčestva istorii i drevnostey*, xxviii (1910), 1-108; A. I. Markevič, *K voprosu o položenii khristian v Krîmu vo vremya tatarskago vladičestva* ("Contribution to the situation of the Christians on the Crimea during the Tatar reign"), Simferopol 1910). Also the Armenians left the country (likewise with their own hierarchy) and settled in (New-) Nakhičevan, now a suburb of Rostov-on-Don. In order to be able to remain in their home country, many Christians, among whom were probably the last remnants of the Crimean Goths, embraced Islam. (E. I. Družinina, *Sĕvernoe Pričernomor'e* ("The northern edge of the Black Sea"), *1775-1800*, Moscow 1959). But also, many Tatars left the country at that period and in the 19th century to settle in Turkey (G. I. Levitskiy, *Pereselenie tatar iz Krîma v Turtsiyu* ("The settlement of Crimean Tatars in Turkey") in *Vĕstnik Evropî* v (1882), 596-639; A. Markevič, *Pereseleniya krîmskikh tatar v Turtsiyu v Ivyazi s dviženiem naseleniya v Krîmu* ("The settlements of the Crimean Tatars in Turkey in connection with the movement of the population on the Crimea"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1928), 375-405). In the place of all these people, came first Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, but furthermore some 7,000 Tatars from the Kuban area (M. Pinson, *Russian policy and the emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1862*, in *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i, (1972), 37-62). Most of the Crimean Tatars who had remained were moved to Central Asia in 1945 (and have not until now been permitted to return—*New York Times*, 13 July 1972—in spite of their official "rehabilitation" (*New York Times*, 5 May 1967; *Frankfurter Allg. Ztg.*, 13 Sept. 1967)).

Until February 1954, Ḳîrîm belonged to the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), but has since been combined with the Ukraine.

Chronology of the Crimean Khāns

(1449)-1456 Ḥādjdjī Girāy I
1456 Ḥaydar, son of the preceding
1456-1466 Ḥādjdjī Girāy I (2nd time)
1466-1467 Nūr Dewlet, son of the preceding

1467-1474	Mengli Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1474-1475	Nūr Dewlet (2nd time)
1475-1476	Mengli Girāy I (2nd time)
1476-1478	Nūr Dewlet (3rd time)
1478-1515	Mengli Girāy I (3rd time)
1515-1523	Meḥmed Girāy I, son of the preceding
1523-1524	Ghāzī Girāy I, son of the preceding
1524-1532	Saʿādet Girāy I, son of Mengli G. I
1532	Islām Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1532-1551	Ṣāḥib Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1551-1577	Dewlet Girāy I, nephew of the preceding
1577-1584	Meḥmed Girāy II, the Fat, son of the preceding
1584-1588	Islām Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1588-1596	Ghāzī Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1596	Fetḥ Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1596-1608	Ghāzī Girāy II (2nd time)
1608	Tokhtamīsh Girāy, son of the preceding
1608-1610	Selāmet Girāy I, son of Dewlet G. I
1610	Meḥmed Girāy III, grandson of Meḥmed G. II
1610-1623	Djānibek Girāy, grandson of Dewlet G. I
1623-1624	Meḥmed Girāy III (2nd time)
1624	Djānibek Girāy (2nd time)
1624-1627	Meḥmed Girāy III (3rd time)
1627-1635	Djānibek Girāy (3rd time)
1635-1637	ʿInāyet Girāy, brother of Tokhtamīsh G.
1637-1641	Bahādīr Girāy I, son of Selāmet G. I
1641-1644	Meḥmed Girāy IV, the Pious (*sofu*), brother of the preceding
1644-1654	Islām Girāy III, brother of the preceding
1654-1666	Meḥmed Girāy IV (2nd time)
1666-1671	ʿĀdil Girāy, from the collateral line Čoban G.
1671-1678	Selīm Girāy I, son of Bahādīr G. I
1678-1683	Murād Girāy, cousin of Selīm G. I
1683-1684	Ḥādjdjī Girāy II, cousin of the preceding
1684-1691	Selīm Girāy I (2nd time)
1691	Saʿādet Girāy II, brother of Ḥādjdjī Girāy II
1691-1692	Ṣafā Girāy, cousin of the preceding
1692-1699	Selīm Girāy I (3rd time)
1699-1702	Dewlet Girāy II, son of the preceding
1702-1704	Selīm Girāy I (4th time)
1704-1707	Ghāzī Girāy III, son of the preceding
1707-1708	Ḳaplan Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1708-1713	Dewlet Girāy II (2nd time)
1713-1716	Ḳaplan Girāy I (2nd time)
1716-1717	Dewlet Girāy III
1717-1724	Saʿādet Girāy III, son of Selīm G. I
1724-1730	Mengli Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1730-1736	Ḳaplan Girāy I (3rd time)
1736-1737	Fetḥ Girāy II, son of Dewlet G. II
1737-1740	Mengli Girāy II (2nd time)
1740-1743	Selāmet Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1743-1748	Selīm Girāy II, son of Ḳaplan G. I
1748-1756	Arslan Girāy, brother of Fetḥ G. II
1756-1758	Ḥalīm Girāy, son of Saʿādet G. III
1758-1764	Ḳirīm Girāy, son of Dewlet G. II
1764-1767	Selīm Girāy III, son of Fetḥ G. II
1767	Arslan Girāy (2nd time)
1767-1768	Maḳṣūd Girāy, son of Selāmet G. II
1768-1769	Ḳirīm Girāy (2nd time)
1769-1770	Dewlet Girāy IV, son of Arslan G.
1770	Ḳaplan Girāy II, son of Selīm G. II
1770-1771	Selīm Girāy III (2nd time)
1771-1772	Maḳṣūd Girāy (2nd time)
1772-1775	Ṣāḥib Girāy II, son of Selīm G. III
1775-1777	Dewlet Girāy IV (2nd time)
1777-1782	Shāhīn Girāy, son of Selīm G. III
1782-1783	Bahādīr Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1783	Shāhīn Girāy (2nd time)

A list of the Crimean *khān*s can be found in A. W. Fisher, *op. cit.*, 158 (defective) and in Zambaur, 247 f. For genealogical tables of the Girāys, see H. İnalcık, in *İA*, iv, after p. 788; Zambaur, table S; and B. Kellner, *op. cit.*, after p. 263 (18th c.).

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ḲIRḲ KILISE, also Ḳîrḳ Kinise and Ḳîrknîsa (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1928, viii, 69) a town in eastern Thrace, modern Kırklareli. This region to the east of Adrianople or Edirne [*q.v.*] had a centre in classical times, but its name is unknown (for the view that this place was called Heraclea, see J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, i, 234). The Byzantine name of Ḳîrḳ Kilise was apparently Sarante Eklesiai, and the name Ḳîrḳ Kilise must mean the church of forty saints and not forty churches (F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 391-2).

The later writers Kātibi Čelebi (*Djihān-nümā*, Rumeli section, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine kütüphanesi, no. 443, f. 17a) and Münedjdjim-Bashî (iii, 295), record the date for the conquest of Ḳîrḳ Kilise as 770/1368-9 (see Feridūn Bey, *Münshe'āt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 71-2). The early historians do not mention its capture, but the implication is that it was conquered few years after the conquest of Edirne in 763/1361 (for this, see Halil İnalcık, *The conquest of Edirne* (1361), in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, ii (1971). The first Islamic building constructed in the town after its conquest was the ʿAtîḳ mosque (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Tapu defteri, no. 370; this building was in a ruined condition in 1226/1807). Nomads (*yürüks*) brought from western Anatolia were settled in the region of Ḳîrḳ Kilise, and were during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries known as "the *yürüks* of Ḳîrḳ Kilise" (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yorükler, tatarlar ve evlâd-i Fâtihan*, Istanbul 1957, 84, 180 and *passim*), Ḳîrḳ Kilise was first attached to the Vize *sandjaḳ* of the province of Rumelia, but was then established as *müsellem sandjaḳ* (idem, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlaraında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, lxxviii (1956), 255, 269).

In the 10th/16th century, Ḳîrḳ Kilise consisted of 6 quarters or *mahalles*: Djāmiʿ-i ʿAtîḳ, Djāmiʿ-i Kebîr, Ḥādjdjî Zekeriyā, Sulṭān Bāyezîd Khān Ketkhüdāsî, Yapraḳlî and Ḳaradja Ibrāhîm, containing 283 households (Tapu defteri, no. 370). During the 11th/17th century, Ḳîrḳ Kilise was a small town with a few shops and red tile-roofed houses set among the vineyards, and visitors noted the Old Mosque (Eski Djāmiʿ), the *bedestān* or covered market, the Köprübashî fountain, and the coffee-house, meeting-place of the learned man, situated by a fountain (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 79-80). For the remaining monuments of the town today, see *Sālnāme-i vilāyet-i*

Edirne, Edirne 1309, 145 ff., 247 ff.; A. Rıza Dursunkaya, *Kırklareli vilâyetin tarih, coğrafya, kültür ve eski eserler yönünden tetkik*, Kırklareli 1947, ii; Özcan Mert, *Kırklareli kitabeleri*, in *TD*, no. 25 (Istanbul 1971), 155-62. During the 12th/18th century, the Greeks in the town almost equalled the number of the Muslims (see *Rucer Yosin Boşkoviç'in 1762 tarihli Istanbul-Lehistan seyahatine ait hatıra defteri*, tr. Ismail Eren, in *TD*, no. 16. (Istanbul 1962), 98-9). In the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳirḳ Kilise of the province of Edirne there was in 1899 an important number of Greeks and Bulgarians, and the population of the region was 18,325 (*Sālnāme-i vilāyet-i Edirne*, Edirne, 1317, 398-9). For a time, the town was included in the boundaries of Bulgaria after the treaty of San Stefano (3rd March 1878), but was given back to the Ottomans after the Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878). It again passed into Bulgarian hands for a short while during the Balkan War of 1912-3, but was recaptured on 8 July 1913. It was under Greek occupation for two years after the Mudros truce (1918), but was recovered by the Nationalist forces on 10th November 1922. The population of the town fell when the Greek population was transferred to Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne settlement in 1923. The name Ḳirḳ Kilise was changed into Kırklareli by a law taking effect from 24th December 1924. Under the Republic, Kırklareli has become the centre of a province or *vilayet* of the same name. Its population was 13,000 in 1927, 19,097 in 1955, 27,431 in 1970 and 33,260 according to the latest census (1975).

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ĶIRĶLARELI [see ĶIRĶ KILISE].

ĶIRĶ WEZĪR [see SHAYKHZĀDE II].

KIRKŪK, the biggest town of the region of Mesopotamia (44° 25′ E., 35° 25′ N.,) bounded by the Little Zab in the north-west, the Djabal Ḥamrīn in the south-west, the Diyālā in the south-east and the mountain chains of the Zagros in the north-east. It is identified by some (e.g. C. J. Gadd in *Rev. d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.*, xxiii (1926), 64, and by Sidney Smith) as the site of the ancient city of Arrapḫa, and so Kirkūk participated in the revolt of the son of Shalmaneser II (850-824 B.C.) against his ageing father; again it rose up in the reign of Ashur Dan III (771-754 B.C.). It saw the victorious troops of Nabopolasser pass through in 626 B.C. before being taken by the Medes under Cyaxeres at the end of 615 B.C. (G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, London 1964, 247, 251, 312, 312). From the time of the ancient Babylonian empire and during the Assyrian empire the town and its surrounding territories were very exposed to raids by the mountain peoples from the north-east.

Under the Sāsānids (226-651 A.D.) the province of Kirkūk was called Garmakān (Moses of Khoren) and in Syriac sources, Beth Garmaï; here the town of Kirkūk itself is called Karkhā of Bēth Selōkh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, in *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii/3 (1880), 267 ff.). This name could have come from the king Seleucus I Nicator (*ca.* 255-280 B.C.) who is said to have had constructed a tower in the citadel. During the Sāsānid period the town also became a famous centre for the Nestorians. The metropolitan of Bēth Garmaï had his residence there (J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, iii, Beirut 1968). Christians suffered persecution under Shāpūr II (310-79) (Fiey, *Histoires de Karka d'Bēṯ Sloḫ*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxxii (1966), 203-9) and especially in 445 under Yezdegerd II, who made victims of thousands of them. Their situation later improved when a Christian of the town of Yāzdīn became chancellor under Chosroes II (591-628) and achieved such fame that his native town took the name Karkh Yāzdīn, (Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, iii, 23-8). Bēth Garmaï of the Syriac sources is called Badjarmā by the Arab historians. Yāḳūt speaks of a town Karkhīna (iv, 276) which Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 272) believes can be identified, correctly it seems, as Kirkūk. Even today the people of Shaklāwā and ʿAyn Kāwā, when setting out for Kirkūk, still say that they are going to Karkhina (Fiey, *op. cit.*, iii, 44).

In the 6th/12th century the region of Kirkūk belonged to the territory dominated by the Begteginid dynasty [*q.v.*], who had their residence at Irbīl. After the death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbüri in 629/1232, the possessions of this dynasty reverted to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, but not long afterwards were conquered by the Mongols. The name Kirkūk appears for the first time in the history of Tīmūr of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (*Ẓafar-nāma*, written *ca.* 823/1424-5, tr. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, ii, 259). Then came the reign of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, followed by the conquest of Mesopotamia by Shāh Ismāʿīl I in the early years of the 10th/16th century. When finally Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ had fallen into the hands of the Ottoman sultans Selīm I and Sulaymān I (according to the first Turco-Persian truce at Amasya, 29 May 1555), Kirkūk again took on its rôle as an important bulwark against the enemy from the East.

The town fell again to the Persians after the fall of Baghdād in 1032/1623, but was reconquered by Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1039/1630; in 1048/1638 Murād IV passed through the town on his march to reconquer Baghdād. But the true masters of these regions were the local Kurdish hordes, lords of the province of Ardalān (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 445). But shortly afterwards the Ottoman power became established there by the activity of the *pashas* of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*]. This *eyālet* was composed of 32 *sandjaḳs*, of which one was that of Kirkūk, and this town became the residence of the *pasha* of Shahrizūr after the castle in the town of this name had been razed by Shāh ʿAbbās (1571-1629) (*Djihān-nümā*, *loc. cit.*). In 1732 the future Nādir Shāh besieged the town in vain. A great battle took place near Kirkūk in the following year, when the Turks were completely beaten under the grand vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha, who died there. In 1743 Kirkūk fell again into the hands of the Persians, but was returned to Turkey after the truce of 1746.

The town remained in the Ottoman empire until the end of the First World War; it was occupied by the British on 7 May 1918, but abandoned fifteen days later. It was re-occupied at the end of October and remained occupied until the time of the Mudros armistice. Having remained outside the sphere of activities of Shaykh Maḥmūd (November 1918 until May 1919), Kirkūk and its district were administered peaceably. There was even a Turkish newspaper published there and sixteen schools were opened. At the time of the referendum of July 1921 Kirkūk

rejected the Amīr Fayṣal as king of ʿIrāḳ, and from that moment Turkish propaganda developed in the region, supported by a Turkish committee founded at Kirkūk by the family of the Naftčizāda and other Turcophiles. On 17 March the Turks named a *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Ruwanduz, and at the end of July, Col. ʿAlī S̲h̲afīḳ, who was called Öz Demir, "Pure Iron one", appeared and made some advances towards the territory; but he was unable to retrieve all the *vilāyet* of Mosul. The Turks tried again to claim it at the Lausanne Conference (20 November 1922 until 2 February 1923) but without success. The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) still left the question of Mosul undecided, and so it was referred to the League of Nations. A committee of enquiry was sent by them, and in its 34th session in Geneva on 16 December 1924, the Council gave a definite ruling: ʿIrāḳ was given the territory south of the so-called "Brussels line". Thereafter Kirkūk was incorporated into the kingdom of ʿIrāḳ.

The present-day town is built partly on top of an artificial mound or *ḳalʿa* about 40 m. high, and partly at its base, on the two banks of the K̲h̲asa Čay. These waters join with those of the Āwā Spī to form the Ad̲h̲aym which flows into the Tigris 30 km. south of Balad. On the right bank of the K̲h̲asa Čay, in the middle of a fertile plain, rises the residential district of Arrapk̲h̲a. In 1912 the population was estimated to be 15,000 (by E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan...*, 120), in 1922 to be 25,000 (by C. J. Edmonds), and in 1965 official statistics, determined according to maternal language, gave 184,000 inhabitants, comprising 71,000 Kurds, 55,000 Turcomans and 41,000 Arabs, plus others. The present population is certainly over 200,000. It should be noted that, for many years, the authorities have made strenuous efforts to replace the Kurds by Arabs. Kirkūk is the centre of an administrative region, formerly a *liwāʾ* and now since 1975 a *muḥāfaẓa*, and has had its name changed; it is now called al-Taʾmīm ("Nationalisation") in honour of the nationalisation of oil on 1 June 1972 and also in the intention of "de-Kurdicising" the town (though the latter has however kept its Kurds). The population of the *muḥāfaẓa* is rapidly increasing thanks to the development of the oil industry; its 388,900 inhabitants of 1957 increased to 523,000 in 1970, with a majority of Kurds. The Kurds, Arabs and Turcomans of the town are Sunnī Muslims, but the Turcomans of the villages belong to an unorthodox and secret sect, the Ḳīzīlbās̲h̲. The Christians are mainly Chaldaean (about 4,500) with an archbishop, and the Nestorians, who are less numerous, have a bishop at Harīr. There was a small colony of Jewish merchants, one of whom was sent as a delegate to the Parliament in Bag̲h̲dād and another was at the head of the Department of Finance of the *liwāʾ* of *Kirkūk*, but it has disappeared since the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. It is thought they were the descendants of the Jews who were deported to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar after the capture of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and they continued to speak Aramaic. The little mosque of Nabī Dāniyāl on the slope of the hill of Kirkūk commemorates the Hebrew Prophet who was deported at the same time. This must be an ancient church which existed until *ca.* 1700, just like the Ulu D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque. The oldest church in the world was that of the martyr Mar Tahmazgerd, built by the metropolitan *ca.* 470 A.D., to the east of the citadel of Kirkūk; it was known as the Great Martyrion, but during the Turkish retreat of 1918 it was being used as a powder magazine and was blown up (C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 267; Fiey, *Assyrie*, iii, 54).

Urban planning in Kirkūk has made the centre a large circle of broad streets. Christians have been established there since earliest times, and seem always to have maintained positions of greater or lesser importance. The presence of a Turcoman minority in Kirkūk, within its Kurdish majority, must go back considerably before the conquest by the Ottoman sultans; their origin could be sought in a Turkish garrison which the caliphs may have installed there in the 3rd/9th century, or in an immigration at the time of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, and the Begteginids or Atabegs of Irbīl (C. J. Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 267, has drawn attention to other opinions). Whatever may have been the circumstances of their coming to the region, the Turcomans of Kirkūk have always provided strong support for the Ottoman empire and its culture, and an abundant source for Ottoman officials (see *Türk Yurdu*, 1915).

Kirkūk's position as an administrative centre has varied through the ages: "In the 18th century Kirkūk was the chief town of the *eyālet* of S̲h̲ahrizūr which included the modern *liwāʾ*s of Kirkūk, Irbīl and nominally of Sulaymānī under a *mutasallim* appointed by Bag̲h̲dād. With the reforms of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, *wālī* of Bag̲h̲dād from 1869 to 1872, the name of S̲h̲ahrizūr was given to the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Kirkūk, corresponding to the present-day *liwāʾ*s of Kirkūk and Irbīl, whereas the historic S̲h̲ahrizūr remained outside, in the new *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Sulaymānī. The *vilāyet* of Mosul was formed in 1879 and Kirkūk remained an important garrison town" (Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 265-6). Under the Turkish régime, the *vilāyet* of Mosul was divided into three *sand̲j̲aḳ*s or *liwāʾ*s: Mosul, Kirkūk and Sulaymānī; in 1918 three *ḳaḍāʾ*s situated to the north of the Little Zab were detached from Kirkūk to form the *liwāʾ* of Irbīl. In the constitution of 1925, the new Iraqi state was formed of three Ottoman *vilāyets*: Bag̲h̲dād, which became the capital; Baṣra; and Mosul. The *liwāʾ* of Kirkūk was composed of four *ḳaḍāʾ*s: Kirkūk, Kifri, Čāmčamāl and Gil. Today, the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Taʾmīm, with a *muḥāfiẓ* at its head, includes five *ḳaḍāʾ*s, as follows: Kirkūk, Ṭuz K̲h̲urmātu, Čamčamāl, Huwayd̲j̲a and Kifrī. Each *ḳaḍāʾ* has at its head a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. The *ḳaḍāʾ* of Kirkūk has five *nāḥiyas*, as follows: Ṭāze K̲h̲urmātu, Ḳarā Ḥasan, Altun Köpri, Dibs and S̲h̲uwān, and each *nāḥiya* is administered by a *mudīr*. Kirkūk is the seat of the regional court and of a court of appeal, and it possesses a garrison and an airport. There is also an association of Turcoman writers.

Kirkūk is an important commercial centre and an agricultural market for the cereal and animal products of the neighbourhood. It is well served by good roads to Bag̲h̲dād through Taʾūḳ and Kifri to Mosul through Altun Köprü and Irbīl, to Sulaymāniyya through Čāmčamāl with branches to Sanāndad̲j̲ and Hamadān in Iran. A narrow-gauge railway links Kirkūk with Bag̲h̲dād in the south and with Irbīl in the north. The region around Kirkūk is undulating and it is populated mostly by Kurds. The Mesopotamian steppe begins to the west of the town and it is inhabited chiefly by Arabs. The immediately-surrounding district produces much fruit.

The region of Kirkūk abounds in sulphur and bitumen products and it is especially rich in petroleum deposits, extensively exploited even in ancient times. It should be noted that the petroleum had a

certain importance in Ottoman times, being used by the army (V. J. Parry, *Materials of war in the Ottoman empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, 220. A *fermān* of 1049/1639 recognised the monopoly of rights over this petroleum to a group of Turks in the region of Kirkūk, the Neftčizādeler. But their systematic working dates from March 1925. At that time a concession was granted to the Turkish Petroleum Company (T.P.C.) which was founded in 1914 to exploit the deposits of the *vilāyets* of Mosul and Baghdād; royalties of 4 gold shillings per ton of extracted petroleum were payable. Before the end of 1925, geological work was begun and roads were constructed, water supplies, pipe lines and buildings were installed in the *vilayet* of Mosul, and there were 50 British and 2,500 Iraqis employed in the work. The drilling sites were chosen in the Djabal Ḥamrīn, near Ṭuz Khurmātu, in the neighbourhood of Kirkūk. The drilling programme was formally inaugurated in April 1927 by King Fayṣal I, and the first oil gushed forth on 27 October 1927 at Bābā Gurgur, near Kirkūk. The years 1927 to 1931 were given to preparing the whole region of Kirkūk for production by test drilling, scientific observation and arranging the necessary services; production units, reservoirs, workshops, housing etc. were established and at the same time negotiations were conducted with the Iraqi government to extend the period for selecting areas, according to the convention of 1925. In March 1931 the company, which had become the Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.) in 1929, was able to operate in the whole territory in the north-east of Iraq, on condition that by 1935 they constructed a pipe-line to the Mediterranean with a capacity of 3,000,000 tonnes, with a branch at Ḥadīṯha on the Euphrates to Ḥayfā and Tripoli, and that they make an annual payment of £ 4,000 as an overall payment to the government.

It was also in 1931 that the operational headquarters of the I.P.C. was moved from Ṭuz Khurmātu to Kirkūk, and the headquarters for pipe-line operations was established at Ḥayfa. The drilling for crude oil at Kirkūk began at the end of 1934 and, from 1935 onwards, the annual production of 4,000,000 tonnes put Iraq in the eighth position among the oil producing countries. In January 1935 the double 12" pipeline from Kirkūk to the Mediterranean was formally opened, but because of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the branch leading to Ḥayfā was closed. This caused a loss of almost 7,000,000 tonnes and the corresponding royalties. The Tripoli pipe-line was, however, doubled by a second (16") pipe in 1949 and this trebled the export figure. In 1952 a third (30") pipeline was brought into service between Kirkūk and Banias (Syria). From then on the world market for Iraqi oil was to increase to 14,000,000 tonnes per year. On 3 February 1952 a new agreement was signed between the Iraqi government and the I.P.C. for the distribution of personnel, production and revenues. A minimum production of 22,000,000 tonnes was expected annually from 1953 and a revenue of £ 30,000,000, in 1952 to reach £ 60,000,000 in 1955. The profits gained from the oil workings would be shared equally.

The Iraqi revolution of 1958 did not change the agreements between the government and the petroleum companies. The objective was to obtain exports worth 100 m. in revenue from a capacity of 70 m. tonnes per year. This target was reached in four years, but a few problems of interpretation persisted. In April 1961 negotiations were begun and, after different interruptions, they finally reached deadlock. They were concluded by Law 80 of 11 December 1961 which dispossessed the company of 99.5% of the territories where they had prospecting rights and left I.P.C. with only 22 sites, 12 of them at Kirkūk in an area of about 478.75 sq. kms., 6 at Bay Hassan of about 182.5 sq. kms., and 4 at Djambar, of about 86.5 sq. kms. (Vernier, *L'Irak...*, 435). New installations were planned between May 1964 and June 1965 and were completed, with future plans taking into consideration the Iraqi National Oil Company (I.N.O.C.) which had recently been founded on 30 October 1962. More new laws were enacted as a consequence: Law 97 (6 August 1967) forbade any new concessions to foreign companies and Law 123 (October 1967) authorised the I.N.O.C. to exploit the remaining sectors, which seemed to put an end to the monopoly of oil production which the foreign I.P.C. enjoyed. On 14 June 1972, the I.P.C. itself was nationalised, and thus Iraq gained for itself all the profits from its rich petroleum deposits. The annual production of crude oil in Iraq has regularly increased from the 47.5 m. tonnes in 1960; by 1975 it had reached more than 110 m. tonnes, 60 m. of which were from the Kirkūk region. In 1973 the Iraqi reserves of crude oil were estimated to be 4.143 billion tonnes.

If the petroleum industry with all its subsidiary operations gave a favourable social status to its workers, for their standard of living is superior to that of other workers in the country, it did not suppress all the movements for social reform. Several important strikes were called in Kirkūk among the oil workers. The most notable were those of 1937 which coincided with the workers' strikes at the Kūt barrage, the drillers of the B.O.P., the railways, the stevedores at Baṣra and the weavers of Nadjaf. These showed a hardening of class-consciousness and the discovery of a new political weapon (Longrigg, *Iraq*, 252). In July 1947 a serious strike aggravated by politicians of communist leanings broke out at I.P.C., and it claimed several victims (*ibid.* 338).

Other demonstrations have had a more political tone. The mere announcement of the Treaty of Portsmouth (15 January 1948) produced a general strike for three days. At Kirkūk the British consulate was attacked, but the most tragic of these events was the so-called "purge of Kirkūk". On the occasion of the first anniversary of the republic (14 July 1959) Communist elements helped by bands of Kurds, massacred the Turcomans of the town, for they were considered to be anti-Communist. There were probably 120 killed and about 100 wounded. The participation of the Kurds in the affair was interpreted not as a sign of an antagonistic nationalistic rivalry against the Turcomans, but one of social competition. The Turcomans, who are more socially and culturally advanced, occupied more high-ranking positions in the I.P.C., while the Kurds had to content themselves with more subordinate work (cf. M. Khadduri, *Republican ʿIraq*, 125).

It must not be forgotten that one of the obstacles to a definitive solution to the Kurdish problem is precisely the claim of the Kurds to the territory and the revenue of the Kirkūk oil-fields, which they would like to see included in the territory of an autonomous Kurdistan. These claims are categorically refuted by the central Iraqi government. In October 1970 a plebiscite was to settle this point of contention, but it was adjourned indefinitely (E. O'Ballance, *The Kurdish revolt*, 161 f.). This at least in part provoked the outbreak of hostilities in

March 1974, just as the Kurdo-Iraqi agreement of 11 March 1970 was beirg implemented. The law of 11 March 1974 awarding autonomy to the region of Kurdistan defined this region in terms of the 1957 census, carried out under the monarchy. At that time, the Kurds were afraid to declare themselves as such, and thus the census did not give a Kurdish majority to Kirkūk; hence the town and the *muḥāfaẓa* were accordingly excluded from the autonomous area.

A well-known personality of Kirkūk was the Kurdish poet Shaykh Riḍā Tālabānī (*ca.* 1840-1910). More-or-less an agnostic character, but at the same time fanatical also, he had gifts of satire and improvisation and a sometimes obscene verve, and composed poems in Kurdish, Turkish, Persian and Arabic. They were published in Baghdād in 1935 and 1946 and he is remembered as one of the most popular poets of Iraqi Kurdistan (cf. E. B. Sloane, *op. cit.*, 134-5; Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 57-8, 290-5; Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaik Riza Talabani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii/l (1935), 111-27).

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 846, 854 ff.; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, Berlin 1840, 552 ff. based on descriptions by the travellers Niebuhr, Shiel, Ker Porter and Ainsworth); H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, iii, Berlin 1921, 329 ff.; E. B. Sloane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, London 1912, 2nd ed. 1926; H. C. Lukas, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925; *League of Nations, Questions de la frontière entre la Turquie et l'Irak*, C. 400, M. 147, (1925), vii, 38; J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, Paris 1904; C. J. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925; idem, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950, a political, social and economic history*, Oxford 1953, 2nd ed. 1956; idem, *Oil in the Middle East*, London 1968; A. M. Hamilton, *Road through Kurdistan*, London 1937, 5th ed. 1958; C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs. Politics, travel and research in North-Eastern Iraq, 1919-1925*, Oxford 1957; B. Vernier, *L'Irak d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1963; Majid Khadduri, *Republican ʿIraq. A study in ʿIraqi politics since the revolution of 1958*, Oxford 1969; E. O'Ballance, *The Kurdish revolt 1961-1970*, London 1973; Guide Bleu, *Moyen-Orient, Liban, Syrie, Jordanie, Iraq, Iran*, Paris 1965; *Petroleum Times*, 1950 ff.

(J. H. Kramers - [Th. Bois])

KIRMĀN, the name of a Persian province and of its present capital. The name goes back to the form Carmania, which is found in Strabo (xv, 2, 14), and which is said to be derived from the name of an ancient capital, Carmana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, vi, 8; Ammanianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, 48. See further Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 30, on the name Carmania, and Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 145, for the later popular etymology of the name).

The Province.—The province of Kirmān is situated to the south-west of the great central desert of Persia, the Dasht-i Lūt, which narrows to some 100 miles in width where it divides Kirmān from Sīstān. It is bounded on the north by Yazd and Khurāsān, on the east by Sīstān and Makrān (Balūčistān), which was regarded by most of the early geographers as separate from Kirmān, though Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it paid tribute (*kharādj*) to Kirmān (*Nuzhat*, 141), on the south by Makrān and Fārs and on the west by Fārs. Its boundaries have varied slightly from time to time. Ibn Rusta states that Fahradj was part of the tax district of Kirmān but that the ruler of Makrān claimed that it belonged to him (286). Khʷāsh, which is today included in Balūčistān, and Rīgān were both reckoned by Iṣṭakhrī to belong to Kirmān, though the former was, he states, part of the tax district of Sīstān (162). Idrīsī, on the other hand, includes Khʷāsh in Sīstān (417). Shahr-i Bābak was at various times included in Fārs, at others in Kirmān. In 1258/1842-3 it was placed, for revenue purposes, under Yazd (Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Parīzī, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, xiv/1-4, 163). Bāfḳ, which had earlier belonged to Kirmān, was also placed under Yazd about the year 1774 (Wazīrī, 175), though Khināmān, one of its districts, continued to belong to Kirmān. During the reign of the Saldjūḳ *malik* of Kirmān, Arslān Shāh (494-536/1100-41), Yazd and Ṭabas appear to have been under Kirmān (Afḍal al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran 1311, 76). Furg and Ṭārum, both placed in Fārs by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (129), were considered by Afḍal al-Dīn to belong to Kirmān (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 75). Ibn Balkhī states that Rūdān, which had belonged to Fārs, was put on the Kirmān side of the frontier in the reign of Alp Arslān (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 121), but according to Idrīsī, although it formed one of the dependencies of Kirmān, it was under Fārs for tax purposes (416). Hurmuz [*q.v.*] was sometimes counted as belonging to Fārs, sometimes to Kirmān, and has often been in different hands to its hinterland.

According to the Arab geographers, the western part of the province, which included Shahr-i Bābak, Sīrdjān, Urzūya, Aḳṭāʿ, Kushk, Ṣawghān, Isfandaḳa, Djīruft and Rūdbār, was in the third clime, and the eastern part, including Anār, Kūbanān (Kūhbanān) Zarand, Guwāshīr or Gawāshīr (also known as Bardsīr and later as Kirmān), Rāwar, Khabīṣ, Rāʾin, Sardūya, Bam and Narmāshīr, in the fourth clime, while Hurmuz, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, was in the second clime (*Nuzhat*, 141).

In the variety of its topography the province is not dissimilar from Persia as a whole. A series of mountain ranges, with a general trend from north-west to south-east, runs through the province. Much is tangled broken country, but there are many fertile upland districts, pastures and mountain valleys with orchards, cultivated places, and many streams. Some of these have a high elevation: Saʿīdābād, near the site of the old city of Sīrdjān, lies at an elevation of 5,600 ft. and Pārīz at over 7,000 ft. There are also numerous arid waterless mountain districts and desert tracts. The main desert area is in the north and north-east on the borders of the Dasht-i Lūt, and is encroaching on the neighbouring fertile districts. The Lūt is defined in the south by the Bam-Zāhidān road and thus excludes Narmāshīr and the desert regions of south-eastern Kirmān and Rīgān, though physically these belong to the Lūt proper. There are also some stretches of arid land between the south-west highlands and the Djibāl Bāriz which run south-east from Sīrdjān to east of Djīruft. Salt swamps (*kafa*) are found in isolated depressions, notably the Kafa-i Ḳaṭrū near Sīrdjān (for a description of this, see K. E. Abbott, *Geographical notes taken during a journey in Persia in 1849 and 1850*, in *JRGS*, xxv (1855), 66-7). In some parts of the province the towns and villages tend to be separated from each other by broad stretches of uncultivated land (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 163, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309). Along the nor-

thern littoral of the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of ʿUmān there is a narrow coastal plain.

The most northerly of the mountain ranges stretches from the neighbourhood of Yazd to Khabīṣ (the modern Shahdād) and south-eastwards towards Sarvistān. The fertile upland district of Kūbanān in the north, and, further south, the arid district of Rāwar lie along its eastern base. A second range, further to the west, which contains Mt. Djūpār (13,000 ft.) south of Kirmān city, and Mt. Hazār (14,500 ft.) to the south-west of Rāʾīn, runs towards Bam, while a third, still further west, runs south-eastwards from north of Shahr-i Bābak through Sīrdjān and Bāft, and contains Mt. Čihiltan (12,000 ft.) Mt. Čahārgunbad (13,000 ft.) and Mt. Lālazār (14,350 ft.). A lesser range, with Mt. Čāhhazār (9,480 ft.), lies to the south of Saʿīdābād, while the Mt. Dinā range of Fārs is prolonged in a south-easterly direction to near Bandar ʿAbbās. South of Sarvistān and to the east of Djīruft, lies the Djibāl Bāriz range [see DJABAL BĀRIZ in Suppl.], which also trends from the north-west to the south-east and rises to 13,000 ft. in the north and 12,450 ft. in the south. The Djibāl Ḳufṣ region of the Arab geographers (see Iṣṭakhrī, 164; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124; al-Muḳaddasī, 471; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309-10; C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, in *Iran*, xiv (1976), 9-18) probably lay in the south-east in Bashākird, on the borders of Makrān and Rūdbār.

In the upland districts, notably in the Djibāl Bāriz, there exist remnants of a dry forest, consisting mainly of thin stands of pistachio trees, several species of almond, maple, celtis, juniper and other shrubs; stands of pistachio trees, almonds and other drought-resistant species are also found at lower levels. In the *garmsīr* the vegetation tends to be scattered trees and shrubs with a steppe-like ground cover. The *kunār* tree (*ziziphus spina Christi*) has a wide distribution, as also do several species of acacia, myrtle, tamarisk and oleander. Deforestation from charcoal burning and animal grazing has taken place, and present day cover, though in places still considerable, would appear to be appreciably less than the "forests" of both the early and mediaeval geographers and the 19th century writers.

There are no important rivers reaching the sea. The largest of them, the R. Mīnāb, rises in the hills of Bandar ʿAbbās. It has a considerable drainage and flows into the Persian Gulf some 30 miles east of Bandar ʿAbbās. The only considerable inland river is the R. Halīl, which is joined by its tributary, the R. Shūr, in the neighbourhood of Djīruft and disappears in the Djāz Muriān. According to Iṣṭakhrī, it had enough water to turn 20 (166), or, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 50 mill wheels (ii, 311). The province relies, for the most part, on *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] and mountain streams for water. In many districts the sub-soil water is brackish and the soil is often impregnated with salt. Rainfall is low and decreases towards the south-east, though the relief of the land gives rise to many local variations. The maximum precipation is in winter. Kirmān town has an annual average rainfall of 7.9 in., Bandar ʿAbbās 10 in, and Bam 3 in. Drought, sometimes accompanied by famine, has not been uncommon in the history of Kirmān. The *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā* mentions one such in the *kharādjī* year 570 (97). In 1879 and 1880 Kirmān, like many other provinces, suffered severely from drought. Flash floods are also a hazard, such as the floods which occurred in Kirmān (and many other places) in 1001/1593 (Maḥmūd b. Hidāyat Allāh Natanzī, *Nuḳāwat al-āthār*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāḳī, Tehran 1971, 531).

According to the Arab geographers, some three-quarters of the province bel›ngs to the warm regions (*djurūm, garmsīr*) and one quarter to the cold regions (*ṣurūd, sardsīr*). In the *garmsīr* the districts bordering the central desert have a hot dry climate, but in the southern parts of the province, especially in the Persian Gulf littoral, the climate in summer is hot and unhealthy. Bam is thus reckoned to have a better climate than Djīruft (Iṣṭakhrī, 166). The latter is described by Afḍal al-Dīn as a paradise for four months of the year but as hell for the rest of the year (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 69). The 5th/10th century Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī adds to the latter's text the statement that the climate of Hurmuz was noxious (ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1340, 139). The upland country of Aḳṭāʿ and Sīrdjān has a temperate climate, while Kirmān, Rafsindjān, Zarand, Rāwar and Kūbanān have a hot summer and mild winter. Barley is harvested in Rūdbār at the Persian New Year (21 March) and wheat twenty days afterwards. In Aḳṭāʿ barley is not harvested until five months after the New Year and wheat a month later.

Outside the coastal area, where the annual range of temperature is lowest, the difference between the coldest month, January, and the warmest, July, is considerable. At Kirmān, with an elevation of 5,680 ft., the average maximum temperature in January is 55.4° F and the average minimum 33.8° F, with an absolute maximum and minimum of 75.2° F and -7.6° F respectively and a mean monthly average of 42.8° F. In July the average maximum and minimum temperature is 95° F and 64.4° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 105.8° F and 48.2° F and a mean monthly average of 80.6° F. At Bandar ʿAbbās the average maximum and minimum temperatures in January are 73.4° F and 57.2° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 86.0° F and 41.0° F and a mean monthly average of 66.2° F, while the comparable figures for July are 102.2° F and 87.8° F, 113.0° F and 82.4° F and 95.0° F. In some parts of the province, notably Kirmān, high surface winds are common at certain times of the year, especially in spring. In the Khabīṣ district a poisonous wind (known as *bād-i simur*) blows in the desert in the middle of the day for about forty days in summer.

Ibn Rusta states that Kirmān was divided into five *kūras*, Bardsīr, Sīrdjān, Narmāshīr, Djīruft and Hurmuz, each *kūra* being called after its chief town (286). Muḳaddasī also states that the province had five *kūras*, but lists them differently, omitting Hurmuz and including Bam (460). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it consisted of fifteen districts (*shahr*) (*Nuzhat*, 139). By the 8th/14th century the province was differently divided. In the 19th and 20th centuries there appears to have been a further proliferation of districts (*bulūkāt*), the names of which are variously given. Wazīrī in his *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, written between 1874 and 1876, mentions the following districts: Guwāshīr (the modern city of Kirmān and its surroundings), Kūhpāya, Khabīṣ and Gawk (which two, he states, in reality formed one *bulūk*), Bam, Narmāshīr, Rāʾīn, Sardūya, Djīruft, Djibāl Bāriz, Isfandaḳa, Rūdbār, Kūshk and Ṣawghān, Bardsīr, Aḳṭāʿ (earlier known as the district of Bāft), Urzūya, Sīrdjān, Shahr-i Bābak, Rafsindjān, Bāfḳ, Zarand, Anār, Kūbanān (which, he states, had been administered with Yazd for revenue purposes for nearly a hundred years) and Rāwar. Later the boundaries appear to have been slightly redrawn: Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya were united into one district, as also were Bam and

Narmās̲h̲īr; Bāfḳ was transferred to Yazd, the district of K̲h̲ināmān only remaining with Kirmān, Pārīz and Rābur, which had formerly belonged to Sīrd̲j̲ān and Aḳṭāʿ respectively, both became separate districts, while Rūdbār was now called Rūdbār and Bas̲h̲ākird (Houtum-Schindler, art. *Kerman* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, xv, 756). Under Riḍā S̲h̲āh the province was divided into six *s̲h̲ahristāns*: Kirmān (which included the sub-districts of Zarand, Kūhpāya and Kūbanān), Bam (which included the sub-district of Rāʾīn), D̲j̲īruft (which included the sub-district of Sardūya, which in turn included Isfandaḳa, and Kahnūd̲j̲, which in turn included Rūdbār), Bandar ʿAbbās (which included the sub-district of Rūdān), Sīrd̲j̲ān (which included the sub-districts of Pārīz and Bāft, which in turn included Urzūya, Rābur, Kus̲h̲k and Ṣawg̲h̲ān) and Rafsind̲j̲ān (Ḥusayn ʿAlī Razmārā, *Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii).

Agriculture and Livestock.—The Arab geographers describe Kirmān as a rich and prosperous province. The Persian translation of Iṣṭak̲h̲rī mentions that it produced all kinds of fruit (139), while Yāḳūt states that it was rich in date palms, cereals, cattle and beasts of burden and that it produced fruits belonging to both the cold and the hot regions in great variety, including an abundance of walnuts and dates (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 483). The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* notes that D̲j̲īruft, Bāft and the mountain country between D̲j̲īruft and Manūd̲j̲ān, known as the Kūhistān-i Abū G̲h̲ānim, were prosperous and pleasant places (124). According to Muḳaddasī, the last-named district had many date palms (467). Rūdbār is described by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* as consisting of woods, trees, and meadows (124). The mountain region between Sīrd̲j̲ān and Bardsīr was also very prosperous and pleasant according to the same authority, and contained 260 populous places. Muḳaddasī mentions a multitude of orchards and an abundance of fruit in Sīrd̲j̲ān (464), and many orchards and citrus trees in Mug̲h̲ūn (467). Afḍal al-Dīn speaks of the excellence of the pastures of Rūdbār and states that animals thrived in them (70). He also praises the fertility of Narmās̲h̲īr and states that it produced the fruit of both the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr* (72). Muḳaddasī notes the great quantity of fruit belonging to the *sardsīr* and the *garmsīr*—dates, walnuts and citrus fruits—in D̲j̲īruft (466; cf. Iṣṭak̲h̲rī 166). Plenty prevailed in the D̲j̲ibāl Bāriz, which, like the Ḳufṣ Mts., were difficult of access (Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 164; Ibn al-Ḥawḳal, ii, 310). Bam and K̲h̲ʷās̲h̲ had many date palms (Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313), which also grew in great profusion in Hurmuz (Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311) and in the Ḳufṣ Mts. Honey was also produced there (cf. Idrīsī, 429). Indigo and cumin were cultivated in D̲j̲īruft and the district which extended from Mug̲h̲ūn and Walās̲h̲gird to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz, and also sugar cane (Muḳaddasī, 467; Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312). Idrīsī mentions the excellence of the quality of the indigo and states that the inhabitants of Mug̲h̲ūn and Walās̲h̲gird occupied themselves much in its cultivation and took a great deal of trouble over it because it was a source of considerable profit to them (424). Wheat and barley were grown in the *sardsīr*, but in Hurmuz millet was the staple crop and the food of the inhabitants (Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 127; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124, Idrīsī, 424). Cotton, as well as grain and dates, were grown in Sīrd̲j̲ān and S̲h̲ahr-i Bābak (*Nuzhat*, 141). Silk was produced in Bam (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 71). Asafoetida and gum tragacanth were found in parts of the province.

In the Middle Ages, apart from a period of prosperity under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs of Kirmān, agriculture suffered a decline. There were temporary fluctuations and local variations, but in general the agricultural recession continued until the second half of the 19th century. At that time a wide variety of crops were cultivated. Wheat and barley, though grown in most parts of the province, were not important in terms of the amount grown and some districts had a deficit. In the province as a whole, the yield was low. Some millet, and a small quantity of rice was also grown. Pulses, roots and edible gums were also produced. Cotton was grown in Rafsind̲j̲ān (which was later, in the 1930s, to turn much cotton land over to the cultivation of pistachio trees), Kūhpāya, Dārzīn (Dard̲j̲īn), Bam, Narmās̲h̲īr, D̲j̲īruft, Zarand and Anār. Dates were still one of the most important products of the province and came from Bāfḳ, K̲h̲abīṣ, Bam, Dārzīn, Rūdbār and to a lesser extent from Kūs̲h̲k and Ṣawg̲h̲ān. Rāwar was noted for its figs, Bāfḳ for its apricots and K̲h̲abīṣ for its citrus fruits. Cumin was grown mainly in Kūs̲h̲k and Aqṭāʿ. Pistachios, almonds (mainly from Sīrd̲j̲ān and S̲h̲ahr-i Bābak) and walnuts (from Sardūya, Bardsīr and Aḳṭāʿ) were important products. Sugar and indigo were no longer grown except on a very small scale, though an attempt was made by Wakīl al-Mulk to re-introduce sugar cane together with indigo, pepper, ginger and various other Indian plants into K̲h̲abīṣ (Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879* ..., in *ZG Erd. Berlin*, xvi (1881), 357). Dye plants included henna in Narmās̲h̲īr, K̲h̲abīṣ, D̲j̲īruft, and Urzūya and madder in Sīrd̲j̲ān, Rafsind̲j̲ān, Bāfḳ, Kūbanān, Anār and Zarand. By 1880 the cultivation of henna in Bam had brought about in some measure a revival of prosperity in that district (Fīrūz Mīrzā Farmān Farmā, *Safarnāma-i Kirmān wa Balūčistān*, ed. Manṣūra Niẓām Māfī, Tehran 1963, 6). Silk, though a little was still produced in Bam, Rafsind̲j̲ān, Bāfḳ, D̲j̲ūpār, Bāg̲h̲īn and Kūbanān, had also lost its importance, though some attention appears to have been given to the cultivation of mulberry trees during the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1834-48) (R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 354). Tobacco was grown in Zarand and Bāfḳ, and potatoes in the district between Sīrd̲j̲ān and Pārīz. From the late 1870s opium cultivation became important in Māhān, D̲j̲ūpār, Narmās̲h̲īr, Sīrd̲j̲ān, Bāfḳ, Kūbanān and elsewhere. Honey came from Aḳṭāʿ, Bardsīr and Sardūya. (See further Wazīrī, who gives a list of the agricultural produce of each district (*bulūk*), and also references in E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i, 184-238).

Sheep and goats were important throughout the province. There was much movement of flocks from the mountain districts to the plains in winter. Those from Rābur, Isfandaḳa and the neighbouring districts went mainly to Rūdbār and D̲j̲īruft. Much wool was produced, including a fine soft wool (*kurk*) produced by a special breed of goat. In Rūdbār there were also many herds of cattle. Buffaloes were found only in D̲j̲īruft.

Minerals.—Various minerals existed in the province and many of these were exploited. Ibn al-Faḳīh states that there were mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, sulphur, and zinc oxide (206), but their location is not clear from his account. Muḳaddasī describes how zinc oxide (*tūtiyā*) was mined and fired to produce tutty (459, 470). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the process as carried out in "the village

of the tutty makers" as follows: the crude ore was brought out from the mine, moistened and made into bars (*mīl*) one gaz long, dried and put into a furnace, the action of the fire then causing the tutty to form in a thin film (*Nuzhat*, 205). Marco Polo, who locates the mines in Kūbanān, gives a somewhat similar account. Muḳaddasī also states that there were iron and silver mines in the province (470), the latter presumably located in the Silver Mine Mountains west of Djīruft (cf. also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 65). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* mentions lead, copper and lodestone in the mountains between Djīruft and Bam (65). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that there was a turquoise mine and a lapis lazuli mine in Kirmān, but that the turquoises were immature and unformed and therefore not of much value (*Nuzhat*, 204, 206). Marco Polo also mentions turquoise in the mountains of Kirmān, while Wazīrī states that there was a turquoise mine near the mountains of Maymand in the Shahr-i Bābak district (164). He also mentions lead mines in Sīrdjān and Zarand, of which the former produced the best quality lead (156, 178). Abbott records the existence of a lead mine in the mountains of Zarand near the village of Tugradja and states that the government took 10% of its produce (*op. cit.*, 27). Wazīrī mentions a sulphur mine in Kūbanān, which was in operation when he was writing (175); he also states that there were copper mines in Sardūya (113), a copper mine in operation in the mountains of Bazindjān in Aḳṭāʿ (139), and many disused copper mines in the mountains of Rābur (142-3). Salt was obtained from deposits near Khabīṣ, Sīrdjān, Rāʾin and elsewhere. Curzon mentions coal north of Kirmān city and in Kūbanān, manganese oil in Rāwar, borax in Shahr-i Bābak and asbestos in Kūbanān (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 518). Extensive mining operations are being carried on in various parts of the province at the present day. Coal and other minerals are mined in the mountains between Rāwar and Zarand and copper in the Pārīz district.

The cities of Kirmān.—The main city of Kirmān under the Muslims until the middle of the 4th/10th century was Sīrdjān (the form Shīradjān is also found), which was situated some five miles to the east of the modern town of Saʿīdābād (Le Strange, *Lands*, 300). It was here that the governor (*wālī*) resided (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 49). Ibn Rusta describes Sīrdjān as the greatest city of Kirmān (286), as also does Iṣṭakhrī (167), Ibn Ḥawḳal (ii, 312) and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. The last-named states that it was the capital of Kirmān and the seat of the king (124), though by the time the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* was written, Ibn Ilyās, the Būyid governor, had, in fact, moved the capital to Bardsīr. Muḳaddasī states that it was the biggest town in the province (although no longer the capital) and more extensive than Shīrāz (464). Ḥāfiẓ Abrū refers to Sīrdjān as the second city of Kirmān (*Djughrāfiyā*, f. 140a), although it had, in fact, been destroyed in 798/1396 (before he wrote) after a long resistance by the armies of Tīmūr. After the city was laid in ruins, the name Sīrdjān was nevertheless still applied to the district of which it had been the centre. Towards the end of the 18th century Saʿīdābād was founded near the site of the old city. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, describes it as one of the most flourishing towns in Kirmān (*op. cit.*, 63). In 1881 it had some 8,000 inhabitants and appeared to be in a flourishing condition (Stack, i, 181; cf. also Wazīrī, 151). At the present day, the town of which Saʿīdābād is the centre is known as Sīrdjān.

Bardsīr (Bardasīr), which became the capital of the province under the Būyids, is the mediaeval name of the city now called Kirmān (Le Strange, *Lands*, 303). It was also known as Guwāshīr. The two names, Bardsīr and Guwāshīr, may represent the form Beh-Ardashīr, the name of the town built by Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty (Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwald, 46; Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 303). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm uses the names Bardsīr and Guwāshīr indifferently. The copyist of Ibn Ḥawḳal, writing in 550/1155, states that Bardsīr in his time was a small town. It was, however, very prosperous and its surroundings, which had been brought under cultivation, were more flourishing than the town itself (ii, 309). Afḍal al-Dīn, writing some decades later, states that it was a large city with a wall (*rabaḍ*) and a suburb (*shahristān*). Adjoining the city outside the wall and surrounding it were orchards and villages. It had a temperate climate, good soil and good water (72). By the 10th/16th century the name Bardsīr appears no longer to have been applied to the capital of the province, which, although still called Guwāshīr, was by this time more usually known as Kirmān. It had the *laḳab* of *Dār al-Amān*. The name Bardsīr, although it had thus ceased to designate the capital of the province, was still applied to a district (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, lith. Tehran n.d., 164). This, however, did not include the town of Kirmān or its environs, but was bounded on the north-west by Rafsindjān, on the west and south by Aḳṭāʿ and Sīrdjān, on the south-east by Rāʾin and on the north-east by Kirmān (Wazīrī, 133). The main centre of this district, Māshīz, is also known as Bardsīr.

Bam [*q.v.*] was the second major city of Kirmān in the early centuries. The third, Djīruft [*q.v.*], was a prosperous, commercial centre, having trade with Sīstān and Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311; Muḳaddasī, 466; Idrīsī, 422). According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, when the Muslims conquered Kirmān, the region of Djīruft was wooded and occupied by wild animals. The Muslims cleared the country and made villages (140). Djīruft and its suburb Ḳamādīn flourished until the end of the Saldjūḳ period. Its buildings decayed during the reign of Malik Dīnār (582-91/1186-95), although the surrounding district continued to be cultivated (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 40). Subsequently the district decayed also. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, states that is possessed only four or five collections of huts which could be termed villages, each of which had a mud fort; for the rest tribal groups from the mountain regions resided in scattered groups over the plain in winter (K. E. Abbott, *op. cit.*, 46). Today the town which has grown up round Sabzawārān is also known as Djīruft.

The fifth of the great cities of Kirmān in early and mediaeval times was Hurmuz [*q.v.*], situated on the Persian Gulf. It was the emporium of Kirmān. Its merchants, perhaps because of its bad climate, lived in the surrounding countryside (Iṣṭakhrī, 166). In 700/1300, because of repeated raids by marauding tribesmen, the ruler of Hurmuz moved all the inhabitants to the island of Djarūn where he founded the town of New Hurmuz (see further, J. Aubin, *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIᵉ siècle*, in *Mare Luso-indicum*, ii, *Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée*, iv/5, Geneva 1973). Other important towns were Manūdjān, Zarand and Narmāshīr. Many of the towns and villages mentioned by the early and mediaeval geographers have disappeared or have not yet been identified.

Communications.—In the early centuries Sīrdjān was the main centre upon which the principal roads converged. This, no doubt, in part accounted for its importance until it was destroyed in the 8th/14th century. Three roads led from it to Fārs, one via Shahr-i Bābak, another through Ṣāhik and a third to Nayrīz. Other roads went south to Furg, Ṭārum and Sūrū on the Persian Gulf, south-east to Bāft, Djīruft, Manūdjān and Hurmuz, north to Unās in Rūdān, north-east to Māshīz, Bāghīn and Kirmān, north-north-east to Māhān, Khabīṣ and Khurāsān, and east to Shāmāt and Rāʾīn. From Kirmān (Guwāshīr) two roads went north-west to Yazd, one via Zarand, Rāwar, Kūbanān and Bāfḳ, and the other via Rafsindjān and Anār. From Rāwar and Kūbanān roads went north-north-east across the Great Desert to Ṭabas and Khūr respectively. South-east from Kirmān a road went to Māhān, Rāʾīn, Dārzīn or Dārdjīn, Bam and Narmāshīr, where it bifurcated, one branch going to Faradj and Zarandj in Sīstān and the other to Rīgān, where it again divided, one road going east to Khʷāsh and the other south-west to Manūdjān. From Dārzīn another road went south to Djīruft (see further Le Strange, *Lands*).

In the 19th and early 20th centuries communications were still very backward. Generally speaking, the roads were fit for pack transport only. Moreover, many were often shut for months at a time owing to the activity of bandits. In 1901 a convention was signed between Britain and the Persian government for a three-wire telegraph line on iron posts from Kāshān to Balūčistān via Yazd, Kirmān and Bam. It was begun in December 1902 and finished in March 1907.

Manufactures and Trade.—In the early centuries, the province had manufactures of silk, cotton and woollen goods, which were important articles of local and long-distance trade. A cotton cloth (*baṭāʾin*), which appears to have been used as lining for clothes, was produced in Zarand and exported to Fārs and ʿIrāḳ (Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that it was called al-Zarandiyya and taken to Egypt and the most distant parts of the Maghrib (ii, 313). There was also trade in cloth made in Sīrdjan (Muḳaddasī, 470). The people of Bam were noted for their craftsmanship, and the cloths which were made in Bam were of great elegance and lasting quality. They fetched a high price and were exported to Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312; Muḳaddasī, 465; cf. also Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Idrīsī states that the cloaks of goat hair made in Bam equalled the best to be found anywhere in the world (423). Turbans of fine material were also made in Bam and were in demand in Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312). There had at one time been a royal workshop for *ṭirāz* in Bam (*ibid.*). Cotton cloths (*aḳmisha*) were still produced in Bam at the turn of the 8th/14th century (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 190). In the middle of the century it was apparently still an important trading centre with India, Sīstān, Khurāsān and Kābul (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne, G.M.S., London 1910, 729). By the 9th/15th century, however, the textile industry appears to have no longer existed in Bam (J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVᵉ siècle*, Wiesbaden 1956, 91-2).

Idrīsī states that there were leather workshops in Zarand and that girths were exported to ʿIrāḳ and Egypt (427). Marco Polo mentions the manufacture of saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, quivers and other arms in Kirmān. Al-ʿUmarī also states that swords were made in Kirmān (*Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the 17th century pottery (blue and white) was made in Kirmān. According to Du Mans, the best examples of this were difficult to distinguish from Chinese porcelain (*Estat de la Perse*, Paris 1890, 197).

There was considerable trade, local and long-distance, in agricultural produce. Indigo and cumin were exported to distant regions (Iṣṭakhrī, 167; Muḳaddasī, 470; Idrīsī, 424). Narmāshīr had trade with Khurāsān and ʿUmān, and was a collecting centre for dates, which were exported to different parts (Muḳaddasī, 463). Djīruft also had a large export of dates to Khurāsān. Muḳaddasī states that nearly 100,000 camels used to set out every year. The trade appears to have been carried out on a *munāṣafa* basis, i.e. the profit was divided equally between the producer and the camel-driver (469). Khabīṣ also exported dates to distant parts (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 74).

Afḍal al-Dīn states that much trade from India, Sind, Ethiopia, Zangibar, Egypt, the Arab countries, ʿUmān and Baḥrayn entered the port of Tīz (which he places on the frontier of Kirmān, though usually it is reckoned as belonging to Makrān). Imports included musk, ambergris, indigo, velvets, cloths, and other luxury articles. Hurmuz was also an important trading centre, to which merchants came from the most distant parts (71). Later, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās (996-1038/1587-1629), Bandar ʿAbbās (Gombroon) [*q.v.*] became an important port, but this did not bring at first much additional trade to Kirmān, since goods appear to have gone into the interior mainly through Fārs rather than Kirmān. How early the long distance wool trade became important in Kirmān is not entirely clear, or when carpets became an article of export and carpet weaving became important. In the 17th century wool was being taken from Kirmān and Yazd to Europe. By the end of the century it was an important export of the East India Company from Persia and was used in feltings, suitings, and coverings for buttons, while in the 18th century Kirmān wool for hats and shawls was a commodity consistently sought after. This wool came from goats and in different colours, black, white and red. The last named was highly prized (see *Gombroon diary* for a discussion of the arrangements for obtaining Carmanian wool. See also A. A. Amin, *British interests in the Persian Gulf*, Leiden 1967, 126-7). During the reign of Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1736-47) wool for export was in short supply because it was used for the clothing of his army, and some of the Zand rulers appear to have prohibited the export of wool because they wanted it for the internal manufacture of shawls. The situation was not improved by the desolation which Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār carried out in Kirmān in 1794.

In the early 19th century, the main manufactures of Kirmān were shawls, carpets, felts, silk and cotton cloths, loaf-sugar, matchlocks and earthenware (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 366). Macdonald Kinneir in his *Geographical memoir of the Persian empire* states that "the trade of Kerman is still very considerable, and it is celebrated for its manufactures of shawls, matchlocks, and carpets, which they chiefly export to *Khorassan* and the northern provinces, receiving in return drugs, skins (from *Bockhara*), furs, silk, steel, and copper. These articles as well as pistachio-nuts, carpets, rose-buds for preserves, and bullion, they send to *India*; and import from hence tin, lead, iron, chintz, wrought silk, spices, indigo, muslin, kheemkhob, gold brocade,

china and glass-ware, broad-cloth, hardware, etc." (London, 1813, 198-9). Abbott, on the other hand, states in a report made in 1849-50 that the commerce of Kirmān was much restricted, though its woollen manufactures thrived. Such little importance as it had was due to the manufacture and trade in shawls and other woollen fabrics. He estimated the number of looms for shawls in Kirmān city at probably 2,200 (though some put the figure at nearly double that number), for other coarser woollen fabrics some 220, and in addition some 325 looms in nine of the surrounding villages (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60, 165, *K. Abbott's report on commerce of the south of Persia. Trade report. Notes on the Trade, Manufactures, and production of various Cities and of Persia, visited by Mr. Consul Abbott in 1849-50*). Wazīrī, writing rather later, states that shawls were exported to Transoxania, Anatolia, Arabia and Turkistan and that there were nearly 12,000 workshops in Kirmān (*Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, 33). His editor states that there was a great expansion at the end of the 19th century in carpet weaving, which displaced the manufacture of shawls, but that carpet-weaving declined again very shortly afterwards (33-4). *Karbās* (a kind of coarse cotton weave) was woven in many parts of the province, and there was some export from Zarand for the local market. The *karbās* of Rafsindjān was reported to be of excellent quality (171, 178).

In the mid-19th century some of the transit trade between Central Asia and India passed through Kirmān, and there was also some direct trade between Kirmān and India. Gums, asafoetida, madder, roots, carraway seeds, silk, saffron (from Khurāsān), wool, cotton and dried fruits were exported to India and Arabia via Bandar ʿAbbās. There were also some imports of English goods via India, Tabrīz and Yazd (Abbott, *Notes on the Trade, etc.*). Abbott states that caravans from Bīrdjan reached Khabīṣ several times a year. They brought wool, grain, dried fruits, silk, saffron (from Ḳāʾīn), and clarified butter, etc., a great part of which went on to Bandar ʿAbbās for India. Returning caravans brought groceries, spices, indigo and English cotton manufactures for Khurāsān (*Geographical notes, op. cit.*, 34-5). Curzon states that Bandar ʿAbbās in 1889-90 was the start of the important caravan route running north to Kirmān and Yazd and ultimately to Khurāsān. Kirmān and Yazd were mainly supplied from India with piece goods, prints and yarn, copper sheets, iron bars, lead, tin, sugar, tea, dyes, spices, glass and china; and exported in return opium, wool, cotton, madder, almonds, pistachio nuts, etc. (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 571-2). According to Wazīrī, various districts of Kirmān took part in the long-distance trade. Among the articles which went to Bandar ʿAbbās and thence to India from Kirmān were cumin and wool from Aḳṭāʿ and Bardsīr (*op. cit.*, 136, 138), and a variety of dried and fresh fruit and nuts, namely pears and apples from Aḳṭāʿ and Rābur, quinces from Aḳṭāʿ, and raisins from Gawk; almonds from Shahr-i Bābak, Gawk and Aḳṭāʿ, walnuts from Sardūya and Aḳṭāʿ, and pistachios from Shahr-i Bābak; cotton from Sīrdjān (to Bombay) and Anār, peas from Aḳṭāʿ, and Bardsīr and sometimes wheat from Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya, and barley from the latter district also.

Abbott mentions exports from Kirmān to Yazd and other neighbouring towns and villages, which included shawls, woollens, wool, opium, lead, soap, henna, indigo leaves, figs, gums and wild asses' skins (*Notes on the Trade, etc.*). There was also, according to Wazīrī, some internal movement of wheat from Zarand to Yazd and Rāwar and sometimes from Urzūya to Kirmān; Sīrdjān also exported wheat to Yazd and Kirmān. Peaches were exported from Gawk to Kirmān and other districts, dried apricots and dried mulberries from Bāfḳ to Kirmān, and dried figs from Rāwar to Yazd, whence they were exported to other parts of the country as *andjīr-i yazdī*; dates from Khabīṣ to Yazd and Khurāsān; peas and lentils from Shahr-i Bābak to Yazd and Kirmān; henna and *rang* from Narmāshīr to Kirmān, whence they were distributed to neighbouring regions; sometimes henna was exchanged in Sīstān for clarified butter and swansdown.

Milk products were an important article of local commerce. Rūdbār exported clarified butter (*rawghan*) to Kirmān. Bardsīr also supplied Kirmān with clarified butter and *kashk* (a kind of whey). Shahr-i Bābak supplied Yazd, Rafsindjān, and Sīrdjān with clarified butter, *kashk* and cheese, while Kūbanān exported *kashk* to various districts beyond the bounds of Kirmān. Lastly, wood was exported from Aḳṭāʿ to the surrounding districts and to Fārs (see further Wazīrī).

In 1904-5 a British commercial mission visited south-east Persia in order to encourage British trade in the area. Russian efforts were also made to increase their trade, and Russian trade agencies were established in Kirmān, Bam and Rafsindjān.

Population.—The settled population appears to have been mainly of Iranian stock. Strabo states that the customs and language of the population of Kirmān were similar to those of the Medes and Persians (xv.2, 14). Idrīsī describes the inhabitants of Kirmān (apart from the tribal population) in favourable terms. He states that they were remarkable for the purity of their customs and the grace of their character and that the merchants especially were marked by an amiability, sincerity and docility greater than elsewhere (421). Stack, writing several centuries later, remarks on the quiet and orderly habits of the people (ii, 182). Bārfurūshī, on the other hand, gives an unfavourable account of the people of Kirmān and accuses them of being given to sedition (*Mufarriḥ al-ḳulūb*, B.M., Or. 3499, f. 198a).

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries mention a number of tribes as inhabiting Kirmān, namely the Ḳufṣ, (Kūfidjīs, Kūč [see KUFṢ], Balūṣ (Balūẓ, Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN]), the Djibāl Bārizīs, and the Akhwāsh, all of whom were harried and, to some extent, displaced first by the Muslim armies, and then by the Ṣaffārids, Būyids, Sāmānids and Saldjūḳs. When Masʿūdī refers to Kurds (*Akrād*) in the province it is probable that he meant semi-nomadic or nomadic tent dwellers rather than ethnic Kurds. The Ḳufṣ were a mountain people, as their name suggests. They possessed herds of cattle (*ḍaraʿ*) and also practised agriculture. Their main occupation was alleged by Muslim sources to be highway robbery. The Ḳufṣ mountains in which they lived consisted, according to Iṣṭakhrī, of impregnable fastnesses. They were bounded on the south by the Gulf of ʿUmān on the north by Djīruft, Rūdbār and the Mountains of Abū Ghānim, on the east by Khwāsh and the desert of Makrān and on the west by Manūdjān and Hurmuz. There were seven different mountains each of which had a chief. The early Muslim governments, unable to bring the region under their direct control, gave the Ḳufṣ leaders allowances to keep them quiet, but they nevertheless raided the surrounding districts up to Sīstān and Fārs. Iṣṭakhrī mentions that they were reported to

have accumulated much wealth. He states that they were lean and swarthy; and that some said that they were, by origin, Arabs (163-4; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* adds that the government tax-collector (*ʿāmil-i sulṭān*) did not go into the Ḳufṣ mountains and that their chiefs were responsible for the collection and payment of the government tax, which would appear to have been assessed by a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract. It also states that they spoke a special language (65).

The Balūṣ were, according to Iṣṭakhrī, herdsmen and tent-dwellers living along the western base of the Ḳufṣ Mountains and were rich in flocks (164; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). Idrīsī, writing in the mid-6th/12th century, however, states that they lived at the base of the mountains to the north of the Ḳufṣ (429). They were the only people whom the Ḳufṣ feared. Iṣṭakhrī's claim that they were peaceable and did not commit highway robbery like the Ḳufṣ (164) is not born out by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (124) or Muḳaddasī, who couples them with the Ḳufṣ in the matter of brutality and bloodthirstiness and in their propensity to raiding the caravan routes (488-90). Muḳaddasī states that the Balūṣ had been very numerous until the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] destroyed them. The language of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, according to Muḳaddasī, was incomprehensible and resembled Sindhi (471).

It would seem that, in general, Muslim writers made no clear distinction between the two groups, and frequently mention them together. Miskawayh states that the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, together with the people of Manūdjān, joined Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās when he attempted, with help from the ruler of Khurāsān, to seize Kirmān from the Būyids. They were defeated by a Būyid force in 360/970, with heavy losses, and suffered further casualties when the Būyid forces pushed down to Hurmuz. The Balūṣ, however, did not remain quiet for long. Spreading into the districts of Sīrdjān they made ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bārizī their leader, and began to commit disorders. ʿAḍud al-Dawla then marched against them in person. They retreated into the Djibāl Bāriz, but were defeated in 361/972 (ii, 298 ff.). Miskawayh states that those who were not killed were removed from the mountains by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who replaced them with peasants who received the land on a crop-sharing agreement and with persons who were not well-off (*al-akara al-muzāraʿīn wa 'l-mastūrīn min adjnās al-raʿiyya*) belonging to various races among his subjects (ii, 300). There is mention of a detachment (*djaysh*) of Ḳufṣ in ʿAḍud al-Dawla's army in 366/977 (Miskawayh, ii, 368, and see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufs in Persian history*, 9-18).

The decline in the power of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ as a result of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's operations was only temporary. By the beginning of the Saldjūḳ period they were again in control of the *garmsīr* from Djīruft to the Gulf of ʿUmān, though, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, their main location was in the Djibāl Bāriz (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 66; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 6 ff.). They were reduced by Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg [*q.v.*] (Afḍal al-Dīn, *Badāyiʿ al-azmān wa waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, ed. Dr. Mihdī Bayānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1326, 6 ff.). By the end of the 6th/12th century they were again operating in Djīruft and the *garmsīr* of Kirmān (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 5 ff., 182; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 5 ff.). There are no references to the Ḳufṣ in the later Middle Ages, though there are, of course, many references to the Balūč, who were established in Makrān from the 5th/11th century and who may or may not have been the descendants of the Balūṣ [see BALŪČISTĀN].

Wazīrī claims that the Mihnī tribe were the descendants of the Ḳufṣ, but produces no evidence in support of this claim. When he was writing the Mihnī numbered some 700 families. They had a separate assessment, i.e. they were not included in the assessment of Djīruft and Isfandaḳa, where they had their winter quarters—and this, perhaps, suggests that they had at one time been more important. Wazīrī states that up to fifty or sixty years before he was writing the Mihnī leaders had enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. In 1259/1843-4, the government seized Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, their leader, and confiscated the many estates which he held in Isfandaḳa and Djīruft (*Djughrāfiyā*, 56, 113-14, 121). According to a tradition current among the tribe, however, the Mihnī came originally from Khurāsān to Isfandaḳa in Ṣafawid times, when a number of tribes formed a federation under their leadership. This would seem more probable, and would suggest that at most only some of those reckoned as Mihnī today are the direct descendants of the Ḳufṣ. Their leaders claim to be descendants of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*]. In 1969 the Mihnī consisted of the following eleven sub-tribes: the Sulaymānī, Lurī (who are alleged to have come to Kirmān from the Mamassanī in the reign of Nādir Shāh or, according to another account, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās), the Bahr Āsmānī, the Markī, Muḳbilī, Sālār Barkhʷurī, Lurī, Rāhī Bārčī, Iskandarī, Kahhūrī, Pushtkūhī, and Muẓaffarī. Wazīrī gives a list of twenty-three sub-tribes (199), which differs slightly from the above list.

The Djibāl Bārizīs, according to Iṣṭakhrī, were even worse robbers than the Ḳufṣ. They did not adopt Islam until ʿAbbāsid times and he alleges that they persisted, in spite of their conversion, in their evil ways. They were eventually pacified by Yaʿḳūb b. Layth and ʿAmr b. Layth and their leaders destroyed. They too had a special dialect (Iṣṭakhrī, 164, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). Whether as a result of the operations of the Ṣaffārids or because of the movements of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, they appear to have been pushed out of the Djibāl Bāriz region. About the beginning of the 19th century the Manẓarī Tawakullī *tīra* of the Djibāl Bārizī apparently moved to Bazindjān, where they numbered some 4-500 persons in 1960. Wazīrī mentions Djabal Bārizīs in Pārīz (199), but whether they were the direct descendants of the earlier Djibāl Bārizīs is not clear. Wazīrī states that their prosperity and the numbers of their sheep, cattle and horses had decreased, especially from about 1860. They were engaged to some extent in trade, taking *kurk*, wool and cumin mainly to Bandar ʿAbbās for export to India and clarified butter and *kashk* to Kirmān (120). The *Gazetteer of Persia* records the existence of 50 families of Djabal Bārizīs in Aḳṭāʿ in 1903 (iv [Calcutta 1910], 338). In 1960 there were a few families of Djibāl Bārizīs who had summer quarters between Bāft and Rābur and winter quarters near Gulāshgird (Walāshgird).

The Akhʷāsh, the fourth of the tribes mentioned by the early geographers, centred on Khʷāsh, were said to be semi-nomads. They had camels and date palms and lived in houses made of reeds (Iṣṭakhrī, 168; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313). They are not separately mentioned in later times.

Although there appears to have been some immigration of Arabs into Kirmān before the Islamic conquest (Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 57)

there does not seem to have been widespread settlement by Arabs in the province during the early Islamic conquests. For the most part, the Arab armies pushed on through Kirmān into Sīstān and Khurāsān. So far as settlement took place, those who settled became, as in other provinces, largely assimilated to the local population. Small groups may also have been settled in the province after the period of the conquests. Yāḳūt records the existence of descendants of the Banū Azd [see AZD] and Banū Muhallab in Djīruft (Barbier de Meynard, 185). Wazīrī mentions the survival in Djīruft of a few families who still spoke Arabic (*Djughrāfiyā*, 119). The village known as Ḳaryat al-ʿArab, near the city of Kirmān, is believed to have been originally settled by the ʿĀmirī tribe, who came there from Simnān. In some of the coastal districts, such as Bandar ʿAbbās, however, much of the population was of Arab origin, though not necessarily Arab-speaking (cf. Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879*, 344).

Turkish tribes, Ghuzz and others, came into Kirmān from the 5th/11th century onwards. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to trace the changes in their locations and numbers. Whether the Salādjiḳa, who today are to be found in Rābur, are descendants of the Saldjūḳs is extremely doubtful. They do not appear to have any tradition among themselves of such an origin and are now Persian-speaking. They are mainly engaged in trade and for the past forty or fifty years have ceased to move from summer to winter quarters. The Khālū, centred on Rābur with winter quarters in Shastfīč, whom Wazīrī reckoned to be fifty families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 199), are related to the Salādjiḳa. They are so-called because Fatḥ ʿAlī (during the lifetime of his uncle Āḳā Muḥammad Khān) took one of their women, Fāṭima Khānum, to wife after he had defeated the tribes of Rābur. She in due course became his chief wife and was known as Sunbul Bādjī.

On the break-up of the Great Saldjūḳ empire there was a new influx of Ghuzz into Kirmān under Malik Dīnār. The Raʾīsī tribe claim to be their descendants. In the middle of the 19th century they numbered 200 families and lived in black tents in Narmāshīr, Rīgān and Rūdbār. Their *khāns* lived in the fortress of Kahnū in Rūdbār, which had been built by Malik Dīnār (Wazīrī, 108, 123). In 1903 they are recorded as comprising 700 families (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 337). In 1960 their winter quarters were in Mīnāb and Rūdān and their summer quarters in Ustur, Balward, Sīrdjān and Čahārgunbad.

There was further movement of Turkish tribes into Kirmān during the Mongol, Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid periods. When exactly the Afshār [*q.v.*], who appear to have migrated westwards with other Ghuzz tribes in the 5th/11th century, settled in Kirmān is not known. There was already an Afshār presence in the province at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (cf. *ʿĀlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, ed. Asghar Muntaẓir Ṣāḥib, Tehran A.H.S. 1349, 326). Their *khāns* held governments there in the Ṣafawid period. On the death of Nādir Shāh, Shāhrukh Khān Afshār, who was settled in Zarand, temporarily extended his power over the whole province. In the 19th century the Afshār were the most important of the tribes of Kirmān. They consisted in Wazīrī's day of 52 subtribes (*tīra*) and *ca.* 1,000 families (*ibid.*, 145, 198-9). Sheil, writing rather earlier, put their numbers at 1,500 houses (*Note on the tribes by Sir J. Sheil*, in Lady Sheil, *Life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398), which would suggest that Wazīrī's figures may be an underestimation. Today their summer quarters are between Bāft and Sīrdjān and their winter quarters in Urzūya and Dasht-i Bar. Their numbers in 1960 were estimated at *ca.* 20,000 and they were divided into 18-20 *tīras*. Among other Turkish tribes in Kirmān in Ṣafawid times there were the Ḳarā Oghlānū, a branch of the Ḳaramānlu, whose *khāns* held governships in Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya towards the end of the period. By the time Wazīrī was writing, the tribe had become much weakened (*ibid.*, 143). A few Tekkelu are said to have fled to Aḳṭāʿ in the reign of Ṭahmāsp and to have been absorbed in due course by the Ḳarā Oghlānū (*ibid.*, 144). Of the various other Turkish tribes, the most important were probably the Ḳarāʾī and the Bučāḳčī. The former, according to Sheil, numbered 700 families (*op. cit.*, 398). Wazīrī put them at 800 (*ibid.*, 199), but by 1903 they appear to have declined to some 600 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 337). The Bučāḳčī, according to a tradition current among themselves, were brought from Ḳarā Dāgh to Fārs in Ṣafawid times to act as wardens of the marches and later moved to Kirmān. According to Wazīrī they numbered 200 families, and many of them were settled in their summer quarters around Balward (*ibid.*, 154, 199). Some of them had winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Bandar ʿAbbās. By 1903 their numbers had changed little (*Gazetteer of Persia*, ix [1910], 337), but by 1960 they numbered some 2,000 families. Some of their *tīras* were Turkī-speaking, others Persian-speaking, and some of them were settled. The Shūl, who formerly belonged to the Afshār federation, had by 1903 joined the Bučāḳčī and numbered some 90 families (*ibid.*). In 1960 there were some fifty families of Shūl Turks settled near Sīrdjān, who claimed that their forefathers had come from Fārs at the beginning of the 19th century. The *Gazetteer of Persia* mentions 150 families of Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu in Aḳṭāʿ in 1903 (iv, [1910], 338). It is possible that they were descendants of families left behind in Kirmān by the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu in the 9th/15th century. They appear to have been subsequently absorbed into the Afshār and in 1960 were reckoned among the Afshār *tīras*.

In the early 18th century a number of Lak tribes moved from Fārs to Kirmān and established their winter and summer quarters in Urzūya and Aḳṭāʿ respectively (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 144). They numbered some 2,000 families in 1903 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 338-9). Sheil put the ʿAṭā Ilāhī, whom he described as Laks, at 3,000 tents and houses (*Note on tribes by Sir Justin Sheil*, in *op. cit.*, 398). According to Wazīrī, the Atā Ilāhī had cultivated land and cattle in Sīrdjān and Shahr-i Bābak. They were Ismāʿīlīs and numbered some 150 families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 157, 199). In 1960 there were some 2,500 Laks in the neighbourhood of Bazindjān. There are, or were, various other tribes and sub-tribes in the province whose origins are difficult to establish. Most of them are semi-nomadic and their numbers very small.

The internal organisation of these various tribal groups appears to have been broadly similar. Most of the tribes had a *raʾīs* or leader, whose office appears usually to have been hereditary within a family. Larger tribes or federations, such as the Afshār, had an *īlkhānī*. Each tribe was composed of a number of *tīras*, under a *kadkhudā*, whose office was sometimes hereditary but more often subject to election by the elders (*rīsh safīd*) of the *tīra*. The latter were composed of *ihshām*, i.e. groups of, perhaps, 5-12 families, each under a *rīsh safīd*. The

number and size of the *tīras* varied widely with the prosperity of the tribe. Success brought new followers, while failure or weakness caused the dispersal of its existing followers. The collection of taxes from the tribe and the decision of disputes were usually carried out by the *raʾīs-i īl*, though not infrequently an outsider became responsible for the payment of the taxes to the government. Thus Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, the grandson of Ẓahīr al-Dawla, became responsible for the taxes of the Mihnī tribe and for those of Isfandaḳa and Rābur (*ibid.*, 56), while Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī was charged with the collection of the taxes in the Afshār of about 1870 and had the title *īlbegī* (*ibid.*, 61). In recent years the tribal structure has largely broken down.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to give a breakdown of the population at different periods. From time to time, conquest brought about a transfer of power from one group to another, a redistribution of land and the emergence of new factions, but we are ignorant of the details of these events. It would seem likely, in view of the flourishing trade of Kirmān in the early centuries that the merchants formed a prosperous community, but that their importance declined with the decrease in trade. Aubin in his monograph entitled *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle* has studied the functions and influence of local religious leaders in the Tīmūrid period. Some information on the leading families in the 19th century is to be obtained from Wazīrī (*op. cit.*). In Kirmān, as elsewhere, in Persia, the *aʿyān* were composed of landowners, tribal leaders, religious dignitaries and merchants. The dividing lines were not always clearly drawn. Marriage alliances between them were common. Governors and local officials were also included in the *aʿyān*, and often used their official position to acquire wealth and land. In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries the leading officials of the bureaucracy were rich and influential. It is not always easy to decide what was the basis of a family's influence, whether it was government office, trade, landownership or religious leadership, for all might be combined in one family. But governors changed frequently and though they sometimes settled in the province, the government of which they had held, the system did not make for the emergence of families who retained their pre-eminence over a long period. Some of the local *sayyids* were among those who could perhaps trace their influence back furthest. Wazīrī states that there were families of *sayyids* in Bam and Narmāshīr who had held property there for over 400 years (*ibid.*, 102). One, the Ḳāḍī family of Bam, had held the office of *ḳāḍī* there from generation to generation (*ibid.*, 97). There appears also to have been some movement among *sayyids*. Thus, the Mīrzāʾī *sayyids*, who came to Bam about 1770, were by origin from Tabrīz. One of their number, Ḥadjdjī Sayyid ʿAlī Khān b. Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was made *raʾīs* of Bam and Narmāshīr by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk (who became governor of Kirmān in 1860) and put in charge of *dīwān* taxation and the *khāliṣadjāt* of Bam. This, however, proved disastrous for the family: he was a spendthrift and was dismissed, and all his estates and those of his nephews were taken in lieu of arrears. But their fall was only temporary, and when Wazīrī was writing they were again a rich and respected family (*ibid.*, 100-1).

As elsewhere, it was not uncommon for the religious classes and the merchants to be closely allied, either through marriage or by actual participation in trade. Thus, Ḥadjdjī Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. Ḥadjdjī Sayyid ʿAbi 'l-Maʿṣūm, a Riḍawī *sayyid*, who owned numerous villages and hamlets and many herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats, had agents and partners in Bandar ʿAbbās, Yazd and elsewhere, who traded on his behalf (*ibid.*, 158-9). There was also movement from merchant families and craftsmen into the religious classes. Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Aḥmad b. Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Kirmānī, who belonged to a merchant family, studied *fiḳh* and became a *mudjtahid*. He owned much property in Rafsindjān and elsewhere (*ibid.*, 44-5).

Two families were especially prominent in Kirmān in the 19th and 20th centuries, those of Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān b. Mihdī Ḳulī Khān b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār Ḳuwanlu and Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk Nūrī, both of whom had been governor of the province. Their fortunes illustrate the ease with which government officials were able to acquire wealth and property and become part of the local *aʿyan*. The first, Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who became governor of Kirmān in 1216/1801-2, settled in the province, where he and his descendants acquired property (*ibid.*, 54 ff.). He himself bought some of the estates of the heirs of Āḳā ʿAlī Wazīrī (see below) in lieu of arrears due from Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī (*ibid.*, 170). His grandson, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, acquired villages in Isfandaḳa and Djīruft through marriage to a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Mihnī. He also founded new estates in those regions (*ibid.*, 56). Ḥādjdjī Mūsā Khān b. Ẓahīr al-Dawla's daughter married Mīrzā Abu 'l-Hasan b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān family. Wazīrī alleges that whoever in Kirmān married into the Ẓahīr al-Dawla family tended to become puffed up with pride because of the wealth of his wife (*ibid.*, 69-70). The second, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, whose family came from Nūr in Māzandarān, was sent as *pīshkār* to Kirmān and Balūčistān in 1275/1858-9. In 1277/1860 he became governor of the province, holding office until his death in 1284/1867-8. He exerted great efforts in the development of Kirmān and Balūčistān. He made a number of *ḳanāt*s and gardens, and revived much *khāliṣa* land which had fallen out of cultivation or into a bad state of repair. He rented these for a lump sum, which transaction proved extremely profitable. He was also a great builder and made many caravansarais, *ḥammāms*, *ribāṭ*s and other buildings. His son Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Wakīl al-Mulk was governor from 1286/1869-70 to 1295/1878 (see further Asad Allāh Nūrī Isfandiyārī, *Tārīkh-i Khānawāda-i Isfandiyārī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1329). Both Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān and Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān acquired extensive estates in the province and established links with the local *aʿyān* through marriage alliances. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān gave one of his daughters to Mīrzā Ghulām Ḥusayn b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm, who owned estates round the town of Kirmān. This Ghulām Ḥusayn belonged to a family of *sayyids* originally from Djīruft (Wazīrī, *op. cit.*, 69), and his maternal grandmother was a sister of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr (see below).

In the local government offices there was often a hereditary tendency. For example, the office of *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of Kirmān had been in the Kalāntarī family since the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. From towards the beginning of the 19th century they also held the office of *ḍābiṭ* of Khabīṣ and Gawk and from about the middle of the century the collection of taxes of the environs (*ḥawma*) of the town of Kirmān was also entrusted to them. Muḥammad Zamān Kalāntar

and his father Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar were blinded by Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī in 1251/1835-6. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Abu 'l Ḥasan b. Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān, a nephew of Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar, was the *kalāntar* and *ʿāmil* of Sīrdjān, and also the head of the Niʿmat Allāhī order. Another member of the family, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Mīrzā Yūsuf, acquired many *mazāriʿ* and gardens in Khabīṣ and Gawk, where he was for years in charge of the collection of *dīwān* taxes. Mīrzā Mihdī Khān b. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān was also an overseer (*mubāshir*) in the tax administration in Khabīṣ, where he too acquired desirable estates. He was a capable man, but tyrannical in the matter of tax-collection (*ʿāmilī*) (*ibid.*, 63-5).

Another family which seems to have risen to prominence through the holding of government office was the family of Mīrzā Khalīl, who was made *mustawfī* of Kirmān in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. His son, ʿAlī Akbar, became *kadkhudā* and *dārūgha* of Kirmān city and *ḍābit* of Sīrdjān in 1258/1842-4. While holding the latter post he acquired riches and bought property in the environs of Sīrdjān and in Bardsīr, but dissipated much of his wealth towards the end of his life. His son, Yaḥyā, became *kalāntar* of Kirmān. Another branch of the family held the office of *kadkhudā* of Kirmān. When Wazīrī was writing, Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was *kadkhudā* and known as the *kadkhudā-bāshī* although he did not have any authority over the *kadkhudā*s of the other quarters (*ibid.*, 65-8).

Among the oldest families of Kirmān was the Wazīrī family, who traced their origins back to the Ḳutlugh Khān, Barāḳ Ḥādjib [see BURĀḲ ḤĀDJIB], the founder of the Ḳarā Khitāy or Ḳutlughkhānī dynasty [*q.v.*], who died in 632/1234 (see below). At the turn of the 18th century the family was mainly engaged in trade but also owned land, Āḳā ʿAlī, the head of the family at the time, having many estates in Aḳtāʿ, Kushk and Khināmān. He was taken as a hostage by Karīm Khān Zand to Shīrāz, where he became acquainted with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. On the death of Karīm Khān, Djaʿfar Khān gave money to Āḳā ʿAlī and sent him back to Kirmān on the understanding that he would bring Kirmān over to Djaʿfar Khān's side. After the death of Djaʿfar Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī threw in his lot with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and refused Luṭf ʿAlī entry to Kirmān. The latter, when he subsequently took Kirmān seized Āḳā ʿAlī's possessions, put two of his nephews, Hādī Khān and Ṣādiḳ Beg, in prison, and fined his son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn, heavily. He also took one of his daughters to wife and gave another to his uncle, Naṣr Allāh Khān. The former was later married to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, the brother of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Āḳā ʿAlī, who had been sent to Tehran by Bābā Khān (later Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh), reported these happenings to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and encouraged him to set out for Kirmān, which he did in 1208/1793-4, accompanied by Āḳā ʿAlī. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, after defeating Luṭf ʿAlī gave the town of Kirmān over to pillage, he exempted from this the residence of Āḳā ʿAlī, and several thousand persons are alleged to have taken refuge there and escaped slaughter. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made Āḳā ʿAlī's son, Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī, governor of Kirmān, which office he held until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, and another son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn (d. 1270/1853-4), his treasurer (*ṣundūḳdār*). The mother of the latter, an Iṣfahānī, was a Mīr Muḥammad Rafīʿ *sayyida* on her father's side and a Ṣafawī *sayyida* on her mother's side. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān returned to Shīrāz he took Āḳā ʿAlī and Mīrzā Ḥusayn with him. The former apparently died in Shīrāz shortly afterwards. Towards the middle of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Mīrzā Ḥusayn was appointed *wazīr* of Kirmān, which office he held until about the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. He had many estates in Aḳtāʿ, Urzūya and Kūshk. The office of *raʾīs* and *ʿāmil* (tax-collector) of the districts of Aḳtāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān remained in his family for many years, and his descendants owned villages, gardens, flocks and herds in these districts. Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī's grandson, was *ʿāmil* of the districts of Aḳtāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān and of the Afshār tribe for over twenty-five years. From about 1870 he had the title of *īlbegī*. In addition to the properties he inherited, Muḥammad ʿAlī founded many villages in Urzūya and Aḳtāʿ. His position as tax-collector enabled him to usurp the estates of his uncle Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr and his cousin ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān after their deaths (*ibid.*, 61). His brother, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān also usurped some of the properties of ʿAlī Muḥammad in Aḳtāʿ and Urzūya. He founded other properties as well and gradually became a wealthy man. A third brother, Murtaḍā Ḳulī, had numerous estates in Urzūya, Aḳtāʿ, Kūshk and Bardsīr, some usurped, some bought and some founded by himself. He put money out with merchants and others. He owned herds of horses and flocks of sheep (*ibid.*, 5 ff., 58 ff., 62). A grandson of Āḳā ʿAlī, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, married his cousin, Bībī Kūčik, a daughter of Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī: their son was Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, the author of the *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān* and the *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān is said to have brought back six *ḳanāt*s in Ṣawghān into a flourishing condition (*ibid.*, 12). Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, unlike his forebears, did not enter government service, but occupied himself running his estates. He appears, however, to have received a government pension (*muḳarrarī*) (Wazīrī, *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1961, introduction).

Wazīrī mentions another old family, the Āḳāyān of Anār, who traced their origins back to Bahādur Idgū Barlās, who had been governor of Kirmān in the time of Tīmūr. For years this family had held the office of *raʾīs* of Anār, but by Wazīrī's time they had fallen on evil days and become poverty-stricken (*Djughrāfiyā*, 183). For the rest, most of the families mentioned by Wazīrī had risen to prominence in recent times.

In the middle of the 19th century, partly as a result of the increase in the price of agricultural produce and the revival of long-distance and local trade, there appears to have been a revival in the prosperity of the merchant class and also a strengthening of their links with the landowning class. This was notably the case in Rafsindjān. Wazīrī relates that a certain Ḥādjdjī Āḳā ʿAlī of Rafsindjān had landed estates worth over 100,000 *tūmān*s and partners and agents in Bombay, Yazd, Iṣfahān, Tehran, Mashhad, Tabrīz and Istanbul, whereas thirty years before he had not owned property worth 1,000 *tūmān*s (*ibid.*, 168-9, 172). Among merchant families in Kirmān city, Wazīrī mentions that of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad ʿAlī Amīn al-Raʿāyā b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Ḥādjdjī Allāhvardī Kirmānī, who was the *raʾīs al-tudjdjār* of Kirmān. His father and grandfather had built many caravanserais, baths and mosques in the city of Kirmān and elsewhere. He himself had acquired many estates in the district of Khabīṣ and in Māhān. According to Wazīrī, he

showed little care for the poor and the deserving (*ibid.*, 78).

Wazīrī asserts that between about 1844 and 1874 there was a great increase in the wealth of those holding land, due, he states, to the high prices for cotton and madder which had prevailed for several years in India and for grain in Persia. Persons whose property thirty years before he was writing had been worth 1,000 *tūmāns* were then receiving an income of 2,000 *tūmāns* from their estates, and those who had formerly been prepared to sell a hamlet or piece of cultivated land for a song to pay their tax demands would not then sell for 3,000 or 4,000 *tūmāns*. This was especially the case in Sīrdjān, Rafsindjān and Urzūya. He alleges that the condition of agricultural labourers had also improved, so much so that they were better off than had been the owners of hamlets formerly. Many of the agricultural labourers of Rafsindjān had become *ḥādjdjīs*. Flockmasters, because of the rise in the price of *kurk*, had also become rich men (*ibid.*, 168-9, 158).

Religion.—In Sāsānid times, there were in addition to Zoroastrians a number of Nestorian Christians in Kirmān. The bishop of Kirmān was under the metropolitan of Fārs. Conversion to Islam after the Arab conquest was slow. The province was exposed to Khāridjī influence in the 1st century and to some Ismāʿīlī activity in the late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries (see below). Muḳaddasī states that the Khawāridj had a Friday mosque in Bam. According to his account, the dominant rite was the Shāfiʿī one except in Djīruft. The *fuḳahāʾ* were not numerous; among them the *ahl al-ḥadīth* formed the majority except in Hurmuz (468-9). Afḍal al-Dīn praises the good religion and orthodoxy of the people of Bardsīr. He alleges that Kirmān was free from every kind of heresy and that the people were either Ḥanafīs or Shāfiʿīs. Yāḳūt states that the inhabitants of Kirmān were virtuous, honest, and very attached to Sunnism and orthodoxy (483). Under the Ṣafawids, Kirmān, like the rest of the empire, accepted *Ithna ʿasharī* Shīʿism. In the 19th century the Shaykhīs [*q.v.*] gained many adherents in Kirmān, as also did the Bābīs [*q.v.*]. The office of *Shaykh al-Islām* in Kirmān was held in the middle of the 19th century by Riḍawī *sayyids*, who were Shaykhīs (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 52-3). Factional strife between the Shaykhīs and Bālāsarīs was common. Under the Tīmūrids the Niʿmat-Allāhī dervish order, founded by Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh Walī (d. 843/1431), gained many followers in Kirmān and elsewhere. Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh's shrine at Māhān, near Kirmān, has remained one of the main centres of the order.

Zoroastrians appear to have maintained themselves as a community in Kirmān city, though in greatly reduced numbers, until modern times. Tavernier puts their numbers at 10,000 in the middle of the 17th century. In the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94) they were removed from the city at the demand of the *ʿulamāʾ*. They built a suburb to the north of the town. They were plundered by the Afghāns in 1133/1720-1 (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 28; *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, 294). Khanikoff states that there were 12,000 Parsi families in Kirmān before its destruction by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān in 1794. Thereafter, their numbers declined. According to Abbott, there were only 150 families in Kirmān in the middle of the 19th century. Of these some 40 families lived in the villages around Kirmān, and the remainder in the town (*Notes on the trade*, etc.). Wazīrī put the number at 200 families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 40). In 1903 the total number of Zoroastrians was said to be 1,700 persons (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 349). A small community of Hindus from Shikarpūr appear to have settled in Kirmān some time after 1810. They were engaged in banking and trade with Karachi, Bombay, Sind and the Punjab (Stack, i, 215; Curzon, ii, 244). The export trade of Kirmān was largely in their hands in the 19th century (W. M. Floor, *The merchants (tujjār) in Qājār Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi/1 (1976), 121).

History.—Kirmān in many ways developed along different lines from the rest of Persia. It was distant from the early capitals of the caliphate. Its mountain fastnesses could not be easily controlled and local leaders were often able to assert their independence. Thus each of seven mountains which constituted the Djabal Ḳufṣ region had a separate leader in early Islamic times. The Lūt prevented easy access from Khurāsān and Sīstān, while the inhospitable country to the north-west discouraged expansion from and into the Djibāl. It was ideal country for dissident groups and was one of the regions where the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] carried on their resistance to the caliphate. Its abundant pastures attracted tribal groups, but the broken nature of the country militated against the formation of large tribal kingdoms. Lack of communications tended to isolate the province but trade with Central Asia, India and the Far East and with other parts of Persia was, nevertheless, important, though subject to interruption by local outbreaks of disorder.

The Arab conquest of Kirmān as recorded by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 315, 391 ff.) was begun about 17/638 by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, who was sent by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], then governor of Baṣra on behalf of the caliph ʿUmar. Al-Rabīʿ conquered Sīrdjān and made terms with the inhabitants of Bam. Another Arab expedition was sent about the same time by the governor of Baḥrayn, ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ al-Thaḳafī, who killed the *marzbān* of Kirmān in the island of Abarkawān. The conquest of Kirmān was not, however, completed. In 29/649-50 Yazdagird, the last of the Sāsānid kings, fled from Iṣfahān to Kirmān and thence to Khurāsān. Most of the Arab army under Mudjāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in pursuit of him perished in the snow at Baymand (in the district of Sīrdjān). Mudjāshiʿ, appointed governor of Kirmān by Ibn ʿĀmir, subsequently took possession of the chief towns up to the Ḳufṣ mountains. A counter-attack by the Persians from Hurmuz was defeated. Further details concerning the early conquests are uncertain and variously recorded (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 286).

Under the Umayyads, Kirmān became a theatre for the activities of the Khāridjīs. In 68/687-8 the Azāriḳa fled to Kirmān. About 73/693 they reassembled and under Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [*q.v.*] seized Fārs and Kirmān, being joined by a number of the local inhabitants. They extended their activities to ʿIrāḳ. Harried by al-Muhallab, they withdrew again to Kirmān. By about 79/698-9 they had been exterminated by him. Kirmān nevertheless continued to be a hotbed of rebellions and a favourite asylum for rebels. Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] took refuge there briefly *ca.* 82/701-2 or 83/702-3. In 101/719-20, the rebel Yazīd b. Muhallab, who, during his father's lifetime had for a period been governor of Kirmān, appointed a governor over Kirmān. After the failure of his rebellion, from about 102/720 the Umayyads (in whose name several coins struck at Kirmān survive) seem to have exercised control over the province, often through the governor of Khurāsān,

who would administer the province through a deputy. In 120/738 Muḥārib b. Mūsā, a supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Djaʿfar, who had turned out Marwān's governors from Fārs, made inroads into Kirmān but was later routed by the supporters of Marwān. In 131/748-9 an Umayyad army set out from Kirmān to oppose the ʿAbbāsid army under Ḳaḥṭaba, which had advanced on Ray, and was defeated near Iṣfahān.

Under the early ʿAbbāsids, governors were appointed over the province, which continued for the most part to fall under the general control of Khurāsān. ʿAbbāsid coins struck in the province in the year 165/781-2 and 167/783-4 survive. During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd rebellion spread to Kirmān when Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharī occupied Harāt in 179/795 and extended his authority to Fārs and Kirmān, where there were still a considerable number of Khāridjīs, who appear to have recovered from the defeats inflicted on them in late Umayyad times (see further Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIᵉ et au IIIᵉ siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 54 ff.).

Ibn Balkhī gives figures for the revenue of Kirmān at this period. In 200/815-16 Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān were assessed at 2,600,000 *dīnārs*, a new assessment having been necessary because the registers had been destroyed in the civil war. Another assessment made by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā in the reign of al-Muḳtadir was rather lower, namely 2,331,880 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān and ʿUmān accounted for 444,380 *dīnārs*. After various deductions the net sum going to the *dīwān* was 364,380 *dīnārs* (Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 171).

A succession of governors, some of whom from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards were Turks, ruled the province until the caliphate of al-Muhtadī, when Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī rebelled in 250/864-5 and seized Fārs and Kirmān. Al-Muʿtamid on his accession to the caliphate sent an army against him. The two armies met near Ahwāz and the caliph's force was defeated. About the same time Yaʿḳūb b. Layth moved into Kirmān and took possession of it. Some of the supporters of Muḥammad b. Wāṣil joined him, while the remainder set out for Fārs. Yaʿḳūb after spending some two months in Kirmān, marched into Fārs in 253/867. Both he and his brother ʿAmr after him appointed governors over Kirmān. The latter, after he was defeated by al-Muwaffaḳ in Fārs, retired to Sīstān in 274/887-8, but in 280/893-4 al-Muʿtaḍid made peace with him and re-appointed him over Fārs, Kirmān and Sīstān. After the death of ʿAmr, his grandson Ṭāhir governed Fārs and Kirmān until 295/907-8, when it passed into the hands of Subkarī (?Sebük-eri), who was defeated by a caliphal army in 298/911 or 299/912. In 317/929, however, the Ṣaffārid Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Layth was able to send a military force to Kirmān to collect revenue.

Meanwhile, the Sāmānid kingdom was in the throes of revolt. One of Naṣr b. Aḥmad's *amīrs*, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ilyās, had seized Nīshāpūr. When Naṣr recovered the town in 320/932, Muḥammad b. Ilyās went to Kirmān and established himself there. In 322/934 Mākān b. Kākī drove Muḥammad out and took possession of the province on behalf of the Sāmānids. In either 323/935 or 324/935-6 Mākān left the province to undertake operations against Wushmgīr in Gurgān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned and attempted to restore his authority. Meanwhile Aḥmad b. Būya (later Muʿizz al-Dawla) had advanced on Kirmān and when he reached Sīrdjān in 324/935-6 the Sāmānid *amīr*, Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr, who was besieging Muḥammad b. Ilyās, withdrew to Sīstān while Muḥammad b. Ilyās retired to Khurāsān. Muʿizz al-Dawla then undertook operations against the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, the details of which are variously recorded (see above). In 326/937-8 he was recalled to Baghdād. After the withdrawal of the Būyids, it appears that Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned to Kirmān. He acknowledged the Sāmānids in the *khuṭba* and received in 348/959-60 a banner and robe of honour from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ. Somewhat later, quarrels broke out between Muḥammad b. Ilyās and his sons, and he was finally persuaded to abdicate in favour of Ilyasaʿ. In 356/967 ʿAḍud al-Dawla took ʿUmān and invaded Kirmān. Bardsīr fell in Ramaḍān 357/August 968 and Ilyasaʿ fled to Khurāsān. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, having received a diploma for Kirmān from the caliph, then appointed his son Abu 'l Fawāris Shīrzīl (later Sharaf al-Dawla) governor and returned to Shīrāz. In 359/969-70 an abortive attempt was made by the Sāmānids to regain possession of Kirmān with the help of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Ilyās. In 364/974-5 al-Ḥusayn b. (?) Muḥammad b. Ilyās placed himself at the head of a group of malcontents in the *garmsīr* but was defeated and captured (see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971, 107-24). The period of the Banū Ilyās was a time of disorder during which the revenues of the province were dissipated (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 315). Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla the province appears to have been highly taxed compared to the reign of al-Muḳtadir. According to Ibn Balkhī, the total revenue of Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān, together with *ʿushr* levied at Sīrāf and Mihrūbān on goods imported by sea (?*ʿushr-i mashraʿa-yi daryāʾī*), in the time of ʿAḍud al-Dawla was 3,346,000 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān, Tīz and the coastal districts of Fārs (? *bulūk*) accounted for 750,000 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 172). After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 372/982-3, his descendants began to fight among themselves for the province and a period of some confusion followed. Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 407/1016-17 attempted to instal his nominee in the province but without lasting success and in 424/1033 Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd temporarily occupied it (C. E. Bosworth, *The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 13; see also ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR).

In 431/1040 the Saldjūḳs defeated Masʿūd at the battle of Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and some two years later in 433/1041-2 Ḳāwurd Ḳarā Arslān Beg b. Čaghrī Beg b. Mīkāʾīl b. Saldjūḳ [*q.v.*] was sent by Ṭoghrīl Beg to conquer Kirmān. This attack was repulsed by Abū Kālīdjār in 434/1042-3. A second expedition in 440/1048 was more successful, the governor, Bahrām b. Lashkar, surrendering the province without war. The Ḳufṣ, however, resisted but were defeated (see above). Ḳāwurd, who established his rule in Kirmān, made two attempts to usurp the sultanate. On the first occasion in 459/1066-7, Alp Arslān marched against him and defeated him, but reinstated him in Kirmān in his former position (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 36-7). After Alp Arslān left the province, Ḳāwurd went to Balūčistān, repaired the port of Tīz and appointed governors over Makrān. He also conquered ʿUmān, which remained in Saldjūḳ hands until the death of Arslān Shāh in 536/1141. When Alp Arslān died in 465/1072, Ḳāwurd made his second attempt to claim the sultanate. According to one account, he wrote to Malik Shāh stating that he was more fitted to succeed on the

grounds that he was Alp Arslān's eldest brother (Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūkiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, 56). According to another account, some of Malik Shāh's *amīrs* invited him to come (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 12-13). He was defeated near Hamadān, and taken prisoner and killed. The Saldjūḳs of Kirmān did not, however, come to an end with Ḳāwurd: the dynasty founded by him was to last some 150 years, during which the province enjoyed, on the whole, prosperity and peace.

The Saldjūḳs of Kirmān had a reputation for justice and caring for their subjects. Ḳāwurd took measures to establish security on the roads, and erected pillars at intervals along the Bam-Fahradj road so that travellers would not lose the way; he also built caravanserais and water tanks (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 10-11). Ḳawūrd, Tūrān Shāh b. Ḳāwurd, Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh and his wife Zaytūn Khātūn, and Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh were all great builders. The latter built a library for the Tūrān Shāh *djāmiʿ*, which contained 5,000 books on different branches of learning. Some of them were also patrons of the religious classes. In the reign of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh, the *ʿulamāʾ* are alleged to have come to Kirmān from far and wide. His son, Muḥammad, gave pensions to the *fuḳahāʾ* and during his reign there was, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, a spread of learning and a tendency for craftsmen to send their sons to study *fiḳh* (29). Some of the officials and *amīrs* of the Saldjūḳs were also builders and patrons of the religious classes. The atabeg, Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, made many charitable foundations and constituted *awḳāf* for their upkeep (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 36).

Although the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān were familiar with city life, their existence was closely bound up with the well-being of their flocks. They habitually spent seven months of the year in Bardsīr and five (from Ādhar (Nov.-Dec.) to Urdī Bihisht (April-May)) in Djīruft, their flocks moving with them. Their financial position seems to have been favourable until towards the end of the dynasty, and Bahrām Shāh b. Muḥammad, under whom the decline of the dynasty set in, succeeded to a well-filled treasury. Throughout Ḳāwurd's reign of 34 years the value of the coinage remained stable (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 4). Trade probably contributed to this favourable situation. Ḳamādīn, even towards the end of the period, was still an important centre of long-distance trade and was "a place where strangers from Anatolia and India and travellers by land and sea lodged, and was full of wealth" (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 41, 69). Some of the ministers and *amīrs* owned considerable estates. Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān appears to have let his money out to merchants and others, who presumably worked it for him (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 40). The pay and allowances of the military following of the ruler (*ḥasham*) were controlled from the centre (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 34). The troops were mainly Turks, but there were also some Daylamīs. They received allowances and *iḳṭāʿ*s, mainly, according to Afḍal al-Dīn, in the district of Sīrdjān, where "a great *amīr* with a large force was always stationed because it was on the frontiers of Fārs" (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 74). The total number of the military following of the rulers and their *amīrs* was not large. Ḳāwurd, when he came to Kirmān in 433/1041-2 had, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm a force of 5,000 or 6,000 (2). The rival groups who disputed supremacy in the province at the end of the period and during the period of Ghuzz ascendancy were on the whole not large. Malik Dīnār is said to have ruled over 20,000 men (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 20). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm credits Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Shabānkāra *amīrs*, with having a force of 10,000 men, horse and foot, when they came to Kirmān in 596/1199-1200 (179).

Ḳāwurd was succeeded by his son Kirmān Shāh, whom he had appointed to act in his stead during his absence on the campaign against Malik Shāh. Sulṭān Shāh, who had been taken captive with his father Ḳāwurd, escaped from captivity and was brought to Kirmān. His brother had meanwhile died, and in 467/1074 he ascended the throne in Kirmān. In 472/1079-80 (or according to some sources rather earlier), Malik Shāh went to Kirmān and besieged Sulṭān Shāh in Bardsīr. After some seventeen days the siege was raised, Sulṭān Shāh was confirmed in his government and Malik Shāh returned to Iṣfahān. Sulṭān Shāh was succeeded by his brother Tūrān Shāh in 477/1085. His reign was on the whole uneventful. In 487/1094 he made an abortive expedition into Fārs. He was followed by his son, Īrān Shāh in 490/1097. The latter appears to have been won over to the Ismāʿīlīs. A number of *amīrs* had recourse to the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the *ḳāḍī* Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī, who issued a *fatwā* for his death. Īrān Shāh fled, but was overtaken and killed, and Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh placed on the throne in Muḥarram 495/October 1101 with the joint support of the *amīrs* and the *ḳāḍīs*. He reigned for 42 years and under him the dynasty reached its greatest heights. He married a daughter of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. He appointed, as had his predecessors, *shiḥnas* over ʿUmān and attempted also to extend his dominion over Fārs. He defeated Čawlī Saḳāō in 508/1114-15, and on the death of the latter in 510/1116-17, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh appears to have considered the threat posed by the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān to Fārs to be a real one (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 365). Towards the end of Arslān Shāh's reign, disputes arose between him and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh b. Masʿūd, the Ghaznavid, when he was defeated by his brother Arslān Shāh, sought the help of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh. The latter treated him with favour, but refused to help him on the grounds that he did not wish to interfere in affairs which properly concerned Sandjar. In 537/1142, Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh set his father aside because of his advanced age and seized the throne, in spite of the fact that another son, Kirmān Shāh had been appointed *walī ʿahd*. A third son, Saldjūk Shāh, after making an abortive attempt to seize the kingdom, fled to ʿUmān, where he continued to constitute a potential threat to Muḥammad. The fact that the latter is said to have appointed *ṣāḥib khabars* in the towns within his kingdom and to have had an excellent information service perhaps suggests that there was unrest or hidden opposition to him. However that may be, Kirmān continued to prosper under Muḥammad. He extended his rule over Ṭabas and his successors continued to appoint *shiḥnas* over that city for some years. There was also a proposal by Rashīd Djāmadār, the governor of Iṣfahān, to hand that city over to Muḥammad, but the death of both parties in 551/1156 brought the plan to nought.

Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Ṭoghrïl Shāh, a somewhat frivolous character, and there was during his reign a decline in public morals. However, Kirmān still enjoyed security and prosperity under his rule (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 7; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 30; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 35). There was a total eclipse in the month of Urdī Bihisht 557 *kharādjī*/April-May

1169 (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 8; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal* 30). In the last years of Ṭoghrïl Shāh's reign, power was in the hands of the Atabeg Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, who, on the death of Ṭoghrïl Shāh in 565/1170, placed the latter's son, Bahrām Shāh, on the throne, though not before Turkish troops had plundered Djīruft and carried off the cattle (*marākib wa suturān*) of the non-Turks and the bureaucracy (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 33, 36). His succession was disputed by his brother Arslān, who was joined by the Atabeg Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Buzkush, and a period of internecine strife ensued. A third brother, Tūrān Shāh, sought help from the Atabeg Zangī of Fārs and advanced on Sīrdjān, but was put to flight by Arslān, while Bahrām Shāh retired to Khurāsān to seek help from the Ghuzz leader, Malik Muʾayyid. A second attempt by Tūrān Shāh to seize the province was also defeated. Bahrām Shāh, having obtained reinforcements from Malik Muʾayyid, advanced in 566/1171 via Sīstān and Makrān on Djīruft and put Arslān's forces, which had been weakened by disease, to flight at Ḳamādīn, which the Khurāsān army then plundered. Subsequently, heavy impositions were laid upon the people of Bardsīr, who were reduced to misery. Arslān, meanwhile, with support from the Saldjūḳ ruler of ʿIrāḳ, Arslān b. Ṭoghrïl, returned and besieged Bahrām Shāh in Bardsīr. After six months, Bahrām Shāh and his supporters, who were short of supplies, made peace. Bardsīr, Sīrdjān, Djīruft and Khabīṣ went to Arslān and Bam and Makrān to Bahrām Shāh. Peace, however, did not last; Bahrām Shāh again appealed to Khurāsān for help while Arslān had recourse to ʿIzz al-Dīn Langar, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh was put to flight and Arslān entered Bardsīr in 569/1174. Some years later, Bahrām Shāh retook Bardsīr. In 570/1174 he died. A further period of strife and disorder ensued, the main roles being played by the atabegs and *amīrs* acting in the name of one or other of the Saldjūḳ princes; inroads into the province were also made by the forces of the atabegs of Fārs, Yazd and ʿIrāḳ. Under Tūrān Shāh, who eventually defeated Arslān, the Muʾayyidī *ghulāms* (i.e. the followers of the Atabeg Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān) played a dominant role (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 79). The Atabeg Rayḥān was persuaded to return to Kirmān from Yazd, to which he had withdrawn some seven years earlier, but retired again almost immediately because of his advanced age. By this time, the province had become impoverished. Afḍal al-Dīn describes its condition in the following words: "every year the unfortunate peasants used to take loans or sell their substance (*khān u mān*) to buy seed grain from Ṭabas or elsewhere. They would sow it only for another to harvest it and eat it" (81; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 99; cf. also *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 13 ff., 77 ff.). All kinds of impositions and fines were meanwhile laid upon the population by the contending *amīrs* in order to support their forces. Little money remained in the treasury, and in 575/1179 the Turks rioted and killed a number of leading officials of the bureaucracy (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 86).

New disasters were meanwhile in store for Kirmān. About 574 or 575/1179, Sulṭān Shāh turned the Ghuzz out of Sarakhs and some 5,000, with their families and flocks, came to Kūbinān, plundered the countryside and went on to Zarand and Bāghīn. The Atabeg Tekelle of Fārs, who at the time held Sīrdjān and Furg, sent a force against them. Together with the Kirmān army, it was defeated in 575/1179-80 and the Ghuzz spread into the *garmsīr*, where they committed pillage and waste. In the years 575-6/1179-80 or 576-7/1180-1 there was a severe famine in Bardsīr (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal* 91; *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 97). In the winter of 577/1181-2, the Ghuzz again set out for the *garmsīr*. Afḍal al-Dīn states that since they had now come to stay, they began to develop and cultivate the districts of Djīruft and Narmāshīr and paid some consideration (*murāʿāt*) to the peasants (*bāzyār*), and brought from Iṣfahān, Sīstān and Fārs goods, beasts and booty which they took from caravans and accumulated in the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr*. (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 95). They also took several fortresses into which the remnants of the Turkish forces had retired. The *sardsīr*, however, to which the nominal rulers of the province were confined, remained in a state of distress. In 579/1183-4 Tūrān Shāh was killed by a group of *amīrs*, who released Muḥammad Shāh b. Bahrām Shāh from the fortress where he had been imprisoned and placed him on the throne. In 580/1184-5 famine again broke out in Bardsīr. In the following year 581/1185-6, Malik Dīnār came with some 80 men to Rāwar and Khabīṣ from Kūbanān, intending to join the Ghuzz in Narmāshīr. Some 300 men from Bardsīr set out to prevent his advance, but did not dare to join battle with him (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 105). In 582/1186 Muḥammad Shāh set out for ʿIrāḳ to seek help against the Ghuzz. The following spring, Bardsīr surrendered to Malik Dīnār. Muḥammad Shāh, who had failed to obtain help from either ʿIrāḳ or Tekkele in Fārs, returned briefly to Bam. He then went to Sīstān and from there to the court of the Khwārazm-Shāh Takish. He finally took refuge with Shihāb al-Dīn, the ruler of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. In 583/1187-8 an abortive attempt was made to read the *khuṭba* in Bardsīr in the name of a Saldjūḳ princess, Khātūn Kirmānī, a daughter of Ṭoghrïl (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 146).

Malik Dīnār, having established himself in the district of Djīruft, struck coins and read the *khuṭba* in his own name. In Djumādā I 582/July-August 1186 he set out for Bardsīr, but lack of pasture and the ruin of the countryside appear to have prevented him from establishing himself there, and the town remained for some time in the hands of the Saldjūḳ forces until it surrendered on 5 Radjab 583/11 September 1187. During the next two years, Malik Dīnār was occupied in extending his power and putting down local pockets of opposition. He then made an expedition to the south, took Manūdjān and extracted 1000 *dīnārs* tribute from the ruler of Hurmuz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 154). Revenue was also collected from the Makrānāt (*al-Muḍāf*, 5). Bam, which had been in the hands of an *amīr*, Sābiḳ ʿAlī, did not however submit until *ca.* 588/1192. In 589/1193 Malik Dīnār was again in the south and met the ruler of Ḳays, who promised him tribute. The death of Malik Dīnār in 591/1195 was followed by new outbreaks of disorder. He was succeeded by his son Farukh Shāh, who rapidly dissipated the contents of the treasury which Malik Dīnār had laboriously accumulated (*ibid.*, 164). Unable to establish himself, he had recourse to the Khwārazm-Shāh for help, but died in 592/1196 before this could arrive. Meanwhile, on the one hand the Ghuzz began to commit disorders and pillage on an unprecedented scale while on the other the *amīrs* were rent by faction and disunity.

The period of Ghuzz ascendancy, was a time of misery and distress for the people of Kirmān. The province was subjected not only to the ravages of the Ghuzz, but also to incursions by the rulers of Fārs and Khurāsān, or their *amīrs*, who from time to time established a temporary ascendancy in different

parts of the province. Trade was brought to a standstill and agriculture to ruin, even though the members of the warring factions were small—to be numbered in hundreds rather than thousands. The Ghuzz flocks commonly grazed the crops of the settled people, and in addition they levied a quarter of the share of the crop remaining to the landlord, after the payment of government dues to provide for their followers, although certain persons, mainly belonging to the religious classes, were exempted from this levy (*al-Muḍāf*, 19-20).

For a time the situation was extremely confused, until the Shabānkāra *amīrs*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, defeated the Ghuzz in 597/1200, appointed a deputy over Kirmān and retired to Fārs. Shabānkāra rule proved no less harsh than that of the Ghuzz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 183 ff., *al-Muḍāf*, 10 ff.). Finally, the population rose against them. Further disorders ensued until a group of the *amīrs*, townspeople and *imāms* of Bardsīr, fearing renewed attacks by the Ghuzz, decided to hand the town over to ʿAdjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, who, after a period spent at the court of the Khwārazm-Shāh, had returned to Bam and placed himself at the head of the Ghuzz in that district. New forces arrived from Fārs under ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zaydān, Saʿd b. Zangī's nephew, and they recaptured Bardsīr. About 601/1205 an expedition into Kirmān was made by Khwādja Raḍī Zawzanī, a Khwārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, who had been in Kirmān on several occasions and acquired many estates there. In 603/1207 another expedition came from Fārs. Later Saʿd b. Zangī came himself to Kirmān and undertook operations against the Ghuzz. They submitted in 605/1209 and Saʿd b. Zangī returned to Fārs. When he appointed officials over Bardsīr in that year, he is reported by Afḍal al-Dīn to have levied a quarter of the net income of the landowners by way of tax, but in 606/1210 this appears to have been increased to one-third and the exemptions formerly allowed by the Ghuzz to certain members of the religious classes and others withdrawn (*al-Muḍāf*, 20, 42). Waṣṣāf states that the taxes of Kirmān were not sufficient for the needs of the kingdom and the wages of the army, and so Saʿd b. Zangī issued a decree for an additional levy of one-tenth (*ʿushrī*) on landed estates, which was called *fidyat al-mullāk*. The people complained of this levy and it was abolished (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 151). According to Afḍal al-Dīn, Saʿd b. Zangī bought up much dead land and spent on its development whatever he received from the *dīwān* of Kirmān (*al-Muḍāf*, 42). Meanwhile, Khwādja Raḍī Zawzanī's forces, who are alleged to have committed great oppression, came into conflict with ʿIzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn, Saʿd b. Zangī's representative, and returned to Khurāsān in 606/1210.

Zangid supremacy in Kirmān was fleeting. In 609/1213, a Khwārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, Ḳiwām al-Dīn Muʾayyid al-Mulk, also from Zawzan, asked the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Takash to give him Kirmān and in Ramaḍān of that year, having received the title of *malik*, he set out from Zawzan for Kirmān (Faṣīḥī Khwāfī, possibly mistaking the *kharādjī* year for the *ḥalālī*, appears to put these events in the year 603, *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Maḥmūd Farukh, Mashhad A.H.S. 1239-41, ii, 281). Djīruft and Bam surrendered and also Bāfḳ and, finally Bardsīr in Ṣafar 610/June 1213. Muʾayyid al-Mulk then made an abortive expedition against Fārs, which he abandoned when part of his army deserted. In or about this year there was an outbreak of plague (? *wabā*) which spread from the south to Bardsīr and was accompanied by heavy loss of life (*al-Muḍāf*, 46 ff.).

Among the *amīrs* of the Khwārazm-Shāhs was a certain Abu 'l Fawāris Ḳutlugh Sulṭān Barāḳ Ḥādjib (see BURĀḲ ḤĀDJIB), who had been in the services of the Gūr Khān of the Ḳara Khitāy [*q.v.*]. He rose to the position of *ḥādjib* to the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and became atabeg to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Shāh. The latter, after the fall of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, appointed him governor of Iṣfahān, but he, seeing the disorder into which the affairs of the Khwārazm-Shāh had fallen, set off with his followers for Kirmān intending to proceed to India. Having reached Kirmān, he joined battle with the governor of the province, Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḳāsim, defeated him and besieged his son in Bardsīr. When Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirnī returned from India some months later, Barāḳ Ḥādjib requested from him the government of Kirmān. Djalāl al-Dīn, having little choice in the matter, agreed and gave Barāḳ Ḥādjib the *laḳab* of Ḳutlugh Khān (for which reason, the dynasty which he founded is sometimes known as the Ḳutlugh-Khānid dynasty), and went himself to ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān. Barāḳ Ḥādjib later apparently demanded and received from the caliph the title of "sultan," and the sources refer to the rulers of the dynasty as *sulṭān* and their rule as *salṭanat*. When Ghiyāth al-Dīn subsequently came to Kirmān and sought to establish himself there, Barāḳ Ḥādjib, after first temporising, finally seized and killed him. He then sent an envoy to Ögedey offering submission and was in return confirmed in his possession of the province of Kirmān, which he held for fifteen years. He had four daughters, the eldest of whom, Sevinč Khātūn, was married to Čaghatay, while the other three were married into the family of the Atabegs of Yazd. His son, Rukn al-Dīn Khwādjadjūḳ was sent to serve at the Mongol court and was with Ögedey at the time of his father's death, which took place on 20 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 632/6 September 1235 (the accounts of these events given by Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1327, 22 ff., Djuwaynī, *Djahān-gushā*, and Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal al-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1891-5, vary somewhat).

After the death of Barāḳ Ḥādjib, the Ḳutlugh sultans, although their status was that of local rulers rather than governors, had no real independence. Mongol *amīrs* who had come as *basḳāḳs* to Kirmān are mentioned at the court of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in 655/1257 (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 38). All the contenders for power among them appear to have found it necessary to obtain the support of the Great Khān or the Īlkhān for their cause. Many of them made marriage alliances with the Mongols. Barāḳ Ḥādjib was succeeded by his nephew, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who shortly after his accession, married Barāḳ Ḥādjib's daughter, Ḳutlugh Terken. However, when Rukn al-Dīn, who had obtained a *yarlīgh* for the province of Kirmān from Ögedey, approached the province, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn felt it necessary to set out himself for the Mongol court to seek support. Rukn al-Dīn, having reached Bardsīr in 633/1236, took possession of the province and ruled for some fifteen years. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, unable to oust his cousin, who was supported both by Ögedey and Čaghatay's wife, Sevinč Khātūn, remained for a while at the Mongol *urdū* and was then sent to Maḥmud Yalawāč, the Mongol governor of Khiṭāy. In 646/1248, when Mengü Ḳaʾān succeeded Güyük, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn obtained a *yarlīgh* for Kirmān

and set out for the province. On his approach, Rukn al-Dīn abandoned the province. After appealing in vain for help from the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, he went to the *urdū* of Mengü Ḳāʾān, where the case between him and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was referred to the Mongol court (*yarghū*). After examination, Mengü handed Rukn al-Dīn over to his cousin, who killed him and then returned to Kirmān. Djuwaynī mentions that he saw Rukn al-Dīn in Almāligh in Ramaḍān 651/December 1253-January 1254 (*Djahān-gushā*, ii, 217). When Hülegü crossed the Oxus in 654/1256, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn came to his camp at Ṭūs and was given permission to return to Kirmān provided he came back with an army to join the Mongol forces in their march on Baghdād. He fell ill, however, in 655/1257 and died the following year.

Terken Khātūn, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's wife, was put on the throne in Kirmān amid general acclaim, and subsequently received, after she had had recourse to Hülegü in person, a *yarlīgh* authorising her to act for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's sons, who were still children. She ruled some 25 years, during which time Kirmān prospered. Many learned men among the *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants resorted to Kirmān during her reign. It was then also that Marco Polo visited the province. When the Čaghatay horde crossed the Oxus in 668/1270 to attack Abaḳā's domains, Terken Khātūn sent Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to Khurāsān with an army to support Abaḳā. She also tried to strengthen her position by marrying her daughter, Pādishāh Khātūn, to Abaḳā. However, when Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān came back to Kirmān he sought to curtail the influence of Terken Khātūn. She repaired to Abaḳā's court to complain of this and was well received. On her return to Kirmān, Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān retired to India, where he spent the next ten years. Finally, the sultan of Dihlī provided him with an army to retake Kirmān. He set out, but died en route and the army returned to India. (The *Simṭ al-ʿulā* gives 690/1291 as the date of his death. This is presumably an error.)

Djalāl al-Dīn Suyūrghatmish b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Terken Khātūn's step-son, who governed the western part of Kirmān on her behalf, also apparently went, with her approval, to Abaḳā's *urdū* while he was in Khurāsān. On his return to Kirmān, Suyūrghatmish had his own name inserted in the *khuṭba* alongside that of Terken Khātūn. She complained to Pādishāh Khātūn, and received a *yarlīgh* forbidding the interference of Suyūrghatmish in the affairs of Kirmān. The latter then had recourse himself to the Mongol court. When Abaḳā died in 680/1281, Terken Khātūn immediately set out for Tabrīz to ensure her position. The new Īlkhān, Aḥmad Tegüder, however, dismissed her and appointed Suyūrghatmish in her stead. She was unable to secure her reinstatement, and spent the winter in Bardaʿa. The following summer, she went to Tabrīz where she died. Suyūrghatmish, who reached Kirmān in 681/1282, took possession of the province unopposed. After the accession of Arghūn (683/1284), Bībī Terken, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and Terken Khātūn's eldest daughter, whose son, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yülükshāh, was powerful at the Mongol court, accused him of peculation in the collection of taxes. He was dismissed, his accounts demanded, and officials sent to Kirmān to collect the taxes. By the expenditure of considerable sums of money, Suyūrghatmish appears to have obtained permission to go to the Mongol court and there, by further expenditure, to have reached a compromise with the Mongol authorities. By this his half-sister, Pādishāh Khātūn (who had been married to Abaḳā) was given in marriage to Gaykhātū, while Suyūrghatmish was married to Kürdüdjin, the daughter of Mengü Temür b. Hülegü and Abīsh Khātūn, the daughter of Saʿd b. Zangī, and Suyūrghatmish undertook to pay an annual sum for Kirmān of 600,000 *dīnār*s, against which, however, he was allowed as expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) for his administration and military forces, etc. 390,000 *dīnārs* (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 57). During Suyūrghatmish's absence, there was apparently an outbreak of famine in Kirmān. The price of wheat rose and the Turkomans rioted and plundered the city. He restored order on his return. He then proceeded to expend considerable sums of money on charitable works: he built a *madrasa*, a *khānḳāh* and a hospital, and constituted *waḳf*s out of *khāliṣa* property for their upkeep. He also extended his patronage to the religious classes (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 58). During his reign, Makrān was reduced and tribute exacted. There were, however, renewed encroachments into the province by the Ḳarāwun (Nikūdārīs), who had already in 677/1278-9 invaded Kirmān from Sīstān. In 680/1281-2 they penetrated to the Persian Gulf and in 683/1284-5 plundered the neighbourhood of Bardsīr (see further P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 183-96 (art. *Caraunas*) and J. Aubin, *L'ethogenèse des Caraunas*, in *Turcica*, i (1969), 65-94).

On the death of Arghūn in 690/1291, Suyūrghatmish, taking advantage of the disorders which had ensued, asserted his independence. In the winter of the following year he went to the *garmsīr* and took Hurmuz. Returning to Bardsīr, he reassessed the kingdom and laid down that the taxes should be collected in three instalments (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 63). Meanwhile, Gaykhātū had sent Pādishāh Khātūn to Kirmān as governor. She immediately seized Suyūrghatmish and imprisoned him (691/1292). His wife Kürdüdjin contrived his escape, but he was recaptured and killed in 693/1294 (the sources differ in their relation of these events). In 694/1294-5 Kürdüdjin, encouraged by the rise of Baydū, laid siege to Bardsīr and captured and put to death Pādishāh Khatūn. Kürdüdjin then ruled the province, though there was beside her a Mongol *basḳāḳ* (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 77).

Baydū was overthrown almost immediately by Ghāzān Khān, who while still in Khurāsān appears to have sent *ilčis* to Kirmān to collect money for the Khurāsān army (*māl-i čirik-i Khurāsān*) (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 78). Once Ghāzān had established himself as Īlkhān, he appointed Muḥammad Shāh b. Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān, who had been at his court, over Kirmān. During the early years of Ghāzān's reign, Kirmān was the scene of internecine and factional strife between Muḥammad Shāh b. Ḥadjdjādj and Süyükshāh, one of the sons of Bībī Terken and brother of Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yülükshāh, and between rival *amīrs* and officials (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 79 ff.). Demands for ever more revenue, including taxes for the Khurāsān army, were made; on one occasion a *yarlīgh* was issued for the payment of two years' taxes from Kirmān (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 83). There were also renewed attacks by the Ḳarāwun in 698/1298-9. In the following year, Fakhr al-Dīn, who had been appointed *wazīr* of Kirmān by Ghāzān, proceeded to the province accompanied by a number of *amīrs*. His behaviour provoked an uprising and he and his followers were seized and killed. The revolt spread. The rebels took refuge in the town of Bardsīr and were besieged by the Mongol forces, which, although they received reinforcements from Fārs, Luristān and Yazd, were unable to take the town. Ghāzān, who at the time was in Diyār Bakr or the neighbourhood, summoned Muḥammad Shāh and sent

him back to Kirmān as governor with a number of other officials. The siege continued for ten months. The defenders were reduced by famine and finally, according to Waṣṣāf's account, the city's defences were destroyed by siege engines brought from Fārs, where they had been made by experts summoned from Mawṣil, and the city fell. The ringleaders were put to death and Süyükshāh was sent to Tabrīz, where he was executed (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 85 ff.; Waṣṣāf, 426 ff.). The province was in a miserable condition and the treasury empty. The Ḳarāwun meanwhile renewed their attacks. A substantial remission of taxation was given (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 94), but the ensuing improvement was cut short by the death of Muḥammad Shāh in 703/1303-4 (Waṣṣāf gives the date of his death as 6 Djumādā I 702, 434). Shāh Djahān b. Suyūrghatmish, who was at the time at Ghāzān's court, was appointed to succeed him. At some time during the reign of Ghāzān or Öldjeytü, Rashīd al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd appears to have been governor of Kirmān and to have committed extortion against the people of Bam (cf. *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, 10 ff., and also 261). On the death of Öldjeytü, Shāh Djahān attempted unsuccessfully to establish his independence. He was dismissed after a reign of some two-and-a-half years, and with him the dynasty came to an end. He was replaced by Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Burhān, a descendant of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, in 704/1305 (Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Öldjeytü*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 43).

Kirmān was ruled for the next few years by Mongol governors until it was taken in 740/1340 by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar, who was married to Ḳutlugh Khān, the daughter of Shāh Djahān b. Suyūrghatmish. An attempt made by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn b. Djalāl al-Dīn b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to regain the city with the help of reinforcements from Harāt was repulsed and Mubāriz al-Dīn, who had temporarily withdrawn, retook the city in 741/1340. Bam, which was ruled by a governor appointed by Abū Saʿīd, held out and was not captured until three or four years later. Meanwhile, the Īlkhān empire was rent by war and faction. In 748/1347 Abū Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmūd Shāh, the Īndjūʾid ruler of Iṣfahān, attacked Sīrdjān and destroyed the town, but left the citadel unreduced. After continuing his march on Kirmān, he then retired to Shīrāz without joining battle with Mubāriz al-Dīn. During a second expedition, he was defeated by Mubāriz al-Dīn and again retired to Fārs. Meanwhile the Djurmāʾīs and Ughānān, some of whom may possibly have been the descendants of the Mongol detachment which had been sent to Kirmān in or about 683/1284 under the leadership of Ughān (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 58), were committing renewed disorders in the south of the province. Mubāriz al-Dīn marched against them. The campaign was inconclusive and the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs continued for many years to disturb the province, in spite of the fact that they frequently served in the ruler's army (in which they proved to be an extremely unreliable element). In 753/1352 renewed encroachments into Kirmān by the Īndjūʾids were repulsed near Rafsindjān. Mubāriz al-Dīn then extended his power over Fārs and appointed his son Shudjāʿ al-Dīn governor of Kirmān in 754/1353-4 (though he did not reside permanently in the province, taking part in military expeditions in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam). In 757/1356 Mubāriz al-Dīn was again briefly in Kirmān and undertook a campaign against the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs, who had been committing disturbances. Mubāriz al-Dīn's death in 765/1364 was followed by a period of internecine strife and faction. In Kirmān, the governor Pahlawān Asad rebelled. After an inconclusive battle with Shāh Shudjaʿ near Kirmān, Pahlawān Asad retired into the city, but submitted after a siege of several months (Ramaḍān 775-Radjab 776/March-December 1374). On the death of Shāh Shudjāʿ (786/1384), his son, Sulṭān Aḥmad, went to Kirmān as governor. In 787/1335-6 he read the *khuṭba* in the name of Tīmūr. When the latter set out for Fārs in 789/1387, Sulṭān Aḥmad repaired to Tīmūr's camp, was favourably received and given the government of Fārs, ʿIrāḳ and Kirmān. Internecine strife, however, continued among the Muẓaffarids in Kirmān and elsewhere, until finally they were overthrown by Tīmūr in 795/1393 and Idgü Bahādur Barlās appointed governor of Kirmān (see further, the supplementary chapter on the Muẓaffarids in the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*). The province was in a state of disorder, and Idgü had to establish his authority by a series of military operations. On Tīmūr's death in 807/1405, he recognised Shāhrukh. The province was nevertheless subject to pillage and disorder in the struggles which ensued between the various Tīmūrid princes. Idgü died in 810/1407 and was succeeded by his son Saʿīd Sulṭān, who was assassinated almost immediately on the instigation of his brother, Sulṭān Uways. Disorders continued (see further, J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XV^e siècle*, 20 ff.). Agriculture declined; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states in the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Baysunghurī* that wherever the army of Mīrzā Iskandar (d. 818/1415-6) passed through, no building or cultivation was left, and in the *Djughrāfiyā* he says that wherever Mīrzā Iskandar went he sacked everything, destroying buildings, cutting down trees and sending troops into all districts so that there was not a single corner of Kirmān which was not devastated (quoted by Aubin, *op. cit.*, 35-6). In 819/1416 Sulṭān Uways was besieged in Kirmān by a Tīmūrid army, and in the following year there was a severe famine in Kirmān accompanied by a heavy loss of life. Shāhrukh then sent Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn to the province to restore agricultural prosperity. He devoted his efforts to the revival of *awḳāf* which had fallen out of cultivation. In the first year 250,000 *mann*s of wheat were sown. Various tax reductions and remissions were also given to the peasants (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Djughrāfiyā*, f. 173b, quoted by Aubin, 50). On the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447, there was renewed anarchy until Djahānshāh b. Ḳarā Yūsuf, the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu, sent his son Abu 'l Ḥasan Ḳāsim Mīrzā to take possession of the province. Conditions showed little improvement (see Abū Bakr Tihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya*, ed. F. Sümer, Ankara 1964, ii, 334 ff., and Aubin, 58 ff.). Heavy taxes and dues were imposed on summer and winter crops and irregular levies made on the peasants; many properties were usurped by the government and *waḳf* revenues seized for the payment of the military (Aubin, 69-70). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Mīrzā adopted the practice of billeting his followers on the province with all the attendant evils of such a practice (*Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya*, 302). On the death of Djahānshāh, confusion and disorder prevailed in Kirmān until the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu succeeded in establishing their rule. For a time Kirmān was governed by Zaynal, the third son of Uzun Ḥasan.

In 909/1503 the province came into the possession of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Some six years later, Kirmān, was invaded by the Uzbegs and suffered much damage (*ʿĀlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, 326 ff., 333). According to Wazīrī, the first Ṣafawid governor of Kirmān was Muḥammad Khān Ustādjlu (*Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, 265;

see also K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 11). From 930/1524 to 1000/1592 the province was under governors belonging to the Afs̲h̲ār tribe (*ibid*., 31, 37). According to the late Ṣafawid manuals, the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk* and the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, Kirman was one of the thirteen *beglarbegis* of the Ṣafawid empire (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, G.M.S. London 1943, 163; Muḥ. Taḳī Dānis̲h̲paz̲h̲ūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā-Rafīʿa wa tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿa*, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines*, Tehran, xvi/1-2 (1968), 75). For one or two years from 998/1590, however, part of the province, and from 1068-9/1658 to possibly 1106/1694 the whole of the province, was *k̲h̲āṣṣa* (i.e. under the direct administration of the central government) (Röhrborn, 120, 122). From 1005/1596 to 1031/1621-2 it was under the governorship of Gand̲j̲ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, though during that period he was frequently absent from the province with the Kirmān army on military campaigns with the s̲h̲āh. During his government he built a number of caravanserais and bazaars in Kirmān city and elsewhere in the province.

During the reign of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Kirmān was subject to renewed inroads by the Balūč. In or about 1133/1721 the Kirmānīs appear to have appealed to the Afg̲h̲ān Maḥmūd for help. He came to Kirmān and stayed for nine months, when he returned to Ḳandahār because of disturbances there. In the following year he came back, but it seems that the people were not prepared to receive him on this occasion and resisted his entry. He laid siege to the citadel, which fell. After plundering the countryside he continued his march to Iṣfahān (Mīrzā Mihdī Astarābādī, *D̲j̲ahāngus̲h̲ā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, Tehran A.H.S. 1301, 12). In 1139/1726 Mīrzā Sayyid Aḥmad, who was descended from S̲h̲āh Sulaymān's eldest daughter, who had married Mīrzā Dāwūd Marʿas̲h̲ī, seized Kirman and assumed the title of *s̲h̲āh*. From there he went to Fārs, where he was defeated. He came back to Kirmān, but whatever support he may have had there had disappeared, and so he went via Bam and Narmās̲h̲īr to Bandar ʿAbbās, which he temporarily occupied. Eventually, after further adventures, he was captured by the Afg̲h̲āns and executed in 1140/1728 (J. R. Perry, *The last Safavids, 1722-1773*, in *Iran*, ix (1971), 59-70). After Nādir S̲h̲āh defeated As̲h̲raf at Iṣfahān in 1141/1729, the Afg̲h̲āns abandoned Kirmān.

Under Nādir S̲h̲āh, the province suffered further disasters. In the winter of 1149/1736-7 he marched through the province on his way to Ḳandahār and so denuded the people of supplies that there was famine for seven or eight years afterwards (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 112). Disturbances in southern Persia in 1156/1744 and in Sīstān in the spring of 1159/1746 brought the province into a state of confusion, and in the summer of that year a revolt broke out. It was on a small scale, and was speedily suppressed. In 1160/1747 Nādir S̲h̲āh again passed through Kirmān and treated the province with great severity (*ibid*., 259). His death in that year was followed by anarchy and renewed encroachments by the Afg̲h̲āns and Balūč.

It was not until 1172/1758 that K̲h̲udā Murād K̲h̲ān Zand took possession of Kirmān on behalf of Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand. During the period of his rule, Kirmān was less troubled by disorders and impositions by the government than had been the case under the Afs̲h̲ārs, and on the death of Karīm K̲h̲ān in 1193/1779 remained little affected by the struggle between the Zands and the Ḳād̲j̲ārs until 1205/1790, when Luṭf ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the last of the Zands, marched against Kirmān. Its governor, who had been appointed by Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, agreed to submit but refused to come to Luṭf ʿAlī's camp. The latter thereupon besieged the town. Lack of supplies forced him to raise the siege and leave the district. Subsequently, having been defeated by Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān near S̲h̲īrāz in 1206/1790-1, he fled to Ṭabas. Offers of support from some of the *k̲h̲āns* of Narmās̲h̲īr induced him to return to Kirmān. He attacked the city and took possession of it in 1208/1793-4. Āḳā Muḥammad meanwhile advanced and laid siege to the town. After some four months, the population were reduced by hunger and a group of the defenders opened the gates on 29 Rabīʿ I 1209/24 October 1794. The surrender of the city was followed by a general massacre—the culminating disaster in the long series of calamities which the province had suffered during some four centuries. Luṭf ʿAlī escaped, but was captured in Bam and handed over to Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān. Meanwhile Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī b. Āḳā ʿAlī (see above) became governor of Kirmān and held office until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān.

There appears to have been some fear that the disaffection caused by Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān's brutality towards the people of Kirmān, coupled with the failure of the government to control raiding and disorder by the Balūč might give rise to a desire for secession from Persia. Because of this, and partly, perhaps, as an result of the influence of Sunbul Bād̲j̲ī, Fatḥ ʿAlī's Kirmānī wife (see above), Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh appointed Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān Ẓahīr al-Dawla (see above) governor in 1218/1803. He held office until his death in 1240/1824-5 and was the first of a number of Ḳād̲j̲ār princes to be appointed governor of Kirmān. Under him the province enjoyed for the first time for many years a period of security. He repaired *ḳanāts*, fostered trade and agriculture (acquiring many estates himself in the process), and encouraged a revival of learning, inviting to the province *ʿulamāʾ* from Baḥrayn, K̲h̲urāsān, Fārs and elsewhere (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Yaḥyā Aḥmadī Kirmānī, *Farmāndihān-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344, introd., 3). He also made a successful expedition into Balūčistān. This favourable situation did not, however, last. His son, ʿAbbās Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, who succeeded him as governor, attempted to throw off control, and in the succeeding years there were a number of disturbances and perennial outbreaks of disorder by the Balūč. In December 1831 ʿAbbās Mīrzā was sent to the province to restore order. His efforts were only partially successful. After he left the province there were renewed disturbances by governors and others, and in 1835 further inroads by the Balūč. Meanwhile, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh had succeeded Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and in 1835 or 1836 appointed Āḳā K̲h̲ān Maḥallātī, the leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, as governor of Kirmān. On his withholding revenue from the central government, a force was sent to collect arrears. Unable to resist, Āḳā K̲h̲ān fled in 1837 to Bam, where he was besieged by Fīrūz Mīrzā Nuṣrat al-Dawla. He surrendered and was sent to Tehran. Later he was allowed to return to Kirmān in 1840 and renewed his rebellion. After a number of skirmishes he was defeated, and took refuge in Afg̲h̲ānistān and later India, whence, it was alleged, he carried on a secret correspondence with his supporters in eastern Persia. His brother, Muḥammad Bāḳir, made a movement into Balūčistān in 1844 or 1845 but was repulsed. Balūčistān was

meanwhile gradually reduced by the governors of Kirmān, and by the middle of the 19th century Persian control had been extended southwards from Bampūr over the Makrān east of Djāsk.

From about 1858 Kirmān once more had a period of security and good government, this time under Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Nūrī Wakīl al-Mulk (see above), first as *pīshkār* during the nominal government of Gayūmarth Mīrzā, and then as governor from 1860 until his death in 1284/1867-8. His period of office was marked by an increase in prosperity which continued during the subsequent decade. During the government of his son, Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, who was governor from 1869-1878, Čāh Bahār was brought under the control of the Persian government. In 1877 there was an outbreak of factional strife between the Shaykhīs and the Bālāsarīs, which led to the resignation of Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān and the despatch of a force from Tehran to restore order. Towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh there appears to have been considerable intellectual activity in Kirmān, and when the movement for reform became overt towards the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, a number of Kirmānīs, notably Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Bardsīrī Kirmānī (who became the editor of *Akhtar*, the Persian newspaper published in Constantinople) and Nāẓim al-Islām, played an important part (see DUSTŪR, and also, Nāẓim al-Islām, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-i Īrān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī Sīrdjānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349).

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Čahārdihī, *Shaykhīgarī Bābīgarī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1345. (A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KIRMĀNĪ, AWḤAD AL-DĪN ḤĀMID B. ABI 'L-FAKHR (not to be confused with Rukn al-Dīn Awḥadī of Maragha in Ādharbāydjān who was also called Awḥad al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and who died in 738/1337-8) was an eminent Iranian mystic (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn-i Nawā'ī, Tehran 1339/1960, 667-8; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī-yi Tawḥīdī Pīr, Tehran 1331/1962, 588-92). He was a pupil of Rukn al-Dīn al-Sidjāsī (Sindjānī), of the affiliation of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Abharī and Abū Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī. On his numerous travels, he came to Damascus where he became acquainted with Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, who mentions him in his *Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* (ch. viii), and was deeply influenced by his ideas. Awḥad al-Dīn knew Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī (cf. B. Furūzānfar, *Risāla dar taḥḳīḳ-i aḥwāl wa zindagānī-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad mashhūr ba-Mawlāwī*, Tehran[2] 1333/1954, 53-5), and probably met also Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, ʿUthmān Rūmī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī. He spent the last period of his life as a well-known mystical teacher in the neighbourhood of Baghdād and was honoured by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 632/1234-5. He died probably on 3 Shaʿbān 635/21 March 1238.

Awḥad al-Dīn belongs with Aḥmad Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī to the representatives of *shāhidbāzī*, the contemplation of the divine beauty in earthly forms, preferably in beautiful boys. The basic concepts of his mystical philosophy are *ṣūrat* (outer form, image) and *maʿnā* (inner meaning, essence), in conformity with Ibn ʿArabī's key terms *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. The famous *mathnawī* poem *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, often attributed to him, was actually written by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardasīrī Kirmānī. The poetical heritage of Awḥad al-Dīn is marked by short forms (i.e. only some *tardjīʿ bands* and a few *ghazals*, but a large number of *rubāʿiyyāt* which are grouped into 12 chapters), and is of a gnostic-mystical character. The *rubāʿiyyāt*, which are sometimes influenced by ʿUmar Khayyām, are not always of the best literary quality, but they show a deep mystical thought and experience, (as is found in verses of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Aḥmad Ghazālī, ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī.

Bibliography: B. Furūzānfar (ed.), *Manāḳib-i Awḥad al-Dīn Ḥāmid ibn-i Abī al-Fakhr-i Kirmānī*, Tehran 1347/1969, with an extensive introduction on the life and writings of Awḥad al-Dīn; B. M. Weischer, *Auḥaduddīn Kirmānī und seine Vierzeiler*, in *Isl.*, lxi (1979); B.M. Weischer and P.L. Wilson, *Hearts's witness. The sufi quatrains of Awḥaduddīn Kirmānī* Tehran 1978; (cf. also H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 474-6).

(B. M. WEISCHER)

AL-KIRMĀNĪ, ḤAMĪD AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, was a prominent *dāʿī* of the Fāṭimids during the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021) as well as the author of many works on the theory of the Imāmate and on Ismāʿīlī philosophy.

The life of al-Kirmānī is known only in its main outlines, which can be traced on the basis of statements contained in his own works. Some other details can be derived from unpublished Ismāʿīlī sources, as has been done notably by Muṣṭafā Ghālib (*op. cit.*, 41 f.) who, however, does not specify these sources. His *nisba* points to his origin from the Iranian province of Kirmān. It is evident from his works that he continued to be in touch with the Ismāʿīlī community in this area. It is not very likely that he was a pupil of the well-known *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī [*q.v*], as Ghālib states, for Abū Yaʿḳūb was not only al-Kirmānī's senior by half a century but there appears to have been a difference of opinion between the two on many doctrinal points as well. A great part of his life seems to have been spent in the service of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in the missionary district (*djazīra*) of ʿIrāḳ. The title *ḥudjdjat al-ʿIrāḳayn*, which is often added to his name by way of an honorific rather than as a designation of his rank (cf. W. Ivanow, *Naṣir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, Bombay 1948, 44; W. Madelung, *op. cit.*, 63 f., n. 117), implies that this district also included the parts of Iran known as ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī. At least one of his larger works (*Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ*) was composed in Iran, while two shorter *risālas* (*al-Hāwiya fi 'l-layl wa 'l-nahār*, dated 399/1009, and *al-Kāfiya fi 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī* were addressed to a subordinate in Djīruft (Kirmān). The title of his *Kitāb al-Madjālis al-Baghdādiyya wa 'l-Baṣriyya*, which has not been preserved, refers to his personal activities in these cities of ʿIrāḳ. Ghālib ascribes to him a part in winning over the ʿUḳaylids of Mosul to the cause of the Fāṭimids. In the early years of the 5th/11th century, al-Kirmānī came to Cairo, where a serious crisis had developed among the Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* concerning the nature of the imāmate as it was represented at that time by al-Ḥākim. Quite a few of them, among whom are the founders of the religion of the Durūz [*q.v.*], propounded the doctrine of the divinity of al-Ḥākim. Either at the request of the chief of the religious organisation, the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* Khattigīn al-Ḍayf, or of the caliph himself, al-Kirmānī interfered in the controversy. In 405-6/1014-15 he wrote the *risāla* called *Mabāsim al-bishārāt* upholding the tenet that the imāmate of al-Ḥākim was, in spite of its exceptionally blessed condition, of an ordinary kind and that the theory of his divine nature was incompatible with the Ismāʿīlī dogma of the absolute transcendence of God. The *risāla* called *al-Wāʿiẓa fi nafy daʿwa ulūhiyyat al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh* (ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* (Cairo), xiv/1 (1952), 1-20), composed in 408/1017, was a reply to a pamphlet by al-Ḥasan al-Akhram al-Farghānī, one of the supporters of the extreme point of view. Apparently, al-Kirmānī returned afterwards to ʿIrāḳ where he completed his major work, *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl*, in 411/1020-1. The latter date provides also a dating *post quem* for his death.

Works. The fate of al-Kirmānī's work after his death has been determined by the further dogmatic history of the Ismāʿīliyya. While the later writers of the Fāṭimid period appear to be hardly influenced by him, he left a lasting imprint on the religious literature of the Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*] which continued a part of the Fāṭimid tradition in the Yaman and in India. This influence can be traced from the time of the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the sect, al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], up to the present day (cf. e.g. R. Strothmann, *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten*, Göttingen 1943). Thanks to this continuous tradition of Kirmānī studies, the main part of his works has been preserved, although all the copies that have been brought to light so far are very recent.

The defence of the theoretic basis of the Fāṭimid imāmate, which al-Kirmānī regarded as one of his most important concerns, was not only directed against deviations within the movement itself. He also attacked the claims of the ʿAbbāsids (in *Maʿāṣim al-hudā*, a refutation of al-Djāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-ʿUth-*

māniyya) and those of other Shīʿī pretenders (in *al-Kāfiya*, being a warning against the propaganda of the contemporary Zaydī Imām Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh al-Hārūnī). In his *Kitāb Tanbīh al-hādī wa 'l-mustahdī*, the polemics against these opponents are combined with a plea in favour of the validity of the religious law for anyone without exception, addressed towards the antinomian strain current in the Ismāʿīlī movement. His fullest treatment of the theory of the imāmate, constructed as a support of the claim of al-Ḥākim, is contained in *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma*. In the course of his argument, al-Kirmānī frequently resorts to Jewish and Christian scriptures, which he quotes in Hebrew as well as in Syrian (cf. Paul Kraus, *Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismailitischen Schriften*, in *Isl.* xix (1930), 243-63, and A. Baumstark, *Zu den Schriftzitaten al-Kirmānīs*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 308-13).

Of equal importance in the work of al-Kirmānī is his preoccupation with metaphysical speculation, to which his most important works are devoted. In the *Kitāb al-riyāḍ fi 'l-ḥikam bayn al-ṣādayn ṣāḥibay al-Iṣlāḥ wa 'l-Nuṣra* (ed. by ʿĀrif Tāmir, Beirut 1960), he attempts to settle the debate over a great number of philosophical questions which had been going on among the Ismāʿīlīs in Iran during the preceding generations. The starting-point of this discussion was the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, a work by al-Nasafī (d. 331/942), to whom the introduction of neo-Platonism in the speculations of the Ismāʿīlīs has been attributed. Al-Nasafī had been criticised on several points, which according to al-Kirmānī are of fundamental importance, by Abū Ḥātim al-Warsinānī (*fl.* about 322-34/934-46) in his *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*, but the tenets of the former had been defended by Abū Yaʿkūb al-Sidjzī (d. after 360/971) in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Nuṣra*. Kirmānī, who on most issues takes the side of Abū Ḥātim, approaches these problems from a point of view to which he attributes an authoritative weight and which he denotes as "the canon of the guiding mission" (*ḳānūn al-daʿwa al-hādiya*); see further W. Ivanow, *An early controversy in Ismailism*, Leiden 1948, 115-59; 2nd ed. Bombay 1955, 87-122.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* (ed. by M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, Cairo 1371/1952; ed. by Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1967) contains a *summa* of Ismāʿīlī philosophy written for adepts who have prepared themselves for the study of the fundamental truths both morally, through the fulfillment of the commands of religious law, and intellectually, by the study of less abstract works of earlier Ismāʿīlī authors and of al-Kirmānī himself. The subject-matter has been arranged in chapters and paragraphs which have been styled "walls" (*aswār*) and "crossroads" (*mashāriʿ*) according to the allegory of a city of gnostic knowledge. By travelling along the fifty-six crossroads enclosed within the seven walls of this city, the searching soul acquires an awareness of the real structure of the universe, which consist of four separate but fully congruent worlds: the world of Divine creation (*ʿālam al-ibdāʿ*), encompassing the purely spiritual beings, the world of bodily existence or the realm of nature (*ʿālam al-djism, dār al-ṭabīʿa*), the world of religion (*ʿālam al-dīn*), which is the hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, from the *nāṭik* up to the lowest delegate (*maʾdhūn*), and, finally, the world of the *ḳāʾim* where this universe returns to its primordial one-ness in its second perfection (*al-kamāl al-thānī*). In complete analogy to this macrocosmic process, the individual human soul, which by origin is only a virtually-existing first perfection, through acquisition of this metaphysical knowledge, can realise itself completely as an intelligent being.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* is the earliest attempt at a complete and systematic exposition of Ismāʿīlī philosophy. In comparison to older works, and even to al-Kirmānī's own *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, it shows a profound influence of the metaphysical theories of the *falāsifa*. This is particularly evident in his concept of the world of creation as a decade of intelligent beings which has come into existence by way of "being sent out" (*inbiʿāth*) from the universal intellect, the first created being (see further ISMĀʿĪLIYYA. Doctrine).

Like many other Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs*, al-Kirmānī attacked the writing of the arch-heretic Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī. In the *Kitāb al-Aḳwāl al-dhahabiyya fi 'l-ṭibb al-nafsānī*, he supported the criticism of his predecessor Abū Ḥātim on al-Rāzī's ideas about the therapy of the mind expounded in the latter's *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* (cf. P. Kraus, in *Orientalia*, v (1936), 36 f.; idem, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya/Opera metaphysica*, i, Cairo 1939, *tawṭiʿa*, 7-13, and the excerpts from the first part of al-Kirmānī's treatise in the notes to the edition of *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*.

Bibliography: The editions of al-Kirmānī's works mentioned in the article all contain more or less extensive introductions to his life and work. Surveys of his works and of the manuscripts known to exist are given in W. Ivanow, *A guide to Ismaili literature*, London 1933, 43-6; 2nd ed. *Ismaili literature*, Tehran 1963, 40-5; Brockelmann, S I, 325-6; Mu'izz Goriwala, *A descriptive catalogue of the Fyzee collection of Ismaili manuscripts*, University of Bombay 1965, 37-57, nos. 51-65; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 580-2. Fragments of some of the works of al-Kirmānī are contained in the great Ismāʿīlī compilations of ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs (d. 872/1468), *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-akhbar*, and Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharōčī, *Kitāb al-Azhār* (written 931/1525), which are still unpublished. Excerpts from his *al-Risāla al-lāzima fī ṣawm shahr Ramaḍān* have been edited and translated into Urdu by M. H. Aʿẓamī, *Niẓām al-ṣawm ʿinda 'l-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Karachi 1961, 18-60. A work of doubtful authenticity has been edited by ʿĀrif Tāmir, *Arbaʿ rasāʾil ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1952, 59-66. On the *Khazīnat al-adilla*, which is really the work of a pupil of al-Kirmānī, see W. Ivanow, *A creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936, 10-2. See further: E. Griffini, in *ZDMG*, lxix (1915), 87; H. F. Hamdānī, in *JRAS* (1933), 372-5; idem and Ḥ. S. Maḥmūd, *al-Ṣulayhiyyūn wa 'l-ḥarakat al-Fāṭimiyya fi 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1955, 258-61, and passim; W. Madelung, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 119-27; Henry Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, passim; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 130-1; S. H. Nasr, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 436, 440.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KIRMĀNĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN [see KHWĀDJŪ KIRMĀNĪ].

KIRMĀNSHĀH, a town and province in western Persia. The province is situated between lat. 34° N. and 35° N. long. 44° 5′ to 48° 0′ E. It lies to the east and north of ʿIrāḳ and Luristān-i Kūčik (or Pusht-i Kūh) and to the south and west of Kurdistān and Asadābād. In the early 20th century the province was divided into nineteen *bulūks*. These were Bālādih, Wastām, Miyān Darband or Bīlawar, Pusht-i Darband or Bālā Darband, Dīnawar, Kuliyāʾī, Saḥna, Kanguwār, Asadābād, Harsīn, Čamčamāl, Durū Faramān, Māhīdasht, Hārūnābād, Gūrān,

Kirind, Zuhāb, Aywān and Hulaylān (Government of India, General Staff, Army Headquarters, Intelligence Branch, *Gazetteer of Persia*, ii, Simla, 1914, 358). At the present day it is bordered by Sanandadj on the north, Asadābād on the north-east, Shāhābād on the south, Nihāwand and Tūysirkān on the east, Khurramābād on the south-east, and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and Rawānsār-i Djawānrūd on the west, and contains the following districts: Sunḳur and Kuliyāʾī, Kanguwār, Saḥna, Harsīn, Sandjābī, Gūrān and Thalāth (Razmarā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, A.H.S. 1329-32, v). The town of Kirmānshāh (also known as Kirmānshāhān, a name which appears to be used first in the 4th/10th century) is situated approximately at lat. 34° 19 N. and long. 47° 5′ E. at a height of 1322 m. on the Ḳara Sū River, which runs to the north-east of the town in a south-easterly direction until it joins the River Gāmāsiyāb (Gawmāsa) (also known as the River Ṣaymara) which flows into the River Karkha. A series of mountain ranges, trending from north-west to south-east, run through the province. Between them there are extensive plains and valleys, containing pastures and cultivated lands. From Asadābād, with an elevation of 2,340 m., there is a gradual descent through a succession of peaks and valleys to Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, which is at 575 m.

The climate is mild in summer but cold in winter, except in the Zuhāb district and the plains near the ʿIrāḳī frontier and in the lower parts of the Kalhur country (in the region of Mandalī) where it tends to be hot in summer. Snow on the mountains is heavy in winter and spring rains are normally plentiful. The maximum July temperature of the town of Kirmānshāh is 37.2° C. and the minimum January temperature −3.5° C. Annual rainfall is 372.7 mm (H. M. Ganji, *Climate*, in W. B. Fisher, ed., *Cambridge history of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, i, 247).

Parts of the province in the south, notably districts in Hulaylān, Bīlawar and Gūrān, are wooded. Oak, elm, sycamore and some coniferous trees and walnut trees are found in the mountains; willows, poplars and oriental planes are common throughout the province; palm trees are found in Sar-i Pul-i Zuhāb and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. Fruit is abundant in some districts, especially in Kandūla, Harsīn and Saḥna; Kirind produces excellent seedless grapes, Rīdjāb is famous for its figs and Gahwāra for its apples. Gum tragacanth was formerly plentiful in the province, but indiscriminate tapping has caused supplies to diminish. Gum mastic (*saḳḳiz*) is obtained from Hulaylān and was formerly exported to Russia (Government of India, H. L. Rabino, *Gazetteer of Kirmanshah*, Simla 1907, 163, 163).

Dry farming is practised in most parts of the province. In the valleys river water is used for irrigation. *Ḳanāt*s are not numerous. The province is rich in grain land. Formerly, in a normal year the province had a large grain surplus, though from time to time this would be cut by insufficient rainfall, ravages by locusts and other pests, and by disorders. Surplus grain was exported to other parts of Persia, Ottoman Turkey and, later, to ʿIrāḳ. The proportion of wheat to barley was usually two-thirds wheat to one-third barley. Both are grown as unirrigated crops. Grain land is left fallow in alternate years or in many districts for longer periods. Rice is grown in some of the river valleys, including Raziyān, Bīlawar, Dīnawar, Čamčamāl, Zuhāb and Kalhur. It is of inferior quality and mainly consumed locally. Peas (*nukhud*) are produced in quantity and exported to other parts of Persia. Sugar beet has been an important crop since the 1930s and is grown especially in Māhīdasht. Cotton, castor oil, tobacco, saffron, opium, the cultivation of which on a significant scale probably did not begin until the late 19th century (United Kingdom, Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual series, 3189, *Report on the Trade of Kirmanshah and district for the year 1903-04*, 22, and see further G. G. Silbermann, *The Persian Constitutional Revolution: the economic background 1870-1906*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1974, 132 ff.), indigo, maize, clover, alfalfa, and vegetable crops, such as melons, water melons, cucumbers, egg plants and tomatoes, are, or were, grown for local consumption (see further Rabino, 153 ff.).

The province has rich pasture lands. Transhumance is widely practised. Formerly, nomadic tribes commonly migrated annually across the Ottoman-Persian frontier and later across the ʿIrāḳī-Persian frontier. Animal husbandry is of great importance, not only among the nomadic tribes but also among the settled peasants. After grain the most important product of the province is wool. Part of the spring wool crop was formerly exported. The autumn wool was less in quantity and inferior in quality and mainly used for the manufacture of felts (*namads*). Formerly, the manufacture of carpets was a thriving industry in the villages and among the tribes, but declined towards the end of the 19th century. By the 20th century it had virtually disappeared. Goat's hair was made into tents, saddle bags, ropes and yarn. Goat skins were dried and exported and were used for coverings for clarified butter and water skins. The markets of Tehran, Hamadān, Ḳumm and Baghdād were largely supplied with sheep from Kirmānshāh (see further Rabino, 158-9).

Mules and horses were bred in considerable quantities in the 19th century. The horses, which had much Arab blood in them and were well adapted for both draught and saddle, were highly esteemed (cf. J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, London 1856, 26; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 341).

The extensive oil belt extending from Kirkūk in ʿIrāḳ to Khūzistān passes through the south-western part of the province of Kirmānshāh, and the extraction of oil has been carried on at various centres since antiquity (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343). Other mineral resources include marble, porphyry and lime.

The province is mainly inhabited by Kurds, nomadic and sedentary, and Lurs. Most of the tribes have their own winter and summer quarters (see further ĪLĀT). A rough estimate of their numbers in the early 20th century put them at some 60,000 families or some 300,000 persons. Among them were the Kalhur, partly settled and partly nomadic, who were estimated at 12,000 families. They owned large stretches of irrigated land in the fertile plains of Māhīdasht, Gīlān and Kalleh Shahīn, the two last-named purchased by the Kalhur chiefs from their Turkish proprietors at the beginning of the 19th century (United Kingdom Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular reports, Miscellaneous Series, 590 (1903) *Report on the trade and general condition of the City and Province of Kermanshah by Mr. H. L. Rabino*, 46). The Gūrān, also partly settled and partly nomadic, were estimated at 4-5,000, the Sandjābī at 4,000, the Kuliyāʾī, mostly sedentary in Sunḳur, at 4,000 and the Zangana, who were mainly settled in Māhīdasht, at 2,500 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 339; Rabino 171 ff.). Apart from some tribes near the ʿIrāḳī frontier, who are Sunnī, most of the Kurdish tribes of Kirmānshāh are Shīʿī. ʿAlī Ilāhīs are also

found in considerable numbers (cf. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn S̲h̲īrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran lith. 1315, 492; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 356).

The town of Kirmāns̲h̲āh or Ḳirmīsīn (var. forms Kirmāsin, Ḳarmāsīn, Ḳirmāsīn, Ḳarmas̲h̲īn) as it was known by the early Arab geographers was founded in the Sāsānid period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes its foundation to Bahrām IV (388-99 A.D.) (*Nuzhat*, 108), who had acquired the title Kirmāns̲h̲āh as governor of the province of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. The town founded by him was, however, more probably the small town of Kirmāns̲h̲āh situated between Yazd and Kirmān (cf. Ṭabarī, in Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 71). Another tradition attributes the foundation of Kirmāns̲h̲āh to Kawād̲h̲ b. Fīrūz (488-531 A.D.; cf. esp. Muḳaddasī, 257 ff.). The Sāsānid kings often resided there, and their example was from time to time followed by later rulers, notably the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who built a palace there (Muḳaddasī, 393). The province is rich in monuments of the Achaemenians and Sāsānids, such as the sculptures of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān, three miles east of Kirmāns̲h̲āh, the rock inscriptions at Bīsutūn [*q.v.*] and various remains at Kanguwār [see KINKIWAR].

Kirmāns̲h̲āh was peacefully occupied by the Arabs after the capture of Ḥulwān in 21/640 (Balād̲h̲urī, Futūḥ, 301). It became part of the province of the D̲j̲ibāl and was known, together with Dīnawar [*q.v.*] as Māh al-Kūfa. Although situated on the great K̲h̲urāsān road almost midway between Bag̲h̲dād and Hamadān, it was less important in the early centuries than Dīnawar or Hamadān. Ibn Ḥawkal does not mention it among the best known towns of the D̲j̲ibāl, though he describes it as a pleasant place with running water, trees and fruit, in which living was cheap, and as having abundant pastures, where numerous flocks grazed, and much water. Many articles of commerce were also to be found there (i, 359). Later, Kirmāns̲h̲āh with Hamadān, Ray and Iṣfahān became one of the four great cities of the D̲j̲ibāl, though it did not rival them in importance. It was ruled successively by the ʿAbbāsids, the Būyids, the Ḥasanūya [see ḤASANWAYH] and the Sald̲j̲ūḳs.

In 594/1197-8 Kirmāns̲h̲āh was laid waste by the K̲h̲ʷarazms̲h̲āhī *amīr* Miyād̲j̲uḳ (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 398). After the Mongol conquest, the D̲j̲ibāl appears to have been divided into two unequal parts, the larger in the east being known as Persian ʿIrāḳ and the smaller in the west, which included Kirmāns̲h̲āh, as Kurdistān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that Kirmāns̲h̲āhān (which, he writes, was known in books as Ḳirmīsīn) had been a medium-sized town (*s̲h̲ahrī wasaṭ*) but that in his time it was a mere village (*Nuzhat*, 108). Čamčamāl near Bīsutūn, because of its excellent pastures, was a regular camping ground of the Mongol establishments, and, according to Ḥamd Allāh, Öld̲j̲eytü b. Arg̲h̲ūn built a town (*ḳasaba*) there (*ibid.*, 107). It would seem from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's account that there was a decline in production in Kurdistān as in the neighbouring provinces after the Mongol invasions (*Tārīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, 371).

During the 9th/15th century Kirmāns̲h̲āh lay outside the main course of events in Persia, but with the rise of the Ṣafawids Kirmāns̲h̲āh became a frontier province facing the Ottomans. Many of the Kurdish tribes enjoyed a degree of local independence, and it does not appear that central control was established throughout the region in the early Ṣafawid period. The sources make little mention of Kirmāns̲h̲āh, though there is mention of Ṣafawid governors in Dīnawar—Solug̲h̲ Ḥusayn Tekkelu in the reign of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl and Čirāg̲h̲ Sulṭān in the reign of Ṭahmāsp (Bidlīsī, *S̲h̲araf-nāma*, Tehran A.H.S. 1343, 410, 270). Intermittent warfare with the Ottomans kept the frontier regions of Kirmāns̲h̲āh in a state of instability and often disorder, though the main theatre of operations was Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. By the peace treaty made by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās in 999/1590 the western provinces of Persia, including Kirmāns̲h̲āh, were ceded to Turkey, and it was not until the campaign begun in 1011/1602 that Persian rights were reasserted and the lost provinces recovered in the following year. After the death of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās an Ottoman expedition led by K̲h̲usraw Pas̲h̲a penetrated up to Hamadān (1039/1630). When peace was again signed in 1048/1639, Sulṭān Murād IV recognised the frontier more or less along the line which it occupies at the present day.

About the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Zangana family began to emerge as the most powerful of the local leaders, and from then on frequently held the government of Kirmāns̲h̲āh, which usually included Sunḳur and, from the reign of S̲h̲āh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42), Kalhur (K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 9). S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān Zangana became governor under S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II in or about 1058/1648 (Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran, A.H.S. 1339, viii, 475). Members of the family also held important offices at court, which further strengthened their position. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Beg became *amīr āk̲h̲ur* to S̲h̲āh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94). His son S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, who also held this office, became governor of Kirmāns̲h̲āhān and finally Iʿtimād al-Dawla, which office he held for fifteen years. He died in 1101/1689-90 (*ibid.*, viii, 490).

After the fall of the Ṣafawids, Kirmāns̲h̲āh was again occupied by the Ottomans in 1136/1723, the deputy-governor Ḥusayn ʿAlī Beg submitting without resistance. By the terms of the peace made by As̲h̲raf with the Ottomans in 1140/1727 Kirmāns̲h̲āh, Hamadān, Sanandad̲j̲, Ardalān and Nihāwand and various other places were allocated in perpetuity to Turkey (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 292). Kirmāns̲h̲āh was retaken by Nādir Ḳulī (later Nādir S̲h̲āh) in 1142/1729-30 (Mīrza Mihdī Astarābādī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i d̲j̲ahāngus̲h̲ā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwarī, Tehran 1962, 119 ff.), and when peace was again made in 1145/1732 Kirmāns̲h̲āh remained with Persia. It was reoccupied by the Ottomans later in the year, but evacuated after a brief siege by Nādir. The Zangana *k̲h̲āns* were still powerful, and in 1156/1743-4 Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān b. Ẓahīr al-Dawla Zangana was appointed *sipahsālār* of Kurdistān and Luristān-i Faylī (*ibid.*, 400). On the death of Nādir in 1160/1747, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī, who had been made governor of Kirmāns̲h̲āh by Nādir, took the part of ʿĀdil S̲h̲āh against his brother Ibrāhīm. The latter, sent an army to Kirmāns̲h̲āh, which plundered the town and took temporary possession of the district (*ibid.*, 429), but when Ibrāhīm defeated and dethroned ʿĀdil S̲h̲āh, Muḥammad Taḳī made himself virtually independent. In 1179/1766 Karīm K̲h̲ān took the town of Kirmāns̲h̲āh after besieging the fortress for two years. The defenders were finally reduced by famine. ʿAlī Murād K̲h̲ān was then made governor of Kirmāns̲h̲āh. (See further Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna, *Mud̲j̲mal al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344.)

In the 19th century the commercial and strategic importance of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh increased. It became the capital of Persian Kurdistān. The latter formed a separate province from Ardalān [*q.v.*]. The capital of Ardalān, which was also known as Kurdistān, was Sinna. Already in 1800, Sir John Malcolm noted the importance of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh as a mart for trade between Turkey and Persia (Melville papers, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 268). Sir John Macdonald Kinneir states that it was a flourishing town in 1801, containing about 12,000 houses (*Geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 132), which would have given a population of some 60,000 persons.

Fatḥ ʿAlī <u>Sh</u>āh appointed his eldest son, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, as governor-general of Kurdistān and Luristān in or about 1806, and it became one of the most thriving provinces of Persia. Muḥammad ʿAlī disposed of a considerable army, mainly cavalry, composed largely of Kurds and trained by French officers, and under his rule Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh formed a bulwark against the advance of the Ottomans. Because of the rivalry which existed between him and his brother ʿAbbās Mīrzā, the *wali ʿahd* and governor-general of Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān, and the likelihood of a struggle between them in the event of Fatḥ ʿAlī <u>Sh</u>āh's death, he felt the need to attach the population to his interests. Ferrier states that he "administered the affairs of his government in a truly paternal manner. His charities enriched the town and the people lived in the enjoyment of plenty" (*Caravan journeys*, 24). Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn also comments on the expansion of the town under Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā's government. He states that the number of its buildings surpassed those of most other towns in Persia (*Bustān al-siyāḥa*, 492). In addition to buildings in the town, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā surrounded the town by walls, flanked with loop-holed towers, and by a moat three miles in circumference.

Prior to the Turco-Persian war of 1821, the southwestern boundary of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh had been some seven miles west of Kirind at Sar-i Mīl. Muḥammad ʿAlī, having embarked on successful operations against the Ottomans, annexed Zuhāb and advanced on Ba<u>gh</u>dād, but was forced to abandon his advance by an outbreak of cholera, to which he himself succumbed. The war continued until 1823. By the terms of the treaty then concluded, the districts acquired by either party during the war were to be respectively surrendered and the frontier line was to be restored to where it had been in Ṣafawid times. Zuhāb, although claimed by the Porte, nevertheless remained part of the province of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh. Having been acquired in war, it became *<u>kh</u>āliṣa* [*q.v.*] and was farmed by the chief of the Gūrān tribe (H. Rawlinson, *March from Zohab to Khuzistan*, in *JRGS* ix (1839), 36).

After the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, the town of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh decayed as a result of the extortion and tyranny of the governors who succeeded him. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, writing about 1832, states that there were then no more than 10,000 houses in Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh (*loc. cit.*), while Ferrier, writing in 1845, states that its splendid bazaars were deserted, nine-tenths of the shops were shut and three-fourths of the population had emigrated, the townspeople to Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān and the nomads to Turkey (*op. cit.*, 25). All sign of Muḥammad ʿAlī's fortifications had disappeared by the 20th century. Cholera, plague and famine added to the misfortunes of the town, notably the plague of 1830, which is said to have reduced the population to 12,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355; cf. also Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, *loc. cit.*); and in 1832 floods washed away about one fifth of the populated area with heavy loss of life (*ibid.*). These disasters, coupled with the rapacity of the governors, reduced the province to a low ebb. Consul Abbott, writing in 1849-50 states that there were some 5,000 inhabited houses (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F. O. 60: 165, *K. Abbott's report on the commerce of South Persia ...*), which would have given a population of about 25,000. Another report written in 1868 estimated the population at 30,000 (*Report on Persia, accounts and papers 1867-68*, 19, quoted by Issawi, 28). By the end of the century there had been some degree of recovery, and in 1914 the population was put at 60,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355). This figure, which was probably a conservative estimate, was the same as that given by Sir J. Macdonald Kinneir rather over a century earlier.

Various Ḳād<u>j</u>ār princes held the government of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh after Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā. The first was his son Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā Ḥi<u>sh</u>mat al-Dawla, who held office for some ten years. Another of his sons, Imām Ḳulī Mīrzā ʿImād al-Dawla, also held the governorship for some twenty-one years under Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh and Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh. In 1842 relations with Turkey again became critical, and a mixed commission was appointed to delimit the frontier, an operation which was not finally completed until 1914 (see further C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 125 ff.). When Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh passed through the province on his way to Karbalāʾ and Na<u>dj</u>af in 1871, a huge petition was presented to him complaining of the oppression of the governor. It was not answered. From 1881 to 1888 the province was included in the immense region coming under Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the governor of Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. When he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān, his nominees in Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh and Kurdistān were dismissed. For some years after that the government of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh was given to the highest bidder, with the result that the people were greatly oppressed.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the volume of trade coming through Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh markedly increased (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343-4). With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of a steamer service on the Tigris, it became the port of entry for all goods entering Persia from Ba<u>gh</u>dād and coming from England and India via the Persian Gulf and the Tigris. By the end of the century the province equalled, if it did not excel, any other province in its general state (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 336-7). Consul Preece wrote in 1899 that "There are but few towns in Persia which show to-day so flourishing a condition, from a trade point of view, as Kermanshah, and this in spite of oppression by the local Governor, and badness and unsafety of the roads radiating from it" (quoted by Rabino, 206). There was a customs post at Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh, which was normally farmed. In 1881 the sum paid was 20,000 *krāns*. For the year ending 20 March 1897 the figure had risen to 480,000 *krāns* and for the year ending 20 March 1899 to 670,000 *krāns*. On 21 March 1899 the customs were taken over by the Belgians (see further *Gazetteer of Persia*, 350 ff.).

Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh also benefited greatly from the pilgrim trade, lying as it did on the direct route from Persia to Na<u>dj</u>af and Karbalāʾ. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries it was estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 pilgrims passed annually through the town. They brought money to exchange or tried to pay their way by selling things, and so gradually

added to the well-being of the town (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 344).

In 1914 there were about 200 merchants in Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh dealing mostly in Manchester goods obtained direct from Manchester or through Ba<u>gh</u>dād, in sugar from Marseilles, and in opium, gums, goatskins, carpets and wool, which they exported to Ba<u>gh</u>dād and England. One of the most prominent of these was Ḥād<u>jd</u>jī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Wakīl al-Dawla, who combined trade with banking and landownership (for the career of his father and the rise of the family to wealth and influence, see Silbermann, 207). There were about twenty Ottoman Jews, who had in their hands the greatest part of the foreign and export trade. Kā<u>sh</u>ī merchants imported from Kāshān tobacco, native silk goods, copper-ware, to a total amount of some 100,000 *tūmāns*, which they covered by exports to Kā<u>sh</u>ān of prints and foreign goods received from Ba<u>gh</u>dād. Yazdī merchants imported henna and Yazdī silk from Yazd to the amount of 20,000 *tūmāns*, and exported an equal amount of foreign goods to Yazd. Iṣfahānī merchants imported native prints and cotton goods, such as *ḳalamkārs*, prints, *laḥāfs*, *ʿabās*, etc., and *gaz* and *gīvas* from Iṣfahān, and exported to Iṣfahān Manchester prints, iron, tea, cowhides, wool and *gilīms*. Their imports came to 100,000 *tūmāns*, but were exceeded by their exports. Hamadān merchants imported naphtha, rice, Russian prints, glassware and hardware (coming from Ra<u>sh</u>t), and exported to Hamadān dates from Mandalī, gall-nuts, grease, ghee, raw hides, tea, spices, iron, lead, Manchester goods and window glass. The exports exceeded the imports. Some Hamadān merchants worked exclusively as commission agents for releasing goods from the customhouse and forwarding them to Hamadān (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355-6). There were also a few Persian Jews, who lived by small trade and hawking, and a very small number of Chaldean Christians, some engaged in trade and some living by the manufacture of *arak*.

Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh played little part in the constitutional revolution, but in 1911 Sālār al-Dawla entered Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh in the name of the ex-shah Muḥammad ʿAlī. In the following year he advanced on Tehran with a force of Kalhurs, San<u>dj</u>ābīs and other Kurdish tribes. He was defeated near Hamadān and government troops retook Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh. Operations continued until the autumn, during which time Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh repeatedly changed hands. In the first world war Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh was one of the centres of the *muhād<u>dj</u>arat* movement. A local committee for national defence was set up (*kumita-yi difāʿ-i millī*) and in December 1915 the central committee, which had retired from Tehran to Ḳumm and Iṣfahān in November of that year, withdrew to Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh. A provisional government had barely been established when the *muhād<u>j</u>irīn* evacuated Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh in March 1916 in the face of a Russian advance. Turkish forces later occupied the town but evacuated it in 1917 (see further Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran n.d., iii, 323 ff., Ḥusayn Samīʿī Adīb al-Salṭana and Amān Allāh Ardalān ʿIzz al-Mamālik, *Awwalīn ḳiyām-i muḳaddas-i millī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1332, 30 ff., 75 ff., P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*³, London 1963, ii, 446 ff.).

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(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KIRMĀSTĪ, chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍaʾ* in Anatolia, 15 miles south-east of Mi<u>kh</u>ali<u>dj</u> (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, lxv [1911], 101) and 40 miles S.W. of Bursa with about 16,900 inhabitants (1960). The town lies on both banks of the Edrenos Čay (Rhyndacus), now called the Mustafa Kemal Paşa Çay. The origin of the name, often wrongly written Kirmāslī, which points to a Greek *Κερμαστὴ or *Κρεμαστὴ, is uncertain, nor is it known what ancient town was here. Perhaps the Kremastis in the Troas (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 743) mentioned in Xenophon, *Hist.* iv, 8, is to be connected with it. In the Byzantine period Aorata is said to have been here, where the troops of Alexius Comnenus under Kamytzes were defeated in 506/1113 by the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs (cf. Anna Comnena, ii, 279 ff.). In any case there is close to Kirmāstī a Byzantine castle in ruins which resembles that 6 miles farther up the Edrenos Čay at Kesterlek and presumably was intended with similar defences at Ulubad (Lopadium) and Bursa to keep back the advance of the Ottomans. In the town, which has 6 mosques, including one large very old one with a *türbe*, and 14 *masd<u>j</u>ids*, there are ancient remains (sarcophagi, inscriptions on the walls, ornaments) which do not seem yet to have been studied. The history of Kirmāstī under the Ottomans is quite obscure, as there are no records. Ewliyā Čelebi (v, 290) and European travellers (cf. W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 77, 80, ii, 93) say practically nothing about it. The Muslim inscriptions have still to be studied and edited. Kirmāstī, which did not suffer from the Greek occupation, was in 1925 renamed Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pa<u>sh</u>a in honour of the Turkish President. Kirmāstī is the birth-place of Seyyid-i Wilāyet (d. 929/1522-3 in Istanbul), son-in-law of the historian ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ıḳ-Pa<u>sh</u>a-zāde (cf. Ta<u>sh</u>köprüzāde-Me<u>dj</u>dī, *<u>Sh</u>aḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniya*, 352, 13), known from the *Menāḳib-i Tā<u>dj</u> al-ʿĀrifīn* (i.e. <u>Sh</u>ey<u>kh</u> Ebū 'l-Wefā); cf. Pertsch, *Lat. Türk. Handschr. Gotha*, 137, No. 166 and Tornberg, *Cat. Uppsal.*, 211, No. cccvii.

Two hours' journey from Kirmāstī are two hot mineral springs, called Dümbüldak and Aḳar<u>dj</u>a.

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(F. BABINGER*)

ĶIRMISIN [see ĶIRMĀNSHĀH]

ĶIRSH [see SIKKA]

ĶIRSHEHIR, modern Turkish Kırşehir (formerly *Ḳîrshehri* "town of the steppes", incidentally also called euphemistically *Gulshehri* "town of the roses"), a town in central Anatolia, *ca.* 490 m. above sea level, situated at 37° 9′ N. lat., and 34° 10′ E. long., on a small river called the Ķîlîč Ozü which flows into the Ķîzîl Irmaķ [*q.v.*], the ancient Halys. The town, with a total population of 14,168 in 1950, lies on the road from Ankara (195 km. distance) to Kayseri (140 km. distance). Another road leads after some 15 km. to the Kesik Köprü, a long bridge over the Ķîzîl Irmaķ of 13 pointed arches, built in 640/1248 by a Saldjūķ vizier called ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad (see Taeschner in *Festschrift Ernst Kühnel. Aus der islamische Kunst*, Berlin 1959, 290-2, and A. Dietrich in *ZDMG*, cx (1961), 310-13). Close to the bridge, on the eastern bank of the river, is a *khān* or caravanserai, erected in 667/1268 by Nūr al-Dīn Djibrāʾīl b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djadja, *amīr* of Ķîrshehir (see K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbuler Forschungen, xxi/1, Berlin 1961, no. 21, 74-7). In the neighbourhood of the town are medicinal springs.

Ķîrshehir is certainly an old settlement, as may be deduced from the *hüyük* (a hill indicating ancient cultivation) in the centre of the town, which, however, has not as yet revealed its secrets. The ancient name of the town is not known; the denominations proposed for antiquity are disputed. So far as is recorded by inscriptions and architectural monuments, its history starts only in the early Turkish (Rūm-Saldjūķid) period. Then and shortly afterwards, from the middle of the 7th/13th until the middle of the 8th/14th centuries, the town must have been an important cultural centre.

After the battle of Malāzgird (1071), the Turks took possession of great parts of Anatolia, and Ķîrshehir became also Turkish, but the control of the city changed more than once: sometimes it fell to an *amīr* of the Danishmandids of north-eastern Anatolia (Sivas and Malatya), sometimes to a sultan of the Anatolian collateral line of the Saldjūķids, the so-called Rūm-Saldjūķids who resided in Ķonya. Under sultan Ķîlîč-Arslan II, the amirate of the Danishmandids was incorporated (*ca.* 1173) in the territory of the Rūm-Saldjūķids, who remained the overlords of the town until the end of their power in 1307. Then governors of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Iran started to rule the whole region, including Ķîrshehir, which served as a place of coinage for them until 728/1328. In his *Nuzhat al-ķulūb* (ed. G. Le Strange, i. Text, London 1915, 99, *ll.* 13 ff., ii. Tr. London 1919, 99, *ll.* 22 ff.), Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī designates Ķîrshehir as "a big town with high sacred constructions (*ʿimārāt*), which enjoys a fine climate; the revenue of its *Dīwān* amounts to 57.000 *dīnārs*".

After the disintegration of the Il-Khānid state, Ķîrshehir again became a controversial issue between independently-behaving governors, like those of the Eretnids [see ERETNA] and other dynasties, until it was taken by the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I. After the latter's defeat near Ankara in 1402, the town was at first added by the conqueror Tīmūr to the territory of the Ķaramānids (Ķonya and Laranda), but afterwards changed masters several times until it became definitely Ottoman when Selīm I incorporated the principal ty of the Dulķadîr, to which Ķîrshehir had belonged ultimately. As capital of a *liwā* (*sandjāķ*), the town was attached to the *eyālet* (*wilāyet*) of Ķaramān.

When the *wilāyet* system was reorganised in the middle of the 19th century, the *sandjaķ* of Ķîrshehir was assigned to the *wilāyet* of Ankara. The town became a *wilāyet* in 1924 when the former *wilāyets* were abolished and the *sandjaķs* raised to *wilāyets*. But in 1954 the *wilāyet* of Ķîrshehir was suppressed; parts of its territory were added to the *wilāyets* of Ankara and Yozgad, but the greater part was assigned to the newly-formed *wilāyet* of Nevşehir.

The heyday of Ķîrshehir was the late-Saldjūķid and Il-Khānid period between *ca.* 1240-1340. The town must then have been really important; there was in any case an active intellectual life of a mystical-religious character, as may be seen from imposing architectural monuments which have survived until today (see Ali Saim Ülgen, *Kırşehir'de Türk eserleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii [Ankara 1942], 253-61, figs. 1-25; Halim Baki Kunter, *Kırşehir kitâbeleri*, in *ibid.*, 432-36, figs. 4-23; W. Ruben, *Kırşehir'in dikkatımızı çeken san'at abideleri. A*, in *Belleten*, xi [Ankara 1947], no. 44, 603-40, pls. CX-XCVI; idem, *B*, in *Belleten*, xii [Ankara 1948], no. 45, 173-93, pls. XXXVII-XLVI; idem, *Eigenartige Denkmäler aus Kırşehir*, in *ibid.*, 194-205; Cevat Hakkı Tarım, *Kirşehir tarihi üzerinde araştırmalar*, Kırşehir 1938; idem, *Tarihte Kırşehri - Gülşehri ve Babailer - Ahiler - Bektaşiler*, Istanbul 1948).

The oldest cultural institution in Ķîrshehir is possibly the *madrasa* of Malik Muẓaffar b. Bahrāmshāh, called Malik Ghāzī, of the Mangūčekdynasty, whom sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayķubād I had invested with Ķîrshehir as compensation for the principality he had taken away from Ghāzī's family. Of the *madrasa* allegedly built in 644/1246, only the relatively simple portal has been preserved. When the ruins of the *madrasa* were carried away, the portal was used in 1312/1893 for the reconstruction of the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mosque on the hillock of the town. The still-standing graceful mausoleum of Malik Muẓaffar, the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, constructed by his consort in the style typical for the high-Saldjūķid period, indicates the original site of the *madrasa*.

For the next period, the *madrasa* of the *amīr* Nūr al-Dīn Djabrāʾīl b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djadja served as a centre of intellectual life. It belonged to an extensive foundation on which a deed of foundation (*waķfiyye*) in Arabic and Mongol, dated 670/1272, provides information (see Ahmed Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Cacaoğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça Mogalça vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1959). Of the constructions belonging to this foundation, only a group of buildings in the centre of the town has survived. It consists of the *madrasa*, built in 671/1272-3 and presently used as the Friday mosque, its minaret and the tomb of the founder. The tomb is included in the north-eastern angle of the *madrasa* and can only be reached from the inside; on the outside, it is only marked by a window in the northern wall, of the same style as the portal of the *madrasa*.

To the north-west of the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, at a distance of *ca.* 200 m. from the Djadja Beg Madrasa, lies the Lâla Cami ("Tulip mosque"). A tale has it that its name is derived from a tulip of particular beauty, which the builders received from a pupil of the Djadja Beg Madrasa; proceeds of its sale then allegedly enabled him to build the Lâla Cami. The building, which lies in ruins and does not bear any inscription so that nothing is known about its construction and original use, apparently was not a mosque at the outset; during the Il-Khānid period it served as the mint, but was used as a mosque later,

probably still in the 14th century, as is shown by its *miḥrāb* built in Saldjūḳid style.

In the north-eastern part of the town, on a hillock in the Imaret ward, lies the tomb of Shaykh Süleymān-i Turkomānī, who is said to have introduced to Ḳirshehir the Mewlewī order, and to have built a Mewlewī khān, nothing of which has survived. The tomb has no inscription and so nothing is known about its construction or about the death of the man who is buried there. A wooden panel on the tomb gives 693/1294 as the year of his death, but this can not be correct since there exists a foundation deed (*waḳfiyye*) of Shaykh Turkomānī, dated Muḥarram 697/October-November 1297 (see C. H. Tarım, *Kırşehir tarihi*, 82-5). The biographical work *Nafaḥāt al-uns* of the Persian poet Djāmī (Turkish tr. Lāmiʿī, Istanbul 1289/1872, 652; M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Türk edebiyyātında ilk mütaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 236, n. 1) mentions 714/1314 as the year of his death; this seems more probable. Until recent times, descendants of Shaykh Süleymān-ī Turkomānī have been known in Ḳirshehir, as may be seen from *inter alia* their tombs, all of which carry Mewlewī characteristics. It seems probable that the dignity of Shaykh of the Mewlevī community in Ḳirshehir was hereditary in their family.

The poet Gülshehri in all probability also originated from Ḳirshehir. He was one of the first to write poetry in Rūm Turkish, and by doing so was largely instrumental in this language's, the later Ottoman-Turkish, finding its place among the literary languages of Islam. Nothing is known about his life, nor is there any trace of his tomb in Ḳirshehir or elsewhere. But on the basis of his pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) Gülshehrī [*q.v.*] there can be no doubt that he originated from Ḳirshehir. Because his *Mantiḳ al-ṭayr* contains many references to the prophet Süleymān (Solomon), it has been supposed that Gülshehrī can be identified with Shaykh Süleymān-ī Turkomānī. The identification, however, is in no way proved and remains controversial.

From an artistic point of view, the most important building in Ḳirshehir is the *türbe* of the poet ʿĀshiḳ Pasha [*q.v.*; see also M. Fuad Köprülü, in *İA*, s.v.], born at Ḳirshehir in 670/1272. His grandfather Bābā Ilyās had been the founder of the Bābāʾī sect, and one of his followers, Bābā Ilyās, had been the leader of the great dervish revolt which had been crushed with great difficulty in 1242 on the Māliyye plain near Ḳirshehir. ʿĀshiḳ Pasha, himself a dervish also, died in the odour of sanctity on 13 Ṣafar 733/3 November 1333; his tomb at Ḳirshehir became a highly-visited place of pilgrimage. The magnificent *türbe*, which guards the mortal remains of the poet, was built after his death and has a style of architecture all of its own. It has nothing in common any more with the Saldjūḳid tombs, generally called *kümbed* ("cupola"), but it departs also from the customary style of the Ottoman *türbes*. A characteristic feature of ʿĀshiḳ Pasha's *türbe* is that before it extends a closed entrance hall which is accessible at the side through a grand portal.

From an historical point of view, the most remarkable monument of Ḳirshehir is perhaps the modest sanctuary of Akhī Ewrān which consists of the saint's *türbe*, a *tekiyye* and a mosque. On the role of this sanctuary in the economic life of Ḳirshehir, see AKHĪ BABA and AKHĪ EWRĀN. When in 1925 the dervish monasteries were closed, the role of the *tekiyye* of Akhī Ewrān came also to an end, and so Ḳirshehir was reduced to the status of a provincial town.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the article): Kātib Čelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *Djihān-nümā*, İstanbul 1145/1732, 620; ʿAlī Djewād, *Djughrāfyā lughāti*, Der-i Seʿādet 1313, 645; Shemseddīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, İstanbul 1314, 3795; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 323 ff.; *EI*¹, *Ḳir-Shehir* (Cl. Huart); *İA Kırşehir* (Besim Darkot); F. Taeschner, *Kırşehir, ein altes Kulturzentrum aus spät- und nachseldschukischer Zeit*, in *Necati Lugal armağanı*, Ankara 1968, 577-92. (F. TAESCHNER)

ḲIRṬĀS stands for 1. papyrus, papyrus roll, 2. parchment, and 3. later also rag paper; from the Arabic texts, it is not always clear which material is meant. The word *ḳirṭās*, *ḳarṭās*, *ḳurṭās*, or *ḳirṭas*, *ḳarṭas*, has been adopted from the Greek word χάρτη through the Aramaic; from the Arabic, it has been adopted by the Spanish as *alcartaz* meaning "bag", and by the Portugese as *cartaz* meaning "paper, permit; placard". In the Ḳurʾān, it is mentioned in the singular, *ḳirṭās* (Sūra VI, 7), and in the plural, *ḳarāṭīs*, meaning "[written] papyri" (Sūra VI, 91). Sometimes a genuine Arabic word is used: *waraḳ al-ḳaṣab*, "reedy sheet", and *waraḳ al-bardī* or *al-abardī*, "sheet made of the papyrus plant" [see ḲAṢAB, PAPYRUS]. The Arabs attribute the invention of the *ḳirṭās*, "papyrus", to the biblical Joseph (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 274, etc.). Nothing is said about its production. Only in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), 21, and in al-Bīrūnī's *India*, 81, completed in 421/1030, are there two statements: that *ḳirṭās* is obtained from the reed of the papyrus (*ḳaṣab al-bardī*), or else from its pulp (*lubb al-bardī*). Only in the 7th/13th century after the termination of the production of papyrus in the 5th/11th century, Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) related in his *Djamiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1291/1874-5, i, 87 from his teacher Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī (d. 637/1239), that the Egyptians, in former times, used to split the stalk of the papyrus in two parts, cut [the pulp obtained thereby] into strips, put them [crosswise, in two layers] on an even pad made of wood, spread size on them which they had obtained from the seeds of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea* Sav.), dry [the strips combined thereby], and beat them carefully with a beetle until they got an even [piece].

Ḳirṭās was not usually sold as pieces, but rather as rolls of pieces stuck together. From these rolls, pieces could be cut, irrespective of the glued joints which were usually not visible. The smallest piece used in trade was a sixth of a roll, which was called a *ṭūmār* (Greek τομάριον) or *ṭūmār ḳirṭās* (Greek τομάριον χάρτου). On the front surface (*recto*), the strips of the papyrus ran horizontally, hence parallel to the writing, while on the reverse-surface (*verso*), the strips ran vertically. In the early ʿAbbāsid period several sheets were, sometimes, bound into a booklet (*kurrāsa*). Because of the high price of the material, it was usual to write on the reverse surfaces as well or to wash the written papyri and write on them again (thus forming an opistograph or palimpsest). The sizes of the sheets were probably generally the same as those of the Ancient World. The usual size was 30-40 cm. high and 20-30 cm. wide, but the width later was increased. The manufactories producing the different kinds of papyrus were run by the government or were under governmental supervision; it seems that this governmental control was certified by an official note on the back side of the first sheet of a roll.

The word *ḳirṭās* did not remain confined to

"papyrus", "roll of papyrus", but was used for "bag" and, in medical science, for "dressing", "a kind of absorbent gauze", and things like that (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *op. cit.*, i, 87, and his sources, sc. Dioscorides, Galen, Ibn Sīnā, etc.), or else was applied to writing paper obtained from other materials, e.g. "parchment" [see DJILD, RAḲḲ] and "rag paper" [see KĀGHAD].

Bibliography: A. Grohmann, *Arabische Papyruskunde* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abt., Ergänzungsband ii, erster Halbband, Leiden-Cologne 1966), 49-118 (with bibliography); idem, *Arabische Paläographie*, i (Österr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Kl., Denkschriften, 94. Bd., 1. Abhdlg., Vienna 1967), 66-93 (with bibliography). (R. SELLHEIM)

AL-KISĀ'Ī, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ḤAMZA B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. BAHMAN B. FAYRŪZ, *mawlā* of the Banū Asad, well-known Arab philologist and Ḳur'ān-reader (*ca.* 119-89/737-805). Descendant of an Iranian family from the Sawād, he was born in Bāhamshā, Dudjayl, north of Baghdād (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 458 s.v.; M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1901, ii, 226) and when still a boy, came to al-Kūfa (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 535). It is related that he had difficulties with the *ʿarabiyya* and therefore sought to attach himself to the grammarian Muʿādh al-Harrā' (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404). Al-Khalīl's [*q.v.*] authority in the field of Arabic philology allegedly caused him afterwards to go to al-Baṣra; at his advice, al-Kisā'ī is said to have stayed for some time among the Bedouins in order to become fully conversant with the secrets of the *ʿarabiyya* by direct association with them. As is shown by the explanations and interpretations of details which are to be found in grammars and lexicographical works of the native philological literature and which are to be traced back to al-Kisā'ī, it is in any case certain that he attributed more importance to linguistic usage then to learned systematisation, as was aspired to by Sībawayh [*q.v.*], another pupil of al-Khalīl, who laid this down in his voluminous *al-Kitāb*. Even if al-Kisā'ī, in his discussions and investigations, made use of the generally accepted method of analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]), he nevertheless, in his learned observations, left, as was fitting, wide space to the anomalous ways of speech as presented especially by colloquial speech or dialect; he took care not to squeeze into a system such anomalies, exceptions and discrepancies from the general rule (against Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 190; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 336). In this way, he and those who followed him in this method preserved for us vestiges of the everyday language, which was not acknowledged by other scholars and therefore concealed and suppressed. Three or four generations later, in connexion with the controversies between al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab [*q.vv.*] in Baghdād, the more independent treatment of the Arabic language by al-Kisā'ī, and not least that of his pupil al-Farrā [*q.v.*], became straightaway the method of the grammatical school of Kūfa; *ex eventu*, he and his teacher al-Ru'āsī [*q.v.*] have entered the history of Arab philology as the real founders of that school. In his introduction to Ibn al-Anbārī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* (Leiden 1913), G. Weil pertinently characterised this method as the "anomalous" one, in opposition to the strictly "analogous" one of the school of Baṣra, which has generally prevailed among the Arab grammarians. Apart from the material preserved in the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* with respect to the school of Kūfa and in particular to al-Kisā'ī's teachings, see also Thaʿlab, *Madjālis Thaʿlab*[2], Cairo 1960, index; al-Zadjdjādjī, *Madjālis al-ʿulamā'*, Kuwait 1962, index; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*[4], Cairo 1958, i-ii, index; idem, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*[2], Ḥaydarābād 1360/1941, iii, 15, 18, 42; al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Kanghrāwī (?) al-Istanbūlī (1278-1349/1861-1931; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, v, 17, 292), *al-Mūfī fi 'l-naḥw al-kūfī*, ed. M. Bahdjat al-Bayṭār, in *MMIA*, xxiv (1949), 417-32, 560-82; xxv (1950), 223-46, 399-414, 511-34; xxvi (1951), 85-100, 199-222, 407-22, 577-89 (cf. too A. al-Ḥimṣī, Ẓāhiriyya, Naḥw, 519: al-Kanghrī).

Al-Kisā'ī's learned studies, more concerned with a description of reality than with scholastic systematisation, apparently sprang from a basic attitude, which must also have enabled him to maintain for many years those manifold good and close relations with the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdād, where he had moved. There the scholar, as original in knowledge as he was in ideas, was all the more welcome as teacher of the princes since he was also able to act as a Ḳur'ān-reader (Azharī, *Tahdhib*, 15). The caliph al-Mahdī had entrusted to him the education of the young al-Rashīd, who in his turn later caused his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn to be taught by al-Kisā'ī (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 186, 194 ff.). Al-Rashīd promoted his teacher al-Kisā'ī among his personal companions and confidants (*al-djulasā' wa 'l-mu'ānisīn*) and requested him to accompany him on the *ḥadjdj* and other journeys (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 183, 186), thus manifesting the intimate relation between pupil and teacher. During one of these journeys, probably the road to Khurāsān in 189/805 (Ṭabarī, iii, 701 ff.), al-Kisā'ī died at the age of seventy (Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 269), probably in Ranbūya in the neighbourhood of Rayy. Fragments of an elegy on him and on the jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] by his antagonistic colleague Yaḥyā al-Yazīdī [*q.v.*] have survived (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 290; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 142; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 413 ff., and ii, 182; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 824 f.; idem, *Udabā'*, v, 183, 199; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 540); for the *laḳab* "Kisā'ī", see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404 f.; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 445; etc.; O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, 1963-4, viii/1, 108.

It is evident that the opinion of al-Kisā'ī's colleagues on a man who seemed to be favoured personally by fate because of his good relations with the court of the caliph, was not always positive (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 74), all the more so because—as indicated above—in controversial questions he preferred to rely on the reality of the spoken language rather than on speculative assertions of the learned (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 180). It was the Bedouins, undisputed authorities on the current language, who assisted him at the famous discussion with Sībawayh on the so-called *al-mas'ala al-zunbūriyya* (Zadjdjādjī, *op. cit.*, 8-10; Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 288; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 358 f., etc.; A. Fischer, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 150-6). He is also reproached with being a pederast and fond of date-wine (*nabīdh*) (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 284, 289; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 185, 194, 198).

Al-Kisā'ī's authority as a Ḳur'ān-reader was generally recognised, both at the court and among the public of Baghdād, al-Raḳḳa and elsewhere (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 403). At first, he represented the reading of his teacher Ḥamza al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*], but in the course of time he developed his own (*Fihrist*, 30). How highly al-Kisā'ī's reading was appreciated is shown by the fact that it became the seventh of the seven canonical readings [see ḲIRĀ'A].

Probably his reading was as little established by its reader, al-Kisā'ī, as were the others by their readers. This was first done by al-Kisā'ī's pupil Abū ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], when he compiled 32 *ḳirā'āt*. As in parallel cases, the *Mufradat al-Kisā'ī*, which exists in Ms. Tehran University 4867,1 (M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh, xiv, 3897), could be a later extract from the *Shāṭibiyya*, the *Taysīr* or a similar work (see R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1976, i, 38 f.).

Of al-Kisā'ī's 14 or 15 works enumerated in the *Fihrist*, 65 ff., 165—for some of them, see Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, 15 ff. and Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 278 (or should we read Sībawayh here instead of al-Kisā'ī?)—nothing apparently has come down to us. According to the titles, they were devoted to questions of grammar, lexicography and the Ḳur'ān, and also of poetry, of which he allegedly did not have much knowledge (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 193; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 457). According to Brockelmann, I, 118, S I, 178, three other treatises which are connected with his name and are lacking in the enumeration of the *Fihrist*, have been preserved: *Risāla fī laḥn al-ʿāmma* (ed. Brockelmann, in *ZA*, xiii (1898), 29-46; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 111-15, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1925, and R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1967, 111 f.); *Kitāb al-Mutashābih fi 'l-Ḳur'ān* (other mss. e.g. in Ẓāhiriyya [ʿIzzet Ḥasan, Ḳur'ān, 391], Chester Beatty [A. J. Arberry, 3165,1] or Baghdād, Awḳāf [ʿA. al-Djubūrī, i, 144, no. 433]; a remark on the *ṭalāḳ* formula in a verse (British Museum [Ch. Rieu, Supplement 1203, 12]), preserved in detail in Zadjdjādjī, *op. cit.*, 338-42 (for similar traditions, see e.g. Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 285, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 406).

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KISĀ' [see LIBĀS].

KISĀ'Ī, MADJD AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN, a Persian poet of the second half of the 4th/10th century. In some later sources his *kunya* is given as Abū Isḥāḳ, but the form given above can be found already in an early source like the *Čahār maḳāla*. The *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* by al-Bākharzī contains a reference to the "solitary ascetic" (*al-mudjtahid al-muḳīm bi-nafsihi*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kisā'ī of Marw who might very well be identical with this poet (cf. A. Ateş, *giriş* to his edition of *Kitāb Tarcumān al-balāġa*, 97 f.). The pen name Kisā'ī would, according to ʿAwfī, refer to the ascetic way of life adopted by the poet, but it can also be explained otherwise, e.g. as a *nisba* derived from the trade of tailoring. From the very beginning the title *al-Ḥakīm* has been attached to his name.

His origin from Marw is confirmed by the early sources. It is also certain that he made at least a part of his career as a poet in that city. In one of his poems, a lament of old age, he has inserted a precise dating of his birth: Čahārshamba, 26 Shawwāl 341 (Wednesday, 16 March 953) as well as the statement that he had reached the age of fifty. From this poem, the conclusion has been drawn that he must have died in or shortly after the year 391/1000-1. The actual date of his death is, however, unknown.

The *dīwān* of Kisā'ī was still extant in the 6th/12th century. After that time, its transmission appears to have been discontinued. Hardly any complete poem has survived. The fragments that have been collected so far from a great variety of sources are generally not longer than a few lines. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the statements concerning the nature of his work that have been made both by ancient and modern writers. It can be regarded as certain, anyhow, that Kisā'ī did enjoy a great reputation as a religious poet during the two centuries following upon his death as well as in his own lifetime. ʿAwfī describes him in the first place as a poet who practised the genres of devotional poetry (*zuhd*) and religious admonition (*waʿẓ*), and quotes a few specimens of his eulogies (*manāḳib*) on the members of the House of the Prophet. The *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, an apology of the Imāmī Shīʿa written about the middle of the 6th/12th century, establishes Kisā'ī with some emphasis as a Shīʿī poet.

The Ismāʿīlī poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw (died *ca.* 465/1072), who cultivated the same genres as Kisā'ī, acknowledged his indebtedness to this predecessor, indirectly, by using a claim to the superiority of his own poems over those by Kisā'ī as a *topos* of the epilogue in a number of *ḳaṣīdas*. As E. G. Browne has pointed out, these instances of poetical *fakhr* need not be taken as evidence of a sectarian controversy between these two poets (as it had been suggested by H. Ethé). The opposite conclusion reached by Saʿīd Nafīsī—namely, that they both belonged to the same branch of the Shīʿa—is equally untenable. The exchange of poems between Kisā'ī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw quoted by Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat from the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* by Taḳī Kāshī, is an anachronistic forgery made up from poems that actually belong to the *dīwān* of the latter only.

The paucity of the primary sources available now does not permit us to estimate how far Kisā'ī specialised in the writing of religious poetry. It is also impossible to define the social groups to which he addressed himself in these poems. It is evident, on

the other hand, that he did not stay aloof entirely from the profane practice of poetry. He was patronised by a minister of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, and in his later days he wrote at least one panegyric ode to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. ʿAwfī praises his descriptions and quotes several specimens which show that Kisāʾī used all the poetical themes current in his age.

Bibliography: The fragments of Kisāʾī's poetry were collected for the first time by Ethé, *Die Lieder des Kisāʾī*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.* (1874), ii, 133-53. This collection, based on manuscripts of a number of *tadhkiras*, is now outdated. More material has come to light from various other sources, such as dictionaries and *madjmūʿa*-manuscripts. New collections have been published, in particular by M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, *Gandj-i bāz-yāfta*, ii, and *Pīshāhangān-i shiʿr-i pārsī*, Tehran 1351/1972; see also *Lughat-nāma*, no. 182 (1351/1972), s.v. *Kisāʾī*. The most important primary sources on his life and work are of Naṣīr al-Dīn, al-Ḳazwīnī al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith-i Urmawī, Tehran 1331/1952, 252, 628; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, printed text 13, 22, 46, 47, 104; Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1336/1957, passim; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Dīwān-i ashʿār*, ed. Naṣrat Allāh Taḳawī, Tehran 1348/1969, passim; Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-6, *matn* 44, *taʿlīḳāt* 89-97; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, ii, 33-9; ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 270-4, *taʿlīḳāt* 660-8; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, ii, 7-9; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 136; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 482-5. See further Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 281 f.; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 160-4; B. Furūzānfar, *Kisāʾī-yi Marwazī*, in *Ārmān*, i (1309/1930) 27-34 (= *Madjmūʿa-yi maḳālāt wa ashʿār*, Tehran 1351/1972, 1-7); idem, *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān*², Tehran 1350/1971, 38-42; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Īrānshahr*, i (1340 A.H.), 337-41; ʿAlī Ḳawīm, *Armaghān*, xxiv (1328/1949) 241-51; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*⁴, i, Tehran 1342/1963, 441-9.

(J. H. Kramers-[J. T. P. de Bruijn])

al-**KISĀʾĪ**, Ṣāḥib Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, unknown author of a famous Arabic work on the lives of the prophets and pious men prior to Muḥammad. Some small passages of this book were first edited in 1898 by I. Eisenberg in his thesis on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī. A complete edition was published in 1922.

In his thesis, Eisenberg tried to prove that the author of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* was the well-known philologist al-Kisāʾī, to whom Hārūn al-Rashīd had entrusted the education of his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. But what renders this identification impossible is that Ibn an-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* does not make any allusion to any book of the philologist, the contents of which could have been the legends of the old prophets; furthermore, the name of al-Kisāʾī the philologist is Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥamza, and not Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, as indicated in the text edited by I. Eisenberg. Thus the identity of the author of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* remains an enigma.

Moreover, recent enquiries into the subject have proved that the legends of the prophets as written down in the numerous manuscripts of al-Kisāʾī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* belong to the popular narrative tradition of mediaeval Islam and can be compared with works such as the romance of ʿAntar, so far as the narrative style is concerned. So it would be of little use to search for an individual author al-Kisāʾī who could have compiled the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* at a certain date; he is as vague a figure as the narrator al-Aṣmaʿī in the romance of ʿAntar. The mediaeval story-tellers (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḳāṣṣ]) apparently held al-Kisāʾī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* in high esteem; but they were not anxious to preserve one standardised text of the legends. It is for this reason that the manuscripts, the oldest of which date from the early 7th/13th century, differ considerably in size, contents, and even arrangement of the stories.

The legends of the pre-Islamic prophets as related in these compilations under al-Kisāʾī's name, or handed down unto us in many other anonymous manuscripts, must be considered as the vivid expression of the religious feeling of the average mediaeval Muslim. It is in this respect that al-Kisāʾī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* are sources of great value for scholars who want to carry out further investigations of the popular religious life of the Islamic world, a task which has been somewhat neglected up till now.

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(T. Nagel)

KISANGANI, the former Stanleyville, is a city now of well over 250,000 inhabitants, the third city in Zaire, and the capital of the province of Upper Zaire, formerly Province Orientale. The most important urban centre in north-eastern Zaire, it is situated on the bend of the river Zaire, formerly called Lualaba (upstream) and Congo (downstream from the city), just where it turns west and a few miles north of the equator.

In 1877, Henry Morton Stanley set up camp here to rest from the exhausting weeks during which he negotiated the seven cataracts still called Stanley Falls. In 1882, Hamed Muhammad al-Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tibb [*q.v.*], founded a town on the northern shore of the island in the Zaire river that was formed by a creek called the Abibu. The new settlers, about 1500 in number and all nominal Muslims, called their town Kisangani, Swahili for "On the sandbank". In 1883, Stanley returned with instructions from King Leopold II to found a government station at the upper end of the navigable part of the Congo river. This became Stanleyville, with its centre on the right bank just north of the original Kisangani. By that time the Muslims (called "Les Arabisés" by the administration) had settled on the left bank, calling their new town Kisingitini, Swahili for "On the threshold". Their language of culture and literature is Swahili; their tribal background is mainly Kusu, Tetela and Genia, the Genia (Wagenia) being the original inhabitants of Wanie Rusari or Wanye Lesali, the island of which Kisangani formed part. Stanleyville became an important trading centre, exporting coffee, cocoa, palm oil, timber and ivory. Modern Kisangani has a university; it was part of the policy of authenticity of President Mobutu to replace the name Stanleyville by Kisangani as the name for the whole city.

The Muslims flourished with the city. More adaptable to urban culture and more conscious of their cultural dignity than the tribal peoples, they were more self-confident in their attitude vis-à-vis the Europeans, since their religion claimed equality with Christianity. The Belgian Congo government tried to restrict the activities of the Muslim missionaries, but could not prevent Islam from spreading to the country districts south of the city. The Muslims called themselves Waungwana "free men", the name by which all the Swahili peoples once called themselves. Their language is called Kiungwana, a dialect of Swahili [*q.v.*]. This Swahili became the lingua franca of the entire country east of the Lomami river.

Always rebellious against the colonial administration, the Muslims were among the first groups to form a nationalist party about the time of independence, sc. the Mouvement National Congolais, from which the late Patrice Lumumba drew an important part of his support (he was a Tetela himself). No longer isolated, the Muslims in Kisangani, although they number only some 10,000, are in contact with, and receive support from, those in Egypt, Arabia and Pakistan. Two neighbouring states, Uganda and the Central African Empire, have been ruled by Islamic governments until 1979.

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ḲIṢĀṢ (a.), synonymous with *ḳawad*, retaliation ("settlement", not "cutting off" or "prosecution"), according to Muslim law is applied in cases of killing, and of wounding which do not prove fatal, called in the former case *ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-nafs* (blood-vengeance) and in the latter *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs*.

1. For *ḳiṣāṣ* among the pagan Arabs see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 186 ff.; Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*; the collection of essays *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvolker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung, gestellt von Th. Mommsen*, Sections v-vii; and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, 284 ff.

2. Muḥammad takes it for granted that the bloodvengeance of Arab paganism—in which in contrast to the unlimited blood feud, definite retaliation, although not always on the person of the doer himself, forms the essential feature of the vengeance (cf. Procksch, *op. cit.*, 6 and n. 5)—is a divine ordinance with the limitation assumed to be obvious, that only the doer himself can be slain: Ḳur'ān XVII, 35; XXV, 68; VI, 152 (cf. ḳatl, i, 1; in these passages only the *jus talionis* can be understood by the right to kill another; already in XVII, 35 the avenger of blood is forbidden to kill any one other than the guilty one); II, 173 ff. (before Ramaḍān of the year 2): "To you who are believers the *ḳiṣāṣ* is prescribed for the slain, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave and the woman for the woman; but if anyone is pardoned anything by his brother, he shall be dealt with equitably ... and pay him compensation as best he can. This is an indulgence and mercy from your Lord. But he who commits a transgression after this shall be severely punished. In *ḳiṣāṣ* you have life, you of understanding ..." (the first verse says that a free man can only be slain for a free man, a slave for a slave and for a woman only a woman [but probably a slave or a woman for a free man, but this is not expressly stated and must be deduced], naturally, of course, only the guilty one, and that in all other cases the payment of compensation (*diya*) takes place. This is an extension of what is presumed in the earlier passages: the treatment of the free man in relation to the slave is a matter of course, according to old Arab views, and that of the woman, which cannot be completely explained from them, represents an independent decision of Muḥammad's based on them (there is quite a different interpretation of the verse in Procksch, *op. cit.*, 75 n. 5). The commentators had difficulty in reconciling the passage with later developments (cf. below, 4). Only one explanation, thrust into the background and later completely abandoned, interprets the verse quite correctly, but makes it abrogated by v. 49 (see below). By "prescribed" is meant not a duty but a rule not to be transgressed; pardon is the abandonment of *ḳiṣāṣ* with a demand for compensation instead; the law is described as an indulgence and mercy and life-giving in contrast to the often unlimited blood-feud of pagan times, because only the guilty one is slain and the life of the innocent thus preserved); v. 49 (after the first encounter with the Medinan Jews, but before the outbreak of open hostilities): "and we have prescribed for them (the Jews) in it (the Torah): a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and *ḳiṣāṣ* for wounds; but if anyone remits it, it is an atonement for him (i.e. for his sins) ..." (this verse of course does not cancel II, 173). In the years 3-5, with IV, 94 ff. there came the distinction between deliberate and accidental killing (cf. ḳatl, i, 1); in this the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* is excluded. In II, 190 (before the campaign of the year 6), *ḳiṣāṣ* is used metaphorically in the sense of retaliation of like with like (in the case of disregard for the holy territory and month by the enemy).

3. The facts gathered from the *Sīra*, the records of the life of Muḥammad, are in agreement with this. In the so-called constitution of the community at Medina, which belongs to the early Medinan period, it is laid down that if any one slays a believer and is convicted (proof of guilt in a trial before the authority —Muḥammad—is therefore required as a condition for the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*), talion takes place even if the avenger of the blood of the slain man declares himself satisfied; all believers must be against the

murderer and must take an active part against him. Here the *ḳiṣāṣ* is brought from the sphere of tribal life into that of the religious-political community (*umma*), which finds an echo in the law, not however to be taken literally, that believers are one another's blood-avengers for their blood spilt for the sake of Allāh; but it is also throughout recognised as a personal vengeance, as is also laid down in the case of the Medina Jews, and no-one is to be prevented from avenging a wound. A limitation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, logical from the standpoint of the *umma*, lies in the fact that the believer is forbidden in the ordinance of the community to kill a Muslim on account of an unbeliever. On two occasions, when Muslims had killed heathens who had however treaties with Muḥammad, he did not allow *ḳiṣāṣ* to be made "because they were heathen" (this does not in any way follow from the ordinance of the community), and even paid the compensation himself; his utterance regarding the possibility of *ḳiṣāṣ* à propos of the second of these cases is, however, illogical. On two occasions, also for political reasons, he obtained the acceptance of compensation when the avenger of blood undoubtedly had the claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but in one case he cursed the murderer—again an illogical attitude. Muḥammad in his turn after the capture of Mecca, in keeping with the regulation of the ordinance of the community, abandoned his claim to compensation for the slaying of a nephew of his, which had taken place during the heathen period. In this connection, he is said to have laid down the principle that any blood-guilt attaching to a Muslim dating from the period of heathendom was to be disregarded (cf. ḲATL, i, 2). But Muḥammad also intensified the operation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, and on two occasions had the murderer executed, when there were aggravating circumstances, without offering the avenger of blood the choice between *ḳiṣāṣ* and compensation; the proscription and execution of murderers who were also *murtadd*s [*q.v.*; cf. ḲATL, ii, 5], is however to be interpreted differently; from everything, it is clear that Muḥammad also supervised the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*.

Taking the evidence of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sira* together, it is evident that Muḥammad did not recognise the blood-feud, but allowed *ḳiṣāṣ* to survive as personal vengeance. Moreover, he subjected its application to certain limitations and endeavoured to free it from tribal customs of pagan times, all important advances by which it was brought nearer in character to a punishment. That Muḥammad at the same time, according to the demands of the individual case, sometimes gave decisions deviating from his own rules, is intelligible.

4. Among the traditions (*ḥadīth*s) is one that must be genuine, according to which Muḥammad had a Jew, who had smashed the head of a Muslim *d̲j̲āriya* (slave girl or young woman) with a stone, killed in the same way, because in this case there was no question of an avenger of blood. At a later period when Ḳur'ān, II, 173 (cf. 2. above) was interpreted in a new way, the attempt was made to see in it evidence that a man might be killed as *ḳiṣāṣ* for a woman, without observing that the tradition referred to an unbeliever while the Ḳur'ān passage was only concerned with Muslims. But this Ḳur'ānic prescription regarding the woman was very early neglected and interpreted differently; it is true that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṭā' and ʿIkrima are quoted as representatives of the Ḳur'ānic view that a man cannot be put to death for a woman (al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī on Ḳur'ān, II, 173) but Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, al-S̲h̲aʿbī, Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī and Ḳatāda had held the opposite view (*ibid.*), and the latter opinion prevails in the law-schools without any opposition (al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī's statements on the point are not quite accurate); at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-schools, the following is important. For the view that *ḳiṣāṣ* could be inflicted on several, on account of one individual, if they had committed the crime jointly, no unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the *ḳiṣāṣ* is to be executed is also disputed; the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muḥammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a man can be put to death on proof by *ḳasāma* (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are quoted for both; the historical truth is perhaps that Muḥammad wished to apply *ḳasāma* in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself; besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed *ḳasāma* as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there was only *ḳiṣāṣ* and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of Ḳur'ān, II, 174) and that Muḥammad granted the blood-avenger's request to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3.—in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally, we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the men most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations mentioned and still to be mentioned, and need not therefore be quoted, especially as the *ḥadīth*s on this subject are collected in Guillaume, *The traditions of Islam*, 107 ff.

Summing up the results of the traditions as the expression of opinion of authoritative circles of Islam in the early period, we must notice in contrast to Muḥammad's period the important change in the treatment of women, which marks an undeniable advance, just as the request for forgiveness is evidence of a loftier point of view.

5. The *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* according to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. In the cases of illegal slaying noted in the article ḲATL, i, 5-7, *ḳiṣāṣ* comes into operation, i.e. the next-of-kin of the slain man, who in this capacity is called *walī 'l-dam* ("avenger of blood") has the right to kill the guilty man under certain conditions. From what has been said above, it is obvious that this punishment still partakes for the most part of the character of personal vengeance; this is also clearly seen in the regulations—disputed in points of detail—prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way mutilates the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up. (Thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot take place, *taʿzīr* intervenes; the competent authority is therefore regarded as the *walī* of one who has no *walī*; therefore anyone who kills a *d̲h̲immī*, *muʿāhad* (an unbeliever connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a *musta'min*

(an unbeliever who enters a Muslim country after being given a safe conduct) must, according to Mālik, be put to death and the *walī* has no right to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*. On the other hand, however, it is laid down that anyone who kills a *waḳf* slave goes scot-free). But that this point of view is found at all is a step forward, for Muḥammad's decisions in this connection (cf. above, 3) were only dictated by the demands of the individual case; in other matters also, in certain points we see a loftier attitude adopted, at least in some of the schools.

For the application of *ḳiṣāṣ*, the fulfillment of the following conditions is necessary: (1) The life of the person slain must be absolutely secured by the *Sharīʿa*; this is the case with a Muslim, *dhimmī* and *muʿāhad*, at least so long as they are in the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*], and *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* [*q.v.*] (in the case of the slaying of a Muslim prisoner in the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [*q.v.*], it is unanimously agreed that there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, and for the slaying of another Muslim there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, according to the Ḥanafī school; there are corresponding regulations for the *dhimmī* and *muʿāhad*) in contrast to the *mustaʾmin*, *murtadd* and *ḥarbī* (but *ḳiṣāṣ* may be inflicted on a *murtadd* if he kills another *murtadd*, and Mālik makes *ḳiṣāṣ* the general rule if anyone kills a *murtadd*, without the authority of the Imām). This point of view is to be distinguished from the conception of the illegality of the slaying (cf. ḲATL, i, 5) although the two ideas have a certain amount in common; the killing of a *mustaʾmin* is illegal, but there is no *ḳiṣāṣ* (apart from the special case just mentioned). (2) The slain man must not be a descendant of the slayer, nor the slave of the slave of one of his descendants, nor must there be a descendant of the slayer among the heirs of the slain man. (3) It is further taken for granted that the man when he committed the deed was of years of discretion and was in full possession of his faculties. (4) The further conditions are disputed (cf. below).

Any alteration in these relations of the doer after the deed makes no difference to the old blood-guilt (it is, however, to be noted that the adoption of Islam by a *ḥarbī* wipes out all previous blood-guilt) with the exception of lunacy (in which case *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be inflicted), nor does, for example, an alteration in the relations of the slain man after the doer has decided on the deed but before it is actually committed (but there are various views on this point). If one of several men who have slain someone jointly cannot be put to death for one or other of these reasons, the others also escape *ḳiṣāṣ*; this is also the case if a further reason for killing leads to the action of the slayer. If the slayer dies before *ḳiṣāṣ* is carried out, all claim by the avenger of blood ceases according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, compensation can still be claimed.

Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal further demand, before *ḳiṣāṣ* can be allowed, in addition to the conditions mentioned, that the slain man is at least the equal of the slayer as regards Islam and liberty, so that they certainly uphold Muḥammad's intentions, while the Ḥanafīs—of course interpreting differently the evidence cited—take no account of this, and therefore occupy an undoubtedly higher position. A particular view of Mālik's has already been mentioned. According to Mālik, the slayer can further be put to death, if he has deliberately slaughtered his descendant, and this view is also admitted in the Shāfiʿī school. Several may be put to death for the killing of one, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, if they have done the deed together, provided the part taken by each was such that if he had acted alone, the result would have been the same (Mālik alone excluded *ḳasāma* (cf. below) on the basis of which, according to him, only a single individual can be put to death). There is unanimity on the point that anyone who has killed several people is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*; on the question whether compensation has also to be paid there are different views.

Ḳiṣāṣ can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. The procedure of proof in a murder trial is essentially the same as in another case; in *Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* there is however also the old Arab institution of the *ḳasāma* (cf. ḲASAM and Goldziher, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, viii, 412 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 187 ff.) which Islam allowed to survive (cf. above); according to Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Shāfiʿī's earlier opinion, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be inflicted on the accused (but according to Mālik on one only) if the *ḳasāma* is performed and the other conditions are fulfilled; according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the later view of al-Shāfiʿī, which became predominant in his school, he has only to pay compensation; among the Shāfiʿīs, with the limitation that he may be put to death if in the course of the trial the accuser swears to his guilt twice with fifty oaths each time. If the person entitled to inflict *ḳiṣāṣ* does so without previous judicial proof he is punished with *taʿzīr*.

The execution of *ḳiṣāṣ* is open to the avenger of blood, and according to Abū Ḥanīfa consists in beheading with the sword or a similar weapon; if the avenger slays in another fashion he is punished with *taʿzīr*, but not imprisoned. According to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, the guilty person, with certain limitations, is killed in the same way as he killed his victim; both views are given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Ḳiṣāṣ takes place—among other conditions—only when the next of kin (*walī*) of the slain man or the owner of the slain man, if he was a slave, demands it. If there are several (equally nearly related) avengers of blood, all must express this desire; if one of them remits *ḳiṣāṣ*, the refusal affects all. Views are divided on the case where the avenger of blood (or one of several) can give no definite expression of opinion. The *walī*, or the wounded man before he dies if the case occurs, is permitted to remit the *ḳiṣāṣ* and he is even urgently recommended to do so, either in return for the payment of compensation or for another equivalent or for nothing. There are many special regulations on detailed points and many differences of opinion between the schools of law.

6. *Ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* according to the *Sharīʿa*. If any one deliberately (with *ʿamd*, opposite of *khaṭaʾ*; cf. ḲATL, i, 5) and illegally (this excludes the wounding of one who tries to murder or injure or rob a fellowman, if it is not possible to repel him otherwise; it is for example permitted to strike someone in the eyes or throw something in the eyes of a man who forces his way into another's house without permission) has inflicted an injury, not fatal, which could be inflicted on the doer's person in an exactly similar way (what is meant by this is very fully discussed in the *Fiḳh* books), he is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* on the part of the wounded man, (except that Mālik makes it be inflicted by an expert), if the conditions necessary for carrying out the *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* are present with the following modifications: according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* is not carried out between man and woman or slaves among themselves, but it is accord-

ing to Mālik, al-S͟hāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik further allow no *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* between free men and slaves. According to Mālik, al-S͟hāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, this *ḳiṣāṣ* is inflicted for one on several, but not according to Abū Ḥanīfa. A sound limb may not be amputated for an unsound one; if the guilty person has lost the limb, there can of course be no *ḳiṣāṣ*. In the case where he loses it after committing the deed, there is a corresponding difference of opinion, as in the case of his death before the execution of *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs*.

The further regulations correspond to those quoted in section 5.

7. If retribution is not permitted or if the person entitled to *ḳiṣāṣ* voluntarily remits his claim, compensation may nevertheless be demanded; for an unlawful slaying, the blood money (*diya* [*q.v.*]) is to be paid to the avenger(s) of blood, in an unlawful but not mortal wounding, according to the particular case either the full *diya* or a definite part of it or a contribution defined by the law (*arsh*) or a percentage of the *diya* laid down by the judge (the so-called *ḥukūma*) to the injured person; all this, of course, on the supposition that the slain or wounded man was a free man. If he is a slave, his value must be made good. If the culprit is a slave, his owner has to pay these contributions for him; he can however escape by handling over the slave (parallel in the Romano-Celtic institution of *in noxam dedere*; cf. e.g. Girard, *Nouvelle Revue Historique* (1887), 440 ff.).

8. Of the regulations of the S͟hīʿa *fiḳh* books, which need not be gone into fully here as they are essentially the same as the Sunnī, we need only mention that among the Twelver Imāmīs, for example, it is taught that if a man has killed a woman, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be carried out if the *walī* of the woman pays the relatives of the man the difference between the bloodmoney on each side; an isolated interpretation explains Ḳurʾān, II, 173, in this way. Here we can scarcely have a late effect of the Ḳurʾānic rule regarding woman, as similar calculations are also made in other cases.

9. On the practical carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*, cf. ḲATL, ii, 10, in which we may note that breaches of his regulations are recorded of even the Prophet's companions.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, s.v. "Qiṣāṣ"; Schacht, in *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, index s.v. *qiṣāṣ*; idem, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 205-8 and index s.v. "Penal law"; J. N. D. Anderson, *Homicide in Islamic law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 811-28; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 181-7; Aḥmad Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-s͟harīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1944; Aḥmad Fatḥī al-Bahnasī, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1964; Aḥmad Muʿāfī, *Bayn al-d͟jarāʾim wa 'l-ḥudūd fi 'l-s͟harīʿa al-islāmiyya wa 'l-ḳānūn*. i. *al-Ḳatl s͟hibh al-ʿamd, al-d͟jarḥ wa 'l-ḍarb, al-sariḳa*, Cairo 1966; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-D͟jarīma wa 'l-ʿuḳūba fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, i. *al-ʿUḳūba*, Cairo 1966; al-Bahnasī, *al-D͟jarāʾim fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī, dirāsa fiḳhiyya muḳārina*², Cairo 1968. (J. SCHACHT)

ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀʾ, the "legends of the pre-Islamic prophets", is the title of several works relating the lives of the prophets of the Old Testament, the story of Jesus, and some other events into which pious heroes or enemies of God are involved (on the etymology of *ḳiṣṣa* = "story", see ḲIṢṢA). Very famous and widely-spread books on this subject were the *ʿArāʾis al-mad͟jālis* by Abū Isḥāḳ Aḥmad al-T͟haʿlabī (d. 427/1036) and the different versions of the *Ḳiṣaṣ* written down in the name of a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī [see AL-KISĀʾĪ].

The origins of this type of literature must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia. Knowledge of the tales of the Old and New Testaments and the apocrypha must have been transmitted to the Arabs through the Jewish influence in Yat͟hrib and through Christian missionary work, the effect of which can be ascertained not only in the regions close to the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires, but also on the shores of the Red Sea and in South Arabia (see Baumstark, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 562 ff.; Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, iv, 306 ff.; v/1, 316 ff.). Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*], a poet of al-Ṭāʾif and contemporary of Muḥammad, seems to have made use of some of these oral traditions; there are pieces of poetry ascribed to him dealing with Abraham, Isaac, the Deluge, etc., though their authenticity remains doubtful.

It was the Prophet of Islam who gave to these legends an entirely new meaning, finding the events of his own life reflected in them; his vocation for prophecy, his being rejected by his own people, the impending punishment, which might have meant the destruction of his own people. All these psychological implications of the Ḳurʾānic legends, and their didactic aspects, were studied at length by K͟halafallāh in his book on the Ḳurʾānic art of story-telling. From the Muslim point of view, the lives of the pre-Islamic prophets are awful examples (*ʿibar*) warning against the evil fate of those who are disobedient to God and His messengers. Thus the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* became part of universal history, as history in general was often considered as a series of *ʿibar* (cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, preface and pre-Islamic period).

The edifying character of the legends became even more stressed when they were separated from historiography; this was, so far as we know, first done by T͟haʿlabī. Moreover, T͟haʿlabī's narrative is mainly based on the *tafsīr*-literature. It must be mentioned that even in modern times the legends retained their importance for edifying sermons, as is proved by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb an-Nad͟jd͟jār's compilation, which was published in Egypt in the thirties of this century. The wide-spread and various versions of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* which were written down in the name of al-Kisāʾī show another form of this type of literature; they are the result of the imaginative art of story-telling cultivated by the popular narrators (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]), and they are an abundant source for the study of the religious feeling and thinking of the average mediaeval Muslim.

The historical sources allude to the activities of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* since the first Islamic century, but the oldest manuscripts of the popular legends date from the 7th/13th century. In certain circumstances, the activities of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the legends of the prophets could acquire a political significance; thus the story about Moses and Pharaoh was used in the anti-Umayyad propaganda, and the early S͟hīʿīs held that the history of the Muslim community was similar to that of the Israelites during Moses' lifetime, the S͟hīʿīs being the equivalents of those few who did not apostatise from the true faith when Moses was up on Mount Sinai.

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KISH, KISHSH, the later SHAHR-I SABZ, a town of mediaeval Transoxania, now in the Uzbekistan SSR and known simply as Shahr, but in early times in the region of Soghdia (Ar. Ṣughd [*q.v.*]). It lay on the upper reaches of the landlocked Khashka Daryā in an area where several streams came down from the Sayām and Buttamān Mountains to the east, forming a highly fertile valley, intersected with irrigation canals. The town lay on the Samarḳand-Tirmidh high road, two days' journey from Samarḳand; after passing through Kish, this road continued for four more days' journey to the famous Iron Gate, the Bozgala defile [see DAR-I ĀHANĪN] which guarded the approaches to the Oxus. Further down the Khashka Daryā lay Nakhshab or Nasaf or Ḳarshi [see ḲARSHI], a town with which the fortunes of Kish were often linked.

Kish was clearly an important town in pre-Islamic Soghdia, and had its own prince. According to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 299, tr. Wiet, 122, at the time of the Arab conquests in the early 2nd/8th century, Kish was the chief town of Soghdia and was accordingly, by the common process of applying the name of a district to its main urban centre, actually known as Ṣughd also. It appears in several Chinese sources, e.g. in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang as Kie-siang-na; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 82, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 55, 303-4, giving various Chinese renderings of the town's name.

When the Western Turks were defeated in Central Asia by the Chinese invasion of 645-8, the Chinese forces are said to have penetrated as far as Kish and the Iron Gate, after which the whole of Transoxania was nominally annexed to the empire and placed under the viceroyalty of Fīrūz, son of the last Sāsānid Yazdigird III. The raid across the Oxus of the Arab general Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān in 56/676, when according to Ṭabarī, ii, 179, the Arabs defeated the Soghdians and captured their city, may well have reached to Kish rather than to Samarḳand (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 19-20, 22). When Qutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] became governor of the East, al-Ḥadjdjādj ordered him to "crush Kish, destroy Nasaf and drive back [the local Soghdian ruler] Wardān" (Ṭabarī, ii, 1199). But he was unable in 88/707 to make headway against the Soghdian defending forces and had to fall back on Marw. It was not until 91/710 that he returned to subdue a revolt by the local ruler of Shūmān in upper Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*], and then marched through the Iron Gate and reduced Kish and Nasaf. The Arabs seem thereafter to have held on to Kish during the period of the Turkish revanche in Central Asia, but the town did rebel in 133/750-1, at the time of the final appearance of a Turkish army west of the Altai, in the expectation of Chinese aid. However, Abū Muslim's general Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm killed the local prince or Ikhshīd (*al-Ikhrid* in the text of Ṭabarī, iii, 79-80) of Kish at Kandak just north of the Iron Gate, looted his treasures (which included many luxury goods from China) and appointed his brother Ṭārān in his place (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 196; Gibb, *op. cit.*, 38, 96).

Two or three decades later, in the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), the Kish district figured prominently in the anti-Muslim religious movement of Hāshim b. Ḥakīm, known as al-Muḳannaʿ, "the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān". The revolt began in the Sayām Mountains just to the east of Kish, and it was in the Kish and Nasaf district that al-Muḳannaʿ drew strong support. Narshakhī states that the first village to join the rebel leader was Sūbakh in the Kish district (cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. Margoliouth, f. 316b) under a local leader ʿUmar Sūbakhī, who killed the Arab *amīr* there. Kish welcomed al-Muḳannaʿ and supplied him with much wealth, and it was in a nearby fortress that al-Muḳannaʿ finally shut himself up against the Arab general Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Djurashī, dying there in 163/779-80. Even two centuries later, the common people of the Kish and Nasaf districts were still accounted Mubayyiḍa "wearers of white" and awaiters of the messianic return of al-Muḳannaʿ (Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran *ca.* 1939, 77-89, tr. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge Mass. 1954, 65-75; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 304, tr. 131-2; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199-200; E. G. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, i, 318-23; Gh.-H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 163-86).

The geographers of the later 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries give good descriptions of Kish. The town, whose buildings were of clay and wood, had the typically eastern Islamic tripartite division of a citadel (*ḳuhandiz*), an inner city (*madīna dākhila*), in which lay the prison and Friday mosque; and an outer city or suburb (*rabaḍ*) called al-Muṣallā, where was situated the *Dār al-Imāra* or government headquarters. In Ibn Ḥawḳal's time (mid-4th/10th century) the citadel and inner city were both ruinous. The *madīna* had four gates, and the *rabaḍ* two. The whole administrative region or *ʿamal* of Kish contained 16 rural districts or *rustāḳ*s, stretching up river to the mountains. It was watered by two constituent streams of the Khashka Daryā, sc. the River of the Fullers or the Butchers (Ḳaṣṣārīn or Ḳaṣṣābīn; on this ambiguity, present in both the Arabic and the Persian sources, see *Turkestan*, 134, n. 2) and the Asrūdh, and was highly productive, its early fruits and vegetables being exported to Khurāsān. Also stemming from the region were manna; therapeutic substances found in the mountains; red salt (the red rock-salt of the Oxus lands was known since the time of Pliny, see Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 76-7); and mules and other livestock. Muḳaddasī nevertheless comments on the unhealthiness of the place, a judgement endorsed by later travellers. The salaries (*ʿishrīniyya*) of the *Ṣāḥib-Barīd*, the Ḳāḍī and other officials of the Sāmānid administration there amounted to 300 *dirhams* each per annum. The ruinous state of the inner parts of the town show that under the Sāmānids, Kish had declined in status and given place to Bukhārā and Samarḳand, so that only the *rabaḍ* was occupied and a new town was being built on to it (see IṢṬAKHRĪ, 324; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 470, tr. ii, 452-3; Muḳaddasī, 282; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 113, § 25.15; *Turkestan*,

134-6; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 469-70).

In the period of the Ḳarak̲h̲ānids and Sald̲j̲ūḳs, little specific is heard about Kis̲h̲, which seems to have continued its decline into secondary status. In spring 1222 the Taoist holy man and traveller Č'ang-č'un passed through what he calls Kie-shi on his way from Samarḳand to Čingiz K̲h̲ān's encampment south of the Oxus; and in autumn 1255 Hülegü met Arg̲h̲un, governor of K̲h̲urāsān, and certain Persian magnates, and spent a pleasant month at Kis̲h̲ (D̲j̲uwaynī-Boyle, ii, 521; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 115, 147; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 452, 483).

Kis̲h̲ revived, however, under the Čag̲h̲atayids and Tīmūrids, and Tīmūr himself was born in the Kis̲h̲ district in 736/1336 (according to Ibn ʿArabs̲h̲āh, at a village called K̲h̲od̲j̲a-Ilg̲h̲ān). Since the mid-7th/13th century, the region had apparently been occupied by the Barlās tribe of subsequently Turkicised Mongols, from whom Tīmūr sprang and from whom he derived much support in his struggles to achieve power in Transoxania (cf. Barthold, *Ulugh Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 14-16). He seized control of Kis̲h̲ from the chief Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Barlās in 761/1360, and used it and the Barlās tribesmen for further expansion. Tīmūr's fondness for the Kis̲h̲ district perhaps depended less on a sentimental feeling for his birthplace than on his need to draw on the support of the Barlās there; after Tīmūr's death, these were a numerous element in Ulug̲h̲ Beg's army during his campaign into Mog̲h̲olistān of 824/1425. In 781/1380 Tīmūr made Kis̲h̲ his summer residence and the second capital of his empire after Samarḳand. He rebuilt the town, constructing a *madrasa* and a mausoleum for his dead first-born son D̲j̲ahāngīr, and above all, a splendid white-walled palace, the Aḳ Sarāy. This new importance of Kis̲h̲ doubtless accounts for the detailed description of K'o-shi in the Chinese Ming annals, which expatiate on its fine palaces and mosques; and the Spanish traveller Clavijo, who passed through Kis̲h̲ in 1404, mentions the still-unfinished mosque of Tīmūr there (S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, i, 4, ii, 18, 28; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 273-4; *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 83-4).

It is in the post-Mongol period that the old name Kis̲h̲ was gradually supplanted by that of S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz "the green city". The 8th/14th century was the transition period; the Čag̲h̲atayid usurper Būyān Ḳulī K̲h̲ān struck *dīnār*s at S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz in 752/1351, whereas other coins of his have Kis̲h̲ as the mint named on them. But the old name still persisted in literary usage for some time, since Bābur uses Kis̲h̲ as the primary name for the town (*Bābur-nāma*, *loc. cit.* and *passim*). The new name must derive from the greenness of the whole oasis, as Yazdī states, and was applied by the local people to the whole area, as well as to the town; local legend also gives other, fanciful explanations for the name. The identification of the recent S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz with the older Kis̲h̲ seems fairly conclusive.

In the time of the florescence of the Özbeg K̲h̲āns, the towns of S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz and Kitāb just to its north were often semi-independent under a *beg* of their own. It was therefore the constant ambition of the K̲h̲āns of Buk̲h̲ārā in the 18th and 19th centuries to bring S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz under their own control, although the desert to the west and the mountains to the north acted as effective barriers against attacks from the directions of Buk̲h̲ārā and Samarḳand respectively. In the 19th century, the Mangit K̲h̲āns Ḥaydar Tūra, his son Naṣr Allāh and the latter's son Muẓaffar al-Dīn all repeatedly tried to reduce S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz, and in 1856 temporarily captured it. It only lost its virtual independence in 1870, when the Imperial Russian General Abramov was sent by Kaufmann against it. He besieged S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz, and captured it after fierce resistance. The Beg fled to K̲h̲oḳand, and the Russians handed over S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz to the K̲h̲ān of Buk̲h̲ārā. See E. Schuyler, *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 243 ff., ii, 62-76 (who estimated the population of S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz at approximately 20,000 and that of Kitāb at 15,000), and F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 214-15, 219-20, 256.

In the 20th century, Imperial Russian and then Soviet scholars have shown considerable interest in the place and its antiquities, and a full-scale archaeological and architectural survey was commissioned in 1942; special attention has been directed to the imposing ruins of Tīmūr's Aḳ Sarāy, to a mosque built by Ulug̲h̲ Beg and to the two buildings known as the Dār al-Siyāda and the Dār al-Tilāwa. For a detailed account of these and the other surviving monuments, see M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugačenkova, *S̲h̲ak̲h̲ri Syabz pri Timure i Ulug Beke*, in *Trudī Sredneaziatskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, xlix (Tashkent 1953), 17-96, Eng. tr. J. R. Rogers, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xvi (1978), xvii (1980), and also *BSE*[2], xlvii, 557-8.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲĪS̲H̲LAḲ (T., < *ḳīs̲h̲* "winter"), winter quarters, originally applied to the winter quarters, often in warmer, low-lying areas, of pastoral nomads in Inner Asia, and thence to those in regions like Persia and Anatolia into which Türkmens and others from Central Asia infiltrated, bringing with them their nomadic ways of life; Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 464-5, defines *ḳīs̲h̲laḳ* as *al-mus̲h̲attā*. Its antonym is *yaylaḳ* "summer quarters" (< *yay* "spring", later "summer"), denoting the upland pastures favoured by nomads for fattening their herds after the harsh steppe or plateau winters (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 837-8; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 670, 672-3, 980-1).

The basic terms *ḳīs̲h̲* and *ḳīs̲h̲la-* "to spend the winter" are ancient Turkish ones, appearing in the Ork̲h̲on inscriptions. In the Čag̲h̲atay Turkish of Central Asia, the sense of *ḳīs̲h̲laḳ* evolved from that of "the K̲h̲ān's residence, winter quarters of the tribe" into the additional one of "village". Within the Iranian world, the word spread into such tongues as Kurdish, Pas̲h̲to and the Pamirs languages; through Ottoman Turkish, it spread into Balkan languages, but here with the derived Ottoman sense of "barracks" and the form *ḳīs̲h̲la* (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische. iii. Türkische Elemente im Neupersische*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 479-81, No. 1496). This meaning has in fact passed into the Arabic colloquials of Syria and Egypt, as has also that of "hospital, infirmary", so that in Egyptian Arabic we have both *ḳus̲h̲lāḳ* "barracks" and *ḳas̲h̲la* "hospital" (S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, 488, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 351).

In Arabic, we find such terms for "winter and summer quarters" as *mas̲h̲tā* and *maṣīf*, e.g. in the 4th/10th century geographers (the original sense of

the name for the Umayyad palace in Jordan, Mshatta [*q.v.*], is presumably that of "winter residence", *mus͟hattā*).

In Persian, approximate synonyms to *ḳis͟hlaḳ* and *yaylaḳ* are *sardsīr* (lit. "cold region") and *garmsīr* ("hot region"). But as well as denoting the seasonal pasture grounds of nomads, these Persian words were early used as geographical terms to denote, on the one hand, cooler, temperate highland regions, and on the other hand, hot, desert-type or sub-tropical lowland climates. Already by the time of the classical Arabic geographers, these topographical terms had been borrowed into Arabic, e.g. by Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī. Thus the geographers use *garmsīr* or its arabised form *d̲j̲arm*, pl. *d̲j̲urūm*, for the hot, coastal region of the Persian Gulf shores and the regions bordering on the great central desert, and *sardsīr*, arabised form *ṣard*, pls. *ṣurūd* and *maṣārid*, for the mountainous Zagros hinterland of Fārs and Kirmān (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 249). This distinction is carried further into the realm of their characteristic products, called by e.g. Muḳaddasī *al-as͟hyāʾ al-mutaḍāḍḍa* "products of the two opposing regions" (cf. A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm ... traduction partielle*, Damascus 1963, Glossary 390, 404-5), and of local populations (cf. the D̲j̲urūmiyya, inhabitants of the part of Kirmān bordering on the Straits of Hormuz, attacked by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's forces in 360/970, Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 299, 359, tr. v, 321, 392).

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ḲIS͟HM (D̲j̲azīra-yi Ḳis͟hm, or in Arabic, D̲j̲azīra al-Ṭawīla, "the long island") is the largest island in the Persian Gulf. It lies off the southern (Lāristān) coast of Persia between Linga and Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], and is separated from the mainland by Clarence Strait, the width of which varies from three to twelve miles. The island measures nearly 70 miles in length, from north-east to south-west, and an average of seven miles in breadth (20 miles at its widest point). Its general formation is that of an eroded, sloping plateau, inclining northwards from a sharp, rocky scarp onthe seaward side. The highest point, almost in the centre of the island, is 1,300 feet.

Ḳis͟hm now is virtually a desert, though it once produced grain, vines, fruit and vegetables in quantity. Salt is still mined from the great salt caverns, and there are workable deposits of sulphur and ferrous oxide, along with some naphtha springs on the south coast, near Salāk͟h. The population, some few thousand souls, mostly Arab and Sunnī, lives by fishing, limited cultivation and salt-mining. Ḳis͟hm town, at the north-eastern tip, is the only populated centre of any size.

The fleet of Alexander the Great, under the command of Nearchus, anchored at Ḳis͟hm on its voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates in 326 B.C. The sporadic references to Ḳis͟hm that appear in the next dozen centuries or so tell us nothing of its history. By the middle ages it was a dependency of the kingdom of Hurmuz [*q.v.*], and it remained so until Hurmuz fell to Portuguese in 921/1515. When the Portuguese were driven from Hurmuz by S͟hāh ʿAbbās I, with the assistance of ships of the English East India Company, in 1031/1622, Ḳis͟hm was incorporated in the Ṣafawid empire. It was occupied in *ca.* 1132/1719-20 by Masḳaṭ Arabs who were in turn expelled by Nādir S͟hāh in 1150/1737-8. Sometime after his death in 1160/1747, Ḳis͟hm fell under the control of the Banī Maʿīn (or Muʿayn) Arabs, who held it, along with Bandar ʿAbbās, in farm from Karīm K͟hān Zand (regn. 1163-93/1750-79). They retained possession of the island, despite attempts by the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] of Raʾs al-K͟hayma and Linga to dislodge them, until 1208/1793-4 when Ḳis͟hm, together with Bandar ʿAbbās and Hurmuz, was conquered by the Āl Bū Saʿīd ruler of Masḳaṭ, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad. He was afterwards confirmed in possession of Bandar ʿAbbās by a *firmān* from the Ḳād̲j̲ār court, granting him the lease of the town and its dependencies in return for an annual rental.

In 1219/1804-5 the Masḳaṭ garrison was evicted from Ḳis͟hm by the Banī Maʿīn and the Ḳawāsim in combination. Subsequently, the Banī Maʿīn joined the Ḳawāsim in piratical attacks upon British-Indian shipping, and in reprisal their stronghold at Lāft, on the northern coast of Ḳis͟hm, was attacked and destroyed in S͟hawwāl 1224/November 1809 by the British expeditionary force sent from India to subdue Raʾs al-K͟hayma and the other Ḳasīmī ports. After the reduction of Lāft, Ḳis͟hm island was returned to the authority of the ruler of Masḳaṭ, now Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1221-73/1806-56).

Ten years later, after the second expedition to the Pirate Coast, a British military detachment was stationed on Ḳis͟hm, from S͟hawwāl 1235/July 1820 to Rabīʿ II 1238/January 1823, to keep watch on the Ḳawāsim. The Persian government objected to its presence on the grounds that Ḳis͟hm was Persian territory. Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, however, maintained that his father, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad, had acquired title to Ḳis͟hm by right of conquest, and that the island had passed to him in full sovereignty. It was not listed among the dependencies of Bandar ʿAbbās in the original *firmān* granting the lease of the town to Masḳaṭ; nor was it mentioned in any of the annual receipts for the rental of Bandar ʿAbbās. When the British detachment was withdrawn from Ḳis͟hm—because of the island's unhealthiness and the danger of the detachment's becoming involved in military operations on the Arabian mainland—the sovereignty issue was left unresolved. In Rabīʿ II 1239/December 1823 a stores depot for the Gulf squadron of the Bombay Marine was established at Basīdū, at the western end of Ḳis͟hm, without protest from the Persian government.

The Masḳaṭ lease of Bandar ʿAbbās and its dependencies was renewed in S͟haʿbān 1272/April 1856, shortly before Saʿīd b. Sulṭān's death. Ḳis͟hm and Hurmuz were declared to be Persian islands, and were classed as "dependencies" of Bandar ʿAbbās. The lease, which was restricted to Saʿīd and his sons, was terminated in 1283/1866-7 after Saʿīd's successor, T͟huwaynī b. Saʿīd, had been murdered by his son, Sālim. A new lease of eight years' duration was awarded to Sālim in D̲j̲umādā I, 1285/August 1868, only to be rescinded two months later when Sālim was overthrown. Despite attempts by Turkī b. Saʿīd after his accession in 1288/1871-2 to renew the lease, it was never granted again.

The British stores and coaling depot at Basīdū fell into gradual disuse, and it was finally abandoned in Muḥarram 1354/April 1935 to humour the wishes of Riḍā S͟hāh.

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neighbourhood, in *Trans. Bombay Geogr. S.*, xvii (1864); G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 410-13, 423, 521; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, ii, 1548-58; Sir A. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, Oxford 1928, 41, 104, 125-6, 144-6, 164, 173, 188, 201-5; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 71-2, 141, 168-91, 532-3, 676; *Persian Gulf pilot*, London, successive editions.

(J. B. Kelly)

ḲISHN, a small town on the south coast of Arabia, some 40 miles west of Raʾs Fartak. Formerly it was the mainland capital of the Mahrī sultanate of Ḳishn and Suḳūtra (Socotra), which up to 1387/1967-8 formed part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. After that date it was designated the sixth governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The inhabitants of Ḳishn live mainly by fishing, pastoralism and trading, the principal exports being frankincense, dried fish and salt. The ruling family, now dispossessed, was the Bin ʿAfrār clan of the Mahra. The reigning sultan, from the senior branch of the family, traditionally resided on Suḳūtra, while the head of the cadet branch acted as his deputy at Ḳishn.

Ḳishn was several times raided by the Portuguese during their operations off the Ḥaḍramī and Mahrī coasts between *ca.* 929/1522-3 and *ca.* 956/1550-1. The period of Portuguese activity coincided with a successful war of conquest by the Kathīrī sultans of Shiḥr against the Mahra, which culminated in the capture of Ḳishn in 952/1545-6. The Bin ʿAfrār appealed for help to the Portuguese, who responded by expelling the Kathīr from Ḳishn, reputedly in Safar 955/April 1548.

A revival of Ottoman interest in South Arabia after 1287/1870-1 led the British authorities in Aden to secure an undertaking from the sultan of Suḳūtra and Ḳishn in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1292/January 1876 not to alienate Suḳūtra or its island dependencies to any foreign power. A treaty of protection followed in Radjab 1303/April 1886, which was extended in Shaʿbān 1305/May 1888 to include Ḳishn and the mainland dependencies. The treaties lapsed when British rule over Aden colony and protectorates ended in 1387/1967-8.

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ḲISMA (A.), Ḳismet (T.), a term used for "fate, destiny". In Arabic, *ḳisma* means literally "sharing out, distribution, allotment", and one of its usages is as the arithmetical term for "division of a number". It later came to mean "portion, lot", and was then particularised to denote "the portion of fate, good or bad, specifically allotted to and destined for each man". It is in this final sense, and especially via Turkish, that *ḳismet* has become familiar in the West as a term for the fatalism popularly attributed to the oriental (the first attestation in English being, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, in 1849; see also K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen ... Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, 95, No. 1187).

As noted by H. Ringgren, the noun *ḳisma* does not occur in the Ḳurʾān in this sense (*Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1955, 106), but only in its basic sense of "division, apportionment" (IV, 9/8; LIII, 22; LIV, 28). In a verse like XVII, 14/13, the word *ṭāʾir*, originally "bird of ill omen", seems to convey the idea of a man's personal destiny as decreed by God (elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān, this word means rather "evil augury"), cf. Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 87-9; and T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 218, 436-8, 518). Concerning the more usual terms of early Islamic theology and philosophy for "determinism, predestination", see ḳaḍāʾ and al-ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-ḳadar; however, it should be noted that *ḳisma* makes an appearance in Arabic poetry of the 1st century A.H. (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Djamīl) in the sense of "the share of human life allotted to a man by God" (Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 151, 156).

By Ottoman Turkish times, *ḳismet* was less a theological and philosophical term than one denoting a general attitude of fatalism, the resigned acceptance of the blows and buffetings of destiny (the same concept being often expressed in Persian and Turkish poetry by words like *falak*, *gardūn* and *čarkh* in reference to the blind, irrational influences of the heavenly bodies of mankind). The climate of popular belief in fate and chance is well seen in many stories of the *Thousand and one nights* [see alf layla wa-layla] and in much of the Perso-Turkish moralistic literature; thus these attitudes loom large in the stories in chs. v and vi of Saʿdī's *Bustān*, on *riḍā* "acceptance" and *ḳināʿat* "contentment" respectively.

Also in Ottoman usage, *ḳismet* was a technical term of the *ḳassāmlıḳ*, the official department of state responsible for the division of estates between the various heirs, the military branch of this being the *ḳismet-i ʿaskeriyye maḥkamesi*. For this service, a fee called the *resm-i ḳismet* was exacted; for further details see ḳassām.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): Sāmī Bey Frasheri, *Ḳāmūs-i türkī*, s.v.; *ERE*, vi, 794-6 art. "Fate (Muslim)" and viii, 738-9 art. "Kismet" (both by Carra de Vaux); E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, Tübingen 1924 s.v. (C. E. Bosworth)

KISRĀ, Arabic form of the Persian name Khusraw, derived from Syriac *Kesrō* or *Kōrsrō* by the 6th century A.D. The consonant and vowel changes occurred because ܟ was used for both *k* and *kh* in Syriac, and used here for the Persian *kh*, became *k* in Arabic. The first *u* became *i* by vowel dissimilation in Syriac, and the final vowel became an *alif maḳṣūra* by approximation to the *fiʿlā* form. Arabic lexicographers said there was no Arabic word ending in *wāw* with *ḍamma* after the first consonant, so Khusraw was put in the *fiʿlā* form and the *kh* became *k* to show that it was Arabicised.

Although Khusraw occurs in Arabic, Kisrā was usually employed for proper names, especially for the Sāsānid rulers Kisrā Anūshirwān (531-79 A.D.) and Kisrā Aparwīz (591-628 A.D.). Because these two Kisrās dominated the late Sāsānid period and Arab memories of it, their name was identified with the dynasty. Arabs came to regard Kisrā as the name (*ism*), surname or title (*laḳab*) of Persian kings, the Sāsānid dynasty as the house of Kisrā (*āl Kisrā*), and crown lands in ʿIrāḳ as *arḍ Kisrā*. Women of the royal family were called "daughters of Kisrā". By the 2nd/8th century, the tendency to call all Sāsānid rulers Kisrā produced the broken plurals *akāsira* (the one most commonly used), *kasāsira*, *akāsir*, and *kusūr*, all contrary to analogy.

Kisrā personified Sāsānid royalty for the Arabs, who viewed him with an ambivalent combination of envy, awe and fear. They called Ctesiphon *Madāʾin Kisrā*, the great audience hall there the *Īwān Kisrā*, the defensive ditch the *Khandaķ Kisrā*, spoke of the crown, treasure, dazzling carpet, sword and armour of Kisrā, and associated polished manners, lavish hospitality, *haute cuisine*, golden tableware and the arbitrary exercise of power, with his court. Kisrā provided a symbol for Arab assimilation to Persian high culture, for feelings of common nobility, and represented the Persian monarch in lists of kings of the world and in the murals at Ķuṣayr ʿAmra. He was a poetic symbol of past glory and of fate that overtakes even mighty kings.

Kisrā's worldliness contrasted with Muslim spiritual values. *Ḥadīth* emphasised Muḥammad's lack of pretence, his avoidance of royal trappings, and his followers' greater respect for him compared to Kisrā and other rulers. Kisrā tore up Muḥammad's letter inviting him to Islam, and *ḥadīth* promised the destruction of Kisrā and Ķayṣar and that Muslims would spend their treasures. In the simile ascribed to Hurmuzān, Kisrā is the main enemy of Islam (the head of the hostile bird).

A fictionalised Kisrā emerged by the 3rd/9th century as a vehicle for edifying tales, a person who conversed with a Bedouin on the virtues of camels or exchanged the lethal gift of a leopard for an eagle with Ķayṣar. He was quoted as a source of proverbs and someone who knew these stories might be nicknamed "Kisrā".

Relative nouns *kisrawī*, *kisrī*, and *kisrawānī* were formed from Kisrā. The form *khusrawānī*, directly from Persian, referred to the greatest of the *akāsira* and meant a kind of drink or a very fine, royal silk used for clothing and used to cover the Kaʿba in the late 1st/7th century.

Bibliography: For lexical matters, see al-Ķazwīnī, *Muʿdjam maķāyīs al-lugha*, Cairo 1389-93/1969-72, v, 171; al-Djawharī, *Tādj al-lugha wa-siḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, Bulaķ 1282/1865, i, 394; Ibn al-Djawālīķī, *Kitāb al-muʿarrab min al-kalām al-ʿadjamī*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867, 60, 99, 123, 128, ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1389/1969, 183-4, 266, 319, 330; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, iv, 20; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1386/1966, v, 142; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ķāmūs al-muḥīṭ* Calcutta 1817, i, 512, 648; al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, Kuwayt 1385/1965, iii, 176, 479, 522; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, 2612; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 43-4; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, 151 f.; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 134-9; A. Shīr, *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muʿarraba*, Beirut 1908, 54; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 39-40, 61, 72; M. Kamil, *Persian words in ancient Arabic*, in *BFA*, xix (1957), 62-3. For royal symbolism, see Ibn Ķutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1389/1969, 612; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 52, 156, 314-5, 339, ii, 211, 371; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1469, 2358, 2436, 2447, 2453, iii, 1599; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 357, ii, 292 = §§ 395, 714; O. Grabar, *The Six Kings at Qusayr Amrah*, in *Ars Orientalis*, i (1954), 185-7; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1969, i, 400-1, pl. 71, e. For the fate of the mighty, see ʿAdī b. Zayd, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1385/1965, 178; al-Mufaḍḍal, *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. and tr. C. J. Lyall, Oxford 1918, i, 534, ii, 288; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Istanbul 1300/1883, 108-10; Ibn Ķutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 115; Ṭabarī, iii, 320. For anti-Islamic symbolism, see Ibn Isḥāķ, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858, i, 971; Abu Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 215-7; Ibn Ķutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 608; al-Bukhārī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1390/1971, iv, 427, v, 112-3, 159, 239-40, ed. M. Muḥsin Khān, Gudjranwalla 1971, v, 507-8; Ṭabarī, i, 1161-2, 1473, 1537, 1707. For the fictional Kisrā, see Ibn Ķutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 98, iii, 199; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 214. (M. Morony)

al-KISRAWĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mahdī al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭabarī, *rāwī* of the 3rd/9th century who was also a poet and man of letters. He was the teacher of Hārūn, the son of ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim, and transmitted historical and literary traditions, and especially on the authority of al-Djāḥiẓ. He was in contact with Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and exchanged verses with Ibn al-Muʿtazz. His knowledge of *adab* led him to compose several works, amongst which are cited a *Kitāb al-Khiṣāl*, a collection of literary traditions, maxims, proverbs and poetry, a *K. al-Aʿyād wa 'l-nawārīz* and a *K. Murāsalāt al-ikhwān wa-muḥāwarāt al-khillān*. His poetry consists mainly of occasional verses which were improvised. He died at some point between 283/896 and 289/902, although Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Istanbul, i, 705, places his death in *ca.* 330/941-2.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 214; Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ*, xv, 88-96; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 356; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, index; *DM*, iv, 251. (Ed.)

ĶIṢṢA (A.), pl. *ķiṣaṣ*, the term which, after a long evolution, is now generally employed in Arabic for the novel, whilst its diminutive *uķṣūṣa*, pl. *aķāṣīṣ*, has sometimes been adopted, notably by Maḥmūd Taymūr [*q.v.*] as the equivalent of "novella, short story", before being ineptly replaced by a calque from the English "short story", *ķiṣṣa ķaṣīra*. The sections of the following article are largely devoted to these literary genres as they are cultivated in the various Islamic literatures, even if the word *ķiṣṣa* is not itself used by them. Although some Berber tongues use the Arabic term (*lķiṣṣt*), it has not seemed necessary to add a section on the story in that language [see BERBERS], but a brief section is devoted to the *ķiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

The ensuing article is accordingly divided as follows:

1. The semantic range of *ķiṣṣa* in Arabic.
2. The novel and short story in modern Arabic literature.
3. (a) The *ķiṣṣa* in older Turkish literature.
   (b) The novel and short story in modern Turkish literature.
4. The genre in Persian literature.
5. The genre in Urdu.
6. The genre in Malaysia and Indonesia.
7. The *ķiṣṣa* and its modern developments in Swahili.
8. The *ķiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

1. The semantic range of *ķiṣṣa* in Arabic.

Judging by the contents of the articles in the Arabic dictionaries devoted to the root *ķ-ṣ-ṣ*, one may consider this as the result of a convergence of several different "roots". Among the various meanings shown here, two of them seem to be totally distinct from each other: "to clip the hair, wings, etc." (cf. Hebr. קצב and words made up of -קצ) and "to follow the tracks of a man or animal".

Taking into account the realities of Bedouin life, this last sense, to which *ḳiṣṣa* can easily be connected, is certainly old, if not the primitive signification. It is from the verb *ḳaṣṣa* taken in this sense that the name of the *ḳāṣṣ*, pl. *ḳuṣṣāṣ* "a kind of detective responsible for examining and interpreting tracks and marks on the ground" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 343 = § 1227; cf. al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt* ..., ʿAmmān 1973-4, iii, 85, who points out the use in Jordan of *ḳaṣṣāṣ* with the generally-developed sense of *ḳāʾif al-athar* [see KIYĀFA]) has evolved). Moreover, the Ḳurʾān provides two attestations of this old meaning of the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*. Moses' mother says to his sister *ḳuṣṣīhi* "follow his tracks" (XXVIII, 10/11), and in XVIII, 63/64, it is said that Moses and his page boy "followed their tracks back again, retracing them" (*fa-rtadda ʿalā āthārihimā ḳaṣaṣā*). Nevertheless, the verb *ḳaṣṣa* is most frequently found in the Ḳurʾān with the derived sense of "to tell a story, narrate", or more exactly, "to give a circumstantial account of some happening, to recount an event by giving all the details successively"; this nuance is usually lost in translation, though it may sometimes be conveyed through an adverb like "exactly". One may note, with repetitions within the same verse, 19 occurrences of this verb: the account is given by God to the Prophet (IV, 162/164, VI, 57, VII, 6/7, 99/101, XI, 102/100, 121/120, XII, 3, XVI, 119/118, XVIII, 12/13, XX, 99, XL, 78), by the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 78/76) and by Moses to Shuʿayb (XXVIII, 25); Jacob tells Joseph not to recount his dream to his brothers (XII, 5); divine messengers recite to mankind the miraculous "signs" of God (VI, 130, VII, 33/35); and God instructs the Prophet to recount "the affair" (VII, 175/176).

In this last verse, the word *ḳaṣaṣ*, which has the general sense of "narrative, explanation, report, story" in its five other attestations (III, 55/62, XII, 3, 111, XXVIII title and v. 25), has been translated by "affair". Doubtless one should not neglect the nuance of precision and exactness contained in *ḳaṣaṣ*, but it is perfectly certain that the term's sense tends to become attenuated in order to assimilate it to that of *ḥadīth*. It could be perfectly easily substituted for the latter word in at least five occurrences out of 23 (XX, 8/9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 15, LXXXV, 17, LXXXVIII, 1), and furthermore, the verb *ḥaddatha* is clearly equivalent to *ḳaṣṣa* in three verses (II, 71/76, XCIII, 11, XCIX, 4). Also close to *ḳaṣaṣ* are *khabar* (XXVII, 7, XXVIII, 29) and especially the pl. *akhbār* (IX, 95/94, XLVII, 33/31, XCIX, 4), and also *nabaʾ*, with 12 attestations out of the 17 in the singular (V, 30/27, VI, 34, VII, 174/175, IX, 71/70, X, 72/71, XIV, 9, XVIII, 12/13, XXVI, 69, XXVIII, 2/3, XXXVIII, 21/20 and LXIV, 5) and 7 out of the 11 in the plural (III, 39/44, 51, 121/120, VII, 99, XII, 103/102, XXVIII, 66 and LIV, 4) corresponding fairly exactly to *ḳaṣaṣ* in the sense of "narrative, story, tale". Thus four terms of very different origins converge here in the Ḳurʾān and tend to assume a common signification, whilst losing at the same time the nuances implied in their original etymologies [see ḤIKĀYA].

Ḳiṣṣa itself does not appear in the Holy Book, but one can point to some examples in the *ḥadīth* with a general meaning of "thing, affair" (= *amr*, *shaʾn*), close to one of the meanings of *ḳaṣaṣ*; but this term seems however to have kept well its original nuance of meaning in the traditionists' vocabulary, to judge by the expression *sāḳa al-ḥadīth bi-ḳiṣṣatihi* "he cited the *ḥadīth* in all its details, giving it word-for-word" (Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, *Salām*, *bāb al-siḥr*, trad. No. 44). The word also very rapidly became a technical term of Arabic grammar. Sībawayh certainly uses the verb *ḳaṣṣa* in the sense of "to narrate" (i, 60) and the noun *ḳiṣṣa* in those of "narrative" (= *ḥadīth*, i, 60) and "affair" (i, 415, 418, 432), but above all he applies it (52 instances) to the idea of "state" (= *ḥāl*; see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 172); consequently the expressions *ḍamīr al-shaʾn* and *ḍamīr al-ḳiṣṣa* are absolutely synonymous (W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*, index.)

At the moment when Sībawayh wrote his work, the verb *ḳaṣṣa* meant, from the time of the Prophet onwards, "to practise as a popular preacher of sermons and edifying tales "[see ḲĀṢṢ], this profession being called *ḳaṣṣ* or *ḳaṣaṣ* (see Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 391-2, 394, 395). The more serious among the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* made a speciality of giving a commentary to their audience on the miraculous events referred to in the Ḳurʾān and of recounting, in particular, in reference to the lives of the prophets, edifying stories. The *ḳaṣaṣ* of the Ḳurʾānic text was then specialised in meaning, as we have just seen, and replaced, in order to designate the material in the répertoire of the popular religious story-tellers, by *ḳiṣṣa*, pl. *ḳiṣaṣ*, without the term having, at least at the outset, the least element of the pejorative in its sense. However, in the 3rd/9th century, al-Djāḥiẓ, following other authors, reserves for *ḳiṣṣa* the sense of "religious tale", but sometimes adds, with his usual irony, some fairly precise nuances of "story full of marvels and somewhat unbelievable", of "myth" and of "traditional explanation of a supernatural happening" (see *Tarbīʿ*, index).

At this period, the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* were already mingling with their discourses stories totally lacking in edification, but it seems that *ḳiṣṣa* did not yet mean a secular tale, and even in the next century, Ibn al-Nadīm does not use the word in the chapter devoted to stories in the *Fihrist*. Moreover, a few decades later, *ḳiṣṣa* appears with the religious sense which it had when used by the first *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, in the title of al-Thaʿlabī's [*q.v.*] popular work, the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*; the expression *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] was to become the title of quite a considerable number of works. Despite the precise meaning implied by this latter expression, the lexicographers, who devote quite a lot of space to the root *ḳ - ṣ - ṣ*, hardly give the precise sense of *ḳiṣṣa* at all. The *LA* limits itself to asserting that the term is well-known, and then glosses it by *khabar*, *ḥadīth* and *amr*, though it does however give a pejorative nuance for *ḳaṣṣ*, in fact equivalent to "words, chatter", opposed to *ʿamal* "action". In the *Miṣbāḥ*, *ḳiṣṣa* is defined only by *shaʾn* and *amr*; and in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, *amr* and *ḥadīth* are further used to gloss this term, whose plural *ḳiṣaṣ* would therefore only be used for the *ḳiṣṣa* when it was written (likewise, also, in the *LA* and *Ḳāmūs*). Assuming that we are probably not concerned here with the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, this rather enigmatic explanation is probably to be used with a technical sense different from that signalled in grammatical terminology; starting from the meaning of "affair", early attested and found from Ḳurʾānic times onwards, *ḳiṣṣa* very soon came in fact to mean "a written exposition of an affair or matter, a mémoire presented to a judge, a request placed before a ruler, a petition". Quatremère, in his *Sultans mamelouks*, i, 236 n. 111, gives a certain number of examples of this meaning and mentions the existence of an official, the *ḳiṣṣa-dār*, who was

concerned with such requests (see also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. XLIV; Dozy does not appear to have interpreted the material in the dictionaries relative to the written *ḳiṣṣa* in the same way as we have done, since he includes this term in his *Supplément*). Al-Ḳalḳashandī, in *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 487-8, does not cite the *ḳiṣṣa-dār* but provides some details about the manner in which *ḳiṣaṣ al-maẓālim* were treated.

Since some *ḳuṣṣāṣ* began regularly to narrate stories which had no religious character at all, *ḳiṣṣa*, without ceasing at the same time to characterise a serious, even a historical narrative (e.g. the 27 mss. called *ḳiṣṣat ghazwat*... "narrative of the expedition of ..." classified by Ahlwardt in his Berlin catalogue) tended to be applied to any story, sacred or profane, and to become a synonym of *ḥikāya*, and secondarily, of *ḥadīth* and *khabar*. As an indication, the above-mentioned catalogue has a total of 216 works beginning with *ḳiṣṣa*; that of the mss. in the B.N. of Paris drawn up by G. Vajda has 115 (of which 75 have been restored according to their contents); *ḥikāya* appears there 47 times, *ḥadīth* 12 times and *khabar* 4 times. In the group as a whole, there are certainly some edifying stories (e.g. the *Ḳiṣṣat Ahl al-Kahf*), but titles like *Ḳiṣṣat Sulaymān maʿa Bilḳīs* or *Ḳiṣṣat Tawaddud* reveal true romances. In this way, the modern use of the term is to be justified, and this, conversely, has brought about a revival of *ḳaṣaṣ*, now specialised in the sense of "narration", the narrative genre and the narrative art", leading to the creation of the word *ḳaṣaṣī* "narrative" (adj.). (CH. PELLAT)

2. In modern Arabic literature.

The modern and technical meaning of this word: "fictional narrative", "novel" has come to be accepted without eliminating the more general, older sense of "story", "account". Furthermore, it should be noted that, in this case as in many others, the neologism has not been immediately accepted and does not cover the same semantic field for all those who use it, even today. From the start, it is seen to alternate with other words.

In an article appearing in *al-Ahrām*, on 11 May 1881, where the *shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh drew attention, without otherwise deploring it, to the taste of his contemporaries for the novel, we find the word *rumāniyyāt*. The definition of the genre remains somewhat hazy since the eminent reformer included under this heading *Kalila wa-Dimna* and the stories of traditional *adab* along with the recent translation of the *Aventures de Télémaque* by al-Ṭahṭāwī and the serial stories then published in *al-Ahrām*. Besides this borrowed term—which was not long to remain in use—there are words drawn from the Arabic vocabulary which come to mean the same as *ḳiṣṣa*. Understandably in the case of works on the borderline of the novel genre, the terminology appears uncertain: the *ʿAlam al-dīn* (1884) of ʿAlī Mubārak is presented by its author as a *ḥikāya* (story) while Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī gives the title *ḥadīth* (talk) to his very interesting *maḳāmāt*: *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā b. Hishām* (1907). It is all the same curious to note that in 1917 a certain Djubrān Khalīl Djubrān, suggesting to the editor of the review *al-Hilāl* the holding of a competition for the best story—to promote a genre that has proved its worth in Europe—uses the term *ḥikāya* to describe the genre. Little by little, however, *ḳiṣṣa* came to prevail, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was seen claiming back his liberty as a creator and refusing to apply rules whose validity he did not recognise by saying in substance: the *ḳiṣṣa* is taught nowhere, and besides, what I write is not a *ḳiṣṣa* but a *ḥadīth* (cf. Ṣāliḥ, in *al-Muʿadhdhabūn fi 'l-arḍ*).

In fact, the lack of precision remains, mainly as a result of the differences in length among the various kinds of story. It is possible to account for these without departing from the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*. For the abstract "narration", "narrative literature" we have *ḳaṣaṣ*, while the "story" of indeterminate length is called *ḳiṣṣa*, the novel being distinguished from the "tale" or from the "novelette" by an adjective (*ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* in the one case, *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra* in the other). The range of meanings may be conveyed in a still more precise fashion: a suitable adjective expresses the midway term, the long short story so popular with the British (*ḳiṣṣa mutawassiṭa*), while *uḳṣūṣa* (pl. *aḳāṣīṣ*) denotes the very short story, the short novelette.

But in practice, things are not so simple. The first Arabic story-teller to be universally known, Maḥmūd Taymūr, published successively two collections of stories, calling the first *aḳāṣīṣ* (*al-Shaykh Djumʿa wa-aḳāṣīṣ ukhrā*, 1925) and the second *ḳiṣaṣ* (*ʿAmm Metwalli wa-ḳiṣaṣ ukhrā*, 1926). At the other end of the scale, there are some who prefer *riwāya* to *ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* to denote the novel; this neologism was more specifically reserved at the end of the 19th century to denote a "theatrical piece." Without it being an absolute rule, it may be stated that at the present day *uḳṣūṣa* is more frequently used in Syria and Lebanon in the sense of short story, while *riwāya* is preferred in Egypt with the meaning of novel.

Considerations of length are not the only ones to be of relevance. It should also be noted that some have tried to solve the ambiguity inherent in the word "tale" which exists also in English. If one wishes to differentiate the brief, realistic, truthful or plausible narrative (the short story) from a narrative of the same dimensions but imaginative, extraordinary or extravagant (the tale), one must call the latter by the name *ḳiṣṣa* (or *uḳṣūṣa*) followed by an adjective (*khayāliyya* or *khurāfiyya*), while being careful not to use the word *khurāfa* in isolation lest it be understood in a non-technical sense and with a pejorative flavour: "a cock-and-bull story".

The birth and evolution of Arabic fictional literature. The modern *ḳiṣṣa* owes nothing to Arab tradition. It is linked neither with the folklore of the *Thousand and one nights* nor with tales of chivalry nor with narratives of *adab*. The tradition of classical *maḳāma*, although taken up by two men of imagination and dual culture (Fāris al-Shidyāḳ for *al-Sāḳ ʿalā 'l-sāḳ*, 1855; and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī, cf. above, 1907) has left no legacy. It is from Europe that the Arabs have borrowed this literary genre totally unfamiliar to them, sc. the novel.

The press, which has been remarkably prolific in Cairo and Beirut ever since its first appearance there in the middle of the 19th century, has in a short space of time put into circulation stories of various lengths translated from French and English. Some periodicals, like *Ḥadīḳa al-akhbār* (founded in Beirut in 1858) publish examples from time to time, others, like *al-Djinān* (Beirut 1870) regularly devote a part of each issue to such translations, and the same applies to the reviews that the Lebanese resident in Egypt have subsequently launched in Cairo (*al-Hilāl*, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, *al-Ḍiyāʾ*). Even the daily *al-Ahrām* founded in Alexandria in 1875 has its serial story. Furthermore, some weekly or monthly

entertainment publications are entirely devoted to them (*Silsilat al-fukāhāt*, Beirut 1884; *Muntakhabāt al-riwāyāt*, Cairo 1894). A certain degree of decentralisation has even been achieved with the appearance of *Silsilat al-riwāyāt al-ʿuthmāniyya* at Ṭanṭā in 1908 and *al-Samīr* at Alexandria in 1911. The second stage is the editing of the translated novels in volumes.

The essential object of this type of literature is to entertain. Publishers and translators search out stories of extraordinary adventures, of unhappy love-affairs, of poignant grief, rather than works of established quality whose authors are universally known. Fidelity to the original text was not regarded as an obligation in the period where the translator most in demand, Ṭanyūs ʿAbduh, a Lebanese who had settled in Egypt, was renowned for the imagination which he put into his work. The tendency was to adapt rather than to translate.

Quite naturally "original" composition has followed translation-adaptation and obeyed the same rules. It has even in some cases been exactly contemporary with it, and there are times when the translator is at the same time an author. This was the case with Salīm al-Bustānī, who published no less than five original works in serial form between 1870 and 1884 in *al-Djinān*, at the same time as he was translating French novels. His sister Alice and his cousin Saʿīd were also involved in the same sort of work. In serial stories of this kind as well as in the copied models there abound *coups de théâtre*, unexpected meetings, unsuspected relationships, etc. In order to avoid offending a very sensitive public moral sense, the scene of the plot still tends to be exotic, or if the action takes place in Egypt, the whole or the majority of the cast of characters must be foreign (*Fatāt al-ahrām* by Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *Fatāt Miṣr* by Yaʿḳūb Sarrūf). Saʿīd al-Bustānī discovered to his cost the powerful force of this unwritten rule: a resident of Egypt for ten years, a friend of Shaykh ʿAbduh, this Lebanese was nevertheless savagely criticised in conventionally-minded circles for having published *Dhāt al-khiḍr* (1894) which claims to show the disastrous results of an ill-matched marriage... in a wealthy family supposedly living in Alexandria!

Obliged to show some degree of discretion, limited in its intellectual ambitions, this newly-arrived genre would doubtless never have interested an enlightened Arab public had it not found sponsors and promoters. Shaykh ʿAbduh took an interest in it, as has been seen, because he reckoned it capable of having a reformatory effect, if carrying a well-formulated message. For Djirdji Zaydān (1862-1914), it was the ideal didactic means to put into the service of history, and this Christian author of a *History of Islamic civilisation* therefore brought to the novel the caution of the scholar. Whereas Djamīl Mudawwar had published in Beirut in 1881 a single historical novel about ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, he was to publish twenty-four such novels between 1889 and 1914, of which the majority appeared in serial form in Cairo in the review *al-Hilāl* which he edited. Serious information being in his view the essential part, the amorous element of the plot would serve only to lure the reader; this element seems therefore to be somewhat stereotyped from one volume to another; but at least, the construction is solid and the language clear and precise.

After reason, sensibility. It would be impossib e to overestimate the role of Manfalūṭī (1876-1924) for, in his two collections (*al-Naẓarāt* (1910-1921) and *al-ʿAbarāt* (1915)), he superbly arabises French romanticism to the point where, under his pen, translations, adaptations and original creations seem to flow from the same source. Having found a style and a tone, he knows how to stir emotions while dealing, in a context of traditional morality, with the problems posed by the irruption of European civilisation into the modern Orient. At the opposite extreme as regards content but with a similar degree of emotional intensity, is the message of "The American" Djubrān (1883-1931). Tears flow in abundance here too, but the romanticism is noble, protesting at the injustice practised by the powerful of this world as observed in the microcosm of the Lebanese village where the mayor and the priest seem to be constantly united in the effort to prevent the children from loving each other; *al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira* (1912) hardly deserves to be called a novel, it is rather a long poem in prose devoted to an unhappy love affair of the author. "Broken wings" and "Tears", these are the two works, of Egypt and the *mahdjar*, which have moved or irritated several generations of Arabs all over the world.

But the first Arabic novel owes nothing to Manfalūṭī or to Djubrān. It was written in Paris—and perhaps partly in Geneva—by a young Egyptian student. Haykal (1888-1956) was feeling homesick when he wrote *Zaynab* (1914), and it is the Egyptian countryside that he attempts to re-create with its poetry, its variety, and also its characters, simple and poverty-stricken. But this evocation is centred around two victims of injustice in Egypt, sc. the peasant and the woman. Even though the first edition is signed under the pseudonym *Miṣrī Fallāḥ*, the poverty of the farm worker hardly holds our attention, while the fate of two women, equally unfortunate, illustrates the sorry condition of an entire sex and recalls the courageous protest of Ḳāsim Amīn at the beginning of the century. The hero ultimately makes his indictment: life has no appeal in a land where youth passes too quickly, where love is not allowed, and where the individual has no time to look at what is beautiful.

Even if the problems of writing and construction are not always perfectly solved, even if the influence of *La nouvelle Heloïse* of Rousseau is too obvious, this rich composition does not only have a historical interest, for it conveys an authentic tone, that of a desperate confession.

In spite of these promising beginnings, other novels were not to appear for a further fifteen years. In the interval, it is only short story writers who make a name for themselves, putting forward within the dimensions of shorter narratives technical solutions borrowed this time from the best European specialists. The stories that they tell, on the other hand, always deal with the reality that surrounds them. In "wringing the neck of rhetoric", these young pioneers feel that they are laying the foundations of a new literature. The first of them,—and paradoxically the only survivor—Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma (born in 1889) began publishing his stories at the beginning of the First World War in *al-Sāʾiḥ*, then in *al-Funūn*, the two reviews edited by Syrian Lebanese settlers in New York. The best, later collected in an anthology (*Kāna mā kāna*, Beirut 1937), are striking for their simple language, the transparency of the characters, the significant choice of situations—where ancestral customs like the journey to America play a central role—and perhaps even more for the firmness with which the story is

told, a story where, however, emotion and humour make themselves discreetly felt. On Egyptian soil, slightly later, Muḥammad Taymūr (d. 1921) published in *al-Sufūr* some stories of which the best-known dates from 1919—an important year for Egyptian nationalism of which this writer was a passionate advocate. Add to this element the interest taken in social injustice and in poverty, and we have the principal source-material of the stories of Muḥammad Taymūr and of his comrades-in-arms. This expression is not an exaggeration when applied to his brother Maḥmūd, who describes himself as taking the torch from the hands of his brother, dead at the age of thirty. It is without doubt Maḥmūd Taymūr (d. 1974), the greatest story writer of the time, who has exerted the strongest influence in Egypt and in the other Arab lands, one of the most prolific of modern Arab writers and one of the most widely-translated too. Following the school of Maupassant—to whom his brother introduced him—he learnt to construct a plot firmly centred on a character who is bizarre to say the least, or on an exceptional incident. But he does not ignore the dominant themes of Egyptian social life, to which the brothers ʿUbayd and Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lās̲h̲īn (d. 1955) also come to apply themselves, each according to his temperament and his special talent, Lās̲h̲īn being of the three the one whose palette would appear to be the best equipped both for varieties of subject and of resources of expression. Let it also be noted that this writer has written one of the few Arabic novels to appear before the Second World War: *Ḥawwāʾ bilā Ādam* ("Eve without Adam"), 1934.

Furthermore, it may be appropriate to note that this novel is distinct from the others in that its subject (the pitiable failure of a feminist schoolteacher who believed in love and social advancement) owes nothing to the life of the author, while Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973) Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī (d. 1949), al-ʿAḳḳād (d. 1964) and Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (b. 1902) had written nothing before 1939 but works largely autobiographical in character. What these men have in common is that they are not true imaginative writers, but rather they are part of the Egyptian intellectual élite. It should therefore surprise no-one that they look for material for their stories in their own experience. Besides, for these great thinkers of their generation also, this is the means of assessing the exact condition of their country, for carrying on, in short, the worried analysis conducted by Haykal in *Zaynab*. As chance would have it, the year 1929 saw both the second edition of this novel and the publication of the first part of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām*. The accuracy in tone of this book, written with finesse and modesty, explains its immediate success in Egypt and the rest of the world; one feels that the blind boy struggling in a world that is hostile or indifferent or stupid symbolises more than an individual destiny. Even before the appearance of the second part of *al-Ayyām*, *Adīb* (1935) represents a split in the personality of the author, whose Egyptian half looks on helplessly at the folly and wreck of the Europeanised part.

The debate between the two civilisations—with their customs and culture—also interests Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm in two of his autobiographical novels, while in the two others (*ʿAwdat al-rūḥ*, 1933; *Yawmiyyāt nāʾib fi 'l-aryāf*, 1937) we find a number of the elements of the dossiers opened on Egyptian society by the short story writers. Superficially, the enquiry is less emphatic, there are times when the reader roars with laughter, but do not the laughter and the careless airs conceal a deep disquiet into which the faint-hearted lover and the Deputy Prosecutor are both plunged?

In drawing his self-portrait in *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931), Māzinī speaks of disappointments in love which may be fictitious, but he is most certainly honest when he shows himself irresolute and easily discouraged. As if in spite of himself, he gives us suggestive insights into the three milieux that he sets himself to evoke and, when he does not overstep the bounds, his glibness does not lack charm.

Outside Egypt, a single novelist deserves mention for this period; the Lebanese Tawfīḳ Yūsuf ʿAwwād, who published *al-Rag̲h̲īf* in 1939. It is the Lebanon of the period of the First World War, the Lebanon "in the hour of the Turk", ravaged by famine, that we find here, the repression of nationalist movements coming to an end on the gallows of Beirut's Place des Canons. With a great deal of sobriety, a very sure sense of crowd-scenes, a properly romantic conception of history and politics, here is a writer who knows how to give to his narrative a depth which nobody else, Ḥakīm included, has yet succeeded in obtaining.

ʿIrāḳ at that time was still at a hesitant stage, with Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Sayyid (d. 1937) publishing from 1921 onwards, in Cairo, stories which are admittedly rudimentary but where the effects of Turkish rule on ʿIrāḳī society are succinctly shown; with Anwar S̲h̲āʾul (first collection of stories 1930), the influence of Taymūr is clear. In his stories and those of ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd Luṭfī (b. 1908), influenced by Tolstoy and Gorky, one feels that the seeds of a promising harvest have been sown in ʿIrāḳ.

Among the pioneers mentioned above, a certain number have lived on after the war. Their prestige has increased and they have attained immortality. Young Arabic literature has found in them its ancestors, its sponsors, its classics, it could be said. Each of them otherwise remains imperturbably faithful to his style. It is still the same self-centred man dissatisfied with home and love that Māzinī indulgently analyses (*Ibrahim II*). From an incident of everyday life, the Lebanese Mik̲h̲āʾīl Nuʿayma draws the material of an intimate diary (*Mud̲h̲akkarāt al-arḳas̲h̲*, 1949), where meditations on good and evil, the solitude of the soul and its mystical vocation, count more than the narrative plot. In the same way that Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm hardly descends from his ivory tower to stigmatise feminine duplicity and to comment ironically on the sacred bonds of marriage (*al-Ribāṭ al-muḳaddas*, 1944), Ṭāhā Ḥusayn pursues his dialogue with destiny, but through interposed characters, in a tragic family chronicle with slow tempo (*S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-buʾs*, 1954). The famous Maḥmūd Taymūr still composes short stories—his last collection appeared in January 1967—but he also writes novels where he expresses in the same pure language the qualities for which he is well known; very close to his times in *Ilā 'l-liḳāʾ ayyuhā 'l-ḥubb* (1959), he is halfway to fantasy in *al-Maṣābīḥ al-zurḳ* (1960). In this group, it is without doubt Haykal who has produced the least expected work for *Hākad̲h̲ā k̲h̲uliḳat* (1956) presents, on the eve of his death, a portrait of a woman that contrasts totally with the *Zaynab* of his youth; this cold, dominating female really existed, so well-informed contemporaries assert.

But the new-comers are henceforward very numerous, some of them belonging to Arab countries not

mentioned above. Reviews have been founded: in Egypt of course, but also in Baḥrayn, where a literary periodical of this name appeared when the first printing-press was installed in the Gulf (1939), most of all in Beirut where *al-Ādāb*, founded in 1953, and *al-Adīb* give young writers the opportunity to become known, in Tunis where, since 1944, the review *al-Mabāḥith* awards a prize (*Bahlawān*) to a writer every year. Henceforward, Arabic fictional literature is sufficiently vigorous and varied to convey trends which are to be noted elsewhere in the world.

The romantics. It is clear that romanticism has solid roots at its disposal—it is enough to recall the genre of the first European novels translated, the importance of Manfalūṭī, the tone of *Zaynab*. A younger generation dissatisfied with its condition finds at last the means of expressing its revolt and its dreams. Evidently it is love that polarises all attention. This lyricism is a phenomenon of youth in three senses: the youth of the writer, the youth of literature and the youth of the public. The theme of the impossibility of amorous relationships is treated at length by the Tunisian Rashīd Ghālī in the short stories that he has published in the review *al-Fikr* since 1960; an encounter without future constitutes the subject of *al-Baḥr lā māʾ fīh*, a story which gives its title and dominant tone to a collection published by the Libyan A. Ibrāhīm al-Faḳīh in 1966; the Sudanese Sabbār (b. 1927) published ten years ago a novel on a small scale: *Sirr al-dumūʿ*.

It should not, however, be assumed that this type of novel is always attributable to an "indiscretion of youth." Writers of considerable renown who are no longer adolescents have built their success upon this specialised genre, and their prolific output shows that they know how to pluck the string of emotion. In this context, one could hope for no better example than the Egyptian trio of Yūsuf Sibāʿī (d. 1978), ʿA. H. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1973) and Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs. The systematic exploitation of sentimental problems is their common denominator, as well as their ability to impose their personal style. The first emphasises the dramatic, or melodramatic quality of the situations that he imagines; the second does not flinch from a certain moralistic purring owed for the most part to the very literary nature of his language; finally, the third flirts with scandal, and his gallery of pretty girls at once innocent and greedy for liberty has aroused many adolescent dreams.

Readers unmoved by the magic of these masters perhaps would allow themselves to be seduced by more subtle forms of romanticism. In Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh Ṭūkhī finds in his native countryside (*Fī ḍawʾ al-ḳamar*, short stories, 1960) or in a cruise on the Nile (*al-Nahr*, a novel 1962) the appropriate setting that his dreams require, while Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd (b. 1931) studies the relationship of married people (*al-Mustaḥīl*, 1960) with much tact and sensitivity. In Syria, the short story writer Shāmil Rūmī (*al-Ḳaṭāʾif*, 1960) even seasons his outpourings with a fair dose of fierce satire. Finally, we draw attention to a short story by the Algerian Ṭāhir Waṭṭār (*Mamarr al-ayyām*, in *al-Fikr*, 1959) for this disillusioned statement by one of his heroes: "There is no youth in the Arab world. The Arab knows only two ages: childhood and adulthood." We shall have occasion to speak again of this sense of malaise.

The realists. These writers have inherited a populist or poverty-oriented tradition that is not very old. On the eve of the war, the Syrians T. ʿAwwād, K. M. Karam, and the ʿIrāḳī Djaʿfar Khalīlī were concerning themselves with fraternity, tearful commiseration or indignant horror at the sufferings of the lower classes.

We find this same interest in poor people with a great number of writers of the following period and in countries that have come to the novel more recently. From Morocco, we may mention two collections of stories; *al-Saḳf* by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū ʿAllū and *Radjul wa-marʾa* (1969) by Zaynab Fahmī. Taymūr has really created a school, for we witness an impressive parade of pitiable or laughable "cases"; Y. Ḥaḳḳī's petty tradesmen, the charlatans of the Tunisian Muṣṭafā Fārisī, the baggage carriers of the Syrian Ṣamīm Sharīf, the water-carriers of the Egyptian Sibāʿī. These specimens of an idle or poverty-stricken humanity, true to type even when they live on the fringe of society, clearly lend themselves to living in novels. Who could deny the vividness of the portrait of Tarnannuh, idler and football fanatic, product of the imagination of Rashād Ḥamzāwī (Tunis, *al-Fikr*, 1959) or that of the "maker of grotesque cripples", the negro Zīṭa who introduces a kind of Court of Miracles in the lane (*Zuḳāḳ al-midaḳḳ*, 1947) described by the Egyptian Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ.

Apart from the hero, the writers strive to recreate a whole ambience to which they are deeply attached. Thus, thanks to the pen of a Ṭayyib Ṭarīkī or of a Ḥamzāwī, there appear before us the coloured quarters of Rabṭ and of Turbat al-Bey in Tunis, while the shrines of Old Cairo, Sayyidnā Ḥusayn and Sayyidatnā Zaynab, inspire the best works of Ḥaḳḳī and Maḥfūẓ, and the seascape of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is recreated in a story such as *Dhākirat al-madīna* (1975) by the ʿIrāḳī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Madjīd al-Rubayʿī.

It would be surprising if the countryside were to remain outside the fictional répertoire, when we recall that, with *Zaynab*, the Arabic novel was born there. It is in fact the same love of nature that shines through in a simple account of olive-picking in Tunisia, told by Muḥammad F. Ghazlī (b. 1927) in a short story (*al-Fikr*, 1961). But it is most of all in the novels of the Egyptian Sharḳāwī (*al-Arḍ*, 1954, *Ḳulūb khāliya*, *al-Fallāḥ*) that the rural life is conveyed in all its richness, at a time when new ideas are shaking the system of traditions that used to be thought immovable. On the contrary, Ḥusayn Naṣr (Tunisia) evokes the full force of the past in a few pages; this "Ox that my father left us" (*al-Fikr*, 1961) is slow to die and imposes his presence when the young men, rejecting the experience of the old, wish that the page had been decisively turned.

It will come as no surprise to find political involvement accompanying this meticulous survey of an entire people. At the same time that *al-Arḍ* appeared in Cairo, Ḥannā Mīna published in Damascus *al-Maṣābīḥ al-zurḳ*. We may thus see side-by-side two exemplary narratives: a peasant revolt in the Delta, and the resistance of the Latakians to the French Mandate at the end of the Second World War. The heroic times of such and such a country have inspired a considerable mass of stories. The Moroccan Khanātha Bannūna celebrates inter-Arab solidarity sealed in combat in a recent collection of short stories (*al-Nār wa 'l-ikhtiyār*) and his compatriot Mubārak Rabīʿ makes the participation of Moroccan troops in the battle of the Golan Heights, in 1974, the central subject of his novel: *Rifḳat*

al-silāḥ... wa 'l-ḳamar (1976). Sometimes one finds them to be too verbose and not sufficiently alive. This is especially the case with the entire output of Muṭā' Ṣafadī (Syria), a real propagandist of the Arab Revolution (*Thā'ir muḥtarif*; *Djīl al-ḳadar*; *Ashbāh abṭāl*, 1959). On the other hand, an 'A. Ḥ. ben Haddūḳa (Algeria) succeeds in interesting us in the conscience of a man who has just committed a political crime (in *Ẓilāl djazā'iriyya*, 1960). It is the analysis of the social and psychological consequences of the war of liberation which interests him in his first novel appearing ten years later (*Rīḥ al-djanūb*), of which the form catches the attention. His compatriot Ṭāhir al-Waṭṭār also distinguishes himself in his two recent novels by the originality of his vision of guerilla warfare (*al-Āz*) or the traumatic after-effects of independence (*al-Zilzāl*). Similarly, the Palestinian tragedy is presented, free of forced sentimentality, in fascinating novels by the Lebanese Ḥalīm Barakāt and the Palestinian Ghassān Kanafānī (*Ridjāl fi 'l-shams*).

Oriental society is evolving to a varied rhythm in its different aspects. Industrialisation, for example, has scarcely been reflected by the appearance of workers in romantic literature. To our knowledge, only two writers have taken an interest in this: Ḥ. Mīna (Syria) mentioned above, who has made a study *à la* Gorky of type-setters in a printing-press, *The invisible thread*, 1960; and Muḥammad Ṣidḳī (Egypt), who through the experience of a self-taught man trained in a number of occupations, gives us an insight into the daily life of the working classes (in the collections *al-Anfār* and *al-Aydī 'l-khashina*, 1956 and 1958).

On the other hand, the number of Arab women writers is already remarkable. Quite naturally, they are interested in problems that are specifically feminine. Since professional involvement of women is still somewhat limited in their countries, it is most of all "psychological realism" that they aim at. The older ones—Bint al-Shāṭi' and S. Ḳalamāwī in Egypt, Widād Sakākīnī in Syria—have born witness to the deep transformation affecting the female mentality. The younger women writers—Samīra 'Azzām in Irak, Colette Suhayl in the Lebanon, Ṣūfī 'Abd Allāh in Egypt—seek to re-establish, with regard to their sex, the truth misunderstood or distorted by men. The Egyptian Laṭīfa al-Zayyāt does not claim to make any extraordinary revelations in her novel *al-Bāb al-maftūḥ*, 1960, but points out succinctly that the noble protests of the sterner sex are not yet fully convincing.

So as not to distort the perspectives, it is important to draw special attention to the work of three Egyptian novelists whose renown extends over the entire Arab world: Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, Yūsuf Idrīs and Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ. The name of the first, who was born in 1905, is linked with the difficult emergence of the Arabic short story in the years around 1925, but he has only become well-known since the war. His first collection *Ḳindīl Umm Hāshim* dates from 1943. His collections of stories, his short novel (*Ṣaḥḥa 'l-nawm*, 1954) and his memoirs (*Khallīhā 'alā 'llāh*, 1959) have made him known to the public at large as a writer of prose that is firm but not prudish, and one who treats his characters with sensitivity and humour.

As for Yūsuf Idrīs, he has been writing "committed" stories since 1949. With the appearance of his first collection (*Arkhaṣ layālī*, 1954), there is the feeling of a talented writer making himself known. His subsequent works (*al-Ḥarām*, novel, 1959; *al-'Askarī al-aswad*, a short story, 1961, among many others) testify to his dramatic sense, and his condensed style, on the borderline of grammatical correctness, counts as one of the most original of all.

Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ enjoys an even wider readership. He owes this perhaps to his uncompromising adherence to the classical language but most of all to the seriousness and depth of his analysis and to a remarkably prolific output—some twenty novels and a dozen collections of short stories published to date. His *Trilogy* (1957, 1958) is considered to be the perfect masterpiece of Arabic realism. It gives us the key to an understanding of the generation of contemporary Egypt through a wealth of passions reminiscent of the Russian novelists, but with a concern for detail that is exclusively his own, and most important of all, from a perspective such that every Arab reader feels himself involved.

The existentialists. In a society in a state of flux, there are some who feel resentful, disillusioned, alienated, and who find in existentialism a philosophy in tune with their mood. The Lebanese Suhayl Idrīs has done much to install this philosophico-literary doctrine in the Orient. He has been the prime mover in a major series of translations that have introduced the Arabs to Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in particular. But his role has not been limited to that of translator nor to that of editor-in-chief of the major review *al-Ādāb*. He is also the author of a number of novels. In the first (*al-Ḥayy al-lātīnī*, 1953) he too examines the reactions of the oriental to the European way of life, but the analysis is different from one given by Ṭawfīk al-Ḥakīm in *'Uṣfūr min al-sharḳ* nearly twenty years earlier. In spite of his love for a European sweetheart—shared this time—the Arab student returns to the Lebanon to place himself beneath the yoke, and perhaps the protection, of the customs of his homeland. His resigned acceptance of the absurdity of life shows that his stay in the Latin Quarter has left deep marks on him.

The Lebanon is thus the favoured land for existentialism. There are some who take pleasure in a type of fiction that is closer to the debate of ideas than to the novel as strictly defined, like Emile B. Abī Nādir in *al-Farāgh* (1961). But the more interesting writers are able to bring to light in their plots the implacable character of life. A story by George Shāmī shows to what extent a personal sentiment, however sincere and profound, is helpless in the face of the tyranny of the family spirit, and another by Djamīl Djabr (*Ḳalaḳ*, 1961) finds the correct tone for describing, in the first person, an impossible love. The Lebanese novel does not however attain the level of despair except in the work of the woman-writer Laylā Ba'labakki; in *Anā aḥyā* (1958) and in *al-Āliha al-mamsūkha* (1960) there is a vivid account of the revolt of a feminine sensibility stifling in a male society, made—taboos included—for men.

Although she has become known more recently, the Syrian Ghāda Sammān is closely akin to her. One of her collections of short stories (*Laylat al-ghurabā'*, 1966) presents us with a study fundamentally of a single character in a variety of settings: the woman who feels herself involved neither with the family nor with the revolutionary ideal, a "stranger" always and everywhere, her too-clear intelligence and her too-vivid sensibility making of her a person who suffers and sees no other future than this suffering, which she broods over with a kind of masochistic delight.

ʿIrāḳ shows us another kind of existentialism, less intellectual, more visceral. Among story-writers of talent, the first place belongs to ʿAbd al-Malik Nūrī (born in 1921). Between 1946 and 1954 (*Nashīd al-arḍ*) he has created a genre: from the first to the last line, his fiction expresses malaise, an infinite despair or a fatal torpor. With Mahdī ʿĪsā Ṣaḳr and Fuʾād Takarlī (*al-Wadjh al-ākhar*, 1961) we are steeped in the same unrelieved black that seems to be the dominant colour of young ʿIrāḳī literature.

The basic problems. During its sixty or so years of existence, Arabic fictional literature has been obliged essentially to cope with two basic problems.

The one, purely internal, concerns language. For obvious reasons, the novelist must choose the type of language that he is to lend to his characters, dialect or *fuṣḥā*. A writer as eminent as Maḥmūd Taymūr has, to his credit, carefully tried each of the two alternatives and subsequently remained absolutely faithful to the academic language, of which he is besides a perfect master. The no less eminent Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī has shown a quite original attitude, proclaiming everywhere his loyalty to Arabic and wielding in a delicious manner in his short stories the Cairoese of his childhood or the Ṣaʿīdian patois dear to his heart. These examples should not be misinterpreted; the question does not only apply to Egypt. Throughout the whole Arab world, from ʿIrāḳ to Morocco, there are novelists who believe that they would be betraying their mission as creators and artists if they were to avoid using a type of language that is natural, living and immediately evocative of the correct sentiment, the spontaneous idea. Conversely, in every Arab country there are today writers who would consider themselves unworthy of their art and traitors to Arabism if they were to adopt—even in dialogues—a language other than "pure" Arabic obeying the rules of declension, more or less modernised in its vocabulary, but effectively unchanged in its syntax. The question of the two languages has been debated so often since the beginnings of the *nahḍa* that there is nothing to be gained by dwelling on it here. The adherents of one or other mode of expression may be confident of finding themselves in excellent company and having no shortage of arguments. In particular, the equation frequently proclaimed in the last fifty years (dialogue in dialect = literature in the service of the people) is no longer put forward today, when the purists too are "committed". At the most, we may attempt a risky generalisation: the tendency to use the spoken "popular" language is more widespread in countries where the literary public is greatest and which, believe, rightly or wrongly, that they have a better-established "Arab" character—thus in Egypt, rather than in Algeria. Whatever the answer may be to these formal—and important—questions, there is no likelihood of provincialism gaining precedence over a common Arab heritage that is easily recognisable through the entire spectrum of fictional literary production from "the Ocean to the Gulf" and through all the trends that we have attempted to unravel.

The other problem concerns the relationship of the Arabic novel to Europe, the master, in both senses of the word, pedagogic and colonialist. This relationship first applies on the level of content. The dialogue of a floundering East with a West that is too sure of itself constitutes one of the themes and sometimes the central theme of novels that have become famous. It is natural, with regard to novels, that this ill-fated or violent confrontation should take the form of an amorous encounter between a practical or fickle or dominating European woman and an Arab emigrant, usually a student, convinced that he owns a share of the truth but naive and maladroit. Furthermore, the character of the latter and the general physiognomy of the work change in the course of the years. In *ʿUṣfūr min al-sharḳ* by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (Egypt, 1938) Muḥsin is an incorrigible idealist, an incompetent pursuer of working-girls whom the author mocks and admires at once, while the hero of *al-Ḥayy al-lātīnī* discovers nausea in Paris, but returns to the fold of ancestral custom in Beirut. The English girl married by *al-Duktūr Ibrāhīm* by Dhu 'l-Nūn Ayyūb (ʿIrāḳ, 1939) is only the first stage of an ambition which comes to light on his return to his country. If Ismāʿīl repudiates his God on leaving Mary's embrace, he finds Him again on the banks of the Nile (Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Ḳindīl Umm Hāshim*, Egypt, 1949). The experience of Adīb (Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Adīb*, Egypt, 1935) is at the same time more profane and more desperate, but that described by the Sudanese al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ in *Mawsim al-hidjra ilā 'l-shamāl* (1966) is violent, and it disconcerts because hatred here is innocent.

Nobody is deceived; whether sex and suffering intervene or not, it is always the impact of a culture that is in question, an invading, besieging, disruptive culture. Two Moroccan novels examine in detail its traumatic aspects: *Dafannā 'l-māḍī* by Ghallāb (1966) and *al-Ghurba* by Laʿrwī (1971). Quite naturally, another level of connections with Europe appears. Has this literary technique been learnt, assimilated or, on the contrary, has there been constant re-adaptation to a model which, as time passes, remains indispensible? It is in reality impossible to answer this question. It may simply be stated that this common Arab heritage mentioned above adapts itself well to the most recent trends in universal fiction, that the surrealism of Zakariyyāʾ Tāmir (*Dimashḳ al-ḥarāʾiḳ*, Damascus, 1973) with its nightmare universe, takes up and carries to an obsessional and hardly bearable degree, the taboos and desires of a sick society. It is madness—superficially, for what the mastery resides in the cascade of images and the narrative twists!—that succeeds the meticulous and classic analysis of ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿUdjaylī and the cruel realism of Fāris Zarzūr, two Syrian novelists who have achieved renown in the sixties. Echoes of such trends arise from elsewhere: from Egypt, of course, where established novelists like Yūsuf Idrīs and Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ have begun in the sixties and at the present day to turn towards the short story in preference to the novel, a wild and implacable type of short story, to which the younger writers are also drawn: the Arslāns, the Ṭūbiyās; but Algeria has not lagged behind with the stifling compositions of a writer such as Ṭāhir al-Waṭṭār; this is taken even further in Baḥrayn, where ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAḳīl sets in motion with *al-Nazīf* a series of dream-like sequences that express his continuing anticipation of revolutionary liberation.

Finally, if such-and-such a name made famous by the European "new novel" suggests itself to the readership of one of these narratives, it should be recognised that the Arab intelligentsia is henceforth in sympathy with the evolution of ideas and tastes throughout the world, that purely internal lines of influence are clearly visible in Arabic fiction and that the contemporary proliferation of works, the

multiplicity of devoted talents in all provinces of Arabism, are signs of the flourishing state of the *ḳiṣṣa*.

Bibliography: Arabic journals. The literary journals are very numerous, and some have only a short existence. Among the most important are *al-Ādāb*, *al-Adīb* (Beirut), *al-Madjalla*, *al-Ṭalīʿa* (Cairo), *al-Maʿrifa* (Damascus) and *al-Fikr* (Tunis). Those in European languages include *MIDEO*, *Orient*, *OM*, *Jnal. of Arabic Literature*, and *Bulletin d'études arabes of the IPEA* of Rome.

For the beginnings of the novel, the general histories of Arabic literature may be consulted [see ʿARABIYYA. B. (V)].

Anthologies give a very representative picture of contemporary novel writing, general introductions and valuable biographical details about the authors covered: *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1964. I. R. and M. Makarius, *Le roman et la nouvelle*; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, ed., *Arabic writing today, the short story*, Cairo 1968.

Studies—most of these on the Arab short story and novel centre upon Egypt. In particular, note ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ṭāhā Badr, *Taṭawwur al-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha fī Miṣr (1870-1938)*, Cairo 1963; R. Francis, *Aspects de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Beirut 1963; Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Fadjr al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1962?; ʿAbbās Khiḍr, *al-Ḳiṣṣa al-ḳaṣīra fī Miṣr mundhu nashʾatihā ḥattā sanat 1939*, Cairo 1385/1966; H. Kilpatrick, *The modern Egyptian novel*, Oxford-London 1974; Fatma Moussa-Mahmoud, *The Arabic novel in Egypt (1914-1970)*, Cairo 1973; Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm, *al-Ḳiṣṣa fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth* (1870-1914), Beirut 1961; Hamdi Sakkut, *The Egyptian novel and its main trends (1913-1952)*, Cairo 1971; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Egypt since the revolution* (ch. on cultural life by Louis Awad), London 1968; Ch. Vial, *Contribution à l'étude du roman et de la nouvelle en Egypte, des origines à 1960*, in *ROMM*, iv (1967); idem, *Le personnage de la femme dans le roman et la nouvelle en Egypte de 1914 à 1960*, in the press. (CH. VIAL)

3(a). In older Turkish literature.

As a generic term, *ḳïṣṣa* in Turkish texts was synonymous with story, tale (*ḥikāye*) and legend (*menḳabe*, *efsāne*). Fakhrī in 778/1367 calls his version of the romance of Farhād and Shīrīn [*q.v.*] a *ḳïṣṣa*; Meḥmed, writing in 800/1397, says that a copy which he found was old but the *ḳïṣṣa* (story) was new, and Sheykhī [*q.v.*], in the first half of the 9th/15th century, found the mere telling of a *ḳïṣṣa* (story) no longer sufficiently enjoyable (B. Flemming, ed., *Faḥrīs Ḫusrev u Šīrīn*, Wiesbaden 1974, vv. 2915-16 and p. 140 f.; S. Yüksel, ed., *Mehmed. Işk-nâme*, Ankara 1965, v. 404; F. K. Timurtaş, *Şeyhî'nin Husrev ü Şirin'i*, Istanbul 1963, v. 1565).

Narrative works in verse and prose dealing with epico-religious and heroic themes [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] were often called *ḳïṣṣa*, the term alternating with *destān*. This is true for the ʿAntar, Abū Muslim, Ṣaltuḳ and Ghāzī Dānishmend stories [see ḤAMĀSA, iii] or the tales around *Ḳïrān-i Ḥabeshī* and Bahmān Shāh b. Fīrūz Shāh (see A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi. I. Giriş*, Ankara 1972, 113, and ḲAHRAMĀN-NĀMA) and Djelāl Shāh and Djemāl Perī (see H. Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 3, Wiesbaden 1974, 276, no. 316); not a few tales still await examination.

The lives of holy men and great Ṣūfīs of Islam such as Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] were treated collectively in the genre called *tadhkira*, the most famous being the extensive Persian prose work *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* by ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*]. An early Turkish example is the *Tedhkire-yi ewliyāʾ* adapted from the Arabic and presented to the prince of Aydïn [*q.v.*], Muḥammad Beg, by an unknown author (MS. Istanbul, Veliyüddin 1643).

In a more restrictive sense, *ḳïṣṣa* designated stories of the Prophets before Muḥammad, whose own life history gave rise to the *siyar* genre [*q.v.*], whereas events of the lives of members of his family inspired other books such as the *ghazawāt* of the caliph ʿAlī; the *maḳtal* works commemorated miracles and happenings around the martyrs of the house of the Prophet, particularly his grandson Ḥusayn [see ḤAMĀSA, iii and ḤIKĀYA, iii], especially famous being the *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadāʾ* by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*].

In the *ḳïṣṣas* some prophets were dealt with separately, such as Moses (*Ḳïṣṣa-yi Mūsā we Khiḍir*, see Levend, *op. cit.*, 126), and Solomon; such works being also known as *nāme* [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] the most voluminous of the *Süleymān-nāmes* being the compilation made by "Uzun" Firdewsī [*q.v.*]; Iskandar [*q.v.*] was also treated separately (see M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 2, 161, no. 234 and ISKANDAR-NĀMA, iii).

Joseph or Yūsuf [*q.v.*] was a favourite hero of the histories of Prophets; his ascetico-mystical romance with Zulaykhā, based on the *Sūrat Yūsuf*, has been treated in many Turkish *mathnawīs* and prose works. The oldest appears to be the *Ḳïṣṣa-yi Yūsuf* by a certain ʿAlī, a work of uncertain provenance supposedly composed in the Crimea in 630/1232 (see N. Pekolcay, *Islamî türk edebiyatı*. I. Istanbul 1967, 77 ff.; Levend, *op. cit.*, 92, 125).

In Anatolia, Sheyyād Ḥamza wrote a *mathnawī* version (ed. D. Dilçin, İstanbul 1946); for Čaghatay, Mamlūk, Ādharbāydjānī, and many Ottoman versions see the list compiled by Levend, *op. cit.*, 128-30; for 19th century Kazakh versions, see *Fundamenta*, ii, 744.

Collectively, the prophets have been dealt with in the *Ḳïṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*], which made their appearance in Turkish literature in the 8th/14th century. In 710/1310 Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī, working for a Mongol *amīr*, composed his Eastern Turkish *Ḳïṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* on the basis of a Persian version (facsimile ed. K. Grønbech, Copenhagen 1948). Other Turkish authors consulted the Arabic *Ḳïṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* by al-Kisāʾī, the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis* by al-Thaʿlabī and others (see K. Erarslan, *Kisâ'înin Bedʾi d Dünyâ ve Ḳısaṣı l-Enbiyâ adlı eserinin İstanbul'daki tercümeleri*, in *TDED*, xviii (1970), 125-32; N. Hacıeminoğlu, in *TDED*, xi (1961) and xiii (1964), on an anonymous translation in the MS. Bursa, Ulu Cami 2474; and A. Ateş, in *TDED* viii (1958), 93 f., on the Yozgat MS. of the translation made by Iznīḳī (d. 833/1429-30).

In 987/1579 an Ottoman writer, Hindī Maḥmūd, composed a *Ḳïṣaṣ-i enbiyāʾ* (G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Traces of a lost autobiographical work by a courtier of Selīm II*, in *BSOAS*, xxii/3 [1960]). Later, more complex titles were used for the genre, such as *Mirʾāt el-ṣafāʾ fī aḥwāl el-enbiyāʾ* written by Ḳara Čelebizāde (d. 1068/1658).

A highly esteemed educational *Ḳïṣaṣ-i enbiyāʾ* written by the Ottoman statesman and historian Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] as late as the end of the 19th century, in no less than twelve volumes, is evidence for the tenacity of the genre.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see the relevant articles in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965; F.

Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları.i. Türkçe tarih yazmaları*, Istanbul 1943 ff.; J. R. Walsh, *The Turkish manuscripts in New College, Edinburgh*, in *Oriens* xii (1959), 171-89, esp. no. 1; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961; F. İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir. I*, Istanbul 1964; idem, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım. I-II*, Istanbul 1966-7; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 1, Wiesbaden 1968. The impetus which the *ķiṣṣa, siyar*, and *maķtal* genres gave to Turkish religious iconography can be seen in N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974, and the literature cited by them.

(B. Flemming)

3(b). More recent Turkish literature.

After the *Mukhayyelāt* of ʿAlī ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] (1796), which form a transition between the old and the new, a series of translations, mainly from the French, followed some sixty years later, e.g. Fénélon's *Télémaque* as *Terdjeme-yi Telemak* (1862), Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* as *Maghdūrīn ḥikāyesi* (1862), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, as *Ḥikāye-yi Robenson* (from the Arabic, 1864), followed by Bernardin de Saint Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1870), Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1871), Alexandre Dumas père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1873), Lamartine's *Graziella* (1878), Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*, Octave Feuillet's *Le roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* (1880) and many others. Except for the *Télémaque*, which was translated in a most flowery and ornate style, in the best Ottoman *inshāʾ* tradition, most of the rest were rendered in a comparatively simple language, not far removed from spoken Turkish. This translation movement or activity coincided with the emergence of the literary *Tanẓīmāt* school, and the first generation of modernist writers provided the early examples of Turkish short stories and novels in the modern sense.

1. *The short story*

The pioneer of the short story is the popular author Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*]. Although he did not belong to the literary school initiated by Shināsī [*q.v.*] and his associates, and was looked down upon by them as a conservative in outlook, as informal in style and as lacking in technique, and was consequently unfairly judged, he was avidly read by the general public and youth intellectuals alike and greatly influenced the succeeding generation of writers as witnessed by many of them (see ḤUSAYN RAḤMĪ and KHĀLID ḌIYĀʾ). Aḥmed Midḥat published two collections of short stories: *Ķiṣṣadan ḥiṣṣe* (1870) and *Leṭāʾif-i riwāyāt* (in 25 parts, 1870-95). His mostly romantic stories with an occasional touch of realism, some adapted from the French, became immensely popular and soon made the genre fashionable.

To this formative period belongs a collection of short stories in three volumes, the *Müsāmeret-nāme* ("The Book of soirées", 1872-5), inspired in structure, by Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and written by one Emīn Bülend, a civil servant about whom we know almost nothing. These are entertaining stories of uneven value, a mixture of traditional narrative and the new approach. Different from Aḥmed Midḥat's works, the *Müsameret-nāme*'s language and style vary in places from the ornate to the straightforward colloquial. A younger member of the *Tanẓīmāt* literary period, Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾī [*q.v.*], is also reckoned among the pioneers of the modern Turkish short story. His modest output (two volumes, of which *Küčük sheyler* "Little things", 1308 Rūmī/1892), began the realist trend in the short story. He used a good technique and developed a tidier style and avoided ornate language. The great master of the Turkish short story is, however, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary school, who perfected the genre, of which he made a study in his work *Ḥikāye* (1307/1891). Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, who tends in his novels to concentrate on the life of Istanbul upper and upper-middle classes and to use a precious language, by contrast in his numerous short stories (collected in 20 volumes) describes mostly ordinary people of the middle and working classes, and uses a comparatively less ornate style. Among minor writers of the same school, the novelist Meḥmed Raʾūf and the critic and journalist Ḥuseyn Djāhid [*q.v.*] also wrote short stories of uneven value. Two prominent writers who remained outside the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school, the novelist Ḥuseyn Raḥmī and the essayist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] contributed realistic short stories which are vivid sketches of everyday life in Istanbul of the 1890-1920 period.

The restoration of the Constitution (July 1908) followed by the movements of Turkism [see TÜRKČÜLÜK], Populism (*Khalķa doghru*) and the New Language (*Yeñi lisān*), sponsored by Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp [*q.v.*] and ʿÖmer Seyf ed-Dīn [*q.v.*], revolutionised the whole approach to narrative in Turkish literature. Most short story writers (and novelists) switched from the capital (Istanbul) to the provinces and made an attempt to introduce colloquial Turkish into literary language and avoided, on the whole, elaborate psychological analysis for straightforward realism.

The prominent woman novelist, Khālide Edīb [*q.v.*], wrote realistic short stories mostly based on her own experiences or observations. ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn (1884-1920), who left ten volumes of short stories (posthumously collected in book form), led the reaction against the precious language of the *Therwet-i Fünun* school and wrote in spoken Turkish stories on the reminiscences of his childhood or on episodes of Turkish history. A hasty writer, his easy, even facile language is not always polished. But his deliberately direct style, avoiding the "literary", established a new tradition in Turkish narrative. The outstanding essayist and political satirist Refīķ Khālid Ķaray [*q.v.*], wrote his famous *Memleket ḥikāyeleri* ("Stories from the provinces", 1919), during his five years' exile in Anatolia. These stories on the types and customs of the villagers and provincial townspeople are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style and powerful realism unprecedented in modern Turkish literature.

Most novelists of the period (e.g. Y. K. Ķara-ʿOthmānoghlu, R. N. Güntekin, Peyāmī Ṣafā, etc.) also wrote short stories. But others excelled in the *genre*; Memdūḥ Shewket Esendal [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a politician and diplomat, wrote, at irregular intervals, stories which are different in subject matter, plot and style from the "classical" Maupassant-type stories of his contemporaries. F. Djelāl el-Dīn, a psychiatrist by profession, left remarkable sketches and short stories, written in a very personal style, about eccentric types and harmless maniacs of Istanbul, against an authentic "local" setting of the Ḥüseyn Raḥmī tradition. They are character studies or sketches of the moods of ordinary people, with emphasis on women, written in spoken Turkish, without any elaboration or embellishment and inbued with human warmth and optimism. The

novelist Haliḳarnas Balîḳčîsî [*q.v.* in Suppl.] who belongs to the same generation, but who published his work in the Republican period, after the age of fifty, wrote fascinating stories on the life and struggles of the sea folk of the Aegean.

The 1930s inaugurated a new era in contemporary Turkish literature, and witnessed the emergence of two prominent but very different story writers: Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAlī (also a novelist [*q.v.*]), who pioneered social realism, writing powerful stories on the true life experience and hardship of the village and small town communities of Anatolia. Saʿīd Fāʾiḳ (1906-54), perhaps the greatest name in the Turkish short story, described, in his compelling stories and sketches, written in a forceful and romantic style, the life and milieu of the simple people, workers, fishermen, vagabonds, etc. of Istanbul, based mostly on his personal experiences, with a deeply human touch. Aḥmed Ḥamdī Tanpînar [*q.v.*], poet, critic and novelist, and adept of the neo-classicist Yaḥyā Kemāl [*q.v.*], wrote nostalgic, evocative short stories where unresolvable psychological issues are the *leitmotiv*. The playwright and essayist Khaldûn Taner (b. 1915) writes stories flavoured with humour and social criticism. Îlkhān Tarus (1907-67), a civil servant, described in his stories the intricacies of bureaucracy in the provinces.

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, most novelists (e.g. Kemal Tahir, Kemal Bilbaşar, Orhan Kemal, Samim Kocagöz, Yaşar Kemal, etc.) also wrote short stories in which concentration is on the plight of the peasantry, provincial townfolk and suburban dwellers (see below). This is particularly true of writers of peasant origin (e.g. Fakir Baykurt, Talib Apaydın, etc.). Aziz Nesin (b. 1915) the great humorous writer of unsurpassed popularity, has been writing innumerable stories and sketches where he uses his art to fight social evils and bigotry by ridicule. Oktay Akbal (born 1923) writes individualistic and romantic stories, mostly based on personal reminiscences, full of nostalgia for things past. Necati Cumalı (b. 1921), poet, playwright and novelist, differs from most of his contemporaries in not concentrating on any one given theme, but writing stories on a variety of subjects in a warm and flowing style.

Contemporary short story writers dwell as a rule on the social, political, economic and cultural problems of Turkey, a society in rapid transformation, linking them to the personal problems of the individual. From several dozen names (some of them also novelists), the following stand out: Mehmed Seyda (b. 1919), the poet S. K. Aksal (b. 1920), Yusuf Atılgan (b. 1921), Wüsʾat O. Bener (b. 1922), Muzaffer Buyrukcu (b. 1928), Bilge Karasu (b. 1930), Tahsin Yücel (b. 1933) and Bekir Yıldız (b. 1933). Among women writers one notes Nezihe Meriç (b. 1925), Adalet Ağaoğlu (b. 1929), Leyla Erbil (b. 1931), Füruzan (b. 1935) and Sevgi Soysal (1936-76) who dwell on the problems of women of all classes in present day Turkey.

2. *The novel.*

The outstanding lexicographer and scholar Shems el-Dīn Sāmī [*q.v.*] wrote the first Turkish novel in the modern sense: *Taʿashshuḳ-î Ṭalʿat we Fîṭnat* (1872). This is a love story used as a background to criticise the traditional marriage custom, marriage of partners unknown to each other. Nāmîḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], the great poet and patriot of the *Tanẓīmāt* school, experimented with a romantic (*Intibāh*, 1876) and a historic (*Djezmī*, 1880) novel. One of his younger colleagues, Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾī (1860-1936), wrote an anti-slavery novel (*Sergüzesht*, 1889), while another, Redjāʾi-Zāde Ekrem [*q.v.*] produced a social-satirical novel (*Araba sevdâsî*, "Devotees of the hansom cab", 1889, published 1896), which is a forerunner of later novels where the "westernising snob", the blind imitator of European manners and customs, is ridiculed (see below); and Nābī-Zāde Nāẓîm (1862-93) wrote examples of realist novels (*Ḳara Bibik*, a long short story, 1890, and *Zehrā*, 1895).

Outside this literary school of the "élite", the most important representative of the genre was the prolific popular writer, publicist and journalist Aḥmed Midḥat who flooded the post-1870s period with several dozen novels on subjects of all types: adventure, history, social satire, science fiction, realist and naturalist narrative, etc. He owes a great deal of his narrative technique, his dialogue and his handling of episodes to the traditions of Turkish popular art and literature (i.e. *Karagöz*, the *meddāḥ*, the *ṭulūʿāt* technique in the *Orta oyunu* and folk tales of various kinds), and also to the French novels of adventure. Many of his novels, particularly *Ḥasan Mellāḥ* (1875), *Ḥüseyn Fellāḥ* (1875), *Süleymān Muṣlī* (1876), *Henüz on yedi yashînda* (1882), *Dürdāne Ḥānîm* (1882), were enormously popular and read avidly by generations of readers of all classes until the 1910s. His novel *Eflāṭūn Bey ile Rāḳîm Efendi* (1896), pioneered a series of novels which satirise the *alla franca* way of life of Istanbul snobs.

In the following period of the *Therwet-i Fünun* school, the great representative of the novel is Khālid Ḍiyāʾ. Although as a boy writer, like most of his contemporaries, he greatly admired Aḥmed Midḥat, there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment, even in his early novels of the formative period, which were romantic love stories with some elements of realism. He completely broke with traditional methods of story-telling and developed a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digresssion or asides to the reader. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ perfected this technique in his later novels (e.g. *Māʾi ve siyāh*, "Blue and black", 1897, and *ʿAshḳ-î memnūʿ* "Forbidden love", 1900), inspired mainly by the method and style of the French realists. His works remained the best examples of realism in Turkish literature until the mid-1930s. The setting and characters are often chosen from the upper and upper-middle classes of Istanbul, the type of people with whom he came into direct contact during the strict Ḥamīdian régime. He chose, in his novels, to write, like most of his colleagues of the movement, in an extremely precious and artificial language, thus deviating from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the *Tanẓīmāt* writers) who had made an attempt to create a style which could be understood by a larger audience.

As Khālid Ḍiyāʾ dominated the scene in prose, minor writers were hardly noticed. One of them, Meḥmed Raʾūf (1875-1935), a naval officer, wrote a (probably autobiographical) novel, a poignant story of desperate love: *Eylül* ("September", 1900), which is the only work still remembered of his dozen novels.

Ḥüseyn Raḥmī, who did not join any particular literary group, began his career during the time of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement, and remained one of the most popular novelists from 1890s until the late 1920s. At the beginning, he followed in the steps of his master Aḥmed Midḥat, but he gradually pol-

ished the elements taken from Turkish popular arts and adopted them to his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly of Maupassant and Zola. With his accurate observations of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families in the period approximately 1890-1920, his penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time and his acute sense of humour and satire, Ḥüseyn Raḥmī is perhaps the most original of all Turkish novelists. Like his prominent contemporary the essayist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*], his work is of great documentary value. He studied meticulously the everyday life of families and individuals and their development within disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of Western ideas and customs. His best novel, *S͟hıpsevdi*, "Always in love" (written and partly serialised in 1901, published in book form 1912) is a further development of the theme already treated by his predecessor and himself: a character study of the "Westernising snob".

During this period, two works were the pioneers of the so-called "village novel" (*köy romanı*) which was to develop during the Republican period: Nabī-Zāde Nāẓım's long short story *Ḳara Bibik*, already mentioned, and Ebūbekir Ḥāzım Tepeyran's (1864-1947) *Küčük Pas͟ha* (1910), which describes life in a central Anatolian village during the last decade of the 19th century.

During the post-1908 era, with the freedom of the press restored and in the midst of warring ideologies (Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Turkism), we see that most writers of the young generation gather around a new trend called "National literature" (*Millī edebiyyāt*), led by the sociologist and guiding spirit of the intellectuals of the epoch, Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp and his associates (particularly ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn, see above). In this period, the prominent woman writer K͟hālide Edīb's early novels have considerable autobiographical elements, and with their passionate, independent, strongwilled heroines, outline the author's ideal of the emancipated Turkish woman. Under the impact of the Pan-Turkish-movement, she wrote *Yeñi Tūrān*, 1912, and her contemporary colleague, a minor woman writer Müfīde Ferīd (Tek, 1892-1971) followed her example with a similar novel *Aydemir*, 1918). However, K͟hālide Edīb later rejected this ideology and espoused the new nationalism of the resistance movement in Anatolia which she joined in April 1920. She wrote novels on the national struggle and life in Anatolia, based on personal experiences or observations (e.g. *Ātes͟hden gömlek*, "Shirt of fire", 1922; *Vuruñ ḳaḥbeye* "Strike the whore", 1923). During her long exile abroad (1925-39) and after her return to Turkey, she continued to write, mainly period novels. Already by 1930s the approach to the novel was beginning to change (see below). K͟hālide Edīb's prominent contemporary, Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī Ḳara-ʿOt͟hmānog͟hlu (1889-1974 [*q.v.*]) the most powerful novelist of his generation, excelled in studies of periods and institutions. In a series of novels he described the disintegration of a family caught between the old and the new towards the end of the Empire (*Kirālıḳ ḳonaḳ*, "Mansion to let", 1920); life in a convent of the decaying Bektās͟hī order of dervishes (*Nūr Baba*); party strife in the post-1908 period (*Ḥüküm gedjesi*, "The night of the judgment", 1927); life in occupied Istanbul in the early 1920s (*Ṣodom ve Gomōre*, 1928); a poignant description of the gap between an educated man and the peasants (*Yaban*, "The stranger", 1932), a pioneer "village novel"; the life of a young Turk exile in Paris (*Bir sürgün*, "An exile", 1937), etc. He also experimented with a *roman-fleuve*, covering the second and the third decade of the Republican era (*Panorama*, 2 vols. 1953-4).

The humorist and essayist Refīḳ K͟hālid Ḳaray is the author of some twenty novels, mostly of mediocre literary value, except for the first, *Istanbuluñ ič yüzü* (1920, Roman script edition as *Istanbul'un bir yüzü*, 1939). This is written in the form of a diary and is a series of masterly sketches of Istanbul "society" between 1900 and 1920, in which the last vestiges of the old régime, the influential magnates of the all-powerful Committee of the Union and Progress and the degenerate *nouveaux-riches* of the war years are depicted with brilliant, merciless sarcasm. Peyāmī Ṣafā (1899-1961), a self-taught writer, produced in the early 1920s novels which described various characters of the changing Turkish society, emphasising the clash between the traditional and the new (e.g. *Sözde ḳızlar*, 1922, *Maḥs͟her*, 1924, *Fatih-Harbiye*, 1931); later he studied cases of psychological stress and crisis and also supernatural phenomena. His partly autobiographical *9uncu hariciye koğuşu* ("External ward No. 9", 1930) is one of the best examples of the psychological novel in Turkish literature.

The best-seller of the early 1920s was *Čalıḳus͟hu* (1922, Eng. tr. *The autobiography of a Turkish girl*, by Sir Windham Deeds, 1950) by Res͟hād Nūrī Güntekin [*q.v.*], who published several similar novels (e.g. *Aḳs͟ham günes͟hi*, 1926, Eng. tr. *Afternoon sun*, by Deeds, 1951). These were sentimental romances mixed with realistic observations of Anatolian life. With the publication of *Yes͟hil gedje* ("Green night", 1928), where the influence of religious fanaticism in Anatolia is studied, Res͟hād Nūrī changed his manner and wrote a series of novels dealing with social change brought about by the reforms of the 1920s, (e.g. *Yaprak dökümü*, 1930). Güntekin perfected the literary language based on spoken Turkish initiated by ʿOmer Seyf el-Dīn and was recognised as one of the masters of modern Turkish prose until the middle of the 1930s, when a profound transformation of the language, style and literary taste began to take place.

The early generations of novelists of the Republican era inaugurated a new approach to the novel which began in the 1930s, and gathering momentum in the 1940s, matured in the 1950s and 1960s. For the majority of contemporary writers, the novel is only a vehicle to convey ideas, to prove a point and to discuss the burning problems of modern Turkey. Except for sporadic cases, for nearly forty years novelists have been concentrating mainly on the following themes:

(1) The background and various episodes of the War of Liberation; (2) The plight of the villagers and provincial townspeople; (3) The struggle of the peasants against exploiting land-owners and corrupt bureaucracy; (4) Unemployment in the villages, and peasant migration to labour areas (cotton fields, etc.); (5) The peasant migrations to the cities in search of work and its consequences; (6) Peasants turned brigands as a result of gross injustice; (7) The problems of the peasant populations of the shanty-towns (*gecekondu*) in city suburbs; (8) The problems of illiteracy and educating children (particularly girls) in villages; (9) The influence of religious exploitation on the masses in villages and towns; (10) The plight of peasant migrant workers in Europe,

particularly Germany; (11) Problems arising from long-sojourn of Turkish worker-families in Europe; (12) The exploitation of the defenceless citizens by the *nouveaux-riches* business classes in the cities; (13) The ravages of partisan politics in villages and provincial towns; (14) The problems of women in general and working women in particular; etc.

In short, all the problems of a rapidly developing and industrialising, once mainly rural, society where a population explosion and a universal yearning for better living defy the dexterity of all government. The days of the "art for art's sake" principle of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* days are left far behind: the contemporary Turkish novelist has no time or leisure for telling stories of personal woes.

Leading names of the modern period are: the pioneer Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAlī (1907-48), already mentioned) whose novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* ("Yusuf from Kuyucak", 1937) is a masterly description of life in a small western Anatolian provincial town at the beginning of the century; Orhan Kemal (1914-70), who wrote with a warm and deeply human style the epic of the Turkish "little man"; and Kemal Tahir (1910-73 [*q.v.*]), who spent long years in Anatolian prisons where he collected his material on a series of novels on the life and problems of the central Anatolian peasantry and small town communities. He also wrote several period novels on episodes of early and modern Turkish history. Further, Samim Kocagöz (b. 1916) wrote on the peasant-landowner relationship in the Aegean area and also related episodes of the Anatolian resistance movement; Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922) excels in describing, with an epic style inspired by Turkish folk tales, the life and struggles of the peasantry in the Adana area; and Fakir Baykurt (b. 1929), of peasant origin himself, describes the life and problems of southern Anatolian villages, etc. (The majority of short story writers cited above are also known as novelists, and most of them should be counted in this category.)

Outside this category, there are novelists who belong to previous generations but who published their work in the 1930s or later: The short story writer Memdûḥ Shewket Esendal (1883-1952), published a remarkable novel *Ayaşlı ve kiracıları* ("The man from Ayaş and his tenants", 1934), a powerful study of a group of disparate types during the early years of the new capital, Ankara. Midḥat Djemāl Kuntay (1885-1951), a minor epic poet and biographer, wrote a single novel, *Üç Istanbul* ("Three Istanbuls", 1938). Planned as a period novel, it is rather a series of loosely-connected sketches on the life and character of Ottoman society and government in Istanbul during the period of decay and disintegration of the Empire (1890-1920). It is a fascinating panorama of events and of personalities, Ottoman, Levantine and foreign, told with a personal, elaborate and, in places, precious style. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Shināsī Ḥiṣār (1883-1963 [*q.v.*]), who published some poems and critical essays in the 1920s, produced his first novel in 1941 at the age of fifty eight, *Fahim Bey ve biz* ("Fahim Bey and our family"), a powerful character study of an Istanbul type at the turn of the century, an inefficient civil servant turned businessman. After the great success of this novel, Ḥiṣār wrote several others, all in an anachronistic style which nostalgically evoke the Istanbul of 1900. Lastly, the unusual writer Haliḳarnas Balıḳčısı the famous exile of Bodrum (Halicarnassus), must be mentioned, who produced his first novel at the age of sixty (*Aganta, Burina, Burinata*, 1946) and devoted his entire work to the epic of the sea and seamen of the Aegean.

Bibliography: Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede roman*, Istanbul 1936; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu asır türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1956; Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman*, i, 1959, ii and iii 1965; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*², 1970-1; Fethi Naci, *On türk romanı*, Istanbul 1971; Hilmi Yavuz, *Roman kavramı ve türk romanı*; *Türk Dili*, special numbers on the novel and short stories; *Roman özel sayısı I*, *Roman özel sayısı II*, *Türk öykücülüğü özel sayısı*, *Türk romanında kurtuluş savaşı özel sayısı*, Ankara, 1962-77. (Fahir İz)

4. In Persian literature.

In Persian the term *ḳiṣṣa* (together with its approximate synonyms *ḥikāyat*, *afsāna*, *dāstān*) covers a number of different literary forms, and while this article must be concerned primarily with the modern application, it is also true that the more traditional manifestations have had some influence on recent developments. One of the earliest uses of the term seems to have been in the sense of "biography". Examples of this range from the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, the title given to a number of works, of which one of the earliest and most popular is that by Mawlānā Muḥammad Djuwayrī, said to have been written in 352/963, containing biographies of the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, to, at the other extreme, the *ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ* written by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī in 1290/1873 and consisting of accounts of leading Shīʿī divines, to which frequent reference is made in E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iv, 354-449 *passim*. A condensation of this work was published in 1941 by Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamāl-zāda under the title *Ḳiṣṣa-yi ḳiṣṣa-hā*.

A second group includes pseudo-biographical works of a largely fictional nature. A classic example of this *genre* is the *ḳiṣṣa-yi Ḥamza* or *Ḥamza-nāma*, the hero of which was a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad and the story of whose exploits is said to have been commissioned by a namesake who led a rebellion in Sīstān at the end of the 2nd/8th century. The story is extant in a number of versions, some parts of which, judging from their style, may well go back to the 3rd/9th century. Another example in a slightly different class is the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, the account of the deeds of a putative descendant of the legendary hero Rustam, said to have been a contemporary of the Sāsānid monarch Khusraw Parwīz; the earliest surviving version of this is the *Rāḥat al-arwāḥ*, composed (in prose) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Daḳāyiḳī Marwazī in the 6th/12th century.

From this phase we move by a natural progression to the traditional romance with few or no historical or religious overtones. Some of these are by known authors—ranging from the famous *mathnawī*s of classical poets like Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī and Djāmī, retelling the stories of Laylā and Madjnūn, Khusraw and Shīrīn, Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, and so on—to the works of lesser or otherwise unknown writers, like Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn*, ʿAyyūḳī's *Warḳa wa Gulshāh*, or the prose version of *Samak-i ʿAyyār* by Farāmarz b. Khudādād, all these dating from the 5th/11th century. Many such romances have been handed down orally in more or less corrupted versions, until they finally achieved permanence in manuscript or, most recently, in "chapbook" form. Characteristic examples are the stories of Ḥusayn-i Kurd, Bahrām and Gulandām, Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī, Shīrūya, Falaknāz and Khurshīdāfarīn,

Malik Djamshīd, Nadjmā-yi Shīrāzī and Nūsh-āfarīn. Many of these must be of considerable antiquity, while others (for instance, the story of Amīr Arslān, known to have been composed, though doubtless on a foundation of traditional material, by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's storyteller, Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Naḳīb al-Mamālik, during the second half of the 13th/19th century) are comparatively recent. Such stories, often qualified by such epithets as *shīrīn*, *shīrīn-ʿibārat*, are part of the stock-in-trade of the *naḳḳāl* or *ḳiṣṣa-gū*, both professional and amateur, who provide entertainment alike for the clients of coffee-houses, the children of private households, and the peasants of rural villages. In a similar tradition are the humorous anecdotes of Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn and Mullā Buhlūl-i ʿĀḳil, whose Iranian versions have not yet been given the attention they have received, for instance, in the Turkish folk-literature area. This vast reservoir of oral narrative, which in addition to the long romances provides innumerable examples of every category of folk-tale —animal tales, fairy stories, tales of magic, moral and satirical anecdotes—has been sadly neglected in the past (in spite of early collections like *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Marzbān-nāma*, *Sindbād-nāma*, *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* and *Riyāḍ al-ḥikāyāt*), and it is only within the present century that serious attempts have been made by scholars and anthropologists, both privately and officially-sponsored, to collect and preserve this treasury of popular literature.

This neglect may account for the fact that, when the art of story-telling and novel-writing was revived on the literary level during the early years of the present century, models were sought not in Iran's own literary tradition but rather from the flourishing ateliers of Western Europe. Indeed, it is significant that the Persian language does not yet have a word for "novel", but still uses the French *roman* (*rumān*). In making this judgment, we are consciously leaving out of account such works as *Ruʾyā-yi ṣādiḳa* (1900), *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* (1905), and *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bayg* (1903-9), since the story element in these is subordinate, the primary purpose of the semi-anonymous authors being to expose social and political abuses in pre-Revolution Iran through the medium of a fictionalised travelogue. The authors of the first novels proper may indeed have had similar motives in setting their tales in remote historical periods, but the European influence is unmistakeable, not only in the clear debt owed to the historical novels of such writers as Alexandre Dumas (several of which had been translated into Persian), but even in the use of European forms of Persian names from the Achaemenid and Sāsānid periods. Among the more noteworthy of these novels are the trilogy by Muḥammad Bāḳir Khusrawī, *Shams u Ṭughrā*, *Mārī-yi Winīsī* and *Ṭughrul u Humāy*, published in 1909-10, three independent novels whose common link is their single hero and their setting in the period of the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century; another trilogy by Shaykh Mūsā Nathrī, *ʿIshḳ u salṭanat*, *Sitāra-yi Līdī* and *Sargudhasht-i Shāhzāda Khānum-i Bābulī*, published in 1919, 1924-5 and 1931-2 respectively, and set in the reign of Cyrus the Great; *Dāstān-i Bāstān*, by Ḥasan Badīʿ, the Achaemenid background of which is a mixture of elements drawn indiscriminately from the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī and the works of Herodotus; and a long series of works by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ṣanʿatī-zāda Kirmānī, beginning with *Dāmgustarān*, a two-volume novel published in 1921 and 1926 and set in the period of the rebellion of Mazdak and the fall of the Sāsānid dynasty, and continuing with stories from such widely separated historical periods as the reign of Shāpūr the Great (*Dāstān-i Mānī-yi naḳḳāsh*, 1927), the rise of the Sāsānid dynasty (*Salaḥshūr*, 1933), the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty by the ʿAbbāsids (*Siyāh-pūshān*, 1944), the reign of Nādir Shāh (*Nādir, fātiḥ-i Dihlī*, 1956), and even the science-fiction future (*Rustam dar ḳarn-i bīst u duwwum*, 1935). Most of these works are noteworthy as pioneering efforts rather than through intrinsic literary value. Their language is literary, and even in the dialogues shows little attempt to adjust style to speaker, let alone to use colloquialisms; they are discursive and rambling, and historically full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Their inspiration comes from the romantic historical novel of 19th century Europe rather from any native source. If they do reflect any particular society, it is rather that of the writers themselves, and in this respect at least the novels throw interesting light on contemporary Iran.

However, the popular success of these early works encouraged many other writers to follow their example, and a long list of such books, of varying merit, have appeared and continue to appear up to the present day. A fairly comprehensive list will be found in Kamshad's *Modern Persian prose literature*, 52-3, and it is sufficient here to mention a few of the outstanding names. The list includes a number of recognised scholars—Saʿīd Nafīsī, Yaḥyā Ḳarīb, Riḍā-zāda Shafaḳ, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz—whose writing is marked by a greater attention to accurate detail than some of their rivals, like ʿAlī Djalālī, Raḥīmzāda Ṣafawī, Ḥusayn Masrūr, Ḥaydar ʿAlī Kamālī, Djawād Fāḍil, Shīrāzpūr Partaw, and others whose novels show almost a tendency to revert to the style of the popular romances. Few writers have ventured into the field of contemporary history. A notable exception is Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Ādamiyyat's *Dalīrān-i Tangistānī*, first published in serial form in 1931 and recounting an episode in the southern tribal disturbances during the ffirst World War; though it appeared a year or two later in book form, it was subsequently suppressed and only reappeared after the abdication of Riḍā Shāh.

However, although contemporary history was too dangerous a subject for most writers, this did not apply to general social criticism, which indeed was quite consonant with the reforming mood of the years of Riḍā Shāh's reign. The theme that attracted most attention, partly perhaps because of the opportunities it offered to less talented and scrupulous writers to exploit sensationalism, was that of the position of women in traditional Iranian society. One of the first novels to take up this subject was Mushfiḳ Kāẓimī's *Ṭihrān-i makhūf* (1922), a somewhat rambling work woven round the subject of true love thwarted by family greed and social custom. Like a number of his successors, Kāẓimī devotes a good deal of space to the discussion and description of prostitution. ʿAbbās Khalīlī, Rabīʿ Anṣārī and Djahāngīr Djalīlī are other writers of this period who base their criticism of social conditions and the frustrations of youth on the oppression and in particular prostitution of women. The chief merit of these works is the light they throw on Iranian society, particularly of the middle class, under the impact of modernisation and western influences. Otherwise their style is rambling and discursive, with frequent digressions into moralising, while the language is still literary and ponderous.

A few writers of this category deserve fuller

mention. Muḥammad Masʿūd (Dihātī), who was assassinated in 1947 in consequence of his editorship of an outspoken and often slanderous newspaper, *Mard-i imrūz*, wrote a trilogy in 1932-4—*Tafrīḥāt-i s̲h̲ab*, *Dar talās̲h̲-i maʿās̲h̲* and *As̲h̲raf-i makh̲lūḳāt*—in which he draws on his own experience of lower middle class life in the provinces and Tehran. These novels were variously praised for their frankness and condemned for their pessimism and ribaldry. A later unfinished trilogy—*Gulhāʾī ki dar d̲j̲ahannam mirūyad* (1942) and *Bahār-i ʿumr* (1946)—is in the same vein, but shows a greater degree of maturity and objectivity. ʿAlī Das̲h̲tī is also well-known as a journalist and politician, and in addition has achieved distinction as an essayist and literary historian and critic. He earns mention here, however, for his three novels *Fitna* (1943), *D̲j̲ādū* (1951) and *Hindū* (1955). Like the others, these take the position of women in society as their central theme, but here it is the women of the upper classes that are under the microscope, and Das̲h̲tī's work has been criticised for its concentration on a rather narrow and repetitive stratum of Iranian life. His language, while no better suited to his subject than the others, is enjoyable for his skill in the handling of words and for his admittedly sometimes rather forced employment of Arabic and European terms. Muḥammad Ḥid̲j̲āzī is noted for a series of novels—*Humā* (1927), *Parīčihr* (1929), *Zībā* (1936-48), *Parwāna* (1952) and *Sirishk* (1953)—which also, as the names of the first four imply, have a woman as the central character. Ḥid̲j̲āzī's view of middle-class society, however, is less satirical and caustic than those portrayed by Das̲h̲tī and Dihātī, and sentimental philosophising expressed in high-flown language plays a greater part. Ḥid̲j̲āzī may also be regarded as one of the pioneers of the art of the short story, which during and since his time has tended in Iran to overshadow the full-length novel, perhaps because of its conciseness and discouragement of diffuseness and prolixity. Ḥid̲j̲āzī's many short stories are buried in some half-dozen collections of essays and sketches, notably *Āyina*, *Andīs̲h̲a*, *Nasīm*, published at intervals over the period 1932-60. Other novelists who deserve mention include Mahdī Ḥamīdī, for his three-part novel *ʿIshḳ-i dar-bi-dar* (completed in 1940), though he is better known as a poet; Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn S̲h̲ādmān for his *Tārīkī wa rawshnāʾī* (1950); and ʿAlī Muḥammad Afg̲h̲ānī for his two encyclopaedic novels *S̲h̲awhar-i Āhū K̲h̲ānum* (1961) and *S̲h̲ādkāmān-i darra-yi Ḳara-sū* (1966), the first of these being hailed at the time as a major breakthrough for the Iranian novel, though apart from its length it cannot be regarded as more than a worthy continuation of the tradition set by its predecessors mentioned above.

The true innovators are rather to be found in the field of the short story, and here the first name to be mentioned is that of Muḥammad ʿAlī D̲j̲amālzāda, whose first collection appeared in 1921 under the title *Yakī būd wa yakī nabūd*. The title itself is indicative of a new approach to the art of story-writing, for it is the conventional phrase used to open the traditional folk-tale ("Once upon a time"). In fact D̲j̲amālzāda's stories do not owe as much to folk-literature as this might suggest, though at least one of the six in this collection takes its basic plot from a well-known folk-tale (*Dūsti-yi K̲h̲āla K̲h̲irsa*). His contribution to the development of Persian prose lay rather in his insistence on the importance of using language that the ordinary people can understand, and although he does not go quite so far as to employ colloquial and dialect forms, except occasionally, his writings are nevertheless a rich mine of idiomatic and proverbial expressions. Indeed he has been criticised for using this stock rather in the manner of a card-index, instead of attempting to reproduce the tones and rhythms of common speech. D̲j̲amālzāda, like most writers of his time, indulges in social criticism; but the effectiveness of this is largely discounted by the author's long residence abroad and his consequent ignorance of present-day conditions. After his first volume of stories, D̲j̲amālzāda published nothing more for twenty years; but then there followed four more volumes of short stories, *ʿAmū Ḥusayn ʿAlī* (1942, extensively revised as *S̲h̲āhkār*, 1967), *Talk̲h̲ u S̲h̲īrīn* (1955), *G̲h̲ayr az K̲h̲udā hīčkas nabūd* (1961), and *Āsmān u Rismān* (1964), and six novels, *Dār al-mad̲j̲ānīn* (1942), *Ṣaḥrā-yi mahs̲h̲ar* (1944), *Ḳultas̲h̲an-i dīwān* (1945), *Rāh-i-āb-nāma* (1947), *Maʿṣūma-yi S̲h̲īrāzī* (1953), and *Sar u tah-i yak karbās* (1955). D̲j̲amālzāda's literary life of more than forty years has assured him a high place in Iranian literary history, even though the momentum of his original incursion into the field was not maintained in his subsequent writings.

The credit for changing the direction of Persian prose writing must go rather to a somewhat younger man whose literary career lasted only half as long, as well as to others who associated with him or followed his example. Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat's [*q.v.*] first published work dates from 1923, when he was only twenty, but his contribution to story-telling began in 1930 when, shortly after his return from studying in Paris, he published *Zinda bi-gūr*, a collection of eight short stories. The next four years marked the first fruitful period of creative writing; during this time he was the leader of a group of friends known to themselves and others as the *Rabʿa*, the "Group of Four", who included in addition to Hidāyat himself Masʿūd Farzād, with whom in 1934 he collaborated on a volume of satirical sketches (*Wag̲h̲ wag̲h̲ sāhāb*), Mud̲j̲tabā Mīnuwī, with whom he wrote an historical drama in three acts (*Māzyār*, 1933), and Buzurg ʿAlawī, the only other member of the Four to achieve distinction as a writer of fiction (the other two had noteworthy careers as scholars). From Hidāyat's pen came two more volumes of short stories, *Sih ḳaṭra k̲h̲ūn* (1932), *Sāya-yi raws̲h̲an* (1933), and a short novel, *ʿAlawiyya K̲h̲ānum* (1933), as well as a satirical play, *Afsāna-yi Āfarīnas̲h̲* (written in 1930 but not published until 1946), books and articles on literary topics, folklore and magic, and translations from French. The range of this output shows the lines along which Hidāyat was developing. Like D̲j̲amālzāda, he wanted to write in the language of the people; but he achieved this not by having at his elbow a stock of idiomatic expressions, but through an ear well-attuned to the speech of his contemporaries, particularly those of the lower social classes. Moreover, he did not confine himself to any one milieu or class, but wrote with equal insight of all, though his sympathies were always with the underdog. This period in his writing culminated in an astonishing work, *Būf-i kūr* (not published until 1937, and then only in a privately duplicated edition in India—full publication had to wait until 1941). So much has been written about this essay in surrealism that it would be futile to attempt to add anything here, and it is sufficient to say that this one work has established Hidāyat as a writer of international calibre.

After the change of régime in 1941, Hidāyat began

to write fiction again (the intervening six years had seen only a handful of literary articles and some translations from Pahlavi), and by 1947 he had published two more collections of short stories (*Sag-i wilgard*, 1943, and *Wilangārī*, 1944), a novel (*Ḥādjdjī Āḳā*, 1945), and two long stories (*Āb-i zindagī*, 1944, and *Fardā*, 1946), as well as a quantity of articles and translations. The work of this period shows a greater awareness of political questions and even for a time a degree of optimism quite out of character with the prevailing trend of his writing. However, this mood was not to last. In 1947 he wound up his fiction-writing with a searing and in places scurrilous satire on Iranian society, cast in the form of a mock history of the Pearl Cannon that used to stand in the centre of Tehran and served as a point of pilgrimage and petition for the uneducated women of the city (characteristically, the manuscripts of this work, which has never been published, carry the "spoonerised" "byline" Hādī Ṣidāḳat). Also possibly from this period, though probably earlier, is another unpublished and undated work, *al-Biʿthat al-islāmiyya ilā 'l-bilād al-afrandjiyya*, a satirical account of a fictional Muslim mission to Europe, in which he takes the opportunity to lampoon typical figures in the religious and political establishment. Four years later Hidāyat died in Paris by his own hand.

His close friend and colleague, Buzurg ʿAlawī, though sharing many of his aims and ideals, differed from him in a number of respects. He took less interest in literature and folklore, and was more deeply influenced by Freudian psycho-analysis and Marxist political theory. This latter enthusiasm led to his imprisonment in 1937 and to prominence in the newly formed Tūda Party after his release in 1941. Prior to that experience he had written only one volume of short stories (*Čamadān*, 1934), apart from a single story contributed to the volume *Anīrān* (1931), one of the other two contributors to which was Ḥidāyat. In 1941 he published a second volume of short stories (*Waraḳ-pāra-hā-yi zandān*), and in 1952 a third collection (*Nāma-hā*) and a novel (*Čashm-hāyash*). In 1953 he left Iran for East Berlin, whence his output of fiction has been negligible. The fact that his reputation stands so high on such a small foundation is a tribute to the quality of his writing, which shows a strong sense of realism and a profound understanding of character.

The "school" of writing started by the *Rabʿa* attracted a number of imitators and followers, some of whom achieved status as independent writers. Among these must certainly be mentioned Ṣādiḳ Čūbak and Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Čūbak's reputation was established with his first book of short stories, *Khayma-i shabbāzī*, published in 1945, and this was followed by a second collection, *Antarī ki lūṭīyash murda būd* (1949). Like his colleagues, he is interested primarily in the lives and characters of members of the lower classes, and he depicts these with a strong sense of realism, which often leads him to use expressions and idioms that shock his elders. He is also one of the first writers to use colloquial language freely throughout. His second volume of short stories was followed by more than ten years of silence, but in 1963 he published a novel, *Tangsīr*, set in the Tangistān area of his home province of Fārs, which gives a vivid picture of the provincial and tribal life of the south of Iran. Two more volumes of short stories followed, *Rūz-i awwal-i ḳabr* (1965) and *Čirāgh-i Ākhir* (1966), and finally (for so far nothing else has appeared) in 1967 a long kaleidoscopic novel, *Sang-i ṣabūr*, written mainly in dialect, and with passages in dramatic dialogue form introducing characters from history, poetry, and so on.

Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad, who died in 1969, has a wider range of writing than Čūbak, being interested in sociology, folklore, and political questions, on all of which subjects he wrote articles and books. In the field of story-writing he has four volumes of short stories, *Dīd u bāzdīd* (1945), *Az randjī ki mībarīm* (1947), *Sitār* (1948), and *Zan-i ziyādī* (1952). A further five stories were published posthumously under the title *Pandj dāstān*. He also published four novels or long stories, *Sargudhasht-i kandū-hā* (1954), *Mudīr-i madrasa* (1958), *Nūn wa 'l-ḳalam* (1961), and *Nifrīn-i zamīn* (1968). Āl-i Aḥmad's sociological interests show clearly in much of his work, but this is not a criticism of his writing, which is concise and economical, allowing his characters to develop in their own words (which are usually in their colloquial form) rather than through the author's description. Other writers who may be considered as having been influenced by the same school of writing include Muḥammad Iʿtimādzāda (Bih-Ādhīn), Ibrāhīm Gulistān, Iḥsān Ṭabarī, Raḥmat Muṣṭafawī, Sharīʿatmadārī (Darwīsh), and Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad's widow, Sīmīn Dānishwar.

The interest in folklore shown by Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat was shared by other writers, some of whom could indeed claim to have preceded him, for instance, Amīr Ḳulī Amīnī, Kūhī Kirmānī, and Ṣubḥī Muhtadī. Only the lastnamed, however, ventured briefly into the field of original fiction, with a short novel in folk-tale form, *Ḥadjdjī Mullā Zulf ʿAlī* (1947). The two threads rejoined in the writings of Ṣamad Bihrangī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ghulām Ḥusayn Sāʿidī. Both these writers, born in Tabrīz, use the folk-tale form as a medium for allegorical works commenting on contemporary social questions. Bihrangī, who was drowned in 1968, is the author of a series of ostensibly children's stories, all published between 1966 and 1969, of which mention may be made of *Ūldūz wa kulāgh-hā*, *Kačal-i kaftar-bāz*, *Afsāna-yi maḥabbat*, *Māhī-yi siyāh-i kūčūlū*, and *Kūrughlū wa Kačal-i Ḥamza*. A posthumous collection of short stories, *Talkhūn*, was published in 1970. Sāʿidī, who writes his fictional work under the pseudonym Gawhar-i Murād, is best known for his plays, mimes and film scripts; his short story collections include *Khāna-hā-yi shahr-i Rayy* (1955), *Shab-nishīnī-yi bāshukūh* (1960), *Dandīl* (1966), *Wāhima-hā-yi bī-nām-unishān* (1967), *Tars u āz* and *Tūp* (1968). Like Āl-i Aḥmad, he is interested in sociology, and is the author of a number of monographs. Other writers in this category include Ṣādiḳ Humāyūnī, Djamāl Mīr-Ṣādiḳī and Shāpūr Ḳarīb.

The latest phase in fiction-writing shows a trend towards a more introspective approach, perhaps encouraged by current political and social conditions, which are felt to preclude open discussion of current questions. The writers of this category choose a somewhat obscure and allusive mode of expression, which leaves the reader free to make his own interpretation; they are also more concerned with inner feelings and psychological states. One of the first writers in this vein was Taḳī Mudarrisī, whose novel *Yakūlyā wa tanhā'ī-yi ū* appeared in 1956. This was followed in 1966 by *Sharīf Djān*, a novel of the 1930s. Bahman Fursī is known chiefly as a playwright, but his collection of short stories, *Zīr-i dandān-i sag* (1964), attracted favourable notice. Two poets, Maḥmūd Kiyā-Nūsh and Maḥmūd

Ṭayyārī, are also known as story-writers. Two other writers deserve special mention: Hūs̲h̲ang Guls̲h̲īrī for his three novels *S̲h̲āzda Iḥtid̲j̲āb* (1968), *Kristīn wa Kīd* (1971), and *Maʿṣūm-i duwwum* (1972), and Nādir Ibrāhīmī, who since the late sixties has published a steady flow of novels and short stories. Other names include Kāẓim Sādāt-i Is̲h̲kiwarī and Bahrām Ṣādiķī.

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

5. In Urdu.

Until the beginning of the 19th century, prose literature was almost unknown in Urdu. A few prose works had been written in the Deccan as far back as the early 17th century, but they were mostly on religious subjects. A notable exception, however, was Wad̲j̲hī's story *Sab Ras* (1635). This is based on the Persian allegorical *mat̲h̲nawī*, *Dastūr al-ʿus̲h̲s̲h̲āķ*, by Yaḥyā b. Sībak, who is generally known as Fattāḥī Nīsāpūrī (d. 852/1448). *Sab Ras* is written in ornate rhymed prose, and like its Persian source, it tells the story of the romance of Princess Ḥusn (Beauty) and Prince Dil (Heart). All the characters bear similarly allegorical names. The work appears to have been an isolated piece, and it cannot be considered a progenitor of modern Urdu fiction.

There did exist a kind of versified Urdu fiction in the 18th century, namely, the narrative *mat̲h̲nawī*, of which the outstanding example is *Siḥr al-bayān*, by Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. At its best, the *mat̲h̲nawī* included some of the essential elements of the novel—a story with a logical sequence of connected incidents; characterisation, however rudimentary; and vivid description of scenes and social customs. But the plots relied too heavily on the incredible and supernatural.

Another precursor of modern Urdu fiction is to be found in certain collections of short stories within a "frame", which were recited to general audiences, as well as to royal courts and rich households. They are the Urdu equivalents of Arabic collections like *Alf layla wa-layla* and *Sīrat ʿAntar*, and are termed *dāstān* (pl. *dāstāneṅ*). Ralph Russell (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 107) refers his readers to E. W. Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* for a "generally accurate account of how the dastans were recited in India". These cycles of legends were subsequently printed in Lucknow in the press established there in 1858 by Nawal Kis̲h̲ōr (d. 1895). *Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāḥib Ķirān kā ķiṣṣa* recounts the wonderful exploits of a famous uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad in 17 volumes totalling about 17,000 pages. The most popular sections were *Ṭilsim-i Hōs̲h̲rubā* (7 vols.) and *Naws̲h̲ērān-nāma* (2 vols.). Vying in popularity with this vast collection was the seven-volume *Bustān-i k̲h̲ayāl*. These works are generally considered to be of Persian origin; but it is not clear whether the reciters employed by Kis̲h̲ōr to produce his Urdu versions were actually translating Persian texts themselves, or using existing Urdu versions which had been passed from mouth to mouth. The language is highly-coloured and uses rhymes; but the stories recounted were apparently well-known and appreciated in India. The *dāstāneṅ* were tales of chivalry, and, like the *mat̲h̲nawī*, contained a strong element of the supernatural. But whereas a *mat̲h̲nawī* might have a well-formed story, the *dāstān* consisted of a series of short stories or incidents, with little attempt at characterisation.

In the evolution of the Urdu novel, we find the *dāstān* gradually giving way to the European-style novel. Indeed, in some measure the one gradually merged into the other. But the prelude to this transformation takes us to Calcutta, where, in 1800, the British East India Company established Fort William College, to train British officials in the languages, laws and customs of India. The first Principal, John Borthwick Gilchrist, assembled a number of Indian writers, whom he commissioned to produce prose works which could be used as text-books for Urdu and other languages. While not discouraging a sense of style and a modicum of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language. A number of Urdu books were written, some of them fiction, which became popular classics. They were all adaptions from other languages, chiefly Persian but occasionally Sanskrit. The emergence of the Urdu novel later in the century diminished the importance of these works, though they served until the Second World War as text-books for British officials and army officers.

The best-known was Mīr Amman's *Bāg̲h̲-o-bahār* (1801) based on a Persian tale by Amīr K̲h̲usraw [*q.v.*]. It tells the story of four dervishes who are supernaturally guided to a city. There, aided by the King, they discover their long-lost loves. The scene is supposedly Istanbul; but it is described like Dihlī in the last years of the Mug̲h̲als. Since the original Calcutta edition, this book has been frequently reprinted, and an English translation by Duncan Forbes appeared in London in 1862. S. A. B.

Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 18) describes it as "the first prose classic in Urdu... still read for enjoyment". Like other Fort William products, it is written in reasonably straightforward language, and includes good dialogue and characterisation. Amongst other Fort William fiction were *ʿArāʾish-i maḥfil* by ʿAlī Afsōs, and Mīrzā ʿAlī Kāẓim Djawān's *Shakuntalā*, based on the drama by Kālī Das. Not all the fiction written for John Gilchrist was published at the time. Two previously unpublished ones have recently been edited by ʿIbādat Barēlwī. They are by Maẓhar ʿAlī Khān Wilā. *Haft gulshan* (Karachi 1964) is a collection of fables; while *Mādhōnal awr Kām Kandalā* (Karachi 1965) is a short *dāstān*, in 20 chapters. Finally, mention must be made of another Fort William publication which provides a link with the *mathnawī*—Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī Ḥusaynī's *Nathr-i bēnaẓīr* (Calcutta 1803). It is a prose version of Mīr Ḥasan's *Siḥr al-bayān*, including verses quoted from the poem from time to time. Strange to relate, it was published two years earlier than the *mathnawī* itself.

Whether the fiction produced at Fort William forms a definite stage in the evolution of the Urdu novel and short-story, or was merely an interlude, is a matter subject to dispute. Muḥammad Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 212) denies that it was a "formative factor in the development of modern Urdu prose". He adds that, had it never existed, Urdu prose would not have developed any differently. On the other hand, Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 22) maintains that it not only furthered the simplification of Urdu prose, but also popularised prose romances. It is certainly arguable that the simpler prose fostered by the ʿAligarh Movement, and exemplified by the writings of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, and even ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar, is at times reminiscent of "Fort William prose". But of those three, only Sharar wrote fiction.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the Fort William products, they were important enough to stimulate controversy as to what features constituted good Urdu literary prose. Many considered the Fort William prose style too simple to be literary. In fact, the first original prose romance in Urdu, *Fasāna-yi-ʿadjāʾib* by Mīrzā Radjab ʿAlī Bēg Surūr (d. 1867), was regarded, and perhaps intended, as a reply to the Fort William style. He wrote it in about 1824, but it was not published until between 1839 and 1842. It may fairly be described as a *dāstān*, for it is a series of stories of chivalry, with a certain amount of the supernatural, set in a "frame"; but it is in one volume only. The frame is the love-story of Prince Djān-i ʿālam and Princess Andjuman-ārā. The stories or incidents describe the dangers, and fights with men and magicians, that the hero has to face in order to win her. The frame is a familiar one, and recurs in Sarshar's *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*. The language contains much rhetoric and rhyme, and it is interesting to note that Surūr wrote it in Urdu only because he feared that his command of Arabic and Persian was inadequate.

However, it was not until the 1860s and 1870s that the Urdu novel, in the European sense, emerged. There were good reasons for this. English became not only the language of government and higher education, but also a common medium of communication between the various peoples of India. English novels became familiar in the original language. Later, a number were "translated", or, more accurately, adapted into Urdu, as were selections of short stories. But as far as can be ascertained, these "translations" did not become common until after the First World War, by which time the Urdu novel was already flourishing. Another factor favouring Urdu fiction was the appearance of numerous newspapers and magazines, which published novels either in instalments, or as supplementary special issues. Fiction therefore became cheap enough to attract a wide readership. Thirdly, the ʿAlīgarh Movement made prose a respected literary medium, and also demonstrated that prose need not be artificial, full of rare words, balanced sentences and rhymes, to be artistic. During the last thirty years of the life of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1813-98), the novel became an established form.

Of the three great novelists writing in this period, the first, chronologically, was Nadhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912). But it is more logical to discuss Pandit Ratan Nāth Sarshār (1845-1903), first, as his stories retain some features of the *dāstān*. Born in Lucknow, after a sketchy education he worked for the newspaper *Awadh panč*, then for its rival, the *Awadh akhbār*, of which the proprietor Nawal Kishōr appointed him editor. His gigantic picaresque novel *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*, on which his fame rests, appeared in this newspaper in instalments in 1878 and 1879, and was then published in book form in Lucknow in 1880, in four volumes totalling about 1700 double-columned pages. It is more like a collection of short stories and anecdotes than a novel, reflecting both Sarshār's untidy and disorganised way of life and the demands of serialisation, which required him to produce regular instalments with or without inspiration. According to Khūrshīd (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 183), the idea of the work arose from a discussion about *Don Quixote* among members of the staff of the paper. Sarshar's book was a tremendous success, and it was imitated by many subsequent novelists.

The "frame" of *Fasāna-yi-Āzād* is that the noble and chivalrous Āzād, of the city of Lucknow, falls in love with the beautiful Ḥusn-ārā. In order to win her hand, he has to go and fight for the Turks against the Russians, and his adventures are recounted in the book. He has a companion, Khōdjī, who is a figure of fun. In fact, in many ways, the roles of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are reversed in Āzād and Khōdjī. The work is so rich in characters, incidents and scenes that it defies description in a brief account. There are major sub-plots as well as the main "frame", and the incidents described are both numerous and varied, ranging from fighting and flirtation to discussions of poetry. It is notable for its pictures of Lucknow life. But above all, it is full of dialogue, often racy, and suiting the language to the speaker. A Western reader picking it up for the first time might think, from many pages, that it is a drama, with each speaker's name in bold letters at the beginning of the line, followed by "stage directions" and then what he or she says. This method of setting out dialogue was followed by a number of Urdu novelists—for example, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar.

The hero, Āzād, resembles the *dāstān* hero—handsome, brave, a great lover and a champion of what is right. The realistic pictures, however, are modern, sometimes reminding us of Dickens; and there is very little of the supernatural. Thus it is a transitional work, between the *dāstān* and the novel; though by the time it was published, three of Nadhīr Aḥmad's novels had already appeared, with their realistic contemporary social themes. However, Sarshar wrote to entertain his readers. The abundant variety of characters, including many from the underworld

and the demi-monde; the wit and humour; the basic realism, despite a veneer of exaggeration—all these appealed so strongly to the readers, that it is said that when it first appeared in serial form, each new instalment was avidly awaited, and people rushed to buy the *Awadh akhbār* because of it.

Such a tour-de-force is hard to repeat; and Sars͟hār's Bohemian life-style, especially his addiction to alcohol, seems to have affected his work. Of his later novels, *K͟hudā'i fawdjdār* is an abridged and adapted version of Cervantes' novel. His *Kāmnī* is his only novel with a Hindu background—which is rather surprising, since he was himself a Hindu.

Nad͟hīr Aḥmad (1836-1912) is considered by many to be the first modern novelist in Urdu, especially by those who prefer a novel to be a study of contemporary social life, and who like it to have a message. Strange to relate, he became a novelist by accident. Educated at Delhi College, he worked first as a schoolmaster, then an inspector of education, and subsequently in various posts in the Revenue Department. His first "novel", *Mirā'at al-ʿarūs* ("The bride's mirror") (1869) was written for his own daughters to read privately; it was a moral tale to teach them the qualities required of a good and successful wife. A British Director of Public Instruction saw the manuscript, and urged Nad͟hīr Aḥmad to have it published. Because of its educational value and high moral tone, the Indian Government bought a thousand copies. Nad͟hīr Aḥmad achieves his didactic aim by describing two sisters and comparing their married life. Akbarī is a spoilt girl who proves incapable of running a house; while Aṣg͟harī is efficient and practical, almost a model of all the virtues. In 1873 he followed it with a sequel, *Banāt al-naʿs͟h*. Its subject is girls' education, but it is more like a series of lessons than a story. *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ* (1877) is a more ambitious family tale. It tells how Naṣūḥ, while ill, repents; and, having previously allowed his children to do as they like, he now tries to reform them as well as himself. *Fasāna-yi-Mubtalā* (1885) treats of the evils of polygamy. *Ibn al-waḳt* (1888) describes the troubles of an Anglicised Indian who shuns his fellows Indians. But when his only British friend leaves the country, he finds himself isolated. All these novels, then, are stories with a moral, and the very names of many of the characters are descriptive of them: thus Naṣūḥ (repentant) and Mubtalā (afflicted).

These novels struck a new note and have many attractive qualities. They are straightforward stories of manageable (one-volume) size, in uncomplicated yet elegant style, dealing with the contemporary social scene and its problems. Their high moral tone, somewhat reminiscent of Victorian England, made them suitable reading for people of all ages and both sexes; and they were widely read, and frequently re-printed up to the Second World War. Nad͟hīr Aḥmad improved with experience, and his later novels are superior to his earlier ones in both character development and plot construction. But his earlier ones remained the most popular—especially *Mirā'at al-ʿarūs* and *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ*. More recently, *Ibn al-waḳt* has attracted attention, because of its relevance to the last years of the British Rād͟j.

The main objection to these novels has been on grounds of the domination of the didactic aim; so much so, that it has been suggested that they are not real novels at all, but pleas for social reforms in the guise of novels. There is also a lack of humour in them. Nevertheless, they mark the advent of the social novel in Urdu.

Two distinct genres of novel, then, had emerged by the last quarter of the 19th century—the picaresque type of Sars͟hār, and the social type of Nad͟hīr Aḥmad. Both writers were imitated, and there was a burst of activity in both genres. The picaresque type gradually lost its appeal, and though many later examples could be mentioned, none achieved anything approaching Sars͟hār's success. The social novel, however, was continued unabated until the present time, and in 1899 an outstanding example appeared—*Umrāō D͟jān Adā*, by Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (1858-1931). Ralph Russell describes it as the first true novel in Urdu (*op. cit.*, 132). It is the story of a retired high-class Lucknow prostitute, whose name forms the title, and who tells her life-story to the author. Like Sars͟hār, Ruswā tells much of the story in dialogue form, and the book is very readable and entertaining. As Muḥammad Sadiq says (*op. cit.*, 355), the didactic element emerges before the end. But what is remarkable in Ruswā's approach is his sympathetic and perceptive attitude to his heroine. He does not blame her, neither does he condone her sinful life, which has made her virtually a social outcast. He shows understanding without being sentimental. Ruswā wrote several other novels, but was unable to repeat the success of *Umrāō D͟jān Adā*.

As the 19th century drew to its close, a third genre of Urdu fiction appeared, the historical novel. Its pioneer was ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm S͟harar (1860-1926), a journalist and historian, and a leading figure in the ʿAligarh Movement. Born in Lucknow, he worked there for 5 years as Assistant Editor of the *Awadh panč*. In 1887, he started the magazine *Dil gudāz*, which he continued, with interruptions, until his death. His earlier novels were first published in serial form; but later ones were published whole, and sold cheaply as supplements to the magazine. The idea of writing historical novels came to him while reading Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman* during a train journey. Struck by the unfavourable light in which Scott depicted Muslims, he decided to try to redress the balance, and produced *Malik-i-ʿAzīz awr Ward͟jāna*. He had previously published a social novel, *Dilkasp*. But though he did not completely abandon this genre, the majority of his novels, numbering about 35, are historical. They contain unashamed propaganda for Islam, and paint Christianity in a poor light; but they are vivid and exciting stories of heroism and romance, with brave heroes, cruel villains, and beautiful heroines—the latter often Christians girls who fall in love with Muslims. They achieved enormous popularity, because S͟harar knew how to write a good story and sustain interest. His descriptive passages are convincing without being over-long, and there is considerable dialogue. But the drama often deteriorates into melodrama. His dénouements are frequently bloodthirsty, and he lingers too long over cruelty and killing for modern tastes. Historical veracity is often lacking, and there are anachronisms. Still, there is no doubt that he could draw characters credibly if not subtly. His language is eclectic and attractive, without being forced; and it still reads well. And though overladen with Arabic expressions for some tastes, this suits his themes.

His novels span the Islamic world from Spain to Africa, Turkey, the Middle East and India; whilst in time they range from the 7th to the 19th centuries. *Flōrā Flōrindā* (1897), a tale of Christians and Muslims in mediaeval Spain, is regarded as one of his best novels. The heroine, Flōrā, is the daughter

of a Muslim father who is brought up as a Christian. She is later raped by a "patriarch", whose child she bears, and whom she kills in the end. The story is highly involved, and the swift dénouement which occupies only 13 pages out of a total of 350, leaves almost all the main characters killed. Equally popular was *Firdaws-i-barīn* (1899), which to the present writer, is more convincing. The background to the story is the conquest of the valley of the Assassins (*Ḥashshāshiyya*) and their fortress of Alamût by Hûlāgû Khān in 1257. The hero and heroine, Ḥusayn and Zamurrad, have been in the power of the Assassin leader, Khūrshāh, but in the end they side with Hûlāgû against him. There is a vivid description of the final battle and the destruction of the "sublime paradise" of the Assassins, with the hero Ḥusayn playing a major rôle. Finally, Hûlāgû arranges for Ḥusayn and Zamurrad to marry, and they leave together for Mecca and the Pilgrimage. This accords somewhat ill with Ḥusayn's obvious enjoyment of prolonging the agony of those whom he kills in the final battle. But it is the sort of melodrama which doubtless appealed to the readers of 1899.

It is difficult to single out names of 20th century Urdu novelists who continued social and historical novels. Some of them, like Prēm Čand and M. Aslam, are better known as short-story writers. Rāshid al-Khayrī (1868-1936) was one of the most successful, and though best-known for his social novels, he also wrote a number of historical ones. His social novels, though not without humour, earned him the nickname of *Muṣawwir-i-ghamm* ("depicter of sorrows"). The main theme is the position of woman in Islamic society. His trilogy *Subḥ-i-zindagī*, *Shām-i-zindagī* and *Shab-i-zindagī*, is worthy of note. Among his historical novels, *ʿArūs-i Karbalā* deserves mention. The "bride" of the title is a Christian widow who feels drawn to Islam, and finally marries ʿUbayd, a partisan of al-Ḥusayn at the battle. Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 118) regards Rāshid al-Khayrī's historical novels as "poor stuff", lacking social colour and realism.

The Urdu short story is held by most Indian and Pakistani critics to be an importation from the West, although some of its elements may be seen in stories and anecdotes of the *dāstān*, especially *Fasāna-yi-ʿadjāʾib* and *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*.

M. Aslam in his introduction to one of his short-story collections, *Ḥaḳīḳatēṅ awr ḥikāyatēṅ* (Lahore 1972, 3) maintains that the reverse is true, and that the Europeans really took the short-story from the Muslims! He goes on to say that the short-story originated in religious literature such as the Old Testament and the Ḳurʾān, and attempts to substantiate this from stories in the Ḳurʾān. However, there is no doubt that the creator of the genre in its modern sense, in Urdu, was Prēm Čand (real name Dhanpat Rāʾē) (1880-1937). Born near Benares, he was a Hindu, and wrote in both Hindi and Urdu: indeed some of his fiction appeared in both languages —or in both scripts, Arabic and Devanagri. He started his writing career as a novelist, then turned to the short-story, which was at that time in its infancy in India. He was a prolific writer, and his short stories were collected in a number of volumes, including *Prēm paččīsī*, *Prēm battīsī*, *Prēm čālīsī*, *Wāridāt* and *Zād-i-rāb*. Prēm Čand is noted for his pictures of village life. He depicts the poor and humble as inherently good, but compelled to do wrong by the pressures of poverty and temptation. They are exploited by landowners and rich employers, and are a prey to fear, superstitions and religious bigotry. For such people little acts or accidents may have dire effects. Prēm Čand, then, was no less a pleader for social reform than Nadhīr Aḥmad. But whereas the latter concentrated on the middle class, Prēm described the lower classes, especially in villages. A master of characterisation, style and form, he made the short story his métier, and whilst his novels are now neglected, many of his short stories are acknowledged masterpieces.

Among later short story writers, mention should be made of M. Aslam (*Ēm Aslam*). the author of over a hundred books. Many of his short stories are romantic, and he depicts the instability of middle-class society in a period of change. Finally, there have been several brilliant writers of humorous short stories, and essays in story form. They include Shawkat Thānawī, Mirzā ʿAẓīm Bēg Čughtāʾī and Paṭras Bukhārī (1898-1958).

A word must be said about the nomenclature of Urdu fiction, which includes Hindi, Persian, Arabic and English terms. *Dāstān* has already been mentioned. *Kahānī* was used chiefly for fables, anecdotes and short stories. Throughout most of the 19th century, the term *fasāna*, with its variant, *afsāna*, was current. Nadhīr Aḥmad's novels were called *ḳiṣṣa*, but as we have seen, he also used the term *fasāna*. *Ḥikāyat* has been used considerably, particularly for the short-story. It seems likely that Sharar was the first to employ the English word "novel" (Urdu, *nāwal*) and this is now the ommonest name for a novel. A short-story is now usually called *afsāna*—more properly, *mukhtaṣar afsāna*.

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(J. A. Haywood)

6. In Malaysia and Indonesia.

In dictionaries of older Malay, *ḳiṣṣa* is defined as "story, narrative episode". It occurs regularly in this sense in literary words from the 17th century onwards, and, in addition, is used in Malay historiographical works and romances as a kind of pericope marker to introduce a new stage or episode in a longer narrative.

It appears in the title of a Malay adaptation of the Stories of the Prophets, *Ḳiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* (largely the version of al-Kisā'ī) which became popular from the 17th century onwards, and in more recent times was the title of an Indonesian magazine, *Kisah* (Jakarta 1953-8) devoted to the short story. It appears in the title of a collection of short stories, purely western and totally secular in theme and content by Armijn Pané, *Kisah Antara Manusia*. Nevertheless, it did not establish itself as the title of a genre. For shorter length narratives, the Sanskrit-derived *cerita* (story) was preferred, with, in imitation of European usage, the qualifying adjective *pendek* ("short"), the two words now being abbreviated to *cerpen*.

The short story is currently the most popular literary form in Indonesia and Malaysia. Its roots are to be found in local fables and animal stories, in short narratives of Perso-Arabic origin, especially those set within frame-collections, and in the flowering of the genre in late 19th century Europe. Although none of the great Arabic collections of stories such as *al-Bukhalā'*, *al-Aghānī* or the *Alf layla wa-layla* has accompanied the islamisation of the Malay world, one of the very oldest Malay MSS (*ca.* 1615) is a fragment of the Persian *Tūtī-nāma*: a rendering in Malay of a Persian version of the *Sukasaptati* or "Tales of a parrot". Other frame-stories such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the *Sindibād-nāma* established themselves in Malay renderings relatively early. The large number of MSS. of such works is an adequate index of their popularity.

All of these stories belong to the popular domain. The composition by individuals of realistic short stories did not begin until the 20th century with the development of a popular press, and the possibilities that newspapers and periodicals offered for the development of such a form of narrative fiction. It established its present popularity in both regions during the 1950s.

In Malaysia, during the 1930s, the authors of short stories were graduates of Malay stream education and religious schools. The majority of their stories were moralistic, concerning such issues as the backwardness of the Malays, the problems of forced marriage, and the need for a reformist understanding of Islam. In Indonesia during the same period the secular stream was dominant. But just as since Malayan independence in 1957, the short story in Malaysia has become secularised, in Indonesia some short stories by Muslims have brought a consciousness and sensitivity to the perception of religious experience which is characteristically modern. In many cases, the concern is purely with man as man, and while a religious dimension is suggested, it is not worked out within the dogmatic frame-work of a single identifiable religious tradition. In a few, however, and A. A. Navis (see *Bibl.* below) presents the best example, a religious problem lies at the very heart of the story, and is the reason for its existence. Nevertheless, apart from contributing the word *ḳiṣṣa* to the Malay vocabulary, the Muslim religious and literary tradition has played only a limited role in the shaping of the short story in Malay. The Western secular tradition has been, far and away, the most important single influence.

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7. In Swahili.

In Swahili literature, the word *ḳiṣṣa* was first used in the context of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* [*q.v.*]. The numerous Swahili authors (i.e. writers as well as composers of oral traditions) had at their disposal rather more elaborate versions than those of al-Kisā'ī or al-Thaʿlabī from which to borrow their themes for the prophets' legends, extremely popular in East Africa. Also, several of the Swahili versions of the legends have their parallels in Indonesia; see J. Knappert, *The Qiṣaṣu 'l-Anbiyā'i as moralistic tales*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vi (1976), 103-16.

In written Swahili literature, the legends of the pre-Islamic prophets are always treated in verse. Full-length epic poems are extant about Adam and Eve, Job (Ayyūb) and Joseph (Yūsuf), but fragments have also come to light dealing with Mūsā, Yaʿḳūb, Yūnus, Sulaymān and Dāwūd, Burahimu (Ibrāhīm), and Zakariyyā' and ʿĪsā; see Knappert, *Four Swahili epics*, London 1964; idem, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 2; idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, i, ch. 3. Many of these legends, and especially those with miraculous elements, circulate in oral tradition, see Knappert, *Myths and legends of the Swahili*, London 1970. It is

probable that these tales have come to the Swahili Coast with sailors from Arabia, Persia and India; the latter country in particular seems clearly to have influenced Swahili literature.

From this semi-religious usage, the word *ḳiṣṣa* (now spelt *kisa* with purely Swahili plural *visa*) acquired an extended range of meaning to that of "miraculous tale in general", "fairly tale of the type found in the *Alf layla wa-layla* collection" [*q.v.*]. The connection here is obvious, since many of the latter tales are variations on *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* themes or employ their characters, e.g. the tale of the fisherman who found a bottle that had been sealed by King Solomon, a tale well-known amongst the Swahili. These prose stories were not written down by the Swahili themselves, but missionaries with folkloric interests collected them in the 19th century; see e.g. E. Steere, *Swahili tales*, London 1869, and C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Berlin 1898. These *visa* were never composed in verse, until very recently, whereas the *hadithi*, traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad or other holy men, were often composed in verse and written down, in Arabic script of course. As well as the above two genres, traditional Swahili storytellers distinguish also the *ngano*, an invented tale or fable, of which last there are several in Swahili oral literature, some apparently derived from the Indian treasure house of fables, of the type represented in Islamic literature by *Kalila wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* [see KĀSHIFĪ]).

It is only in the last thirty years or so that the word *kisa* has come to be used in the meaning of the modern novel, though Swahili novels have neither the extended treatment nor sophistication of European-language novels. Indeed, secular Swahili prose literature as a medium for artistic expression is still very much in its infancy. In the earlier, traditional society, prose was the vehicle for the conveyance of factual information, such as topics of history, law and theology. Artistic expression was channelled exclusively into poetry, even for subjects that in the West have not been represented in poetry for a century or so, such as theology and the rules of personal behaviour. Fable and fairy tale belonged to the realm of the (often illiterate) story-teller. The short story and novel have only come to the scene a generation after the influence of English literature, bringing with it an entirely new appreciation of the possibilities of prose writing, has affected the minds and creative faculties of Africans educated in mission secondary schools. Hence a major problem is now the adaptation of the Swahili language—previously largely a trade language, apart from its function in didactic and epic literature, where it has been bound by rigid conventions—into a flexible, modern medium for literature and belles-lettres.

The names of some recent Swahili novelists, with details of their works, are given below. No claim to completeness nor to any attempt at ranking in importance can be given, in view of the uncertain future course of development of Swahili prose. Muhammad Said Abdullah has written the first Swahili detective novel, *Mzimu wa watu wa kale* "The ghost of the old people" (1960), with a sequel *Kisima cha Giningi* "Mrs Giningi's well" (1968); in both, the chief character is Bwana Msa, a taciturn, pipe-smoking detective, obviously inspired by Sherlock Holmes. A. J. Amir's *Nahoda fikirini* "A captain in thoughts" (1971) is a semi-historical novel describing life on the Swahili Coast and at sea. Haji Chum's first novel is *Kisa cha ndugu saba* "The tale of the seven brothers" (1969), after his two epics *Vita vya Uhud* "The battle of Uḥud" and the unpublished *Utenzi wa Nushuri* "The Day of Judgment"; born in Zanzibar, he writes within the Islamic tradition. David Diva is a writer of short stories (*hadithi*) in the Islamic tradition, and one of the first modern writers in this genre. Abdullah Saleh Farsy, from a prominent family of Islamic scholars in Zanzibar, has written *Kurwa na Ndoto* "K. and N." about two young people getting married, with a concentration on the rites and ceremony of the Swahili wedding. Salim A. Kibao's *Matatu ya thamani* "Three priceless proverbs" (1975) describes how these proverbs save the life of a young man who buys them and make him into a king; the story has echoes of the Ḳur'ānic Yūsuf story so popular in Swahili. G. Ngugi wa Thiongo's novels are set in central Kenya and have the life of the Kikuyu as their background: *Mtawa mweusi* "The black hermit" and *Usilie mpenzi wangu* "Don't cry, my darling". F. V. Nkwera's *Mzishi wa baba ana radhi* "The one who buries his father will receive his blessing" (1967) is partly autobiographical. Abdullah Shariff Omar's *Kisa cha Hasan il Basiri* "The story of Hasan al-Basir" is an adventure story in the Arabian Nights' mould, still very popular in Swahili. Shaaban Robert is the only Swahili author of more than local fame, a poet, essayist and storyteller, and a writer of fine prose with a strong religious philosophy behind it; his *Kusadikika* "The credible country" (1951, 1960) and *Utubora* "Human excellence" both have moral implications behind their stories. John Ndeti Somba's *Alipanda pepo na kuvuna tufani* "He planted the wind and reaped the storm" (1969) and *Kuishi kwingi ni kuona mengi* "To live long is to see much" (1968) both deal with the author's own experiences in up-country Kenya.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Knappert)

8. In Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

The written and oral Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber literature is a genre of intellectual activity which has a place in the cultural field of the Muslim West which is by no means negligible. In this sphere of the expression of Jewish thought, the *ḳiṣṣa* enjoys a certain favour both among the educated and among the wider public and the masses. The themes and genres are very varied: rhymed versions of Biblical stories or liturgical poems, songs of joy or of lament (*ḳinot*), eulogies, and panegyrical and hagiographical pieces glorifying the saints of Palestine in Jewish antiquity (Rabbi Shim'on Bar Yoḥay, buried at Meron in Galilee, and Rabbi Me'ir Ba'al Hannes, buried at Tiberias) or local saints (Mūlāy Ighghi, Rabbi Iḥyā Lakhḍar, etc.), venerated by means of *hillulas* and by local pilgrimages. Also connected with the *ḳiṣṣa* are the songs of folklore celebrating family ceremonies (e.g. *rites de passage* such as circumcisions, burials and periods of mourning), except that these form a genre devoid of any literary or intellectual pretentions, made up in a language closer to the local spoken tongues, whilst the *ḳiṣṣa* proper has a more studied form and a more precise expression. It is written in a special language, comparable to the *malḥūn*, a kind of poetic *koinè* in Arabic dialect given literary touches, largely stripped of Hebraisms or outside linguistic influences, and generally to be understood by the Jewish communities of the Maghrib as a group, even though differing from the current spoken language.

As well as the folkloric setting which it describes

and the precious linguistic materials which it represents, the *ḳiṣṣa* reveals on examination deep structures and a content attaching it, on the one hand, to the general cultural ambience of the Maghrib, but on the other, to universal Jewish thought. A rigorous and minute analysis of the written text or the oral discourse, and of their direct or allusive references, throws light on their literary founda- and on a cultural substratum of great richness.

The present author has given a sketch of all this in various publications (*REI*, *REJ*, *JA*, *ROMM*, etc.). Thus *L'histoire de Job en judéo-arabe du Maroc*, in *REI* (1968), 279-315, surveys a considerable number of Jewish, Arab-Muslim, Morisco and Coptic chronicles and legends, the (Greek) apocryphal text of the Testament of Job, as well as the conflicts and speculations of the Biblical text.

The pieces involving parodies, published in *REJ*, cxxviii (1969), 377-93, as *La parodie dans la littérature hebraïque et judéo-arabe, folklore de Purim au Maroc*, borrow from local ceremonies, the Jewish homilectic literature of the *Midrash* and *Aggadah*, and Arab-Muslim legends. *L'hymne à Bar Yohay*, in *REJ*, cxxvii (1968), 366-82, is a *ḳiṣṣa* from Tinghir of the Todgha which derives its sources from local mystical folklore combined with the texts of the Zohar, the Kabbalah, the Talmud and the *Midrash*.

(H. Zafrani)

ḲISṬ [see MAKĀYĪL].

KI-SWAHILI [see SWAHILI].

ḲIṬʿA [see MUḲAṬṬAʿA].

KITĀB (A., pl. *kutub*) "book". The beginnings of the Arabic book go back to the early Islamic period. According to traditions, sheets (*ṣuḥuf*) with verses of the Ḳurʾān were collected and put between wooden covers (*lawḥayn, daffatayn,*) kept thus and called by the Ethiopian word for "book", *muṣḥaf/maṣḥaf* [*q.v.*]. Following Christian and Jewish patterns, this form of a codex was generally maintained for the Holy Book since the authoritative redaction done under ʿUthmān; by that means, the Ḳurʾān was distinguished, by its material form, from profane writings in rolls made of papyrus [see ḲIRṬĀS] and from the *kitāb* pure and simple which meant, in that early period, "something written", "notes", "list" or "letter". As writing material, sheets of parchment [see DJILD, RAḲḲ, ṬIRS] were used, which, folded into four pages and placed within one another, became quires (*karārīs*); it is uncertain whether these quires were sometimes stitched. Presumably covers made of wood or papyrus were covered over and kept together with leather and, like contemporary Coptic or later Islamic covers, decorated with coloured wood, bone or ivory.

With the rise of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, books and book knowledge, additional to knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, became a general aim of Islamic society. The interest of the government was evoked by questions concerning the legitimation of its power and by problems of administration connected with these questions, as a background to the theocratic claim to power [see SHUʿŪBIYYA]. During this period Arabic learning concerning problems of theology [see MUʿTAZILA], *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, history, philology, etc. and medicine, alchemy, etc., had its heyday, and this florescence was connected with the emergence and spread of rag paper [see KĀGHAD] from the end of the 2nd/8th century onwards. These scholars wrote books at the suggestion of or on order from the caliphs and the ruling classes, in the expectation of being honoured by presents and payments, in opposition to the organs of state and their policies, or just for the sake of belief (cf. Sūra LXVIII, 1; XCVI, 4). Apart from treatises on different subjects, general works were written by authors who were employed as secretaries or *ḳāḍīs* in state chanceries and offices, where the rather expensive writing materials were at their disposal. Others copied books not only for personal purposes, but for their living; moreover, they dealt in paper, ran a bookshop or a book-bindery, or combined one with one the other. It is surprising to note how quickly books were widely disseminated and did not remain confined to schools and learned institutions [see MADRASA], where also notes taken in lectures, enlarged by additional material, were made into books. Certain kinds of transmission of books and their authentication, including lists of students in a lecture audience, were formed [see IDJĀZA]; adoptations or quotations from other works were often marked by special terms, texts and copies were compared with each other, collated, complemented and glossed. In writing rooms which were sometimes associated to public libraries [see MAKTABA] books were multiplied commercially. An author could safeguard himself against dubious activities of scribes in these writing rooms through issuing his books by authorisation, only; e.g. al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]) himself wrote a note in 700 copies of his *Maḳāmāt*, during a period of ten years. The production of such books and their trade was immense in quantity and was widespread. Titles of books which had in the past been simple and short became ornate and flowery in the course of time, consisting of two phrases rhyming with one another (*sadjʿ*). First the titles were given in the prefaces, which usually contained the author's name and which started on a *b*-page; later the previous page (*a*-page) became the title page with the author's name. Already in this period, autographs or copies made by learned men or calligraphers [see e.g. IBN AL-BAWWĀB] were sold for high prices. There was a big demand for the libraries of learned men; some of them went to pious bequests [see WAḲF], others were put into the stacks of an academy when an attachment to heretical ideas of their deceased owner was known. Bibliophiles, from the caliph to the craftsman, competed in searching for valuable or rare books. As early as the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]), compiled in 377/987, we find that this work gives, before its information on books and biographical notes on their authors or compilators, informative details about these matters. There is also the voluminous biographical literature, with its innumerable names of learned and literary men, secretaries, calligraphers, etc., and the multiplicity of manuscripts with their countless, often very personal, notes of the owners and readers, to be found in libraries situated even in remote places and containing thousands or tens of thousands of volumes. These considerable survivals, give us an ample idea about books and their quality in the Islamic Middle Ages; these books have in common one thing only, *sc.* the *basmala* [*q.v.*] at the beginning.

The upright quarto size was widespread, sizes in folio or oblong sizes being usually reserved for special occasions, e.g. presentation copies for high-ranking persons. The cover, writing materials, format and type of script [see KHAṬṬ] were determined by these purposes. The kinds of leather used for the covers, their colouring, workmanship and decoration sometimes refer to patterns of the Pre-Islamic period, e.g. in Egypt to Coptic, and in Persia to Sāsānid ones; they were developed in forms charac-

teristic for the respective countries, e.g. regarding the different kinds of workmanship in leather. Moreover, in regard to the arrangement of the areas on the covers, there are, apart from general principles like lines parallel to the edges of the book, features characteristic of certain places or periods, e.g. the treatment of the centre, and the application of innumerable geometrical patterns and ornaments in certain variations by using brasses. The triangular flap to protect the edge and the clasp and eyes, appear at an early period. Asphodelos paste was used in the Syrian-Palestinian area, and paste made of wheat in South Arabia. While rag paper was used for books in general, parchment was sometimes used for copies of the Ḳurʾān and other de luxe editions. Fine paper imported from China was reserved for books valuable to their owners, like books of sects. These books were not written with the usual ink [see KITĀBA] only, but also with ink made of silver and gold, and their pages and lines were decorated with coloured ornaments (arabesques [*q.v.*]). There were always illuminations [see ṢŪRA, TAṢWĪR], in spite of the prohibition of depicting living beings with a *rūḥ* or soul, but these were exceptional. A quire (*kurrāsa*) usually consisted of five double sheets, and several quires combined together, sometimes by chain stitches, made a sewn book. The quires were marked by consecutive numbers which were written out in words, and the right order of the sheets was controlled by catch-words, which appear early. The pagination of sheets or, sometimes, of pages, is only found later or in modern times; the pagination of sheets was more widespread. Many books ended with a colophon containing the name of the scribe, and often the date as well as, though not so often, the place; but in certain cases, the dates given there are not correct, e.g. when taken from texts which had been copied. For the post-Mongol period, the following features of the books should be noted. The sizes and the writing became smaller, and the kinds of paper became thinner, stronger and smoother. Coloured paper was used and, from the Ottoman period, imported paper from Europe also, firstly from Italy, and with watermarks. The ink became darker and more shiny; the writing surfaces were framed with lines in different colours or in gold, and an *ʿunwān* [*q.v.*] was drawn on the first page of a book. Owner's stamps appear in considerable number for the late period; and bookbinders' brasses with their names shaped like a medallion, can be found on the covers, even on lacquered ones. Splendid, calligraphic specimens of large size, with covers superbly wrought (these being mostly works of Persian poetry, often illuminated by unique miniatures), were produced mainly at the courts of the Tīmūrids, Ṣafawids, Mug̲h̲als and Ottomans; splendid copies of the Ḳurʾān were produced also at the court of the Mamlūks. The painter is often identical with the decorator, the "gilder" (*mud̲h̲ahhib*); he came next in prestige to the highranking calligrapher. The bookbinders formed their own guild from the time of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512 [*q.v.*]) onwards. Even after the introduction of printing [see MAṬBAʿA], books were written by hand, increasingly by European ink and nibs, and bound in the traditional way until the beginning of this century.

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(R. SELLHEIM)

KITĀB AL-D̲J̲ILWA, one of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*], which with the *Maṣḥaf-rās̲h̲* contains the fundamentals of their religion. As the religious language of the Yazīdīs is Kurdish and all the prayers of the Yazīdīs known to us are in Kurdish (for example, the chief prayer, the morning prayer, the formulae used at baptism and circumcision, the proclamation at the assembly of the *sand̲j̲aḳ*, and God Himself in the apocryphal continuation of the *Maṣḥaf-rās̲h̲* speaks Kurdish), it is rather remarkable that their two sacred books, the existence of which has long been known and of which copies of the originals have come into the possession of Europeans, should be in Arabic, namely the *Kitāb al-D̲j̲ilwa* (*Kitāb-i D̲j̲ālwā*), the "Book of Revelation" (the form *D̲j̲ulūw* which S̲h̲araf al-Dīn gives from the manuscripts available to him, seems to be a slip on the part of the copyist), and the *Maṣḥaf-rās̲h̲*, the "black book"; "black" obviously means something sacred: for example God descends upon the "Black Mountain" (*Maṣḥaf*, xvi). The explanation of the name from the forbidden words, said to be covered over with black wax, is wrong, as in this case the Ḳurʾān is substituted as the sacred book of the Yazīdīs.

Father Anastase Marie of Bag̲h̲dād was the first to succeed in getting exact tracings of the alleged

original parchment copies of the two sacred books by bribing the keeper of the books of the Sindjār in 1904-6; they were written in Kurdish in a simple transposition cipher. The text written in this cipher shows clearly that it was copied from an original written in Arabic script. The possibility of a fraud was, however, not excluded especially as, stimulated by the interest of European scholars in Yazīdī beliefs, sharp guarantors in Mawṣil were always endeavouring to discover new texts. Mingana endeavoured to show that a former Nestorian monk of the Alkosh monastery, named Shammās Eremia Shāmir of the diocese of Kirkūk, who died in 1906, forged all the texts published by Chabot, Giamil, Isya Joseph and Browne, but the authenticity of the Kurdish text was accepted in Bittner's monograph, *Die heiligen Bücher der Jeziden oder Teufelsanbeter*, with *Nachtrag*, in the *Denkschriften d. Wiener Ak. d. Wiss.*, lv, Vienna 1913. The syntax of the text is, according to Edmonds, basically that of the present-day dialect of Sulaymānī Kurdish. Both Bittner and Edmonds agree that the Kurdish version is not the original, but must be a translation from the Arabic, as some linguistic peculiarities suggest (plays on words which are unintelligible in Kurdish).

The *Kitāb-i Djālwā* might nevertheless conceivably have been originally written in Kurdish, as the Kurdish text is in many passages more lucid and coherent than the Arabic, while in the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh*, the Arabic text is better than the Kurdish. According to Sharaf al-Dīn, the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* in its present form could not have been written by an Arab, as the language is modern; there are a number of expressions which are either not used in classical Arabic or only came into use very late. In places also the construction is un-Arabic. These considerations could, of course, be arguments in favour of a recent forgery. The Arabic of the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is even more modern, as it shows undeniably the influence of the spirit of Ottoman Turkish.

So far, we know of at least four versions of the two sacred books: one in the possession of O. Parry in 1895; one in the hands of Isya Joseph, who possessed two versions in addition to the one published in *AJSL*, xxv; two procured by Father Anastase Marie, one of which, the so-called Sindjār version, was copied in 1899 by a Sindjar Yazīdī for a Yazīdī apostate, while the other was copied in 1904 by Anastase himself from the original in the possession of a Mawṣilī.

The *Kitāb-i Djālwā* (also *Ktāb-i Djalwā*, *Djeloa*), the original of which according to Joseph was in 1892 still in the house of Mollā Ḥaydar in Bāʿadriyya and was taken twice a year to the tomb of Shaykh ʿAdī, is quite short. In book form it covers 8 pages and has 109 lines. It is ascribed to the reputed founder of the religion, Shaykh ʿAdī (d. 555/1160 or 557/1162; see ʿADĪ B. MUSĀFIR) who is said to have dictated it to Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn.

The fact that the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* is not mentioned in the *Radd ʿala 'l-Rāfiḍa wa-Yazīdiyya al-mukhālifīn li 'l-milla al-islāmiyya al-muḥammadiyya* written in 725/1325 by the well-informed Ibn Djamīl (Abū Firās ʿUbayd Allāh) who belonged to the Euphrates district, nor in al-Maḳrīzī in connection with his description of the destruction and burning of the tomb and bones of Shaykh ʿAdī in 817/1414, makes Sharaf al-Dīn think its date of composition cannot be put earlier than 725/1325 or 817/1414. As Ewliyā Čelebī does not mention the work, this would bring the date even farther down, to 1655.

The above facts seem rather to indicate, however, that the Yazīdīs have been able to maintain the secret of the book with success. In spite of the advantages which might have accrued to them as *ahl al-kitāb*, they have preferred to deny their possession of sacred books. Only in the Catechism of the Shaykh Mīrān Ismāʿīl Bek ʿAbdī Bek Oghlu Nazli Rāhānī Yazīd for the Russian Yazīdīs is there a reference to "the glorious *Djilwa*", *Gyliazim*, as a source of the tradition.

The contents of the *Kitāb-i Djālwā*, the form and text of which are in keeping with its high purpose, are as follows: Melek Ṭāwūs who existed before all creatures sent ʿAbṭāwūs (= ʿAbd Ṭāwūs = Shaykh ʿAdī) into the world in order to guide rightly his chosen people, the Yazīdīs, by oral instruction and later by means of the *Kitāb-i Djālwā* which no outsider may read (preface). He then speaks in the first person of his pre-existence and eternality, his omnipotence over all other creators and gods (not "creatures" as in the Arabic), of his omnipresence and providence, the erroneousness of other sacred books and the clear perceptibility of good and evil, his rule over the world and his inscrutable decree, to which in every age we owe the sending of a great man upon earth (ch. 1). Further, he deals with his power of rewarding and punishing, which also allows those who do not deserve it to receive benefits; with the dying of a true Yazīdī and the migration of souls (ch. 2); he says that he alone has power to dispose of the creatures and things of the world (ch. 3). He warns against strange doctrines, so far as they contradict his own ones, and against three unnamed things, and promises his followers his powerful protection if they keep together (ch. 4). He asks that his cult and the orders of himself and his servants should be followed (ch. 5).

The *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is more comprehensive. The Yazīdī Kurdish original is in the form of rolls and contains 152 lines in cipher. It is much more mundane and banal and less coherent than the *Kitāb Djālwā*. It is full of contradictions and breaks off abruptly. According to tradition, it was composed about 200 years after Shaykh ʿAdī (*ca.* 743/1342) by the great Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. The original was said to have been at one time in the house of the Kahāya ʿAlī in Ḳaṣr ʿAzz al-Dīn near Semali on the Tigris, but it seems now to be in Sindjār like the *Kitāb-i Djālwā*.

Cosmogony. In a very confused fashion, without divisions into chapters, the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* deals with the creation of the world in three contradictory versions. According to what seems to be the more original story of the creation, God completed the creation alone. He made a white pearl which he put on the back of a bird Anfar (in many manuscripts, Anghar) created by him and was enthroned on it for 40,000 years. He then created the seven angels of God who are identified with the mystic *shaykhs*.

On the Sunday, God created ʿAzrāʾīl (Azāzīl, Zazāʾīl) = Melek Ṭāwūs, who is supreme over everything; on the Monday Melek Dardāʾīl = Shaykh Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī). The Yazīdī pronunciation is Shēkhūsin, as the invocation in the chief Yazīdī prayer shows (Sydjadin Shēkhysin = Sadjdjād al-Dīn Shaykh Ḥasan) (the conclusions which have been drawn from an alleged *Shaykh Sinn* who is compared with the moon-god *Sin*, e.g. by Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*[2], Paris 1954, 200 n. 2, are quite wrong); on Tuesday he created Melek Isrāfāʾīl (Isrāfīl) = Shaykh Shams (al-Dīn); on Wednesday Melek Mīkāʾīl = Shaykh Abū Bakr;

on Thursday Melek Djibrāʾīl = Sadjdjādīn (Sidjādīn, Sadjdjād al-Dīn); on Friday Melek Shamnāʾīl (Shatmāʾīl, Samansāʾīl) = Nāṣir al-Dīn; on Saturday Melek Ṭūrāʾīl (Nūrāʾīl) = Fakhr al-Dīn.

Then he created the seven heavens, the earth, sun, and moon, whereupon the last-named angel of God Fakhr al-Dīn took over the rest of the work of creation and created man and the animals.

God now came out of the pearl with the angels and caused it to burst into four pieces with a loud cry. On the sea which was formed by the water rushing out of the pearl, God sailed for 30,000 years in a ship created by him. Djibrāʾīl, created in the form of a bird, created from the pieces of the pearl sun, moon and stars, the mountains, plants, fruit-trees and the heavens (cf. on the rôle of the pearl, M. Mokri, *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurdes fidèles de vérité* (*Ahl-e Haqq*), in *JA* [1960], 463-81).

Parallel with this is the rather different conception of the seven deities, who arising through emanation, are light of the light of God just as light is lit from light, and among them the supreme god, Khudā, only appears as *primus inter pares*.

The statements regarding the creation of the religious community of ʿAzrāʾīl (= Melek Ṭāwūs) i.e. the Yazīdīs, to whom God sent Shaykh ʿAdī from Shām (Syria) to Lālish [*q.v.*], are fragmentary, as are the statements regarding the descendants of Shahr b. Safar, the son of Adam and Eve, the ancestors of mankind. After God had been worshipped for 40,000 years by the 30,000 newly-created angels, he created Adam out of the four elements with the active assistance of Djibrāʾīl and put him in Paradise, ordering him to eat of all the fruits of the earth, except wheat (according to one Yazīdī legend, the prohibition concerned grapes).

When, after 100 years, Melek Ṭāwūs reminded God that there could be no increase in Adam's race, God gave him permission to do what he thought fit. Melek Ṭāwūs induced Adam to eat of the forbidden wheat, whereupon Adam who had as yet no opening in his bowels was driven out of Paradise by Melek Ṭāwūs and suffered great discomfort until God sent a bird to pick an orifice in him. After another 100 years, God sent Djibrāʾīl to create Eve from the lower part of Adam's left armpit.

Another story of the creation in the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* says that God, who was sailing about on the ocean on a ship created by Him, created a pearl but crushed it after 40 years; from its cry of pain arose the mountains, from the noise the hills and from its vapour the heavens. God then created six other deities by emanation from His light. Each of these deities in their turn then created something: the first the heavens, the second became the sun, the third the moon, the fourth created the horizons, the fifth the morning-star and the sixth the atmosphere.

There are further a few confused statements regarding the very early history of the Yazīdīs in the *Maṣḥaf*, which include a few features worth noting: after Melek Ṭāwūs had given Eve to Adam as a companion, he descended to earth to the Yazīdīs who, as descendants of Adam alone, had nothing in common with the rest of mankind. He appointed for them as for the Assyrians, who had been in existence from the earliest times, rulers namely: Nashrūḥ (Nasrūkh, Assyr, Nisroch) = Nāṣir al-Dīn; Djambūsh (Kāmūsh = Kamos) = Melek Fakhr al-Dīn and Artēmush (Artīmūs = Artemis) = Melek Shams al-Dīn. After them Shābūr (Shāpūr) I and II reigned for 150 years. From him, all their notables are descended, especially the family of the Yazīdī princes. The Yazīdīs had four rulers not definitely named. One of their kings, Āḥāb, ordered names of their own to be given to them (which names is not stated). Ilah Āḥāb (i.e. Baʿlzabūb) is now called Pīrbūb. Among other Yazīdī rulers were Bukhtnaṣar (Nebucchadnezzar) in Babel, Akhashwerosh (Akhashperosh) in Persia and Aghrinḳālūs (Aghrīḳalūs) in Constantinople.

The *Maṣḥaf* further contains prohibitions. The forbidden foods include lettuce (Yaz. *kāhū*, Arab. *khass*, which is prohibited on account of the resemblance of the name to that of the prophetess Khāsīa); beans (*lobīā*); fish (*māsī* = *māhī*, on account of the prophet Yūnān = Yūnus); gazelles (*āsek*); for the *shaykh* and his disciples, the flesh of poultry (*kālāshir*) and gourds (*kūlākā*) are forbidden.

As among the Sabians, the colour dark blue is prohibited. The following are also expressly forbidden: to micturate standing, to dress while sitting down, to use a closet and to wash in a bathroom (bath and closet are regarded as the abode of evil spirits). It is forbidden to pronounce the following words: *shayṭān* ("the name of their god"); *ḳayṭān* (noose); *shaṭṭ* (stream); *sharr* (evil); *malʿūn* (accursed); *laʿna* (curse) and *naʿl* (horseshoe).

Not mentioned in the *Maṣḥaf*, but traditionally regarded as forbidden, are words beginning with *shīn*; also *saraṭān* ("crab"); *ḥīṭān* ("hedges"); *bustān* ("vegetable garden"); *baṭṭ* ("duck"); *naṭṭ* ("jump") and others; reading and writing, shaving and complete removal of the moustache are also forbidden, as are the use of combs and razors belonging to others, taking wood from sacred forests, the rearing of bastards and drinking from gurgling vessels.

Bibliography: Cf. the Bibl. of the article YAZĪDĪ in *EI*[1]; Ismāʿīl Beg Čōl, *al-Yazīdiyya ḳadīman wa-ḥadīthan*... ("The Yarzīdīs past and present"), ed. C. Zurayḳ, American University of Beirut, Oriental Series No. 6, Beirut 1934, cf. thereon R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 323-4; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjār*, Beirut 1938; T. Bois, *Les Yézidis. Essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Machriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 190-242; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967, 49-50, 87-8. (TH. MENZEL*)

KITĀBA [see Supplement].

KITĀBĀT (A.), inscriptions.

1. Islamic epigraphy in general.

The study of Arabic inscriptions today constitutes a science full of promise, an auxiliary science to be sure, but a science indispensable to the scholarly exploitation of a whole category of authentic texts capable of throwing light on the civilisation in the context of which they were written. From a very early period, seeing that the first dated Arabic inscription available to us goes back to the year 31/652 and that we are aware of previous inscriptions and graffiti known as "proto-Arabic", there appeared in Islamic circles the practice of engraving, on stone or other hard material, in a more or less skilful fashion, the symbols then used in so-called archaic Arabic writing [see KHAṬṬ]. This practice subsequently spread, benefiting from the prestige soon to be enjoyed by a writing capable of giving material embodiment to and preserving the very letter of the Ḳurʾānic revelation while responding to the needs of the new society born simultaneously with the Arab-Islamic empire and state. This corpus

of inscriptions drawn up in the Arabic language, disseminated and preserved up to the present day throughout a particularly vast geographical region, that of the Muslim countries where Arabic writing was practised, may today be suitably considered in its entirety, in spite of the difficulties inherent in the massive scale of the regions in question and in the inadequacies of the researches hitherto undertaken.

In its capacity as an original discipline, Arabic epigraphy, in common with the subsidiary sciences which it more or less borders on, like numismatics, glyptic or diplomatic for example, or even those which it partially overlaps, like palaeography *stricto sensu*, was among the disciplines subjected to specific study, at the end of the 19th century, by enthusiastic Western scholars curious about Oriental civilisations. Its methods, inspired principally by those of classical epigraphy, and the first attempts at their application, were owed to their zeal. It enabled various Western Arabist and Islamic scholars to obtain historical and archaeological results which guaranteed its vigour. It was not however until several decades later that it came to be recognised as a science by Arabic-speakers themselves, in regions where the traditional taste for calligraphy had hitherto reigned unchallenged but had never taken the form of the searching out or the study of texts of this type decorating the walls of buildings or the surfaces of pieces of furniture; it is in fact no accident that the early Arab sources, anxious to describe the stages in the development of writing and to give the names of its eminent exponents, mention only the names of copyists or scribes distinguished in their use of the pen, while remaining silent on the issue of so-called lapidary writing and refer only exceptionally to the existence of the monumental graphic compositions that are so remarkable.

A modern science therefore by its very definition, Arabic epigraphy saw some of its rules codified as a result of the personal efforts of the Swiss orientalist Max van Berchem. The attention which this passionate enquirer tirelessly brought to bear on the remains of Arabic inscriptions preserved in Egypt and in Syria was in fact accompanied by a detailed consideration on his part of the fundamental principles according to which their study should best be conducted; some spectacular initial progress was marked in his lifetime and under his inspiration by the establishment of the first corpora of Arabic inscriptions.

This progress went far beyond anything that had been previously attempted. They should not, however, condemn to oblivion those earlier efforts which can be set back as far as the 18th century with reference to Tychsen, but which owed most of all, at the beginning of the 19th century, to the personality of J. J. Marcel, the French palaeographer, a member of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, who devoted his energies to deciphering, reproducing and annotating in tentative fashion some Kūfic inscriptions of Cairo with the aim of gaining insights into the evolution of ancient Arabic writing. His studies, like the works of other pioneers upon whom there is no space to expatiate here (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Quelques étapes et perspectives de l'épigraphie arabe*, in *SI*, xvii [1962], 5-22, also the references to epigraphy in the detailed historical chapter entitled *Die Entwicklung der arabischen Paläographie im Abendlande*, in A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967, 32-65), gave clear indications of what was to follow. They even gave birth, alongside the ambitious and fruitless efforts of Lanci for example, to works that remain, even today, as indispensable for reference purposes as is the catalogue of inscriptions on objets d'art drawn up by Reinaud in connection with an important collection of his time (Reinaud, *Monuments arabes, persans et turcs du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, 2 vols., Paris 1828). The uneven quality of the results obtained emphasised even at this early stage the difficulties of a sphere where the best-conceived programmes—and this was the case with J. J. Marcel's programme at the dawn of the 19th century—most often came into confrontation with insurmountable obstacles of a material order and where the enthusiastic work of numerous specialists failed on every occasion to satisfy requirements, the importance of which they themselves had understood and asserted.

In fact, it was not at that time solely a case of showing that Arabic inscriptions deserved to be collected in the same way as Greek and Latin inscriptions. There was also a need to work .apidly in the field of new research, where the volume of exploitable documentation was remarkably copious. The initiative was taken by Max van Berchem when, having produced a large number of manifestos in commendation of Arabic epigraphy, he published, in the early years of the 20th century, the first volume of his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. But his ambitious and authoritative project of publishing systematically, region by region and monument by monument, a corpus of hitherto neglected epigraphic material soon had to be abandoned. The exemplary collections of inscriptions which he himself accomplished or supervised with regard to Cairo (M. van Berchem, *CIA Egypt* i, Cairo 1894-1903, *Mém. mission arch. fr.*, xix), Tripoli (M. Sobernheim, *CIA Syrie du Nord* i, Cairo 1909, MIFAO, xxv), Sīwās and Diwrigi (M. van Berchem and H. Edhem, *CIA Asie mineure*, i, Cairo 1910-17, *MIFAO*, xxix) and finally Jerusalem (M. van Berchem, *CIA Syrie du Sud*, Cairo 1920-2, *MIFAO*, xliii-xlv), were followed, after his death in 1921, only by a later supplement on Cairo (G. Wiet, *CIA Egypte*, ii, Cairo 1929-30, *MIFAO*, lii) and the publication still later, in the form of posthumous work taken over by other hands, of the results of a survey of Aleppo begun by Moritz Sobernheim, in the lifetime of Max van Berchem, and subsequently resumed by Ernst Herzfeld and Etienne Combe (*Syrie du Nord*, ii, Cairo 1954-6, MIFAO, lxxvi-lxxvii).

The terrain prospected on this basis remains, at present, minimal in comparison with that approached by less complete studies. Certainly there are other works of broad scope, undertaken in a different spirit, which also deserve mention. These have striven for example to deal with the question in their own way with regard to countries where Arabic inscriptions attracted attention at a very early stage: the inventories of Michele Amari for Sicily (*Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, Iscrizione edili*, Palermo 1875, *Iscrizione sepolcrali*, 1879-81, *Iscrizione mobili e domestiche*, 1885, re-edited by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971) or of E. Lévi-Provençal for Spain (*Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden 1931), not to mention the various fascicules published in Calcutta under the title *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. But beside these, of far greater number are studies that are currently out of date, such as the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie* (G. Colin, *Département d'Alger*, Paris 1901, and G. Mercier,

Département de Constantine, Paris 1902), works that have quite recently been supplemented by the various published fascicules of the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Tunisie* (1st part: S. M. Zbiss, *Inscriptions de Tunis et de sa banlieue*, Tunis 1955, *Inscriptions du Gorjani*, Tunis 1962; *Inscriptions de Monastir*, Tunis 1962), or the volumes devoted to various epigraphic collections of the Iberian region (M. Ocaña Jimenez, *Repertorio de inscripciones árabes de Almería*, Madrid-Granada, 1964; G. Rosselo-Bordoy, *Corpus balear de epigrafía árabe*, Mallorca 1975; F. Valderrama Martinez, *Inscriptiones árabes de Tetuán*, Madrid 1975). Moreover, there are numerous tentative works which are still at the project stage, although more than ever there is an awareness of the fundamental need for studies conducted on a regional basis, taking advantage of opportunities for verification on the spot (see in this context, the remarks of Sourdel-Thomine, *Perspectives nouvelles dans le domaine de l'épigraphie*, in *Boletin de la asociatión espanola de Orientalistas*, v [1969], 183-90, and M. Sharon, *Un nouveau corpus des inscriptions arabes de Palestine*, in *REI*, xlii [1974], 185-91).

As a consequence, the uneven quality of results obtained and their partial insufficiency remain the principal defects of collections made up to the present day. This assertion, banal though it may be, cannot be passed over in silence, even if the reasons for it are easily explained in a world stretching from India to the Pyrenees and from Anatolia to Black Africa, covering an immense territory that is little-known from an archaeological point of view and of which certain parts are particularly difficult of access, and which in any case considerably oversteps the limits assigned today to the Arab world as strictly defined. It is not only that Arabic inscriptions are dotted throughout areas that have since reverted to a desert state and that some provinces islamised at a late stage, like Anatolia, are not the least rich in hitherto unsuspected treasures; but there is also the fact that these inscriptions that have remained so long outside the canon of research are also distinguished by their diversity of appearance according to the regions, as witnesses to a society where writing, spread broadly throughout all areas, was subject to numerous stylistic variations [see KHAṬṬ]. The difficulties of decipherment are thus magnified by the effect of these local practices, and the traits and qualities peculiar to Arabic writing itself from the time of its appearance, which have subsequently conditioned its development, continue to be partially responsible for the shortcomings of a discipline where scientific progress is confronted by uncertain readings and by problematic interpretation of scripts, since there are numerous instances where letters are easily confused and uncertainties are further multiplied and complicated by a concern for ornamentation, which in most cases takes priority over legibility (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *Arabic epigraphy: communication or symbolic affirmation*, in *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. K. Kouymjian, Beirut 1974, 297-317).

Such conditions were hardly favourable to the intensive and systematic publication of documents in the series of *Matériaux pour un Corpus* inaugurated by van Berchem. They were no more favourable to the establishment of the other fundamental study-apparatus envisaged a little later by Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet in the form of a *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* which had the object of assembling, year-by-year and in an approximately geographical order, the texts of Arabic inscriptions already published, accompanied by their French translation and indispensable bibliographical information. To be sure, sixteen successive volumes of this *Répertoire* (Caire, PIFAO, 1931 ff.) have so far appeared and more than six thousand inscriptions have been edited covering the first eight centuries of the Muslim era. But since 1931, the date at which the enterprise was begun, the rhythm of discoveries has been more rapid than the rhythm at which the inventory has been assembled; the latter remains incomplete and today it swarms with inaccuracies in its most ancient sections, making it a vehicle for defective copies and sometimes of duplications. Even to consult it, in its present state of incompleteness, is to encounter difficulties which are barely alleviated by the publication of the *Index géographique* to its first six volumes, quite recently brought about through the good offices of the Centre d'Épigraphie Arabe of the École Pratique des Hautes Études IVᵉ section of Paris. Even if it may be hoped that forthcoming volumes (vol. xvii prepared by L. Kalus, in press), profiting from experience acquired and designed to respond to more precise critical objectives in an age where our knowledge of Arabic inscriptions has considerably developed, will avoid some of these defects, they will continue to be no less restricted by the inadequacies of the previous publications on which they cannot help being based.

The *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* is, in any case, the only existing attempt at systematic grouping of inscriptions, in a sphere where the means employed are, to this day, seldom sufficient for the extent of the tasks to be accomplished. Also to be asserted is the almost total absence of studies of Arabic epigraphy constructed on the principle of the series, the non-existence of functional corpora, organised according to material and category for example, the only means permitting a thorough investigation of the limited types of documents which inscriptions are, by definition. It is appropriate to mention in this connection, insofar as concerns the signatures of craftsmen, the inventories, designed to form a *Corpus of Muslim artists*, with which L. A. Mayer hoped to bring about a re-evaluation of our knowledge concerning the artistic schools as well as the functioning of their influences, and the publication of which was, also, interrupted soon after the death of the inaugurator of the collection (see Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva 1956; *Islamic astrolabists and their works*, Geneva 1958; *Islamic metalworkers and their works*, Geneva 1959; *Islamic armourers and their works*, Geneva 1962).

The bibliographical guides and the synthesised surveys are also inadequate to enable a confident orientation in a mass of studies that are too often indebted to fortuitous discoveries and consequently scattered through the most diverse of volumes, ranging from "epigraphic appendices" accompanying reports of explorations, accounts of journeys or archaeological publications to museum catalogues or monographs dealing with themes such as Islamology, history, palaeography or even aesthetics. Such in fact is the variety of subjects covered by Arabic inscriptions of an equally varied interest. Such also is the slow progress of research, which has been principally concerned with a copious proliferation of notes, correspondences and brief articles of un-unfortunately uneven quality.

Nor do we have at our disposal, it should finally

be made clear, manuals providing an introduction to Arabic epigraphy and guiding the efforts of those who wish to become conversant with it; familiarity with the works of their predecessors, especially with the articles of Max van Berchem, loaded with methodology (*Notes d'archéologie arabe*, i and ii, in *JA* [1891], i, 411-495, and [1892], i, 377-407; *Recherches archéologiques en Syrie*, in *JA* [1895], ii, 485-515; in particular, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. égyptien*, iii, 417-520), with the volumes already mentioned of the *Matériaux pour un Corpus* and the specimen publications of subtly-deciphered and annotated inscriptions offered by some articles of J. Sauvaget (such as his publication of the *Décrets mamelouks de Syrie*, in *BEO*, ii [1932], 1-52, iii [1953], 1-29, and xii [1947-8], 5-60, as well as his *Quatre décrets seljoukides*) remains for the aspiring student the only possible path to follow, apart from various items of specific information provided here or there. More regrettable, however, is the fact that numerous aspects are to be distinguished in a body of inscriptions influenced simultaneously by regional practices and by the disparities between schools marked by the proliferation of dynastic centres. We know in fact that diverse currents presided, according to places and periods, over the drafting of inscriptions, the text of which evolved in parallel with the development and stylistic ramifications of so-called lapidary writing (which has in fact applied to various materials), a writing the history of which is an important chapter of the history of Arabic writing [see KHAṬṬ]. Influences of every kind were manifested here equally in the form of politico-social transformations and historical events which it would be impossible to evoke in this article in the context appropriate to each, geographically distinct, group of inscriptions.

But this continually-renewed variety should not cause one to forget certain traits characteristic of Arabic inscriptions which may be underlined here, in regard to their nature and customary content, and which will enable us to stress the value of the conclusions to which their study leads.

One important feature to be emphasised is the frequency and significance of religious inscriptions, which have sometimes tended to be overlooked in cases where they are not accompanied by documents judged to be of historical interest and which, for this reason, do not figure in their own right in the *Répertoire* and are only briefly mentioned in the *Matériaux pour un Corpus*. These are sometimes isolated inscriptions also capable of supplying an ornamental function on buildings, tombstones or even household objects, sometimes elements belonging to texts where in spite of the profane purpose there is an inevitable collection of pious expressions and customary doctrinal preoccupations. Here we shall assemble in particular examples of Ḳurʾānic quotations, professions of faith, isolated or linked to the texts of epitaphs, prayers, invocations and blessings.

These religious inscriptions appeared at the very beginning of the Islamic era among the primitive graffiti which covered a large number of the rocks of the desert (see the bibliographic references of Sourdel-Thomine, *Inscriptions et grafitti arabes d'époque umayyade, à propos de quelques publications récentes*, in *REI* [1964], 115-20). But they were also early situated in ornamental bands forming an integral part of the architectural decor, as admirably illustrated by the interior of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*]. From this period, their essential theme has been the glorification of the Muslim faith, which could be associated with the personal nature of the testimony left behind by each traveller in the course of his wanderings, as much as with the majestic impassiveness of epigraphic compositions on a grand scale. It would not be enough, however, to say with Max van Berchem, that the dominating feature here is principally the notion of divine power which is one of the two main concepts of the Muslim spirit. Some of these texts, regarded in the most ancient cases as useful means of access to the deity, continue to act as representatives of the dominant religious feeling of the period and their formulae of praise and trust, varied to a greater or lesser extent with requests for pardons, blessings and favours, for a long time remained free of the constrictions of a stereotyped vocabulary. But even when they obeyed more rigid rules, they still maintained an authenticity enabling them to share in the expression of genuine religious options, and texts of commonplace appearance thus continued to reflect diverse doctrinal tendencies in the bosom of the Islamic community; allusions to sectarian beliefs, in the form of eulogies of a Shīʿī flavour for example; echoes of theological arguments like references to the created Ḳurʾān in professions of faith accompanying Egyptian epitaphs of the 3rd/9th century; maxims bearing the marks of philosophical wisdom and of mystical self-denial observed for example in the inscriptions of Khumartāsh at Ḳazwīn at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. Even the poetic quotations so frequent for instance in later Sicilian texts could concur to the same design, and variations in formula came to be accentuated with the fragmentation, of a religious as well as a political nature, which the Islamic world suffered towards the end of the Middle Ages (note the originality of the theological texts which adorned at that time the sanctuaries of the Twelver Shīʿī conducting the prayers on the basis of a cult of *imāms* unknown in other Muslim circles).

A common denominator to all these inscriptions may assuredly be found in the constant use of Ḳurʾānic quotations, multiplied to the extent that they sometimes take the place of any other form of devout reflection. But even here the choice of verses copied in whole or in part obeys specific intentions, which are discernible, if not clearly asserted, and their arrangement is sufficient to indicate the theological or judicial implications of texts which have a doctrinal value for anyone who is able to interpret them. References to *ḥadīth*, the use of extracts from the Ḳurʾān of a recognised propitiatory nature (the "Throne" verse, for example), the insertion of certain types of prayer, also constitute revealing elements (see in this connection, D. Sourdel, *A propos des "Dix Élus"*, in *REI*, xxxi [1963], 111-14).

It is to be regretted, however, that few Islamic scholars take an interest in material that too often continues to be strange to them, while on the other hand there is a vigorous and widespread school of thought seeking, in the light of illuminist doctrines popular in certain circles of initiates, to decipher every ancient inscription as if it were an esoteric riddle, tinted with "traditional" gnostic philosophy both Shīʿī and Iranian. In fact, besides the intentional use of certain formulae that are legible and loaded with meaning beneath the flamboyant style of the writing—such as for example the remarkable stucco composition in "square Kūfic" on the names of the Twelve *Imāms* preserved in the sanctuary of Pīr-i Bakrān at Lindjān near Iṣfahān—one might hesitate to see a hidden sense in the quasi-mechanical

repetition, on certain monuments, of formulae such as *al-mulk li-llāh* "the power is God's", or, on certain pieces of pottery, of expressions of the *al-ʿāfiya* type sometimes evolving towards pseudo-inscriptions. These formulae, reproduced in the manner of respected graphic combinations, doubtless preserved no theological significance more precise than the successions of appeals, such as "fortune, prosperity, blessing ... to him who possesses it" *al-yumn wa 'l-iḳbāl wa 'l-baraka*, etc.... *li ṣāḥibihi*, which at that time were invariably inscribed on manufactured objects. The connections between sign and signified which may still be legitimately read here, are thus shown to be especially typical of a psychological climate peculiar to Muslim society in the sense of a society marked by religiosity, and correspond to the tight liaison that we have already emphasised between the character, Muslim in tenor and ornamental in appearance, of the majority of the inscriptions in this category: these are works of art endowed in this sense with a fundamental ambiguity as means of expression, both aesthetic and symbolic, of the sensibilities of their period.

A second category of inscriptions that is no less copious is subsequently represented, that of historical texts which have the object of commemorating the individual and his acts, whether the case in question is of a senior government official or of the obscure occupant of a village tomb. To this category we may add construction texts fixing the date of a certain building, title deeds and other documentation of private transactions, foundation texts indicating (according to terminology originating with van Berchem and adopted by the *RCEA*) attestations of pious donations given in perpetuity through the custom of *waḳf* [*q.v.*], funeral texts of all kinds and even the straightforward signatures of master craftsmen and artists which will also be considered here. If these texts partially reflect the notion of "absolute political power" wherein van Berchem saw, according to an insufficiently-qualified assertion, the second major concept of the Islamic spirit, and if their principal gravitation is such that the same epigraphist expressed it, evolving around the names of the sovereign, his titles, his major deeds and his continuing praise, they also contain much more: through the evolution that they have undergone in the course of the centuries, they give information on popular beliefs, opinions current among the wealthy or academic classes of society and the functions served or the degree of respect attained, after their death, by certain of their members, as well as on the nature of the buildings, utilitarian or decorative, that the latter took pleasure in constructing. Some of this information of obvious value in the reconstruction of the social, economic and intellectual history of the Islamic world, is accompanied also by precise revelations touching on such-and-such a point of circumstantial history or such-and-such an archaeological detail: these amply compensate for the tedium that sometimes emanates from the stereotyped phraseology and the excessive enumeration of titles that are characteristic of documents tending towards a standard official formality rather than towards any personal touch, which is rarely encountered.

Of all these texts, the most copious category is undoubtedly that of epitaphs, collections of which, either remaining *in situ* in the ancient cemeteries or transferred to museums, are on such a massive scale as to discourage the most enthusiastic researcher and in consequence have seldom been catalogued in a systematic way. The specimens published since the unique example of 31/652 and the Egyptian steles of the end of the 2nd/8th century are nevertheless sufficient to give an idea of the progressive transformation, according to places and periods, of fairly simple types of texts, where the significant features have always been religious maxims and the professions of faith already mentioned (for supplementary details and bibliography, see ḲABR). Their references to certain currents of thought deserve in fact to be given more attention than the study of the dates of inscriptions or the genealogies of the deceased where statistics directed towards onomastic and prosopography, according to local perspectives, would alone be capable, in the longer term, of maintaining interest. But neither should one ignore the titulary inscriptions which are to be noted from the 6th/12th century onward, in a period where the devaluation of titles formerly reserved for sovereigns led to the attribution, to "men of religion" and other representatives of the upper urban classes, of honorific phrases, the history of which has not yet been written and which ought to be studied in the same way as the titles of individuals serving in the higher echelons of the administration [see LAḲAB].

Besides these epitaphs, marked by a discretion of vocabulary which is maintained up to the time of the royal epitaphs of the G͟haznavid Sebüktigin (d. 387/997) or of the Artuḳid Balak (d. 518/1124), there are other funerary texts which belong more emphatically to the canon of inscriptions intended to celebrate the glory of the sovereign. These are those which, from the 4th/10th century onward, accompany monumental mausolea varying considerably in architectural structure. A greater freedom of composition, already perceptible in the dated and dedicatory epigraphic friezes of the Iranian tower-tombs, is shown when the opportunity offers, notably in the original version of inscriptions specially designed before his death in 607/1210-11 by ʿAlī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] for the decoration of his tomb. These texts are as valuable for the history of monuments as they are for that of the sovereigns, officials or military chiefs who chose them for the commemoration of their graves. Moreover, they become especially significant when the tombs in question are those identified by popular piety as objects of pilgrimage and supplication, whether in S͟hīʿī circles where the buildings of *imām-zādas* [*q.v.*] were widespread at a very early stage, or to a certain extent throughout the Muslim world from the 6th/12th century, when the practice of *ziyāra* [*q.v.*] developed to the proportions of a veritable "cult of saints" in honour of pious individuals renowned for their posthumous miracles, or of celebrities from the early periods of Islam commemorated now for the first time by newly-built sanctuaries; only inscriptions of sufficient antiquity may in fact give information about the original period of these devotions, inaccurately described in the literary sources, while at the same time supplying the names of rulers or wealthy patrons who promoted them. These data are also useful for the reconstruction of the complicated history of the multi-purpose architectural complexes which became numerous around the tombs of saints from the end of the 7th/13th century and which grew up a little later around royal graves, as is proved by well-known Tīmūrid and Mamlūk examples [see ḲUBBA, TÜRBE].

The formulae employed in this particular category of funerary texts also belong partially to that attested by the innumerable construction texts en-

graved on Muslim monuments since the Umayyad period. These latter texts in fact obeyed from the start strict obligations, which imposed the following elements: definition of the work undertaken, name of the initiator responsible, sometimes located between the name of the reigning sovereign and those of the authorities who supervised the progress of the work, and date of the construction or restoration, the whole incorporated within a series of variable additions: variously distributed pious formulae which included Ḳur'ānic quotations appropriate to the nature of the work, but which most of all were requests to God for reward in respect of the work accomplished in his honour more or less detailed appeals on behalf of the founder and optional complementary notes, including the names of the author-scribe and the architect-mason. This was the constant framework, and the additions made in ensuing centuries were only such as to incorporate subsidiary details affecting in particular the titles of the builder or those of the various authorities on whom he depended: thus one may find, in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries for example, successive mentions of the caliph of Baghdād, of the Saldjūḳ sultan, of the local sovereign, and the humble figure of the builder is introduced simply as *al-ʿabd al-faḳīr ilā raḥmati rabbihi* "the poor slave imploring the goodwill of his Lord". Furthermore, such rigidity of formulae provides the exact scheme that may be expected of inscriptions of this genre, texts that are easily reconstructed where there are lacunae in the details of ritual etiquette or in the order of succession of the various elements, but of scope limited by the constraints of their subject. Only on two points are we likely sometimes to be agreeably surprised: their archaeological interpretation, on the one hand, when care is taken to note their precise location in the building, to the dating of which they contribute; on the other hand, their richness in titles, from which one sometimes perceives the reality of Islamic government institutions which continue to pose numerous questions to the historian.

Comparable information is furthermore to be obtained, in the majority of cases, from foundation texts where the list of the titles of the legators obeys the same rules of precedence and is often clarified when account is taken of the more theoretical notions supplied by some Arabic texts dealing with chancellery practices. But the more original data contained in the disposal of these *waḳfiyya*s are of a topographical or toponymical order, on account of the large number of localities and regions listed as sources of revenue, or of an economic and social order, relating to daily life, sometimes also to urban life in general when the generous benefactor has decided for example to underwrite the excavation of *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] or the improvement of some municipal work. The profoundly Islamic character of these arrangements, as well as the attitudes that engendered them, is linked, through the solemn proclamation of the devotional work, to the psychological process according to which the construction of a building took on its true dimension when an inscription text preserved its memory and placed the builder or benefactor in his just position within the Muslim community.

This tendency was superimposed on a concern for the glorification of the individual concerned, which appears to a still greater extent in the inscriptions on material objects, which constitute the final category of Arabic commemorative inscriptions. The texts of these most often consist in fact of nothing more than greetings added to the name and titles which enable the owner to be identified, whether it was a case of a caliph ordering the manufacture of a *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] in a royal factory or of a Mamlūk *amīr* acquiring a bronze or a ceramic plate bearing his monogram. The mention that such an object has been manufactured on the orders of a certain powerful dignitary is sometimes the only information to be conveyed, in the form of a motif that is both epigraphic and decorative. But the sense of pride of ownership also sometimes finds an echo in the professional pride of the craftsmen who at an early stage adopted the practice of signing their works, even if in the briefest manner possible (see in this connection the writings of L. A. Mayer mentioned above).

It remains to consider, in the third and final place, the group which, while being definitely the least important, is nevertheless extremely rich in information of all kinds, the group constituted by administrative texts. Linked to the functioning of the machinery of power, they are not designed to glorify, except indirectly, the holders of this power, but rather to make certain government decisions known. Represented in early times by inscriptions stamped on coinage, or on weights and measures of glass paste which appeared from the Umayyad period onward, they made way somewhat later for decrees of abolition of taxes. Mamlūk specimens are among the best known: these are, once again, valuable documents of economic and social history, comparable with title deeds and records of donation, to the extent that they provide precise and detailed information regarding fiscal policy or give accurate descriptions of bureaucratic procedures. But the quaint symbolic notations that they preserve are shown in their turn to be extremely rich when one attempts, as Sauvaget has done, to glean from them certain data on the spot and to deduce from them, especially in the sphere of topographical studies, elements of assistance in the reconstruction of certain aspects of urban evolution.

So here we find once more this golden rule for the utilisation of Arabic inscriptions, which seems to be always to consider them as concrete documents, which are not to be separated, beyond the official formulae and the pious expressions that characterise them, from the local and monumental context within which their most original significance is expressed. Some such epigraphic commentaries, even when they deal closely with the purport of the various texts the principal tendencies of which we have reviewed above, thus remain subordinate to that which constitutes the prime quality of the documents with which they are concerned that of having been composed to occupy a particular location in lasting fashion and to be integrated into the exterior appearance of the objects or the monuments that they accompany. Nor should one neglect those inscriptions which were capable of being enclosed in the interior of the most varied types of framework (panels, scrolls, friezes of all dimensions, the entire surface of an object or a tightly-limited section), entrusted to the most varied materials according to equally diverse processes (stone engraved or sculpted in depth, stucco elaborately worked on several surfaces, experiments with bricks in relief, mosaic, painting, moulded or incised metal, wood, ivory, ceramic, etc.), sometimes reduced to the subsidiary role of motifs underlining with their shapes the principal lines of the architecture or joining with covering linear décors composed of arabesques and

lattice-work. These details are to be considered with as much attention as the formulae of the inscriptions or as the style as revealed by the idiosyncrasies of the writing. For the reasoned study of this body of facts, with which, in order to be complete, any survey of Islamic epigraphy ought to begin, is the only means that will enable the scholar to put into their just place, for an introduction to the realities of mediaeval Islamic civilisation, the inscriptions which up to the present day scholars have been content to examine in a fashion that is still too incomplete and inevitably superficial.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

2. In the Near East.

It is in the Near East, the cradle of Arabic writing, and more precisely in Syria (Namāra, Zebed, Ḥarrān, Umm Djimāl), that the oldest known inscriptions written in the Arabic language have been discovered. These so-called proto-Arabic inscriptions, sometimes bilingual (Greek-Arabic), have contributed to our understanding of the ancestry of the Arabic characters, which in the final analysis, derive from Syriac characters and not from Nabataean, as was previously believed.

The privileged place accorded by Islam to writing allowed the latter to undergo a rapid evolution and a rapid diffusion. From the time of the Umayyad era, inscriptions proliferated in all the provinces of the young Islamic empire. Construction texts, religious texts, milestones, epitaphs, and simple graffiti dating from this period have been and still are being discovered in the archaeological sites of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and ʿIrāḳ.

The formula of these inscriptions was probably influenced by that of the Greco-Roman inscriptions, very numerous in these regions. It is simple, sober and varies in tenor according to the function of the text. It serves as a prototype for later periods which enrich it, while remaining faithful to its broad outlines. Official texts are generally composed as follows: almost always the *basmala*, one or more Ḳurʾānic verses, religious invocations, the dispositions of the work, the name of the caliph followed by his title *amīr al-muʾminīn*, sometimes the name of the overseer responsible for the work, and generally, the date.

The study of these inscriptions reveals the rapidity with which the crude and maladroit writing of the proto-Arabic inscriptions was transformed to the point of attaining, in the monumental inscriptions, a high level of aesthetic perfection. Engraved on rock in finely drawn lines of equal breadth, usually incised, very seldom in relief, sometimes executed in mosaic or in painting, Umayyad writing obeys the same norms: characters composed of simple geometric elements—verticals, horizontals, obliques, circles or segments of circles—set out on a base line which is strictly horizontal. This horizontal base line plays an essential role in Arabic writing. The latter was in fact conceived, after the pattern of Syriac characters, as resting on a foundation, as opposed to Nabataean characters, which appear to be suspended from an upper line. This role is such, that in certain types of archaic and crude writing, the base line is itself an integral part of the characters. These latter are in such cases formed of small simple lines, vertical or oblique, and of rings, resting on the horizontal of the base line, of which the continuity is unbroken (cf. Pl. VIII, 1).

In Umayyad epigraphy, the combinations of these geometric elements give two types of characters: tall letters with vertical strokes and short letters with notches or rings, connected by horizontal segments. This double typology constitutes one of the essential elements of the aesthetic quality of Arabic writing. In fact, it provides the artist with two areas where he can exercise his genius differently: the lower register, the more dense, where the artistic effect obtained results in a simple inter-play of characters, and the upper register where the spaces between the vertical strokes provide an ideal place for the artist to indulge his taste for multiple creations.

In the Umayyad period, this upper register was not used, but the stone-masons succeeded, by using the lower register alone, in creating "a harmony at once rhythmic and linear" which makes this form of writing a genuine work of art. The rhythm is obtained by the opposition and alternation of high and low characters, while the linear harmony results from the arithmetical reckoning of the proportions. This reckoning answers a need for equilibrium as much in height (the proportion of short characters to long varies generally between 1/3 and 1/2) as in width. It is to satisfy this latter need that the mason does not hesitate to extend his characters in width and to lengthen the joining segments. The standard of calligraphy definitely varies according to the type of inscription and it is especially in official texts that fine specimens are to be found. We shall mention simply as examples the inscriptions of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem and his milestones (cf. Pl. VIII, 2 and IX, 3).

During the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid régime, the Arabic inscriptions of the Near-East underwent an evolution corresponding to that of the socio-cultural development of the entire ancient Baghdād and that of the palaces of Samarrāʾ. The fact that these were constructed of brick, a perishable material, has deprived us of the monumental inscriptions which probably adorned the official buildings and which disappeared as a result of these destructions. On the other hand, we have dating from this period a large number of epitaphs and inscriptions on movable objects, especially on fabrics which benefited from the expansion of state factories (*ṭirāz*) supplying the needs of the caliphs and their court. The formula of these inscriptions, often found on the edges of the fabric, is stereotyped. It begins with the *basmala*, generally followed by the phrase *baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh* followed by the name of the caliph and his title, and the expression of a wish for his long reign, then the name of the individual who ordered the fabric, the name of the workshop where it was made and the date of manufacture. These inscriptions are executed in archaic, angular characters whose typology corresponds, in broad outline, to that of the characters of the stone inscriptions.

In this area, undoubtedly the most interesting evidence is provided by the epitaphs, most of them of Egyptian origin, engraved on marble or on sandstone, of which a considerable number of specimens have survived to the present day. The formula of these epitaphs is constituted of different elements of which the combinations vary according to a variety of patterns: the *basmala*, a verse of the Ḳurʾān, one or more religious invocations, the profession of faith, more or less developed, the dedication of the tomb, the verb introducing the name of the deceased followed by his titles and

profession, the date of his death and an appeal for God's mercy upon him.

These epitaphs provide valuable materials for following the evolution of inscriptions on stone during the first ʿAbbāsid centuries. The change of dynasty did not immediately change the practices of the stonemasons and the characters of early ʿAbbāsid epitaphs are similar in outline to those of Umayyad inscriptions. Nevertheless, differences soon appear in the reckoning of the proportions. The characters diminish in length and correspondingly the joining segments between the letters become shorter. As a result, ʿAbbāsid Kūfic presents a more cramped and less harmonious aspect appearance than Umayyad Kūfic. On the other hand, this evolution is inclined toward a concern for the ornamentation of characters. This is expressed first in the lengthening of the terminal segments in the form of a bevel which tends to grow larger and larger. In the crude types it is sometimes replaced by a small hook or even a ring. To the development of the bevel there correspond a thickening of the outlines of the letters and a more frequent adoption of the technique of engraving in champlevé (cf. Pl. IX, 4), which allows two parallel expressions of the evolution of characters. corresponding to the duality of engraving techniques. Thus, in incised inscriptions, the vertical strokes of the letters are decorated with hooks, simple, double or triple, pre-figuring the palm-leaf (cf. Pl. X, 5), while in inscriptions in relief, the bevels evolve into foils, double foils or triple foils which later open out into leaves, fleurons and palm-leaves, a style of décor much in vogue in the mid-3rd/9th century (cf. Pl. X, 6).

Various other processes of ornamentation are encountered in this period: symmetrical indentations in the parallel vertical strokes of the *alif* and the *lām*, softening of the lines and the appearance of curves (in the *lām-alif*, the *kāf*), transformation of the lower appendices into rising tails, fleurons arising from mouth-shaped letters (*mīm*), the intertwining of contiguous lines, (cf. the knot formed by the *alif* and the *lām* of the word Allāh, Pl. X, 6, l. 1). The indentations and arcs which sometimes adorn the joining segments, especially in the word Allāh, roses and fleurons at the end of a word, framing in linear décor (braids, zigzags, mouldings, spirals) or in a décor of plant-forms (plant palm-leaves alternated on one side and the other by a sinuous line, leaves and symmetrical fleurons), sometimes an even more subtle composition (an arc delineated by a flat moulding with spandrels adorned by an outline in arabesque), combine towards the embellishment of the script.

With the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and its sporadic expansion in Syria-Palestine, new practices are introduced into the inscriptions of the Near East. The formula varies little in its basic elements, but the name of the caliph is almost always followed by mention of his links with the "Family" in a phrase such as *ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿalā abāʾi-hi al-ṭāhirīn*, and the name of ʿAlī is often mentioned with that of the Prophet (*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh ʿAlī walī Allāh ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalay-himā*).

The effort at the embellishment of calligraphy continues, and a real proliferation of types of decorative inscriptions is seen. As characteristic examples, we mention the inscriptions of the 4th/10th century mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo (cf. Pl. X, 7) and those of the cenotaph of Fāṭima in Damascus (dated 439/1047, Pl. XI, 8). In the former, the linear element maintains a predominant place. The characters show a vigour of design which accentuates their relief on the excised base, completely bare in the lower part, decorated in the upper register by an independent, foliated scroll which glides alternatively above and below the vertical strokes and which gives a free run in the empty spaces to the development of spiral designs which open out in fleurons (cf. Pl. X, 7).

In the cenotaph of Fāṭima, the foliated scroll is sometimes linked to floral elements issuing from the characters and develops in such a fashion as to form a more dense composition (cf. Pl. XI, 8).

In the Fāṭimid period, the typology of the characters is considerably enriched. Curvatures, counter-curvatures, knots and indentations are numerous in the interiors of the characters, offering the stonemason infinite opportunities for improvisation. Purely for the sake of example, let us note the ten different types of *lām-alif* in the single inscription of the cenotaph of Fāṭima.

It would of course be wrong to attribute to Fāṭimid artists alone all the epigraphic innovations in the inscriptions of the 5th-6th/11th-12th century in the Near East. The conquest of Syria by the Salḏjūḳs, who imported with them the techniques and the graphical forms used in the eastern provinces of the Islamic empire, was accompanied by the intrusion of a number of the features mentioned in the Fāṭimid inscriptions, such as knots and right-angled bends in the vertical strokes of certain characters. There was probably a phenomenon of osmosis between these various regions where exchanges were frequent.

The inscription on the cenotaph of Sukayna in Damascus (end of the 6th/12th century; cf. Pl. X, 9) is an interesting specimen of the evolution of monumental Kūfic in the Salḏjūḳ period. The inscriptions engraved in the wood of the cenotaph are distributed on three levels, in two bands superimposed and separated by a fine braid. The main inscription occupies the full height of the broadest band, while at half-way up, the second is intertwined among the vertical strokes of the first. The third, quite independent, occupies the small upper band. These three bands stand out against a background decorated by a fine network of arabesques which cover all of the part crudely excised.

Among the specifically Salḏjūḳ types of monumental inscription, mention should be made of epigraphic bands with geometric décor where the vertical lines of the characters are extended in the upper area giving rise to the interweaving of stars and polygons. The inscription of Ṣafwat al-Mulk at Damascus is a living illustration of this.

The Salḏjūḳ influence is also shown in the evolution of the formulary of inscriptions of small Syrian dynasties of Salḏjūḳ allegiance where the titles become swollen with pomposity (cf. for example the titles of the *atābak* sovereigns in the construction texts of the great mosque of Damascus).

It was in the first half of the 6th/12th century that there was effected the most important transformation regarding the evolution of Arabic script in stone, when Nūr al-Dīn ordered the adoption of the cursive script in official inscriptions, to the detriment of the angular script, which, without disappearing completely, was reduced to repetitions of ancient types. Some fragments of cursive script are mixed, as an intrusion, in the Kūfic inscriptions of the bands of the minaret of the great mosque of Aleppo in 483/1090. There is found also at Buṣrā in Syria an inscription dating from 481/1188, where the characters, while still crude, are neatly rounded; but it is not until the first half of the 6th/12th century

that there appears the full flowering of cursive writing expressed in stone, with its full and its slender lines, its supple ligatures and the introduction of points and diacritical lines, not used in the inscriptions of angular type. A parallel transformation is effected regarding the base line which loses its rigidity and its horizontal continuity. The listels which delimit the bands of writing are not however eliminated, and they continue to compress the lower appendices, the latter being forced to develop below the base line. To remedy this inconvenience, the stone-masons divide the words and engrave the segments thus obtained on different levels, based on an oblique line descending from the centre of the band towards the listel of the base. This procedure permits a freer development of the lower appendices. The base line appears as a discontinuous line reduced to a series of oblique overlapping segments (cf. Pl. XII, 10). This procedure is accentuated in the Ayyūbid period, and already there appear inscriptions where the words are divided and staggered on two or three levels, almost parallel and superimposed. The word generally begins on the lower line and continues above (cf. Pl. XIII, 11).

In the Mamlūk period, this technique of engraving reaches its apogee. The characters are so interwoven that their decipherment becomes difficult all the more so as the characters used in the majority of the inscriptions of this period are of small dimensions, thick and squat. It is to this type of inscription that belong the Mamlūk decrees, engraved in profusion on the walls of official buildings and constituting precious documents regarding the socio-economic life of the Near East in this period (cf. Pl. XIII, 12).

There exists, moreover, a type of Mamlūk *naskhi* where this dense writing gives way to an elongated graphic style prefiguring the Ottoman script. This last gives the appearance of a transposition on to stone of manuscript writings, in particular the style known as *thuluth*, in which the Ottoman calligraphers excelled (cf. Pl. XIII, 13).

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(S. Ory)

3. In Muslim Spain.

At the time of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula (92/711), the *kūfī* or Kūfic script had already existed in the Islamic world, as an official and sacred script, for 60 years. It was this script that the conquerors used from the start in their inscriptions. The most ancient evidence that we have of it is constituted by the bilingual coinage struck by the governor al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī (98/716-17); the uninterrupted continuity of its use is confirmed by all the coinages struck by subsequent governors and *amīrs*. From the time of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, this writing figures in pious foundation texts, in funeral and other inscriptions which corroborate this numismatic evidence, as well as testifying clearly to the development of the usage of the Kūfic characters in al-Andalus before the Almohad invasion (542/1147). Following this event, a struggle developed between *kūfī* and *naskhī*, ending in victory for the latter which subsequently took the status of the official scripts of epigraphy, while the former lost ground and its use became limited to religious or profane inscriptions of little importance and intended for purposes of general ornamentation.

The Kūfic features which appear in the oldest Arabic inscriptions of al-Andalus are virtually the same as those which were used during the last decade of the first century A.H. in all the lands conquered by Islam, that is to say, the symbols originating from the city of Kūfa, with scarcely any evolution in design. This Kūfic, on account of its clearly primitive nature, is generally called archaic. It was reproduced, with more or less finesse over the years, by the traditional craftsmen of Spain who never succeeded in mastering it fully and in consequence introduced no novelty of design by virtue of which it might be considered characteristic of, or exclusive to, al-Andalus. In the last years of the amīrate of Muḥammad I, a new generation of rather more arabised craftsmen began to turn the more extreme features of Kūfic script into stylised plant-forms. At first, this innovation was used very timidly because it applied only to a very small number of letters; nevertheless, little by little it found acceptance to the point where it was applied to all the symbols which permitted it. The craftsmen thus succeeded in creating the Hispano-Muslim version of floral Kūfic, while it must be admitted that the development of this variant of Kūfic never attained, in al-Andalus, the level reached by contemporary Kūfic writing in other Muslim territories.

In the reign of the second caliph of Cordova, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh, the religious puritanism and stern austerity which characterised the conduct of this powerful sovereign at the head of the government of al-Andalus made itself strongly felt, needless to say, in the epigraphy of the period. Decorative floral additions were suppressed and attempts made to restore the Kūfic letters to their primitive and classical design. But this was not entirely possible, because the letter-forms possessed henceforward a certain elegance which was lacking in them before; this elegance, far from disappearing as a result of this suppression, manifestly increased. Thus there was born a new Kūfic with streamlined, elegant shapes, stripped of all ornamental addition, commonly called simple Kūfic, which flourished until the downfall of the Caliphate of the West. Previous to this important historical event, there certainly existed a consistency in the style of writing Kūfic

in the whole of al-Andalus—as a consequence of the political unity of the region, feebly introduced by the governors and subsequently definitively enforced by the monarchs of the dynasty of the Banū Umayya —and a single cultural centre regulating its art, the metropolis of Cordova. After the downfall of the caliphate, a number of schools of design sprang up, for, with the end of the hegemony of Cordova, each province of al-Andalus followed its own political direction and developed its own artistic practices under influences of very diverse origin. Among the schools the most important were those of Seville, Toledo, Saragossa and Almeria, without counting that of Cordova. At Seville, simple Kūfic continued to be used in inscriptions; but the characters developed in height, which made them extremely elegant and distinctive. At Toledo, the craftsmen returned to floral Kūfic, with forms excessively overladen with plant-forms alternated with the use of simple Kūfic forms. Of these two variants, two distinct versions appeared: one traditional, firmly Cordovan in origin; the other authentically Toledan, which consisted in adding to characters carved in relief a central groove, giving them considerable force of expression. The Kūfic of Saragossa had a particular importance. It is known today through the inscriptions preserved at the Palace of Aljafería (al-Dja'fariyya), built by the princeling Abū Dja'far Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir bi 'llāh (438-74/1046-81); it is known that in the building of this monument, originally called Dār al-Surūr or House of Rejoicing, the craftsmen experimented with numerous innovations, architectural as well as decorative; and inscriptions—an ornamental element of first importance in Islamic art—were no exception. They stylised Kūfic characters to an incredible extent, and by sometimes making them slide on a floral base or at other times cleverly interlacing them with geometric motifs, they succeeded in composing epigraphic bands of great beauty and an originality unusual for the period. As for Almeria, principal base of the Umayyad fleet in the Mediterranean, it had been intimately linked with the metropolis of Cordova during the caliphate. Its craftsmen had always represented Kūfic according to the model of Cordova, and they did not change their style when the latter lost its political status. They continued to use the simple Kūfic which was in use at the time of this event; later, this Kūfic evolved very slowly and its most brilliant period, corresponding to the importance and splendour of this naval base, was reached under the aegis of the Almoravids. From the study of the Arabic inscriptions of Almeria, of which a fine selection survives, it may be deduced that the Almoravid invasion brought no change in the shape of the Kūfic of al-Andalus. By contrast, as mentioned above, the Almohad invasion had very significant effects on epigraphy. At first, the latter respected the Kūfic script and used it, as is well-known, in the first building that they constructed at Marrākush; but, when they were obliged to put into practice a policy of reconciliation of the peoples whom they had subdued by force, they very soon realised that the Kūfic script, with its difficulty of interpretation, was not suitable for the development of their policies, and they replaced it with *naskhī* or cursive in all texts relating to new foundations of a public character. For the craftsmen of al-Andalus in particular, this change had the effect of enabling them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Arabic characters and to distinguish, in each one of them, that which was essential and invariable from that which was secondary and could legitimately be altered according to the taste of the designer. Thus they came to appreciate the true significance of Kūfic forms hitherto reproduced more or less mechanically. They were no longer content with drawing their designs according to the good taste of the Almohads, but little by little they transformed the shapes. First of all, with the idea of making them attractive and graceful; then by building up their upper portions with complicated interloops, while increasingly filling up with stylised plant-forms all the interstices not covered by the letters in the lines of inscription. In the end, they created ornamental motifs of a type which, on account of its incontestable decorative worth, was subsequently copied by the Mudéjar craftsmen, including those who worked in the Alhambra of Granada, thus undoubtedly conferring upon it a long-lasting prosperity. For it is certain that it is by virtue of these copies, made with extreme care and fidelity, that we are acquainted today with the Arabic epigraphy of al-Andalus current in the period of the Almohads, since the original inscriptions of this historical period surviving to the present day are very few in number, and discoveries have not been made on the scale which could have been desired. The motif-types mentioned above were incorporated into Mudéjar decoration without further consequence, and through incessant use over the course of the years they patently degenerated and became a parody of what they had originally been. On the other hand, their inclusion in the ornamentation of the palace of the Banū Naṣr had the effect of inspiring the craftsmen of Granada to the creation and the development to hitherto inconceivable limits of the geometric Kūfic which is admired today in the Alhambra and which is, beyond doubt, one of the finest ornamental creations contributed by Andalusian craftsmanship to the art of Islam. It was also in the Alhambra that the *naskhī* script achieved the highest point of its development within Muslim Spain. In fact, it is known that among the most important elements contributing to the ormanentation of the Naṣrid palace there are epigraphic friezes composed in this script and containing the best works of the most prominent poets of the period, Ibn Zamrak and Ibn Djayyāb, which are thereby available to us in "the most sumptuous edition in the world", to borrow the apt expression of E. García Gómez.

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4. In North Africa.

The oldest inscriptions known to us in North Africa show no originality compared with those of the Near East in the Umayyad and, in particular, the ʿAbbāsid periods. The evolution of styles in Ifrīḳiya was to follow a course generally parallel to that of the styles known in Egypt which seems to have constituted the natural link in the chain connecting the Muslim East and West. The Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, by contrast, and especially from the time of the Almoravid period, was influenced by al-Andalus, which for a long time remained faithful to archaic forms of Kūfic but which, under the influence of the ʿAbbāsid East, submitted to the prevailing taste. Nevertheless, Muslim Spain was to interpret in its own fashion the styles of writing and their evolution such as were familiar in the Orient in the Fāṭimid period. This piece of the Orient set in Andalusion soil was to influence Morocco, and then with the victory of the Almohads, the whole of North Africa.

The style of monumental inscriptions in the Aghlabid period differs according to whether it is a case of carvings in relief, or incised engravings, on stone or wood, or of painting. The Kūfic carved in relief on stone may well be compared to that of the Nilometer of Rawḍa (199/814-15), notably on the marble at al-Kayrawān (the capitals and the interior of the *miḥrāb*). It may equally be compared to Ṭūlūnid Kūfic, but some of the details characteristic of the West appear to be quite original, for example the *alif* with a horizontal appendage towards the right in the lower part of the letter. The writing, whose essential value lies in the message to be transmitted, tends gradually to become a part of the ornamentation (for example, the inscription painted on wood at the base of the cupola of the Great Mosque of al-Ḳayrawān where the mis-shaping of the *ʿayn* gives a fleuron with three foils while the background is decorated with isolated floral motifs). The fine inscription on the façade of the Mosque of the Three Gates at al-Ḳayrawān also provides an example of this tendency which is emphasised in the marble plaque of the *miḥrāb* of the Zaytūna in Tunis, where the inscription in very fine Kūfic characters forms a decorative framework.

The Kūfic of the foundation-plaque of the *ribāṭ* of Sousse (206/821) appears very archaic in comparison with these inscriptions.

Funerary inscriptions are mostly engraved; the formula varies little, the main element being a few Ḳur᾽ānic verses, usually taken from Sūra CXII. These inscriptions perpetuate, in the 3rd/9th century, forms which are more emphatically archaic than those of the monumental inscriptions; this is especially notable in epitaphs on pillars, occasionally crudely executed in spite of some fine creations, and in the fine funerary inscriptions engraved on marble plaques or on tall columns. The similarity between the Aghlabid incised inscriptions and contemporary examples from Egypt and the Sudan is quite striking.

There can be no doubt that the arrival of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya and their installation at Mahdiyya, then at Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya, accentuated the orientalisation of the country. The evolution of Kūfic in the Near East in the 5th/11th century, then in the 6th/12th century, was to be reflected almost immediately in the Maghrib. In the latter as in the former, the problem faced by the artist was how to alleviate the difficulties inherent in Arabic writing, very dense in the lower part of the line of inscription, but leaving important gaps in the upper areas. The solutions adopted consisted in the development of the vertical strokes and in their evolution, sometimes their distortion, in the intertwining of letters, and most of all, use was made of stylised floral patterns in decorating the background. These inscriptions are often divided in two parts by a rigid horizontal band, the lower part being occupied by the body of the letter while the upper register is decorated with a complicated floral design against which the vertical lines stand out. At Sfax, from the end of the 4th/10th century, the letter is seen to develop, the terminal

chamfer of the vertical strokes opening into floral shapes or curling so as to occupy the empty spaces. The influence of Fāṭimid Egypt is undeniable. The characters in general affect a refined elegance. The bordering strips contribute to the décor of the façades (Sfax, Great Mosque) or to that of the *miḥrāb*s (Sfax, Zīrid *miḥrāb*), mosque of Sayyida at Monastir (beginning of the 5th/11th century). At Constantine (*miḥrāb* of the Great Mosque, dating from the 6th/12th century), the epigraphic décor reaches a high degree of ornamental quality, recalling that of the finest Fāṭimid *miḥrāb*s of Cairo.

Funereal epigraphy also abandoned the archaisms of the Aghlabid period, but after a perceptible delay. Incised inscriptions practically disappeared. The form of the tombs evolved towards prismatic marble steles, notably at Monastir and at Tunis (cemetery of the Khūrāsānids). The writing, of refined elegance, recalls, by the development of the letters and by the appearance and proliferation of stylised floral designs, the style of the monumental inscriptions.

As for epigraphy on furniture, we have, in the magnificent *maḳṣūra* of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, one of the finest examples of floral Kūfic, with complex intertwining of letters and a background of plantforms comparable to the Kūfic of Aleppo or to that of Diyār Bakr.

In the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā and in the western region of the central Maghrib, very few inscriptions are to be noted before the Almoravid period. That of the Ḳarawiyyīn, dating from 263/877, is in Kūfic of the al-Ḳayrawān type, but, with the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, there appears the Andalusian Kūfic, characterised by well-proportioned letters with long and curved vertical strokes. However, the writing itself is very sober and stands out against a background flowered with arabesques and fleurons and palm-leaves with deep and multiple radiating divisions (Ḳarawiyyīn, Great Mosque of Tlemcen), or against a background of palms, of pineapples and of half-fleurons divided in two parts horizontally by a straight listel.

The epigraphy on furniture shows, on the contrary, an attachment to the old tradition, whence a surprising conservatism in the Kūfic inscriptions of the *minbars* of Nedroma and of Algiers, and in those of the *maḳṣūra* of Tlemcen.

But the most important event of this period is the appearance of the cursive script (*naskhī*). This style appears in Ifrīḳiya from 490/1096, in funereal inscriptions where it is presented in a very elaborate form (the characters are fine, large and supple and well-proportioned, framed with a border and standing out against a rich floral background of oriental type). It is to be supposed that it was by this oriental route that the new alphabet penetrated to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā in the Almoravid period (the inscriptions of Tlemcen and of Ḳarawiyyīn) in about 531/1136-7. It is in fact impossible, in the absence of precise documentary evidence, to propose an Andalusian influence, as it seems that cursive writing did not appear in Andalusia until much later.

Whatever the case may be, the victory of the Almohads had as a consequence a certain unification of styles in the whole of North Africa with an inclination towards sober, angular Kūfic in the monumental inscriptions and, on the contrary, a preference for cursive in the funereal inscriptions. It is worth noting that no foundation inscription appears in this period in the religious buildings, pious works through which the great caliphs of the dynasty were able to bring honour to themselves.

One consequence of the Ottoman domination of Tunisia and Algeria was a new "orientalisation". The inscriptions lose their decorative quality and adhere to the requirements of the message to be transmitted. They are inscribed in frames or in scrolls in cursive characters, often with diacritical points, sometimes with vowels, on several lines which may overlap. The execution is rather casual, and the use of the Turkish language is limited.

On the other hand, Morocco remained faithful to the Andalusian models and followed their evolution in the period of the Naṣrids of Granada. The type of Kūfic script which distorts the letters, twisting and stretching them into wreaths and fleurons, is hardly distinguishable from the background, where geometric and floral elements are mixed. The cursive begins to take the place of the Kūfic script in the fine framing strips of the *miḥrāb*s of the Marīnid period. After the disappearance of the kingdom of Granada, Morocco tended to withdraw within itself, apparently shut of from outside influences.

At no time did the artists of the early Middle Ages make so much use of Arabic writing as an element of decoration. It appears everywhere, in religious buildings, in funereal pavilions, in the houses of citizens or in the palaces of kings, on furniture, on table-ware and on the most minor objects of daily life, where the ornamental role is often more important than the meaning of the language. The result is a pseudo-writing without precise meaning, or a constant repetition of a word or part of a phrase, in ornamental friezes, where ease and routine take the place of refinement and, above all, of faith.

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5. In West Africa.

Proof is still awaited that any system of writing was in use among the Negro civilisations of West Africa before the introduction of written Arabic. An animal drawing on a sherd found by F. Willet at Old Oyo in Western Nigeria was considered representational rather than pictographic, whilst K. Hau's search for linguistic interpretations of recurrent *motifs* in the art of Benin proved inconclusive. Gold-weights from Ashanti and neighbouring districts seem to represent a preliterate stage, some of the designs symbolising proverbs and injunctions and others perhaps conveying metrological data. Inscriptions in Punic, Greek, Latin or similar Classical languages have not yet been reported from tropical West Africa.

The Saharan Berbers (Tuareg, "People of the Veil") derived their *tifinagh* alphabet from the Libyan script used in North Africa during the second century B.C. and subsequently (see BERBERS. vi). *Graffiti* in *tifinagh* are known to extend from Tibesti and Djado westwards to the Niger bend, and even into Mauretania, Mauny (1954) providing the most convenient survey of the literature. A complication in the reading of these inscriptions is the problem of determining their direction. They may run from left

or right, top or bottom, but within each inscription the direction remains uniform, and clues to the orientation are provided by the alinement of certain asymmetrical characters, and the stereotyped opening phrases. In academic usage texts are conventionally arranged to read from the right.

Two main varieties of *tifinagh* script are generally recognised. The older (called variously "*tifinagh* archaïque"; "Saharien ancien" and "Libyco-berbère") renders by bars certain characters (王 *gh*, ☰ *h*) which in the modern script are represented by dots (⁞ *gh*, ⁝ *h*)). The older script also lacks several characters. A number of the older *graffiti* were interpreted by Marcy (1937). They contain recurrent formulae, commencing with such words as 王 ⊙ O *usərəgh usereǧ*, "I require...", 王 | *enəǧ* "I need...", and often accompanied by a drawing to illustrate fulfilment of the wish, all designed to have a magical influence. A group of modern inscriptions commences with the word ⁖ | *nəkk nekk* "I...", followed by the writer's name, and a statement of his purpose or wish. Another group, still known only from modern examples, consists of formulae inscribed on the typical Tuareg stone armlets (*ahabeg*), and shields. These were presented to a departing lover to preserve his fidelity. Manifestly Islamic personal names in later inscriptions show that they are relatively modern, but much work has still to be done in the chronology, linguistics, and collection of the older *graffiti*.

Of Arabic inscriptions from West Africa, at once the oldest and the most important is the tombstone from Gao reported by Sauvaget. It records the decease on 1 Muḥarram 494/6 November 1100 of a personage designated *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zāg̲h̲ī. The Kūfic calligraphy of this monument closely resembles tombstones from Almeria (reported by E. Lévy-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Pl. XXVII-XXX), and it is carved from similar marble. There is a strong implication that the monument may have been made at Almeria (a part of Spain then subject to rule by the Almoravid Murābiṭ dynasty) for transport across the Sahara to Gao. This situation would present a new aspect of Almoravid connexions in the Southern Sahara. The inscription seems also to confirm the remark attributed to the *Ḳāḍī* Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥādjdj al-Mutawakkil Kuʿt (Kati), that the Islamisation of Gao took place between 471 and 475/1078-9 and 1082-3 (Kati, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, tr. O. Houdas, 332); also the reference of Ibn K̲h̲urradādbih, 89 (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 165, 476) to a ruler in West Africa named Zāg̲h̲ī b. Zāg̲h̲ī. The exalted titles appearing in the inscription may imply that the deceased person was himself Sultan of Songhay, but if so, his names are absent from the list given in the literary sources. Other inscriptions from Gao are of a Queen Swā (502/1108-9), of *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh* Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḳuḥāfa (503/1109-10), of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a daughter of *al-malik* Kūrī (511/1117-8), and of another possible Sulṭān Māmā b. Kmā b. (Z)āg̲h̲ī (514/1120-1). Further inscribed tombstones from the area of the Niger bend have subsequently been published by Mrs. Viré, including a specimen of the year 496/1102-3 from Gao, and other from al-Sūḳ (504/1110-11), Bentia (Kukiya, a former Songhay capital on the Niger above Niyameh) bearing the date 800/1397-8, and El-Kreib in Mauretania, a place thought to represent the ancient site of Aretenna.

Later Arabic rock-graffiti are known from the Saharan zone, but other inscriptions on stone have not yet been reported outside the area of the Niger bend. The well-known inscribed swords carried by *amīrs* in Hausaland, being apparently imported, bear conventional Arabic inscriptions not characteristically local. Many West African vernacular languages have, however, been written in Arabic script. A Bornu dialect, apparently Kanembu, occurs in Ḳurʾānic glosses at least as early as 1080/1669. Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe and Yoruba all occur at slightly later dates—Hausa for example being found in glosses ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī (*ca.* 1762-1828) in a manuscript of *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar* owned by Abū Bakr G̲h̲ummī at Kano; the inscription on an iron panel at *Kofar Waika*, a gate of Kano city, though of uncertain date, contains several sentences in Hausa. The situation for the languages of the Upper Niger, Songhay, Malinke etc. is however less clear.

Arabic inscriptions in two cryptographic alphabets, called *Suryāniyya* and *ʿIbrāniyya*, were described by Monod and Mauny. Talismanic inscriptions and magic squares are known all over the area, often written in carbon ink on wooden writing-boards (Ar. *lawḥ*), or iron replicas of these boards; also on earthenware bowls, sherds, bones, human skulls and polished stone axeheads, besides everyday examples on paper sheets or scrolls.

For an understanding of the magic squares (*wafḳ*, pl. *awfāḳ*), the most informative study is probably that of Camman, who traces them back to the Chinese origins. In Nigeria and other West African countries, the work on this subject of Muḥyī al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), *S̲h̲ams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*, is widely utilised. A Nigerian scholar of some renown, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fulānī al-Kas̲h̲ināwī (of Katsina, in Hausaland), friend of the Egyptian historian Ḥasan al-D̲j̲abartī, compiled a treatise on the subject entitled *Bahd̲j̲at al-āfāḳ wa-īḍāḥ al-labs wa 'l-ig̲h̲lāḳ fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa 'l-awfāḳ*. Anawati's description of charms on paper from Mālī gives a full bibliography of Arabic talismans and magical symbols. Cryptographic alphabets had a long history in the Near East, and became especially prevalent in North and West Africa. A standard treatment in Arabic is that of Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Waḥs̲h̲iyya, *S̲h̲awḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām* (ed. and tr. J. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters*, London 1806), though commentators have found these explanations obscure. One of these alphabets known as *al-Yāsīnī* (and conceivably therefore associated with the spiritual leader of the Almoravids, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) was shown by Dalby to have influenced two of the modern indigenous scripts of West Africa, so that knowledge of it may have lingered from earlier centuries along the Senegal. The oldest of the scripts in question is the Vai syllabary of Liberia (212 characters: invented 1833); the other is the Mende syllabary of Sierra Leone (195 characters: invented 1921). Five other syllabaries and two alphabets, of differing structure and inspiration, designed for the expression of various African languages, are included in his account, but the currency of each is very restricted. Another item from the Islamic mystical repertoire, the *sabʿat k̲h̲awātim* or "seven seals (of Solomon)" 6 日 IIII ٦ 卄 卄 ✡ have been recorded amongst the Haua, amongst the Yoruba inscribed above the doorway of a building at Oyo, and in the Ivory Coast.

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(A. D. H. Bivar)

6. In eastern Africa.

So far some 250 inscriptions have been reported from the eastern coast of Africa lying between Mogadishu, in Somalia, and the mouth of the R. Zambezi, in Mozambique, as well as from the offshore islands, including also the Comoros [see ḲUMR] and Madagascar. The principal sites of most of the coast have been surveyed and some partly excavated; but very much remains to be done, and quite likely more inscriptions will come to light. Especially is this the case in Mozambique and the Kerimba Islands close to its coast, whose Islamic historical archaeology is still virtually unknown, albeit that the existence of mosques and widespread adherence to Islam is attested by 16th century Portuguese writers. Other than those of the present century, no inscriptions have been reported inland. Only one inscription is known completely in Swahili, even though some Swahili words occur in Arabic inscriptions of the 17th to the 19th centuries of the epitaphs of the petty Sultans of Kunduchi, 17 miles north of Dar es Salaam. With these exceptions and a group of 16th and 17th century Portuguese inscriptions in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, with a solitary one in Zanzibar, all the inscriptions are in Arabic.

The two earliest known inscriptions are an epitaph in the Friday Mosque at Barawa reported by Cerulli, dated 498/1104-5, and a Kūfic dedicatory inscription in the Friday Mosque at Kizimkazi, Zanzibar, dated 500/1106-7, which, if not carved in Sīrāf itself, would appear to have been the work of a Sīrāfī craftsman in Zanzibar [see KIZIMKAZI]. Apart from these, a small number of inscriptions in Kūfic or floriate scripts have been found in small numbers in or near Mogadishu, and at Malindi, Mnarani and Mombasa in Kenya. The remaining inscriptions are all in *naskhī* or cursive scripts. No comprehensive attempt has so far been made to identify or classify their style or provenance so far as it was not local, but at Kilwa certain decorative inscriptions have been thought to have Fāṭimid affinities. On these subjects it would probably be wisest to reserve judgment until more is known of the inscriptions of the Yemen and of the Ḥaḍramawt. The greatest number of inscriptions found in eastern Africa are epitaphs, very many of them of persons otherwise unknown. Quite exceptional are sixteen dedicatory inscriptions commemorating the foundation of mosques in Lamu between the 14th and the 19th century, which demonstrate the stages of growth of the town [see LAMU]. At Mombasa a number of inscriptions, mostly funerary, illustrate and provide a solid dating for the varying fortunes of the Mazar'i family, of whom a number of members served as *wali* under the suzerainty of ʿUmān from *ca.* 1734 until 1837. At Kilwa there are a number of inscriptions in the Great Palace known as *Husuni* (Swa. from Ar. *ḥiṣn*), but all undated, and on whose date agreement has not yet been reached. A curiosity is a carved ivory state horn (*mbiu*) with an inscription in Swahili, which has been ascribed to the 19th century; but a reference in the traditional Swahili *History of Pate*, from which town it came, would suggest, however, that its approximate date of manufacture was *ca.* 1060/1650.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

7. In Turkey.

The Muslim epigraphy of Turkey has not yet been the object of methodical research. It is true that there exist a large number of editions, but most of these are isolated undertakings.

The history of Muslim monumental epigraphy in Turkey does not in fact begin until the middle of the 6th/12th century. There had been building activity in Anatolia before, in the Turcoman states of the Dānishmandids, the Artuḳids, the Ṣaltuḳids and the Mengüdjekids, but most of the constructions of that time were destroyed as a result of the continuous fighting in the area.

Muslim epigraphy in Turkey can be divided essentially into three categories: commemorative inscriptions, pious inscriptions, and epitaphs. The most important of these, both from the historical and the

artistic point of view, is the former, which includes inscriptions commemorating the constructions or restorations chiefly of foundations for the public good—mosques, fountains, *sabīl*s, etc.—and, in later times, also of government buildings (offices, hospitals, schools, barracks, etc.). The pious inscriptions either contain only the names of God, Muḥammad or the four *rāshidūn* caliphs, or consist of *ḥadīth*s or citations from the Ḳur'ān that suit the purpose served by the object which they decorate. Thus in mosques one may find such Ḳur'ānic verses as IV, 104 or XV, 46; on fountains LXXVI, 18 and 21 or the words *min al-mā'i kull^a shay'^in ḥayy*, from XXI, 31; and on libraries the words *fīhā kutub ḳayyima* (XCVIII, 2). Pious texts may also serve as mottoes over commemorative inscriptions. Hence in foundation inscriptions of mosques one may find such sayings of the Prophet as "Whoever builds for God a mosque, even if only like the nest of a sand grouse, for him God builds a house in paradise". The number of inscriptions surviving on tombstones is very large. Especially in Istanbul very fine ones can still be seen. Unfortunately, the amount of research done in epitaphs is still less than that done in the other Muslim epigraphy of Turkey (see also ḲABR).

The typical Muslim inscription, including that in Turkey, is a rectangular slab with one or more lines of text, which are separated by narrow lines, the whole being enclosed in a narrow frame. In the Ṣaldjūḳ and early Ottoman periods the inscriptions were often also in the form of bands along the borders of porches, or, inside mosques, of *miḥrāb*s. Some inscriptions from this time consist of one line in *djalī thuluth* with elongated shafts through which runs a second line in Kūfī, these together against a background of spiral arabesques. In the Ottoman period the lines (in verse texts, the hemistichs) of most inscriptions are enclosed in cartouches with the left and right extremities elaborated in different manners; these inscriptions are sometimes decorated with such motifs as flowers (either separate or in vases), fruits, arabesques, rosettes and, especially in later times, *tughras* and crescent-and-stars. In the relief inscriptions the (raised) letters and decorations may be gilded, and the (sunken) backgrounds painted—mostly green or blue; it is uncertain whether these colours were used in the older inscriptions too, because the original paint of these has mostly worn off.

On the tile inscriptions, it is not the relief but the colours that present the necessary contrast between the text and the background. Inscriptions of this kind are mostly of pious content and undated. They are found in buildings from very early times; after the 11th/17th century their number gradually diminishes. Very fine examples of this kind of inscription are found inside the Selimiye Mosque (completed 982/1574-5) in Edirne and in the Bağdat Köşkü (11th/17th century) in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

Since, under the Great Ṣaldjūḳs, Kūfic was very much used for inscriptions in Iran, it was also in the early Muslim epigraphy of Anatolia. This script, which was employed, roughly, in the period and areas of the above-mentioned Turcoman states, was, under the Rūm Ṣaldjūḳs, largely replaced in inscriptions by *djalī thuluth*, although it continued to be used for mere decorative purposes by them and by the Ottomans up to the reign of Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81). *Nastaʿlīḳ*, which was brought to Turkey by Persian calligraphers in the period of Meḥemmed II, became common especially in the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs made after the middle of the 11th/17th century. (The earliest inscription written in this script is perhaps that of the Mosque of Seldjük Khātūn (dated 860/1455-6) in Edirne (Dijkema, No. 16)). This script became so popular because (a) by this time most of these inscriptions were in Turkish verse, which (as is demonstrated in the manuscript *dīwāns*) it was traditional to write in *nastaʿlīḳ*; and (b), since this script uses far less different auxiliary signs than does *djalī thuluth*, it is much simpler to handle for the stone carver. Such scripts as *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *djalī muḥaḳḳaḳ* and ordinary *thuluth* are very rare in inscriptions. *Ruḳʿa* was used occasionally in the last period of the Ottoman empire, mostly on buildings of secondary importance.

Little is known about the calligraphers who designed the inscriptions in the Ṣaldjūḳ and early Ottoman periods. Later, the more reputed calligraphers used to sign their works, with such stereotyped formulas as *katabahu 'l-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf* ... or *katabahu 'l-ʿabd al-dāʿī* .... They might omit their signatures, however, if on the same building there was another inscription written by one of the sultans (as is the case, for instance, in the inscriptions on the front of the two fountains of Sultan Aḥmad III in Istanbul).

Under the Rūm Ṣaldjūḳs and the early Ottomans, the general Muslim tradition was followed of writing inscriptions in Arabic. The earliest inscription in Turkish is perhaps that of the *madrasa* of Yaʿḳūb Čelebi (dated 814/1411) in Kütahya (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri*, Istanbul 1932, 79); later, especially from the end of the 10th/16th century, this came to be the language of most of the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs, the cause of this rather radical change being probably an increase of the prestige of Turkish vis-à-vis Arabic following the Ottoman occupation of the Arab lands in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The Arabic inscriptions are mostly prose, the Turkish ones usually verse. The wording of the Arabic prose inscriptions closely follows the models of the Mamlūk and earlier Arabic epigraphy of Egypt and Syria. In most commemorative verse inscriptions, both those in Arabic and those in Turkish, the dates of the events commemorated are not expressed in figures or words but hidden in chronograms (see ḤISĀB AL-DJUMMAL). There do exist also Persian inscriptions, but they are very rare.

The redactors and calligraphers of the Muslim inscriptions in Turkey seem to have had a special liking for mystifying the reader—mostly in such a manner, however, that with adequate knowledge one can discover the true meanings of the texts. Not only is there the chronogram and, in verse texts, the often intricate language, but, for instance, in the inscription commemorating the 1282/1865-6 restoration of the Eski Cami (Dijkema, No. 126) in Edirne, some words are written phonetically. Calligraphers might add to the intricacy of inscriptions, often already sufficiently difficult to read through the interlacing of the letters, by several means: the inscription of the Muradiye Mosque (dated 839/1435-6) (*ibidem*, No. 7) in Edirne, for instance, contains unusual ligatures of letters; in the inscription of the Mosque of Sitt Khātūn (dated 889/1484) (*ibidem*, No. 23), in the same town, some letters are written mirror-wise; and in the inscription of the Ḳadln Most (dated 876/1471) (ed. by P. Wittek in *Byzantion*, xviii [1946-8], 327, n. 2) near Küstendil [*q.v.*] in Bulgaria, letters and words are arranged in an unnatural manner.

Damaged or lost inscriptions were often replaced by copies. The student of Ottoman epigraphy can mostly recognise these easily, for they are generally in a better state than originals dated in the same period. Also, the wording may give a hint. Knowledge of the history of calligraphy and decorative art may provide a means to ascertain the period when a copy was made. (The foundation inscription of the Darülhadis Mosque in Edirne, dated 838/1435 (Dijkema, No. 6), for instance, is written in a *nastaʿlīḳ* of a kind not used in Turkish epigraphy until the middle of the 11th/17th century.)

Bibliography: For a general appreciation of the significance of Turkish epigraphy, see R. Mantran, *Bilan et perspectives de l'épig aphie turque pour les périodes pré-ottomane et ottomane*, in *Revue d'histoire maghrébine* iv (1975), 217-20. For editions of Ottoman inscriptions, see the works of G. Colin, M. van Berchem, Khalīl Edhem, J. H. Mordtmann, F. Taeschner, P. Wittek, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, Mübārek Ghālib, H. B. Kunter, M. Mujezinović, A. P. Vekilov, A. Zajączkowski, P. Miyatev, R. Mantran and F. Th. Dijkema (bibliographical details in F. Th. Dijkema, *The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977, Introd., § i); some of their editions include also pre-Ottoman inscriptions. Among the editions containing more specifically pre-Ottoman inscriptions, there should be mentioned: Cl. Huart, *Épigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique*, ii (1894) and iii (1895); J. H. Löytved, *Konia: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907; the numerous articles of Aḥmed Tewḥīd in *TOEM*, esp. those in Nos. 29 (1330), 83 (1340), 86 and 87 (both 1341); P. Wittek, *Inscriptions*, in R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish architecture in southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1931, 77-116; J. Sauvaget, *Inscriptions arabes*, in A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, i, Paris 1940, 287-356; W. Hinz, *Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Orient*, in *Belleten*, xiii (1949), 745-69. The voluminous studies which İ. H. Konyalı has devoted to the monuments and inscriptions of a number of towns in (mainly western) Anatolia are unmethodical and possess little or no value for epigraphical research. See further the *RCEA*; the sections VIIIc in the different parts of J. D. Pearson's *Index Islamicus*, Cambridge (later London) 1958- ; H.-J. Kornrumpf, *Osmanische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa*, Leiden 1973, 1183-6; the bibliographies of the articles devoted in this encyclopaedia to towns of the Ottoman empire and to dynasties and important families in the area. Finally, many local histories of towns formerly under Ottoman domination contain records of inscription texts, even though this may not always be indicated in the titles.

(F. Th. Dijkema and A. Alparslan)

8. In South-East Asia.

Islamic epigraphy is distributed very unequally in South-East Asia, it being understood that islamisation, although it did take place, was not accomplished everywhere at the same time or with the same intensity. The survey which follows can give only an idea of the importance of documents from Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia*) and from the Federation of Malaysia (*Persekutuan Tanah Malayu*). We shall have only a few words to say about the other regions.

A. *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia*

The majority of epigraphic documents consist of tombstone inscriptions. Next in number are charters and related texts, and finally there are some brief legendary pieces on various subjects.

These three groups will be subdivided into four geographical regions, although the exigencies of history will not always allow a rigid separation: (a) Java (b) Sumatra (c) Malaysian Peninsula (d) Eastern Indonesia.

Regarding the Javanese year, since the introduction of the purely lunar calendar in 1633 A.D., it should be noted that the latter does not always correspond to the so-called "Arabic" system, because of a different distribution of "full" years of 355 days, and also as a result of local variations which are not all known to us. On this typically Javanese chronology (abbreviated Såkå Jav. or S.J.) and the theoretical conversion of its dates to the Gregorian system, reference should be made to the article *Tijdrekening*, in *ENI*², v (= Suppl. I), 73-9, which is accompanied by tables. For the pre-Islamic chronology (still in use in Bali) which consists of lunar-solar years, we shall use the term Śåkå (abbr. Ś.).

I. Tomb inscriptions.

(a) *Java*. It is on this island that the oldest known Muslim tomb in Indonesia has been found. It is the burial-place of a girl whose personal name is uncertain or is not indicated, but who is called Bint Maymūn. Without recalling here the arguments concerning the year of her death (there is an error in the writing of the word denoting tens), let us say that it may be read as 475 A.H. or 2 December 1082. This tomb stone is at Leran in eastern Java.

Eastern Java possesses a large number of tombs, among which we shall mention those of the cemetery at Trålåyå (usual orth. Trolojo). Here there are found, besides a number of undated or uninscribed tombs, ten dated inscriptions ranging from 1298 to 1533 Śåkå ,that is 1376 to 1611 A.D. It is seen that here the Śåkå chronology is still used for Muslim tombs, except in one case where we have a *hidjra* date expressed in Arabic numerals. Moreover, some of these tombs have a purely Javanese type of ornamentation and symbols which seem to link the interred persons to the court of Majapahit.

It is also in the east of Java that there is found the tomb of an individual reckoned by tradition to be one of the nine *Wālīs* responsible for the spreading of Islam to Java. His name is Malik Ibrāhīm, but his title cannot be established with certainty. The date is 822/10 April 1419.

In the cemetery of Tråwulan (usual orth. Trowulan) a few kilometres from Trålåyå, is the famous tomb said to be that of the Putri Čampå (a title interpreted as meaning Princess of Čampa), a figure well-known in legend, but the date, inscribed on the tomb in old Javanese numerals is 1370 Śåkå = 1488-9 A.D. which does not correspond to the year of her death given by the literary texts. The same cemetery contains a very simple tomb dated 1290 Śåkå = 1368-9 A.D., which is therefore more ancient and dates back to the glorious period of Majapahit.

There is furthermore in the Seṇḍang Ḍuwur complex, still in the east of Java, an inscribed wooden pole bearing the date 1407 Ś. (not 1507 as read by Stutterheim), again in old Javanese numerals. In another cemetery at Goṇḍang Lor (in the region of Tulung Agung) there is a tomb bearing the date

1470 Ś = 1548-9 A.D. In these two latter cases, the numerals are to be read from right to left, a mode of writing numbers unknown to epigraphy in the Arab lands but found in a number of cases in Indonesia (though rare in Sumatra), which doubtless arises from the system current in the Hindu period of expressing dates through chronograms.

Finally, in concluding this brief survey of the principal Muslim monuments of Java, let us note that in the burial complex of the famous Queen of Jåpårå (usual orth. Djaparra), Ratu Kali Nyamat, is a chronogram giving the date 1481 Ś = 1559-60 A.D.

(b) *Sumatra*. As a result of a systematic survey carried out between 1912 and 1917 in the region of the ancient kingdom of Samudra-Pasai and in the extreme north of the island, in Atcheh to be precise, the Archeological Service of Indonesia possesses a rich collection of photographs and casts of epitaphs, most of which however offer us nothing more than pious texts without historical value. Of the sixty dated inscriptions, wholly or partly legible, which we have been able to examine from Samudra-Pasai, the majority (more than thirty) are from the 9th/15th century; ten are from the 10th/16th century; four date from the 8th/14th century; and only one from the closing years of the 7th/13th century. Among these tombs, of which about half belong to women, a dozen or less are of persons of royal or princely rank. Only a few of these epitaphs have been published, and a systematic study has yet to be made.

We may mention among the historically more important, that of the first sultan of Samudra, Sulṭān Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who died in 696/1297, and that of his son al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Shams al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, which is of a completely different style and dates from 726/1326. Among the other tombs, we may mention those of a descendant of the penultimate caliph of Baghdād, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who died at Samudra in 809/1406; that of a queen of Samudra, great-granddaughter of the first sultan of the kingdom, dating from 831/1428; the epitaph of a princess with a Persian name, Mihr Shāh, daughter of Khōdja Aḥmad al-Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil; and finally, the tombs of two individuals, one named Rādja Khān dating from 834/1430 and the other, his son, Khōdja Rādja Khān b. Rādja Khān, buried in 865/1460-1.

One tomb, of unique type, is that of a person named Nāʾina Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Nāʾinā Amīn. As well as conventional texts, the tomb bears a poem by Saʿdī and dates from 823/1420.

Of two particularly interesting inscriptions apparently belonging to the same tomb, the one gives us a text in Old Malay written in palaeo-Sumatran characters, the epitaph of a queen whose name is uncertain but who died in 781/1380; the other stone bears an epitaph in Arabic of a princess, with a date almost identical to that of the former, the same day of the week, the same day of the month, the same month, but ten years later, 791/3 December 1398. It is probable that there is an error in the dating of one of the two inscriptions. In any case, the text in palaeo-Sumatran characters is very important, since it gives us evidence of the use of this script, which belongs to the pre-Muslim period, in the Islamic era and in the 8th/14th century, a hundred years after the islamisation of the region.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. Among the tombs discovered here are that of the sixth sovereign of Malaka, Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh b. Muẓaffar Shāh, who died in 882/1477, and that of the first sultan of Pahang, Sulṭān Muḥammed Shāh, son of Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh the conqueror of Pahang, who was the son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Muḥammed Shāh. The latter tomb is dated 880/1475, and it is noticeable that the genealogy here goes back further than in the previous example. The vast majority of tomb inscriptions are in Arabic, but one case is known where the epitaph proper is in Malay. It is that of a step-daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the second sovereign of Pahang; she was in fact the daughter of the seventh sovereign of Malaka and sister of the seventh and last, who was forced to flee before the Portuguese invasion. Tl ere are various other royal tombs of the different sultanates, as well as those of eminent individuals dating from the 9th and 10th/15th and 16th centuries.

At Brunei, two tombs from the 15th century A.D. have been discovered. They are totally different from those of the Peninsular as regards the form and the style of the inscription.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. The island of Bali, where there is a small minority of Muslims in the north, has not hitherto yielded a single ancient inscription. There is one, however, on the island of Lombok, of which roughly half the population is Muslim. This inscription is bilingual: the *shahāda* in Arabic and a chronogram in Balinese script. The latter has been interpreted by Stutterheim as representing 1142/1727.

II. Charters and related documents.

(a) and (b) *Java and Sumatra*. On a *minbar* from the east of Java, of which we have only a facsimile, there is the date 1487 Śåkå/1565-6 A.D. inscribed in palaeo-Javanese numerals; but a chronogram which accompanies it causes difficulty. A small stele on at the centre of the ilsand, in Javanese, is dated 1624 S.J./1700-1 A.D. There are a number of texts in existence which are related to charters. They are written in Javanese and in Javanese characters, sometimes in Arabic characters (*pegon*).

In western Java (the Sundanese country), we have eleven charters dating from the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. (they are dated according to the Javanese Śåkå chronology).

From Bantan there are similar texts using both types of script, but dated according to the *hidjra* system. They date from the same centuries and are twelve in number.

Finally, from Palembang (southern Sumatra) there are various documents of which most are dated by the Javanese Śåkå chronology. They are written in Javanese language and characters and date from the 17th to the 19th century.

The appointment of a chief of the Badouy (the as yet Hindu population of the Sundanese country) dates from 1124/1712-13. This document is furthermore endorsed by the seal of a sultan of Bantan (the "Bantam" of the maps) which gives the date of the accession of this sovereign as 1102/1690. There are a number of other documents existing from the Lampung country, some written on bark, one on cattlehorn.

At Atcheh, documents of various kinds but generally authenticated by a seal, are called *sarakata*. None of those which have been preserved is very old.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. The most important document from this region is an inscription, unfortunately incomplete, of a type totally different and unique in this part of the world. The text includes a proclamation of Islam, followed by a list of ten in-

fractions, with the penalties laid down for each. The date is unfortunately incomplete but we can at least be sure that it belongs to the 8th/14th century. In this text there are very few Arabic words, and even the name of Allāh is rendered by an expression Hindu in origin, *Dewata Mulya Raya*.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. Especially interesting in this region are texts written in Arabic script but in the language of Ternate, emanating from the sultanate of the same name. They are all recent (19th century), but give valuable evidence concerning this language, which is not part of the Indonesian linguistic family (which henceforward may usefully be called Nousantarian), but which alongside Malay played the role of a lingua franca in the eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

III. Inscriptions on various objects.

1. *Cannons*.

(a), (b), (c). *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia*. Cannons of diverse origin have been found (of French, Dutch or Indonesian manufacture) bearing inscriptions in Malay or in Arabic. They date from the 17th and 18th centuries. On one of these is inscribed the name *Yakertra* (variant of Djakarta) written in Javanese letters. It also bears a date, which is, however, problematical.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. A cannon of Indonesian manufacture, dating from the start of the 18th century, has been found at Soulawesi. It bears the name La Patau, the nephew of the famous Sultan of Boné, Aru Palakka.

2. *Other objects*.

(a) *Java*. There are various brief inscriptions on mortars and on carved wooden panels, all of them from the 19th century.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. From this region there are a number of *gantang* (measures for rice) bearing the name of the sultan of the period. They are mainly from the 19th century, and one of them even dates from the beginning of the 20th.

B. *Thailand*

From this country we have only one inscription, which is now in the museum of Sukhothai. It consists of five lines in Arabic (the name of the four archangels and the *shahāda*) as well as two lines in Urdu. It is dated 1338/1919 and has therefore no historical value, but it bears interesting witness to the behaviour of an Indian Muslim in a Buddhist country.

C. *Cambodia*

One inscription only has been found in the area of Pnom Penh. The first three lines consist only of pious texts and the fourth, which perhaps contains more interesting details, unfortunately cannot be deciphered.

D. *Čampa*

Two tombstone inscriptions have been found at Čampa, in Arabic with Kūfic characters. One is from 431/1039. The other is undated, but judging by the palaeography, is of roughly the same age as the first.

Bibliography: For convenience, the sources have been divided in the same way as in the text of the article, sc. in three groups: I. Tomb inscriptions; II. Charters and related documents; and III. Inscriptions on various objects. Each of these groups is subdivided also according to the article proper into (a) Java, (b) Sumatra, (c) Federation of Malaysia (including British Borneo) and (d) Eastern Indonesia. In general, only books and articles discussing the epigraphic data are listed here.

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(L. Ch. Damais)

9. Iran and Transoxiana.

Before the advent of Islam, the regions of Iran and Transoxiana had long-established traditions of

literacy. On the one hand, use was made of various scripts derived from the Imperial Aramaic of the Achaemenid chanceries during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. These employed a largely historical spelling for Iranian words, and combined with this, ideographic writing-elements formed from Semitic roots, but with added Iranian terminations (known as phonetic complements) to indicate the inflexions. On the other hand, in the regions of Balkh, Ṭukhāristān and Rukhkhadj, there had been current the cursive Bactrian script, a slightly modified form of the Greek alphabet, which like its parent employed for this Iranian dialect straightforward phonetic spellings. This survived on the so-called Arab-Hephthalite coins until the coming of Islam. Here and there, among the Buddhist communities, Indian Kharoṣṭhī and even Brahmī scripts had formerly been known; but with these, as with the Runic Turkish of Eastern Turkistan, and the undeciphered Kushan linear script of Dasht-i Navor, we are not here concerned.

To the first group, the descendents of Aramaic, belonged Parthian, Sogdian and Khwārazmian, besides a little-known variant of the same type used in Māzandarān. Sogdian and Khwārazmian lingered on, again on coins, well down into Islamic times. More prominent, however, was (Sasanian) Pahlavī, which, in its cursive form known as Book-Pahlavī, co-existed with Islam for centuries as a vehicle of Zoroastrian scriptures. It is found beside Arabic in bilingual Islamic inscriptions of the Caspian region at Rādkān (Neka), Lādjīm and Rasgit (Resget), and perhaps was the only method of writing the Persian language in the earlier Islamic period. Until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj in 76/695-6, Pahlavī had been the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 423) converted the chancery of al-ʿIrāḳ, and ultimately of the Iranian east, to Arabic script and language. In 84/703-4, Book-Pahlavī and Cursive Bactrian occur together with Arabic on a coin of the Gūzgān district in Afghānistān issued by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Sogdian and Khwārazmian script continue to occur on coins of Bukhārā and Khwārazm, and Book-Pahlavī on the issues of Ṭabaristān, well into ʿAbbāsid times. Otherwise, the language of the Umayyad "Reformed coinage", and succeeding Muslim issues, is uniformly Arabic, apart from the Marw issue of 79/698-9, which has the city-name in Pahlavī.

The four earliest varieties of the Arabic script, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 8) were *makkī*, *madanī*, *baṣrī* and *kūfī*. The implied differences between these forms still elude modern commentators, who today use the term Kūfic (as opposed to *kūfī* in Ibn al-Nadīm's sense) with general application to all varieties of monumental, angular, and (usually) unpointed Arabic script, employed for the writing of Ḳurʾāns, in lapidary inscriptions, and in coin-legends. It can be observed that the Umayyad "Reformed coinage" actually shows five distinct styles of script: that of Damascus with its related mints; that of the earliest issues from Iranian cities; that of Wāsiṭ, with the developed Iranian issues; that of Sidjistān, a curiously awkward script with "thorny" letter-terminals; and the thin and delicate script of the closing Umayyad, and revolutionary ʿAbbāsid coinages.

Apart from inscriptions on the coins, the dated Arabic inscriptions of Iran, as at present known, begin surprisingly late. The earliest are a still unpublished series at Bahmāndiz, near the border of Fārs and Iṣfahān Provinces. The clearest text reads *ʿamarahā Khāzim b. Muḥammad b. Djāba (?)/sanat khams sittīn wa-miʾatayn*. Another records the birth of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Khāzim on Monday, 27 Shaʿbān 309. The same site has one poorly preserved Book-Pahlavī inscription, and many other short texts in Arabic. A substantial list of the known Arabic inscriptions of Iran to 600/1203-4 was compiled by Miles. The earliest of consequence are the famous texts of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanā-Khusraw [*q.v.*] in the Tachara at Persepolis, recording the defeat of Muḥammad b. Mākān in Ṣafar 344/May-June 955 and the ʿAmīr's interest in the decipherment of inscriptions. One of the texts has been shown to contain several Persian words (R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 251, 290, with fig. 63). Nearby is the inscription of Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dated 392/1001-2. Earlier in fact than any known Arabic inscription of Iran or Afghānistān is the enigmatic text from the Tochi Valley in Wazīristān, now in the Peshāwar Museum, which is dated Djumādā I 243/August 857. This seems to contain a mention of "the land of ʿUmān", which, with the early date, could imply a connexion with the Khāridjite amīrate at Gardīz [*q.v.*], since judging by the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, caliphal control could not then have extended so far east.

Decorative varieties of Arabic script were equally slow to appear in the Islamic East. The texts of ʿAḍud al-Dawla show no more than occasional barbed terminations, and characters linked by small loops beneath the base-line. Foliation of letter-terminals seems to have developed first in Egypt, and to have been quickly followed there by Floriation (by which is here understood the use of attached, but extended, leaf-decoration, as well as that of circular flowers, either attached or separate). Such features, as Grohmann showed, were known in Egypt as early as 218/833-4, and must have travelled thence to the East; not, as Van Berchem maintained, on the evidence of a restored inscription at Tashkent, from Central Asia westwards. In Iran, strongly Foliated Kūfic often tending to floriation is found in undated (probably 4th/10th century) inscriptions of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ at Nāyin. The earliest dated examples of floriation appear to be the inscriptions of Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, a Kurdish ruler in Luristān: one at each end of the Pul-i Māmulān near Khurramābād, alike dated 374/984-5, and another from the Pul-i Kashkān completed in 399/1008-9, which all record the building of the bridges. Very fine specimens of Floriated Kūfic are those of the minaret of the Pā-yi Minār mosque at Zawāra (461/1068-9), and the tomb-tower of Hormizdyār at Rasgit (Resget). From a reading of its date that was uncertain, Godard sought to ascribe the latter to the 5th/11th century, but its thick, heavy script and florid decorations are more comparable with the legends of the Khwārazm-Shāhī coins of the 6th/12th century; and in any event, the closing words can hardly be taken for a date. In fact, the principality of Khwārazm had been slow to develop an ornate calligraphy. That region during the 5th/11th century had adopted an austere and elegant style, unusual only for the sweeping curves of the *djīm*, *ḥāʾ* and *khāʾ*, which is exemplified by the foundation-text of Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn (dated 401/1010-11), in lead, from a minaret at Urgandj, or Gurgāndj [*q.v.*], now at Tashkent. With this may be compared the silver tray of the unidentified prince Tādj al-Umma wa-Sīrādj al-Milla Khwārazm-Shāh b. Ibrāhīm, reproduced by Smirnov. Further to the west in the Ziyārid kingdom,

the inscription of the Gunbad-i Ḳābūs (395/1004-5) is in a magisterially simple, yet wholly undecorated script. Such austere forms were well-adapted to rendering in the brickwork of the many minarets and domes erected under the Saldjūḳs in Iran: such, for example, as the plain and elongated lettering of the founder's inscription of the minister Niẓām al-Mulk in the sanctuary of the Djāmiʿ at Iṣfahān (*AMI*, vii, 2-3, 83) or that in the name of the Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh at Gulpāyagān.

More adventurous calligraphic developments had meanwhile been taking place in the Sāmānid territories of Transoxania and Khurāsān, no doubt stimulated by the introduction of paper-manufacture from China, and the stimulus consequently given to penmen. On the slip-painted "Nīshāpūr" pottery, magnificient lettering is found in black or chocolate over a pale ground, and plaited or interlaced letter-forms soon become widespread. In the absence of dated specimens, chronology of the pottery depends on examples in other media. Interlaced letters appear on a *dīnār* of Naṣr b. Aḥmad dated 324/935-6 from al-Muḥammadiyya (Rayy), and similar forms are found frequently on subsequent Būyid coins of North Iranian mints. Thus Plaited Kūfic seems to have been diffused from east to west across the Islamic world, in the opposite direction to floriation. In Iran, the classic example of the plaited style is the epigraphic frieze of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Wandarīn on his tomb-tower at Rādkān in Māzandarān, commenced in 407/1016-17 and completed in 411/1020-1. The outstanding specimen to combine floriation with plaited decoration is the script at the tomb of Yaḥyā b. Zayd (known as Imām-i Khurd), at Sar-i Pul in Afghānistān. Undated, it mentions one Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shādān, evidently a relative of Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, *wazīr* of the Saldjūḳ Čaghrī Beg, and so should be several decades later than the Saldjūḳ occupation of Balkh around 433/1041-2. Plaited script appears also on the celebrated arch of Bust in southern Afghānistān, which though ascribed by commentators to the 6th/12th century, has greater affinities, both architectural and epigraphic, with the Ghaznavid period. In view of this last fact, its fragmentary date could suitably be restored merely as *arbaʿmiʾa* (400/1009-10), which would thus be the earliest specimen of Plaited Kūfic in the Ghaznavid area, and belonging consequently to the reign of Maḥmūd I.

More typical of the lettering of the Ghūrid period, in contrast to the previous examples, is a Bordered Kūfic which descends from that of the later Ghaznavid minarets, those of Masʿūd III (492-508/1099-1115) and Bahrām Shāh (511-52/1117-57) at Ghazna. Here the decorative border is independent of the actual lettering, though both stand on a floral background. A forerunner of this convention may be the so-called shrine of Bābā Ḥātim or Sālār Khalīl, near Andkhoy, which may even predate the Saldjūḳ occupation there, and has bordered decoration of a simple kind. This monuments of the mature Ghūrid period (late 6th/12th century) show a great variety of scripts, which include a stiff, archaising Kūfic, and a flowing Naskhī (Thulth, see below). The most characteristic, however, both at Čisht, and in particular at Shāh-i Mashhad, is a form with broad decorative borders developed into complex geometrical forms. Further to the west, under successors of the Saldjūḳs in Iran, Bordered Kūfic is seen resembling that of the minarets at Ghazna on that at Nigār in Kirmān province. Enhanced with sparse turquoise tiling, it is presumed to date from 615/1218-19.

The Kūfic inscriptions so far discussed are all couched in Arabic. The small number of Persian epigraphs known which were written in this character were discussed by Bombaci in his examination of the long and fragmentary Persian verse-inscription on marble slabs, found in the palace of Masʿūd III at Ghazna (built in 505/1111-12). He notes Persian verses also on the tomb of an unknown person at Ghazna. However, the earliest example of such a text is on the portal-arch of Ribāṭ-i Malik near Bukhārā (Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, Pl. 272B), ascribed to the Ḳarakhānid Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm (471/1078-9). Other monumental Persian inscriptions are at the tomb of Muʾmina Khātūn at Nakhčivān (N. Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*, in *JA* [1862], 113-15); and especially that at the mausoleum of the later Ḳarakhānid Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī at Uzgend (547/1152), where the Persian foundation-text is in sinuous Naskhī, and the largely Turkish protocol of the ruler, below, in a rigorously geometrical Bordered Kūfic. In unpointed script Persian has always been found extremely difficult to read, and it was only with the advent of fully-pointed Naskhī that the monumental use of Persian became extensive.

In any event, by the close of the 5th/11th century, decorated Kūfic was passing out of favour, both by reason of its difficult legibility, and perhaps on account of associations with the Fāṭimid dynasty, considered hostile by the Saldjūḳs. Cursive handwritings, the rounded Naskhī, and the flowing and ligatured chancery hands, had always co-existed with the angular script, and now emerged with full monumental status. A Naskhī text on the tombstone of Maḥmūd I at Ghazna contains the date 421/1030, but is often considered a later addition, as are the Kūfic inscriptions on the wooden doors from that tomb. Nevertheless, Ghazna played a leading part in the innovation, for the specimen there on a marble panel naming the Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd is unlikely to be later than his death in 492/1099, in view of its wording. At Dandānkān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a Naskhī text is placed before 494/1100. A small panel in Naskhī appears on the Čihil Dukhtarān minaret at Iṣfahān (dated 501/1107-9), as also on that of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh at Sāva (504/1110-11), where the main text is Kūfic. The minaret at Dawlatābād near Balkh is ascribed to the year 502/1108-9. Besides a band of Kūfic it has a fine epigraphic frieze of Naskhī type (of a style which some designate Thulth). At the Imām-i Kalān shrine at Sar-i Pul nearby, the entrance inscription is in sprawling Naskhī, but unhappily only the units figure of the date is legible (- - 9). Thereafter, the historical inscriptions of Muslim monuments were regularly in the rounded script, as at the Imām-zāda Karrār at Buzūn (528/1133-4), which provided Herzfeld with the occasion to prepare a list of Kūfic and Naskhī inscriptions noted in his time. Recent discoveries enable us to add to his list the *madrasa* of Shāh-i Mashhad already mentioned, and the mausoleum of Qorveh (Ḳurwa) near Ḳazwīn, ascribed to 575/1179-80. Arabic manuals of calligraphy, followed by several recent commentators, apply special terms (*thulth*, *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *rayḥānī*, *ruḳʿa* and so on) to varieties of Naskhī script. Yet since the application of these in succeeding periods is inconsistent, and the categories appearing on monuments do not always correspond, it is safer to use only the general term. From the second half of the 6th/12th century, Naskhī inscriptions exist in substantial

numbers in Iran. The best general study, no longer, of course, up-to-date, is that of Kratchkovskaya (in Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, iv, 1770-84). Often the Naskhī characters stand, without attachment, on an overall background of vegetable scrolls, a convention found also in the latest phase of Kūfic. In the period of the Ilkhāns and later, wide variations are found in the forms of script under the Naskhī "label". As outstanding specimens, mention must be made of the *miḥrab* of Öldjeytü in the Djāmiʿ of Iṣfahān, and the *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad at Sīrdjān, with its massed verticals typical of the *ṭughrā* style. Yet the fashion for Naskhī, in numerous forms and varieties, with increasing use of diacritical points and signs, persists down to the time of the Ṣafawids and still more recently. In later centuries, monumental inscriptions stand closer to the traditions of the manuscript copyists. Besides foundation-texts, they often include the detailed provisions of *waḳf*-endowments. However, from the point of view of script, they hardly make the same call as the examples of the Kūfic period for separate treatment.

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10. India.

The Indian sub-continent is very rich in Muslim inscriptions, the study of which affords valuable information not only to the archaeologist and historian but also to the geographer, the economist, the student of religions, the linguist, and of course the calligrapher. Most of them are found on religious buildings (tombs, mosques, *ʿidgāhs*, *imāmbāṛās*, *madrasas*) and military works (forts, gates, bastions, cavaliers, towers), or on works of public utility (bridges, tanks, *bāʾolīs*, dams, sluices, *sarāʾīs*); some are also found on palaces, gardens, pavilions, etc.; and another class is found on movable objects such as guns and swords, ornamental metalwork including Bīdrī ware [see BIDAR], and on crystal and jade [see BILLAWR and YASHM]. The greatest part of the public inscriptions is carved on stone; often of a stone identical to that of the main building material, but not infrequently a specially selected fine-grained stone is used for the inscription and cemented into the structure.

Here the question of authenticity must be considered. An inscription may indeed be exactly contemporary with the building on which it appears. But it may also be earlier, preserved through the reverence accorded to the written word or through the ascription to it of some special sanctity, and set into a later unrelated building; or else later, marking say the completion of a building project essentially constructed perhaps half-a-century earlier, as at the Djāmiʿ masdjid of Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*], a late ʿĀdil Shāhī building whose inscription records its completion by Awrangzīb; or recording a restoration (as in many works in Dihlī of Fīrūz b. Radjab, whose inscriptions have to be studied in connexion with the problems of interpretation in his own accounts of his restorations in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*: see DIHLĪ. Monuments); or it may be fictitious—not necessarily mischievously: for example, the Persian inscription of the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām at Dihlī is probably a *pia fraus* of sixty or seventy years after the conquest.

The technique of carving stone inscriptions in Arabic, Persian or Urdū is conspicuously different

from that of inscriptions in other Indian languages, where the characters are engraved into the surface of the stone; in the Muslim inscriptions the outline of the letters is first written on the stone, and the ground between the letters then chiselled away leaving the inscription level with the original surface. A similar technique may be applied to inscriptions on crystal and jade, and also to the larger metal pieces, although on any of these fields the letters may be incised and the grooves filled with another material to leave an inscription flush with the surface; in the case of Bīdrī ware this is regularly of silver bar laid into the base metal. Inscriptions in ceramics may be either of letters in a contrasting colour fired integrally in a regularly-shaped tile (*haft-rangī*: see KHAZAF), or consist of the individual letter-shapes let into a contrasting ground by a mosaic technique. The former ceramic technique is more commonly employed for simple repetitive motifs (e.g. the names Allāh or Muḥammad), sometimes combined with a moulded base on which the letter-shapes are raised, as on the merlons of Rukn-i ʿĀlam's tomb in Multān; mosaic tile inscriptions, which do not appear until the 11th/17th century, are best exemplified in the Mughal buildings of Lahore ([see LĀHAWR]).

The language of the earliest inscriptions is invariably Arabic. There are no inscriptional records of the ʿAbbāsid presence in Sindh, although a few were engendered by the Muslim communities which lingered on in Sindh and the Pandjāb, with their occasional offshoots to Kaččh and the north coast of Kāṫhīāwāṛ [see GUDJARĀT], to which were added the small communities which grew up around the *khānḳāh*s of individual Ṣūfī saints who drifted in to India before the Ghūrid conquest, especially in the Pandjāb and the Ganges valley. After the Ghūrid conquest of Dihlī, dating inscriptions remain in Arabic regularly until towards the end of the 7th/13th century, when they are replaced by Persian; non-historical epigraphs tend to remain in Arabic somewhat longer, and of course Arabic persists up to the present day for Ḳurʾānic quotations on mosque and tomb inscriptions. This does not, however, apply to the sultanates of Bengal, where the preferred language of dating inscriptions remains in Arabic until Mughal times. In late Mughal times, in north India Urdū inscriptions appear beside Persian. Away from Dihlī, there are many bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, especially in the Deccan (Persian/Sanskrit, Persian/Marāṭhī, Persian/Kannaḍa, etc.); there are a few inscriptions in the Deccan regions in Dakhnī [*q.v.*]. Not infrequently the date is written in Arabic words in a Persian inscription; and often the Arabic, and to a less extent the Persian, is grammatically incorrect. The date in north Indian inscriptions is regularly expressed in Hidjrī years, except for a few inscriptions of the time of Akbar and Djahāngīr which use the Dīn-i Ilāhī [*q.v.*] system, or are dated by regnal years. In the Deccan, various solar calendars are occasionally used, especially the *Shuhūr san* (well studied by Marie Martin, in an unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of Colorado) in the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultanate of Bīdjāpur, and a *Faṣlī san* in Golkonḍā and under the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād. In Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tipū Sulṭān, the Mawdūdī era is used. For these eras, see TAʾRĪKH.

The scripts in use are the common Kūfic, *naskh*, *thulth*, and *nastaʿlīḳ*. Kūfic is used only in the earliest dating inscriptions, and retained long after its period of active use in Ḳurʾānic quotations. *Naskh* and *thulth* are in common use for both Arabic and Persian inscriptions all over India, with some regional modifications. *Nastaʿlīḳ* is regularly used for Persian inscriptions in and after the Mughal period, and for inscriptions in Urdū. Of the regional styles, the most striking is that of Bengal, where the vertical strokes of *alif*, *kāf* and *lām* are much elongated and spaced evenly across the length of the inscription, leaving the significant parts of the remainder of the letters to occupy the lowest quarter or third of the band; sometimes the tails of final or detached *nūn* or *yāʾ* are so disposed in the top part of the inscription to produce the "bow and arrow" effect. A similar style is seen also on some of the coins of Djawnpur. Elaborate *ṭughrā*s fall more in the domain of *farmān*s and other such documents rather than in public epigraphs, although they are certainly known in ceramic tile inlay and in *pietra dura* in Mughal buildings; but simpler *ṭughrā*s, in the square seal-script, are not uncommon, consisting usually of repetitions of the names Muḥammad or ʿAlī, or both, or the *kalima*. None of these seal-script inscriptions approaches the complexity of the Iranian examples. Simple dating inscriptions are usually unadorned; but many mosque inscriptions, starting with the *maḳṣūra* arches of the first stage of the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām in Dihlī, are engraved against an arabesque [*q.v.*] pattern also carried in relief on the ground. The finest example of this, however, is a dating inscription of the governor Tughril from a lost building at Bihār Sharīf. Similar arabesque patterns may also set off inscriptions in tilework or painted plaster, and occur also on coins of the Mughal period [see SIKKA]. Many inscriptions are of a high order of calligraphic excellence, and the names of many calligraphers in many regions of India are recorded.

The information which the inscriptions provide for the historian is sometimes very valuable; at times, they furnish the only sources for doubtful points of dynastic chronology; they supply missing details from the literary histories, or enable confusing points to be resolved where the other documents are in conflict; they enable more complete lists to be made of rulers' families, of the local nobility or court and town officials; and they are a valuable source of information on the history of the buildings on which they are found (subject to the reservation on their authenticity referred to above). Indirectly, too, their location enables the political status of border regions at certain confused times to be determined, such as the regions in dispute between the Mālwā and Djawnpur sultanates [*q.vv.*], or the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* [see HIND. History]; in many cases, an inscription is the only evidence for a fort or stronghold having been occupied by a particular power at any time. Even when rulers and governors are known from chronicles, the inscriptions often provide essential information on details of their careers, their promotions and postings, their achievements, even on their families. Tomb-inscriptions frequently mention their subject's birthplace, and thereby provide evidence for the extent of immigration and for the settlement pattern of foreign groups.

Administrative and economic details contained in or implied by the inscriptions can also be invaluable: information on details of departments, names of offices, and designations of office-holders; on the imposition or remission of taxes, and their varied application to certain classes or trades; on the nature and conditions of grants of land, both to

holders of an *iḳṭā'* [*q.v.*] and to charitable institutions such as mosque or *madrasa* as *waḳf* [*q.v.*]; on land cultivation or irrigation (well inscriptions, or records of repairs to tanks and dams, often refer to the amount of land intended to be irrigated); on regional boundaries; on markets. Records on works of public utility may include a schedule of expenses or the wages to be paid to employees. Geographical details, including distances, occur in inscriptions relating to roads and bridges, which also provide information on their builders—besides recording the correct forms of place-names, which seem singularly liable to corruption by copyists of the chronicles. Building inscriptions often indicate the cost of construction as well as details of the architects; an unusual inscription in the tomb of Hūshang Shāh at Māndū [*q.v.*] records a tribute by visiting Mughal architects of the family of master-builders who were later responsible for the Tādj Maḥall. Gun inscriptions, as well as prescribing essential instructions on the quantity of charge and shot required, frequently provide information on gun founding and the gun-founders—often Turks or Europeans—involved in the industry.

The literary contribution of the inscriptions must not be overlooked. Many inscriptions are in verses composed *ad hoc*, some of considerable beauty and skill; but it must be admitted that the verse of a lot of inscriptions is no better than doggerel. This is especially the case with verses containing a chronogram, where taste is often sacrificed in favour of ingenuity. There are occasional quotations from well-known Persian poets, but frequently the authors are local poets not otherwise recorded. Specimens of Dakhnī poetry are preserved in some Deccan inscriptions. Some prose inscriptions also evince literary merit, and may contain traditions not found in the usual collections of *aḥādīth*, such as the saying ascribed to Jesus in the Djāmi' masdjid of Fatḥpur Sīkrī (Persian), or the variations on a tradition (Arabic) in the mosque inscriptions of Bengal, basically: "The Prophet, God's peace be upon him, said 'He who builds a mosque to God, for him God builds a *ḳaṣr* in Paradise' ". Sentiments expressed range from strict and self-conscious rectitude through quietist mysticism to wistful nostalgia.

There is also the linguistic contribution of inscriptions. The occurrence of local words (Hindī, Bengali, Marāṭhī, Gudjarātī, Urdū and Dakhnī in particular) is useful in reconstructing the history (and social conditions of use) of Indian languages. Bilingual inscriptions provide evidence on the extent of use of local languages and their place in communication of official instructions to the public, and the status of a particular local language in a border area; this is especially the case in the Deccan, where Muslim inscriptions in Kannaḍa, Marāṭhī and Telugu are not uncommon besides the usual Persian and Dakhnī.

The Indian sub-continent has been fortunate in the attention which has been paid to Muslim inscriptions for well over a century. Hundreds are recorded in orientalist publications, besides those in specialist journals devoted to epigraphy alone; and India has been well served by highly competent Government Epigraphists appointed specially to oversee Arabic and Persian inscriptions, of whom Ghulam Yazdani and Ziauddin Desai are pre-eminent. The work of exploration, interpretation and publication is still active.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography would be enormous in view of the great corpus of Indian Muslim epigraphs published so far. Inscriptions which relate to particular regions of India are listed under regional articles on History. In the 19th century epigraphs were mostly published, usually with translations and notes, in *JASB*. From 1907 the invaluable *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* appeared, which continued until the independence of India and Pakistan. Pre-*EIM* inscriptions are listed in J. Horovitz, *A list of the published Mohamedan inscriptions of India*, in *EIM* (1909-10). Since the cessation of *EIM*, Muslim inscriptions of India have appeared in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, and valuable comments appear also in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. Articles and studies are recorded in Creswell, *Bibliography*, and its Supplement, and in Pearson and Supplements. Many of the earlier *EIM* articles collect the epigraphs of individual sultans, but recent discoveries have rendered many of these out-of-date. V. S. Bendrey, *Studies in Muslim inscriptions*, Bombay 1944, extracts some historical information from epigraphs published in *EIM* to that date, but since the author knew no Arabic or Persian many significant details were not appreciated, and the work suffers from the limitation of its corpus. There is a valuable chapter on Arabic and Persian epigraphy in the Deccan by Z. A. Desai in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, ii, Hyderabad 1974. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

KITĀBKHĀNA [see MAKTABA]

KITĀMIYYA [see SHĀDHILIYYA]

ḲIṬFĪR, one of the most common names for the biblical Potiphar in Islamic tradition. It is probably a corruption of Fiṭfīr, based upon an early scribal error. Other forms of the name based on confusions of similar letters in Arabic script are Ḳiṭfīn, Ḳiṭ'īn, and Ḳiṭṭīn. The form Ḳiṭfīr is frequently corrupted further to Iṭfīr (so generally in Ṭabarī, Tha'labī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍāwī, and others), and in some manuscripts Iṭfīn. He is given the patronymic Ibn Ruhayb (also Ibn Ruḥayb and Ibn Rūḥīt in mss.). There is considerable confusion regarding his name, and Ṭabarī, for example, uses several forms. Kisā'ī alone calls him Ḳūṭīfar, which is closest to the original Hebrew. In the Ḳur'ān, he is merely referred to by his title al-'Azīz (XII, 30, 51).

Ḳiṭfīr was the treasurer of Egypt. Because he immediately discerned Yūsuf's [*q.v.*] fine qualities, he is considered one of the three most insightful individuals (*afras al-nās*) in the judging of men, along with Shu'ayb's daughter, who asked her father to hire Mūsā, and Abū Bakr, who chose 'Umar as his successor (Ṭabarī, Tha'labī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍāwī).

Several reflections of the Haggadic Potiphar are found in Muslim legends. Ḳiṭfīr dies after Yūsuf's release from prison. Yūsuf in most Muslim sources marries Ḳiṭfīr's wife and finds her a virgin. This is never explained by the fact that Ḳiṭfīr was a eunuch, as is common in the Judaeo-Christian tradition (based on a later interpretation of Bibli. Heb. *sārīs*), but rather that he was a homosexual as in some Jewish midrashim (comp. Ṭabarī, i, 396, with *Soṭa*, 13b, and *Genesis Rabba*, lxxxiii, 3). According to Kisā'ī, Ḳiṭfīr had been unable to have sexual relations with his wife because he was an alcoholic (*'annāb*). Yūsuf's marrying Ḳiṭfīr's wife probably reflects the association of Potiphar with Potiphera (Gen. xli, 45) in the midrash.

Ḳiṭfīr is a minor character about whom little is related in Islamic tradition.

1. Near East. Stele from Aṣwān, 263/876. Archaic type of script (Photo. Goult).

2. Near East. Umayyad mosaic inscription in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra, Jerusalem (Photo. K. A. C. Creswell).

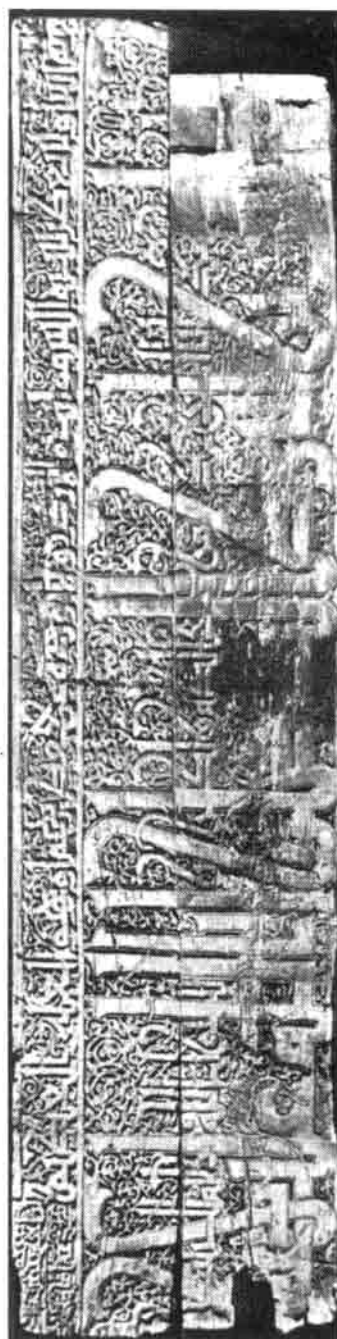
3. Near East. Umayyad inscription. Milestone of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (Photo. M. Van Berchem).

4. Near East. ʿAbbāsid Kūfic type. Egyptian stele, 204/819 (Photo. S. Ory)

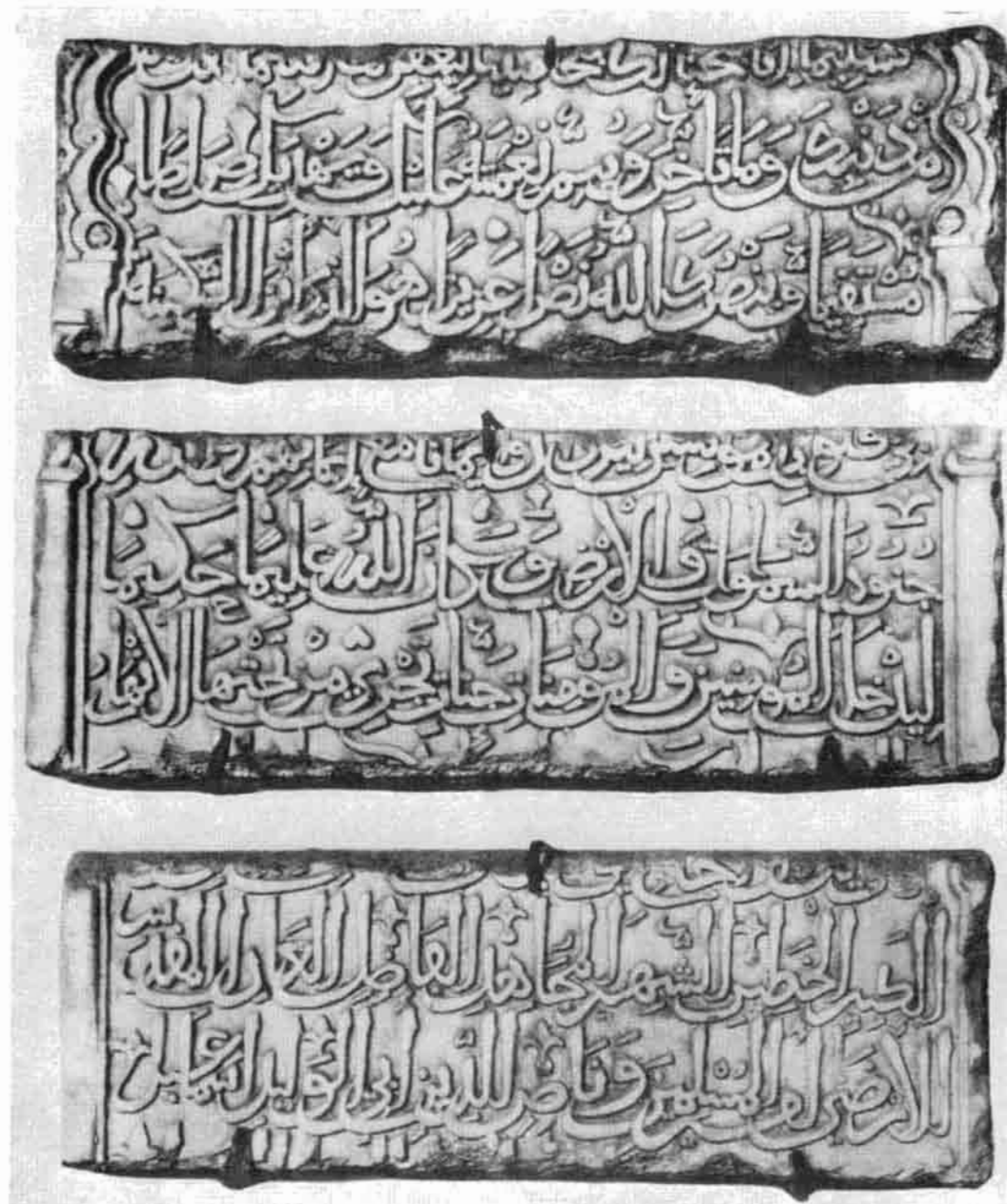
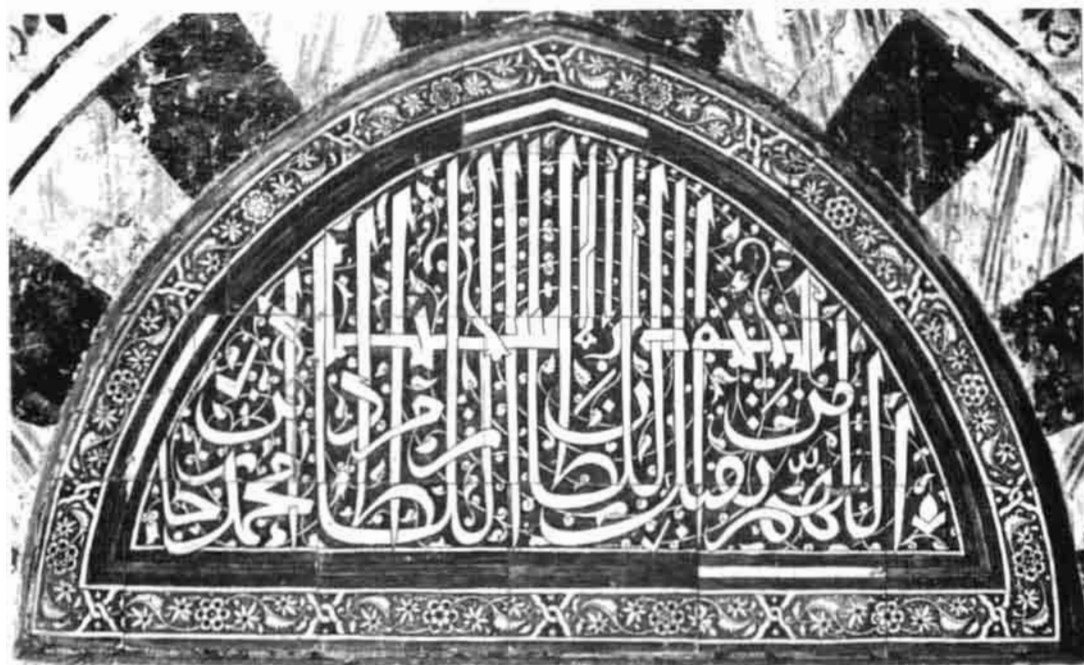
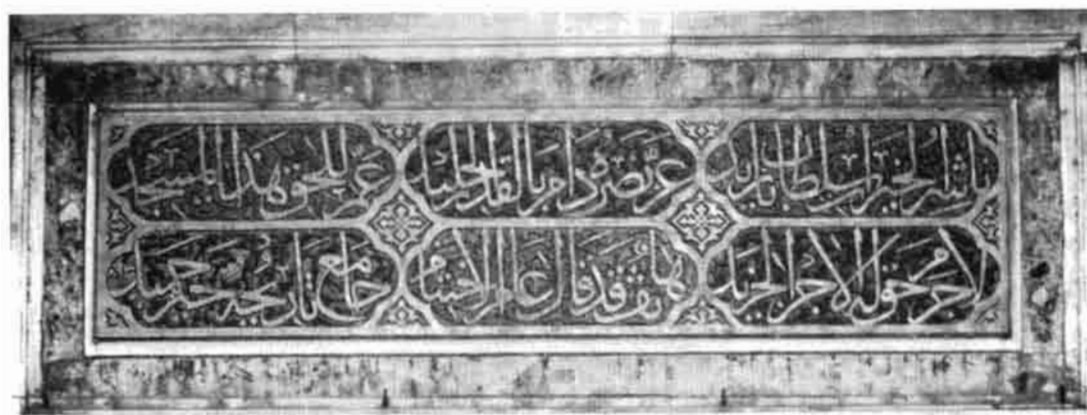
5. Near East. Angular script, carved out, and with hooks which foreshadow palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo. G. Wiet).

6. Near East. Angular script, in relief, and with palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo. Wiet).

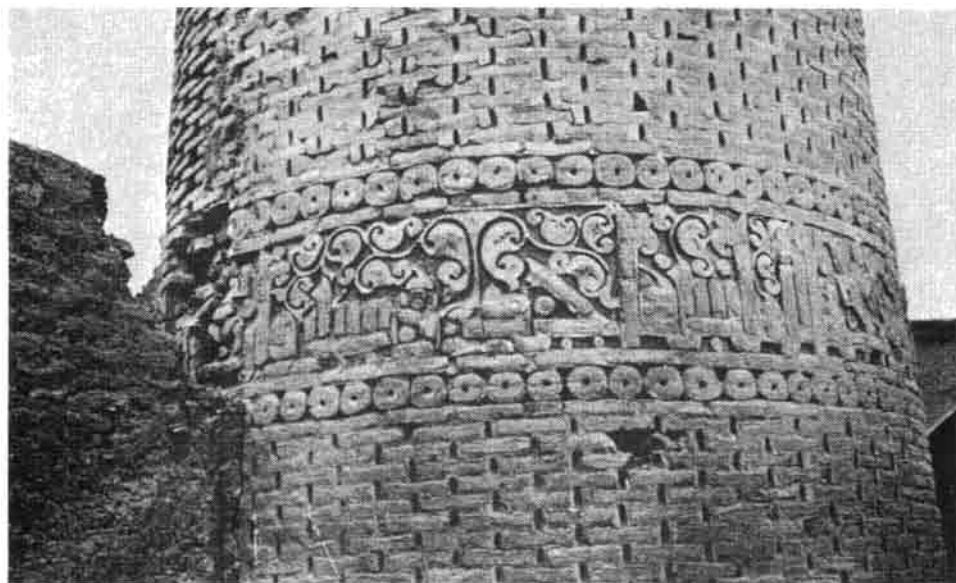
7. Near East. Fragment of a Fāṭimid inscription in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, Cairo, end of the 4th/10th century (Photo. Van Berchem).

8. Near East. Fāṭimid inscription from the tomb of Fāṭima at Damascus, 439/1048 (Photo. J. Dufour).

9. Near East. Saldjūk inscription from the tomb of Sukayna at Damascus, carved in wood, 6th/12th century (Photo. Dufour).

10. Near East. Cursive script type. Grave inscription (561/1166) from the cemetery of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, Damascus (Photo. Kh. Moaz).

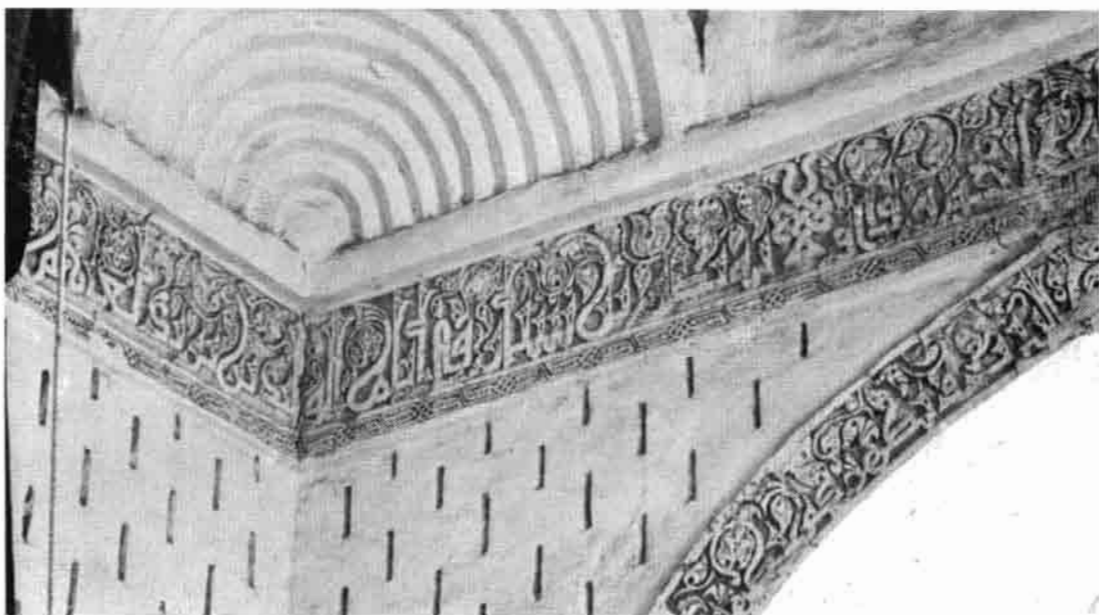
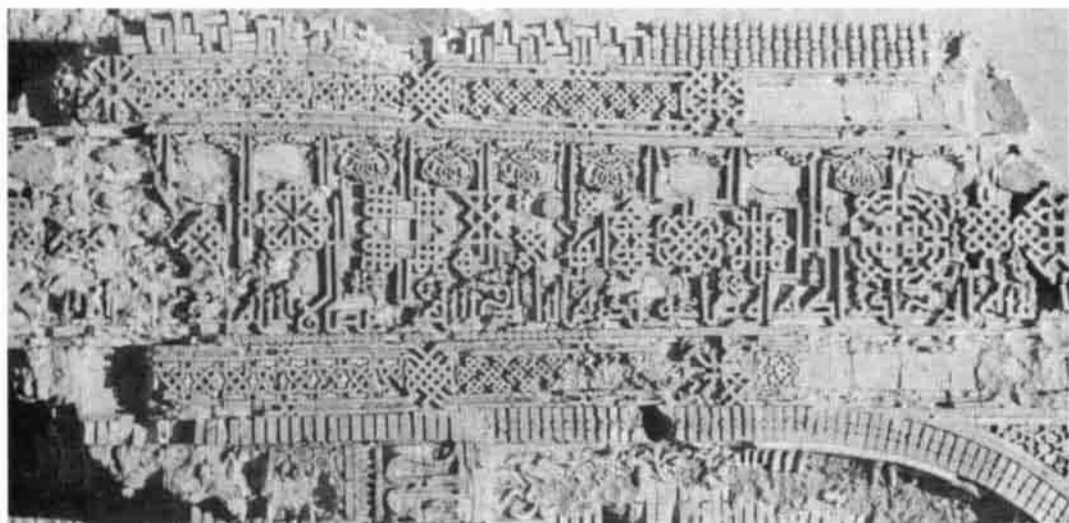
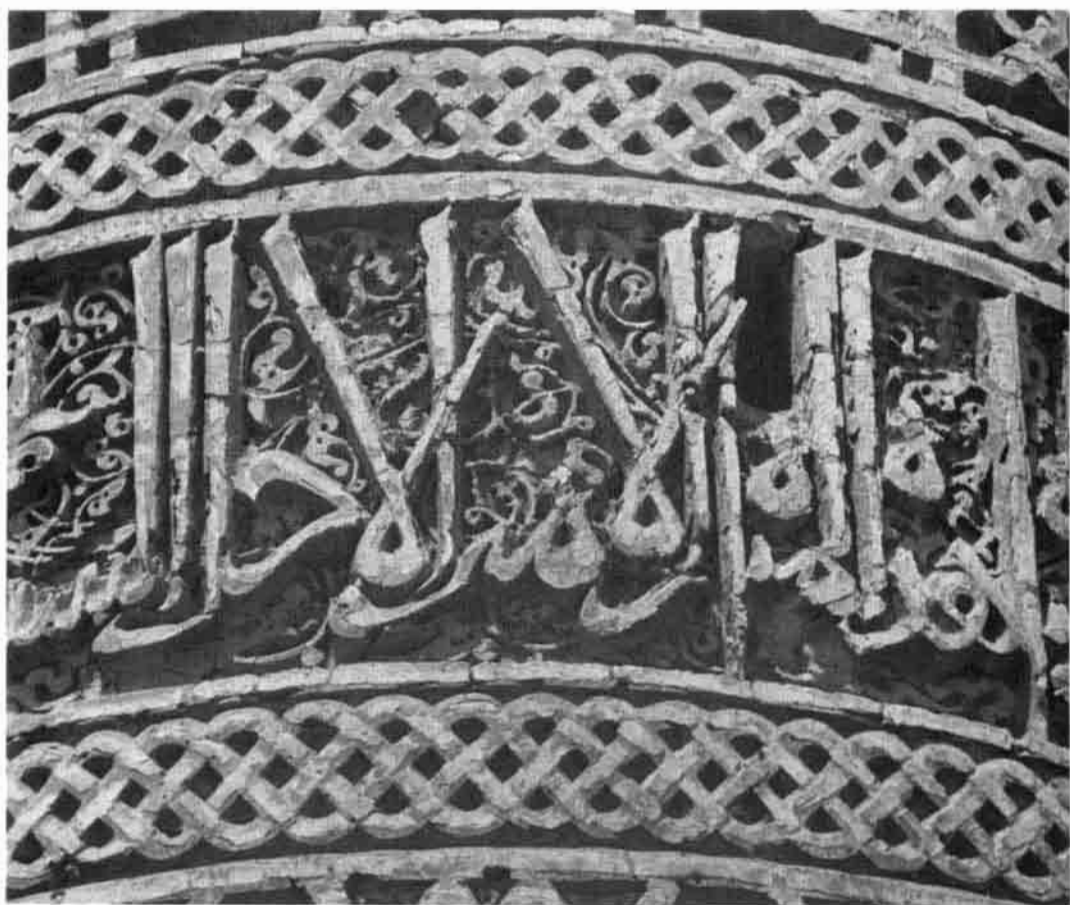
14. Spain. Almeria. Epitaph of a shaykh. 528/1133. Kūfic.
(Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 137).

15. Spain. Granada. Fragments of the inscription commemorating the foundation of the Medersa. 750/1349. Andalusian cursive. (Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 172).

16. Turkey. Tile inscription in the courtyard of the Üçşerefeli Mosque, Edirne. *Ca.* 850/1446-7.

17. Turkey. Inscription over the entrance to the Mosque of Bāyezīd II in Edirne. Engraved on stone and painted. Reportedly designed by the famous calligrapher Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh. Dated 893/1488.

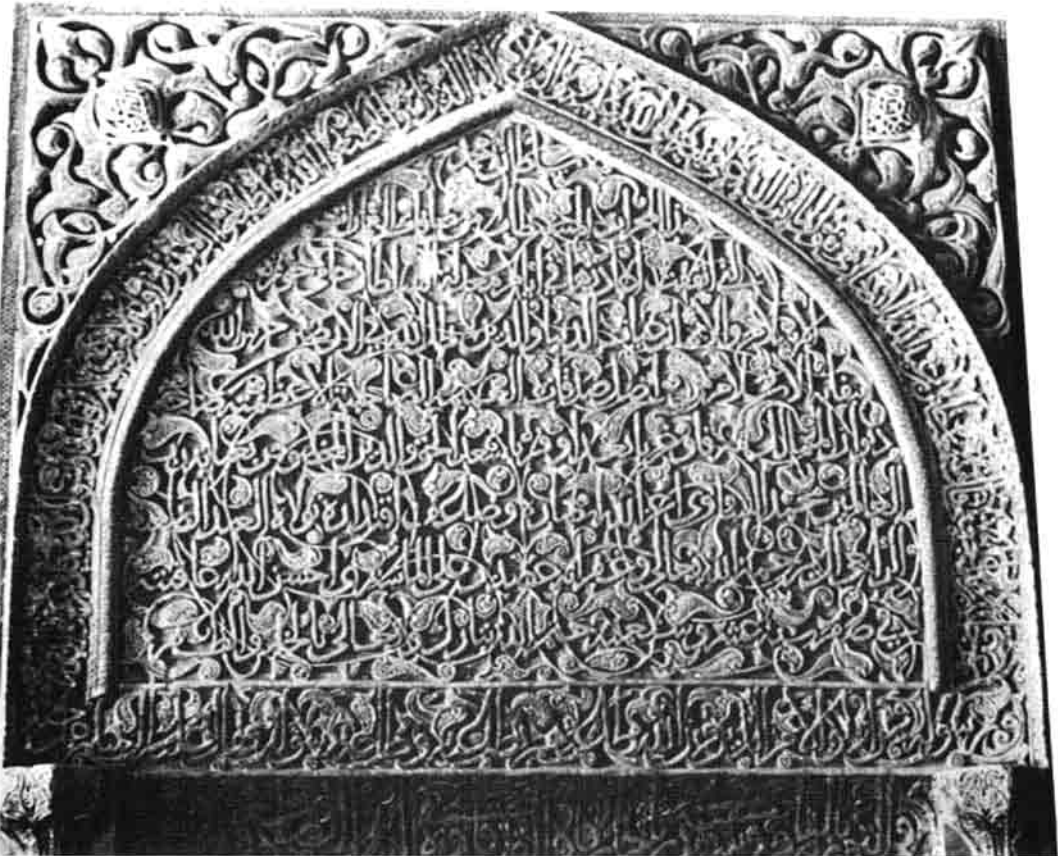
18. Turkey. Inscription on a public fountain (*česhme*) in Edirne. Engraved on white marble. Dated 1080/1669-70.

19. Iran. Persepolis. Inscription of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla in the Tachara, dated 344/955-6. Simple Kūfic.

20. Iran. Zawāre, inscription of minaret, dated 461/1068-69.
Reads: *sannat iḥdā wa-sittīn wa-arbaʿ miʾa.* Floriated Kūfic (After *Āthār-i Īrān*, i [1936], 309).

21. Transoxiana. Tashkent Museum: inscription of Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn from Urgāndj, 401/1010-11. Simple Kūfic of Khwārazm.

22. Iran. Rādkān (Neka), Māzandarān Province. Tomb of Muḥammad b. Wandarīn, 407-411/1016-17 to 1020-1. Plaited Kūfic. Reads: *wa-furigha minhu sanata iḥdā ʿashar wa-arbaʿ miʾa min al-hidjra.*

23. Iran. Rasgit (Resget), Tomb of Hormizdyār. Inscription over entrance. Late Floriated Kūfic: 6th/12th century. Bismillāh.

24. Afghānistān. Sar-i Pul. Shrine of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, known as Imām-i Khurd. Late 5th/11th century. Floriated and Plaited Kūfic. Reads: ... *bin Aḥwaz fī wilāyat Naṣr bin Sayyār fī ayyām al-Walīd b. Yazīd laʿanahum* [*Allāh*].

25. Afghānistān. Shāh-i Mashhad. *Madrasa* of Malika Muʿaẓẓama, daughter of Ghiyāth al-Din Muḥammad. Late 6th/12th century. Bordered Kūfic with geometrical elements. (After Casimir and Glatzer, *East and West*, xxi [1971], Fig. 8).

26. Afghānistān. Dawlatābād, nr. Balkh; lower frieze of minaret, 502/1109-10. (As in Y. H. Safadi, *Islamic calligraphy*, fig. 45; Photo Joséphine Powell, Rome).

27. Iran. Imām-zāde Karrār, Buzūn: plaster *miḥrāb*, dated 528/1133-34. Early Naskhī. (Reproduced after M. Bement Smith, *The Imamzade Karrar at Buzun*, in *AMI*, vii [1935], Pl. II, fig. 2).

28. Iran. Iṣfahān, *miḥrāb* of Öldjeytü in Masdjid-i Jāmiʿ.

29. Iran. Sīrdjān, stone *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad; Ṭughrā script (Naskhī derivative with extended verticals) dated 789/1387-8. (Photo Paul Fox, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).

30. India. Inscription from Ambūr fort in Victoria and Albert Museum, London (reproduced by permission of Keeper, Indian Section). 1196/1781-2. *Nastaʿlīḳ*, with unrelated graffiti in Tamil. Last line is an obscure chronogram. (Publication by J. Burton-Page forthcoming).

Bibliography: The principal Arabic sources include Ṭabarī, i, 377-9, 381 f., 391 f. (cf. also Cairo ed. 1960, i, 335, notes, for ms. variants); idem, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1373/1954, xii, 184-6; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, 161 f. 164, 168; T̲h̲aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 74-6, 80; Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1385/1966, xii, 309 f.; Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Fleischer, 456, 464.

For secondary studies, see: L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909, ii and v; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933; A. Schulman *et al.*, art. *Potiphar*, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

(B. Heller - N. A. Stillman)

ḲIT̲H̲ĀRA, ḲITĀRĀ, a musical instrument of the lyre family. It first appears in Arabic literature on music in the 3rd/9th century to denote a Byzantine or Greek instrument of this type. It was made up of a richly-decorated rectangular sound box, two vertical struts fastened together by a yoke and strings which were left free at their greatest width. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih in his *K. al-Lahw* (ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1969, 19) and in his account appearing in the *Murūd̲j̲ al-d̲h̲ahab* of al-Masʿūdī (viii, 91 = § 3216) says concerning the *ḳit̲h̲āra*: "They (sc. the Byzantines) have the *lūrā* which is a *rabab* (sc. viol), which is made from wood and has five strings; they also have the *ḳithāra* with twelve strings". Al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* writes that "the *lūr* (*lyra*) is the *ṣand̲j̲* (harp) in Greek; the *ḳitāra* is one of their instruments, and resembles the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck)". The approximation of the two instruments in the sources corresponds indeed to reality, because the *lūrā* and *ḳit̲h̲āra* were two variations of the same instrument type in vogue since classical times and up to the first centuries of Islam. The *lūrā* was a smaller instrument played by beginners and by amateurs, whereas the *ḳit̲h̲āra* was the instrument for professionals who towards the Islamic period used it to show off a virtuosity frequently displayed freely. It is possibly to this that a musical aphorism alludes, this figuring *inter alia* in the *Adab al-falāsifa* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, the *Risāla fī ad̲j̲zāʾ k̲h̲abariyyat al-mūsīḳī* of al-Kindī, the *K. al-Lahw* of Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih and the *Risāla fī 'l-mūsīḳī* of the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ; "A philosopher (Orpheus, according to Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih), having heard the sounds of a *ḳit̲h̲āra*, said to his disciple, 'Take me along to this musician, and possibly he will give us the benefit of a noble image'. But when they came upon him, they heard an unmetrical rhythm and a defective tune. So the philosopher then said to his disciple, 'The sooth-sayers assert that the raven's voice portends a man's death; if this is true, then the sound from this musician portends the raven's death'".

It seems that, at a later period, the term is used to denote a different instrument, the guitar, since this is the state of affairs in the *K. al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-intifāʿ*, where the *ḳitār* is one of the 32 instruments described in the second chapter (ms. Madrid, Res. 246). In the same realm of ideas, we believe that the name of the North African lute, the *kwītra*, derives from the interpretation of the *ḳit̲h̲āra* evolved by the authors of the 3rd/9th century who compared it to the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck) or to the *murabbaʿ* (lute with a quadrangular sound box).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Shiloah)

KITMĀN [see K̲H̲ĀRID̲J̲ITES; TAḲIYYA]

ḲIṬMĪR [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF].

AL-KIYĀ AL-HARRĀSĪ, S̲H̲AMS AL-ISLĀM ʿIMĀD AD-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī, known especially as al-Kiyā, jurisconsult of the S̲h̲āfiʿī school and As̲h̲ʿarī theologian, a dialectician known in his days as one of the best practitioners of the art of disputation. (The *nisba* al-Harrāsī = "a preparer of the food called *harīsa*", wheat and meat pounded together and cooked.) A class-mate of al-G̲h̲azālī and of the same age (they were born in 450/1058), al-Harrāsī died in 504/1010-11, one year before al-G̲h̲azālī.

He first studied in Ṭabaristān, which he left at the age of twenty to study under the direction of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-D̲j̲uwaynī [*q.v.*] in Nīs̲h̲ābūr; he was one of his most successful disciples and became one of the most able repetitors (*muʿīd*). He excelled in the field of law, both positive law (*fiḳh*) as well as its theory and methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). From Nīs̲h̲ābūr, al-Kiyā went to Bayhaḳ where he taught S̲h̲afiʿī *fiḳh*; this was very likely after the death of his teacher D̲j̲uwaynī in 478/1085. His class-mate al-G̲h̲azālī had gone to Ṭūs to the court of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. From Bayhaḳ, al-Kiyā went to Bag̲h̲dād to assume the chair of law in the S̲h̲afiʿī *Madrasa Niẓamiyya*, a position which he kept until his death in 504/1110-11. He also taught *ḥadīt̲h̲*, and one of his pupils in this field was the famous tradition-expert al-Silafī (d. 576/1180-1).

Al-Kiyā was accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies and was in danger of losing his life, but was saved by a petition signed by notable scholars of Bag̲h̲dād, among whom his older colleague and sparring-mate in disputations, the Ḥanbalī jurisconsult and theologian Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*].

Among his works, biographers cite the *S̲h̲ifāʾ al-murs̲h̲idīn*, considered by Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn al-Subkī as one of the most excellent works in the field of *k̲h̲ilāf*; and the *Naḳd mufradāt al-Imām Aḥmad*, points of law on which he differs from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Al-Kiyā was in turn criticised by the Ḥanbalī S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī (704-44/1304-43), in his *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Kiyā al-Harrāsī*, as well as by the *Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt* al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, a student of Ibn Taymiyya (see Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, *D̲h̲ayl*, ii 438 (l. 14) and 454 (ll. 3-4), respectively). Biographers also attribute to him a work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and this is borne out by a discovery made by G. Makdisi of a manuscript in the library of the University of Ankara, several years ago, during a search for works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Indications on the title page show that this work of al-Kiyā had three recensions: great, medium and small, the extant copy being the medium recension. The title is given as *Taʿlīḳ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and appears to be the work by the same title cited by Suyūṭī in his *Muzhir*, i, 23. It is not to be confused with his work on *uṣūl al-dīn* as suggested in Brockelmann, *GAL*, S I, 674 (l. 11), a manuscript of which is in the National Library in Cairo, for the work is definitely on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

Bibliography: *GAL*, I, 390, S I, 67 (bibliography cited); G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle (Vᵉ siècle de l'Hégire)*, Damascus 1963, 216 and n. 1 (bibliography cited), and index; idem, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 41 and *passim*.

(G. Makdisi)

ḲIYĀFA (A.), the science of physiognomancy and the examination of traces on the ground.

In their concern for the purity of race and the

correctness of genealogical lines, the ancient Arabs perfected a technique which permitted them to verify, and, where necessary, to research into, lines of parentage. This technique consisted partly in experience and partly in divinatory intuition. In primitive times, a specialised personnel maintained the practice: but the progressive decline, in pre-Islamic Arabia, of personnel skilled in cultic and divinatory matters led to the accumulation of numerous mantic disciplines in the répertoire of the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]. But there were numerous individuals skilled in this sphere of activity who were not necessarily *kāhins* (cf., for example, Ibn Hishām, 115); certain tribes were noted for their practice of this art (the Banū Mudlidj, Khathʿam and Khuzāʿa).

Ḳiyāfa, ancestor of the Islamic *firāsa* [*q.v.*], comprised two branches:

(i) *Ḳiyāfat al-bashar*, "physiognomancy", which has the object of disclosing the lines of parentage between the child of an unknown father and his presumed father, with a view to his legitimisation. Thus by virtue of traditional *ḳiyāfa*, Muʿāwiya was obliged to recognise, as his consanguineous brother, Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. The principle on which *ḳiyāfa* is based is the necessary resemblance between the infant and his father. Certain parts of the body serve as points of reference, notably the sole of the foot, because, in most cases, the child has the same foot as his father (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 338 = § 1221). But these points of resemblances are not always evident; discovery of them requires a faculty of perception and a perfect memory (al-Rāzī, *Firāsa*, 13). The acute eye for detail possessed by the Bedouin contributed greatly to the perfection attained by the Arabs in this art.

(ii) *Ḳiyāfat al-athar*, the faculty of minute observation which the Arab displays, most notably in the course of everyday life. The examination of footprints permits him to find a stray animal, a fugitive chief, a lost path, etc.; he distinguishes the footprints of a man from those of a woman, those of a young man from those of an old man, those of a white man from those of a negro and those of a stranger from those of a local resident. He can even tell if the woman is a virgin or not.

This astonishing faculty of observation and deduction extended to the behaviour of animals. The legend of the sons of Nizār, interpreting, in each case according to a particular point, the traces of a camel, on their road, and the origin of the honey, the roast meat and the wine offered to them by their host (Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, iii, 228 ff. = § 1092 ff.), is a perfect illustration of the minuteness with which the *ḳāʾif* dissected the most insignificant facts.

As a spiritual faculty surpassing human intelligence, *ḳiyāfa* possessed, as early as the pre-Islamic period, a sacred character which ensured its survival, as a judicial proof, in legal cases concerned with establishing the paternity of a child born of a slave (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥikamiyya*, 208, 195-213). Shurayḥ, the famous *ḳāḍī*, was a *ḳāʾif*; al-Shāfiʿī wrote a *Risāla fī ʿilm al-ḳiyāfa* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 452; ms. Süleymaniyye, Mihrimah Sultan, 185, 4, in Turkish).

A product of nomadism and the milieu of the desert where it was applied under many different circumstances, *ḳiyāfat al-athar* rather lost some of its *raison d'être* in the Islamic city, where it was to be eclipsed by *firāsa*, which evolved on totally different principles.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 370-8; Y. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe et le* K. al-firâsa *de Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî*, Paris 1939; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 333-8 = §§ 1217-21. (T. Fahd)

ḲIYĀMA (A.), the action of raising oneself, of rising, and of resurrection. The root *ḳ-w-m* is employed very frequently in the language of the Ḳurʾān. *Ḳiyāma* occurs there seventy times, always in the expression *yawm al-ḳiyāma* "the day of resurrection". The resurrection of bodies follows the annihilation of all creatures (*al-fanāʾ al-muṭlaḳ*), and precedes the "judgment" (*dīn*), the "day of judgement" (*yawm al-dīn*). This will be the Last Hour (*al-sāʿa*). *Al-sāʿa*, *yawm al-ḳiyāma* and *yawm al-dīn*, taken as a whole constitute one of the "necessary beliefs" which determine the content of the Muslim faith. It may be noted that the word *nushūr* is an equivalent (in the Ḳurʾān) of *ḳiyāma*.

The works of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of *falsafa* deal with the whole subject of eschatology under the general title of *al-maʿād* "the return", a word which appears only once in the Ḳurʾān (XXVIII, 85) in the localised sense of "the place to which one returns". Hence very often, in learned discussions, the idea of resurrection will be expressed by "return". We may add that it would be inappropriate to deal with judgement as such and its modalities, or with retribution, under the term *ḳiyāma*. In this respect, the present article needs to be supplemented by the articles reserved for *al-ḥisāb*, "the reckoning", *al-maʿād*, *al-sāʿa* and *yawm al-dīn* [*q.vv.*]. We shall confine ourselves here to considering (1) the succession of eschatological events which precede and accompany resurrection; (2) the Ḳurʾānic arguments which demonstrate its possibility; and (3) the setting in perspective of the philosophico-theological problems which arise as a result.

I. *The succession of eschatological events.*

(a) Prophetic signs. Resurrection will be preceded by the end of the world, by "annihilation". The Meccan sūras are insistent on this. "Signs" will foretell the end; "the earth will be shaken with its earthquake" and will "yield up its burdens" (Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 1-2); the sky will crack, the planets will be dispersed, the seas "poured forth", the graves overturned (C, 9; LXXXII, 1-4; cf. LXXXI, 1-14; especially LVI, 1-6, etc.); the mountains (will fly) like "tufts of carded wool" (CI, 5), etc. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (viii, 179) gives a systematic list of these "signs". Al-Nasafī, in his *ʿAḳāʾid*, lists five of them, and the *Tafsīr* of al-Taftāzānī enumerates ten "major signs" (see the list in L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane—Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 262, n. 6).

(b) The annihilation. On that day "the Sound shall ring out, and a second shall follow it" (Ḳurʾān, LXXIX, 6-7). This "sound" will be the "sound of the trumpet" (LXXIV, 8), which according to tradition will be blown by the angel Isrāfīl. Then there will not be, it is sometimes said, a single living being that does not die—"every soul shall taste death" (XXIX, 57). This is the final annihilation, where God alone remains in His absolute power, for "all shall perish save His countenance" (XXVIII, 88). In the course of time, this vision of an absolute *fanāʾ* came to be modified. From commentary to commentary, the number grows of the beings who shall escape annihilation: not because they are endowed with natural immortality, but on account of a "principle of permanence" (*ḥukm al-baḳāʾ*) which the will of God shall concede to them (list in L. Gardet, *op. cit.*, 264-6).

(c) The resurrection. When the "second blast of the Trumphet" has sounded, the whole of mankind, long dead or annihilated in the "great *fanāʾ*", will be revived in body, soul and spirit. "The day when the crier shall cry out from a nearby place, the day when they shall in all truth hear the cry, that will be the day of resurrection" (L, 41-2). Stress is always laid on the suddenness of this "return" to life. Resurrection is a rising up, the immediate passage, without reference to time, from non-life to life.

(d) The gathering (*ḥas͟hr*). God "shall gather" (L, 44; LIX, 2). He shall gather men together "as if they had stayed (in their tombs) only one hour of the day" (X, 45). He will gather the believers (XIX, 85). He will gather the impious (XX, 102; XXV, 17; etc.). He will gather men and *d͟jinn* (VI, 130), men and demons (XIX, 68). He will gather the angels (XXXIV, 40). This is the universal gathering. Also taking part in this, it is decided at a later stage, will be those protected from *fanāʾ* by divine mercy; and even, according to al-Nawawī, pack-animals and wild animals. This will be the "standing" (*al-mawḳif*) in waiting for judgement. Some traditions maintain that the first who will "rise" and arrive at the place of assembly (*al-maḥs͟har*) will be the Prophet of Islam. According to the most widespread beliefs, the prophets, the angels and the virtuous will be spared the terrors of waiting. But humanity in general "will sweat with agony"; they will be drenched in their sweat (*al-ʿaraḳ*), which will "bridle" them, as the bit bridles the horse (cf. al-G͟hazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 436-7).

The Ḳurʾānic texts are abundantly glossed by *ḥadīt͟h*s (al-Buk͟hārī, ix, 46-61; Muslim, viii, 165-210, etc.). A whole didactic literature is grafted on to this stem. For example, in al-G͟hazālī, *ibid*., the last book of the fourth volume, entitled *D͟hikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu*, 381 ff., in particular on the *yawm al-ḳiyāma*, 437-9; and the text attributed to the same author (wrongly, it appears), *al-Durra al-fāk͟hira* (ed. Cairo 1347/1928). See on this subject, as indicated in *EI*[1], Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 539 ff., taking up the "Preliminary discourse" of Sale, section 4, 73-103 of the 1734 edition (the latter itself being based on Edward Pococke, *Porta Mosis*, ii, 235-313 of the Oxford 1654-5 edition, which deals at length with Arabic passages and expressions).

Popular imagery abounds with descriptive details and continually builds on the foundations of tradition. But such imagery is irrelevant to faith. On the other hand, the very fact of the resurrection of the body is a cardinal element of the Muslim faith. A meta-historical and unique fact, linked, as if to an "opposite correlative" (*muḳābal*), to the fact, also meta-historical, of creation.

We may further note that the S͟hīʿī beliefs refer to a first "return" which will precede the universal ressurection and gathering; only the virtuous will take part in it under the guidance of the *Mahdī* of the last times. This is the *rad͟jʿa* ("return to life"), a kind of millenarianism. The Rāfiḍīs, in the early centuries of Islam, insisted on this. It continues to be one of the perspectives of Imāmism, linked to the "return" of the 12th *Imām*, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the "vanished one" (*al-g͟hāʾib*), who, with this "first return", will be *al-Ḳāʾim*, "the riser". The Ismāʿīlī "hidden sense" has more than once transposed the foretold *parousia* on a gnostic and extra-temporal basis.

The Muʿtazilīs opposed the Rāfiḍīs and declared this first resurrection to be "vain". Al-K͟hayyāṭ returns to it in his refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī (cf. al-K͟hayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, French tr. A. Nader, Beirut 1957, *passim*, in particular 95-97/118-20). The As͟hʿarī reaction no longer held the idea of *rad͟jʿa*. Sunnī thought as a whole denies or ignores the expectation of a preliminary "return" of the virtuous, a golden age on earth preceding the day of judgement. For Sunnism, the only "return" is that of the last hour which will follow the "great *fanāʾ*", sc. that of the resurrection (*ḳiyāma*) and of the gathering (*ḥas͟hr*).

II. *Ḳurʾānic arguments*. As suggested by D. Masson (Ḳurʾān tr., Paris 1967, index, under "Resurrection"), these arguments may be grouped around three themes:

(a) A constant comparison of the creation (*k͟halḳ*) with the resurrection, which then appears to be a "new creation" (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 49; cf. XVIII, 48; XXI, 104; XXVII, 64) or "the second creation" (LIII, 47). It is the creative power of God which is invoked in reply to the man who would doubt the resurrection (XXII, 5); and to produce a second creation is "easy" for God (XXIX, 19; XXX, 27). He has created man and "formed him harmoniously" (LXXV, 38): "Is He who has done these things not able to bring the dead to life?" (LXXV, 40; cf. LXXXVI, 5-8).

(b) A second "sign" of the resurrection is the analogy of the production of vegetables and of fruits, and the revivification of the soil by water (XLI, 39; LXIII, 11). "Thus we restore life to the earth after its death. Observe how resurrection (*nus͟hūr*) comes about" (XXXV, 9; cf. L, 11). "God . . . brings forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living" (VI, 95; X, 31; XXX, 19): "thus we shall cause the dead to arise" (VII, 57). And resurrection after death is compared to the day that follows the night (XXV, 47).

(c) Finally, the example of miracles with reference to a dead man revived by God (II, 72-3 and 259). R. Blachère compares this last account with the Ethiopic version of the *Book of Baruch*. It should be noted that the Ḳurʾān does not speak here, like the *Book of Baruch*, of a waking after a miraculous sleep (cf. "the Seven Sleepers"), but of a new life after death.

III. *Problems posed*. The most diverse "professions of faith" (*ʿaḳāʾid*) steadfastly proclaim the resurrection of the body. But very soon problems of a philosophico-theological nature arise. The influence of the *falāsifa* is predominant. Not only the *Tahāfut* of al-G͟hazālī, but every *Kitāb al-Maʿād* of the major treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām* has the intention of refuting them, and, for this very reason, to a large extent adopts their methods of examining problems, and sometimes their vocabulary.

(a) The "punishment of the tomb" (*ʿad͟hāb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*]). First question: is there a survival of the soul or of the spirit? Will the predicted resurrection be of the body alone, or of the whole man, body, soul and spirit? The Ḳurʾān does not talk explicitly of a survival of the soul or of the spirit after death. Man dies, then is recalled to life on the day of resurrection. Three texts, however (XL, 45-6; XL, 11; III, 169-70), are advanced by the *mutakallimūn* as evidence for the "punishment of the tomb"; at a later stage, "the pleasures of the tomb" are reserved for the virtuous. In conjunction with these texts, there are many *ḥadīt͟h*s, recognised as authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*), which are quoted, such as "I take refuge with You against the punishment of the tomb" (cf. further, al-Buk͟hārī, xxiii, 87; lxxx, 37-9). The

punishment of the tomb and the interrogation that precedes it, the formulation thereby of a "first judgment" are mentioned in the majority of professions of faith. The Ash'arīs accuse the Mu'tazilīs of denying them. 'Abd al-Djabbār, on the contrary, affirms them; he locates them, however, not immediately after the "first death", but between the "two blasts of the Trumpet" (of annihilation, and of resurrection) that will sound at the last Hour. And his arguments in support of the punishment of the tomb are very close to the arguments habitually propounded by the Ash'arīs (cf. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 732-3).

But what is at issue here is not the survival of a separate soul, by nature immortal. What is being discussed is a first and transitory resuscitation, at once corporeal and spiritual, which is not a true resurrection. It is not necessary, say some authors, that the entire body should revive; it is enough that some fundamental part or other, heart, kidney, etc., be animated afresh. Moreover, if the body has been completely devoured or reduced to ashes, it will not be difficult for God to reassemble it and restore to life a sufficient quantity of matter (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 88-9). Besides, this survival of the tomb is brief. After being thus examined and punished (or rewarded), the man experiences "the second death". For a resumé of the question, see al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 318. It is also declared that the prophets and the *shuhadā'* who have died fighting for God are excused from the interrogation and from the punishment of the tomb.

Under various influences (Mazdaean? Christian? The *falāsifa*?), or through a simple endogenous development, the belief in a survival of the soul or the spirit is developed: whether in the tomb, with, according to the circumstances, appropriate punishments or rewards; or in other places; or even in Paradise for the spirits of the prophets, of the *shuhadā'* and, according to some, of the Muslim children who have died before the age of reason. These spirits, in Paradise, are provided with a temporary body symbolised by "the gizzards of green birds". Furthermore, an exegesis that has come to be accepted of Ḳur'ān, XVII, 84 "the spirit proceeds from the commandment of your Lord", points to the directly divine origin of the spirit, hence to its immortality (cf. al-Ghazālī, *al-Risāla al-laduniyya*, the second of the short treatises linked together under the title *al-Djawāhir al-ghawālī*, ed. Cairo 1353/1934).

We have here a brief revival (body and soul), prolonged or not by a survival of soul or spirit, and what is at issue is, in any case, only a transitory state. The eschatological hour of the *yawm al-ḳiyāma* and that hour alone, retains its absolute quality.

(b) The *falāsifa*. The "punishment of the tomb" could hardly be accepted in anything other than a metaphorical sense in the view of the *falāsifa* in general. In their habitual concern to integrate all the articles of faith, they refrain from rejecting it, but interpret it according to the major frameworks of their anthropology. For them, in accordance with their Hellenistic sources, the reasoning soul, a spiritual substance, is by nature incorruptible; it belongs by nature to the sphere of separate substances. It is thus that Ibn Sīnā, describing the lot of souls after death, speaks of pleasures, or of purifications, or of intellectual punishments; with this explicit statement that the souls which, on earth, have taken pleasure only in physical enjoyments are now found to be irremediably deprived of them; they will be eternally at grips with tormenting and insatiable desires of lust and anger, and will draw from the celestial bodies the view within their imaginations of their torments (cf. *Nadjāt*², Cairo 1357/1938, 297). Their "hell" is to be barred from joining the higher angelic world—which we may take to be the world of separate substances—"where are found supreme happiness and accomplished splendour" (*Sharḥ K. Uthūlūdjiyā*, published by A. Badawi, in *Arisṭū 'ind al-'Arab*, Cairo 1947, 43). It is true, the "humble of spirit" (*buhl*), who have sought after good to the best of their ability, will enjoy a happiness that is subjectively absolute, objectively relative: an imaginative, not purely intellectual happiness, and the celestial bodies, here too, will supply them as if with an additional body. Thus, according to Ibn Sīnā, for the mass of humanity, what should hold is that which is said in the prophetic revelation about the judgment of the tomb, about punishments and potential rewards (cf. *Nadjāt*, 298; parallel texts in the *Shifā'*).

Are these spiritual torments and joys of the life to come connected with the *yawm al-ḳiyāma*, the day of resurrection of the body foretold by the Book? Resurrection is an article of faith too central to Islam to be explicitly and overtly dismissed by the *falāsifa*. Their position is nonetheless highly ambiguous.

It is appropriate to set aside Abū Yūsuf Ya'ḳūb al-Kindī, "the philosopher of the Arabs". He is the only *faylasūf* who explicitly maintained that philosophical research could be and should be strengthened and guided by prophetic revelation. Consequently, he professes, from a specifically philosophical point of view, the fact of the creation in time, and the possibility of the resurrection of the body; the latter is possible, he says, since that is what the creation was—thus he adopts the major Ḳur'ānic argument (cf. *Rasā'il al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 372 ff.). In works aimed at the "simple philosophers" (see *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, ed. Cairo 1328/1910, 3), Ibn Sīnā confines himself to affirming belief in the resurrection on the basis of Ḳur'ānic testimony: "The revealed law (*shar'*) maintains, and reason does not deny, that the body also will enjoy pleasures" (or will be plunged into misery and suffering); cf. *Tis' rasā'il*, Cairo 1326, 114-6; analogous texts in the *Shifā'* and *Nadjāt*. Such is, moreover, approximately the position of Ibn Rushd. It is for the sake of his respect for prophecy and the revealed law that he opposes with such vehemence the accusations of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 580-6; see translation by S. Van den Bergh, London 1954, notes on vol. ii, 203-5).

But in fact, Ibn Rushd confines himself to a statement of principle, without replying to the arguments and objections of al-Ghazālī. Now it seems probable that the latter was familiar with the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-aḍḥawiyya fī amr al-ma'ād*, which was translated into Latin (*Liber Mahad*) by Andre Alpago (Venice 1546) and has been edited recently in Arabic by Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo 1368/1949). In this work, Ibn Sīnā attempts to demonstrate explicitly that the resurrection of the body, which he does not mean to deny, should be understood as a symbol or an allegory which has the object of inducing the mass of humanity to persist in virtuous behaviour. In reality "it is known that the true well-being of man is

opposed by the very existence of the soul in his body, and that physical pleasures are other than true pleasures, and that the fact of the soul returning to the body would be punishment for the soul" (*Risāla aḍḥawiyya*, 53). We can understand how al-Ghazālī was able to accuse the *falāsifa* of not admitting in its explicit sense, and according to all its demands, the teaching of the Ḳur'ān concerning resurrection: this is the 20th question of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Beirut 1927, 334 ff.).

(c) Responses and attempts at explanation of the Mutakallimūn. Later *kalām* was to judge the *falāsifa* much more by the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā than by their statements of respect towards the religious law. When al-Djurdjānī lists the various attitudes which were or could be adopted (*op. cit.*, viii, 297; cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 169), he seems to assimilate the *falāsifa* to those "deistic philosophers" who only accept "spiritual return", the *rudjū'*, in the sense found in the pseudographic *Theology of Aristotle*; while the men "with certainty of truth" (*muḥaḳḳiḳūn*), like al-Ḥalīmī or al-Ghazālī for example, profess a *ma'ād* that is both spiritual and corporal. It is in this sense that developments of *kalām* will tend to prove the rational possibility of the "return", then of the "gathering", and to study its conditions. We cannot follow in detail the whole series of discussions, arguments, objections and responses in all their intricacy and multiplicity (cf. L. Gardet, *op. cit.*, 266-9, and refs.). Nevertheless, we make some comments:

(1) Curiously enough, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 170) declares that all the earlier prophets preached only the "spiritual return" and that it is the Ḳur'ān that proclaims the return of the body. His opponent, the Imāmī Shī'ī Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (in the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, *ibid.*) states furthermore that the Gospel does not preach the resurrection of the body, and quotes Matthew, xxii, 30 "they are like the angels in heaven". Ibn Rushd (*Tahāfut*, 580) seems to have had a better knowledge of Judaism and of Christianity.

(2) In his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*loc. cit.*), al-Ghazālī, under the heading of a third hypothesis, and in the form of an argument *ad hominem*, concedes to his opponents that the soul may be of a wholly spiritual nature and that in it alone the human personality may reside (in the *Iḳtiṣād*, 88, he declared that this opinion "does not accord with what we believe"). Even in this case, he says, the resurrection of the body is still possible, and so it will take place, since the religious law foretells it. Also, he replies meticulously to three objections of a philosophical order (for the details of this debate, see L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 87 n. 3).

(3) Numerous explanations of the "return of the body" are proposed by the *'ilm al-kalām*. The Mu'tazilīs seem to have professed the "annihilation", then the "return" of substances and of "durable" accidents (real accidents) which are necessarily linked to them (see summary in al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. and tr. Luciani, Paris 1938, 211/316). Al-Djuwaynī himself (*ibid.*, 213/318) and al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87) envisage either the "annihilation" of substances (and therefore of accidents which could not alone remain in the being), and their "return"; or the "annihilation" of accidents, then their "return", the substances remaining. For al-Ghazālī, either hypothesis is possible (*mumkin*). According to the followers of Ash'arism as finally evolved, such as al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 171) and al-Djurdjānī (*op. cit.*, viii, 297), either God brings back to life (*i'āda*) an "annihilated" (*ma'dūm*) and the "return" is thus preceded by a reduction to non-existence (*'adam*), or else the return follows a total dispersion (*tafrīḳ*).

Discussion of these last two hypotheses led to developments concerning the relationship between substances and accidents, concerning an atomistic or non-atomistic view of the world, and concerning notions of being and of non-being. Three terms are constantly being repeated by the pen of the scholars: the being according to its first existence (*mubda'*), to the "annihilated" (*ma'dūm*) and to the "similar" (*mithl*). For it is not a "similar" being that returns on the day of resurrection, it is the being itself, the same one that was "annihilated". No difference between the first creation (*ibdā'*) and the "return" (*i'āda*) is spoken of by al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87-8), al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 169-70) and al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 292, 294). Henceforward, declares al-Djurdjānī (*ibid.*, 293-4), the subject of the first creation and the subject of the return are not at all to be distinguished in terms of their ensemble of determining characteristics (*māhiyya*), but only in terms of the essence (*huwiyya*) which places them within the being. There is between these two "subjects", that is between the thing and itself having "returned", an "interference" (*takhallul*) of non-existence, which al-Ghazālī and no doubt al-Rāzī on the one hand, and al-Djurdjānī on the other would explain rather differently. But the consensus continues to rest on the return to existence of the same being that was annihilated.

This dialectic, subtly conducted, and originally devised as a reply to the *falāsifa*, is characteristic of the procedure of the "modern" *mutakallimūn* (in the sense used by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo n.d., 326-7, tr. de Slane, iii, 60, 62), and of the type of problems that they study. Also to be noted is their extreme sobriety in regard to traditional and descriptive data. We have, thus, in Sunnī Islam, as it were two lines of development: an expression of popular faith, employed to a large extent in the sermons of preachers and of a type to strike the imagination; and an explanatory effort at rational justification. Elementary manuals of a later period take inspiration from both one and the other. To this could be added various "hidden meanings" of Shī'ī traditions. But in opposition to the *Risāla aḍḥawiyya* of Ibn Sīnā and his allegorising theses, the existential reality of the basic fact of the resurrection of the body has not ceased to be vigorously maintained.

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(L. Gardet)

ḲIYĀS (AR.), reasoning by analogy, the fourth source of Muslim law.

1. In law.

This word is derived from the Hebraic term *hiḳḳish*, infinitive *heḳḳesh* and from the Aramaic root *n-ḳ-sh* which signifies "to beat together". It is employed with reference to (a) the juxtaposition of two subjects in the Bible and the demonstration that they should be treated in the same manner; (b) the action of the exegete who applies the comparison suggested by the text; and (c) the conclusion of the reasoning by analogy which relies on the existence of a common characteristic in the "basic case" and the "analogous case" (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 99).

In a broad sense, *ḳiyās* can indicate inductive reasoning (*istidlāl*), and even deduction (*istinbāṭ*, *istikhrādj al-ḥaḳḳ*). It is thus that in *kalām*, *ḳiyās*

al-ghā'ib ʿala 'l-shāhid (Madjmūʿ, i, 333) indicates the syllogistic procedure which consists in induction from the known to the unknown; it is the ķiyās ʿaķlī that is inspired by Greek syllogism. While the Muʿtazilī Abū Hāshim al-Djubbā'ī retains this meaning for the Ķiyās sharʿī, his disciple Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī rejects it (Muʿtamad, ii, 697). In the terminology of fiķh, ķiyās is "judicial reasoning by analogy". It is the method adopted by the Muslim jurisconsults to define a rule which has not been the object of an explicit formulation: a verse of the Ķur'ān, a ḥadīth of the Prophet or idjmāʿ. It is ķiyās fiķhī or sharʿī, different from the former in the sense that it "has its own structure and its own complexity" (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 61). This specific structure results from the particular nature of the mode of reasoning by analogy; the absence of a middle term in the primitive form of ķiyās, then definition of an explanatory principle (ʿilla) which is not a logical norm, but the prescription of a rule (ḥukm) established by God or His Prophet, this is the judicio-religious norm. The complexity of ķiyās sharʿī results from the diversity of cases to be taken into consideration and from the detailed reflections of the uṣūlīs on the different procedures that may be adopted in the execution of ķiyās sharʿī. The elaboration of the major treatises concerning uṣūl al-fiķh [q.v.] develops the notion of ķiyās in a systematic manner, conferring upon it a very strict and elaborate form. This work leads in the work of an author like al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) to a much-expanded concept of the fourth source of law, embracing the perspective of "Greek logic and traditional exegetical method" among the Muslims (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 57).

The problem. The establishment of ķiyās as a new judicial source responds to the need to find solutions not foreseen in the texts and to define rules applicable to new situations. The problem of ķiyās comes therefore to consist in determining "grounds of procedure" (bawāʿith) which respect the spirit of rules dictated by the text. The putting into effect of ķiyās sharʿī must, in consequence, appeal to principles of analogical deduction which enable the discovery in the rule of the derived case (farʿ) of the grounds which determine the rule of the basis (aṣl).

Like idjmāʿ [q.v.], ķiyās was instituted after the demise of the Prophet. With the death of Muḥammad, the community of the faithful was deprived of the "organ of revelation" and of its political and religious chief. Idjmāʿ was born of the need to ensure the coherence of the nascent doctrine of Islam, in the face of the dispersion of the believers and the proliferation of sayings attributed to the Prophet. The institution of idjmāʿ had the purpose of preserving the social and doctrinal unity of the parent-community (umma). In origin and in its "summary and primitive" form, ķiyās in ʿIrāķ was employed as a means of giving the force of law to certain ḥadīths attributed to ʿAlī which had not met with success (Schacht, *Origins*, 106-7); the extension of this practice may be considered not so much a factor of unity as of divergence. The putting into effect of ķiyās would appear more and more to respond to a need for diversification and clarification of the divine law. Also, the risk of divergence (ikhtilāf) was the essential motivation of the Shīʿī opposition to the use of ķiyās. The partisans of the Shīʿa do not accept the rule which considers that every mudjtahid speaks the truth (muṣīb), a rule implied by the practical application of ķiyās. Nevertheless, the continuing crop of new cases (ḥawādith) that the believer is obliged to cope with justifies in the view of the mudjtahid recourse to personal reflection, the practice of which is encouraged by the Ķur'ān and the Sunna (Ķur'ān, XIII, 3; XVI, 11, 67; XXX, 21; XXXIX, 41; XLV, 12; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 995). The Prophet said: "The study of knowledge (ṭalab al-ʿilm) is a duty (farīḍa) incumbent upon every Muslim; and the knowledge that must be studied is that of the rules which shed light upon the divine law" (sharʿiyyāt; *Mughnī*, xvii, 278). Ķiyās is one of the means whereby reflection leading to this awareness may be exercised.

Development. The practice of ķiyās thus comes to be established as a means of establishing a judicial ruling not provided for in the texts. However, reasoning by analogy is, in the view of the faithful, to be treated with caution, for the simple reason that it is exercised by a fallible being who is liable to error. Idjmāʿ must therefore intervene to ensure the credibility and the cohesiveness of the opinions of the mudjtahids. Only the information provided by the Ķur'ān and the prophetic tradition is a source of integral truth (iḥāṭa). Such is the view of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), who may be regarded as the first of the uṣūlīs. The ruling that consists in believing that every mudjtahid speaks the truth (muṣīb; *Risāla*, ed. Shākir, § 1330; *Mughnī*, xvii, 277) will authorise the specialist to make a decision according to that which conforms most closely to the divine intention. By means of ķiyās, a search must be made, not for certainty (yaķīn) but the proof which will permit the deduction of a peremptory ruling (ḥukm ķaṭʿī). Ķiyās must be a determinant in a practical sense (mūdjib li 'l-ʿamal; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, Beirut 1973, ii, 159; *Mughnī*, xvii, 291-2). There is thus a need to elaborate a theory of ķiyās sufficiently precise for its use to confer upon the specialist's decision the greatest possible integrity. In the practice of the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Shafiʿī schools, ķiyās sharʿī cannot provide certain knowledge, it amounts only to a "strong putative probability" (ghālib al-ẓann; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iii, 256; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 140; *Mughnī*, xvii, 277).

It was at a very early stage that ķiyās sharʿī began to be practised. As early as the 2nd century A.H., Ḥammād b. Sulaymān b. Rabīʿa, master of Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Abī Laylā, and judge at Baṣra, inaugurated its use. But the first to employ it systematically was Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), for which reason the practitioners of his school are known as those who use reason (aṣḥāb al-ra'y) to distinguish them from pure traditionists (aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth). The latter do not accept ķiyās except as a last resort; according to them, analogy is like carrion, to be eaten only when no other food is available" (L. Milliot, 135). Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 270/884) avoided wherever possible reasoning by analogy, preferring the literal content of the Ķur'ān and of ḥadīth. In the same way that he restricts the notion of idjmāʿ, he imposes limits on recourse to analogy, without however rejecting it absolutely. According to him, one must bow the head before the inexorable law that the finite cannot contain the infinite and admit analogy in some cases (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 135; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 118; al-Ṣaymarī, *Masā'il al-khilāf*, f. 48a-b). With Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the Ẓāhirī school replaces ķiyās with the implicit sense of the text (mafhūm); according to this last, the notion of analogy is vague and arbitrary. Ķiyās is

rejected by the Ḥanbalīs and the Shīʿīs, but adopted by the other schools of law. In practice, it is the Ḥanafī doctrine which prevails.

In his *Risāla* on the foundations of law, al-Shāfiʿī provides the first stage in systematisation of the theory of *ḳiyās*. Having established precisely the role of the Ḳurʾān, of the Sunna and of *idjmāʿ*, he neatly defines that of reasoning by analogy. It is to him that is owed the fundamental distinction between *ḳiyās ʿilla* or *maʿnā* and *ḳiyās shabah*. The first bases analogy on an explanatory principle (*ʿilla*). This form of *ḳiyās* considers a thing according to its original meaning (*aṣl*). In this case, there is no need for disagreement. *Ḳiyās shabah* considers the thing in its similarity (*shabah*) to others; those who employ it may disagree (al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, § 1334). Al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), a Ḥanbalī *uṣūlī* who went over to Shāfiʿism, is at pains not to confuse the ruling of the basic case (*aṣl*), with that of the derived case (*farʿ*). The ruling of the former is given by the text of the Ḳurʾān or of *ḥadīth* or by *idjmāʿ*; it is certain. The ruling of the latter is deduced (*thamara nātidja*); it is putative (*al-ḳiyās lā yufīdu ghayr al-ẓann*; *Iḥkām*, iii, 264). For this reason, the conclusions of *ḳiyās* cannot in their turn provide deductive principles (*rukn*; *op. cit.*, 277). Analogy on the basis of analogy is not acceptable. Such is not the opinion of the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who adopts the Shāfiʿī teaching and enlarges it. According to him, "there is no difference between the ruling of the basic case which is known through explicit evidence (*bi-ḍṭirār*) and that which is known through discussion (*istidlāl*); in fact, it is possible to extract a new ruling from the latter when there is a similarity between the reasons for which each of them is adopted. So there is not, in regard to knowledge (*ʿilm*), a need to take account of the different means whereby the ruling of the basic case is established. That which is known in an explicit manner may, in fact, be assimilated to that which is known through acquisition (*al-ḍarūrī fī-hi ka 'l-muktasab*). The explanatory principle (*ʿilla*) is fruitful; although dissociated from the basic case which has inspired it, it may be taken as operative, for it finds its own guarantee within itself. Thus, God (IV, 25) lays down that the punishment inflicted upon a slave woman should be half that applied to the free woman. As soon as we are aware that the reason for the existence of this *ḥukm* is the fact of slavery (*riḳḳ*), we may apply this ruling to the male slave. Similarly when we know that the reason for the prohibition (Ḳurʾān, II, 219; V, 90) of all fermented drink (*khamr*) is the existence of wine (*nabīdh*), we shall forbid the consumption of wine. For the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *ḳiyās*, when applied to scriptural or rational material, is dependent on a similar process, that of intellectual effort (*idjtihād*). Here the role attributed to the action of the subject in interpretation of the *Sharīʿa* is predominant.

Foundation. The various objections raised to the practice of *ḳiyās* which are known to us through the different treatises of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* divide into two types of argument: an argument of fact and an argument of law.

(a) The verses of the Ḳurʾān and of prophetic tradition which forbid recourse to reasoning by analogy are numerous: "We have presented to you the Book to make all things clear" (XVI, 89), "We have neglected nothing in the Book" (VI, 38), "Your Master is not forgetful" (XIX, 64). Recourse to personal opinion (*raʾy*) to extract a ruling from it amounts to imputing inadequacy to the Holy Book. The Prophet, in his turn, accuses of aberration and error those who deduce a non-existent rule from an existing rule (Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 991; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 120).

(b) The argument of law consists in denying that legal status (*ḥukm*) may be founded on reason. The "*raison d'être* of law" (*ʿilla*) is attained through its erroneously convincing nature (*shubha fi 'l-aṣl*). The text (*naṣṣ*) has never determined explicitly the 'properties" (*awṣāf*) which might provide a foundation for legal precepts. The latter are obligatory on the grounds that they result from divine decision (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 121; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 992). Reason has no competence to exact that which only the All-Powerful is entitled to impose. The object of law is beyond reason. The content of a number of divine precepts cannot be subject to personal opinion; these *aḥkām* have no foundation other than divine decision; such is the case with regard to ritual ordinances (*ʿibādāt*). The practice of *ḳiyās*, in substance, far from providing a guarantee of rectitude, can lead only to a misunderstanding of rules (*djahālāt*; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 122). In the argument of authority there is no place for personal assessment.

According to the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām, the process of *ḳiyās* is far from always respecting the rational model. It is not compatible with reason to impose fasting on the menstruating woman and to excuse her from prayer, when she is better able to pray than to fast. The same applies to the prohibition laid upon the man against gazing at an aged free woman, with repulsive features, while he is permitted to look at an attractive young slave. It is contrary to good sense to cut off the hand of a petty criminal (*sāriḳ al-ḳalīl*), while the judicial rule spares the man who robs on a large scale (*ghāṣib al-kathīr*; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 9; *Muʿtamad*, ii, 746). In other words, in ethical questions, analogy is inoperative. It has the effect of linking together dissimilar cases and dissociating similar cases, which preludes passing from the basic case (*aṣl*) to the derived case (*farʿ*); cf. al-Ṣaymarī, *K. Masāʾil al-khilāf*, f. 48a. It is interesting to observe that the Ḥazmian objection to the principle of similitude in religious questions (Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, vii, 82) is the same as that of al-Naẓẓām. Such is the criticism of *ḳiyās* raised by these two authors. Classical Muʿtazilism, as represented by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, replies to the objection of ancient Muʿtazilism in declaring that "neither *qiyās* nor *iǧmāʿ* should, in the last resort to reason or to *ʿaql*, figure in the arsenal of judicial-religious thought ... as regards *qiyās*, there is the need to detach, among the elements of basic prescription, the invariants on the basis of which *qiyās* will be legitimate, if account is taken of the indication (*amāra*) which specifies them" (R. Brunschvig, *Rationalité et tradition chez ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 214). The convincing validity (*ḥudjdjiyya*) of *ḳiyās* is, like that of *idjmāʿ*, based on a text; reason only intervenes in order to put the analogical deduction into effect.

The Shīʿī criticism of *ḳiyās* is directed against the diversity of opinion which is liable to result from it. The Ḳurʾān condemns divergence of opinion in many places (IV, 82; XLII, 13; VIII, 46; XXX, 31; III, 105). A number of *ḥadīths* attack those who profess divergent doctrines (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 10).

To these objections, the scholars of *ḳiyās* reply in their turn with scriptural and rational arguments in favour of judicial analogy.

(a) God said: "Learn from this, O you who are clear-sighted" (LIX, 2). To learn a lesson is to associate a thing with its "homologue" (*naẓīr*); such is the process of *ḳiyās*. "If you are capable of interpreting dreams ..." (XII, 3); *ḳiyās* does nothing other than interpret the rule. "These verses are addressed to thinking people" (XII, 3; X, 24; cf. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Pazdawī, *op. cit.*, 995); what is more, the Ḳur'ān (IV, 146) employs analogy in authorising ablution with sand (*tayammum*) when water is lacking.

It is well-known that the Companions of the Prophet employed *ḳiyās* and dialectical discussions (*munāẓarāt*) and that they practised judicial consultations (*mus̲h̲āwarāt*). In a general fashion, the partisans of *ḳiyās* appeal to the *ḥadīt̲h̲* where it is related that when the Prophet sent Muʿād̲h̲ b. D̲j̲abal to the Yemen as *ḳāḍī*, the former asked: "How will you reach a judgement when a question arises?"; Muʿād̲h̲ replied: "According to the Word of God".—"And if you find no solution in the Word of God?"—"Then, according to the *sunna* of the Messenger of God".—"And if you find no solution in the *sunna* of the Messenger of God, nor in the Word?"—"Then I shall take a decision according to my own opinion (*ad̲j̲tahidu ra'yī*)". Then the Prophet of God struck Muʿād̲h̲ on the chest with his hand and said: "Praise be to God who has led the Messenger of God to a solution that pleases him" (Abū Dāwūd, *Aḳḍiya, b.* 11; al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *Aḥkām, b.* 3; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, Introduction; A. J. Wensinck, ḲIYĀS, in *EI*[1]).

(b) The person endowed with reason, the *mukallaf*, is naturally inclined to assess the invisible (*g̲h̲ā'ib*) on the basis of the perceptible tokens of experience (*ḥāḍir*). Cracks in a wall foretell its collapse, a cloudy sky and fresh wind are signs of rain, etc. (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 5). Similarly, in matters of religious law, *ḳiyās* puts into effect "the cause-norm association" (*ʿilla-ḥukm*) to assist the exercise of reflection on two similar cases, the second not being defined by this association.

The nature of *ḳiyās*. According to al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, *ḳiyās* and *id̲j̲tihād* [*q.v.*] are two terms expressing a single notion; when the rule concerning a specific case is not dictated by a particular indication (*dalāla*), this indication must be sought by a means conforming to truth with the aid of *id̲j̲tihād*. Now *id̲j̲tihād* is *ḳiyās* (*Risāla*, § 1323). The specific nature of *ḳiyās* is not yet detached, it is subjective opinion (*ra'y*). With the elaboration of the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the concepts are defined and fixed. *Ḳiyās* can then be defined as the method which consists in assimilating the derived case (*farʿ*) to the basic case (*aṣl*) in virtue of their similarity with regard to the *raison d'être* (*ʿilla*) of the norm (*ḥukm*). *Ḳiyās* is thus a form of reasoning which proceeds from particular to particular, linking a new case to an old case: "It cannot ... be considered as inductive reasoning, since it does not aim at applying to all cases of the same kind the observations made concerning one of them". (C. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, 20). Such is the character of the reasoning which concludes that in a case of fornication, a confession repeated four times on the part of the guilty party may be considered a sufficient proof of the offence. The basic case is defined by a Ḳur'ānic text which prescribes the execution by stoning of the guilty party in the presence of the four witnesses. This assimilation (*tas̲h̲bīh*) of ancient origin belongs to a still simplistic concept of *ʿilla*. With the development of the theory of *ḳiyās*, *ʿilla* takes on a more logical quality. Whence the penalty that reduces by half the punishment applied to female slaves as compared with free women (IV, 25); the *ʿilla* of the reduction in penalty is slavery. By analogy, this reduction will be applied to male slaves as compared with free men. Of the same type is the *ḳiyās* that prohibits the lending of dry dates or raisins at interest (*ribā*), on the basis of the prohibition of lending grain (wheat, barley), with the demand of eleven measures against ten. The reason for the prohibition is that usury is forbidden.

For *ḳiyās* to be effective, four elements are necessary: (1) the appearance of a new case which causes a problem; (2) a basic case (*aṣl*) governed by a *ḥukm* defined by a text; (3) a *raison d'être* of the law (*ʿilla*) which can provide the line (*maʿnā d̲j̲āmiʿ*) justifying the assimilation of the derived case with the basic case. This *raison d'être* is the "sign" (*ʿalāma*) which permits the knowledge that the ruling from a text may be applied to a case not envisaged in these terms. Once this reason is known, the jurist, proceeding by analogy, applies the law thus motivated to the case in which he sees a similar reason to pronounce judgment. This is the *taʿlīl* (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 138); (4) finally, a result which is the *ḥukm* applied to the derived case. Such is the prohibition against striking one's parents drawn from the prohibition against saying to them "fie!" (XVII, 24). As regards the third condition, "the Ḥanafīs only recognise *ʿilla* as endowed with a "transitivity" (*taʿdiya*), that is, susceptible to being put into effect in a derived case on the basis of a basic case (al-Sarak̲h̲sī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 161).The S̲h̲āfiʿīs, on the contrary, accept that an *ʿilla* may be intransitive (*ḳāṣira*), intransmissible to a derived case". In reality, the opposition between these two doctrines depends on the different manner in which the *ʿilla* is conceived in relation to *ḥukm*. According to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs, on the contrary the *ʿilla* is that which confers upon the *ḥukm* its "validity of origin". According to the Ḥanafīs, the *ʿilla* of the basic case justifies itself by the derived case (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 79-80).

From the point of view of modality, several types of *ḳiyās* are distinguished: (a) *ḳiyās ʿilla* or *ḳiyās al-dalāla* (al-Āmidī separates these two) which consists in associating (*d̲j̲amʿ*) the basic case with the derived case with the aid of the indication of the *ʿilla* and the qualifications which the latter entails (cf. Ibn Ḳayyim, *Iʿlām*, i, 138-9). An example is the association of wine (*nabīd̲h̲*) with alcoholic drink (*k̲h̲amr*), giving as "middle term" the faculty of upsetting good behaviour.

(b) *Ḳiyās s̲h̲abah* is an analogy by "simple similarity" which requires no intervention of motive or of common indication (*min g̲h̲ayri dalīl d̲j̲āmiʿ*; *Iʿlām*, i, 148). An example is the similarity established between the slave and the free man for the assessment of the *diya* [*q.v.*] when the slave is the responsible for the offence, and that which assimilates his compensation when he is the victim (*Muʿtamad*, ii, 692).

(c) *Ḳiyās al-ṭard* is a co-extensive *ḳiyās al-ʿilla* and its contrary is *ḳiyās al-ʿaks* or "reversibility", "reverting to non-*waṣf* → non-*ḥukm*" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 81; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iii, 261). *Ḳiyās s̲h̲arʿī* would thus appear with *id̲j̲māʿ* to be a decisive criterion for the interpretation of Islamic law. It permits the establishment of new rules. But in the extent to which it is a process of reasoning which excludes the possibility of having recourse to a purely logical

norm, *ḳiyās s̲h̲arʿī* belonging definitively to personal opinion (*raʾy*), it is for this reason limited in range. From this results the need to resort in certain cases to other methods of reasoning: *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*] or *benignitas* and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*] or *utilitas publica*.

In the modern period, the theory of *ḳiyās* is generally applied in the different schools which adopt it in the spirit of the Ḥanafī doctrine. Because of the major role accorded to personal effort by the Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab*, the modern *mud̲j̲tahid* is generally eager to draw from this the norms enabling him to deduce new rulings; historically, the importance accorded to Ḥanafism results from the fact that the Ottoman empire followed the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sovereigns in imposing it as an official doctrine. This ascendancy, which prevailed over a large proportion of the Muslim world, had the effect of conferring upon the Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab* an official status in a number of countries "where the majority of the native Muslim population follows another school, e.g. in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon and Syria" (J. Schacht, ḤANAFIYYA, in *EI*[2], iii, 163).

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic sources cited, see the bibls. to *Ḳiyās* in *EI*[1] and *Id̲j̲māʿ* in *EI*[2]; D̲j̲aṣṣāṣ, *Uṣūl*, ms. Dār al-Kutub, Uṣūl 329, ff. 244b-293a; Ṣaymarī, *K. Masāʾil al-ik̲h̲tilāf fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ms. Chester Beatty 3757, and the treatises on the *uṣūl*; R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique par analogie d'après al-Ghazālī*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxiv (1971); idem, *La théorie du qiyās juridique chez le Ḥanafite al-Dabūsī (V*e*/XI*e* siècle)*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, i, Leiden 1974, 150-4; idem, *Pour ou contre la logique grecque*, in *Convegno internazionale*, Rome 1971; idem, *Rationalité et tradition dans l'analogie juridico-religieuse chez le Muʿtazilite ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, in *Arabica*, xix/3 (1972), 213-21; Ch. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, in *St. Isl.*, xxiii (1965), 5-23; A. Turki, *Argument d'autorité, preuve rationnelle et absence de preuve dans la méthodologie juridique musulmane*, in *St. Isl.*, xlii, 59-92; R. Arnaldez, *La raison et l'identification de la vérité selon Ibn Ḥazm*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956, i, 111-21; L. Milliot, *Introduction à l'étude du droit musulman*, Paris 1953; A. Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāǧī*, Algiers 1976, iv; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 182 ff.

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2. In Grammar.

In grammar, the word *ḳiyās* indicates the "norm", meaning the instrument which enables the grammarian to "regulate" (*ḳāsa*) the morphological or syntactical behaviour of a word, where this is not known through transmission (*naḳl*) or audition (*samāʿ*), on the basis of the known behaviour of another word, by means of a certain kind of analogy; it is synonymous with *miḳyās* (pl. *maḳāyīs*). The term is well attested in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (cf. G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index*, 179); Sībawayhi does not define it but he says that it may be bad (*radīʾ*, *ḳabīḥ*), constant (*mutlaʾibb*, *mustamirr*), flowing (*d̲j̲ārī*), stable (*mutamakkin*) and that it is indispensable (*lāzim*); he insists that one does not "regulate" a thing on the basis of that which is rare (*ḳalīl*) or exceptional (*s̲h̲ād̲h̲d̲h̲*), but that one "regulates" it on the basis of that which is in frequent use (*kat̲h̲īr*). The expression *ʿala 'l-ḳiyās*, which he often uses, indicates "according to the norm, normally".

It is the Muʿtazilī grammarian al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) who supplies the first definition of the term, in the *K. al-Ḥudūd* (ed. M. D̲j̲awād, 50); "*ḳiyās* is the combination (*d̲j̲amʿ*) of two things, whence results necessarily their combination in principle (*ḥukm*)".

Ibn D̲j̲innī (d. 392/1002) devotes to *ḳiyās* five chapters in the *K. al-K̲h̲aṣāʾiṣ* (ed. M. A. al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār, i, 109-33, 357-69, 391-9). He asserts that the Arabs love affinity (*tad̲j̲ānus*) and resemblance (*tas̲h̲ābuh*) and that this leads them to assimilate things that are close to one another, and to trace (*ḥaml*) a secondary thing (*farʿ*) to a primary thing (*aṣl*); he comments that this penchant of the Arabs for assimilation (*tas̲h̲bīh*) sometimes leads them to trace a primary thing from a secondary thing, and that a rare thing can be the "norm", while a more common thing is not. As regards the links between the "norm" and audition and usage (*istiʿmāl*), he distinguishes four cases: (1) that which is generalised (*muṭṭarid*) according to the norm and according to usage; this is the optimum; (2) that which is generalised according to the norm, but exceptional according to usage; one adopts the word of most frequent usages; (3) that which is generalised according to usage, but exceptional according to the norm: one adopts that which is commonly heard (*masmūʿ*), but does not "regulate" anything else according to it; and (4) that which is exceptional according to the norm and to usage; this is faulty (*mard̲h̲ūl*) and should be rejected (*muṭṭarah*). Finally, he observes that the grammarians considered that that which is "regulated" according to the language of the Arabs, constitutes a part of their language, even if the Arabs have not used it in speech.

In the *K. Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) subjects *ḳiyās* to a lengthy examination (ed. A. Amer, 44-86). He considers that it is impossible to do without it in grammar, since the latter may be defined as being the science of "norms" (*maḳāyīs*) drawn (*mustanbaṭa*) from exhaustive study (*istiḳrāʾ*) of the Arabic language. He defines it as the tracing of a secondary thing from a primary thing, by virtue of a cause (*ʿilla*) which demands the application of the principle of the primary thing to the secondary thing. He distinguishes three kinds of *ḳiyās*, according to its basis upon (1) a cause to which the principle is attached; (2) a resemblance (*s̲h̲abah*) other than the cause to which the principle is attached; and (3) a generalisation (*ṭard*) of principle. Where the assumption (*ik̲h̲āla*) of the cause is lacking in this case, only the two former kinds are utilised by the grammarians.

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), in the third chapter of the *K. al-Iḳtirāḥ fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, classifies all the data concerning *ḳiyās* supplied by previous grammarians (ed. Ḥaydarābād, 38-72). He divides his study into three parts: (1) the primary thing, on the basis of which one "regulates" (*maḳīs ʿalayhi*); (2) the secondary thing, which one "regulates" (*maḳīs*); (3) the principle; and (4) the cause that unites them (*d̲j̲āmiʿa*).

Finally, it should be noted that, in the *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-nuḥāt*, the Ẓāhirī grammarian Ibn Maḍā al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 592/1196) objects to the use of *ḳiyās* in grammar and calls for its abrogation (ed. S̲h̲. Ḍayf, 156).

Bibliography: given in the text of the article.

(G. TROUPEAU)

ḲÏZ (T.), basically "girl, unmarried female", but often used with the more restricted meanings of "daughter, slave girl, concubine". It is already found in the Orkhon inscriptions in the phrase *ḳïz og̲h̲lï* "daughter", as opposed to *urï og̲h̲lï* "son",

and subsequently appears in most Turkish languages. Through Türkmen forms it passed into Iranian languages like Kurdish and Ossetian, and through Ottoman usage into Balkan languages like Serbian and Bulgarian, often via the Ottoman technical expression (for which see below) *ḳizlar aghasi* (see Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 818-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische. iii. Türkische Elemente im Neupersische*, Wiesbaden 1967, 569-70, No. 1601; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 679-80).

In mediaeval Islamic usage, one of its denotations was "Christian woman", doubtless influenced by the meanings "slave girl, concubine"; Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 257, calls the Georgian King David IV "the son of Ḳiz-Malik", i.e. son of the Queen Rusudani. Under the Ottomans, the term *Ḳizlar Aghasi* "*Agha* of the maidens" was generally used to denote the chief of the black eunuchs in the Imperial Palace, more correctly entitled *Dār al-Saʿādat Aghasi* "*Agha* of the House of Felicity". This officer was in charge of the sultan's harem, and was in practice the principal officer of the whole palace. From the last years of the 10th/16th century onwards, he enjoyed the prestige of vizierial rank, as a *pasha* of three *tughs*, with the title of *Mushīr*, coming in order of precedence only after the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh al-Islām*. After 995/1587 he also displaced the Chief of the White Eunuchs from his control of the *awḳāf* or pious endowments of the *Ḥaramayn*, Mecca and Medina (see N. M. Penzer, *The Ḥarēm*,[2] London 1965, 128 ff.; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 172 ff. and index; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, i/1, Oxford 1950, 76-7, 329-31).

The element *ḳiz* also occurs in two well-known topographical features in the city of Istanbul and vicinity. First, there is the *Ḳiz-tashi* "Maiden's stone", the column of the Emperor Marcian (450-7), in the Fātiḥ quarter, so-called from its alleged power to distinguish virgins (in fact, the genuine "virgin's column" from near the Church of the Holy Apostles was incorporated in the Sülaymāniyye Mosque, which rose on that church's site after 1456); see E. Mamboury, *The tourists's Istanbul*, Istanbul 1953, 339-40, 41, and Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*[2], Leipzig 1914, 180. Second, there is the *Ḳiz-külesi* "Maiden's tower", the signal station and lighthouse built on a rock in the Bosphorus just south of Üsküdar in the entrance to the Bosphorus, popularly called "Leander's tower", referring to Leander's death by drowning when trying to reach his beloved Hero (though this occurrence is usually located in the Dardanelles between Cestus and Abydos). The classical name for this rock was Damalis (from the wife of the Athenian general Chares), but the Turkish name is connected with the story of Meḥemmed II's daughter, allegedly shut up there in a fruitless attempt to preserve her from death by snakebite (see Mamboury, *op. cit.*, 496-7, and *Murray's handbook for travellers in Constantinople, Brûsa and the Troad*, London 1893, 107).

For the social status of women in Turkey, see MARʾA. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲIZIL AḤMADLĪ [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU].

ḲIZIL ARSLAN [see ILDEGIZIDS].

ḲIZIL-BĀSH (T. "Red-head"). The word is used in both a general and a specific sense. In general, it is used loosely to denote a wide variety of extremist Shīʿī sects [see GHULĀT], which flourished in Anatolia and Kurdistān from the late 7th/13th century onwards, including such groups as the *Alevis* (*ʿAlawis*; see A. S. Tritton, *Islam: belief and practices*, London 1951, 83).

The ʿAlawīs were closely connected with the Nuṣayrīs [*q.v.*] of northern Syria and Cicilia, and the *tahtacis* (*takhtadjis* [*q.v.*]), in order to protect themselves from persecution by the Ottoman government as schismatics, later "gained the right of asylum under the all-embracing and tolerant umbrella of the Bektāshī organization" (J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 83; see also BEKTĀSHIYYA). The *ḳizil-bash* did not constitute a Ṣūfī order as such, but rather a religious sect (Abdülbâkî Gölpinarlı, *İA* art. *Kızıl-baş*). The common characteristics of all those designated as *ḳizil-bash* was the wearing of red headgear. Gölpinarlı, *op. cit.*, sees the *ḳizil-bash* in this respect as the spiritual descendants of early Shīʿī *ghulāt* groups such as the Khurramīs [*q.v.*], who were also known as the Muḥammira from their practice of wearing red hats and robes, and even of pre-Islamic heretical sects of the Sāsānid period, especially that of Mazdak (see also Browne, *LHP*, i, 310-13). In its specific sense, the word *ḳizil-bash* was a term of opprobrium (often *ḳizil-bash-i awbāsh*, "scoundrelly *ḳizil-bash*", etc.) applied by the Ottoman Turks to the supporters of the Ṣafawid house [see ṢAFAWIDS], and adopted by the latter as a mark of pride.

In Ṣafawid usage, the term derived from the distinctive scarlet or crimson hat (*tādj*) with twelve gores (*tark*) commemorating the twelve Imāms of the Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿīs, worn by the disciples (*murīds*) of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs*. According to Ṣafawid tradition, in 893/1487 Shaykh Ḥaydar [*q.v.*], instructed in a dream by the Imām ʿAlī, devised this headgear (British Museum MS. Or. 3248, ff. 21a-b). When Ḥaydar first showed this "Ṣūfī *tādj*", as it became known, to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan, the latter kissed it and put it on his head (if the date 893/1487-8 is correct, this story is clearly apocryphal, because Uzun Ḥasan died in 882/1478). His son Yaʿḳūb, however, refused to wear it, and this was the origin of the enmity between Ḥaydar and Yaʿḳūb which resulted in the breakdown of the Ṣafawid-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu alliance. After the death of Ḥaydar, Yaʿḳūb not only forbade his subjects to wear the *ḳizil-bāsh tādj*, but also tried to prevent the Ṣūfīs of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* from wearing it (R. M. Savory, *The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Timur*, in *Isl.*, xl (1964), 54 ff.).

Strictly speaking (as noted by Chardin; see V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, London 1943, 188 and n. 5), the term *ḳizil-bāsh* should be applied only to those Turcoman tribes inhabiting eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and the Armenian highlands which were converted by the Ṣafawid *daʿwa* and became the disciples of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs* at Ardabīl. However, the term was also loosely applied to certain non-Turkish-speaking Iranian tribes which supported the Ṣafawids, for instance the tribes of Ṭālish and Ḳarādja-dāgh (Siyāh-kūh), and Kurds and Lurs. The great *ḳizil-bāsh* tribes (*oymāḳ*) were subdivided into as many as eight or nine clans (the list in Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 16-17, is by no means complete). The most important *oymāḳs* included the Ustādjlūs, Rūmlūs, Shāmlūs, Dulghadirs (arabice: Dhu 'l-Ḳadars), Takkalūs, Afshārs and Ḳādjārs; other tribes, such as the Turkmāns, Warsāḳs and Bahārlūs, are occasionally listed among the great *oymāḳs*. During the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*], the Shāmlūs were the most powerful of the *ḳizil-bāsh*

*oymāḳ*s. The provenance of some of the great *oymāḳ*s is clearly indicated by the name of the tribe: for instance, the names Shāmlū, Rūmlū and Bahārlū consist of a place-name with the addition of the possessive particle *-lū*; others, such as Afshār, Warsāḳ, and Dulghadir, are the names of old Oghuz tribes. The origin of some names, such as Ustādjlū, is still obscure.

From the middle of the 9th/15th century, Ardabīl was the nerve centre of an extensive organisation designed to keep the Ṣafawid leadership in close touch with its *ḳizil-bāsh murīd*s in eastern Anatolia, Syria and elsewhere. This organisation was controlled through the office of *khalīfat al-khulafā'ī*, felicitously called by Minorsky (*op. cit.*, 125) "the special secretariat for Ṣūfī affairs". The *khalīfat al-khulafā'*, who was necessarily a *ḳizil-bāsh* and usually a Turcoman, appointed representatives termed *khalīfa* in the region in which the Ṣafawid *daʿwa* was active, and the *khalīfa*s in their turn had subordinates termed *pīra*. The presence of large numbers of *ḳizil-bāsh* Ṣafawid supporters in eastern Anatolia constituted a serious threat to the Ottomans. In 907/1502, Sulṭān Bāyazīd II transferred large numbers of Shīʿīs from Asia Minor to the Morea, yet in 917/1511 there was another serious *ḳizil-bāsh* revolt at Tekke [see BĀYAZĪD II], and Sulṭān Selim I, before invading Iran in 920/1514, massacred 40,000 of them in order to secure his rear (see Savory, *The consolidation of Safawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 86-7).

The *ḳizil-bash*, as the *murīd*s of the Ṣafawid *shaykh*s, owed implicit obedience to their leader in his capacity as their *murshid-i kāmil* ("supreme spiritual director"). After the establishment of the Ṣafawid state, the Ṣafawid *shāh*s transferred this *pīr-murīdī* relationship from the religious to the political plane, since they were now not only their followers' *murshid-i kāmil* but their king (*pādishāh*) as well. As a consequence, what had formerly been an act of disobedience on the part of a Ṣūfī against the orders of his spiritual director now became an act of treason against the king or a crime against the state, and as such, punishable by death. The term *ṣūfigarī*, "proper conduct for a Ṣūfī", was extended to mean, "conduct becoming to a *ḳizil-bāsh* officer"; the converse, *nā-ṣūfigarī*, came to mean "failure to obey orders; rebellious or treasonable conduct". As late as 1023/1614-15, for instance, when Shāh ʿAbbās put to death some *ḳizil-bāsh* who had defected to the Ottomans, the charge was *nā-ṣūfigarī* (Savory, *The office of khalīfat al-khulafā under the Ṣafawids*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 501). A passage in the *Tāʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1334/1955, i, 68, where an officer is described as *mard-i ṣūfī wa yakdjihat wa dawlatkhwāh*, makes it clear that being a Ṣūfī and a *ḳizil-bāsh* was considered to be tantamount to being loyal to the shāh and the régime.

When the Ṣafawid state was established in 907/1501, the *ḳizil-bāsh* constituted the military aristocracy. Since they had been largely responsible for bringing the Ṣafawids to power, they considered it only right and proper that they should both fill the principal offices of state in the central administration and also hold the most important provincial governorships. The use of such terms to describe the Ṣafawid empire as *ḳalamraw-i ḳizil-bāsh* ("the *ḳizil-bāsh* realm") (*Tāʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 206); *dawlat-i ḳizil-bāsh* ("the *ḳizil-bāsh* state") (*ibid.*, i, 152); and *mamlikat-i ḳizil-bāsh* ("the *ḳizil-bāsh* kingdom") (*ibid.*, i, 523), makes it clear that, in the view of the *ḳizil-bāsh*, the Tādjīk or Persian elements did not count for much in the new order of things. Similarly, the shāh is commonly referred to as *pādishāh-i ḳizil-bāsh*, again a term which appears to ignore the existence of the Tādjīks altogether.

Initially, the two principal offices of the central administration, that of the *wikālat* and that of the *amīr al-umarāʾī*, were both held by the same *ḳizil-bāsh* officer. Under Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], the office of *amīr al-umarā'* declined in importance, and was superseded by the office of *ḳūrči-bāshī* [see ḲŪRČĪ], which was also a *ḳizil-bāsh* prerogative. The government of the provinces of the Ṣafawid empire during the early period was allotted almost exclusively to *ḳizil-bāsh amīr*s, who ruled as petty princes in their provinces. The provincial governors had courts which were replicas of the royal court, and the system of provincial administration in many respects resembled that of the central administration. These provincial governorships were assigned to the *ḳizil-bāsh amīr*s as fiefs known as *tiyūl* [*q.v.*]. The governors, in return for the obligation to provide the king with a stated number of fully-equipped troops when required, were allowed to consume locally the greater part of the revenues collected in the provinces under their jurisdiction; such provinces were known as *mamālik* or "state" provinces.

After the conquest of Khurāsān in 916/1510, Shāh Ismāʿīl made Harāt the second city of the Ṣafawid empire, and it became the seat of one of the Ṣafawid princes and frequently of the heir-apparent. The royal prince was placed in charge of the *ḳizil-bāsh* governor-general of Khurāsān who, in his capacity as *lala* or *atābeg* ("guardian") of the prince, was responsible for the moral and physical welfare of his ward. It was his duty to see that the prince was trained in archery, horsemanship and the like, and also to see that he received his apprenticeship in statecraft.

Since the *ḳizil-bāsh* were "no party to the national Persian tradition" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 188), their assumption that the principal offices of state would automatically fall to their lot led to immediate friction with the Persian elements in the administration. The Persians, or "Tādjīks" as the *ḳizil-bāsh* contemptuously called them, were the "men of the pen" who had traditionally filled the ranks of the bureaucracy in Iran and had provided administrative continuity under a succession of foreign rulers, Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Tatars and Turcomans. In the Persian view, the *ḳizil-bāsh* were "men of the sword", and were not expected to have any knowledge of statecraft. On the other hand, in the *ḳizil-bāsh* view, "Tādjīks" were fit only "to look after the accounts and *dīwān* business. They had no right ... either to maintain private bodyguards or to command troops in the field. If *ḳizil-bāsh* were asked to serve under a Persian officer, they consider it a dishonour" (Savory, *The qizilbāsh, education and the arts*, in *Turcica*, vi (1975), 169). Ismāʿīl I attempted to maintain a balance between these two forces by appointing Persians to the all-important office of *wakīl*, but this merely aggravated the tension between them, and the *ḳizil-bāsh* brought about the death of three of the five Persians appointed to that office under Ismāʿīl I (see Savory, *The significance of the political murder of Mīrzā Salmān*, in *Islamic Studies, Jnal. of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi*, iii (1964), 181-91).

When Shāh Ṭahmāsp succeeded his father in 930/1524, at the age of ten-and-a-half, the *ḳizil-bāsh* took advantage of his youth to assume control of the

state. Their mystical belief in the quasi-divine nature of Ismāʿīl I as their *murshid-i kāmil* had been shattered by the latter's disastrous defeat at Čāldirān [*q.v.*], and they now reverted to their primary loyalty to their tribe. This led to almost a decade of civil war as the great *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲ oymāḳ*s fought for political supremacy, and between 932/1526 and 940/1533 either individual *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* tribes or coalitions of tribes ruled the state. In 937/1530-1 the Takkalūs attempted to seize the person of the s̲h̲āh, but the other great *oymāḳ*s rallied to his defence and, in the ensuing fighting, large numbers of Takkalūs were killed. The survivors fled to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab; some of them subsequently entered Ottoman service, and one of their chiefs, the renegade Ulama (Ulāma), was involved in the rebellion of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā [*q.v.*]. These events virtually ended the political influence of the Takkalū *oymāḳ*.

In 940/1533 S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp managed to reassert the authority of the crown, and for some forty years remained in control of affairs, but in 982/1574, when he fell ill, there was immediately a recrudescence of dissension among the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲*. The political situation, however, was very different from the situation obtaining in 932/1526, at the outbreak of the civil war between the *ḳïzïlbās̲h̲* tribes. The new factor was the introduction of a "third force" to the political scene in the form of Armenians, Georgians and Circassians, who became *g̲h̲ulāmān-i k̲h̲āṣṣa-yi s̲h̲arīfa*, "slaves of the royal household". These men, many of whom had been taken prisoner in Ṭahmāsp's campaigns in Georgia between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4, or were the offspring of women brought to Iran at that time, adopted Islam, and were given special training to fit them for service either in some branch of the administration of the royal household, or in one of the newly-constituted *g̲h̲ulām* regiments. The *g̲h̲ulām*s, instead of being paid on a quasi-feudal basis like the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲*, were paid direct from the royal treasury, and their primary loyalty was therefore to the s̲h̲āh and not to any tribal unit. When therefore there was a fresh outbreak of factionalism in 982/1574, "it was no longer a struggle to determine which tribe could outstrip its rivals in a state in which the *Qizilbāsh* tribes as a whole enjoyed a dominant and privileged position, but whether the *Qizilbāsh* tribes as a whole could maintain their privileged position against the threat from the new elements in Persian society, the Georgians and Circassians" (Savory, *Ṣafavid Persia*, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, i, 407-8). This struggle was not resolved during the remainder of Ṭahmāsp's lifetime, or under his successors Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad S̲h̲āh [*qq.v.*].

When ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] was placed on the throne in 996/1588 by the powerful *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲ amīr* Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Ustād̲j̲lū, he realised that not only his personal future but the continued survival of the Ṣafawid state depended on his being able to establish his authority over the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* as rapidly as possible. The Ottomans, taking advantage of *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* factionalism, had made large inroads into Persian territory in the west, as had also the Özbegs in the east. ʿAbbās's solution of curbing the power of the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* and increasing that of the *g̲h̲ulām*s, though successful in the short term, ultimately seriously weakened the military and political effectiveness of the Ṣafawid state. The *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* regarded the *g̲h̲ulām*s with contempt, and dubbed them *ḳarā-og̲h̲lu*, "sons of black slaves". The *g̲h̲ulām*s, though some great commanders emerged from their ranks, did not have a fighting élan comparable to that of the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲*, the only troops in the Islamic world who had earned the grudging respect of the Ottoman janissaries. Essentially heavy cavalry, the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* carried a formidable arsenal of weapons—bow, lance, sword, dagger and battle-axe; in action, the *tād̲j̲* was replaced by a helmet with mail cheek-pieces (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 32); as they charged, they set up a rhythmic chant of "Allāh! Allāh!" (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, 699). The basis of their fighting spirit, however, was their fierce tribal loyalty (*taʿaṣṣub-i oymāḳiyyat; taʿaṣṣub-i ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲iyyat*). S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I was well aware of this and, in pursuance of his policy of curtailing the power of the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲*, not only reduced the strength of the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* regiments but also deliberately weakened the all-important attachment of the *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* soldier to his tribe. He did this in a variety of ways: he placed an officer in charge of a tribe who was not himself a member of that tribe; in certain cases, alleging that a particular tribe did not possess an officer worthy of holding the rank of *amīr*, he appointed a *g̲h̲ulām* as *amīr* of the tribe; he transferred groups of men from one tribe to a district belonging to another tribe. The continuance of these policies by his successors ultimately undermined the military strength of the Ṣafawid empire.

In Afg̲h̲ānistān, there exists a substantial S̲h̲īʿī minority group of *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲*, living mainly at Kābul and in the high valleys of Foladi on the western edge of the Hazārad̲j̲āt [*q.v.*]. These people are the descendants of garrison troops left behind by Nādir S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] in 1150/1738 during his Indian campaign. The *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* hold clerical posts in government offices, engage in trade or are craftsmen; in short, they constitute an important and politically-influential element in the population. Estimates of their total number vary from 60,000 to 200,000 (see H. W. Bellew, *The races of Afghanistan*, Calcutta 1880, 107; D. N. Wilber, *Afghanistan*, New Haven, Conn., 1962, 49-50; and V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969, index *s.v.* *Qizil-Bash*).

As recently as 1945, the fact that the name *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲* still had an emotive power in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, the nerve-centre of the Ṣafawid organisation in earlier times, was demonstrated by the choice of this name for the regular troops recruited by the short-lived autonomous republic of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān.

Bibliography: Given in the text. For a detailed description of the rites and ceremonies of the Anatolian *ḳïzïl-bās̲h̲*, see article *Kızılbaş*, in *İA*. For additional textual references, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 470-2.

(R. M. Savory)

ḲÏZÏL-ELMA (or **ḲÏZÏL-ALMA**), "Red Apple" is an expression which occurs in written sources from the 16th century onwards; it also occurs in Turkish oral traditions from Anatolia and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān as well as in modern Greek, Bulgarian and Rumanian folklore, current to this day. It refers to a legendary city which was to be the ultimate goal of Turko-Muslim conquests, and some versions explain the term from the resemblance between a red apple and the golden dome of a building—in this latter case it refers to a large church situated in the area. In the Ottoman period Ḳïzïl-Elma tended to be identified with the large cities associated with Christianity—Constantinople, Budapest, Vienna and Rome—which the armies of the *Pādis̲h̲āh* were hoping

to conquer (see J. Deny, *Les pseudo-prophéties concernant les Turcs au XVIe siècle*, in *REI*, x/2 (1936), 201-20; E. Rossi, *La legenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso*, in *Actes du Ve Congrès international des études byzantines*, Rome 1936, 542-53).

Another tradition, which must have developed before the Ottoman one, identifies Ḳīzīl-Alma with Dāghistān, beyond Demir-Ḳapu. It has been supposed that this legend originated from the ceremony for enthroning the Shamkhal of Dāghistān, in which the claimant to the throne is involved in throwing a "golden ball"; because of this ball, Dāghistān was called "The land of Ḳīzīl-Alma" (see Fahreddin Çelik, *Kızıl-Almanın yerleri*, in *Cınaraltı*, Jan. and March 1942; Banıçiçek Kırzıoğlu, *Kars ili ve çevresindekilere göre Kızıl-Alma*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 181, Aug. 1964).The idea of Ḳīzīl-Alma being situated in Dāghistān as the furthest point of Muslim expansion has persisted in the oral tradition of Eastern Anatolia among the residents of Kars, Ardahan, Kağızman and both parts of Ādharbāydjān. The legendary place is mentioned in the 18th century by two poets from the fringes of the Caucasus. The one, ʿĀshīḳ Ṣafī, speaks of it in a song composed to celebrate an expedition of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) against the Russians in Dāghistān (see F. Çelik, *op. cit.*). But drawing on information given by a certain Bahrām of Damascus in his geographical work which was translated from Latin (Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye Library, ms. 2996), Çelik suggests that the country of the Khazars was called Ḳīzīl-Alma since the 4th/10th century.

A popular legend, which probably rose in the oral tradition of the Janissaries, has survived in written recensions. One version is dated 13 Shaʿbān 1084/23 November 1673 and is found in the National Library at Ankara ("cönk" collection, No. 72). A second, dated 15 Djumādā II 1179/29 November 1765 is in a collection of folk narratives from manuscripts brought together by P. N. Borotav. The narrative is written in the form of a letter and it combines the motif of "Ḳīzīl-Alma, the ultimate goal of the Ottoman conquests" with that of a Christian king who, having been vanquished and wounded by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was plunged into a deep sleep, and is waiting for a favourable day to revive and to take his revenge on the Muslims. In this version of the legend, an attempt can be seen at an identification and a localisation, which has ended in contradiction and anachronism. The Christian king is called Rum Papa "The Pope of Rome", so Ḳīzīl-Alma is thus being identified with Rome. But the narrative also locates the same legendary place at Bec (Vienna), and links this legend with the account of the Ottoman raid carried out during the reign of Süleymān II in 1532 by the historical person Ḳāsīm Voyvoda (see P. N. Borotav, in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, IVe section, 1966-7, 263-4). The motif of the resurrection of a king is certainly Christian and probably Byzantine. It is linked with the cycle of pseudo-prophecies at the end of the period of Turkish domination (Deny, *op. cit.*), but later on it must have been integrated into Turkish tradition.

Oral versions of this narrative are still being told today. The present writer has recorded five versions in Turkish folklore (1) Ispartalı Hakkı, *Köyümden geliyorum*, Ankara 1971, 34-5 (the material in this book dates from 1916); (2) H. I. Erginol, in *Gediz*, No. 33 (1944)—cf. P. N. Borotav, in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxviii (1958), 16; (3) Kurt Bittel, *Legenden vom Kerkenes-Dağ (Kapadokien)*, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1960), 33; (4) a version noted by Boratav in the villages of Han Köy and Ak-Dere (Afyon province) in 1950; and (5) a version noted by Oğuz Tansel in the village of Meyre (near Bozkır, Konya province). The two last versions are part of Borotav's own manuscript collection and are ununpublished. A Greek version from Asia Minor has also been recorded; it comes from a village in the region of Ephesus (see Dido Sotiriou, *D'un jardin d'Anatolie*, a novel translated from Modern Greek, Paris 1965, 22). For an Arabic version, see Yakoub Artin Pacha, *Seize haddouta, contes populaires racontés au Caire*, Cairo 1903, 11-12.

Bibliography: A full bibliography is provided by J. Deny and E. Rossi in their articles. Apart from works cited in the article, see for the motif of the Ḳīzīl-Elma Elmas Yılmaz, *Kızıl-Elma efsanesi* in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 146, Sept. 1961. (P. N. Boratav)

ḲĪZĪL-IRMĀḲ (T. "Red River"), the ancient Halys ("Ἅλυς) or Alys ("Ἄλυς), the largest river in Asia Minor. It rises in the mountains which separate the *wilāyet* of Sīwās from that of Erzerūm, waters the towns of Zarra (4,530 feet high) and Sīwās (4,160 feet high), then enters the province of Anḳara where it meets the mountain of Ardjīsh and the Ḳodja Dāgh range which force it to make an immense detour of over 160 miles. Its course is at first south-east, then it turns northwards, and finally it reaches the Black Sea below Bāfrā in the middle of marshes. It is nearly 600 miles long. Its waters, of a dark yellow colour when they are in flood, diminish enormously in the summer; its bed is wide and its banks high. Its principal right-bank tributaries are the Khān-ṣūyu and the Delidje-Čay; those on the left are the Ṣārūmṣāḳ-Čay which flows by Ḳaysariyye, the Dewrek-Čay from Ṭosya, the Gök-Irmāḳ which comes from the Ighāz-Dāgh (the ancient Olgassus) and waters the town of Ḳasṭamūni [*q.v.*]. According to Strabo (xii, 561), the river Halys ('Ἁλύς) took its name from the mines of rocksalt, the product of which was exported in the form of large blocks; these mines thirty miles to the north of Yūzghād (Yozgat) near the village of Ṣārī-Ḳāmish, are worked among the red sandstone, covered with clay and marl of a reddish colour; this soil washed down by the heavy rains gives the river a reddish colour, whence its name.

In ancient times, this river marked the boundary between the autochthonous peoples of Asia and those who had come from Europe to colonise the country. Herodotos (i, 72) makes it a frontier between Lydia and Media. It seems to have been known to the Arabs by its ancient name, if it is this river that is referred to by the name *Ālis* in a verse of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*[2], iii, text, 45, tr. 109, gives by mistake "Alous", an error reproduced by Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, ii, 221).

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djewād, *Djughrāfiyā lughātī*, 609; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 626; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 538; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 19, 272, 639, iv, 433; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, i, 183 ff. (Cl. Huart*)

ḲĪZĪL-ḲUM (T. "Red sand"), a desert between the Sīr-Daryā and Āmū-Daryā rivers [*qq. v.*, and also ḲARĀ-ḲUM], falling within the modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan SSRs. The country is less uniform, especially in the central part, than in the Ḳarā-Ḳum; the sand desert is crossed by several ranges of hills, and in some places is rocky. The Ḳīzīl-

Kum becomes more and more inhospitable as one goes southwards. The region called Adam-Kïrïlghan ("where man perishes") between the Āmū-Daryā and the cultivated region of Bukhārā, consisting of sandhills (*barkhān*), is considered especially uninviting and dangerous. In summer, there is absolutely no life in the desert; in the winter, there is vegetation, such as the *saksaul* shrub, and a few springs and wells are visited by Kazakh nomads. Schuyler noted that "Kirghiz" (sc. Kazakh) nomads crossed into the Kïzïl-Kum from north of the Sïr-Daryā on the river ice and returned in the spring when there were still ice floes in the river. Moreover, the mediaeval Islamic sources show that the winter, when the desert was carpeted with snow, was normally the time for military and other movements across the Kïzïl-Kum. Thus the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī noted that it was the absence of snow which prevented the Oghuz ruler of Djand, Shāh Malik, from restraining the rebel in Khwārazm Hārūn and his Saldjūḳ allies from invading Khurāsān in spring 426/1035 (*Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 683-4); and in the 6th/12th century the raids of the Khwārazm-Shāhs to Djand and against the Ḳïpčaḳ were always made in winter [see DJAND in Suppl.]. At the south-eastern extremity of the Kïzïl-Kum lay the Ḳaṭwān Steppe, to the north of the Samarḳand-Khudjand road, where in 536/1141 Sultan Sandjar was defeated by the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy [*q.v.*]. In recent times, the desert sands have encroached on the cultivated fringes, and in the later 19th century several villages on the lower course of the Zarafshān river became buried in the sands.

Bibliography: E. Schuyler, *Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 68-9; W. Moralskiy, *Turkestanskiy krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, 25 ff.; F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, 286 ff.; V. Peltz, *Očerk yuznïkh Ḳïzïl-Ḳumov*, Samarḳand 1912.

(W. BARTHOLD - C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲIZIL-ÜZEN (in Āzerī Turkish "Red River"), the ancient Amardus, a river which flows through Ādharbāydjān and enters the Caspian Sea forty miles east of Sefīd-Rūd, "White River", at its junction with the river Shāh-Rūd at Mendjil. Its source lies in the province of Ārdilān, and it begins by crossing 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī to the north; its right-bank tributary is the Zandjān, on the left it receives the Ḳara-göl at Miyāne, then it runs along the southern slopes of Elburz, describing a great arc 125 miles long and crosses this range through the defile of Rūdbār and the narrow valley of Rustamābād, a kind of couloir through which rush violent winds from the south in winter and from the Caspian in summer. It was known to the Arabs as Nahr al-Abyaḍ "White River" (tr. of the Persian *Sefīd-Rūd*) (cf. Dimashḳī, *Cosmography*, tr. Mehren, 145); at one time the Turks called it the Hūlān (Ḥādjdjī Khālifa, *Djihān-numā*, 304).

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular poetry of Persia*, 479, No. 2; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, i, 75 ff.; Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, x, 64; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii, 98; H. L. Rabino, in *RMM*, xxxii, (1915-6), 262-3; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 169; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 217; M. de Kotzebue, *Voyage en Perse*, Fr. tr., Paris 1819, 186 (view of the bridge of Ḳaplān-tāgh as frontispiece); Fr. Sarre, *Reise von Ardebil nach Zendschan*, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, xlv (1899), 215-17.

(CL. HUART)

KIZIMKAZI, in full, KIZIMKAZI-DIMBANI, a small hamlet in south-west Zanzibar situated in lat. 6° 26l S, which possesses the earliest datable mosque in East Africa. Its *miḥrāb* has a dedicatory Kūfic inscription recording its foundation by Shaykh Abū 'Imrān Mūsā al-Ḥasan Muḥammad in 500/1106-7. This is flanked by Ḳur'ānic verses and two inscriptions in roundels, all of great elegance. The nearest analogy is with a grave cover found at Sīrāf: the *ensemble* was either imported from there or executed in Zanzibar by a Sīrāfī mason. This Persian connection accords with traditions of trading relations attested by inscriptions in Somalia and by the Kilwa histories. Otherwise, the mosque is an undistinguished rectangular structure. H. N. Chittick excavated it and the adjacent site in 1960. The hutted settlement dates from the 11th century or earlier: a ruined stone house and defensive enclosures are probably 18th century, when, as is commemorated by another inscription dated 1184/1772-3, the mosque and *miḥrāb* were largely rebuilt, the earlier inscriptions being incorporated into the fresh structure. An oral tradition claims that it was the capital of Bakari, a 17th century Swahili ruler of southern Zanzibar, but this seemingly contradicts the archaeological evidence; the fortified residence and the rebuilding of the mosque are more congruent with the 18th century development of the eastern African slave trade.

Bibliography: *Chrónica dos reyes de Quiloa*, *apud* J. de Barros, *Da Ásia*, (1552), ed. A. Baião, Coimbra 1932; *History of Kilwa* (Arabic text), ed. S. A. Strong, in *JRAS* (1895); S. Flury, *The Kufic inscriptions of the Kizimkazi mosque*, in *JRAS* (1922); H. N. Chittick, *Preliminary report on the excavations at Kizimkazi Dimbani*, in *Annual report of the Antiquities Division, Tanganyika*, 1960, Dar es Salaam 1962; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa Island*, 1965; idem and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); P. M. Garlake, *The early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*, 1966; W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, its history and its people*, 1931; anon., *Zanzibar guide*, Govt. Printer, Zanzibar 1952; D. B. Whitehouse, *Excavations at Sīrāf*, in *Iran*, vii (1969), 62 and pl. VIII.

(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

KĪZKĀHĀN [see KILĀT].

KĪZLAR AGHASĪ [see ḳïz].

ḲOČ ḤIṢĀR, a name of several towns and villages in Asia Minor, derived from Ḳodja-Ḥiṣar; compare such names as Ḳoč Ḥiṣārï, Ḳoyun Ḥiṣārï, Ḳoyul Ḥiṣārï, Keči Ḥiṣārï and Ṭoḳlu Ḥiṣārï. Confusion is often prevented by the addition of the name of the nearby provincial capital or of another word, e.g. Čankïrï Ḳoč-Ḥiṣārï, Sherefli Ḳoč Ḥiṣār. For the same reason, the toponyms of places with this name have been changed in recent times.

I. SHEREFLI ḲOČ ḤIṢĀRÏ (in modern usage *Şerefli Koçhisarı*, centre of an *ilçe* (previously *ḳaḍā'*) formerly called Esb-keshān, in central Anatolia nowadays within the *il* (*wilāyet*) of Ankara (formerly of Konya), 8 km east of the northeastern shores of the Tuz Gölü [*q.v.*]. The town is situated on the road connecting Ankara with Adana via Aksaray, nowadays a major line of communication. The countryside around it is watered by a mountain stream and yields a varied agricultural produce; there is also sheep-raising. Since ancient times salt has been produced at Kaldırım on the lake. In 1950 Şereflikoçhisar town had a population of 4,458 and the

ilçe (then called a *kaza*) one of 46,300, the latter including within its boundaries 97 villages.

Bibliography: B. Darkot art. s.v. in *İA*; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegennetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, i, Table 6*; *Ankara il yıllığı*, Ankara 1967; İ. H. Konyalı, *Şereflikoçhisar tarihi*, 1971.

II. Čankïrï Ḳoč Ḥiṣārï, in modern usage Çankırı Koç Hisar, since *ca.* 1923 centre of an *ilçe* (*ḳaḍā*ʾ) in the *il* (*wilāyet*) of Çankırı (Čanḳïrï [*q.v.*], Ḳānghrï before 1925) in central Anatolia, nowadays called Ilgaz. In the 19th century it was a *nāḥiye* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳānghrï, in the *wilāyet* of Anadolu, and since 1864 in that of Kastamonu. Situated in the valley of the River Devrez (= Devrek) on the southern slopes of the Ilgaz Mountains at an altitude of 905m. the town is an agricultural market centre, lying near the crossroads of the routes from Ankara to Kastamonu via Çankırı and of that from Istanbul via Bolu and Tosya to Erzurum and the east. Islamisation came after the conquest by the Dānishmend *amīrs* in *ca.* 468/1075. Afterwards the region became part of the dominions of the Isfendiyāroghlu [*q.v.*] or Djandārid dynasty of Kastamonu (Ḳaṣṭamūnī [*q.v.*]). The Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I took it in 795/1393. After the invasion and restoration of the amīrates in Anatolia by Tīmūr (after 804/1402), Ḳoč Ḥiṣār definitively became Ottoman territory in 855/1451. It then became an important halting-stage in the Ottoman network of routes of the so-called "left wing" (*sol ḳol*) of Anatolia. In 1950 the town of Ilgaz itself had a population of 1,783, and the *ilçe* (then called a *kaza*) one of 24,800, the latter including in its boundaries 76 villages.

Bibliography: [R. Bozkurt] *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kollar ulak ve fase menzilleri*, Ankara 1966, 12, 15, 22 and map; *Çankırı il yıllığı 1967*, Ankara 1967; R. Leonhard, *Paphlagonia. Reisen und Forschungen im nordlichen Kleinasien*, Berlin 1915, 69, 122 f., 391, 398; F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, i, 26, 198, table 26; O. Yalçın, *Çankırı*, Istanbul 1961; Y.Yücel, *Kastamonu'nun ilk fethine Kadar Osmanlı-Candar münasebetleri*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* (1963), i.

III. Ḳočḥiṣār (Sivas) nowadays Hafik, centre of an *ilçe* in the province of Sivas situated on the old main road and caravan route from Sīwās to Erzindjan [*q.vv.*] and the East 37 km. N.E. of Sivas on the right bank of the Ḳïzïl-Irmaḳ at an altitude of 1340 m. The population of the town in 1970 numbered 3,156. Nearby is Lake Todurgha (Tödürge, now Kaz Gölü or Demiryurt Gölü). Ḳočḥiṣār is identical with Ḥāfīk Ḳalʿesi (Ḥāwīk), a stronghold of some importance during the amīrate of Sivas of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. In the 19th century the town had a mixed Armenian and Turkish population.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 695; B. Darkot, art. *Sivas* in *İA*, with list of older sources; H. W. Duda, ed. and tr., *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959, 248 and n.b.; F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, ii, 2 f., 11 n. 1, 3, table 36; Y. Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti* (*1344-1398*), Ankara 1970, 32 f., 45 f., 52, 73.

IV. Ḳočḥiṣār (Mardin) nowadays called Kızıltepe, the centre of an *ilçe* of the province of Mardin in southeastern Turkey (*Djazīra*) on the Zerkan Suyu, a tributary of the Khābūr, to the south-west of the city of Mārdīn [*q.v.*]. Its population numbered 16,376 in 1970. In early Islamic times this, Ḳočḥiṣār was called Dunaysir (Dunaysar) [*q.v.*]. During the rule of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*], the town was an important caravan centre, and a medical school existed here. The present ruins of the Ulu Djāmiʿ are a monument of that period (*ca.* 601/1204-5). At the time of Sultan Selīm I's campaigns against the Ṣafawids, an Ottoman army commanded by Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr, defeated a Persian force under Ḳarakhān Ustādjalū near the town in 922/1516. Afterwards the whole region came under Ottoman rule, with Mārdīn as a *sandjaḳ* (*liwā*) of the new *eyālet* (*beglerbegilik*) of Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*]. Ḳočḥiṣār was a part of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Mārdīn in 924/1518 and remained a subdivision of that district, being a *nāḥiye* of the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn during the 19th and 20th centuries and a *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the *wilāyet* of Mārdīn since the Republic was founded.

In 1766 the well known traveller Carsten Niebuhr visited Kočḥiṣār ("Kodsje hissar" in Arabic "Gunāssar" or "Dunāssar"), finding five minarets still standing (cf. *Reize naar Arabie*, Amsterdam-Utrecht 1776-80, ii, 366-7).

Bibliography: *Dunaysar Taʾrīkhi*, MS by Ilalmish ʿÖmer b. Durmush al-Turkī, cited by O. Turan, *Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk-Islam medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, Istanbul 1969², 283, 293, 367; İ. Artuk, *Dunaysır'da Artukoğullarının Ulu Camii*, in *Belleten*, x (1946), 167-9; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 191; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, i, 378 (view of Ḳočḥiṣār in 1826); N. Göyünç, *XVI. yüzyılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 18, 25 f., 30, 39, 62-72, 75, 115; *Sālnāme-i wilāyet-i Diyārbekir 1308, 13 Defʿa*, Diyārbekir 1308/1890, 127.

V. Ḳočḥiṣār also Ḳodja Ḥiṣār, identical with the Byzantine fortress of Trikokkia in the Sakarya region to the south-east of Iznīḳ [*q.v.*]. This place was conquered by Sultan Orkhān [*q.v.*] in 708/1308 (713/1313).

Bibliography: İ. H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, 8; D. E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 37; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1972³, 110 and n. 1. (A. H. de Groot)

ḲOČI BEG, also called Göridjeli Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Beg, Ottoman writer of treatises on statecraft.

Ḳoči Beg was a native of Göridje (Gorča, Korytza) in Macedonia. He entered the Palace service as a *devshirme* [*q.v.*] during the reign of Aḥmed I and served under successive sultans until his retirement to his native place in the early years of Meḥemmed IV's reign. He seems never to have served in any capacity outside the Palace. He gained the especial confidence of Murād IV and Ibrāhīm, and it is for his memoranda to these sultans that he is famous. He was also tutor to the historian Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] (for a full biographical account see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *İA* art. *Koçi Beg*).

Ḳoči Beg's best-known work is his *Risāle*, presented to Murād IV in 1040/1630, where he analyses the causes of Ottoman decline and suggests remedies. There are several printed editions of the work: Aḥmed Vefīḳ Pasha (ed.), *Ḳoči beg risālesi*, London 1279/1862-3, Istanbul 1303/1885-6; A. K. Aksüt, *Koçi bey risalesi* (in Latin script), Istanbul 1939; German translation by W. F. A. Behrnhauer, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 272 ff., with comments by Fleischer in *ZDMG*, xvi (1862), 271. The work is summarised in J. von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 291. A second *risāle* attributed to Ḳoči Beg was apparently compiled from memoranda submitted to Sultan Ibrāhīm on that Sultan's order. There is no critical edition of the work. The first published version is an incomplete but fairly full

German translation by Behrnhauer, entitled *Das Naṣîḥatnâme*, in *ZDMG*, xviii (1864), 699 ff., based on manuscripts now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Mix. 477, A. F. 188, Hist. Osman. 150). The translator states that the author is anonymous. The second published edition is in A. K. Aksüt, *op. cit.*, 78 ff. (in Latin script), based on a manuscript in Millet Library, Istanbul, no. 474. In a third published edition, based on a manuscript in Nuruosmaniye Library, no. 4950, the editor attributes the *risāle* to the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Ķara Muṣṭafā Pasha (F. R. Unat, *Sadrazam Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa lâyihasi*, in *TV*, ii, no. 6, 443 ff.). There are divergences between the published versions and between them and other existing mss. (for details and discussion, see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Koçi Bey'in Sultan Ibrahim'e takdim ettiği risale ve arzlar*, in *Z. V. Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 177 ff.).

The contents of Ķoči Beg's *risāle* presented to Murād IV resemble those of an earlier analysis of Ottoman decline, the anonymous *Kitāb-i müsteṭāb*, (ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1974) and are entirely conservative in outlook. The spread of corruption, he argued, had brought about a decline in the old institutions and bred disrespect for the *sharīʿa* and old laws (*ķānūn* [*q.v.*]). Remove corruption, restore respect for the *sharīʿa* and *ķānūn*, and the Empire would return to its former glory. In the old days before the reign of Süleymān I, the sultan had attended the *Dīwān* personally. Süleymān had abandoned this practice. Before the year 982/1574-5 the Grand Vizier had been independent, with no intermediary between him and the sultan. The sultan's favourites (*nüdemāʾ*) had never interfered in affairs of state. Bribery was unknown and *begs* were never unjustly dismissed. There was strict control over the emoluments of Palace officials and they never received lands whose rightful use was as *timars* or *zeʿāmets* [*qq.v.*].

After 982/1574-5 Palace officials and Sultan's favourites were able to engineer the dismissal of Grand Viziers, *beglerbegis* and *sandjaķ begis* and acquire lands rightfully allocated to timariots, as freeholdings (*temlik*) or fief-holdings (*pashmaķlıķ*, *arpalıķ*). As a result, the state lost its worthiest officers and no longer had the timariots available for war. A similar decline occurred in the *ʿilmiyye* hierarchy. After 1003/1594-5 *sheykhülislāms*, *ķāḍī ʿaskers* and *ķāḍīs* [*qq.v.*] frequently suffered wrongful dismissal. *Mulāzemets* and *ķāḍī*-ships were offered for sale, allowing ignorant men to enter the profession. Promotion, too, had come to depend on age, rather than ability. In the old days, the *ʿulemāʾ* had been upright men. Because they had feared God, the people had feared them, and the integrity of the *sharīʿa* had been preserved.

The *timar*-system had underlain the Empire's former military strength. In 992/1584-5, however, Özdemir-oghlı ʿOthmān Pasha had allocated *timars* to deserving *reʿāyā*. After him, the principle was extended, and unworthy *reʿāyā* and Palace nominees had received *timars*. These made bad and rebellious troops. Few bothered to present themselves for campaigns. Many had contradictory *berāts* [*q.v.*], giving rise to disputes and a decline in the respect due to the sultan's decrees. Finally, the abolition of the *yürüks* and *müsellems*, who had acted as a pioneer corps on campaigns, meant that the timariots, the picked troops of Islam, now had to perform menial tasks. The Janissaries and other *ķapıķulu* corps [see ORDU] had also become corrupt. It was again Özdemir-oghlı ʿOthmān Pasha who, in 992/1584, had admitted suitable non-*ķuls* into these corps, and after 1003/1594-5 this had become a flood. The *devshirme* system broke down; tradesmen and others secured posts lawfully due only to *ķuls*, and admitted their relatives to the corps. The number of so-called *ķuls* increased enormously, many of them retiring early without performing their military or other duties, and consequently they became a heavy burden on the treasury. Previously, they had resided only in Istanbul, Edirne and intermediate villages. They now resided throughout the empire, often exercising dictatorial powers in a region.

The swollen number of *ķuls*, together with a decline in *khāṣṣ-i hümāyūn* lands [see KHĀṢṢA], which had either passed to enemies or else been allocated as *pashmaķlıķ*, *waķf* or vizier's *khāṣṣ*, meant a vastly increased burden of taxation on the *reʿāyā*. The sale of tax-collecting rights exacerbated the situation. Excessive taxation had impoverished the *reʿāyā* and this, in turn, led to insufficient treasury revenue. This led to military weakness which undermined the authority of the sultan. The result was internal dissension and military defeat.

Ķoči Beg's remedy for the decline was as conservative as his analysis of its causes: a return to the imagined perfections of the era before Süleyman I. Bribery should be removed by restoring the independence of the Grand Vizier and neutralising the influence of Palace favourites in affairs of state; by keeping *begs* in their posts without fear of unjust dismissal; by dismissing ignorant *ʿulemāʾ* and replacing them with learned men; by distributing *timars* only to men worthy to receive them, and ceasing the practice of distributing *timar*-lands as *pashmaķlıķ*, *waķf* or other form of tenure. Only *beglerbegis* should appoint timariots. They should make a roll-call (*yoķlama*) of present incumbents in their provinces (*eyālet*), renewing the *berāts* of qualified timariots and removing the unqualified. *Ķuls* with high pay should receive *zeʿāmets*, thus creating a warrior's fief (*ķılıč*) and removing a burden from the treasury. Able-bodied timariots should serve on campaigns with the number of retainers (*djebelü*) which the old *ķānūns* specify. This would produce 400,000 to 500,000 troops and provide a counterbalance to the influence of the *ķapıķulus*. Similarly, all innovations (*bidʿat*) in the Janissary and other *ķapıķulu* corps which contravene the old *ķānūns* should be abolished. There should be a graduation (*čıķma*) from the Palace once in every seven years, and at these times the *ķapıķulu* corps should receive only enough recruits to replace dead members. Officers (*ḍābiṭ*) of these corps should never be unjustly deposed.

Ķoči Beg's second *risāle* is a straightforward description of various state institutions and governmental practices, interspersed with political maxims. Its purpose was to guide the new and totally inexperienced sultan, Ibrāhīm, and its language, in accordance with that ruler's mental capacities, is extremely simple (see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *İbrahim*, and IBRĀHĪM).

Bibliography: apart from works mentioned above, see also: V. D. Smirnov, *Kočybeg Gümüldzinskii* (*sic*) *i drugie osmanskie pisateli XVII. vêka*, St. Petersburg 1873 (Turkish text with Russian tr.); Zuhuri Danişman, *Koçi Bey risalesi*, Istanbul 1972 (introd. and modern Turkish tr.); Meḥmed Süreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 63; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1334/1915-16, iii, 119 ff.; F. Babinger,

Geschichtsschreiber, 184 ff., 414 ff.; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in mediaeval Islam*, Cambridge 1968, 226-7. (C. H. Imber)

ĶODJA ELI, modern Turkish Kocaeli: a region between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, covering a part of ancient Bithynia with its centre Izmīd [*q.v.*] (ancient Nicomedia), and the name of a *sandjaķ* of the Ottoman empire. Nowadays it is the name of a province (*il*) of Turkey (population 385,408 in 1970), with Izmit as its capital. In 1954 the eastern part of the province Kocaeli was separated to form the Sakarya (Saķārya) province with its capital Adapazarı. Since this administrative reform, Kocaeli has comprised the *ilces* (formerly *ķaḍā*'s) of (Izmit-) Merkez, Gebze, Kandıra, Gölçük (before 1936, Değirmendere) and Karamürsel. The province is traversed by the main route of communication between Istanbul and Ankara and the East, nowadays by the Anatolian railway (since 1873) and the motorway No. 1/E5. Modern industries have been founded along the Gulf of Izmit (Izmit Körfezi) in the Republican period, complementing the already existing ones (e.g. the Imperial Ottoman textile and carpet factory at Hereke). Thanks to the large forests prevailing in the region (in 1970 42,1 % of the area was still considered as forestland), the province became a centre for shipbuilding already in ancient times (cf. the mediaeval type of (rowing- and sailing) transport vessel, *Caramusali*, Turkish *Karamürsel*, called after the port of Karamürsel).

The Gulf of Izmit was a base area of the Ottoman navy from the 10th/16th century onwards. A dockyard and naval establishment existed at Izmit till World War I. Since 1926 Gölcük has been one of the main bases of the modern Turkish navy.

Ķodja Eli was one of the earliest Ottoman *sandjaķs*, formed during the reign of Orkhān in the years 1327-38. Its name is derived from that of one of the *ghāzī* leaders of the first two Ottoman rulers Aķčaķodja, who with Ķara Mürsel and Ķonur Alp first raided this then Byzantine region, and was buried on Baba Tepe near Ķandīra in 728/1327. During the Ottoman interregnum 1402-13 the Byzantines were able to regain their territory, but in 1419 Timūrtāshoghlu Umur Beg reconquered Ķodja Eli definitively for the Ottoman Sultan. Before the end of the 10th/16th century, the *sandjaķ* became part of the *eyālet* of the *ķapudān pasha* and its *sandjaķ-begi* a commander of a naval squadron. In 1867, within the framework of the new system of provincial administration, Ķodja Eli was incorporated in the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*]. From 1888 till the end of the Ottoman period it became the independent *sandjaķ* (*mutaṣarrīflīķ*) of Izmīd, with the 5 *ķaḍā*'s of Adapazari, Ķandīra, Geyve, Karamürsel and Izmīd-Merķez. In *ca.* 1890, V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 303 ff., 371) estimated the population of the *sandjaķ* at 223,000, of which 129,000 were Muslims, 49,000 Armenians, 41,000 Greeks and 2,500 Jews.

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(A. H. de Groot)

KŌHĀT (P., "mountains"), a directly-administered District of what was the North West Frontier Province of British India and of Pakistan till 1955, covering some 2,694 sq. miles and with its administrative centre at the town of Kōhāt. The District is bounded by the Khyber Agency [see khaybar Pass] on the north, by the Kurram and North Wāziristān Agencies in the west, by the Bannū District [*q.v.*] on the south, and by the Indus River and the ʿĪsā Khēl *taḥṣīl* of the Pandjāb on the east.

The terrain of the District is that of a rugged tableland lying at an average of 2,000 ft., with low ranges of arid hills which rise to 3,000-4,000 ft., and with more fertile valley bottoms in which agriculture, sometimes by irrigation, is possible; the climate shows considerable variations in temperature and rainfall averages only 15 inches per annum. The region is connected with the Kabul River valley and the Khyber region by the Kōhāt Pass, called locally the *Darra* (2,866 ff.), whose control was in British times much disputed by the local Afrīdī tribesmen; the area round the Pass, a strip of unadministered territory, has for long been the site of a flourishing Afrīdī gun-making factory. An important commodity of the Teri village neighbourhood of Kōhāt has always been rock salt, of which there are extensive deposits at Bahādur Khēl; until recent years, these were owned by the *Nawāb* or titular head of the Khaṭak tribes. The Government of India's increase of the tax on Kōhāt salt in 1896 to a level with that on cis-Indus salt was one of the pretexts for the tribal rising along the Frontier in 1897.

The population of the District is essentially Pathan, mainly of the Bangash in the western parts, the Khaṭak [*q.v.*] in the eastern tracts down to the Indus shores, the Orakzay and Ādam Khēl Afrīdīs in the northern parts, and the Niāzīs along the Indus in the south of the district; of these, the Bangash speak the northeastern or "hard" variety of Pashto, and the Khaṭak and Niāzī the southwestern or "soft" one [see afghān, iii. The Pashto language].

The Khaṭak seem to have moved into Kōhāt from the west in the 8th/14th century, whilst the Bangash entered the district in the following century as allies of the Khaṭak against the Orakzay. The Mughal adventurer Bābur [*q.v.*] made his first foray into India in 910/1505 down the Kabul River valley to Peshāwar, then into Kōhāt and Bannū and through the Deradjāat to the Indus; he scattered the local Pathans, and built towers of skulls of the slain in Kōhāt (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, 230-2). In 1029/1620 the Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr's general Mahābat Khān [*q.v.*] campaigned in Kōhāt against the Rōshaniyya sectaries [*q.v.*] amongst the local Pathans.

In the early 19th century, Peshāwar, Kōhāt, Bannū and the Deradjāt came under the control of the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, Randjit Singh, although Sikh authority was contested by the local tribes. The British envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone passed through Kōhāt in early 1809 on his way to the Durrānī court in Kābul, and waxed lyrical about the green valleys and the fruits of "Cohaut" (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*[2], London 1842, i, 49 ff., ii, 50-1). After the downfall of the Sikh empire

and the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849, the British penetrated through the low Khaṭak hills and Kōhāt to the Kurram River valley at Thāl. The regions of Peshāwar, Kōhāt and Hazāra were then briefly placed directly under the Board of Administration for the Pandjāb. In 1876 these three northern regions of the Frontier were formed into the Commissionership of Peshāwar. Then after the frontier tribal wars of the late 1890s and in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the North West Frontier Province was formed in 1901 as an administrative unit separate from the Pandjāb, with Kōhāt as one of its four trans-Indus districts; Kōhāt District itself comprised the three *taḥṣīls* of Kōhāt, Terī and Hangū. A road was made in 1901-2 connecting Peshāwar and Kōhāt via the Pass, and a narrow-gauge railway was also begun to connect Khushḥālgaṛh on the Indus with Kohāt town, Hangū and Thāl, thereby stimulating local trade with Tīrāh and Kābul. Kohāt town had already become an important garrison centre from which control was exercised over the turbulent Pathan tribes, and Sir Louis Cavagnari, who for more than a decade had been Deputy Commissioner in Kōhāt, had built himself a fine official residence there.

During the inter-war period, Kōhāt was, with Peshāwar, Bannū and other parts of the Frontier, the scene of disturbances caused by the political movement of the *Khidmatgārān* or "Redshirts" of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān. The postpartition position has not been greatly altered since British days. The District continues to be divided into three *taḥṣīls*, with the names Kōhāt, Hangū and Karak; Kōhāt town is an important military base for the Pakistan Army and there is also a military airfield. A plan for a barrage across the Toi River, the "Banda Tanda Dam", in order to harness flood waters, has long been mooted. The 1961 census enumerated a total population for the District, including the attached tribal areas in the north, of 627,795, a 45 % increase since 1951, with a population for Kōhāt town and cantonment of 75,000.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-**KŌHĒN** AL-**ʿAṬṬĀR**, Abu 'l-Munā (Dāwūd) b. Abī Naṣr b. Ḥaffāẓ al-Isrāʾīlī al-Hārūnī, Jewish pharmacist who in 658/1260 wrote in Cairo "for himself and his son" a pharmacopoeia under the title (changing slightly in the manuscripts) *Minhādj al-dukkān wa-dustūr al-aʿyān fī tarkīb al-adwiya al-nāfiʿa li'l-abdān*, which became very widely spread. About his life almost nothing is known, and his relation to Abū Manṣūr Sulaymān b. Ḥaffāẓ al-Kōhēn, the author of a *muntakhab* from which al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār quotes, is uncertain (see Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 233 f.; M. Plessner, in *Oriens* xxiii-xxiv [1970-1], 454. The *Minhādj* has the following 25 chapters: 1. The duties of the pharmacist. 2. Drinks (*ca.* 1/6 of the whole work). 3. Concentrated fruit-syrups. 4. Preserved fruits. 5. Pastes. 6. Electuaries. 7. Powder. 8. Lozenges. 9. Remedies to be sucked. 10. Pills. 11. "Hallowed substances" (*iyāradjāt*). 12. Eye-powder. 13. Eye-salves. 14. Pomades. 15. Oils, etc. 16. Plaster. 17. Tooth-powder. 18. Suppositories. 19. Compresses, settings, sternutatories. 20. Substitutive drugs. 21. List of simple drugs. 22. Apothecaries' measures and weights. 23. Admonitions for a sensible way of living. 24. Professional instructions. 25. Test of the usefulness of the simple and the composite drugs. At the end, the author promises a monograph on generally-known simple drugs, which was probably not written.

Thus the work is a typical dispensatorium (*aḳrābādhīn*, from Greek γραφίδιον via Syriac *graphīdhīn*), in which, after the Galenic example, the composite drugs (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are grouped according to classes (κατὰ γένη). In the present work, the simple drugs (*al-adwiya al-adwiya al-mufrada*), usually dealt with in separate works, have equally been treated from certain view-points in chapters 21, 24 and 25. The recipes are partly of the author himself, but the majority come from sources mentioned by name. Most conspicious among the latter are the *Dustūr al-bīmāristānī* of Ibn Abī 'l-Bayān [*q.v.*], teacher and somewhat older contemporary of al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār, and the *Irshād* of Ibn Djumayʿ al-Isrāʾīlī, another pupil of Ibn Abī 'l-Bayān. In the introduction, al-Kōhēn claims to be the first to compose an extended pharmacopeia especially for chemists; the earlier ones, Ibn Abī 'l-Bayān's book included, are said to have been written for physicians in the traditional manner. This specialisation has possibly been one of the reasons for the wide dissemination of the work, a second one apparently being the very conveniently arranged survey of the current measures and weights (ch. 22), which must have met a generally felt need. For an officially-regulated standard did not exist, and the units of measures, so countlessly varying, were overseen with more or less care by the *muḥtasib* only. A third reason for the popularity of the work may have been its useful indications for the chemist's profession (purchase, efficient storage, cleaning, protection of the drugs against blight etc., chapter 24). Finally, the abundant use of popular Arabo-Egyptian names of drugs made the work easily accessible to every user.

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KOIL [see KOYL].

AL-**KŌHĪN** [see AL-KŪHĪN].

KÖKBÜRI [see BEGTEGĪNIDS].

KOKČA [see BADAKHSHĀN].

ḲŌMIS [see ḲŪMIS].

KOMOTEN [see GÜMÜLDJINE in Suppl.].

KONAKRY (usual orthography, Conakry), capital of the Republic of Guinea.

With its site fixed in the tables of latitudes of Ptolemy, Konakry has only been regularly inhabited since the second half of the 18th century. It is situated on the west coast of Africa in lat. 9° 31′ N. and long. 13° 43′ W., and occupies three distinct natural sites: part of the Kaloum peninsula, the island of Tumbo and the archipelago of Loos. Manga Damba, chief of the Susu people, founded Kaporo there in 1780, after having subjugated the Baga and the Mandenyi. The Loos islands, originally occupied by the Portuguese (Los Idolhos), were occupied by Britain in 1848. After the "Mulatto War" of 1865-70, there were four villages, sc. Kaporo, Bulbinet, Tumbo and Camayenne, which were placed together at the time of the first French post's foundation, when the corvette "Goëland" passed there on 26 January 1887. On 1 August 1889, Conakry became the capital of the colony of the Rivières du Sud and Dependencies, and then in 1890 of French Guinea, of which Ballay was the first governor.

It became the departure-point for roads into the interior after 1895, and then for the Conakry-Niger railway completed in 1914, and the town and its port enjoyed a rapid development facilitated by the filling-in of the Tumbo channel. Its vitality was shown by the increases of population: 13,000 in 1899, 78,000 in 1958 and 250,000 in 1975. The Loos islands were attached to it in 1904, and also the convict settlement of Fotoba, where the Wali of Gumba, Tierno Aliou, leader of the revolt of the Houbbous, died in 1912.

It became a Commune Mixte in 1913, with full powers in 1955, and then on 2 October 1958 Conakry became the capital of the Republic of Guinea. It has 1,853 m. of docks, 10 hectares of platforms, a volume of traffic amounting to 2 1/2 million tonnes and an airport with a 3,300 m. runway; it is thus a lively industrial centre. Despite the ending to the mining of Kaloum's iron deposits in 1966 and the slackening of the exploitation of the bauxite of Kassa, it remains the main outlet of the Fria Company, and also possesses many factories, including for tobacco and matches, furniture, tanning, shoes, plastics, brewing, fruit juice, etc. Since 1963 Conakry has had the Gamal Abdel Nasser Polytechnic Institute, with seven faculties, including one for medicine, and it also has several Écoles Nationales (Arts and Crafts, Meteorology, etc.).

The majority of the population is Muslim (71 % in 1955). The conversion of the Baga and Susu was achieved at the beginning of the 19th century by the Yattara family, the Diulas. Christianity came with the Anglican mission at Fotoba in 1864, and the Catholic mission, which built the cathedral of St. Mary, in 1890. On 18 October 1897 Conakry became an Apostolic prefecture, on 18 April 1920 an Apostolic vicariate, and on 15 September 1955 an Archidioces.The diocese contained 13,400 Roman Catholics in 1965, two-thirds of these in the capital. The strength of Islam is easily discernible from these figures. The main *ṭariḳa* there remains that of the Ḳādiriyya, which resisted the penetration of the Tīdjāniyya in the 19th century under the double influence of the *zāwiya* of Touba and of the Senegalese auxiliary troops of the French who adopted Murīdism. These last built a mosque on the island of Tumbo, still called the Senegalese mosque.

Despite the efforts of Malinka scholars, Wahhābism has remained only embryonic. One should further note a certain persistent strain of animism among the Baga population, characterised till 1963 by the cult of the tree of Bassicole, on the isthmus of Tumbo, cut down then to allow the building of the People's Palace at the expense of the People's Republic of China.

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(J. P. ALATA)

KONG, corruption of *Kpon*, name of a place in the northern part of the Ivory Coast near to the watershed between the basins of the Comoé and that of the Nzi which flows into the Bandama. Kpon was founded in a very ancient period by the Senoufo of the Falafala tribe who to this day have retained their predominant rights over the land, while playing now only an unobtrusive role.

Kong is an illustration of the advance of the Malinka towards the south and towards the regions producing gold and kola. This immigration took place in the period following the 16th century and these Dioula who supposedly came from Macina founded Bobo Dioulasso on their way. Having established themselves in Kong they were reinforced at the beginning of the 18th century by contingents of Sohondji Malinka pagans, with whose help they were able to police the trade-routes. There can be no doubt that it was at the end of the 18th century that a Malinka chief, Sekou Ouattara, whose family was linked with the inhabitants of Boron on the Bandama, united a group of Malinka families coming from the north. From Macina he passed through Dé near Bandiagara, Téwélé near Bobo Dioulasso, then Teninguera near Kong where he ousted a red-haired chieftain named Lassiré Gombélé, taking his place and establishing Islam. Lassiré Gombélé would no doubt have been a Mandé, ruling over the autochthonous Falafala and the Paralha (Koulango).

Sekou Ouattara established his twelve sons so firmly in the villages that when his brother Famarha attempted to gain power, the resistance offered by the sons forced him to leave and to settle in Bobo Dioulasso, opening a long series of quarrels between the two cities.

From the city of Kong the power of this Dioula aristocracy spread throughout the neighbouring country, largely as a result of the superiority of their cavalry. To assure themselves of a supply of remounts, they founded on the Bani the village of *So fara* (stallions).

While the children of Sekou Ouattara received various appanages, the sixth son, Sambakari, at-

tempted to conquer Lobi and spent several years fighting interminable campaigns against the Léa, the Teguessié and the Dian. The authority of the Dioula over the land of Lobi seems to have been purely nominal.

Among campaigns involving external powers, one was repulsed by the *Tondion* of Biton Kouloubali in 1725. Also, the Ashanti army which, according to Bowdich, had reached as far as Kong, was defeated there and its leader injured by a lance-blow at a place which is still pointed out in the vicinity of the town.

Abo (1720-46), the ruler of the Abron, was pursued by the Ashanti king Opokou Ouaré and took refuge in Kong, where the sovereign's mother handed him over to the Ashanti who put him to death.

With its control over the gold and kola routes, the city of Kong took on greater and greater importance, and the authority of the sovereigns extended over the whole of the land from the Comoé to the Marahoué and, towards the Djimini in the south, where the Dioula had constructed terraced dwellings in the Sudanese style. Five mosques with twin pyramid-shaped minarets dominated the quarters of the city.

The military power of Kong depended on contingents of pagan soldiers. But commercial prosperity induced the more gifted elements to turn away from military pursuits, to such an extent that when the Pallaka pagans rebelled and closed their territory to caravan traffic, the punitive expeditions mounted by Kong came to nothing.

Although Mungo Park had heard tell of Kong, it was Binger who, on 20 February 1888, arrived in the town and stayed there until the 11th March. In December of the same year, Treich-Laplène made the sovereign of that time, Karamoko Oule Wattara, sign a treaty placing Kong under French protection. This treaty was signed on 10 January 1889 in the presence of Binger, who had occasion to return to Kong in 1892.

Two years later, Kong was visited by Captain Marchand, *Kpaki Bo* (= "feller of the forest"), who had heard of the threats made by Samori against Kong. It was then that Lt.-Colonel Monteil was recalled to the area; he had been preparing to attempt a regrouping of forces on the Upper Nile. Mustering at Grand Bassam in August 1894, the column encountered the utmost difficulties in making progress. Joining battle with the armies of Samori in March 1895, it was forced to retreat and on 15 May 1897, Samori razed the city to the ground and massacred those of the inhabitants who had not succeeded in escaping towards Bobo-Dioulasso. Only the houses of the Falafala were spared.

In January 1898, a French detachment established a post there, which was soon laid under siege but was relieved by Commandant Caudrelier. With Samori captured, and peace re-established, the French administration invited the refugees to return. Some accepted, but the majority remained in Bobo Dioulasso. Kong was never to regain its former eminence. It was to remain a mere regional capital with some 3,000 inhabitants, and an important centre of Muslim proselytism.

Bibliography: Binger, *Du Niger au golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi*, Paris 1892; D. Traoré, *Les relations de Samory et de l'état de Kong*, in *Notes Africaines*, xlvii (July 1950); F. Ingold, in *Hommes et destin*, Académie des Sciences d'Outremer, 1975, 554-7; Y. Person, *Samori*, vol. iii of *Bassam à Kong*, IFAN, Dakar, 1975, 1637-84. (R. Cornevin)

KONYA (Arabic and Turkish orthography, Ḳūniya), known in antiquity as Iconium, an important town lying on the edge of the Anatolian plateau, on a diagonal line connecting the Dardanelles with the Taurus passes leading into Syria.

1. History.

Konya was, during the centuries of Arab invasion, a Byzantine military base which the attackers seem for this reason to have more or less deliberately avoided and circumvented, in preference either for Tarsus [see ṬARSŪS] to the south or especially for Cappadocia by the northern routes; this would seem to explain the fact that the town is seldom mentioned in military histories. It is probable, however, that Konya, like other towns, had suffered previously in the Persian invasion, and that it occupied only a section of its former territory. It is difficult to describe with certainty its history in a period for which no archaeological investigation has been performed, but the common and widespread re-use of older materials in the Saldjūḳ monuments would seem to indicate that many buildings were in ruins and the town only partially reconstructed. It reappears, however, in a better light at the time of the Turkish invasions of the 5th/11th century and at the time of the Crusaders who passed that away in 1097. The latter found no serviceable fortifications there, but were able to derive benefit from the gardens in the vicinity of the town.

It was the Saldjūḳ régime which marked the zenith of the history of Konya. The site, well irrigated in contrast to the neighbouring desert, commanded the southern route at a time when the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] denied the Saldjūḳs access to the northern route to the Dardanelles, and it must have found favour with the new masters when they became aware of the need for a secure political and military base as a focus for their still semi-nomadic peoples. The real development of the town dates from the reign of Masʿūd (512-50/1118-55), who resolving to make Konya a capital, built a mosque there and other monuments which his successors must have completed. It was already a city of note when in 1190 the German army raised in Cologne by Frederick Barbarossa passed through it. The progressive unification of Turkish Asia Minor under the rule of the Saldjūḳs evidently contributed to the prosperity of the capital. Besides the principal mosque, from about 1190 onwards the city possessed a number of smaller ones, as well as *madrasas*, *khānḳāhs* [*q.vv.*], flourishing markets and reconstructed ramparts. The development of the power of the sultans in the first half of the 7th/12th century was also reflected in the town, where apparently social hierarchy was judged by the importance and height of houses rather than by the allocation of separate quarters to the various ethnic groups. In Konya there were evidently Greeks (with their monastery, reputedly dedicated to Plato), Armenians and some Jews; the records make few references to Turks, a term reserved in this context for the Turcomans of the plains, but rather speak of Muslims, a designation normally embracing both indigenous Turks, who in a town of this kind were largely Iranised, and Iranian immigrants, arriving especially in the period following the Khwārazmian and Mongol invasions, who, besides their involvement in craftsmanship, were sometimes promoted to the most important civil posts of the régime. Three social groups deserve special attention, the *idgish*, the *akhis* and the

Ṣūfīs or dervishes. The *idgis̲h̲* were a kind of militia recruited among the half-breed sons of indigenous fathers converted to Islam and married to Turkish women; the *ak̲h̲is* [*q.v.*] were a Turkish form of the Muslim *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], and were to play an important role especially in the period of the Mongols and their immediate successors; as for the Ṣūfīs, there were a number of different orders, but, from the middle of the 7th/13th century the prestige of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī must have drawn numerous disciples to him, although this was not an organised order (that of the Mevlevīs or Mawlawiyya, from Mevlānā/Mawlānā) until the 8th/14th century. Naturally, Konya also had a military garrison, composed to a large extent of slaves of Byzantine stock captured on the north-western marches of the kingdom. The sultans lived in the palaces which they had built in Konya and the surrounding area. The ramparts of the town had been extended and strengthened in the time of the great sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubād [*q.v.*] with the compulsory co-operation of the senior *amīrs* of the region. The buildings erected in this period are studied below, but the abundance and importance of the mosques, *madrasas*, *k̲h̲ānḳāhs*, hospitals, *k̲h̲āns*/caravanserais, etc. testify to the considerable development of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ capital, which the present-day remains continue to evoke, in an original and compelling style.

The progressive establishment of the Mongol protectorate over Sald̲j̲ūḳ Anatolia in the second half of the 7th/13th century was naturally prejudicial to the importance of Konya, although in a slow and partial fashion. The rivalry between the brother sultans ʿIzz al-Dīn Kayḳāʾūs and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳilid̲j̲ Arslan represented in fact the struggle between the partisans of collaboration with the Mongols, the naturally dominant force in eastern Asia Minor beyond Kayseri, and the partisans of resistance, whose headquarters was at Konya and who relied to a large extent on the Turcomans of the southern and western frontiers. The decline of central authority was accompanied by a boost to the prestige of peripheral Turcoman principalities in such a way that centres of political activity, etc. were transferred to new regions, to the detriment of Konya in particular. The episode which marked this evolution for the first time was the temporary occupation of Konya in 675-7/1277-8 by the Ḳaramānids [see ḲARAMĀN-OG̲H̲ULLARĪ] of the western Taurus, who installed there a bogus Sald̲j̲ūḳ known by the name of D̲j̲imrī. Their independent government survived however until 713/1313; but in that year it was definitively annexed, although the Ḳaramānids did not lose their capital, henceforward to be situated at Laranda/Ḳaramān [see LARANDA]. The cultural and religious importance of the town and the relative importance of its population ensured, however, that it retained a certain vitality, as is attested by a number of buildings and pious foundations erected by Ḳaramānid princes and dignitaries. Once occupied by Bāyezīd Yildirim, the town was definitively annexed to the Ottoman state, together with the remainder of the Ḳaramānid state, in 880/1475, and Ottoman documentary archives give evidence that *waḳfs* and Sald̲j̲ūḳ and Ḳaramānid institutions were in general maintained there. Naturally in this vast empire, far removed from all the important areas, Konya could no longer be more than a provincial centre. The fact that it was under its walls that the Ottoman army of Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a was crushed by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, at the end of 1832, proves that the town could still occasionally play a strategic role.

A number of travellers have visited and briefly described Konya. One of the most valuable accounts is that of Henri de Laborde, who has left us plans of the town as it was in 1828, a period in which many buildings today in ruins were still standing. The population of the town, which in the time of Cuinet (end of the 19th century), was about 50,000, passed the 100,000 mark in the middle of this century (119,841 in 1960) and has continued to increase slowly since then.

Bibliography: An exhaustive bibliography of the geographers, travellers and historians was given in 1954 by Besim Darkot in his *İA* art. s.v. The most recent works include especially those of İsmail Hakki Konyalı, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1963, and Mehmet Önder, *Mevlana şehri Konya*, Konya 1971. See also Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, 1971; S. Vryonis Jr., *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971; E. Eickhoff, *Friederich Barbarossa im Orient*, 1977; Faruk Sümer, art. ḲARAMĀN-OG̲H̲ULLARĪ. (CL. CAHEN)

2. Monuments.

There are some eighty monuments surviving in Konya, but many are so heavily restored that only fragments of decoration survive of the first foundation. An example is the Hoca Hasan Mescid, *ca.* 1200. Major buildings lost but recorded include the *bedesten*. The number of houses and *konaks* dating from the 18th to the 20th centuries is declining rapidly, but the private Koyunoğlu Museum survives. A study of relative documents was made by İ. H. Konyalı, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1963, and of ceramics by M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, Tübingen 1976. His datings are here accepted unless otherwise stated, while an asterisk indicates buildings dated by inscriptions.

Walls and palaces. The walls were destroyed within living memory. C. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882, and others recorded the wealth of antique and Sald̲j̲ūḳ decoration incorporated in them, especially in the vicinity of the 108 towers, including fabulous beasts, a decapitated Hercules and extensive verses, all of which were gilded. The grandeur of the city is confirmed by the ruined kiosk of Ḳilid̲j̲ Arslān II (1155-92), which was once a square chamber clad in ceramics with balconies carried on large consoles above a vaulted hall. Illustrated in F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1936, it is situated in the citadel area which has yet to be excavated in depth and where such remains of the *kale* as exist are attributed by Konyalı to 618/1221, although it was founded in 569/1173.

Mosques and complexes. Adjacent is the Alaeddin Cami begun by Kaykāʾūs I [*q.v.*]. The consequences of frequent repairs are as important as the damage they mask. The area immediately round the *miḥrāb* is the oldest dated by the inscription to Sulṭān Masʿūd on the outstanding *miḥrāb*, *ca.* 1155. The west half of the prayer hall was completed in 617/1220* and the east pillared hall was added in 1235 when the *miḥrāb* (its heart mutilated irreparably) in the typical Anatolia ceramic manner was added. Among inscribed names are those of Ustād Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mengubirti (reading provisional) al-K̲h̲ilāṭī (on the *minbar*), Muḥammad b. K̲h̲awlān of Damascus, an overseer, and of Atabeg Ayāz, the official in charge of work 1219-20.

Contiguous with the enlarged mosque and now entered from it is the duodecagonal *türbe* named after Ḳılıdj Arslān and dated 616-17/1219-21g. The cenotaphs are covered in white inscriptions on deep cobalt blue grounds. Except for Kaykā'ūs I, buried at Sivas, from 1192 onwards this was the mausoleum of the dynasty.

Externally, the courtyard wall is monumental, with two marble portals in a style developed from that of 12th century Zangid Damascus. The İplikçi Cami, 1220-30, was first rebuilt in 733/1332*, but the *miḥrāb* survived. The central aisle has three domes, and the three on each side are vaulted. The mosque is now the museum. The Larende or Sahip Ata Cami, 656/1258*, has lost its second brick minaret in the Iranian or Central Asian style. The stalactite porch, incorporating detritus from Christian monuments, is 13th century workmanship at its apogee, which was increasingly heavy and flamboyant. The fine faience *miḥrāb* and semi-domed *īwān* survived rebuilding. It is united with the *khānagāh* (of the four-*īwān* type retaining some original decoration) by the family tomb in a manner suggestive of ancestor worship. This mausoleum is of the domed *īwān* type with a crypt, where the cenotaphs retain some of their faiencework. The inscription on the mosque to the master Kalūk b. ʿAbd Allāh (reading provisional) makes this his only dated building. The Sadreddin Konevi Cami, 673/1274-5*, has lost two deeply-carved shutters to the Türk ve Islâm Eserleri Museum, Istanbul.

Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*], as patron of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], created Konya's greatest spiritual memorial, which is expressed materially as the Mevlevi complex and museum, to which the mosque of Selīm II is related. The *tekke* originated in 628/1231 (Meinecke, 342; Konyalı, 630), but the earliest *īwān* which contains the cenotaph of the poet is dated 672/1273-4. Its scalloped dome was-recovered in Kütahya tiles externally in 1818, 1909 and 1949 (Konyali, 654) and the wooden cenotaph, 674/1277, completely covered in inscriptions, is hidden under the gold embroidered velvet cloth donated by ʿAbd Ḥamīd II. A second dome was built over the tombs of the successors of the Mewlānā, but the complex is largely 16th century in date. Bāyazīd II restored the mausoleums and added three domed units together with a typical Ottoman minaret in 910/1504, while Selīm I installed the garden fountain, 918/1512. Süleymān I rebuilt the *masdjid* and *samāʿ-khāna*, 973/1565, and Selīm II the *ʿimāret*, now destroyed. The cells of Murād III were transformed in the 19th century. Important repairs were effected by Murād IV, 1044/1634 and 1048/1650, and by Meḥemmed IV, 1060/1650. Four typical Ottoman *türbe*s in the garden court are dated *934/1527, Khürrem Pasha; 981-2/1573-4, Sinān Pasha; 994/1585, daughters of Küčük Murād Pasha; 1006/1597, Shaykh Khalīl. The museum houses textiles and other treasures of the order which is active again. The Selimiye Cami, begun by Süleymān I and completed by Selīm II, has a seven-domed portico carried on six Byzantine limestone columns. Its plan is based on that of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul, but without a *miḥrāb* apse. Erroneously attributed to Sinān, it is typical of the stark style that preceded his appointment as *miʿmār bashī*. Beside the mosque is the library of Yūsuf Agha, 1209/1794. Pir Paşa Cami, *ca.* 926/1519, is a typical Ottoman mosque, but with a *türbe* incorporated into a corner of the portico. Şerefeddin Cami was founded 1220-30, rebuilt by the Ḳaramānoghlu Ibrāhīm II, 848/1445, and transformed in 1046/1636 into an imitation of Ḳılıdj ʿAlī Pasha mosque, Tophane, Istanbul. Fragments of 13th century ceramic can be seen in the mortar, and there are patches of brickwork amid the ashlar. Heavily restored, 1299/1881, the interior painting is in the 19th century fairground manner and includes a typical folk art representation of the Süleymaniye Cami, Istanbul, over the *miḥrāb*. Kapı Cami, 1060/1650 (Konyalı, 429), owes its light, open style to the repairs in 1226/1811*. Abdülaziz Cami, *minbar* 1293/1876; also replaces an older building, and its florid École des Beaux-Arts appearance is likely to be the work of Sarkis Balyan of the 19th century dynasty of court architects.

Colleges or medreses. The Sırçalı Medrese, 640/1242-3, is a partially-ruined two-*īwān* type. The outstanding faience *miḥrāb* is set in an *īwān* which retains a quantity of its décor. The carving of the portal is also notable. Inscriptions include those to the founder Badr al-Dīn Muṣliḥ and the master Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Ṭūsī.

The Karatay Medrese, 649/1251-2*, ruined, but retaining its famous marble portal, which was an Anatolian variant of the Damascus style (see Alaeddin Cami), and also the starscape dome with an oculus over the pool of the court-hall supported by deep fan-shaped tiled pendentives. This monument now houses a collection of Saldjūḳ ceramics. Only the *īwān* remains of the Küčük Karatay Medrese nearby, 646/1248-9.

The İnce Minareli Medrese, *ca.* 663/1264-5, built by Kalūk (Kölüg) b. ʿAbd Allāh, heavily-restored, lost two-thirds of its brick minaret in 1317/1899. It was a foil to the portal's giant inscriptive bands developed out of simple established decorative forms more appropriate to wood. Overweighted decoration which masks structure was the Achilles heel of later Saldjūḳ architecture.

Masdjids. These include Beşarebey Mescid, 610/1213 (inscription disputed), and Abdülaziz Mescid, 611/1214-5, both rebuilt with fragments of original ceramics remaining, as with Şekerfurus Mescid, 617/1220*. The Taş (Stone) or Haci Ferruh Mescid, 612/1215 (Konyalı, 364), has an inscription to the master Ramaḍān and idiosyncratic carved stone porch and *miḥrāb*. The Hatuniye Mescid, 627/1229-30*, retains most of its thick Güdük Minaret, built of glazed brick. The Bulgur Tekke Mescid 1240-50, still has its plain, hexagonal dado tiles, as does the Karatay Mescid, 646/1248-9, but the Sirçalı Mescid of the same date retains its brick minaret and its renowned *miḥrāb*. The *miḥrāb* of the Beyhekim Mescid, 1270-80, is now in the Staatliche Museum (Islamische Museum, Cat. No. 81), Berlin. Both the Kararslan and the Tahir ile Zühre Mescids, *ca.* 1280, have restored *miḥrāb*s.

Of many later examples, the Kadı Mürsel Mescid, 812/1409, has lost its dependencies which once were distinctively Ḳaramanīd in style, including the *miḥrāb*.

Lesser monuments. The Hasbey Darülhuffaz, 824/1421* built by Ḳaramānoghlu Meḥmed Bey, has a traditional ceramic *miḥrāb*. The marble panels have fallen from the façade below the sixteen-ribbed dome. A rare, extant *namazgāh* is the Musalla, 948/1541.

Among several, a typical *īwān* type *türbe* is the Gömeç Hatun, 674-84/1275-85, built of brick above ashlar with an ornamental tile façade and crenellations. It has two triangular buttresses and double stairs raised over the sepulchral vault. Fakidede Türbe, 824-60/1471-56, built of stone is transitional in style.

Of the fountains, Kapu Çeşme rebuilt in Ottoman times has claim to Saldjūḳ origins. A standard Ottoman example is the Akçeşme, 936/1555*. The Balıklı Çeşme incorporates a Byzantine plaque depicting two fishes.

Monuments in the vicinity. The large, pillared mosque at Meram of Ḳaramānoghlu Meḥmed Bey, 805/1402*, stands beside the *ḥammām* of Ibrāhīm Bey, 837/1424*, which is fed by the lime springs.

Local mid-13th century caravanserais each with portal, court and hall and all partially ruined, are Kandemir (Yazıönü) Han, 603/1206*; Kızıl Ören Han, *ca.* 604/1207; Dokuzun Han, 607/1210*; Altunba (Altunapa) Han, early 13th century. The Zazadin (Sadaddin) Han, 633/1235-6*, is in better repair and noteworthy for the extensive re-use of classical material and early Christian tombstones.

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(G. Goodwin)

KOPAK [see SIKKA].

KÖPRÜ [see VEZĪR KÖPRÜ].

KÖPRÜ ḤIṢĀRĪ "fortress of the bridge", a village in the Ottoman province of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*] in northwestern Anatolia, and situated on the Čürük Ṣū river near Yeñishehir. It owes its historical fame to its being the site of a Byzantine fortress taken in 688/1289 by ʿOthmān b. Ertoghrul, chief of the ʿOthmānlī group of Türkmens based on Eskishehir, after the previous capture of Biledjik and during the course of the extension of Ottoman influence within the province towards Bursa [*q.v.*]; cf. H. A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1916, 32-3.

Bibliography: Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3906; Von Hammer, *Histoire*, i, 87-9; Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, 18 (illustr. of bridge). (Cl. Huart)

KÖPRÜLÜ, a family of Ottoman viziers who rose to prominence in the latter half of the 11th/17th century and dominated Ottoman life for much of that period, bringing a halt for some time to the decline of the empire, instituting internal reforms and gaining new conquests. The name derives from the close association of the founder of the family, Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, with the town of Köprü [*q.v.*] (then in the *sandjaḳ* of Amasya), which, in turn, was later called Vezīr-Köprü through its association with the family (and to distinguish it from the near-by Tash Köprü). That Meḥmed Pasha was born in Albania, however, is clearly shown by his *waḳfiyya*, drawn up in Edirne in Radjab 1070/March 1660, in his own lifetime, in which it is stated that his homeland was the village called Rudnik, attached to the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Arnawut Belgrade (Berat). His first visit to Köprü appears to have occurred only when he departed the palace service to go there as a *sipāhi*, but he thereafter settled there, marrying and establishing a home to which he repaired when out of office.

The leading members of the Köprülü family are the following:

I. Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha (?986-1072/?1578-1661), the Ottoman Grand Vizier who gave his name to the family. If, as his contemporary, Fīndīḳlīlī Meḥmed Agha asserts (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 226), he died at the age of 86, he must have been born in *ca.* 986/1578 (for other estimates of Meḥmed Pasha's age, see Defterdār Ṣarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ al-ʿOthmāniyya*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2382; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865, i, 6; ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1291-3/1874-6, ii, 69; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Köprülüler*, Istanbul 1331/1914, 19; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1951, 410) in Albania (see above). Brought to Istanbul in his youth, he was taken into the palace and by 1623 was a cook in the palace kitchens. He secured the backing of Khosrew Agha [see KHOSREW PASHA, BOSNIAK], then in the *khāṣṣ-oda* [*q.v.*], and entered first the *büyük oda*, then the *khazine-odasī*. His quarrelsomeness and disobedience led to the termination of his career within the palace, and he went out to the provinces as a *sipāhī*: it was thus that he first went to the town of Köprü in Anatolia where he settled and married ʿĀʾisha Khānim, the daughter of the vaivode of Köprü, Yūsuf Agha, from the Ḳayadjiḳ *čiftlik* in Havza. During Khosrew Agha's tenure as *agha* of the Janissaries, Köprülü again entered his service, and when Khosrew became Grand Vizier (1037/1628) Köprülü became his treasurer (*khazīnedār*). Following Khosrew's execution (1041/1632), Köprülü served in certain provincial posts, as vaivode or *agha*, probably in or near Köprü: according to Ḥüseyn Ḥusām al-Dīn, for example, he was *sandjaḳ begi* of Amasya for some eight months in 1044/1634-5 (*Amasya taʾrīkhi*, iv, Istanbul 1928, 61). He subsequently came again to Istanbul where he held a variety of posts such as those of Inspector of the Guilds (*Iḥtisāb aghasī*), Inspector of the Arsenal (*Ṭopkhāne nāẓirī*), Commander of the *Sipāhī*s (of the *altī bölük*: *Sipāhīler aghasī*) and Commander of the Armourers (*Djebedji-bashī*). Taking part as *sandjāḳ begi* of Čorum in the siege of Baghdād (1048/1638), in which he was wounded, be became attached to the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha and was appointed *Ḳapīdjīlar-ketkhudāsī* and, later, *Mīr-ākhūr*. In 1053/1643-4 he held the post of *sandjaḳ-begi* of Amasya a second time, for some five months. Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha's successor, Sulṭān-zāde Meḥmed Pasha, gave Köprülü the governorship of Trabzon with two *ṭugh*s. How long he remained in that post is unknown, but he later resided for a time in Köprü and then, in 1057/1647, became *mütesellim* for the *eyālet* of Damascus when that province was given to the seventh *khāṣṣekī* as a *bashmaḳlīḳ* by Sultan Ibrāhīm (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3/1864-7, iv, 243; Silāḥdār, i, 225). While in this post, he was ordered to campaign, acting as *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān, against the rebellious

wālī of Sivas, Warwar ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, who was advancing on Istanbul. Having fallen prisoner to ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in the battle which ensued near Čankiri, he was rescued by Ips̲h̲ir Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who had also been deputed to deal with ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (1058/1648; cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314-8/1896-1900, ii, 452). The following year Köprülü was sent against Boynu-Yarall (Boynu-Eğri) Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, for whose execution an imperial rescript had been issued because of his oppression of the peasants. Köprülü avoided bloodshed by sending him a letter recommending that he immediately seek pardon from the Wālide Sulṭān, which advice Boynu-Yarall Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a took and thus was forgiven and spared (Naʿīmā, iv, 459-60).

During the Grand Vizierate of Gurd̲j̲u Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a (1061-2/1651-2), the architect Ḳāsim Ag̲h̲a [*q.v.*], *ketk̲h̲udā* to the Wālide Sulṭān, knowing of her dissatisfaction with the Grand Vizier, recommended Köprülü to her, but the initiative led only to Köprülü's holding the office of *ḳubbe altī* vizier for a week or so before the jealous Grand Vizier brought about his virtual banishment as *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* of Köstendil (Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Rawḍat al-abrār d̲h̲ayli*, Istanbul University TY3272, fol. 63; Naʿīmā, v, 178). He was later dismissed and, according to Silāḥdār (i, 225-6), scraped a living during this period in certain minor posts, suffering imprisonment for debt. While spending some time in Köprü, he met in Kütahya (February 1655) with Ips̲h̲ir Pas̲h̲a, who was on his way to take up his appointment as Grand Vizier and who appointed him governor of Ṭarabulūs al-S̲h̲ām. Before Köprülü could take up his post, however, Ips̲h̲ir had fallen; and Köprülü, dismissed, returned to Köprü (Naʿīmā, vi, 22, 125). Although Ḳāsim Ag̲h̲a advised the Grand Vizier Süleymān Pas̲h̲a to seek Köprülü's help (February 1656), Süleymān Pas̲h̲a did not heed the recommendation (Naʿīmā, vi, 142), Köprülü met with the newly-appointed Grand Vizier Boynu-Yarall Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a in Eskis̲h̲ehir a few months later and came with him to Istanbul: some time afterward he was once more appointed governor of Ṭarabulūs al-S̲h̲ām. But as the result of efforts made on his behalf with the Wālide Sulṭān by such as Ḳāsim Ag̲h̲a and the *re'is al-kuttāb* S̲h̲āmī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi, Köprülü was himself proposed for the Grand Vizierate, which post he agreed to accept on four conditions, which were such as to guarantee him absolute independence and freedom from interference. The Wālide Sulṭān accepted these conditions on oath, and the sultan appointed him the next day (26 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1066/15 September 1656).

Köprülü's appointment to the Grand Vizierate aroused great astonishment at first, since his career thus far had not been characterised by any great success (Meḥmed K̲h̲alīfe, *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī*, ed. A. Refīḳ in *TOEM*, supp. [1340], 44), but before long his considerable abilities came to be widely recognised. Among his first acts was to deal with the Ḳāḍī-zādeler, who, since the time of Murād IV, had been engaging in troublesome sectarian quarrels in Istanbul and who attempted to provoke such a quarrel after Köprülü had been in office only eight days. Having tried persuasion, Köprülü caused their ringleaders to be banished to Cyprus (see Kātib Čelebi, *The balance of truth*, tr. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 132-4; Naʿīmā, vi, 227 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 57-9). Köprülü continued his efforts to bring peace and order to Istanbul. Along with causing the executions of certain individuals, among them Ābāza Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, accused of laxity in the defence of Bozd̲j̲a-ada which he had surrendered to the Venetians, and the Orthodox Patriarch Parthenius III, who was accused of seditious activities, he succeeded in quelling a rebellion of the *sipāhī* dissidents (*zorba*s) and purging their number (18 Rabīʿ I 1067/4 January 1657: for details, see *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī*, 44; Naʿīmā, vi, 246 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 62 ff.).

Köprülü then set about preparations for a campaign to end the Venetian threat to the Straits and in particular to recover Bozd̲j̲a-ada and Limnos. Having sent the fleet out first, under the Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a Ṭopal Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, he himself set out, as commander-in-chief, on 1 Ramaḍān 1067/13 June 1657. The Ottomans fared badly at first in the clashes at sea, but their fortunes changed when, on 19 July, a ball fired from the Anatolian shore struck the powder magazine of the flagship of the Venetian admiral Mocenigo, destroying it and throwing the Venetian fleet into confusion (*Ta'rīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī*, 44 ff.; Naʿīmā, vi, 279 ff.; P. Rycaut, *The history of the Turkish empire from the year 1677*, London 1680, 54 [Meḥemmed IV]. Köprülü rewarded the successful gunner and others who had fought bravely but executed a number of high-ranking commanders held responsible for the earlier failures. This action disquieted even his supporters in Istanbul and led to agitation for Köprülü's removal by Ḳara Ḥasan-zāde Ḥüseyn Ag̲h̲a, an influential member of the Janissary corps: his efforts were in vain, however (Naʿīmā, vi, 295 ff.). The Grand Vizier meanwhile continued his efforts to take Bozd̲j̲a-ada, which goal his forces achieved on 21 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1067/31 August 1657 (for a letter sent by Köprülü to the Ḳizlar-ag̲h̲asī Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, see *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī*, 47; for other details, see Naʿīmā, vi, 289 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 69 ff.), an event which caused great joy in Istanbul. In an imperial rescript sent to Köprülü, the sultan ordered him to remain until Limnos was taken, and Köprülü's existing forces were strengthened by timariots from Bursa and other *sand̲j̲aḳ*s. Having repaired, supplied and garrisoned Bozd̲j̲a-ada, Köprülü dispatched Ṭopal Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a to Limnos. After a 60-day siege from both sea and land, the defenders surrendered the fortress on 8 Ṣafar 1068/15 November 1657 on condition that those in the fortress be allowed to leave with their goods.

Having countered one danger to the state by opening the Straits and recovering the two islands lost to the Venetians in his predecessor's time, Köprülü went to Edirne (25 November 1657) where he had been summoned by the sultan on account of pressing problems in Transylvania [see ERDEL]. The ambitious George Rákoczy II, prince of Transylvania since 1648, had, as a result of an agreement made with the King of Sweden in December 1656, marched against Poland with Transylvanian forces; and when he incited the *beg*s of Wallachia and Moldavia to act with him, in defiance of the Ottomans, the imperial *dīwān* felt it necessary to take measures against him, deciding that a campaign should be undertaken, first by the K̲h̲ān of the Crimea, and later under the command of the Grand Vizier (for details, see Szilágyi Sándor, *Erdély es as eszakkeleti hábará*, Budapest 1891, ii, 244 ff.). The *beg*s of Wallachia and Moldavia were also replaced (N. Iorga, *Histoire des Romains et de la romanité orientale*, Bucharest 1940, vi, 226 f.; Naʿīmā, vi, 321 ff.). Köprülü left Edirne on 22 Ramaḍān 1068/23 June 1658 and went to Belgrade. His army was strengthened by Crimean and Cossack forces, by the provincial forces from Buda and Silistria, and

by a force of 12,000 men sent by the King of Poland. Entering Transylvania, he moved first against Yanova (Kis Jenö), a key point taken in Ḳānūnī Süleymān's time but subsequently lost, and received the surrender of the fortress on 31 August. Rákoczy, who, under Ottoman pressure, had been replaced at the end of 1657, had returned and driven out the Ottoman-backed prince and re-established himself (see Szilády Áron and Szilágyi Sándor, *Török-Magyarkori állam-okmánytár*, Pest 1870, iii, 442 ff.; Hóman Balint and Szekfü Gyula, *Magyar történet*, Budapest 1935-6, iv, 80; Decei-Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Erdel*). After the taking of Yanova, Köprülü caused the Crimean and Cossack forces to plunder Erdel Belgrad (Fehérvár), the centre of government, in order to seize Rákoczy, but the latter was understood to have escaped to a fortress on the Austrian frontier. Köprülü's desire to pursue him was thwarted by a summons from the sultan because of a revolt in Anatolia. He therefore appointed Akos Barcsay as prince on condition that he pay *kharādj* and that he hand over the areas (*mulḥaḳāt*) of the fortresses of Sebeş and Lugoj, together with the cannon and munitions within them; and at the same time he charged the *beglerbegi* of Buda, Ken'ān Pasha, with the oversight of that area (for the appointment of Akos Barcsay, see Uzunçarşılı, *Ekoş Barçkay'ın Erdel krallığına tayini hakkında bir kac vesika*, in *Belleten*, vii [1943]; idem, *Barçsay Akoş'un Erdel kırallığına âid bazı orijinal vesikalar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, iv [1952-3]; Naʿīmā, vi, 354 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 126 ff.).

For some time a revolt of serious proportions had been building up in Anatolia. To the long-standing causes of unrest there were added the uncertainty and fear inspired in many *sipāhī*s and commanders by Köprülü's harsh behaviour. The leader of the dissidents was the *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, Ābāza Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], who realised that his past actions constituted a cause for the sort of punishment which Köprülü had meted out to the *zorba*s in the capital. With him, in Konya, gathered a number of commanders, among them the *wālī* of Damascus, the vizier Ṭayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha; the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia; and some fifteen other active or retired *beglerbegi*s who, fearing for their fates, sought to replace Köprülü with Ṭayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha. At first replying to the summonses from the capital to join the Transylvanian campaign with excuses, they subsequently openly declared their rebellion, saying that they could not join a campaign with Köprülü, who had caused the deaths of so many Janissaries and *sipāhī*s (Naʿīmā, vi, 344 ff.). Ignoring an imperial command that they should either disperse to their several places or engage in the defence of Baghdād, the rebels came as far as the vicinity of Bursa. Summoned by the sultan, Köprülü arrived in Edirne on 14 Muḥarram 1069/12 October 1658 and was present at an *ayaḳ dīwānī* three days later in the sultan's presence at which the *fatwā* given by the *Shaykh al-Islām* for the punishment of Ābāza Ḥasan was read out. Though a punitive force under the *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr, Murtaḍā Pasha, was already in the field, it was decided that Köprülü himself should campaign; and, accompanied by the sultan, he crossed to Üsküdar on 13 November 1658. Ābāza Ḥasan, meanwhile, using the pretext of the distribution of pay to the army in Istanbul, dispatched some 5000 *sipāhī*s to Üsküdar, ostensibly to collect their pay but in fact to assassinate Köprülü. The latter, however, apprised of the plot, removed the names of 7000 *sipāhī*s from the rolls and executed about 1000 who were caught. The unrest caused in the army by this fresh show of force led him to abandon the campaign and leave the matter to Murtaḍā Pasha. Although Ābāza Ḥasan defeated the latter near Ilgın (15 Rabīʿ I 1069/11 December 1658), he was compelled to winter in ʿAyntāb. Murtaḍā Pasha, having received reinforcements, pressed the rebels closely from Aleppo, depriving them of provisions and other necessaries. When Ābāza Ḥasan's forces began gradually to desert to Murtaḍā Pasha, the rebel leaders went to Aleppo to submit to the government, only to be deceived and executed (23 Djumādā I 1069/16 February 1659: *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 54 ff.; Naʿīmā, vi, 378 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 132 ff.).

Following this outcome, Köprülü busied himself with the solution of internal problems like the local *ḳul* soldiery in Damascus who had been acting disruptively for some time, whom he struck from the rolls and replaced with five *oda*s of garrison Janissaries from Istanbul; and the revolts of Čerkes Meḥmed Beg in Egypt and of Muṣṭafā Pasha, known as Kör Beg, in Antalya. Coming to Bursa with the sultan (19 July 1659), Köprülü instituted a sweeping attempt to bring order to Anatolia by summoning Ismāʿīl Pasha, who had been left as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* in Istanbul, and charging him with carrying out investigations (*taftīsh*) throughout Anatolia, "from Üsküdar to ʿArabistān", specifically to seize and punish any whom he found to have been involved in the Djalālī revolts [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.], whatever their rank or station; to restore to *reʿāyā* status those falsely claiming to be *ʿaskerī*; to deprive those unable to prove their claim to be *sayyid*s of their distinctive turbans; and to seize and send to the imperial arsenal any arms or weapons found in the possession of the *reʿāyā* (Naʿīmā, vi, 415-6). But during these years he was also guilty of certain injustices such as bringing about the execution of the famous Deli Ḥüseyn Pasha [see ḤUSAYN PASHA DELI], in spite of the opposition of the *Shaykh al-Islām*, by concocting false complaints (Rabīʿ II 1069/December 1658); and of Seydī Aḥmed Pasha (1071/1660-1), long in state service and most recently active in the continuing struggle in Transylvania (for the defeat and death of Rákoczy in this period and for the conquest of Oradea by Köse ʿAlī Pasha (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1070/August 1660), see *İA*, art. *Erdel*).

Köprülü divided the remaining months of his life between Edirne, to which he returned with the sultan in November 1659, and Istanbul. Age and illness greatly weakened him, and while journeying with Meḥemmed IV to Edirne in July 1661, Köprülü recommended, and the sultan agreed, that his son, Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha, should succeed him on his death. Aḥmed (Köprülü-zāde) was immediately brought from Damascus and made *ḳāʾim-maḳām* in Istanbul. When his father's condition worsened, he was summoned to Edirne and acted as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* for his father for 48 days until Köprülü's death on 7 Rabīʿ I 1072/31 October 1661. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in the mausoleum near the *dār al-ḥadīth* which he had built near Čenberli Tash (Silāḥdār, i, 219 ff.).

During his five years in power, in a period when confusion reigned in all the institutions of state, Köprülü succeeded in crushing the prevailing spirit of rebellion and disorder through harsh and merciless acts. On this latter count, certain historians have characterised him as cruel and bloodthirsty (Silāḥdār, i, 226; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271/1854, 166); but while he was not

guiltless of unjust acts, such judgements must be tempered by the recognition of the disabling turmoil which had afflicted the state since the death of Murād IV and of the great services which he performed in office (ʿAṭā', ii, 69 ff.). In fact, historians like Meḥmed Khalīfe, ʿAbdī Pasha, Naʿīmā and Rāshid are united in praising Köprülü. When Köprülü came to the Grand Vizierate, he said to those around him that the state expected service, not show from him, and he remained true to this principle to the end of his life (cf. the relation of Durmush Efendi, the *kātib* of the *Dār al-saʿāde aghasi*, in Rāshid, i, 18).

Köprülü caused the straits at Čanaḳ-ḳale to be strongly fortified [see ČANAḲ-ḲALʿE BOGHAZĪ]. His benefactions, estates, and endowments are to be found in a great many places: for example, a mosque, a school and shops in Yanova; a mosque and school in Rudnik; and a mosque and a school in the town of Taraklī in the *sandjaḳ* of Bolu (see further the listing in *IA*, art. *Köprülüler* (Gökbilgin), vi, 897b). His sons-in-law, Ḳībleli Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳaplan Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (Merzifonlu) [*q.v.*] and Siyāwush Pasha, all held high positions during his own and his son's Grand Vizierate.

II. Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha (Abu 'l-ʿAbbās) (1045-87/1635-76), the elder son and successor of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, was born in Köprü in 1635. Brought to Istanbul at the age of 7 by his father, he studied under the leading learned men of the period, first under ʿOthmān Efendi, later under Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi [see ḲARA-ČELEBI-ZĀDE (4)]. Through the influence of his father he was, while only 16, appointed a *müderris*, first at *khāridj*, then at *dākhil* level. Now known as Pasha-zāde, his lessons proved popular, and in 1657 he was raised to the *Ṣaḥn-i thamān*. Shortly after, however, upset by gossip amongst the *ʿulamā'*, he abandoned the learned profession and took up an administrative post. In 1069/1659 he was, at the request of his father, appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Erzurum with a vizierate. One year later he was transferred to Damascus. There he won great popularity by causing an imperial rescript to be issued removing two taxes, called *dashisha* and *ḳariba*, which his predecessors had levied on the people of Damascus and which had sometimes risen as high as 3-4 million *akčas*. Under orders from the central government he moved against the Durūz [*q.v.*] and defeated the Maʿnids and Shihābids, thereby securing the payment of a tribute of 500 purses and the abandonment of the brigandage in which they had been engaging for some time. He also caused to be made into a *beglerbegilik* the region where the Maʿnids and Shihābids lived together with the areas of Ṣaydā, Bayrūt and Ṣafad which till then had been governed by a vaivode (1660: for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh der aḥwāl-i Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2242, fol. 4; Silāḥdār, i, 214-16). Although he was later appointed *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, he was summoned to Istanbul as *ḳā'im-maḳām* before he could take up the post and subsequently succeeded his father as Grand Vizier (see above).

Amongst the new Grand Vizier's first concerns was the continuing unsettled situation in Transylvania. Some measure of order was established there, however, without Köprülü-zāde's direct intervention, by the victory in January 1662, near Sighisoara, of the *beglerbegi* of Yanova over Rákoczy's successor, János Kemény, which ensured the control of the Ottoman-supported Mihály Apafi. Though a campaign against Venice was mooted for 1663, this was abandoned in favour of a campaign against Austria, which had constantly been attacking Ottoman frontier forts and outposts and which was seen as the more dangerous enemy. The army moved out from Edirne on 5 Ramaḍān 1073/13 April 1663. During discussions in Belgrade and Osijek with Austrian ambassadors, Köprülü-zāde demanded the destruction of a newly-built Austrian fortress (Zerinvár) facing Nagykanizsa in western Hungary; the withdrawal of Austrian troops from Transylvania; and the restoration of the annual 30,000 florin tribute which the Austrians had paid from the time of Süleymān I until 1606 (later, in Buda, modified to a demand for a single 200,000 *ghurūsh* payment like that agreed at Zsitva-Torok in 1606). The Austrians were unable to accept the last of these conditions, and Köprülü-zāde set off from Buda against the fortress of Nové Zámky (24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1073/ 30 July 1663; see Kātib Muṣṭafā Zuhdī, *Ta'rīkh-i Uyvar*, Istanbul University TY2488; Rāshid, i, 25 ff.; *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*), to which he laid siege on 17 August and which finally surrendered on terms on 21 Ṣafar 1074/24 September 1663 (22 September in Montecuculi, *Mémoires de Montecuculi*, Paris 1712, 332 ff.). Having deputed subordinates to take several near-by fortresses, among them Neugrad and Nitra, Köprülü-zāde returned with the army to winter quarters in Belgrade, intending to move out from there against the Austrians in the spring. The campaign by the Hungarian commander Zrínyi and General Hohenlohe in January 1664, during which Berzence, Babócsa and Pecs were occupied (*Magyar történet*, iv, 168), led the Grand Vizier to move toward Osijek; but on hearing that the local commanders had gained control of the situation, he returned to Belgrade (21 February 1664).

The fall of Nové Zámky, regarded as the last major block to the Turkish advance into Europe, had aroused great anxiety in Europe and led to contributions of men and money to the Habsburg cause from the Papacy, Spain, some of the German princes and even France and to the formation of a sizeable force under the command of Montecuculi. A Christian force laid siege to Nagykanizsa, in response to which Köprülü-zāde advanced on that fortress. The siege having been lefted at his advance, he took and destroyed Zerinvár (6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1074/30 June 1664), the building of which had been one of the ostensible causes of the present campaigns, and then moved northward, his forces taking Kiskomárom (14 July), Egerseg, Egervár and Kemendvár (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 82 ff.) and advancing to the river Rába (Raab). Here, near the village of St. Gotthard, they came face to face with the imperial forces under Montecuculi. Though Köprülü-zāde was actively engaged in peace negotiations with the Austrian ambassador, he decided to cross the river and engage the enemy. The bridge proved inadequate, however, and only a part of the Ottoman forces got across. In the battle which ensued (8 Muḥarram 1075/1 August 1664), these at first had some success but were ultimately driven back, both sides suffering heavy losses (for details, see Montecuculi, 416; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 181 ff.; Aḥmed Mukhtār, *Sen Gotar'da ʿOthmānlī ordusu*, Istanbul 1326/1908).

This defeat, though by no means decisive, forced a more defensive policy on the Ottoman army, which had previously moved as it willed (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 90 ff.). But within ten days the two sides had signed the Treaty of Vasvár (17 Muḥarram 1075/ 10 August 1664) which largely satisfied Ottoman

aims and, in particular, left them in possession of Nové Zámky and assured their influence in Transylvania (for a Hungarian view of the treaty, see *Magyar történet*, iv, 169; for the treaty, see Baron de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottoman*, ix, Paris 1898, 50 ff.; *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 90 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 361; Rāshid, i, 78 ff.). After advancing to the area of Nové Zámky, which he had heard was to be besieged, Köprülü-zāde received there the confirmed copy of the peace treaty from Vienna and therefore returned to Belgrade where he wintered in order to oversee the implementation of the treaty. He returned to Edirne only in July 1665, and from there to Istanbul, inspecting the fortifications of the Dardanelles in company with the sultan on the way.

At a consultative assembly in December 1665, Köprülü-zāde proposed a major effort to take Ḳandiya [*q.v.*] in Crete, the siege of which had for years been the cause of heavy losses; and it was agreed that preparations for such a campaign should be put in hand. Departing from Edirne in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1076/May 1666, Köprülü-zāde crossed from Monemvasia, chosen as the mainland base for the campaign, to Canea in early November. The fleet was strengthened during the course of the winter and spring, and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1077/25 May 1667 Köprülü-zāde convened an assembly of the leading commanders in which the plans for the conduct of the siege were laid (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fol. 112; Defterdār Ṣarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2382, fols. 4 ff.; Rāshid, i, 164 ff.). The siege was pressed vigorously, with varying fortunes, until mid-November when Köprülü-zāde, who had lived in the trenches from the beginning of the siege in order to encourage the troops, suspended operations for the winter. During this period Köprülü-zāde received Venetian commissioners and was in correspondence with both the Doge of Venice and the Venetian captain-general Morosini with regard to negotiations about the fate of the fortress (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, 231; Rāshid, i, 185 ff.). Both sides gathered reinforcements in the spring and, with Köprülü-zāde entering the trenches once more on 12 Muḥarram 1079/22 June 1668, the issue was again hotly contested through the summer (for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*; Rāshid, i, 208 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 311 ff.). Knowing that Köprülü-zāde would accept only the surrender of Ḳandiya, the Venetians approached the sultan, then in Yeñishehir (Lárissa), in Thessaly, for more favourable terms, as a result of which Meḥemmed IV demanded to know of the Grand Vizier the situation, warning that it would be impossible to raise men and supplies were the siege to last another year. At an assembly convened by Köprülü-zāde on 8 Radjab 1079/12 December 1668, it was agreed that the fall of Ḳandiya seemed close at hand, and arrangements were made to winter in the trenches (Rāshid, i, 218 ff.). Friction amongst the Venetians and their allies led to the withdrawal of the allied fleet at the end of August 1669, which act left the Venetians little choice but to surrender. After six days of discussion, terms were agreed on 8 Rabīʿ II 1080/5 September 1669 (see Rāshid, i, 240 ff.; *Muʿāhadāt Medjmūʿasī*, ii, 141 ff.; Noradounghian, *Receuil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman*, i, Paris 1897, 132 ff.). Köprülü-zāde received the 80 keys of the evacuated city and fortress of Ḳandiya on 27 September. He remained through the winter to repair the fortress and to have a new land survey (*taḥrīr*) made in the Mediterranean islands. He also pacified the Mainotes with a letter which he sent, and he forgave their outstanding taxes (for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 122 ff.; Köprülü-Mehmed Asım Bey 724, fols. 231-6; Başvekalet arşivi, tahrir defterleri; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii 498 ff.; Silāḥdārı i, 538). Returning by way of Tekirdagh, he arrived in Edirne in mid-Ṣafar 1081/early July 1670 and surrendered the sacred standard to the sultan.

(For diplomatic relations with France in the early 1670s, leading to a renewal of the capitulations on 5 June 1673 (19 Ṣafar 1084), see J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Paris 1811, i; A. Vandal, *L'odysée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel (1670-80)*, Paris 1900; Saint-Priest (ed. Schefer), *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie*, Paris 1877; A. Galland, *Journal d'A. Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, Paris 1881; L. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux*, Paris 1735, iv; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 341 ff. See also IMTIYĀZĀT ii. The Ottoman empire, esp. at p. 1185a).

In 1672 a campaign was undertaken against Poland on behalf of Peter Doroshenko, hetman of a group of Ukrainian Cossacks, who had accepted Ottoman suzerainty in 1669; and on 7 Ṣafar 1083/4 June 1672, Köprülü-zāde left Edirne with the army, accompanied by Meḥemmed IV, who was to take an active interest in the campaign (for correspondence between Köprülü-zāde and the King of Poland in May 1672, see Rāshid, i, 261 ff.). The principal object of the campaign, the fortress of Kamenets Podolskiy [see ḲAMĀNIČA], was taken on 3 Djumādā I 1083/27 August 1672 after a nine-day siege (Nābī Yūsuf, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳamāniča*, Istanbul University TY2418; al-Ḥādjdjī (Ḥādjdjī) ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳamāniča*, Süleymaniye-Lala Ismail Efendi 308; ʿAbdī Pasha, *Waḳāʾiʿ-nāme*, Süleymaniye-Halet Efendi 615, Topkapı Sarayı-Bağdat köşkü 217). The rapid Ottoman advance in Poland, and particularly the siege of Lwow, compelled the Polish King, Michael Wiśnowiecki, to sue for peace; and terms were agreed at the recently-taken fort (*palanka*) of Buchach (18 October 1672: ʿAbdī Pasha; Rāshid, i, 284 ff.; Noradounghian, i, 52). The harsh terms of the treaty, which included the loss of Podolia and the Ukraine and the payment of tribute, made it unacceptable to the Polish Diet. Their refusal to ratify it and implement its terms led to further Ottoman campaigns in the following years, of which Köprülü-zāde, once again accompanied by Meḥemmed IV, directed those in 1673 and 1674. In the main action of the former year, Köprülü-zāde was appointed commander to save Khotin [*q.v.*] from the attack of John Sobieski, but the fortress was lost before he could arrive. The latter year saw a successful campaign into the Ukraine (Khotin having been retaken by the Khān of the Crimea) in response to Russian incursions. Köprülü-zāde, now in poor health, returned to Edirne with the sultan on 22 Shaʿbān 1085/21 November 1674 (see Rāshid, i, 317 ff.), and the campaigns of 1675 and 1676 against the Poles were left to others.

In his last years, Köprülü-zāde's illness worsened through his addiction to drink. Although he followed the sultan when the latter left Istanbul for Edirne with the army in early Shaʿbān 1087/mid-October 1676, he was too ill to get even as far as Edirne and died on the Kara Biber *čiftlik*, near Ergene köprüsü (between Čorlu and Karishtiran), on 26 Shaʿbān 1087/3 November 1676 at the age of 41 (ʿAbdī Pasha), his death resulting from acute

dropsy brought on by drink (Silāḥdār, i, 659). His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in his father's mausoleum near Čenberli Tash.

Köprülü-zāde's tenure in the Grand Vizierate was one of the two or three longest in Ottoman history. Tall and stout, with a round face and large eyes, he is described as dignified and inspiring respect. Especially significant is the high praise accorded his virtues by Silāḥdār (i, 659) in view of that historian's harsh judgements on Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha. Köprülü-zāde saw to the completion of pious foundations begun by his father, such as a half-finished *khān* and mosque in Rumeli, and also of his foundations in Čenberli Tash in Istanbul (*Djawāhir al-tawārikh*, fol. 14); and, as evidence of the great value which he himself placed on learning, one may cite the library which he established near his residence (formerly that of ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, daughter of Sultan Ibrāhīm and wife of Ipshir Pasha) in the vicinity of Aya Ṣofya (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, 438) and which he enriched with many very valuable books acquired both while as *müderris* and in later times. The *waḳfiyya* for the library, which was drawn up two years after his death, in 1089/1678, and which makes provision for students and the teaching of certain subjects there, is now in the Köprülü library (no. 4 of the *waḳfiyya*s of the Köprülü family; M. Gökmen, *Kütüphânelerimizden notlar*, Istanbul 1952, 52; Shaykhī, *Waḳāʾiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University TY81, fol. 691). His other foundations include a mosque in Ḳandiya (for a copy of the imperial grant of the land (*mulk-nāme*) given him in Ḳandiya, dated Rabīʿ II 1081/August-September 1670, as well as other documents demarcating boundaries, see the above collection of *waḳfiyya*s in the Köprülü library); mosques in Nové Zámky and Kamenets; and an uncompleted *khān* (later completed) in Izmir (Silāḥdār, i, 659).

Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha was also the patron of a number of men of learning and the arts, among them his private secretary (*mühürdār*), Ḥasan Agha, author of the *Djawāhir al-tawārikh*, which is based on the documents committed to his charge (there exists in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, a Latin translation of this work, made in 1680 and entitled *Annalium gemma, authore Hasanaga* .... Cf. A. Galland, *Journal*, tr. N. S. Örik, *Hatıralar*, Ankara 1949, 197, n; Babinger, 216-17); Mazāḳī, who was with him throughout the siege of Ḳandiya; Nābī; Zuhdī, the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Uyvar*; the *reʾis al-kuttāb* Ṭālib Aḥmed Efendi; the poet Fennī; and Ḥuseyn Hezārfenn [*q.v.*] (cf. Ṣafāʾī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul University TY3215, fols. 189 ff., 242 ff.; Shaykhī, fols. 680-786).

III. Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha (1047-1102/1637-91), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the younger brother of Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha. Born in Köprü in 1047/1637, he began *medrese* education together with his elder brother. Whether he received a *medrese* appointment is not known, but in 1070/1659 he is seen to have received a *zeʿāmet* and to have entered the ranks of the sultan's guards as a *müteferriḳa* (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 431). In view of the facts that he was in Crete, together with his mother, for the whole of the final siege of Ḳandiya (1667-9), that he was at Fāḍil Aḥmed's side when the latter died and that he bore the Grand Vizier's signet ring to the sultan (for the *berāt* granting him a *zeʿāmet* at this time, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ali Emiri tasnifi, period of Meḥemmed IV, 229), one may suppose that he spent most of his time with his elder brother, on campaign. On 1 Djumādā II 1090/29 June 1680 he became seventh vizier at the instigation of his brother-in-law, the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [see KARA MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, MERZIFONLU]. In November of the same year he served as guard (*muḥāfiẓ*) to the Wālide Sulṭān and the princes Süleymān and Aḥmed when they went to Edirne; and he performed the same function the following year, now as sixth vizier, when they remained in Edirne after the departure of the army for Istanbul (Rabīʿ I 1092/March 1681) following the conclusion of peace with Russia. At the time of the army's departure on the Austrian campaign of 1683 (Rabīʿ II 1094/April 1683) he remained in Edirne as guard to the Wālide Sulṭān, with the posts of fifth vizier and *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of Edirne. He was later appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Silistria with the addition of Nicopolis (i.e. the Özü *muḥāfıẓlıghı*) and became commander at Babadaghı [*q.v.*]. With Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha's dismissal and execution (December 1683) following the failure of the second siege of Vienna, and on the report that John Sobieski, King of Poland, was making preparations against Kamenets and Moldavia, it was decided to replace Fāḍil Muṣṭafā with a more experienced commander: he was summoned to the capital as *ḳubbe altı* vizier, but kept the estates (*khāṣṣ*) he then possessed (Rabīʿ II 1095/March-April 1684; Silāḥdār, ii, 127). Reaching Edirne in mid-May, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā occupied the position of third vizier in the *dīwān*; but before long he chose retirement, no doubt grieved by the enmity of the new Grand Vizier toward the Köprülü family. One year later, as the war with the Venetians in the Morea intensified, he was appointed commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Chios (according to Silāḥdār, ii, 222, transferred there from the command of Boghaz [Ḥiṣārı] = Sedd al-baḥr), subsequently being transferred to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārı on 4 Rabīʿ II 1097/28 February 1686 (Silāḥdār, ii, 230).

On 30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1098/7 October 1687, shortly after a rebellious army had made his brother-in-law, Siyāwush Pasha, Grand Vizier and begun a march on the capital, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā was summoned to Istanbul as second vizier and *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. Though Meḥemmed IV had some hope that Fāḍil Muṣṭafā might help him save his throne, past slights by the sultan made Fāḍil Muṣṭafā unsympathetic, and the latter was in fact closely involved in the deposition of Meḥemmed IV (2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687). He soon fell out of favour with the army, the instruments of the deposition, however, through resisting their demands for donatives and attempting to establish discipline; and though his position was once saved by the new sultan, Süleymān II, he was subsequently effectively exiled by being appointed again to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārı (7 Rabīʿ II 1099/10 February 1688: Silāḥdār, ii, 318 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 87 ff.; Rāshid, ii, 25). He was spared a worse fate by the refusal of the *Shaykh al-Islām* to sanction his execution. A little later he was moved to the command of Canea, then to that of Ḳandiya, then, in Ṣafar 1100/December 1688, to that of Chios.

With the war against the Holy League going badly for the Ottomans in 1688-9, particularly on the Austrian front, it was agreed by the *ʿulamāʾ* to recommend to the sultan the appointment of Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha to the Grand Vizierate, and he was accordingly summoned to Edirne (11 Muḥarram 1101/25 October 1689). His first act was to issue a declaration (*beyān-nāme*) designed to restore morale and to encourage the willing performance of military service. He also took steps to ease the lot of the tax-paying

subjects (*reʿāyā*) by removing a number of onerous extraordinary taxes such as the *resm-i khamr ve ʿaraḳ*, a recently-imposed tax on drink which had led many Christian subjects in Rumeli to make common cause with the enemy (cf. *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fol. 122). During the winter he was engaged in preparations for a campaign which he himself was to lead; and on 6 Shawwāl 1101/13 July 1690 he left Edirne. He succeeded in recovering Pirot (10 August), the fort (*palanka*) of Mūsā Pasha, and, after a 23-day siege, the important stronghold of Nish (9 September). Despite the lateness of the season and the opposition of his commanders, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā determined to march to Belgrade. Semendria fell after a three-day siege, on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1101/27 September 1690, and Belgrade after an eight-day siege, on 4 Muḥarram 1102/8 October 1690 (Silāḥdār, ii, 501 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 169, 171, 173; Rāshid, ii, 123 ff.; cf. İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1947-55, iii, 470). Detachments sent out from Belgrade succeeded in taking Boghur-delen (Šabac) and re-establishing control over the Danube at Orşova but failed to recover Osijek. Having seen to the repairing and supplying of Belgrade, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā set out for Istanbul (4 November 1690). During his return he was mindful of the *reʿāyā*, sending prisoners to their homes at the treasury's expense and also restoring lands and goods and providing the means of agriculture to those who had lived between Nish and Belgrade but had been moved across the Danube by the Austrians and now wished to return. He spent the winter of 1690-1 dealing with matters such as uprisings in Egypt (by Ibn Wānī) and Cyprus (*Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fol. 182) and instituting reforms in the Janissary Corps, the imperial stables and the imperial larder whereby expediture was cut (Silāḥdār, ii, 559-60).

Though Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā proposed that he remain in Istanbul in 1691 in order to oversee all fronts during the year and that another commander be sent to Hungary, it was thought best that he lead the campaign. By the time the army was ready to move (Shaʿbān 1102/May 1691), Süleymān II was near death, and a faction opposed to Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā was making efforts to restore Meḥemmed IV to the throne. Having taken measures to forestall these, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā left strict instructions, on departing from Edirne (18 Ramaḍān/15 June), that, in the event of the sultan's death, his brother, Aḥmed, should be placed on the throne. When, on 25 Ramaḍān 1102/22 June 1691, Süleymān II died, Aḥmed II ascended the throne without incident and confirmed Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā Pasha in the Grand Vizierate.

Having reached Belgrade on 23 Shawwāl/20 July, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā bridged the river Sava; and when the Austrians, encamped at Varadin (Petrovaradin), advanced and then retreated, the Grand Vizier set off in pursuit, overriding the advice of his commanders that he should await the arrival of the Crimean Tatars and the provincial forces. When the Ottomans took up a position before the fort of Slankamen, the Austrian commander, his road to Varadin threatened and fearing being caught between the Ottomans and the Tatars, engaged the Ottomans in battle (24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1102/19 August 1691). The Ottoman right wing having been broken, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā himself led the attack to restore the position; but just as this was about to be achieved, he was struck in the forehead by a bullet and killed: the confusion consequent on his death led to the defeat and withdrawal of the Ottoman forces. The battle of Slankamen thus saw not only a serious military reverse but also the death of an able Grand Vizier from whom much might have been expected. Despite a thorough search, Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā's body was not found. (For details, see Silāḥdār, ii, 583 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 184 ff.; Rāshid, ii, 161 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 319 ff.).

Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā Pasha, though Grand Vizier for less than two years, grasped the true needs of the state and demonstrated the ability to implement necessary reforms. He appreciated the political necessity of countering European hopes of defections from amongst the Christian subjects by taking account of their interests and by making reforms in connection with the *djizya* and other obligations laid upon them [for the effects of the *djizya* reforms, however, cf. DJIZYA ii—Ottoman, especially 565b]. To ensure the independence of the Grand Vizierate, he took steps to limit the number and influence of the *ḳubbe altı* viziers. The practice of giving gifts (*ʿīdiyya*) to the sultans at *bayrams* by state officials was ended. In every provincial city he created councils of notables (*medjlis-i aʿyān*), modelled on the imperial *dīwān*, to prevent the growth of local despotisms and to check abuses by keeping an eye on the judgements and procedures of *ḳāḍī*s and *nāʾib*s. In Istanbul, however, his failure to enforce the *narkh*, or fixed prices, on the grounds that the practice was not justified in the *sharʿ* and that trade should rest on the consent of the two parties, resulted in an increase in profiteering in his time of office. His learning, particularly in the fields of *ḥadīth* and lexicography, his devotion to the *sharʿ*, his dignity and his sense of justice are widely attested. He had three sons: Nuʿmān, ʿAbd Allāh and Esʿad (Silāḥdār, ii, 286, 587 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 187 ff.; Rāshid, i, 530; ii, 115, 148 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 307; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 242 ff.; Shaykhī, ii, 3216 ff.; *Amasya taʾrīkhi*, iv, 212 ff.; U. Heyd (ed. Ménage), *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 155).

IV. ʿAmdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha (nephew of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha)—see ʿAMŪDJA-ZĀDE ḤUSAYN PASHA.

V. Nuʿmān Pasha (?1081-1131/?1670-1719), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Fāḍīl Muṣṭafā Pasha. Born in Istanbul, he studied under Demir-Ḳapılı Fāḍīl Süleymān and Ḳayserili Ḥāfiẓ al-Sayyid Aḥmed Efendi, among others, and became *mutawallī* of the Köprülü *awḳāf* after his father's death. While Muṣṭafā II was preparing for his second campaign against the Austrians, in 1696, he decreed that Nuʿmān, like the administrators of other rich foundations, should take part in the campaign, providing 150 infantry. In Muḥarram 1112/July 1700, Nuʿmān Beg became sixth vizier and was betrothed to ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, a daughter of Muṣṭafā II (*Silāḥdār dhayli*). He became *beglerbegi* of Erzurum in Ramaḍān 1112/March 1701 and then, in Djumādā I 1114/October 1702, of Anatolia. His marriage to ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, set for the spring of 1703, was delayed in the confusion surrounding the uprising known as the *Edirne waḳʿasi* which led to the deposition of Muṣṭafā II (9 Rabīʿ II 1115/22 August 1703), who was replaced by Aḥmed III. Following this event, Nuʿmān Pasha was appointed commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Eğriboz (Euboea), and by June 1704 he had become *muḥāfiẓ* of Crete, being charged with making a land survey (*taḥrīr*) of the fiefs on the island (Rāshid, iii, 137). Transferred to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī on 26 Shawwāl 1117/10 February 1706, he was shortly after returned again to Crete. Though

the marriage ceremony with ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Sulṭān was celebrated in Muḥarram 1120/April 1708, it was still to be several years before the marriage was consummated.

Appointed again to Eğriboz in D̲j̲umādā II 1121/August 1709, he was summoned to Istanbul four months later (Ramaḍān 1121/December 1709) to consummate his marriage (Rās̲h̲id, iii, 311-2; cf. *ibid.*, iii, 317-8, however, where the consummation is said to have occurred in Muḥarram 1122/March 1710). He was made *beglerbegi* of Bosnia on 8 S̲h̲awwāl 1121/11 December 1709 but was then appointed to the command of Belgrade on 3 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1121/4 January 1710 (Rās̲h̲id, iii, 313; cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 291, who dates this appointment on 17 Rabīʿ I 1122/16 May 1710). On 18 Rabīʿ II 1122/16 June 1710, Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a was elevated to the Grand Vizierate in the hope that he would be more resolute against the Russians and better able to handle the problem of the suppliant Swedish king, Charles XII, than his predecessor, Čorlulu ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, had been (see ʿALĪ PAS̲H̲A ČORLULU; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Isveç Kıralı Karl XII.'ın Türkiye'de kalışı ...*, Istanbul 1943, 227, 229); his appointment was met with general satisfaction. Despite a strong movement in the government to concentrate attention on the Black Sea and the Polish question, Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a, trying to maintain peace with Russia, contented himself with announcing simply that a large army would see the Swedish king to his own country in the spring (see Rās̲h̲id, iii, 327; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Memālik-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye'de Demirbas̲h̲ S̲h̲arl*, Istanbul 1332/1913-14, 30 ff.; A. N. Kurat, *op. cit.*, 232 ff.; idem, *XVIII. yüz yılbası Avrupa umumı harbinde Türkiye'nin tarafsızlığı*, in *Belleten*, vii, 1943, 268 ff.; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 120-1).

Disappointed in his handling of both external and internal affairs, Aḥmed III removed Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a from the Grand Vizierate on 21 D̲j̲umādā II 1122/17 August 1710; he was subsequently appointed *muḥāfiẓ* of Eğriboz (*Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*; Rās̲h̲id, iii, 330-1. For a relation concerning his wish to resign from the Grand Vizierate, see Behd̲j̲etī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i sülāle-i Köprülü*). In the nine years before his death he held administrative and military positions continuously in various parts of the empire. He became *muḥāfiẓ* of Canea in S̲h̲awwāl 1122/December 1710, and of Ḳandiya in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1123/December 1711, while on 19 S̲h̲awwāl 1125/8 November 1713 he was given the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Yanya (Ioánnina) as an *arpalïk* (*Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*). The next year he was given the *eyālet* of Bosnia together with the military command of the Ḳaradag̲h̲ [*q.v.*] area. While in this post he moved against the rebels of Ḳaradag̲h̲, who were receiving aid from the Venetians, hunted them down and drove those who escaped to take refuge with the Venetians (S̲h̲awwāl 1126/October 1714: Rās̲h̲id, iv, 22-3. For the decree sent to him about this problem, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ibnülemin, dâhiliye, 2411).

Following this success, he was moved to the command of Belgrade (January 1715: *Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*), where affairs were at a delicate stage; but under him, as in his predecessor's time, disorder in this frontier fortress increased, as did desertions from the local levies and the *ḳapïḳulu* soldiery. Dismissed because of this in Rabīʿ II 1127/April 1715, he was transferred to the governorship (*mutaṣarrïflïḳ*) of the *sand̲j̲aḳ*s of Ičil and Mentes̲h̲e and given the task of following the activities of the bandits who were profiting from the absence on campaign of the viziers and *beglerbegis* of Anatolia (Rās̲h̲id, iv, 237, 240 ff.). In S̲h̲awwāl 1128/September 1716 he was made *beglerbegi* and *muḥāfiẓ* of Cyprus (*Silāḥdār d̲h̲ayli*); and three months later he became commander (*serdār*) in Bosnia while retaining the governorship of Cyprus (for part of the firman of appointment, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, 294, n. 1). During the period when the Austrians gained Belgrade (Ramaḍān 1129/August 1717), Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a beat back the enemy attack on Bosnia and forced the raising of the siege of Izvornik (October 1717). He remained active in the defense of Bosnia until after the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz (22 S̲h̲aʿbān 1130/21 July 1718) (see Rās̲h̲id, iv, 383; and for a copy of a decree sent to him in mid-Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ibnülemin, dâhiliye, 2436) and was then transferred at his own request to the governorship of Crete in Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718. Falling ill as soon as he reached the island, however, he died in Ḳandiya on 16 Rabīʿ I 1131/6 February 1719 and was buried beside the mosque of Fāḍïl Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a.

Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a was accounted an honest and pious man of whom one author remarks that he would have been better suited to the office of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* than to that of Grand Vizier (Charles de Ferriol, *Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol*, Antwerp 1870, 120). He is said to have taking nothing from the estates attached to the various offices he held, but rather to have met his expenses exclusively from the income of the estates which he had inherited from his father (Behd̲j̲etī).

Both his younger brothers and, of his sons, particularly Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a (d. 1183/1769) made a mark in public life, as have other descendents of the family down to the present day [see KÖPRÜLÜ MEHMED FUAD].

Bibliography: For further details and a more complete bibliography, especially of archival materials, see *İA* art. *Köprülüler*, by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, on which this article is largely based.

(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN - R. C. REPP)

KÖPRÜLÜ, MEHMED FUAD, until 1934 KÖPRÜLÜZĀDE MEḤMED FUʾĀD (1890-1966), prominent Turkish scholar and the pioneer of Turkish studies in the modern sense in Turkey. Born in Istanbul, he was the son of Ismāʿīl Fāʾiz Bey, a civil servant, a descendant of the sister of the famous Ottoman grand vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] who married Ḳïbleli Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, one-time vizier of Meḥemmed IV. His mother K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a K̲h̲ānïm was the daughter of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Efendi, a member of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Islimye in Rumeli (Sliven in present day Bulgaria). He was educated at Ayāspas̲h̲a junior high school (*rüs̲h̲diyye*) and at Merd̲j̲ān high school (*iʿdādī*) in Istanbul. Later, for two years he attended the School of Law (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*), which he left in 1909, but he was mainly self-taught. After teaching in various schools, he was appointed in 1913, with Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp's support, to the chair of Turkish literature in the University of Istanbul, vacant upon the resignation of K̲h̲ālid Ḍiyāʾ [*q.v.*], a position which he kept until 1939. He also taught at the School (later Faculty) of Political Science (*Siyasal Bilgiler*) and in the Ankara Faculty of Arts (*Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi*) (where he covered Ottoman history and institutions). He served for eight months as under-secretary at the Ministry of Education in 1924 and was elected deputy from Kars in 1936. After 1939 he settled in Ankara and joined political life. In January 1946 he became one of the four

founders of the Democratic Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTİ]. Following the 1950 elections he became Foreign Minister (1950-5) and Minister of State in 1956, but resigned from the party on account of a rift with the other leaders. Following the revolution of 27 May 1960, he was arrested and briefly detained on Yassıada (in the Sea of Marmara) where all Democratic Party leaders were being tried, but he was acquitted on all charges. In 1961 he founded the short-lived Yeni Demokrat Parti ("The New Democratic Party") and soon afterwards retired from political life. He died in Istanbul on 28 June 1966 as a consequence of an earlier traffic accident in Ankara.

Fu'ād Köprülü started his career as a poet and literary critic. His name began to appear towards the end of 1908 in various papers and periodicals particularly in the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*]. As a poet he belonged to the *Fedjr-i Ātī* group [*q.v.*], an extension of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school. In 1912 he mainly contributed to the daily *Ḥaḳḳ* and its literary supplement. He gradually switched to research and in 1913 he published in *Bilgi Medjmū'asi* (i, 3-52) his "Method in the history of Turkish literature" (*Türk edebiyyātī ta'rīkhinde uṣūl*). Like many young talents of his generation he came under the impact of Ḍiyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*] and of the Turkist movement which he led [see TÜRKČÜLÜK, and contributed many articles to *Türk yurdu* (1913), the organ of the movement and to the daily *Iḳdām* where he serialised a study on folk poetry (February-June 1914). In 1915 he founded the journal *Millī tetebbü'ler medjmū'asi* ("Journal of National Research"), where he published some of his early important study on *'āshiḳ* poetry (i, 5-46). In July 1917 Ḍiyā' Gökalp founded the famous *Yeñi Medjmū'a* ("the New Review") which gathered together all the leading young writers of the period and where Fu'ād Köprülü published his new-style poems (in spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and on "national" topics as required by the new *Millī edebiyyāt* trend) and his articles of literary criticism and research. After the publication in 1918 of his epoch-making monograph on "Early mystics in Turkish literature" i.e. Aḥmed Yesewī and Yūnus Emre (*Türk edebiyyātında ilk müteṣawwiflar*) and of the first two parts of his history of Turkish literature (*Türk edebiyyātī ta'rīkhi*, i, 1920 and ii, 1921), Köprülü concentrated his research on the origins and development of classical Turkish literature and culture in Anatolia; the evolution of Turkish Islam and Ottoman institutions; the Turkish legal system; and the development of Turkish literature in other literary dialects e.g. Azerī and Chaghatay. His work shed new light on the formative period of Turkish literature in Anatolia; very little research had been carried out in this field before him. But his greatest contribution is to have treated the evolution of the many branches of Turkish literature and culture as one unit and to have studied its development as a whole. In 1924 he founded in Istanbul University the Institute of Turcology (*Türkiyyāt Enstitüsü*) and its organ the *Türkiyyāt Medjmū'asi*. Apart from his many articles (some of which are independent monographs) published in various scholarly journals, particularly *Ḥayāt, Türkiyyat Medjmū'asi, Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmū'asi, Belleten, Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, and the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*), Köprülü is the author of the following major works: *Türkiyye Ta'rīkhi*, i ("History of Turkey"), Istanbul 1923 (covers the period up to the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia); *Bugünkü edebiyyāt* ("Literature of today"), Istanbul 1924 (collection of early articles on literary criticism and book reviews); *Türk edebiyyātī ta'rīkhi*, i, Istanbul 1926 (revised and enlarged edition of the two parts published in 1920-1); *Millī edebiyyāt djereyānīnīñ ilk mübeshshirleri* ... ("Forerunners of the national literature movement"), Istanbul 1928 (contains selections from the 10th/16th century poet Edirneli Naẓmī who experimented with "pure Turkish"); *Türk dili ve edebiyati üzerinde araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934 (a collection of research articles and book reviews); *Les origines de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1935; and *Türk saz şairleri*[2], in 3 volumes, the first of which is published for the first time (Istanbul 1962).

Bibliography: Şerif Hulusi (Sayman), *O. Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün yazıları için bir bibliyografya 1912-42*, Istanbul 1940; S. N. Özerdim, *Fuad Köprülü'nün yazıları 1908-1950*, in *Türk dili ve tarihi hakkında araştırmalar*, i, TTK, Ankara 1950, 159-248 (a revised and completed version of the preceding); idem, *F. Köprülü'nün yazılarına ek*, in *Belleten*, No. 120 (1966), 661-5; anon. *Fuad Köprülü'nün ilmî neşriyatı*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Ankara Univ. Faculty of Arts, 1953, xxv-liii (based on Şerif Hulusi's work brought up to date); F. A. Tansel, *Memleketimizin acı kaybı, Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü*, in *Belleten*, No. 120 (1966), 621-36. (FAHİR İz)

ḲOPUZ [see 'ŪD]

KŌŔĀ or **KŌŔĀ DJAHĀNĀBĀD**, an ancient town of northern India in the Khadjuhā *taḥṣīl* of Fatḥpūr District in the former British United Provinces, now Uttar Pradesh. It lies in lat. 26° 7′ N. and long. 80° 22′ E. on the Rind River some 12 miles/20 km. from the Djamnā (Jumna) River between Kānpūr (Cawnpore) and Fatḥpūr.

In early times it was apparently held by the Rādjput line of the Rādjās of Argal, and the fortress there may have been their ancestral centre. Under the Mughals, Kōŕā (sometimes spelt in Marāṭhī and Persian sources as Kurrah, and to be distinguished from Kārā Mānikpūr, an adjacent but separate *sarkār*) formed a *sarkār* or district of Allāhābād *ṣūba* or province, with a revenue of 17,400,000 *dams* (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. Jarrett and Sarkar, Calcutta 1949, 178). The great Mughal highway connecting Allāhābād with Āgra ran through Kōŕā, and a bridge was built in *ca.* 1770 to carry the road over the Rind. During the fighting of the middle decades of the 18th century between the Marāṭhā invaders and the troops of the titular Mughal emperors and the Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh or Oudh, Kōŕā played a considerable rôle. A copper coin of Akbar's is known from the Kōŕā mint, and it was a mint town of the later Mughals from Shams al-Dīn Rafī' al-Daradjāt (1131/1719) onwards.

During the 19th century, the population of both Kōŕā proper and of Djahānābād, the township adjoining it to the north-west declined (populations of 2,806 and 4,379 respectively on 1901, the proportion of Muslim to Hindus being then 44% and 27%.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], xv, 598; *District gazeteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, xx. Fatehpur*, Allahabad 1906, 105, 152, 154, 157-8, 251-8. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KORČA, modern Turkish Korçe, Greek Korytsa, Ottoman Görridje, all from the Slavic toponym "Gorica."), the only urban centre of importance in southeastern Albania, situated at the edge of the homonymous plain at the foot of the Moravë Mountains, which constitute the natural barrier

between the Korča plain and Macedonia. Korča was one of the most important towns founded by the Ottomans in Albania. Throughout the Ottoman period (late 14th century till 1912), Korča was a local administrative centre (*nāḥiye*, *ḳāḍilliḳ*), and latterly the capital of a *sandjaḳ* in the *vilāyet* of Manastir (Bitola) and a small Islamic centre.

The Ottomans annexed the eastern part of the present-day Albania in the last decade of the 8th/14th century and established their regular administration there, with the castles of "Göridje" and Premedi (Përmet) as bases. A *terminus ad quem* for the conquest, not recorded it seems by the Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshıḳpashazāde, Orūč, Anonymus-Giese, Neshrī, Saʿd al-Dīn), is the church of the village of Mborje 3 km. east of Korča on the first spur of the Moravë, which church was, according to its well-preserved inscription, built by Bishop Niphon in the year 1390. Throughout the entire 15th century the name "Göridje" seems to have been used for a castle on the spur or the Moravç between the village of Mborje and the place where the town of Korča lies today. The Ottoman documents from the early period use "Enborye" (from Emporion) and "Göridje" indiscriminately. A fragment of a *tīmār* register from Ṣafar 886/April 1481 mentions a *tīmār* of an "Isḥāḳ the Albanian" situated in the "*nāḥiye* of Göridje". This *tīmār* included eight small villages (mostly with Slavic names), of which one numbered six Muslim households and two households of Christians. (Sofia, National Library, Orient. Dep., No D 649, p. 26). The document is an indication for the early start of the Islamisation of the district of Korča, an Islamisation which was not solely restricted to members of the old native nobility. The castle of Göridje was maintained throughout the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. When it disappeared is apparently not recorded. A *tapu defter* (Başbakanlık arşivi [= BBA] T. D 70, p. 257) from 925/1519 (mentions a *djemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* of the castle. The village of "Enborye, dependent on Göridje" numbered, according to the same document, 18 households of Muslims, 7 Muslim bachelors, and 88 households of Christians as well as 10 Christian bachelors and 11 widows. According to a *tapu defter* of 936/1529-30, the same village numbered 15 Muslim households, 4 Muslim bachelors, 4 people with a *berāt*, 1 *sipāhīzāde*, and 101 Christian households and 25 Christian bachelors (BBA. T. D. 167, p. 172). The same document states that there was a *djemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* in the castle of Göridje consisting of 22 households and 9 bachelors. These *müsellems* were freed from *ispenče*, *ʿawāriḍ* and *teḳālīfat* in exchange for the fulfilment of the duties of repair and maintenance of the castle. Besides these privileged Christians, there was a *djemāʿat* of 5 Christian families in the castle who had to deliver yearly 1,500 arrows, for which service the state freed them from paying the *ʿawāriḍ* and the various *tekālīfats*, but they had to pay *ʿöshr*, *djizye* and *ispenče*. The *dhimmī* Aydin, son of Dimitri, thus a recent convert, was freed from *kharādj*, *ispenče*, *ʿawāriḍ* and *tekālīfat-ı ʿörfiyye* for the service of keeping the water supply of the castle in good order.

The actual town of Korča is an Ottoman foundation, intentionally founded in order to form a Muslim urban centre in the district. The history of the foundation of Korča can be reconstructed with help of some Ottoman documents. In 891/1486 the Master of the Imperial Stables (*Mīrākhor*), Ilyās Beg, received from Bāyezīd II the village of Bosotinče (Boboštice, 7 km. south of Korča), dependent on Göriče, as full possession (Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 426). In 901/1495-6 the same person constructed a mosque and some other buildings in the village of Pisḳopiye near Göridje. In 910/1504-5 Ilyās Beg drew up the *waḳf-nāme* for his mosque in Istanbul, (the former Studion Basilica near Yedi Kule) and for his foundations in Piskopiye: a mosque, an *ʿimāret* (in the sense of a building for the distribution of food to the poor), and a *muʿallimkhāne*. For the upkeep of these foundations, he allotted the tax revenue of four villages in the district of Korča (including Bosotinče and Pisḳopiye), the revenue of a village near Premedi, a *ḥammām* and seven shops in Istanbul, and another *ḥammām* and a mill in Jannina (Yanya) in Epirus (extract of the *waḳfiyye* by Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, 427-8). The full extent of the foundations of Ilyās are not known, with certainty. According to a late 18th-century source, the *Ḥadīḳat al-djewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, i, 196, Ilyās Beg founded "benevolent works like an *ʿimāret*, a mosque, a *medrese*, and a *mekteb*" in Korča. The *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, (v, 3919) mentions: "a blessed mosque, a *medrese*, an *ʿimāret* and a *tekke*." Local tradition also attributes a *ḥammām* to Ilyās Beg. The *Ḳāmūs* states explicitly that the Beg "laid the foundations of the town" by building the above-mentioned objects. It is possible that Ilyās Beg, or his sons, added to the foundations of 910/1504-5 at a later date.

The *Ḳāmūs* further states that Ilyās was one of the dignitaries of the time of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and tutor and *mīrākhor* of Bāyezīd II. The *Ḥadīḳat* noted that he was an Albanian by birth and that he was buried in Göridje. In a *waḳfiyye* of 915/1509-10 (see Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, ii, 212), he styles himself "Ilyās Beg b. ʿAbd Allāh". He was thus of local Christian origin. Ilyās Beg was married to the Ottoman princess Ḥundī Khātūn, daughter of Murād II and Umm Kulthūm Khātūn. The place where he erected his buildings, Piskopiye, explicitly styled a "village" in the 910 *waḳfiyye*, must have been the seat of a local bishopric in pre-Ottoman times. The *Ḳāmūs* states that Ilyās Beg constructed his buildings on the site of a destroyed old monastery. The name "Göridje", sc. Korča, came to be used for the new urban settlement which developed around the nucleus formed by Ilyās's buildings. In the Istanbul *Taḥrīr* of 953/1546, edited by Barkan and Ayverdi (Istanbul 1970, 375), the buildings of Ilyās are situated in the "*ḳaṣaba* of Göridje." The new settlement thus supplanted the old one and probably absorbed its population, as it did with that of Mborje or Enborye 3 km. away from the new centre. The latter sank down to a hamlet of a few houses around the preserved Byzantine church of 1390.

The development of Korča in the 16th and 17th centuries cannot have been a spectacular one. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (tr. Von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 141) mentions it in the first half of the 17th century as an administrative subdivision of the *sandjaḳ* of Ohrid. Ottoman lists of the *ḳāḍiliḳs* of Rumeli from 1078/1667-8 and 1203/1788 mention Göridje as the seat of a *ḳāḍilıḳ* of one of the lowest orders (Özergin in *Uzunçarşılı armağan*, Ankara 1976, 265, 300). Neither Muḥammed-i ʿĀshıḳ nor Ewliyā Čelebi describes Korča, nor does Mario Bizzi or other travellers, without doubt because it lies almost 60 km. off the Via Egnatia, the main road through the country.

In the second half of the 18th century, the development of the town received a strong impetus from the immigration of inhabitants of the Walachian trade metropolis of Voskopoje (Moschopolis), 20 km. due west in the mountains. Between 1768 and 1779 this

large urban settlement fell prey to the disorder which at that time reigned supreme. The French consul of Thessaloniki, Félix Beaujour, and the British traveller Colonel Leake, both writing in the first decade of the 19th century, describe Korča as a place with 450 houses and a population of 3,000 souls. After that time the development of the town increased in speed. J. G. von Hahn (*Albanische Studien*, Jena 1854, 55) spoke of "dem rasch aufblühenden Gjortscha." Other sources mention 10,000 inhabitants in 1859. In the eighties of the last century, Sāmī Bey describes the town in his *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* as a place with 18,000 inhabitants, 757 shops, 23 *khāns*, two mosques, one *medrese*, one *tekke*, one *ʿimāret*, two *ḥammāms*, a clock tower and four churches. At the end of the century the town was burnt down in a general conflagration. It was rebuilt under Aḥmed Eyyūb Pasha according to a new and modern plan with wide and straight streets which crossed at a right angle, a plan which still characterises the place. Between 1887 and 1902 Korča possessed a special Albanian school, the very first school where lessons were given in the Albanian language. As such, the place played a role of first importance in the development of Albanian nationalism.

From the sixties of the 19th century, Korča was the capital of a sizeable *sandjaḳ* which comprised much of south-eastern Albania and a part of present day Greek Macedonia. Around 1900, Heinrich Gelzer numbered 2,027 houses in Korča, of which 1,420 were inhabited by Albanian Orthodox Christians, 102 by Vlachs and 505 by Muslim Albanians (*Vom Heiligen Berge und aus Makedonien*, Leipzig 1904, 200). Other sources also mention population two-thirds Christian and one-third Muslim. During the upheavals of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), the town suffered particularly from the struggle between pro-Greek Albanian-speaking Christians and Albanian nationalists, both Muslim and Orthodox. During the French occupation, in 1916, a short lived "Republic of Korča" was proclaimed. After the First World War, Korča remained within the frontiers of the new Albanian state. According to a French census of 1916 it numbered 22-23,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,779 were Orthodox and 5,464 were Muslim, all Albanian-speaking (Justin Godart, *L'Albanie en 1921*, Paris 1922, 94). The total number in the district of Korča was 39,533 Muslims and 17,671 others. At present, the number of inhabitants of the town has passed the 50,000 mark.

Korča is the native town of the "Ottoman Montesquieu", Koči Beg [*q.v.*]. His family lies buried in the yard of the Mīrākhor Mosque. The famous man himself rests, according to Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir's *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, in the graveyard along the Manastir Road, but according to Babinger (*Geschichtschreiber*, 185), in the yard of the Korča mosque itself. The family of the famous viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] also came from Korča.

Korča is today a modern industrial centre, manufacturing textiles. The mosque of Mīrākhor Ilyās Beg remains standing and is, together with the *türbe* of the Beg, an officially-recognised Monument of Culture. It lost its tall minaret during the fury of the Albanian Cultural Revolution of the spring of 1967. The mosque is one of the best examples of early classical Ottoman architecture in the country, a building which contributed considerably to the formation of Islamic architectural forms in Albania in the succeeding centuries.

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(M. Kiel)

KORDOFĀN (Kurdufān) a region of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan lying west of the White Nile roughly between lats. 16° and 10° N. and longs. 32° and 27° E.; it is now divided into two provinces, Northern and Southern Kordofān, with a population of 3,103,000 (1973 census). The name, often pronounced locally and earlier written as Kordofāl, is said to come from a small hill some ten miles south-east of al-Ubayyiḍ (lat. 13° 11′ N., long. 30° 14′ E.); before the present century the name referred to the central settled area rather than to the whole region.

1. Geography and ethnology

A vast (about 147,000 square miles) open plain, forming a segment of Africa's Sudanic Belt, Kordofān may be divided into a number of ecological zones; the semi-desert in the north, a central *ḳoz* (stabilised sand dune) zone and the Nuba Mountains of the south-east. The mean annual rainfall ranges from less than 100 mm. in the far north to between 6 to 800 mm. in the south; the human ecology reflects this transition from camel and sheep nomadism in the northern zone which itself merges into the Bayūḍa Desert, to mixed hoe agriculture and pastoralism in the central zone and cattle nomadism in the south. Only in the Khayrān depression north of Bāra is irrigated agriculture practised.

The ethnography of Kordofān is complex, being historically the result of an Arab or Arabised component immigrating and intermingling with a discrete indigenous population; Arab nomads and semi-nomads, predominantly Kabābīsh, Dār Ḥāmid, Ḥamar and Bidayriyya live in the north and centre, while in the south the cattle nomads (*Baḳḳāra*), Misīriyya, Ḥumr and Hawazma, form but a part of the "Baḳḳāra belt" that stretches west to Lake Chad and east across the White Nile. The towns, established in the 18th century mainly by Djaʿaliyyūn and Danāḳla immigrants from the Nile Valley, are found in the central zone, al-Ubayyiḍ, Bāra, Umm Ruwāba and al-Rahad, an area of rain-fed agriculture which produces Kordofān's main export, gum arabic from the *hashab* tree (*Acacia senegal*). The Nuba Mountains are inhabited by a medley of ethnic groups, whose generic name, Nuba, conceals a linguistic and ethnic diversity which defies generalisations; at least thirty languages belonging to several different language groups are spoken. In the 20th century, partly because of colonial policies, the Nuba have increasingly moved their settlements down from the mountains onto the plains below.

2. History

Neither the name nor any certain information about the region appear in the mediaeval Arabic geographical literature; nor can anything very certain be said of the early peopling of Kordofān or of the course or chronology of the Arab immigration. A letter from the ruler of Bornū dated 794/1391 to Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ of Egypt may imply the penetration of Djudhām and other Arab nomads through Kordofān and beyond to the Lake Chad region (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, viii, 116-18; Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 163), but of the two possible directions from which the original Arab nuclei of the modern Baḳḳāra tribes might have come, North Africa seems more likely than the Nile. The Baḳḳāra tribes in their present formation probably do not go

back beyond the 17th century. Oral traditions remember the existence of an Arab nomad confederation, the Fazāra, in Northern Kordofān in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries; recent research has discovered references to Egyptian merchants trading with merchants from *barr al-sūdān fazāra ca.* 1530. The Kābābīsh of Kordofān and the Zayyādiyya of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] appear to have emerged out of the débris of this confederation. In sum, it would appear that the earliest Arab penetration cannot be dated much before the 8th/14th century, probably following the collapse of the Christian Nubian kingdoms of the Nile Valley.

Fundj, Musabbaʿāt and Fūr rule. Following the emergence of the Islamised Fundj [*q.v.*] sultanate of Sinnār at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Kordofān experienced a secondary wave of Arabisation and Islamisation through commercial and political influences from the Nile Valley and the missionary activities of itinerant *faḳīhs*. The spread of Islam among the indigenous inhabitants is illustrated by the emergence of Taḳalī, a small Islamised kingdom, whose foundation at least as a Muslim state is traditionally ascribed to Muḥammad al-Djaʿalī, a *faḳīh* who came from the north in about 936/1530. Occasional glimpses of this spread of Islam may be found in the biographical dictionary of Wad Ḍayf Allāh; in the early 11th/17th century Tādj al-Dīn al-Bahārī from Baghdād visited Taḳalī. Later in the century the *faḳīh* Ibn al-Kaddāl visited Kordofān; he taught a local *faḳīh*, Djawdat Allāh, whose son Mukhtār was killed by Djanḳal (see below) (Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, Khartoum 1971, 127-9, 87-8, 130, 345-6).

In historic times Kordofān became a "buffer territory, now the prey of its eastern, now of its western neighbours" (MacMichael, *Kordofán*, 5), that is, between Sinnār and the rising Dār Fūr sultanate (established *ca.* 1650). Bādī II of Sinnār (1054-92/1644-5 to 1681) invaded and subdued Taḳalī, and Sinnār and occasionally recruited Nūba as mercenaries. Thereafter Sinnār exercised an informal hegemony over central and eastern Kordofān through their protégés, the Ghudiyyāt, living to the south of al-Ubayyiḍ, some of whose chiefs appear in Fundj documents with the title *shaykh Kurḍufān*.

Sinnār's overlordship was disputed in the late 17th and 18th centuries by three generations of Musabbaʿāt (sing. Musabbaʿāwī) chiefs, who attempted to carve out a kingdom for themselves in Kordofān. By origin from Dār Fūr, Djanḳal, ʿĪsāwī and Hāshim, grandfather, father and son, attempted to play off Sinnār and Dār Fūr against each other.

Although the Musabbaʿāt succeeded in ousting the Fundj, in about 1200/1785-6 Hāshim's activities provoked an invasion by Sultan Muḥammad Tayrāb (*ca.* 1166-1200/1752-3 to 1785-6) from Dār Fūr. Thereafter, despite Hāshim's attempts at resistance, Kordofān was ruled by Dār Fūr. Among Dār Fūr's governors (*maḳdūm* pl. *maḳādīm*) in Kordofān, Muḥammad Kurra and Musallim al-Tardjāwī encouraged trade in gum, ostrich feathers and slaves, granted land to *faḳīhs* and others around al-Ubayyiḍ and Bārā, and curbed the nomads.

Turco-Egyptian rule 1821-85. In 1821, as part of a wider invasion of the Northern Sudan, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* of Egypt, sent an expedition of 3 to 4,000 troops and an artillery battery under his son-in-law, the *daftardār* Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, to conquer Dār Fūr and Kordofān (al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, iv, 318). After successfully crossing the desert, the *daftardār*'s army destroyed the Dār Fūr garrison and killed the *maḳdūm* Musallim at Bārā on 20 August 1821; Khusraw was prevented from invading Dār Fūr by a fierce revolt along the Nile. Al-Ubayyiḍ continued as the capital of what was now a province of the Turco-Egyptian Sudan, although the actual administrative arrangements fluctuated greatly (the governors are listed in R. L. Hill, *Rulers of Sudan, 1820-1885*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxii/1 [1951], 85-95).

Muḥammad ʿAlī had conquered the Northern Sudan to obtain slaves and gold; Kordofān yielded both, some alluvial gold from Djabal Shaybūn in the Nuba Mountains and slaves from those owned within Kordofān or captured by Baḳḳāra raids upon the Nūba and other southern peoples. As in other parts of the Sudan, the authorities themselves organised slave raids to the south; Rustum Bey (governor 1828-33) on one raid in 1830 seized 1,400 captives. Despite prospecting by W. P. E. S. Rüppell, J. von Russegger and others, the hopes of substantial gold deposits proved largely chimerical. For most of the Turco-Egyptian period neither the Baḳḳāra nor the Nūba were ever brought under an effective administration; Djabal Taḳalī put up a particularly prolonged resistance.

The Mahdiyya 1885-98. Kordofān was the scene of the first and final acts of the Mahdiyya [see KHALĪFA. iv. In the Sudanese Mahdiyya]. Although its history belongs to the wider history of the Mahdist Sudan, events in Kordofān contributed decisively to the success of the Mahdist Revolution. Thus, among the Djaʿaliyyūn settled in the province, a bitter conflict had developed between two factions led by Ilyās Pasha Umm Birayr and Aḥmad Bey Dafaʿ Allāh al-ʿAwaḍī. The former was appointed Governor of Kordofān by C. G. Gordon, but was dismissed following a revolt by the Ghudiyyāt instigated by his rivals. It was with Ilyās and others, embittered with the Turco-Egyptian régime, that Muḥammad Aḥmad, the future Mahdī, made contact on a visit to al-Ubayyiḍ, probably in 1879.

Following his manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) on 29 June 1881 and initial successes against the Turco-Egyptian authorities, the Mahdī, following prophetic precedent, made his withdrawal (*hidjra*) into Kordofān to Djabal Ḳadīr in the Nuba Mountains. It was in Kordofān that the Mahdī found the support and won the victories that firmly established his rule; on 19 January 1883 al-Ubayyiḍ finally capitulated and the destruction of the Hicks Pasha relief expedition at Shaykān, south of al-Ubayyiḍ, on 5 November 1883 gave the Mahdī complete control over Kordofān. In the context of these victories, Gordon's proposal that the Mahdī be made "Sultan of Kordofān" was derisory.

During the Mahdist period, Kordofān was basically administered from al-Ubayyiḍ by a deputy-governor (*wakīl*), but for most of the period was combined with Dār Fūr to form one great province of the West (*ʿimālat al-gharb*) under ʿUthmān Ādam (1888-91) and Maḥmūd Aḥmad (1891-96). Not everyone in Kordofān accepted the Mahdiyya; the Kabābīsh under their Shaykh, Ṣāliḥ Faḍl Allāh Sālim, who was in touch with the Anglo-Egyptian authorities, resisted until he was killed in May 1887. A revolt of a different nature was the mutiny of the *djihādiyya*, slave troops armed with rifles, at al-Ubayyiḍ in 1885; they marched off to the Nuba Mountains killing the provincial governor, Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, when he attempted to stop them.

In late 1896, under the threat of the Anglo-Egyp-

tian advance, the Khalifa ʿAbdallāhi ordered Maḥmūd Aḥmad to march east with the bulk of the forces of Kordofān and Dār Fūr. After the defeat at Karrarī (Omdurman) on 2 September 1898, the Khalifa withdrew into eastern Kordofān to Shirkayla; he was hunted down and killed at Umm Dibaykarāt, near Kostī, on 24 November 1899.

Condominium rule 1898-1956 and independence. At the outset of Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule in the Sudan, Kordofān was in a state of chaos; bands of Mahdist supporters roamed unchecked and the tribal order had largely disintegrated both as a result of the deliberate policy of the Khalifa and through the loss of herds and slaves. Order was gradually imposed by punitive patrols, the Nūba under their *makks* (chiefs) and *kudjūrs* (ritual experts) forming particularly strong pockets of resistance until the 1920s. By 1911 the railway joined al-Ubayyiḍ to Khartoum and the gum trade was revived.

In the 1920s direct military administration gave way to "Indirect rule", and local administration came to be largely committed to the tribal chiefs. Tribes like the Kabābīsh under a strong leader, Sir ʿAlī al-Tūm Faḍl Allāh Sālim (1874-1938), prospered; others, such as the Ḥamar, were re-assembled from the fragments left by the Mahdiyya. Al-Ubayyiḍ grew rapidly as the centre for the gum trade.

Since independence (1 January 1956) Kordofān has been one of the most prosperous and peaceful regions of the Sudan, although the rapid encroachment of the desert has become a major threat. Provincial and local government reorgans:ation in the early 1970s has largely transferred power from the tribal leadership to the administrators and locally-elected committees of the Sudanese Socialist Union.

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(R. S. O'Fahey)

ḲORDOS, the Ottoman Turkish name of the ancient Greek city of Corinth in the Morea [*q.v.*]. It has a naturally fortified citadel (Ἀκροκόρινθος) overlooking a fertile plain (whose main product is currants) and dominating the isthmus between continental Greece and the Moreot peninsula as well as the two adjacent ports on either side. Corinth remained under Byzantine rule up to 1210, when it was conquered by the Crusaders; it passed to the Florentine family of the Acciaiuoli (1358), to the Greek despot of the Morea (1395), to the Hospitallers of Rhodes (1400) and again to the Greeks (1404). The region of Corinth was attacked by the Turks of Aydīn in 1327, and in 1361 it is reported to have been deserted owing to Turkish raids. The city was attacked by the Ottomans under Ewrenos in 1395 and conquered after a siege by Meḥemmed II in 1458. In 1488-9 Corinth had a Christian population of approximately 18,000; after *ca.* 1400 the existence of Albanian settlements was signalled for the region. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it formed a *sandjaḳ* of the *eyālet* of the Morea (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 185). In 1614 it was temporarily conquered by the Hospitallers of Rhodes; in 1682 it passed to the Venetians and again to the Ottomans in 1715. Finally, in 1822 (the second year of the Greek War of Independence) it was taken by the Greeks.

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(E. A. Zachariadou)

KÖRFÜZ, KÖRFÜS (the first spelling in e.g. Pīrī Reʾīs and Rāshid, the second in Pečewī), the Turkish name for the island of Corfu off the coast of Epirus. Pīrī Reʾīs gives a full account of the island, together with a map, in his *Baḥriyye* (ed. Kahle, Berlin and Leipzig 1926-7, i, 113-16, No. 54). The Ottomans never succeeded in dislodging from Corfu the Venetians, who controlled it from the opening of the 15th century until 1797, but there were two major Turkish attempts to occupy the island.

The first took place in Rabīʿ I 944/August 1537 in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. The fleet assembled in spring of that year at Awlonya under the great corsair captain Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa and Luṭfī Pasha, then third vizier [*q.vv.*], with the sultan in charge of the land forces. The town of Corfu was besieged for 43 days, but with the approach of winter, the Turks withdrew, the sultan returning to

Edirne whilst the fleet attacked and plundered Cephalonia (see Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 194-200; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, tr. J. Mitchell, *History of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831, 55-8, drawing on the *Ghazawāt-nāma* of Sayyid Murād, see Bibl. to KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA, BARBAROSSA). The second and last attempt took place in 1128/1716 under Aḥmed III, towards the end of the Ottoman reconquest of the Morea [*q.v.*] from Venice, when the attack was led from the land by the Serʿasker Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha and from the sea by the Ḳapudan-i Deryā Meḥmed Pasha, and was again unsuccessful (Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865-6, iv, 186, 189, 246).

Bibliography: given in the article; for a good general account of Corfu's history, see *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. *Corfù*, and for the two Ottoman campaigns, Danışmend, *İzahlı osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, ii, 195-6, iv, 9. (ED.)

KORITZA [see KORČA].

ḲORḲUD B. BĀYAZĪD, ABU 'L-KHAYR MUḤAMMAD (874-919/1470-1513), Ottoman prince and eldest of the eight sons of Sultan Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*]. He was born in Amasya where his father was governor (Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, 66; Nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha, *Ta'rīkh*, 181; Cf. Kemāl-pasha-zāde, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Millet ms. 32, f. 23 etc., and Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya tarihi*, iii, 226). He spent his childhood and had his early education in the Old Palace at Istanbul in the care of his grandfather Meḥemmed II, after whose death in 886/1481 he was briefly placed on the throne, for some 17 days, by the Janissaries until his father returned from Amasya to assume power. Later, Ḳorḳud returned to Amasya and in 896/1491 was appointed governor of Sarukhān. His request to have the governorship of Bergama instead of Manisa was refused by his father, and perhaps upon the suggestion of his brother Aḥmad, governor of Amasya now, he was transferred to the governorship of Tekke and Antalya in 907/1502. Shortly afterwards, the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamīd with a *khāṣṣ* of 843,363 *aḳčes* and the *zeʿāmet* of Lāzkiyye, amounting to 100, 721 *aḳčes*, were added to his personal *khāṣṣ* of 837,091 *aḳčes* (see the *fermān* of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 908/May 1503 in Topkapu Saray arşivi E. 6356).

The fact that his father and the leading state dignitaries, headed by the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha, favoured Aḥmad as heir to the throne offended Ḳorḳud, and cause him to withdraw into seclusion on Antalyan coast (Muḥarram 914/May 1508; see ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Istanbul Univ. Libr., Tkish. ms. 5959, ii, f. 152), despite his *khāṣṣ* being increased to 2,502,755 *aḳčes* (for the *fermān* dated 5 Shaʿbān 914/29 November 1508 and sent to Ḳorḳud, see TKSA E. 6357). He obtained permission to go on the Pilgrimage, and left for Egypt with 50 men and 87 slaves in Muḥarram 915/May 1509, sailing with five ships under the *Ra'īs* Aḳ-bash. He landed at Damietta after five days and arrived in Cairo on 9 Safar/29 May (for details, see ʿĀlī, f. 153), but did not feel that he was wholly welcome (details in TKSA, various letters in dossier No. 6684). However, it is clear from the Mamlūk sultan's letters to Bāyazīd II that he was pleased to welcome Ḳorḳud, but after a month was able to convince the latter to return, in the light of "a son's obedience due to his father". Ḳorḳud received the promise of restoration to his governorship, and set sail back to Turkey.

Despite an attack by the Knights of Rhodes on his Egyptian escort off the shores of Tekke at the end of 916/beginning of 511, Ḳorḳud was able to get through to Antalya and to send a warning letter to Sayyidī Yūnus, who was coming on later from Egypt with baggage, to postpone sailing in order to avoid attacks by the Knights (TKSA, letter in dossier No. 6684). It is recorded that his health deteriorated on his return and that he asked for treatment from the physician ʿAlā' al-Dīn (letter to the Viziers in ibid.). Meanwhile, he was dismayed to hear of the appointment of his younger full brother Selīm to Sarukhān (TKSA E 5587 in ibid.), and he immediately left Antalya for that province (Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 916/March 1511). His sudden departure from Tekke brought about the outbreak of a Shīʿī-inspired rising under Shāh Ḳulī in that province, and the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha had to be sent to suppress it.

Meanwhile, Ḳorḳud was being informed of Selīm's movements, and sent a letter to the latter adjuring him not to act precipitately (TKSA dossier 6684). At the same time, he was aware of Aḥmad's ambitions for the throne. Certain of the court officials, aware of Bāyazīd's intention to proclaim Selīm the heir, invited Ḳorḳud to the capital. He travelled to Istanbul in disguise and went to the mosque of the Janissaries, seeking their support in a bid for the throne. Although they held him in respect, they considered him less capable as a potential ruler than Selīm. Selīm arrived at Istanbul on 22 Muḥarram 918/19 April 1512 in order to forestall Aḥmad [for details, see BĀYAZĪD II], and ascended the throne on the abdication of his father. He then gave Ḳorḳud the governorship of the island of Midilli, together with Sarukhān again (Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, ii 204). But Ḳorḳud also demanded the *sandjaḳs* of Aydīn, Manisa and Tekke, so that Selīm, considering him a threat to the throne's stability, marched secretly to Manisa and surrounded Ḳorḳud's palace there. Ḳorḳud managed to escape with his confidant Piyāle, disguised, but was betrayed by the governor of Tekke Ḳāsim Beg and caught near Antalya. He was strangled in his sleep by the *Ḳapîdjî-bashî* Sinān Beg's men at Egrigöz on the way back to Bursa, and was buried near Orkhān Ghāzī's tomb in Bursa (Muḥarram 919/March 1513; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 230 ff.).

Ḳorḳud was highly educated, and skilled as a poet and musician, being able to play many types of musical instrument (Sehī, *Tadhkira*, 18). His verses, written under the pen-name or *takhalluṣ* of Ḥarīmī, were collected into a *dīwān*. He wrote several works in Arabic, including commentaries and *ḥāshiyas*. His extant works include: (1) *Waṣīlat al-aḥbāb* (dated 15 Ṣafar 915/4 June 1509, autograph in Aya Sofya 3529); (2) *Ḥall ishkāl al-afkār fī ḥill amwāl al-kuffār* (Aya Sofya 1142); (3) *Daʿwat al-nafs al-ṭāliḥa ila 'l-aʿmāl al-ṣāliḥa* or *Kitāb al-Ḥarīmī fi 'l-taṣawwuf* (thus in the ms. copy of R. Yelkenci; in Aya Sofya 1763, this is simply called *Kitāb fi 'l-taṣawwuf*); (4) *Sharḥ alfāẓ kufr* or *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān ʿan lāfiẓ al-aymān* (Aya Sofya 2289); (5) *Ḳorḳudiyya* or *Fatāwā-yi Ḳorḳudkhāniyya* (see *Kashf al-ẓunun*, ii, 1228); and (6) *Dīwān* (Millet 104).

Bibliography: Apart from references already given in the article, see Luṭfī Pasha, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341; Meḥmed b. Meḥmed, *Nukhbat al-tawārīkh wa 'l-akhbār*, Istanbul 1276; Bursalī Belīgh, *Güldeste-yi riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, Bursa 1302; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, ii, 382-3; Von Hammer, *Histoire*, iv, 95 ff., 118 ff., 150 ff.; idem, *Gesch. der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, i, 158; E. J. W. Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii, 37; M. Tayyid Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Korkut*, of which the present article is a shortened adaptation.

(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN)

ḲORḲUD DEDE [see DEDE ḲORḲUD].

KÖROGHLU, a rebel of the Anatolian Djelālī movement [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the 10th/16th century and the hero of a popular romance. The real Köroghlu came from the region of Bolu, and is probably the same person as the soldier-bard of that name who is said to have taken part in the campaigns in the Caucasus and Ādharbāydjān of Özdemiroghlu Pasha in the years 992-3/1584-5.

Until fairly recent times, Köroghlu remained a legendary personality, whose exploits were chanted by bards and story-tellers in Anatolia, Ādharbāydjān, Turkmenistān and Uzbekistān. Manuscript versions, and later on, lithographs and prints, circulated in Turkish-speaking lands, and more or less extensive episodes of this great epic-romantic cycle even passed into the story-telling répertoire of peripheral Turkish-speaking communities like the Kirgiz, the Kazaks and the Tatars of Tobol, as into that of non-Turkish peoples like the Armenians, Kurds, Georgians and Tādjīks.

The historicity of the figure of Köroghlu was nevertheless asserted by writers as far back as the 11th/17th century. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of him—without giving a precise date—as an honourable bandit whose exploits were still remembered in the mountainous parts of northwestern Anatolia; and Arakel of Tabrīz cites him as a Djelālī chief whose adventures, together with those of his companions, formed the core around the early 11th/17th century of a "romance" chanted by the ministrels of the lands bordering on the Ottoman empire and Persia. Towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the present one several attempts at identifying him were made, some people basing themselves on contradictory local traditions, and others putting forth hypotheses about the hero's historical prototype or about the origin of some feature or other or some legendary motif of the romance concerning him.

The discovery in 1942 of Ottoman archival documents has firstly confirmed Ewliyā Čelebi's information, and secondly allowed us to date his exploits as a Djelālī rebel. We have here a series of imperial orders from the years 988-90/1580-2 addressed to the Bey of Bolu and the *ḳāḍī* of Gerede concerning a Djelālī called Köroghlu Rūshen. Now Rūshen is also the forename of Köroghlu in several oral versions, Anatolian and Ādharbāydjānī, of the legend of our hero. Moreover, even in the cultural environments most distant from Ottoman territory, tradition has retained, in versions deformed in varying degrees, the name of Bolu Beyi as one of the hero's opponents, as well as allusions to the Ottoman sultan. Finally, several of Köroghlu's companions are mentioned with the same names in the Ottoman archival documents as in the different versions of the romance.

The ideas evoked by the name Kör-oghlu "son of the blind one" have contributed to the attracting around the genuine exploits of the bandit-hero legends of diverse origin, some of them going back to a long way in time, on the theme of the "hero, son of a blind father", who rises up against the masters who had mutilated his father.

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(P. N. Boratav)

ḲORON (Ottoman Turkish Ḳorōn; Venetian Coron; in modern Greek Κορώνη), a fortress in the south-west Peloponnesus [see MOREA] and on the west coast of the gulf of Ḳoron, situated some 15 miles by land from the fortress of Modon [*q.v.*; modern Greek Μεθώνη], with which, in the period of Venetian and Ottoman rule, its history was linked and which, to some degree, overshadowed it. The Byzantine fortress of Ḳoron, "un luogo di maggior difesa ... di forma triangolare, posta in mezzo d'una lingua di terre" (P. Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega*, Venice 1705, 100-1) passed, with much of the Morea, under Frankish rule in 1204, but was seized by Venice two years later and was ceded to her in 1209. Ḳoron remained a Venetian colony for nearly two centuries, serving as a vital provisioning station for the Venetian fleet and becoming, with Modon, "the chief eyes of the Republic" (W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 59, 152).

As early as 1428 Ḳoron was attacked from the sea and pillaged by the Ottomans, and after 1469, when Meḥemmed II completed the conquest of the Greek principalities of the Morea, its territories were contiguous with those of the sulṭān. It was not, however, until the Ottoman-Venetian war of 905/1499 to 909/1503 that Ḳoron fell to the Ottomans: in 906/1500, after Modon had been taken by storm and its defenders massacred, Ḳoron and Navarino "yeelded themselves by composition"—i.e. *vire ile*—to Bāyazīd II (Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*[1], London 1603, 460). This event took place on 15 August 1500; 17 August according to Bāyazīd II's *fetḥ-nāme* for Modon and Ḳoron, addressed to the inhabitants of Chios, and written at Ḳoron on 21 August (M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, iii, Venice 1880, 827-8). Bāyazīd II installed in Ḳoron a garrison of 500 Janissaries and 1000 *ʿazab* troops (*ibid.*, 810-1).

In 938/1532 Ḳoron was retaken by the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria while Sulaymān I was engaged in the Güns campaign. In the spring of 939/1533 Ḳoron was besieged by the Ottomans by land and sea, but without success, and was once more relieved by Doria. It was this setback which precipitated the sulṭān's summoning the North African corsair chief Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] to Istanbul, from where, having kissed the hand of the sulṭān and received an appointment as *deryā beglerbegi*, he was sent with a naval force against Ḳoron in mid-Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 940 (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 343-4). Khayr al-Dīn Pasha's approach, an outbreak of plague amongst the defenders, and the hardships of the winter of 1533-4, all caused the Spanish garrison under Mendoza, which Doria had installed there, to abandon the fortress and withdraw to Naples; Ḳoron, accordingly, was once more reoccupied in an uncontested way by the Ottomans (cf. further on the events of 1532-4, Paulo Giovio, *Historiae sui temporis*, Paris 1553, ii, 114v. ff., *passim*).

In the reign of Sulaymān I, according to a *taḥrīr defteri* utilised by M. T. Gökbilgin (*Belleten*, xx, 280, 327), Ḳoron was the seat of a *ḳāḍī* with a revenue of 150 *akčes per annum*, in the *sandjaḳ* of Modon, *liwā* of Mora. The fortress and its dependent territories formed an imperial fief (*k͟hāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*) which yielded 162,081 *akčes* of revenue *per annum*: these revenues, according to Th. Spandugino, *Commentarii*, 78, were bestowed with those of Modon by Bāyazīd II on Mecca.

Later in the 11th/16th century (by 991/1582: cf. Gökbilgin, *loc. cit.*) the *ḳaḍā'* of Ḳoron was annexed to the *sandjak* of Mezestre (Mistra). At this time the town contained 300 Christian and 10 Jewish households; the entire Muslim population of garrison officials and some 300 *ḳal'e neferāti* must have been what it appears to have remained in succeeding centuries (cf. the testimony of Evliyā Čelebī for the late 17th century and Leake for the early 19th), i.e. of *'askerī* status.

Western travellers apart, Ḳoron was visited in 1040/1630-1 by the Ottoman historian Pečewī (*Ta'rīk͟h*, Istanbul 1283, i, 172) who recalls the events of a century previously, and, later in the century (1668) by Ewliyā Čelebī, who has left a description of the fortress and its inhabitants (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7 to 1938, viii, 326-33; cf. Ulrich Wolfart, *Die Reisen des Evliya Čelebi durch die Morea*, Inaug.-Diss., Munich 1970, 59-66).

In the Sacra Liga War of 1095/1684 to 1110/1699, Ḳoron was the first fortified place to fall to Venice in the course of her reconquest of the Morea, despite a vigorous defence and attempts to relieve the garrison by land. (D͟jumādā 'l-āk͟hir 1086/25 June to 7 August 1685; cf. Silaḥdār, *Ta'rīk͟h*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 218 ff.; Pietro Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 101, 107-17; Alessandro Locatelli, *Racconto historico della Veneta guerra in Levante* . . . 1684-1690, Colonia 1691, 124-38, 158.

Ḳoron was recovered for the Ottomans by the Grand Vizier Čorlulu 'Alī Pas͟ha in S͟ha'bān 1127/ August 1715. In this last phase, the town and its trade insensibly declined. Leake, in 1805, found that the export of silk and olive-oil, which down to the 1770s had supported four French merchant houses, was no longer flourishing: the harbour, blocked and ruinous already at the time of Bernard Randolph's visit in the late 17th century, offered only an insecure anchorage, while the town itself was much affected by the depredations of the "Janissaries of Koroni" (W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, London 1830, i, 485). Ḳoron finally passed from Ottoman, and Islamic, rule in the course of the Greek War of Independence.

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(C. J. Heywood)

ḲORYÜREK, Enīs Behīd͟j, modern Turkish orthography Enis Behiç Koryürek, Turkish poet (1891-1949). Born in Istanbul, the son of an army doctor, he attended schools in Salonica, Üsküb (Skopje) and Istanbul and graduated from the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i mülkiyye*) in 1913. He served as a diplomat in Bucarest (1915) and Budapest (1916-22) and as a civil servant in various ministries. He died in Ankara on 18 October 1949. Like most poets of his generation, Enīs Behīd͟j wrote poems in the style and manner of the *T͟herwet-i fünūn* school [*q.v.*] and of its extension, the *Fed͟jr-i ātī* [*q.v.*] one, in *'arūḍ* metre and with an artificial language loaded with Arabic and Persian elements, and published them mainly in the periodical *S͟hehbāl* (1912-14) until he came under the influence of Ḍiyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*], who was leading the "national literature" trend (*Millī edebiyyāt d͟jereyānī*). Under Gökalp's guidance, he switched to syllabic metre (*hed͟je wezni*), spoken Turkish and "national" themes, and soon became one of the five leading young exponents of syllabic metre known as *hed͟jeniñ bes͟h s͟hā'iri* (the others being K͟hālid Fak͟hrī (Ozansoy), Ork͟han Seyfī (Orhon), Yūsuf Ḍiyā' (Ortaç) and Fārūḳ Nāfid͟h (Çamlıbel)). Ḳoryürek was particularly successful, with an original approach and style, in his epic poems (e.g. *Millī nes͟hīde*, *Süwāriler*) and in his evocative tales of the exploits of Turkish seamen in the Mediterranean (e.g. *Gemid͟jiler*, *Wenedikli ḳorṣān ḳizi*, *Ug͟hursuz basḳin*). He published his collected poems in *Mīrāt͟h* ("The legacy", Istanbul 1927). His *Güneşin ölümü* ("The death of the sun"), containing his later, less interesting, poems, was posthumously published, with a new edition of *Mīrāt͟h*, by F. Tevetoğlu as *Enis Behiç Koryürek'ten, Miras ve Güneşin ölümü*[2], Ankara 1971. During the last years of his life he was subject to depression and wrote old style pseudo-mystic poems of mediocre quality supposedly inspired by a 11th/17th century *s͟heyk͟h*, *Varidat-i Süleyman*, Ankara 1949.

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(Fahir İz)

KÖSE DAG͟H, a land-corridor some 50 miles/ 80 km. to the north-west of Sīwās where there took place in 641/1243, probably on 6 S͟hawwāl/26 June, the decisive battle which opened up Asia Minor to the Mongols and sounded the knell for the Sald͟jūḳ sultanate of Rūm. The first contacts of the Mongols and Sald͟jūḳs went back to the last years of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*], but at that time Anatolia was too well-protected in relation to the conquests already effected by the Mongols for the latter really to have any plans for conquering it. It was only under Kayk͟husraw II [*q.v.*] that the threat took definite shape, without one being able to ascertain how far the invaders intended to advance. However, after the Great K͟hān Ögedey's death, the new Mongol head of the Caucasian region, Bayd͟ju, seized Erzerum in the midst of the winter of 1242, and thus opened up the way into Asia Minor for the following spring.

The sources give few details about the campaign and the battle. Kayk͟husraw seems only very late to have fully realised the seriousness and imminence of the danger. He summoned forces together, comprising his allies or vassals, even including Armenians, Greeks and "Franks", ending up with what was certainly a force numerically superior to Bayd͟ju's.

But the impatience of his young commanders prevented him from awaiting the complete grouping of the Saldjūḳ forces. The Mongols, almost all cavalrymen, had recourse to their customary and invariably successful tactic of a simulated flight and then an unforeseen return to the attack against disorganised pursuers. The sultan lost his head and fled, and only the initiative of his vizier Muhadhdhab al-Dīn, combined probably with the Mongols' own prudence, allowed him to keep his throne as a vassal. In reality, the process now began which led to a *de facto* Mongol protectorate.

The weaknesses of the Saldjūḳ state at the time have often been stressed, this was true, but the Mongols, partly by the terror which they inspired, had overcome many other powers. It is hard to maintain that, even without these weaknesses, the course of history would have been any different.

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(CL. CAHEN)

KÖSE MĪKHĀL [see MIKHALOGHLU].

KÖSEM WĀLIDE or **KÖSEM SULṬĀN**, called MĀHPAYKAR (*ca.* 1589-1651), wife of the Ottoman sultan Aḥmad I and mother of the sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I [*q.vv.*]. She was Greek by birth, and achieved power in the first place through the harem, exercising a decisive influence in the state during the reigns of her two sons and of her grandson Meḥemmed IV.

The views put forward concerning her origin and her first name—Nasya being derived from Anastasia (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Ḳadinlar salṭanati*, Istanbul 1332, 47-8, deriving information from Guer, *Mœurs et usages des Turcs*, Paris 1747, ii, 474, see also Pétis de la Croix, *Abrégé chronologique de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1768, ii, 74)—do not seem to be reliable. According to Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, Rouen 1645, i, 94, she was given the nickname Kösem because of her smooth and hairless skin (*köse* = "hairless, beardless"). However, the epithet *kösem/kösemen* could also have been given to her on account of her ability as a leader and virtual ruler (for the meanings of *kösem* in Ottoman, see Hüseyin Kâzim, *Türk lûgati*, Istanbul 1940; iv, 181; B. Kerestedjian, *Quelques matériaux pour un dictionnaire etymologique de la langue turque*, London 1912, s.v. *keusemen* and *keusen*; Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-dialecte*, ii/2, 1294: "ram, bell-wether, leader; free, without a care, independent").

Through her beauty and intelligence, Kösem Wālide was especially attractive to Aḥmad I, and drew ahead of more senior wives in the palace. She bore the sultan four sons—Murād, Sülaymān, Ibrāhīm and Ḳāsim—and three daughters—ʿĀʾisha, Fāṭima and Djawharkhān (Von Hammer, *GOR*; cf. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1280, iii, 67 ff.). These daughters she subsequently used to consolidate her political influence by strategic marriages to different viziers.

After Aḥmad I's death on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/23 November 1617, she supported the succession of his brother Muṣṭafā I, under whose feeble rule she was able to exercise effective power in the state. Muṣṭafā's deposition three months later was a set-back for her, and she was relegated to the Old Palace (Eski Sarāy) at Bāyezīd under Aḥmad's young son ʿOthmān II, but she came to the fore again when ʿOthmān was deposed and executed and Muṣṭafā briefly restored (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622). Her full influence now became apparent when her minor son Murād IV ascended the throne in 1032/1623 and she thus became officially the Wālide Sulṭān, ruling as regent for five years till her son was old enough to take up the reins of power himself (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 220; Von Hammer, *GOR*, quoting a Venetian report). Even thereafter, Murād greatly respected his mother's opinions, and she took a close interest in state affairs when he was away from the capital. Thus the *Shaykh al-Islām* Akhīzāde Ḥüsayn Efendi's disapproval of Murād's hanging the *ḳāḍī* of Iznik was communicated by her to the sultan, then on his way to Bursa; he immediately returned to Istanbul and hanged Akhī-zāde Ḥüsayn—an act which had taken place only three times in Ottoman history (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 160; Naʿīmā, iii, 183). She saved the Ottoman dynasty from extinction by preventing Murād, who had executed his other brothers, including Sülaymān and Ḳāsim, from killing Ibrāhīm also (Sagredo, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Amsterdam 1732, vi, 417; Vanel, *Abrégé nouveau de l'histoire générale des Turcs*, Paris 1689, ii, 545; *Histoire des grands vizirs*, Paris 1676, 34; Du Loir, *Voyages*, Paris 1654, 117; von Hammer, *GOR*).

Together with the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] she became most active in affairs when Ibrāhīm succeeded to the throne after Murād's death on 16 Shawwāl 1049/9 February 1640 (Naʿīmā, iii, 429), especially as her son gradually became more and more involved with his concubines, the expenditure involved having disastrous repercussions on the treasury (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 ff.). He subsequently came under the influence of other Palace women, and Kösem Wālide therefore lost her ascendancy and left the *Sarāy-i Djedīd-i ʿĀmire* to live in a summer house outside Ṭopkapī. When Ibrāhīm learnt that his mother was plotting with the Grand Vizier Ṣāliḥ Pasha do dethrone him, he moved her to the Iskanda Čelebi garden in Florya and hanged Ṣāliḥ (Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2543, fols. 29b, 32b). Ibrāhīm's weak rule caused a deterioration in affairs, whilst the Cretan war was dragging on and creating feeling against him. The chiefs of the Janissary corps, under Ḳara Murād Agha, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn and Bektāsh Agha, killed the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Pasha Hazārpāre and decided to depose Ibrāhīm. The new Grand Vizier, Ṣofu (or Ḳodja) Meḥmed Pasha and the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Efendi, together with other leading officials, obtained Kösem Wālide's consent after a meeting with her at Ṭopḳapī, dethroned Ibrāhīm and put in his place his eldest son, the seven-years old prince Meḥemmed on 18 Radjab 1058/8 August 1648 (Naʿīmā, iv, 314, 319; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, *Rawḍat al-abrār dhayli*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2635, pp. 9 ff.; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrikh-i-Ghilmānī*, Istanbul 1340, 21 ff.; Murād Bey, *Taʾrīkh-i-Abu 'l-Fārūḳ*, Istanbul 1329, iv, 48). Ten days later, Ibrāhīm was strangled by the executioner Ḳara ʿAlī, for fear that his partisans might attempt a restoration, with the consent of his mother and with a *fatwā* from the *Shaykh al-Islām* (Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, *op. cit.*, 27-30, 57 ff.).

With Meḥemmed IV's accession, Kösem Wālide's power started to revive, and she was given exalted titles like Büyük Wālide "Grandmother of the Sultan", Wālide-yi Muʿaẓẓama, Umm al-Muʾminīn, Ṣāḥibat al-Maḳām, Wālide-yi ʿAtīḳa, etc. (see Wedjīhī, fol. 44b; Kātib Čelebi, ii, 367, 376; Naʿīmā, iv, 279, 290, 315, 317-19, 415, 418, 450, v, 108). However, her influence was not unbounded. The

authority of the Janissary *ag͟ha*s was wrong, and Turk͟hān Sulṭān, Meḥemmed's mother and Ibrāhīm's widow, became her rival; this rivalry, and misunderstandings between the state officials and the Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 7), caused disturbances in Istanbul and Anatolia. Kösem Wālide and her supporters therefore decided to replace Meḥemmed with his brother Sülaymān, whose mother Dilās͟hūb Sulṭān was regarded as unlikely to interfere in state matters. But Turk͟hān Sulṭān learnt of these intentions (Naʿīmā, v, 108), took the initiative, and had Kösem Wālide strangled with a curtain-string by the Palace Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 111; her executioner was someone called Küčük or Ḳus͟hču Meḥmed, see Rycaut, *Histoire de l'état présent de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1670, 63; Naʿīmā, v, 109, 112, 137; von Hammer, *GOR*). Her body was taken from Topḳapī to the Eski Sarāy and then buried in the mausoleum of her husband Aḥmad I (Wed͟jīhī, fol. 45a).

Kösem Wālide had exercised power in public affairs for nearly 30 years. She left much wealth and estates (Naʿīmā, v, 112; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, 20), and much of her income was devoted to charitable and other humanitarian works, such as a Friday mosque at Üsküdar, completed in 1060/1650 (Ayvānsarāyi Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīḳat al-d͟jawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, ii, 184-5) and the Wālide K͟hān in Istanbul, built in 1056/1646 (Ewliyāʾ Celebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 325; Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1664, 49) (this latter building collapsed in March 1926). Also from these revenues she financed irrigation works in Egypt and provided relief for the poor in Mecca. In fact, she left behind in the popular Turkish mind a reputation for magnanimity, generosity and high intelligence.

Bibliography: Largely given in the article, but see the general histories of Von Hammer and Zinkeisen, which utilise both Turkish and European sources, e.g. the reports of the Venetian *baili*; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*; S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 190 ff. There is a detailed article in *İA* by M. Cavid Baysun, of which the above is a shortened version. See also Mücteba Ilgürel, *Kösem Sultanın bir vakfiyesi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xvi/21 (1966), 83-94.

(M. Cavid Baysun)

ḲOS͟H-BEGI, preferable to Ḳus͟h-Begi, title of high officials in the Central Asian khanates in the 16th to 19th centuries. There are two different etymologies and explanations of the term: (1) from Turkish *ḳus͟h* "bird" and *beg* [*q.v.*], thus *ḳus͟h-begi* meaning, presumably, "commander of falconers"; (2) from Turkish *ḳos͟h* "detachment of nomads or troops, esp. on the march", "nomadic and military camp" (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 635b), thus *ḳos͟h-begi* meaning "commander of the [royal] camp", "quartermaster". The first explanation is found in an administrative manual *Mad͟jmaʿ al-arḳām* compiled in Buk͟hārā in 1212/1798, where it is stated that the *ḳush-begi-yi kalān* (see below) in Buk͟hārā was chief of the royal hunt (see facsimile in *Pis'mennïye pamyatniki vostoka 1968*, Moscow 1970, 56). The etymology, however, remains dubious, because in this case one should rather expect *ḳus͟hči-begi* (or *ḳus͟hči-bas͟hi*), from *ḳus͟hči* "falconer" (the latter post actually existed at the Central Asian courts, as well as in Iran, but the chief of the hunt had the title *mīr-s͟hikār*). Significantly, Iskandar Muns͟hī [*q.v.*] in his *Taʾrīk͟h-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (ed. Ī. Afs͟hār, i, 486) mentions the post of *ḳos͟h-begi* (*manṣab-i ḳos͟h-begi-garī*) and, in another place (ii, 1040), the post of a falconer (*k͟hidmat-i ḳus͟hči-garī*), who became later the head of the royal hunt (*ba-manṣab-i mīr-s͟hikārī sar-afrāz s͟hud*) On the other hand, many historical references to *ḳos͟h-begi*s in the Uzbek period show them as high military commanders, mentioned among the most high-ranking Uzbek *amīr*s, which, apparently, makes the second etymology and explanation of the term more plausible. The European Turkologists who visited Central Asia in the middle of the 19th century also transcribe the term as *ḳos͟h-begi* and explain it, in the first place, as "Chef des Dieners oder des Beamtenzirkels der Fürsten" (H. Vámberi, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, 318), or "Lord of the household" (R. B. Shaw, *A sketch of the Turki language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, Calcutta 1878, 156); see also Radloff, *loc. cit.*

The title *ḳos͟h-begi* is not attested in the Golden Horde and its immediate successors in the Eurasian steppes in the 15th century. The *Bābur-nāma* (ed. Beveridge, 174b) mentions a Turkish *amīr* as a *ḳos͟h-begi* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā [*q.v.*], but nothing is said about his duties. Frequent references to *ḳos͟h-begi*s in historical sources appear only in the late 16th century. The *ʿAbd Allāh-nāma* (MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, D 88, ff. 322a, 338a, 339b, 340b etc.) mentions a *ḳos͟h-begi* among the chief commanders of the army of Buk͟hārā. In the 17th century *ḳos͟h-begi*s did not apparently play an important role in the khanate of Buk͟hārā. The *Baḥr al-asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Walī (second quarter of the 17th century), in a description of the ceremonial at the court of the As͟htark͟hānids, only mentions the *ḳos͟h-begi* among the servants closest to the *k͟hān*, and his place was the second after that of *ḳurči-bas͟hi*, commander of the body-guards (see V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 391, 396). The rise of power of the *ḳos͟h-begi* in Buk͟hārā took place at the beginning of the 18th century, with the decline of the As͟htark͟hānids. In 1121/1709 ʿUbayd Allāh K͟hān established the rank of "the great *ḳos͟h-begi*" (*ḳos͟h-begi-yi kull*), who became first minister. *Ḳos͟h-begi* remained the head of the Buk͟hārā administration also under the Mangīts [*q.v.*], when his official title was *kull-i ḳos͟h-begi* [*sic*], or *ḳos͟h-begi-yi bālā* "the upper Ḳ.", because he had to live in the residence of the *amīr*, the *ark* (citadel), situated on a hilltop; there was also "the lower Ḳ.", *ḳos͟h-begi-yi pāyān*, whose residence was at the foot of the *ark* and who held the post of *zakātči-yi kalān* (head of the collectors of *zakāt* [*q.v.*]). The "great *ḳos͟h-begis*" under the late As͟htark͟hanids and the Mangīts were usually of mean origin, mostly former Kalmuk and Persian slaves. Besides the general supervision of the state affairs and, especially, the administration of finance, they were also governors of one or more *wilāyat*s (provinces), especially that of Buk͟hārā itself.

Different development took place in K͟hīwa [*q.v.*], where the local historian Muʾnis (early 19th century) mentions for the first time the title *ḳos͟h-begi*, without defining his duties, when he tells about the administrative reforms of Abu 'l-G͟hāzī K͟hān (died in 1074/1664 [*q.v.*]). It seems, however, that *ḳos͟h-begis* did not play any important role in K͟hīwa in the 17th century. Only under the Ḳungrat [*q.v.*] dynasty (from the last third of the 18th century) did the *ḳos͟h-begi* become one of the highest officials in the k͟hānate, but he shared power with the *mehter* (Pers. *mihtar*) [*q.v.*]. The latter was the head of the civil administration, had the title *wazīr-i aʿẓam* and belonged to the hereditary bureaucracy recruited from among the Sarts [*q.v.*], while the *ḳos͟h-begi* always belonged to the Uzbek nobility, the *amīr*s (and sometimes was a relative of the k͟hān), and was in charge,

mainly, of military affairs. Besides that, the *ḳosh-begi* governed the northern part of the khānate of Khīwa inhabited by nomadic and semi-nomadic Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and Turkmens (that is, he mainly supervised the collection of taxes in this region), while the *mehter* governed the southern part inhabited by sedentary Sarts. This division of authority seems to be a continuation of the administrative practice of the Tīmūrid period.

In the khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*] in the 19th century, the title *ḳosh-begi* is also attested by the local sources, but evidence about his duties is still unavailable; in any case, he had a lower status than in Bukhārā (the highest official in Khoḳand in the 19th century was the *ming-bashi*); according to V. V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (in *Trudi Vostočnogo Otdeleniya Imp. Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Obshčestva*, ii [1856], 331), *ḳosh-begi* was here a honorary title given to the governors of main towns and provinces. In the Čaghatāyid state of Eastern Turkestan, at least in the 17th century, the *ḳosh-begi* was supreme military commander or commander of the right wing (*ūdj-i burānghār*), and had the rank of the senior *amīr* (*amīr al-umarā'*), but the civil administration, apparently, was in the hands of a *wazīr* (see Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāḍil Čurās, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. O. F. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976, text, 24, 32, 53, 70, Russian tr. 170, 178, 200, 218). Thus this system was probably similar to that which existed in Khīwa.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see [N. V.] Khanikoff, *Bokhara: its amir and its people*, London 1845, 242-5; A. A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v (1948), 148; idem, in *Materiali po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 53-7; M. A. Abduraimov, in *Obshčestvennïye nauki v Üzbekistane*, 1974, no. 11, 54-60; Yu. Bregel, in *Journal of Asian History*, 1978, part ii; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 363, No. 1361. (Yu. Bregel)

KÖSHK, from Pers. *kūshk*, a pavilion in a pleasance which could be merely a modest shelter or have several rooms. The *djawsak*s of the rulers of Sāmarrā were much larger, and were country houses in the manner of the *ḳonaḳ*s of Anatolia and the Balkans. The word *ḳaṣir* (*ḳaṣr*) could be synonymous, but came also to mean castle and always implied more than one chamber, whereas *köshk* rarely suggested a substantial building, and in naval terminology was even the name given to the after-deck or poop cabin.

Although the Ottomans developed the *köshk* as a pavilion consisting of a single hall, it did occasionally take the form of a suite of rooms. Meḥemmad II Fātiḥ modelled the Činili Köshk in the outer court of Ṭopkapïsarāyï on Tīmūrid pavilions. It included two floors of apartments for himself and his officers, for it served as a lodging when he did not wish to return to his residence in the centre of the city. It was a *köshk* in the sense of being a pied-à-terre. Later examples such as the Sand Pavilion at Edirne (*Ḳum Ḳaṣïr*) were designated *ḳaṣir*. But the essential characteristic which governed the transliteration of *köshk* into English as "kiosk" was that of a chamber under a dome with three sofas and a hooded open grate, forming the four arms of a cross with a balcony or terrace overlooking a garden and a pool or other expanse of water. There a day might be passed at any season of the year, enjoying a partly-indoor and a partly-outdoor life. The pavilion was, in a sense, a permanent tent and its portico the uplifted awning on poles common to nomadic life. However, a royal *köshk* was tiled, its woodwork gilded, ceilings elabborately painted, doors inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl and the sofas covered with silks and velvet rocades, the floor with rugs. In this form, they were ideal and intimate drawing rooms, the antithesis of the Napoleonic concept of the Piazza at Venice.

They also served as hunting lodges, like that of Siyāwush outside the walls of Istanbul, which is elevated above its own pool in a park. Originally it was a single domed chamber with a vestibule and closet. Similar *köshk*s or *ḳaṣïr*s were built as royal retiring-rooms from which access could be gained to the mosque or *djāmi'*. Less wealthy citizens built examples so modest that they were little more than bowers with shutters that served as walls in winter but which could be dismantled in the spring. These, rather than the ornate *köshk*s of the rich, inspired newspaper stands and the like in 19th century Paris and other cities in Western Europe.

Bibliography: References to kiosks appear in the descriptive works of travellers, more particularly of Ṭopkapïsarāyï, by pages who escaped from there. Among these are D. Hierosolimitano, Harley mss. 3408, British Museum; O. Bon mss., Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cl. vii, cod. 578, 923; (the last in English by R. Withers, ed. Greaves, *A description of the Grand Signor's seraglio*, London 1650); also in R. G. Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlaine, 1463-6*, tr. G. Le Strange, London 1928. Engravings of examples are illustrated in R. Walsh and T. Allom, *Constantinople*, London 1838 and J. Pardoe, *The city of the sultan*, 3 vols., London 1838. Standard historical works on Islamic architecture, tiles, furnishings and the other decorative arts include E. H. Ayverdi, *Fatih devri mimarı eserleri*, Istanbul 1953 and *Murad II devri mimarı eserleri*, Istanbul, 1968; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse (Bursa)*, Paris 1958; A. Godard, *L'art d'Iran*, Paris 1962; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi*, Istanbul 1964 and *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1972; J. R. Rogers, *The spread of Islam*, London 1976. Monographs include H. Saladin, *Le yali des Keupruli à Anatoli-Hissar*, N. P. 1915; B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931; F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1931; Z. Orgun, *Cinili köşk*, in *Arkitekt Neşriyat*, ii, Istanbul 1943; R. O. Tosyeri (Tosyalı), *Edirne saray*, Ankara 1957; O. Aslanapa, *Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Palastes von Diyarbakïr*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Ankara 1957; E. Yücel, *Yeni cami'i hünkar kasrı*, in *Arkitekt*, 320, 5 April 1965; N. M. Penzer, *The ḥarēm*, London 1965; K. Otto-Dorn and M. Önder, *Bericht über die Grabung in Kubadabad*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1966; also S. E. Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasırlar*, i, Istanbul 1969, which is the first part of a comprehensive work on the kiosk in Ottoman times, and D. N. Wilber, *Persian gardens and pavilions*, Rutland, Vermont 1962.

(G. Goodwin)

ḲOSHMA is originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples. In the later usage of the word, it was applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of the Arabic *'arūḍ* [*q.v.*]. The term corresponding in Eastern Turkī to the Western Turkī *ḳoshma* is *ḳoshuḳ* or *ḳoshugh*.

In the oldest source, e.g. in the *Ḳuṭadghu bilik* (composed in 462/1069-70 [see YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB]), *ḳoshuḳ* still has the quite general meaning of "poem, verse", e.g. in Radloff's edition, St. Petersburg 1891, 1, l. 2 from below: *bu kitābni ḳoshuḳnï aymïsh* "has composed this book, this poem"; *ibid.*, 5, l. 4, *bu türkčä ḳoshuḳlar tüzättim saña* "I have polished (i.e. composed) these Turkish verses for thee". In Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] also, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (begun in 464/1072), ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, i, 314, *ḳoshugh* is equated with the Arabic *shiʿr*, *radjaz* and *ḳaṣāʾid*. The Persian musician and scholar ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of Marāgha (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, cf. E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iii, Cambridge 1920, index s.v.), in his work entitled *Maḳāṣid al-alḥān* does not yet discriminate between *ḳoshuḳ* and the quantitative quatrain *tuyugh* (see Raʾūf Yektā, *Eski türk musiḳîsina dāʾir tetebbüʿler*, in *Millî tetebbüʿler medjmūʿasî*, i, 461). On the other hand, in a verse by ʿAlī Shēr Nawāʾī (d. 906/1501 [*q.v.*]) quoted in Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, 432, s.v., and in Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, col. 640, the *ḳoshuḳ* is definitely contrasted with the *tuyuḳ*.

Later, we find poems and songs composed according to the rules of Turkish popular poetry expressly called *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*. The characteristic features of this poetry are the following: 1. Strophic structure. The strophes are usually quatrains. The *ḳoshma* poems contain at least two strophes. 2. Syllabic or accented syllable rhythm, i.e. the lines of the strophe have the same number of syllables and the value of the syllables as regards stress is either a matter of indifference or stronger and weaker syllables follow one another in definite order, which is repeated. In the latter case, after a definite number of syllables, we always have of necessity a caesura in the middle of the line. In the later *ḳoshma* strophes the most popular lines are hendecasyllabic divided into 6-5 with one caesura or 4-4-3 (with two caesuras). 3. There is rhyme or assonance of at least two endings in the strophe. The rhyme is usually grammatical and may extend to several final syllables according to its nature. It usually arises as a result of strict parallelism in the syntactical structure of the two halves of the verse. The rhyming in the *ḳoshma* strophe is usually *abcb* or *aaba*. 4. Alliteration of the initial syllables of the lines is not maintained among all Turkish people (cf. T. Kowalski, *Études sur la forme de la poésie des peuples turcs*, in *Mémoires de la Comm. Orient. de l'Acad. Polonaise*, No. 5, Cracow 1922: in Polish with a French résumé, 157 ff.).

In earlier times, the *ḳoshma* songs were usually sung by the bards (*uzan*) to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially by the *ḳobuz* beloved of the Turks, at court festivities or in the camp of the army. The *ḳoshma* poetry was always industriously cultivated among the people, in spite of the increasing popularity of the classical quantitative poetry. The popular forms like *ḳaya bashî*, *deyish*, *ezgi*, *ïr*, *türkü*, *warsaghî* and *türkmäni*, some cultivated among the Ādharbāydjān and some among the Ottoman Turks, all belong to the *ḳoshma*. The songs of popular mystics called *ilāhî* and *nefes* from the time of Yūnus Emre (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) are composed according to the rules of the *ḳoshma* (see Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyyātînda ilk mütaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 334-6). The *ḳoshma* popular poetry, which sometimes produces really beautiful lyrics, was mainly cultivated by wandering singers (*ʿāshîḳ*, also called *sāz shāʿiri* or *čöyürdjü*). Many of them, like ʿĀshîḳ ʿÖmer, ʿĀshîḳ Kerem, ʿĀshîḳ Gharīb, Derdlī and Djewherī, attained great fame, and the collections of their songs or life stories are among the most popular books among the Turks (cf. Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyyātînda ʿāshîḳ ṭarzînîñ mensheʾ we-tekāmülü*, in *Millî tetebbüʿler medjmūʿasî*, i; idem, ʿĀshîḳ *Djewheriyye ʿāʾid iki wethîḳa* in the periodical *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, No. 84; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, 17-18). There were even singers of popular songs in the corps of Janissaries; cf. J. Deny, *Chansons des Janissaires turcs d'Alger*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 33-175.

The term *ḳoshma* (but not the kind of poetry to which it was applied) seems to have fallen out of use, and if the Ādharbāydjāni poet Djawād, who died in the first decades of this century, called his collection of songs *Ḳoshma*, this is probably simply to be explained by an archaicising popular movement in modern literature. The name has survived in the form *ḳožoñ* (*ḳoshoñ*) among the Altai Turks (Tatars). The Altai *ḳožoñ* (on them, cf. W. Radloff, *Über die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den altaischen Tataren*, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* [1866], iv, 85-114, and Kowalski, *Études*, etc., 140-51) are very important in so far as from their structure and name we can make a definite deduction regarding the original meaning of the words *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*, etc. They are pairs of strophes connected by a close parallelism between the two in form and content. From this we see that *ḳožoñ*, from *ḳosh-* "to join together", *ḳožo* "two and two", etc., refers to the parallelism in thought and syntactical structure, which originally formed the essential feature of Turkish popular poetry.

The *ḳoshma* poetry has not been without influence on more artistic forms of literature. The modern Turkish poets, for example, have taken many of their forms from popular poetry.

Finally, one should note that the term *ḳoshma* applies also to a folk-musical form, which varies in different parts of Anatolia and Ādharbāydjān, but which contains typically an instrumental introduction, followed by a vocal recitative and melody. This would be the normal setting for the *ḳoshma* as a literary form.

Bibliography: (dealing particularly with *ḳoshma*): Köprüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Ḳoshma ṭarzi*, a comprehensive article in *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, No. 78, 1923 (with references to the literature); idem, *Türkiyye taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1923, i. 51-2; idem, *Türk edebiyyātî taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1920, i, 93; Kowalski in the above-quoted *Études*, etc., 140; Tâhir-ül Mevlevî, *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973, 89-90; P. N. Boratav, *İA* art. *Ḳoşma* (with many details about the regional forms of the *ḳoshma*). R. R. Arat, *Eski türk şiiri*, Ankara 1965, Introd.; Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, *Halk şiirinde türler*, Ankara 1969. On the rhythmic structure of Turkish popular poetry, cf. Th. Korš, *Drevnieyshiy narodniy stikh turečkikh plemion*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xix/2-3 (1909), 139-67. (T. KOWALSKI)

ḲOṢOWA, KOSOVO, the name of an upland plain of the Balkans, in upper Macedonia or southern Serbia, and the scene of two significant battles in the struggles of the Ottomans and the Christian powers of the Balkans for hegemony there. In the last quarter of the 19th century, it also became the name of an Ottoman *wilāyet* or province.

The South Slavonic expression *Kosovo polie* means "plain of the blackbirds" from *kos* "blackbird" in Old Slavonic, Czech and Bulgar. Ottoman Turkish

sources give various less convincing etymologies. For those sources which derive the *Ḳoṣowa* from Turkish *kosa* or *köse owa* "bare, treeless plain", etc., see ʿAlī Ḥaydar, *Ḳoṣowa maydān muḥārebesi*, Istanbul 1328, Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir's preface. The name is spelt as Kūs owasī in ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳpas̲h̲azāde, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1332, 62, 134, Nes̲h̲rī, *Dj̲ihānnümā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 70, 139, 174, and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tād̲j̲ al-tawārīk̲h̲*, i, 117, and as *Kūs owasī* in ʿOrūd̲j̲ b. ʿĀdil, *Tawārīk̲h̲-i āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, Hanover 1925, 25. Saʿd al-Dīn's explanation that the name means "plain of the kettle-drums" is, of course, yet another folk etymology.

The Ḳoṣowa plain lies at an altitude of some 500-600 km., and is 14 km. wide and 84 km. long, covering an area of 502 km.[2] It is surrounded by high mountains, and has a north-west to south-east orientation. From this region, streams flow westwards to the Adriatic via the Drina, southwards to the Aegean via the Vardar, and northwards to the Danube via the Ibar and Morava. During mediaeval times, it was a meeting-point of several trade routes; today it forms part of the Novo Brdo-Kopavnik mining region of Yugoslavia.

The Ḳoṣowa plain originally formed part of the Byzantine dominions, and Slav peoples were settled there at the beginning of the 7th century. During the 10th century it changed hands between Serbs, Byzantines and Bulgars (for the names of the Serbian *bans* who were active in the Ḳoṣowa region, see V. Radovanović, *Kosovo Polje*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenacka*, Zagreb 1926, ii, 434-8). After the victory gained over the Byzantines in 1168 by Stephen Nemanja, prince of eastern Serbia, Ḳoṣowa passed under Serbian control, and the name became applied to the whole plains region. It now remained within the resurgent Serbian empire, with its zenith under Stephen Dus̲h̲an (d. 1355), but Serbian grasp on the region became relaxed under his weaker son and successor Uros̲h̲ V (1355-71), and thereafter, the Serbian princes were unable to offer any united opposition to the increasing Ottoman Turkish pressure.

The defeat of Serbia at the hands of the Ottomans at Ḳoṣowa took place according to the Serbian and the western sources on 15 June 1389 and according to the Ottoman ones, on 4 Ramaḍān 791/27 August 1389. The Turkish army was commanded by Sultan Murād I b. Ork̲h̲ān, and included his two sons Bāyezīd from Kütahya and Yaʿḳūb from Ḳarasī and contingents from the vassal *beg*s of Ṣārūk̲h̲ān, Mentes̲h̲e, Aydīn and Ḥamīd. They were opposed by the Serbian prince Lazar Gresljanović, with contingents from the Bosnian King Tvrtko I. On the dawn of the battle, a Serbian noble, Milos̲h̲ Kobilić, Lazar's son-in-law, gained access to the Ottoman camp by posing as a deserter and stabbed Murād to death. But Bāyezīd immediately assumed command, and in the ensuing fighting—the details of which are little known—the Turks gained the eventual victory. Lazar was taken prisoner and executed after the battle; a mausoleum was built on the spot where Murād had died, but his body was buried at Bursa. The death of Murād and the withdrawal of the Turkish army immediately after its victory caused false rumours to spread in Christian Europe of a Serbian victory; in fact, the consequence of the battle was that Serbia became an Ottoman vassal state, and Lazar's successor, his son Stephan Lazarević, had to pay tribute and supply an army under his personal command to the Ottomans. Ḳoṣowa also gave rise to a great cycle of popular ballads among the Serbs, expressive of national feeling. For the Turkish sources on the battle, see Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 113; ʿOrūd̲j̲, 25; ʿAlī Ḥaydar, 27-32; ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳpas̲h̲azāde, 63; Nes̲h̲rī, 82 ff.; Solaḳzāde, 50; and also Von Hammer, *GOR*, i. After this first battle of Ḳoṣowa, Bāyezīd I appointed Yigit Pas̲h̲a as *ud̲j̲ begi* of Üsküp/Skopje and the southern district of Ḳoṣowa, and this region was now settled by Turks from Menemen and Tatars from Anatolia.

The second battle of Ḳoṣowa took place on 17-19 October 1448, when a Hungarian army under John Hunyadi, and including also Wallachians and German Bohemian arquebusiers, met an Ottoman army under Murād II; the struggle was at first indecisive, but was gained by the Turks through the treachery of the Wallachians and the flight of the Hungarian king. During the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, the northern part of the Ḳoṣowa plain also came under Ottoman control. In the 10th/16th century the town of Vučitrn became the administrative centre of the sand̲j̲aḳ of Ḳoṣowa in the *eyālet* of Rumeli. When Ewliyā Čelebi passed through the Ḳoṣowa plain in 1070/1659-60, he found that Vučitrn had a Turkish and Albanian population and contained 2,000 households (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 550). In 1688-9 the region was invaded by an Austrian army under Piccolomini, but driven out in the following year by Ḳod̲j̲a K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a and Selīm Girāy K̲h̲ān (Fîndîḳlîlî Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, *Silaḥdār taʾrīk̲h̲i*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 269-70, 351-2, 423 ff.; Rās̲h̲id, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 95-112; V. Corović, art. *Kosovo*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenacka*, ii, 433-4).

During the last quarter of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th, the Ḳoṣowa district was involved in various attempts by local governors, such as the Bus̲h̲atlī governors of Scutari or Is̲h̲ḳodra, Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a and his son Ḳara Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a, to break away from control by the Porte; the region was only firmly reattached to Istanbul after the defeat of the last Bus̲h̲atlī, Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, by Maḥmūd II's new western-style army [see ARANAWUTLU. 6. History]. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 a new *wilāyet*, called specifically that of Ḳoṣowa, was formed consisting of the regions of Nis̲h̲ and Pris̲h̲tina and with Sofia as its centre (see Samī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314, v, 3746-8; ʿAlī Ḥaydar, *Midḥat Pas̲h̲a*, Istanbul 1325, 13-24). In 1888 its centre was moved to Üsküb/Skopje, and in 1896 its boundaries widened to include six *sand̲j̲aḳ*s, sc. Üsküb, Pris̲h̲tina, Senitsa, Ipek, Tas̲h̲lid̲j̲a/Plevlie and Prizren (see M. Rüs̲h̲dī and M. Es̲h̲ref, *Mükemmel we mufaṣṣal aṭlas*, Istanbul 1325, 21-4; *Sālnāme-yi wilāyet-i Ḳoṣowa*, year 1314). The region was meanwhile considerably disturbed, for in 1878 a congress had been formed to protect the rights of the Albanians and to establish an autonomous *wilāyet* of Ḳoṣowa, with its centre at Monastir. Albanian volunteers under the leadership of Süleyman Voks̲h̲i captured Üsküb, Pris̲h̲tina and Mitrovitsa early in 1881, but in April of that year, were defeated by an army sent out from Istanbul under Derwīs̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a. However, the Albanians subsequently took advantage of the erratic policies of repression alternating with indulgence practised by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and gradually captured all the villages extending up to the Ḳoṣowa plain, until the restoration of the Constitution in 1908. Eventually, a Serbian army under General Janković captured Lab during the Balkan War of 1912, and by 23 October of that year the whole of the Ḳoṣowa region passed into Serbian hands permanently, a state of affairs confirmed by the Treaty of London of 30 May 1913 which ended

the war. It was estimated that the population of the province at that time was one million, three-quarters of this being Muslim Turks and Albanians, and the rest Christian Serbs and Bulgars.

After the First World War, the region came of course within the new Yugoslavian state, and a policy of slavicisation was followed, so that the Muslim population shrank with the exodus to Albania and to Turkey. Today it is an autonomous unit of the Yugoslavian People's Republic under the name of Kosovo-Metohija and with its centre at Pri<u>sh</u>tina.

Bibliography: See the detailed article in *İA* s.v. *Kosovo* by M. Münir Aktepe, upon which the above is based, and also the bibliography to the *EI*[1] article by Cl. Huart, and for the first battle of Ḳoṣowa, *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*. iv. *The Byzantine Empire*. Part 1, Cambridge 1966, 550-1. (M. Münir Aktepe)

KÖSTEN<u>DJ</u>E (in Rumanian, Constanța), a port on the Rumanian shore of the Black Sea, situated on the ruins of the Milesian colony of Tomes (Ovid, *Tristia*, i, 10, 41; iii, 9, 5) founded at the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and the place of exile of the Roman poet Ovid (9-18 A.D.). Mentioned in 260 A.D. (Memnon, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. C. Muller, iii, Paris 1849, 537), Tomes enjoyed great prosperity in the Greek and Roman period and earned, under the Antonines, the title of metropolis of Western Pontus (μητρόπολις τοῦ Εὐωνύμου Πόντου). Under the later Roman Empire, Tomis became the capital of Scythia Minor, being designated in the epigraphic and literary sources by the name Constantia or Constantiana after the emperor Constantine II (337-61 A.D.), who contributed to its development. Sacked by the Huns (456 A.D.), the town was fortified by the Byzantine emperors Anastasus (491-518) and Justinian (527-65) (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, Bonn, iii/2, 307) and resisted attacks by the Avars. In 679 it was destroyed by the Bul<u>gh</u>ārs of the *<u>kh</u>ān* Asparu<u>kh</u>.

The fishing station set on the ruins of the ancient city continued to bear the name Κωνσταντία, in the writings of Byzantine authors of the 9th and 10th centuries, while the map drawn up in 548/1154 by al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] calls it Ṭamṭānā (P. A. Joubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ii, Paris 1840, 382). In the 14th century, Italian nautical maps give the name Costanza—derived from the Rumanian *Constanța*, Turkish Kösten<u>dj</u>e—to the Genoan trading mission used as a harbour by Genoese ships. When Dobru<u>dj</u>a was joined to Wallachia (Eflāḳ) by Mirčea the Old (1386-1418), the town followed the same destiny as the rest of the province. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Kösten<u>dj</u>e was reportedly conquered by Bāyazīd I [*q.v.*], who ordered the dismantling of its walls. This event seems to have taken place during the reign of Vlad the Usurper (1394-6) in the province of Wallachia. Taking advantage of the fact that Bāyazīd was detained in Anatolia, Mirčea recaptured Kösten<u>dj</u>e, which he retained after the Ottoman defeat of Ankara (28 July 1402) under the reigns of the *amīr* Süleymān (1403-10) and of his protégé Mūsā Čelebi (1410-13) in Thrace and Macedonia. But in the course of the expediton of Meḥemmed I (1413-21) dated by N. Iorga to 820/1417 (*GOR*, i, 375), and more plausibly by H. Inalcık to 822/1419 (*Ibn Hacer'de Osmanlılara dair haberler*, in *AÜDTCF Dergisi* vi, 525; O. Turan, *Tarihi takvimler*, Ankara 1954, 20, 56), the town was once again captured by the Ottomans. Its annexation did not become definitive until after 1445, since the captain of the Burgundian fleet, Walerand de Wavrin, met no Ottomans at Mangalya, on the coast of the Black Sea to the south of Kösten<u>dj</u>e, when he landed there. In the 16th century, it was a fairly prosperous town, leased to a *ṣuba<u>sh</u>ī* and with a harbour and a market which, dealing in the major products of Dobru<u>dj</u>a (Ankara, *Tapu ve Kadastre* collection, 483, 30-31), played an important role in the supplying of cereals, fish and timber to Istanbul. The harbour was also used for the exporting of Wallachian products (hides, wax, honey, salt) which were much in demand by the merchants of Ragusa and Ancona.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Kösten<u>dj</u>e suffered devastation at the hands of Polish cossacks (1602, 1616). Although this port was not included in the list of towns (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, xx, (1956), 254-5, 266-7), the Ragusan traveller Paolo Giorgi regarded it as such. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it was a town of small prosperity belonging to the *eyālet* of Silistria (Istanbul, *Başbakanlık Arşivi* D-BMK-SLM, *Silistre ve Rusçuk mukataasi*), comprising one hundred and fifty houses, between forty and fifty granaries, some shops, a *<u>kh</u>ān* and a mosque, and serving as the residence of a *ḳāḍī*. Though possessing the status of a *ḳaḍā'*, in the 18th century Kösten<u>dj</u>e had the appearance of a large market-town whose *iḥtisāb a<u>gh</u>asī* (i.e. *muḥtesib*) was in charge of the supplying of grain to Istanbul. Devastated and depopulated during the Russo-Turkish wars (1711, 1718-39, 1768-74 and 1787-92), Kösten<u>dj</u>e was fortified by the Ottomans, who considered its port one of the most important in Dobru<u>dj</u>a for the purpose of supplying their capital with cereals, cattle, sheep, hides and wool.

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12, Kösten<u>dj</u>e was captured by the Cossacks (1809), who destroyed the fortress and the town, reducing it to the status of a village. Returned to the Ottoman Empire by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), Kösten<u>dj</u>e was surrounded by a line of fortifications. In 1829 the town surrendered to the Russians without a struggle and its defences were dismantled. During the Crimean War the French troops of General Canrobert, in alliance with the Ottomans, disembarked at Kösten<u>dj</u>e (July 1854) but remained there only for a short time. In 1857, a British company, The Danube and Black Sea Railways Company, obtained from the Ottoman government a concession for the reconstruction and development of the port and of a new railway linking Boğaz-köy (Cernavoda) with Kösten<u>dj</u>e, which as a result of this enjoyed a new period of prosperity. In 1877 the troops of the Russian general Orlov Denisov occupied the town, which was ceded to Rumania on 23 March 1878. At this time it was a *ḳaḍā'* of the *wilāyet* of Tuna, created in 1281/1864. The Treaty of Berlin (13 Ra<u>dj</u>ab 1295/13 July 1878) recognised this union. Kösten<u>dj</u>e then possessed two *<u>dj</u>āmi'*s: the Maḥmūdiyya (1822) and the ʿAzīziyya (1822). It was at Constanța that the first newspaper of the Dobru<u>dj</u>a was published, the *Dobru<u>dj</u>a gazetesi* (1888-94), as well as the newspapers *Dobru<u>dj</u>a* (1901) and *Dobru<u>dj</u>a ṣadāsī* (1910-14) published by Meḥmed Niyāzī.

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istoeria Românilor ("Documents concerning the history of the Rumanians"), i/1, 179, iii/1, 74, 176, 179; H. Tunçer, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda toprak hukuku, arazi kanunlari ve kanun açıkmalatı*, Ankara 1962, 217-8; *Voyages du Sr. A. de la Motraye en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, ii, The Hague 1727, 208; Peyssonnel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, ii, Paris 1787, 159; Alexis de Valon, *Une année dans le Levant*, ii, Paris 1846, 178-9; Ionescu de la Brad, *Excursion agricole dans la plaine de la Dobrodja*, Constantinople 1850, 34-5; Th. Forester, *The Danube and the Black Sea, Memoir on their junction by a railway between Tchernavoda and the free port of Kustendje ...*, London 1857, 56-68; C. Allard, *Souvenirs d'Orient. La Dobroutche*, Paris 1859, 33; Baron d'Hogguer, *Renseignements sur la Dobrodja*, Bucarest 1879, 34-8; G. Noradounghien, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv, Paris 1903, 189, art. 46; A. Decei, in *İA* (s.v. Dobruca).

(Marie M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru)

KOTA KOTA, An Arabic corruption of the Chi-Hiyao place-name Ngotangota, a town in East Africa, situated in lat. 14° S. on the west side of Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). It was the seat of four Jumbes, or Walis, subject to Zanzibar between *ca.* 1845 and 1895. The first Jumbe, Salīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, came to Lake Malawi via the Arab settlement of Tabora in the present Tanzania, and built up an ivory and slave-trading state, and at the same time made Kota Kota an effective centre for the dissemination of Islam. He was succeeded by another Swahili, Mwinyi Mguzo (? Nguzo), who ruled from after 1860 to *ca.* 1875-6. Under his successor, Mwinyi Kisutu, a member "of a good Zanzibar family", the town was visited by H. B. Cotterill in 1876. It had many handsome square houses and numerous oil palms; the Zanzibar flag flew over the Jumbe's house. Although a slave-trader, when the British took power in Nyasaland in 1891, he co-operated with them until his death in 1894. His successor, Mwinyi Kheiri, the son of his predecessor, ruled from 7 September 1894 until May 1895, when he was deposed for conspiring to overthrow the British administration. Kota Kota remains an important Islamic centre in Malawi.

Bibliography: H. B. Cotterill, *On the Nyassa and a journey from the north end to Zanzibar*, in *Procs. Royal Geogr. Soc. London*, xxii (1878); G. Shepperson, *The Jumbe of Kota Kota and some aspects of the history of Islam in British Central Africa*, in I. M. Lewis, ed., *Islam in Tropical Africa*, 1966, 193-207, gives a detailed bibliography and references to public records.

(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

KOTOKO, a people of Black Africa. The Kotoko live south of Lake Chad on the lower Shari and Logone rivers. Most of their territory is presently in the Republic of Cameroun, but there are villages of the Kotoko also in Chad to the east and in Nigeria to the west.

The Kotoko (whose number was estimated at 50,000 in 1950) are a minority in their own territory. They are outnumbered by the Shuwa Arabs, who penetrated into these lands since the 18th century. Smaller groups of Kanuri, Fulbe and Hausa moved in later. Each of these ethnic groups, however, lives separately in homogeneous villages. The Kotoko live on fishing and hunting, supplemented by agriculture. The grassland between the rivers is left for the Arab pastoralists.

The etymological origin of the name Kotoko is obscure. Some authors referred to them as Makari, which is in fact the name of a northern group of Kotoko, first known to visitors coming from Bornu. Makari is the most important dialect among the northern Kotoko, as Lagwane (often spelled Logone) dialect is in the south. The linguistic diversity of the Kotoko reflects their political division, as the extent of each dialect is almost identical with the area of one principality. The particularism of each group is so strong that even under modern conditions no one dialect prevails, and almost all the Kotoko now speak the Arabic dialect of the Shuwa. The Kotoko dialects belong to the central sub-group of the Chadian languages. They are distantly related to Hausa, which is classified in the western sub-group of the Chadian languages (J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African linguistic classification*, New Haven 1955, 43-62).

The Kotoko are considered direct descendants of the Sao or So people, to whom the historical traditions of Kanem [*q.v.*] and Bornu [*q.v.*] refer as the early inhabitants of the area around Lake Chad. Those Sao who had not been assimilated or exterminated by the Kanembus and the Kanuris sought refuge in the less accessible flooding area of the Shari and Logone rivers, where they gave rise to the Kotoko. In the second half of the 16th century, Bornu under Idrīs Alūma expanded to the south. The northern Kotoko principalities, Makari and Afade, were brought within the political ambit of Bornu and under the cultural and Islamic influence of the Kanuri. Because of the imperial and dynastic connections with Bornu, islamisation among the Kotoko began chiefly in the courts. The southern Kotoko had been for a long period subject to the harassment of Bagirmi [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of the 18th century, the south was consolidated under the authority of the ruler of Logone-Birni, who was converted to Islam at about that period. Logone was visited by Major Denham in 1824 and by H. Barth in 1852. In between these two dates, probably *ca.* 1830, Logone became a tributary of Bornu. The Kotoko often saw their territory invaded by their more powerful neighbours. It was the battleground for Bornu's wars with its rivals Waday [*q.v.*] and Bagirmi. Between 1893 and 1900 it was overrun by Rābih [*q.v.*] and his warriors.

The authority of the Kotoko chiefs was circumscribed by a council of high officials and by Bornu's representative, the *alifa* (from Ar. *khalīfa*). The chiefs were also bound by pre-Islamic taboos and by the obligation to consult "the protecting animals" through their priests. The Kotoko chiefs, referred by the colonial administration as *sulṭāns*, are Muslims but they must respect old traditions. Muslim *imāms* live in their courts with traditional priests. Mosques were built near traditional shrines, whereas pre-Islamic customs and rituals are performed during Muslim festivals. Most of the Kotoko are now considered Muslims, and the number of those more fully committed to Islam grows steadily. Thousands of Kotoko are to be found in the towns of Chad and in the Sudan along the routes to Mecca. The Kotoko, who had emerged as people in refuge, away from the Muslim states of the Central Sudan, are gradually becoming integrated into the world of Islam.

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(N. Levtzion)

KOTONOU or Cotonou, capital of the People's Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). It had long been the economic capital and rival of the administrative one Porto Novo, and since independence Cotonou has established itself definitively as the capital of the republic, even if certain services still remain at Porto Novo.

The village founded by the Aïzo of Allada was called Donukpa ("near the hole", i.e. "near the lagoon"). An envoy from Abomey was struck by the reddish colour of the trees growing along this lagoon and thought that this was the result of blood. It was then believed by the Fon of Abomey that the spirits of the dead came down to Ouémé towards the lagoon and the sea; each dead person crossing the lagoon left behind a little blood which reddened the tree bark, whence the name of Ku Tonu (*ku* "dead person", *tonu* "lagoon") given to the village. However, the passage of armies from Dahomey in the 18th century led to the evacuation of this latter village. It was Yekpé Zinsou, a slave dealer, who found this spot favourable for loading up slaves away from the eyes of European control shipping, and with the help of a half-breed Portuguese interpreter Sangronio he founded this Fon village. Once he had become Jévogan of the king of Dahomey (i.e. the minister charged with relations with the white men), Yekpé settled there with his family. The place became prosperous through the trade in palm oil and through anchorage rights (payable in cowrie shells and in goods) which the Europeans had to pay. A Brazilian half-breed, Domingo Martins, settled now at Cotonou and developed the cultivation and trade in palm oil. It developed further during Glélé's reign and at the time of the French appearance there (treaties of 1868 and 1878). But Béhanzin refused France any rights over Cotonou, and two attacks on the 23 February and 4 March 1878 were repelled by the French garrison. A wharf was built between 1891 and 1899, bringing about a growth in trade, and the town's importance grew. In 1905 the population comprised 75 Europeans (including seven women and a child) and 1,100 Africans. It became a *commune mixte* in 1912 and grew especially in importance after 1928.

In the 1920s it had 8,500 inhabitants, including 300 Muslims, who were distributed in the following manner. There were 100 or so Senegalese who had come as infantrymen, officials and above all as railway workers; 100 or so Hausa from northern Nigeria, functioning as butchers or as traders in cloth and beasts; and 100 or so Nago (Yoruba), mainly coming originally from Porto Novo and working in the trading houses.

The first *imām* of Cotonou was Moussé Col Popo of Agoue, born in *ca.* 1845 and initiated into the Ḳādirī order by Seidou Collou of Nigeria. Being worn-out and hardly capable of delivering the sermon or *khuṭba* in Arabic, he was replaced in October 1920 by Soaïtou Mamadou, born at Lagos in *ca.* 1870 and living in Cotonou since the French occupation. Since he had received the Ḳādirī *wird* from Shaykh Ismailia of Zaria, it seems that he was an adherent of the mystical path of the Fulbe of Sokoto. After having given the *khuṭba* in literary Arabic, he himself translated into Hausa this sermon; then his *hailé* or deputy translated it into Nago. After these two Yoruba *imāms*, there followed a Sarakolé, al-Ḥādjdj Sakaba, born at Bakel in 1875, an educated and likeable trader who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1906 via Lagos, Las Palmas and Marseilles. He had connections with the Arab bookseller of Algiers, Kaddow Roudouci (Ḳaddūz Rudusī). He was succeeded by a Hausa, Malam Bako, but after the latter's death there was a division between the two main Muslim communities, the Yoruba and the Hausa, with the latter reproaching the Yoruba for retaining animistic practices, of drinking alcohol, of having more than four wives and of not fasting at the same time as other people. On 31 August 1966 the Muslim Union of Dahomey was formed, bringing about the pre-eminence of the Muslim community of Porto Novo; the President of the Union was in fact al-Ḥādjdj ʿAlī Paraiso. If the meetings of the Muslim community of Benin take place at Cotonou, it is nevertheless the Islamic north and Porto Novo who have benefited from these arrangements and from aid coming from the Arab world's communities.

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KŌTWĀL (Persian orthography, *k.w.twāl*), commander of a fortress, town, etc. The word is used throughout mediaeval times in the Iranian, Central Asian and Muslim Indian worlds, and has spread westwards into the regions of ʿIrāḳ and the Persian Gulf, where we find it, for instance, as a component of place names like Kūt al-ʿAmāra [*q.v.*], and given an Arabic-pattern diminutive form in al-Kuwayt [*q.v.*].

Although the word appears from the Mongol period onwards in Turkish, including Čaghatay, in such versions as *ketaul*, *kütäül*, etc., so that many native authorities (and following them, western linguists and lexicographers such as A. Vámbery, Pavet de Courteille and W. Radloff) assumed that it was a Turkish or even a Mongol word, G. Doerfer is undoubtedly right in tracing it back to an Indian origin, from *kōt* "fortress", whence *kōtwālā* "castellan, keeper of a stronghold", and frequent north Indian place names like Nagarkōt, Lohkōt, etc. The earliest attestations of the word in Islamic sources are all in an Indo-Muslim context, e.g. Maḥmūd of Ghazna's bestowal of the *kōtwālī* of Nandana in the western Pandjāb on one of his commanders in 405/1015 (Gardīzī *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 72, ed. Ḥabībī, 181), and the frequent appearance in Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī* of a commander Bū ʿAlī Kōtwāl, the local governor of the capital Ghazna. On the other hand, it does not appear in Kāshgharī. Gradually, the word became general throughout the eastern Islamic world, passing into Turkic languages, into Pashto, and into Indian vernaculars like Pandjābī, Bengali and Urdu. In Persia of the Mongol, Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid periods it was the term used for the local governor of a town or citadel, as is attested by western travellers like du Mans (1660). Cf. Doerfer,

Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, iii, 618-21, No. 1658.

The term *kōlwāl* was especially used in Muslim India under the Mughals and, after the collapse of their empire in the mid-18th century, in British India for approximately a century more. But in fact, this office, in the sense of "official responsible for public order, the maintenance of public services etc., in a town" (something like the *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* [*q.v.*] of the earlier caliphate), existed before the Mughals, e.g. in the territories of the Dihlī sultanate and in the provincial sultanates which arose in South India and eastern India during the post-Tughlukid period, cf. I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Delhi*[4], Karachi 1958, 173-4, and Majumdar, ed., *The history and culture of the Indian people*. vi. *The Delhi sultanate*, Bombay 1960, index s.v. The accounts of Portuguese adventurers in India, from Vasco da Gama onwards, speak of encounters with the *Catual* or royal representative in the towns where they disembarked (thus also in Camoëns, *The Lusiads* [completed 1572], vii, viii, *passim*).

In the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], we find a classic exposition of the duties of the *kōlwāl*. His multifarious responsibilities included the maintenance of law and order, with the pursuance of criminals and robbers (for the recovery of whose depredations the *kōlwāl* was personally responsible); the keeping of a register of houses and streets; maintaining an intelligence system in the town, including observations of the incomes and life-styles of the populace, the results of which espionage to be reported to the central government; the enforcement of a curfew; the supervision of weights and measures and fair market practices; the upholding of the standard of coinage and the calling-in of bad coins for re-minting; the oversight of public water supplies; the appropriation for the state of intestate properties; the care that widows did not make the sacrifice of *sati* against their wills; the allocation of separate quarters in the town for noisome and despised trades like those of butchers, corpse-washers [see DJAZZĀR and GHASSĀL in Suppl.] and sweepers; etc. One notes the correspondence of many of these duties with those of the classical Islamic *muḥtasib*, whose office was certainly known in pre-Mughal India under the Dihlī sultans and their epigoni [see ḤISBA. iv. The Indian subcontinent]; it seems that the purely secular, semi-military *kōlwāl* now largely replaced the *muḥtasib*. But in many ways, the wide range of the *kōlwāl*'s responsibilities is an echo of those of the *nagaraka* or Town Prefect of Mauryan times; cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthasaśtra*, ch. xxxvi. Abu 'l-Faḍl's whole exposition has, however, a somewhat theoretical cast, and should probably be interpreted as a blue-print for the ideal administrative system for Akbar, rather than a delineation of actual practice; amongst other duties of the *kōlwāl* mentioned is responsibility for seeing that the festivals of Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī* and the new *Ilāhī* era [see AKBAR] were observed (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. H. S. Jarrett[2], Calcutta 1949, 43-5; cf. also Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda 1947-8, i, 163 ff. [compiled in Gudjarat, 1175/1761], section on the duties of officials charged with the safety and good governance of the state).

More definitely in accordance with contemporary Mughal practice are the reports of European travellers within India at this time. Thus F. Bernier speaks of the *Cotoüal* or "grand Prevost de la campagne" as sending soldiers all through his town when the Mughal court passed through it, and these blew trumpets in order to scare away malefactors (*Travels in the Mogul empire A.D. 1656-1668*, tr. A. Constable 1891, repr. Delhi 1972, 188, 369). N. Manucci's personal observations are especially valuable. Describing the situation in the latter part of Awrangzīb's reign, he tells how the *kōlwāl* stopped the illicit distilling of arrack and spirits, and the practice of prostitution, and how he sent intelligence reports to the court based on the information gathered in private houses by the scavengers, *alacor* (= *ḥalāl-khūr*). He also saw that ferry tolls, abolished by the Emperor, were not illegally exacted. At his disposal, he had a force of cavalry and infantry, with detachments for each quarter of the town. In the administration of justice, on the other hand, he was under the orders of the *ḳāḍī*, and carried out his written orders, such as sentence of death (*Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. W. Irvine 1907-8, repr. Calcutta 1965-7, ii, 420-1). In fact, we know that towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign, *kōlwāl*s in the newly-conquered, peripheral regions like South India, managed to achieve considerable freedom of action, away from the central government's control; this was the case with the *kōlwāl* and *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] of Ḥaydarābād, the most important city of the eastern Deccan, see J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, Oxford 1975, 83-5.

When a new police system was introduced into British India after 1861, the office of *kōlwāl* disappeared from most of the subcontinent, and his duties were taken over by Inspectors or Sub-Inspectors. In the North-West Frontier Province, however, the term continued in use to designate the chief police officer of the larger towns and cantonments.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KOUANDÉ, at present a regional capital of the People's Republic of Benin, was founded by a clan of Bariba hunters, the Tosso, specialists in the hunting of elephants, who provided a tribute of ivory tusks to the sovereign of Nikki. This settlement of hunters must have been ancient (perhaps in the 16th century), but a prolonged dynastic quarrel at Nikki brought to Kouandé considerable numbers of young warriors who must have used this city, every dry season, as a raiding-base.

The prince Chabi Gada of Nikki, having killed one of his pregnant wives, was expelled and took refuge at Birno Maro at the court of the *Tossounon* (chief of the Tosso) who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, Gnon Birsi (in about 1762). Accepting succession to the throne of his father-in-law, he renounced all allegiance with regard to Nikki. He had, moreover, carried off with him some of the ritual objects that were the property of the king: six *kakati* (trumpets), silver and bronze stirrups, ceremonial sabres and lances, harness and bridle-bits as well as the ritual scissors which were used to cut the hair of young princes on the day of the ceremony of *Gnon Kogui*, which marked the passage from childhood to adolescence.

The death of Gada (in about 1789) led to a quarrel over the throne between Ouaoro Ouari, known as Tabouroufa ("wearer of the ear-ring"), a prince born at Nikki, and Ouorou Kpassi, son of Gnon Birsi, princess of Birni. The latter was victorious and took

the title of *Tossounon* while Ouarou Ouari moved from Birni to Kouandé.

The foundation of Kouandé. With an army of sixty-six horsemen Ouarou Ouari arrived in the region of Kouandé where the Bariba Seko had been installed for several generations. Ouarou Ourari was well received by the Kouandé Sounon, who gave him a vast area of land at the foot of the hill and died soon afterwards. A few days later he received the regalia brought from Nikki by Gada, and the following Friday, to the sound of the six royal trumpets, he accepted the homage of the Bariba and Somba chiefs. He took the title of *Bangana* ("buffalo") and appointed another Kouandé Sounon as his colleague and chief minister, and extended his authority over Birni, Pably, the region of Ouassa (Tobré and Péhounco), an area of some 10,000 km².

On his death, his brother Simé Yerima succeeded him, taking the name *Ourou Sourou* ("the Saint"). He took the young princes to task, demanding that they abandon their extortions "at once", thereby acquiring the nickname of *Baba Tantame* ("Papa at once"). To provide a diversion for the troublesome young princes, he mounted expeditions against the Berba, the Taneka, Pila-Pila, Somba, etc.

Dafia, eldest son of Ouorou Ouoari took the name *Sorou* ("the mortar that receives the blows of the pestle without being affected"). Tradition is reticent concerning his reign. All that is known is that the king authorised volunteers from his kingdom to take part in the campaign against the Peuls of Ilorin (1830). After these contingents were defeated and returned in disarray, king Sorou died as the result of being bitten by a dog; his sister, princess Ganigui, saw in this a conspiracy on the part of the successor and on the day of his coronation predicted an early death for him. In fact the *Bangana* Bio Diko ruled for only three months.

Sero, the eldest son of Baba Tantamé, was elected king (1833) and took the name *Bouko Ya Dari* ("stormy cloud"). He was obliged to suppress the intrigues of his younger brother Mora N'Gobi, who after two attempts on the throne, with the aid of the Natimba, was defeated. He obtained pardon for himself but not for Sinkossi, king of the Natimba, who, on coming to pay homage on the day of the *Gani*, was thrown into a ditch and crushed under a heap of stones, whence the king's nickname *Guinimoussikou* ("he who buries alive"). This king mounted expeditions against his neighbours the Berba, the Akpénon, the Cotokoli and the Aniagan of the valley of the Anié.

The *Bangana* Séké (1852-83) continued in similar circumstances the campaign against the Cotokoli of Kirikri (1866-8) and against Bafilo. He was also obliged to deal with civil wars.

Ouorou Ouari II (1883-97) was removed from office by Commandant Ganier in 1897 after the revolt of the Bariba. He withdrew to the village of Doh (30 km. to the east of Kouandé) and poisoned himself so as not to survive the surrender of the tombs of his ancestors. Since then the traditional sovereigns have been confined to their roles as regional chiefs.

Rules of investiture. Theoretically Islamised, the Bariba observe strict rules of investiture. After the funeral ceremonies which last three months, the council of ministers choose a new king. The choice having been made, the princes who are candidates for the throne kneel and the chief minister, Baba Agban, passes a white loincloth (*békou Kpékourou*) over the heads of the candidates.

In passing along the line for the third time, Baba Agban stops in front of the prince who has already been chosen as if held by an invisible force, then unfolding the *békou Kpékourou*, he wraps it round the body of the newly-appointed king. All those present kneel before the new king to wish him well, while the trumpets sound.

The festival of the Gani which takes place throughout the land of the Bariba is the occasion where the princes and senior officials assemble in the presence of the king to the sound of the ritual drums. At Kouandé, the Gani includes a special rite. The *Bangana* goes to the tree on the path where his ancestor used to rest. This tree lies at the southern end of the village of Kouandé and is called *Bouroh* ("good luck"). The king dismounts from his horse, leans against the throne and appeals to his ancestors for aid and protection.

A superstition holds that the man who picks up the pebbles under the tree will have his wish granted if the pebbles are of even number.

The Islamisation of Kouandé, at the beginning of the century, was very superficial. Only the community of foreign merchants was Muslim. Alfa Sabi, known as Aloufa, who was born in Kouandé in about 1863, supervised a Ḳurʾān school attended by a number of pupils. Since then, the influence of the Tid̲j̲ānī order has developed considerably.

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(R. Cornevin)

KÖY, the word used in western Turkish (e.g. in Ottoman and Crimean Tatar cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 1216) for village. It is the form in which Turkish has borrowed the Persian *gūy* (cf. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxlii, No. 3, 103), or perhaps more correctly *kūy* (Vullers, *Lexicon*; *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, 759) meaning originally path, street. In the toponomastic of the Ottoman empire we find many place-names compounded with *köy*, like Bog̲h̲az Köy, Ermeni Köy, etc. It seems that these names are not found before the end of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period; the word does not occur, for instance, in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī. *Köy* in the sense of an open village is opposed to *ḳaṣaba* meaning a small town. In eastern Turkish place-names we always find the word *kend* (itself a loan-word from Soghdian) used for a village. Sometimes this last word seems to have been replaced by *köy* (cf. e.g. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 221 ff.; Ḳāḍī Kend, near al-Mawṣil, becomes Ḳāḍī Köy).

(J. H. Kramers*)

KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ (T. "village institutes"), a Turkish educational institution of 1940-54, founded to combat the high illiteracy in rural areas by training and equipping village boys and girls for the special requirements of each region and using them as teachers in distant or under-developed areas where city-born teachers have been reluctant to work. They were the brain-child of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç [*q.v.*] a prominent educator, and were put into operation by Hasan Ali Yücel [*q.v.*] the reformist Minister of Education (1938-46) under President İsmet İnönü [see ʿIṣmet Pas̲h̲a İnönü in Suppl.].

From the early years of the Republic the problem

of mass education, particularly that of village children, was of great concern to Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and Turkish educators. During this period, nearly 80% of the population of over 13 million (1927 census) lived in some 40,000 villages unevenly scattered throughout war-devastated Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. Less than 20% of village children (mostly boys) attended for the most part inadequate schools, where the majority of teachers had had little or no proper training. Early experiments in setting up village teachers' training colleges, first under the young pioneer minister of education Muṣṭafā Nedjātī (1894-1929), and later during an attempt at collaboration between the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, failed owing to poor planning and inadequate funds. In 1936, during the ministry of Saffet Arıkan (1935-8), a new project was developed. A selected number of villagers who had served in the army as corporals and sergeants were sent to special courses called *eğitmen kursu* (*eğitmen* "instructor, educator" from the newly-coined neologisms *eğitmek* "to educate" and *eğitim* "education"), trained as teachers and appointed to village schools. To facilitate their settlement there, the *eğitmen*s were given land, agricultural equipment, tools, seeds, young plants, etc. In the meantime, İ. H. Tonguç had been appointed Director-General of Primary Education in the Ministry (1936). In 1937 the idea of village-teachers' training colleges was revived, and three colleges were set up in the Izmir, Eskişehir and Kastamonu areas (in Kızılçullu, Mahmudiye and Gölköy respectively). The new minister, Hasan Ali Yücel, gave Tonguç full authority, and the latter was able to put into practice extensively his long-cherished project, elaborated in his many works (particularly in *Canlandırılacak köy*[2], Istanbul 1947). On 17 April 1940 the law No. 3803 on Village Institutes was passed, and with the law No. 4274 on 19 June 1942 they were fully organised (for the texts of these laws, see *Düstur, üçüncü tertib*, xxi Ankara 1940, 692-7 and xxii, 1942, 1575-6 respectively). The Institutes were put under the direct control of Tonguç and after a survey of local conditions and requirements, 20 of them were set up in the following regions of Turkey (the nearest provincial centre is shown in brackets): South-East: Dicle (Diyarbakr); East: Pulur (Erzurum), Cilavuz (Kars), Akçadağ (Malatya); Eastern Black Sea: Beşikdüzü (Trabzon), Akpınar (Samsun); Western Black Sea: Gölköy (Kastamonu); Marmara and Thrace: Kepirtepe (Kırklareli), Arifiye (Izmit), Savaştepe (Balıkesir); Aegean: Kızılçullu (Izmir), Ortaklar (Aydın); Mediterranean: Aksu (Antalya), Düziçi (Adana), Gönen (Isparta); Central Anatolia: Hasanoğlan (Ankara), Pamukpınar (Sivas), Pazarören (Kayseri), Çifteler (Eskişehir), Ivriz (Konya).

The village Institutes were co-educational, admitting students with five years' village schooling (or three years' village schooling with two years' extra training) and giving a five-year course of instruction. The syllabus, which allowed great freedom of variety according to local conditions and requirements, consisted mainly of "cultural subjects" (Turkish, history, geography, civics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, a foreign language, military science and art) for 22 hours per week; agricultural subjects (farming, gardening, fruit growing, poultry farming, bee-keeping, fishing, etc.) for 11 hours per week; and technical subjects (metal working, carpentry, building, tailoring and dress-making, etc.) for 11 hours a week. The curriculum was mainly functional and was based on the essentially concrete and practical, with special emphasis on skills needed in the peasants' daily lives in a particular region. The aim was not merely to train village school teachers, but also to equip them to participate in the leadership of the community by developing their sense of personal responsibility and their ability to cooperate with villagers (specific aims which so far most city-born and trained teachers had been unable to realise). In 1943 a special teachers' training college was set up in Hasanoğlan near Ankara (*Hasanoğlan Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü*) with a three years' training programme. Up to the school year 1946-7 these Institutes trained more than 5,000 village teachers and 500 health officers.

With the ending of the single party régime (1945) and the authoritarian rule of the Republican Peoples Party (RPP, see DJUMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ PARTISI), the Village Institutes began to be subjected to violent attacks both by the conservative wing of the RPP and the newly-founded (January 1946) liberal Democrat Party (DP, see DEMOKRAT PARTİ). They were accused of fostering an unruly, subversive, anti-traditional generation and being the hotbeds of Marxist indoctrination. This campaign was waged mainly by the great landowners in and outside Parliament, and their mouthpieces in the press. The campaign reached such dimensions that President İnönü replaced the Minister of Education, H. A. Yücel with the conservative Reşat Şemsettin Sirer (1946), who in turn removed İ. H. Tonguç, the brain behind the Institutes, from office, closed the Hasanoğlan Teachers' Training College and changed most of the staff of the Institutes. Under the ministry of Tahsin Banguoğlu (1948-50), the gradual liquidation of the İnstitutes continued and was completed by Tevfik Ileri (1951-61), the second Minister of Education (appointed August 1950) of the Democrat Party, which came to power in the general election of May 1950. İleri put an end to the co-educational system in the Institutes (1951) and reformed their curriculum to bring it into line with classical teachers' training colleges of the cities. Their abolition was officially registered when their name was eventually (1954) changed to *İlk Öğretmen Okulları* ("Primary Teachers' Training Colleges"). The heated controversy over village Institutes continued and still (1978) continues without abating between their supporters and accusers, and is a strong social, political, economic and emotional issue. In spite of the rapid industrialisation of Turkey since 1950 and subsequent migration of great numbers of villagers to the cities, which has considerably altered the rural and urban scene, leading intellectuals, particularly noted writers with Village Institute backgrounds, such as Mahmut Makal (b. 1930), Fakir Baykurt (b. 1929), Talip Apaydın (b. 1926), Dursun Akçam (b. 1930) and Mehmet Başaran (b. 1926), celebrate each year the date of April 17, the anniversary of the founding of these Institutes, and demand their re-opening.

The only notable objection to the conception of Village Institutes among non-conservatives was raised by Kemal Tahir [*q.v.*] in his novel *Bozkırdakı çekirdek* ("The Seed in the Steppe", Istanbul 1967), who maintained that the Institutes were planned to train a conformist generation in rural areas in order to postpone a real social revolution.

Bibliography: I. Başgöz and H. E. Wilson, *Educational problems in Turkey*, Bloomington, Indiana 1968; Fay Kirby, *The Village Institute movement of Turkey*, unpublished D. Ed. dissertation, Teachers' College, Columbia University 1960, revised Turkish edition: *Türkiye'de köy enstitüleri*,

Ankara 1962; İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, *Köyde eğitim*, Istanbul 1938; *Tonguç'a kitap*, Istanbul 1961; Hürrem Arman, *Piramidin tabanı: köy enstitüleri ve Tonguç*, Ankara 1969; Engin Tonguç, *Köy enstitüleri ve Hakkı Tonguç*, Ankara 1970; Edip S. Balkır, *Dipten gelen ses: Arifiye köy enstitüsü*, Istanbul 1974. (FAHİR İz)

KOYL, KOIL, a town of northern India situated 75 miles south-east of Dihlī and coming within the United Provinces in British India, now Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union. The more modern town of ʿAlīgaṛh [*q.v.*] has expanded out of a suburb of Koyl. In 590/1194 the commander of the Ghūrids, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], captured Koyl on a raid from Dihlī, and henceforth there were usually Muslim governors over local Rādjput rulers, such as Kučuk ʿAlī under Bābur (932/1526) (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 176). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Koyl on his way southwards from Dihlī to the Deccan and Malabar, and speaks also of a noted *shaykh* of Kuwil (as he writes the name), one Shams al-Dīn b. Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn, whom Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ did to death (*Riḥla*, iii, 307-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 704-5, and iv, 6-7). The minaret of Koyl (now destroyed) had on it an inscription of the Slave King Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh from 652/1254 (see G. Yazdani, *The inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi ...*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* [1913-14], 22-3). Koyl is listed in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett[2], Calcutta 1939-48, ii, 197, as a *sarkār* in the Āgra *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire, with a revenue of 55 million *dams*.

In *ca.* 1757 Koyl was captured by the Jhāt leader Sūradj Mal and then in 1759 by the Afghāns, its strategic position on the Dihlī-Āgra road giving it importance. It was re-named ʿAlīgaṛh "the high fortress" by Nadjaf Khān in 1776, when he rebuilt the citadel. All the upper Dōāb passed into British hands in 1803, but with Koyl-ʿAlīgaṛh only captured from the Marāṭhās after a prolonged siege. Native troops there mutinied in May 1857, but order was restored in August by a British force after internal strife between the Jhāts and Rādjputs. For the town's subsequent history, see ALIGARH.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetter of India*[2], v, 209-11, xv, 354; and see GŪRAN, SHAYKH, in Suppl. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲOYLU ḤIṢĀR (ḲOYUNLU ḤIṢĀR), modern Koyulhisar, centre of an *ilçe* of the province (*il*) of Sıvas in the valley of the Kelkit River along the old route from *Niksar* to *Shābīn Ḳaraḥiṣār* and Erzurum in the so-called "left wing" (*sol ḳol*) of Anatolia within the framework of the Ottoman road and postal system. The site has changed a few times because of earthquakes (most recently in 1939). Before *ca.* 1850 the township probably lay on the site of the actual Yukarı Kale.

The town and fortress were lost by the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert (Malazgirt). After direct Saldjūḳid rule, it became part of the amīrate of Eretna [*q.v.*], then possession of the semi-independent Turcoman ruler of Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī (= Shābīn Ḳaraḥiṣār). In *ca.* 763/1381 it was part of the dominions of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] of Sīvās, whose government was succeeded by that of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] lost the place to Sultan Meḥemmed II in 865/1461, upon which it became part of the *eyālet* of Erzurum as a subdivision of Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī. In 1864 its status became that of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *wilāyet* of Sıvas. In the 19th century its population was only half Muslim, and V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 237, 793) enumerated a population of 1,809, of whom 905 were Muslims, 604 Greeks and 300 Armenians. In 1927 the census indicated a total Muslim-Turkish population of 1,800. In 1970 the town numbered 3,524, with 28,887 in the *ilce*.

Bibliography: *Admiralty handbook*, Turkey, London 1943, i, 111-13, ii, 402; Ibn Bibi, *Seltschukengeschichte*, tr. and ed. H. W. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 92, 117, 327, 346; ʿĀshıḳpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, Graz, etc. 1959, 222-5, 239; Tursun Beg, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. and tr. H. İnalcık and Rh. Murphy, Minneapolis-Chicago 1978, 46, 90B; [R. Bozkurt] *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kollar, ulak ve iaşe menziller*, Ankara 1966, 25 (as "Koyun Hisarı"); *İA*, art. *Koyul-Hisar* (B. Darkot, with the older literature indicated); F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, ii, 4, 13-24, 54, 75, 192, Tables 41-4; Y. Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970, 27, 50 f., 65, 83, 92, 138, 148. (A. H. DE GROOT)

ḲOYUL ḤIṢĀR (ḲOYUNLU ḤIṢĀR), more properly ḲOYUN ḤIṢĀR, the name for two Byzantine fortresses: 1. identical with Baphaeon, to the north-east of Izmīd, the site of the first battle won by ʿOthmān I against the Byzantines in 1301; 2. a fortress on the Saḳarya river [*q.v.*] to the north-east of Bursa near Dinboz, taken by Orkhān during a campaign in 1324-5.

Bibliography: ʿĀshıḳpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, Graz, etc. 1959, 43, 63, map I; H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman empire—the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 6, 55; D. E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, Leiden 1972, 37; İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1972[3], 109 ff., map 2. (A. H. DE GROOT)

ḲOYUN BABA, lit "father of sheep", a Turkish saint. He is thought to have been a contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] and is said to have received his name from the fact that he did not speak, but only bleated like a sheep five times a day at the periods for prayer. Sulṭān Bāyezīd II, called *Walī*, built a splendid tomb and dervish monastery on the site of his alleged grave at ʿOthmāndjıḳ (near Amasya, in Anatolia) which was one of the finest and richest in the Ottoman empire. Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Travels* (*Seyāḥet-nāme*, ii, 180 ff.) describes very fully the great Bektāshī monastery there, at which he was cured of a malady of the eye and was initiated into the order (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 608, on Ewliyā's pilgrimage to the tomb of Ḳoyun Baba). Nothing is known regarding the life of this remarkable saint, nor even whether he really existed. That he is represented as a disciple and contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh means nothing, as almost all early Ottoman saints are credited with having enjoyed this privilege. The sanctuary itself does not seem to have been examined; but see Maercker in *ZGE*, xxiv (1899), 376.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 625 (brief mention of the tomb); Ewliyā, *Seyāḥet-nāme*, ii, 180 ff.; cf. also J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 230, 608 (extracts from Ewliyā). (F. BABINGER)

ḲŌZĀN, (1) a town in southern Turkey, formerly the Armenian town of Sīs [*q.v.*], and now administrative centre of Ḳōzān district (*kaza*) in the province of Adana.

(2) in Ottoman times, that portion of the Taurus Mountains comprising the present districts of Kadirli, Ḳozān, Feke and Saimbeyli. This name originated with the Ḳozān-oghlu *derebeys* [see below] who controlled the area during the 18th and much of the 19th centuries.

The origin of the Ḳōzān-og͟hlu dynasty and its name is uncertain. According to Aḥmad D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a, the family came from the Arıḳ tribe, one of the Wārsāḳ (Fārsāḥ) tribes which settled the Taurus Mountains in the 13th century A.D., and its name originated with an ancestor from the village of Ḳōzān near ʿAyntāb (*Tedh̲ākir*, iii, 108-9). The family had gained leadership of the tribe by 1689 (Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri*, 89) and went on to control the entire area and exercise the functions of government in virtual independence of Istanbul. Only in 1865 were the Ottomans able to defeat, capture and exile the *derebeys*, settling the tribes on which their power had depended and establishing normal administration. Ḳōzān was of concern once again in 1878 when Ḳōzān-og͟hlu Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a tried to re-establish his control, but with his defeat the area ceased to be of special importance.

Bibliography: The most detailed accounts of Ḳōzān and the Ḳōzān-og͟hlu are those of Aḥmad D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a in *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *TTEM*, x (87), 278-82 and *Tedh̲ākir*, iii, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1963, 107-15, 117-19. A general description of the area as it was in 1890 is given in V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 90-7. Selected documents concerning the Ḳōzān-og͟hlu are found in Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri: 966-1200*, Istanbul 1930. On the Wārsāḳ tribes, see Faruk Sümer, *Çukurova tarihine dair araştırmalar* (*Fetihten XVI yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar*), in *AÜDTCFD*, i, 70-93. The most recent study of this area in the nineteenth century is A. G. Gould, *Pashas and brigands: Ottoman provincial reform and its impact on the nomads of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1973, unpublished.

(A. G. Gould)

ḲŌZĀN-OG͟HULLARÎ, a family of *derebeys* [*q.v.*] in Ottoman southern Anatolia, with their centre of power in the 19th century in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Ḳōzān [*q.v.*] (i.e. western Ḳōzān) and the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ḳōzān (i.e. east Ḳōzān), in the piedmont area where the Taurus Mountains come down to the Cilician Plain or Çukurova. They were thus in a good position, during the 19th century, together with other local *derebeys*, to dominate the plain and at times to exert influence in Adana itself.

The Ḳōzān-og͟hullarî claimed descent from a Türkmen tribe which had entered Cilicia in Sald̲j̲ūḳ times, and which is certainly heard of in historical sources for the 17th century. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards, they were able to beat off several military attacks by the Porte in Istanbul and to act as virtually independent local rulers, levying taxes, but acting nominally as officials, *ḳāʾimmaḳāms* or *müdürs*, of the Ottoman government. Their position locally was strengthened by an informal alliance with the Armenian clergy and notables of Ḳōzān (the Armenian Catholicos or Patriarch had his seat in a monastery at Sîs in the Ḳōzān district, the ancient capital of mediaeval Little Armenia [see V. F. Büchner, art. *Sîs*, in *EI*[1]), who were also concerned lest the Sultan's direct influence be extended into the region. The Ḳōzān-og͟hlu family was, however, rent by internal rivalries in the middle years of the 19th century. In 1865 the central government was able to reduce the power of the Cilician derebeys by the despatch of the military "Reform Division" (*Fîrḳa-yi Iṣlāḥiyye*) to Iskenderūn; various members of the Ḳōzān-og͟hullarî went over to the government side, and after some attemps at resistance, the family finally submitted. Several of them were given official posts in the Ottoman administration, and others brought to honourable exile in Istanbul; after a final local rising in 1878 just after the Russo-Turkish War, the region of Ḳōzān was substantially pacified.

Bibliography: see A. G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 491-505, with references to the sources, and a kinship table of the family as it was in 1865 at p. 492.

(Ed.)

ḲRĀN [see sikka].

ḲRÎM [see ḳirim].

ḲRÎZ (Russian designation, Krîzî [from the *aul* Ḳrîz]), a small Caucasian ethnic group, forming with the K͟haput [*q.v.*] and Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Lezghin, Agul, Rutul, Tsak͟hur, Tabasaran, Buduk͟h, Dzhek), of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, ethnically there were 5 Ḳrîz, and linguistically 4,348 (including speakers of Dzhek and K͟haput dialects). According to a 1954 estimate, there were some hundreds of Ḳrîz living in a single *aul*, that of Ḳrîz, located in the basin of the upper Ḳudialchay, in the S̲h̲ak͟hdag͟h area (Konak͟hkend district, Azerbaidjan SSR). The Ḳrîz are Sunnî Muslims of the S̲h̲āfiʿî rite. The traditional economy of the Ḳrîz was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture.

The Ḳrîz language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is K͟haput), which is a purely vernacular language; Azeri is used as the literary language. The Ḳrîz are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI* (1955), 7-56; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958.

(R. Wixman)

KRUJË, a town in northern Albania, lying around the foot of a precipitous rock, a spur of the steep Krujë Range, with the fertile plain of the Ishm river to the south and west.

Under the Ottoman administration the town was officially known as Aḳ Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*]. It was the chief administrative centre of the *wilāyet* and after 1466 of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of this name. For most of the second half of the 19th century the *ḳaḍāʾ* was part of the *wilāyet* and of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Skutari (cf. Th. Ippen, *Beiträge zur inneren Geschichte Albaniens im XIX. Jahrhundert*, in L. von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, Munich-Leipzig 1916, i, 363). The *ḳaḍāʾ* comprised a *nāḥiye*, an area north of the river Mat, known as Ohëri i vogël (cf. F. Seiner, *Die Gliederung der albanischen Stämme*, Graz 1922, 6), which was inhabited by the Kthella tribe (cf. *Detailbeschreibung von Albanien. 1. Theil: Nord-albanien mit den angrenzenden Theilen Dalmatiens und Montenegros*, Vienna 1900, 110 ff., 130 ff.). At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Northern Albania in 1916, the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Krujë functioned as part of the *sand̲j̲ak* of Krujë, together with the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of Matja and Ohëri (cf. F. Seiner, *Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von den österr.-ungarischen Truppen 1916-1918 besetzten Gebiete*, Vienna-Leipzig 1922, 14). In the independent Albanian state the area of Krujë became a sub-prefecture of the prefecture of Dürres (cf. *Albania. Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division*, Oxford 1945, 146). After 1949, the position of the town was affected by various administrative changes; cf. *Die*

Verwaltungseinstellung und die Entwicklung der Bevölkerung in Albanien, Wissenschaftlicher Dienst Südosteuropa (München: Südost Institut), iii, No. 10 (1954), 211-16, *passim*. In present-day Albania the district (*rrethe*) of Krujë covers an area of 607 sq. km. and had a population of 70,700 in 1971 (cf. *Vjetari statistikor i R.P.SH.-1971 dhe 1972*, Tiranë 1973, 24). The number of inhabitants of the town itself, which is known for the characteristic architecture of its buildings (cf. Koco Zheku, *La Kulle (manoir) de Kruje*, in *Deuxième Conférence des Etudes Albanologiques*, ii, Tirana 1970, 263-8 (text), 269-89 (illustrations)), amounted to about 7,000 souls (cf. Zheku, *ibid.*, 263).

Throughout the 19th and early 20th century, the region of Krujë was the scene of various anti-Ottoman rebellions, mainly in response to the imposition of new taxes (cf. Luan Bajo, *Faqe nga Lufta e kacakëve në rrethin e Krujës (fundi i shekullit XIX—fillimi i shekullit XX)*, in *Studime Historike*, vi [1969], ii, 65-74). During one of the last of these rebellions in 1906-7, the so-called battle of Tallajbe—named after the quarter of the town of Krujë where it took place—was fought between peasants from the Krujë area and Ottoman forces under Shemsi Pasha (cf. Luan Bajo, *Mbi "Luftën e Tallajbesë" në rrethin e Krujës në vitet 1906-1907*, in *Studime Historike*, vi [1969], iii, 147-58).

Accounts of these events as well as of the revolts against local landlords belonging to the Toptan family, within which the office of *sandjaḳ-beg* [*q.v.*] had become a hereditary position, are preserved in local oral tradition and were collected, studied and analysed by G. Komnino, *Expedita folklorike e Krujës*, in *Buletin për shkencat shoqërore*, iii (1955), 235-61. During the general insurrection of 1912, which led to the proclamation of Albanian independence, the region of Krujë was one of the major centres of anti-Ottoman activity (cf. P. Bartl, *Die Albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der Nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878-1912)*, Wiesbaden 1968, 180, and for a more detailed account, L. Bajo, *Mbi kryengritjen e përgjithshme të vitit 1912 në rrethin ë Krujës*, in *Studime Historike*, viii [1971], i, 131-54); and in 1914 it was the centre of the Essadist movement, which was partly pro-Turkish and directed against the Albanian sovereign Wilhelm von Wied. The town was captured by anti-Essadist troops of Mati tribesmen under Ahmet Zogu (cf. C. A. Dako, *Zogu the First, King of the Albanians*, Tirana 1937, 61).

The population of the *ḳaḍā'* was predominantly Muslim and the town of Krujë was inhabited by Muslims exclusively (cf. Seiner, *Volkszählung*, 14). The majority of its inhabitants belonged to the Bektāshī order [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] which had several sanctuaries in and around the town and a *tekke* in the plain below Krujë (Fushë e Krujës), which was visited and described by F. Babinger in 1928 (F. Babinger, *Bei den Derwischen von Kruja*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung*, ix [1928], Heft 8/9, 148-9; Heft 10, 164-5; and idem, *With the Dervishes of Krooya*, in *The Sphere*, cxvii [1929], no. 1525, 63. For photographs of the *tekke*, see E. Rossi, *Credenze ed usi dei Bektasci*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xviii [1942], 60-80). Until 1967, the *tekke* was the seat of a *gjysh* (grandfather) who had under his jurisdiction the prefectures of Tirana, Durrës and Shkodër. These constituted one of the six zones into which Albania had been subdivided by the order for administrative purposes (cf. S. Skendi, *Albania*, New York 1958, 294).

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(F. DE JONG)

ḲUBAČI, self-designation, Urbugh; Russian, Kubačintsï; Arabic and Persian, Zirihgarān), a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Ḳubači inhabit the single *aul* of Ḳubači, located in Dakhadaev *rayon*, Dāghistān. They are a Caucasic people whose language belongs with Ḳaytaḳ and Dargin to the Dargino-Lak (Lak-Dargwa) group of the Ibero-Caucasian language family. Ḳubači is now regarded as a dialect of the Dargin language, and they are considered in the Soviet Union as a sub-group of Dargins rather than as a distinct ethnic group. The Ḳubači use the Dargin literary language, and they are being assimilated by the Dargins. In 1926, according to the Soviet census, there were 2,322 Ḳubači.

The first mention of the Ḳubači appears in Arabic sources of the 4th/10th century from Darband [see BĀB AL-ABWĀB]. Although the Ḳubači maintained patriarchal clan divisions and had a strong self-ruling free society, they paid tribute both to the Shamkhāl of Ḳāzīḳumukh (4th-8th/10th-14th centuries) and the Utsmiat of Ḳaytāḳ (9th-10th/15th-16th centuries). The *aul* of Ḳubači was part of the Gapsh free society, a division of the Utsmi-Dargwa, a Dargin federation. The Ḳubači are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī school. They, along with the Dargins, accepted Islam in the 6th/12th century.

Since the middle Ages, Ḳubači artisans have been renowned as gold, silver, and coppersmiths, and as makers of fine jewelry and weapons. So famed were they as makers of daggers, sabres, and chain-mail that they were, and are, called Zirihgarān ("makers of mail") by the Arabs and Persians. Even under the Soviets today, the Ḳubači masters are still famous for their fine jewelry, gold and silver smithing.

Bibliography: Geiger *et al.*, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; *Narodï Dagestana*, Moscow 1955. See also DĀGHISTĀN, DARGHIN, ḲAYTAḲ, ḲUMUḲ and LAM.

(R. WIXMAN)

ḲUBĀDĀBĀD, a residence of the Rūm Saldjūḳ ʿAlā' al-Dīn Ḳayḳubād I (616-34/1219-37) [*q.v.*] on the west bank of the Lake Beyşehir, *ca.* 100 km. south-west of Konya. On the spur of the Güllüce Dağları, probably in 624/1227 chosen by Ḳayḳubād I as a site for its scenic qualities, a palace-city was constructed under the direction of Saʿd al-Dīn Köpek, his Court Architect and Master of the

Royal Hunt (*amīr-i shikār ū miʿmār*). The first palace is said to have been erected in the presence of the ruler according to his detailed indications. But it may have taken longer to erect the buildings of the area, which measures *ca.* 430 × 200 m. and on which until now there can be identified the ruins of 15 constructions, as well as the outline of a quay and a fenced enclosure perhaps to be identified as an enclosure for animals. Unambiguous evidence for continued building activity is provided by an inscription, dated 633/1236, commemorating the foundation of a mosque by Badr al-Dīn Sūtāsh, governor (*wālī*) of Ḳubādābād, later transferred to the mosque at Kürtler Köyü, at a distance of *ca.* 3 km. to the south. The palace-city was inhabited temporarily by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (634-44/1239-46) too and finally also by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kayḳāʾūs II [*q.v.*] (during his second reign 655-9/1257-61), but its importance must have declined sharply after the occupation of Anatolia by the Mongols (641/1243).

The ruins were identified in 1949 by M. Zeki Oral, who made limited, trial excavations up to 1951. The systematic excavations in 1965 and 1966 by Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder included a topographical survey of the area, but remained restricted to clearing the two main buildings located at the lake shore. Both buildings are characteristic palaces with central double rooms: a raised *iwān*, probably a throne-room, preceded by a barrel-vaulted entrance hall. The smaller building of 30 × 29 m. of dressed stone, by a quay and associated with a dockyard, is probably the older one of the two palaces. This is indicated by the stone blocks of the porch, which have been excavated; with its simple, angular, interlacing bands it points to the early years of the reign of Ḳayḳubād I. The greater palace of 50 × 35 m., erected probably only slightly later in an isolated position on the northern side of the building area, is a rubble construction clearly less pretentious as far as masonry is concerned. It is, however, distinguished by an outer court and a terrace which border upon the shore of the lake.

The rubble walls of the greater palace, not very notable by themselves, were originally richly decorated. Up to a height of 1.75 m., the inner walls of the main rooms bore a revetment of underglaze-painted tiles mostly arranged in an all-over star and cross pattern, the eight-pointed stars bearing figural subjects and the crosses florate ornaments. The tiles, datable *ca.* 627/1230 or a little later, show a variety of iconographic themes side-by-side, apparently reflecting the multiple functions of the building, as a Royal residence and as a hunting lodge; on the one hand, there are symbols of power like the sovereign enthroned, eagles bearing the inscription *al-sulṭān* on their breasts or lions; and on the other, astrological symbols and fabulous creatures, or trees of life which may well be allusions to paradise. Finally there are stylised animal figures, with falcons or horses together with game animals like foxes, hares, deer, bears, etc. Tile fragments proved that the smaller palace was also covered with tiles, bearing similar iconographic themes. This revetment, however, is possibly datable to a later phase of decoration.

In addition to these considerable series of tiles, which are particularly important as one of the earliest known examples in architecture of tile-decoration with figural subjects, there were also excavated in the greater palace fragments of window-screens of mosaic faïence, as well as vestiges of moulded stucco, decorated with peacocks and riders, and some figural stone reliefs. Together with numerous smaller finds, which included fine glazed pottery and in particular, a glass dish bearing the names and titles of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, the son of the imperial founder of the site, the richly-decorated palaces of Ḳubādābād represent impressive evidence for the artistic splendour of the court of the Rūm Saldjūḳs which reached its zenith under Ḳayḳubād I.

Bibliography: The main historical source is Ibn Bībī's *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya fi 'l-umūr al-ʿAlāʾiyya*, tr. H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959, 146-8, 149, 153, 208, 209, 218, 219, 332, 333; additional information in the chronicle of Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḳsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*; F. Işıltan, *Die Seldschuken-Geschichte des Aḳsarāyī* (= Sammlung Orientalischer Arbeiten, xii) Leipzig 1943, 53. Full use of the written sources was made by İ. H. Konyali, *Alanya (Alâîyye)*, Istanbul 1946, 77-9; M. Zeki Oral, *Kubadâbat bulundu*, in *Anıt*, 1/10 (1949), 2, 23; idem, *Kubâd-Abâd nasıl bulundu?* in *İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* (1953), 171-208; L. A. Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva 1956, 83 f.; K. Erdmann, *Ibn Bībī als kunsthistorische Quelle* (= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, xiv), Istanbul 1962, 3, 16, 18; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi*, Konya 1965, 185-92; O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, Istanbul 1971, 397 f. Since the re-discovery in 1949, the constructions and excavated material have often been studied: M. Zeki Oral, *Kubad Abâd çinileri*, in *TTK Belleten*, xvii/66 (1953), 209-22; K. Otto-Dorn, *Türkische Keramik* (= Veröffentlichungen der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Ankara, cxix—Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität, i), Ankara 1957, 36-40; K. Erdmann, *Seraybauten des dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in Anatolien*, in *Ars Orientalis* iii (1959), 82 f., K. Otto-Dorn-Mehmet Önder, *Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad (Oktober 1965)*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, lxxxi/2 (1966), 170-83; idem, *Kubat-abat kazıları 1965 yılı*, 237-43; Mehmet Önder, *Kubâd-âbâd sarayı harpi ve simurg'ları*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, x (1967 [1968]), 5-9; idem, *Kubâd-âbâd sarayları kazılarında yeni bulunan resimli dört çini*, in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, ii (1966-8), 116-21; M. Akok, *Konya'da Alaiddin köşkü Selçuk saray ve köşkleri*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, xi (1968 [1969]), 59 f.; K. Otto-Dorn, *Die menschlichen Figurendarstellungen auf den Fliesen von Kobadabad*, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, Istanbul 1969, 111-39; Mehmet Önder, *Selçuklu devrine ait bir cam tabak*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, ii (1969), 1 f.; K. Otto-Dorn, *Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad 1966*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, lxxxiv/4 (1969 [1970]), 438-506; F. Tunçdag, *Die Menschendarstellung auf einer Karreefliese von Kobadabad*, in *op. cit.*, 494-6; G. Öney, *Die Karreefliesen im Grossen Palast von Kobadabad*, in *op. cit.*, 496-500; J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Les inscriptions*, in *op. cit.*, 500-5; Mehmet Önder, *Kubadâbâd çinilerinde Sultan Alâeddin Keykubâd I. in iki portresi*, in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, iii (1969-70), 121-4; G. Öney, *Kubadabad ceramics*, in *The art of Iran and Anatolia from the 11th to the 13th century A.D.* (= Colloquies on art and archaeology in Asia, iv), London 1974, 68-74; M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* (= Istanbuler Mitteilungen—Beiheft xiii), Tübingen 1976, index. (M. MEINECKE)

ḲUBĀDHIYĀN, ḲUWĀDHIYĀN, in mediaeval

Islamic times a small province situated on the right bank of the upper Oxus, and also a town, the chief settlement of the province. The latter comprised essentially the basin of the Ḳubādhiyān (modern Kafirnihan) River, which ran down from the Buttamān Mountains and joined the Oxus at the fording-place of Awwadj or Awzadj (modern Ayvadj); accordingly, it lay between the provinces of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] on the west and Wakhsh and Khuttal [*q.v.*] on the east. Administratively, it was most often attached to Khuttal. It now falls substantially within the Tadzhikstan SSR.

The name Ḳubādhiyān/Ḳuwādhiyān seems to appear in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang's travel account as Kio-ho-yen-na, according to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 226, 233. The 4th/10th century geographers describe it amongst the upper Oxus provinces of Transoxania. Its chef-lieu was the town of Ḳubādhiyān itself (modern Kabadian), also called in Ibn Ḥawḳal Fazz, but in Muḳaddasī B.y.z. (?); this was a strongly-fortified town on the Ḳubādhiyān River, smaller however than Tirmidh [*q.v.*]. In the north, on the upper course of the river, lay the fortresses of Wāshgird and Shūmān, frontier posts against such predatory peoples of the Buttamān Mountains as the Kumīdjīs [*q.v.*]; indeed, the whole province was well-supplied with *ribāṭ*s and defensive posts. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ṣāḥib-Barīd* or postmaster and intelligence agent [see BARĪD] for the Sāmānids in Ḳubādhiyān received the salary for each three months (*ʿishrīniyya*) of 200 *dirhams*. The chief products for exports from the province were saffron in the north and madder in the south, the latter being a crop whose marketing was strictly controlled by the Sāmānid government (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 454, 470, 474-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 439, 453, 456-9; Muḳaddasī, 284, 289-90; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 114-15, § 25; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 102-3). Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, f. 440b, gives "al-Ḳubādhiyānī" as the best-attested form of the *nisba*, and accounts Ḳubādhiyān as belonging administratively (in the Saldjūḳ period?) to Balkh.

In Islamic history, we hear little of Ḳubādhiyān under this very name. It was a dependency of the Sāmānid empire, passing with Khuttal and Čaghāniyān to the Ghaznawids in the early 5th/11th century (whence several mentions of it in Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*), and then to the Saldjūḳs; in Tīmūrid times it was often controlled by the rulers of Harāt. See further for the historical aspect, ČAGHĀNIYĀN and KHUTTALĀN.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang, Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*, Leiden 1938, 36, 75, 90, 94; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 439-40. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KUBAFOLO or **BAFILO,** the centre of the administrative region of Northern Togo, situated in lat. 8° 40′ N. and long. 1′ 30′ E., 73 km. north of Sokodé. It owes its origin to the unforeseen halting of a column of Gonja warriors led by Mama, ruler of Pembi, and which was returning from a campaign against Djougou at the beginning of the 19th century. They stopped at Séméré (now in the People's Republic of Benin), and a group settled there. The warriors were tired by a long march through the mountain regions, but did not dare to ask their chief to stop; however, the latter's horse stopped to urinate, and the warriors seized the opportunity to halt. Finding the spot pleasant, they set up an encampment which they named Gobangafol (from *banga* "horse" and *mbofol* "urine"). These Gouang warriors settling there married Tem women and adopted the Tem language. The traditions vary concerning this expedition; according to Goody, it was probably commanded by Soumaïla Ndewura Jakpa, king of Pembi, and according to others, by Mama, with Séméré and Bafilo being founded by rebellious dissidents rather than by disciplined soldiers.

At present, representatives of the main clans are to be found at Bafilo: the Touré, originating from the Niger banks under the leadership of a certain Boukari; the Fofana, descended from Sabani (of the royal family of Fada N'Gurma); the Keita of Kabara; and the Taraore. The Peuls who are said to have arrived in Nigeria between 1840 and 1875 (the Sakara and Dabo clans) allegedly initiated the Temba into stock-raising. When the Germans arrived, there were already several mosques. Islamisation has continued, and at the present time, there are 27 mosques in the town, divided between its two component quarters, 18 in the Agodadé one and 9 in the Central one. The chief mosque is 25 years old; a Ḳurʾān school with three grades is attached to it, with a Libyan teacher giving instruction there since 1977. About 100 men and some 50 women have made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Until the Second World War there existed a small minority of the Ḳādiriyya order, but with the death of the last Alfa then, these adherents have rallied to the Tidjāniyya. Bafilo is an important centre for the spread of Islam, since several of the Muslim missionaries in Togo have received their religious education there.

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ḲUBAN (called in Noghay Turkish, ḲUMAN, in Čerkes, P^H^SHIZ), one of the four great rivers of the Caucasus (Rion, Kura, Terek and Ḳuban). It is about 450 miles long. It rises near Mount Elburz at a height of 13,930 feet. Its three constituents (Khurzuḳ, Ulu-Ḳam, Uč-Ḳulan) join together before reaching the defile through which the Ḳuban enters the plains (at a height of 1,075 feet). The Ḳuban at first runs through the wooded outer spurs of the mountains and then, taking a westerly direction, flows through the plains with forests on either bank. Its left bank tributaries are the Daʾut, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Urup, Laba, Bēlaia, Pshish, Psekups, Afips, Adagum, etc. Its lower course breaks into two branches, one of which (Protoka) flows into the Sea of Azov and the other (the main one) into the Black Sea (although it also sends off a channel to the Sea of Azov). The lower course of the river frequently changes its bed. As late as the 15th century for example, it discharged the bulk of its waters into the Sea of Azov. The Ḳuban with its tributaries drains an area of 20,000 sq. miles.

The administrative district of the Ḳuban—before 1918 the province (*oblastʾ*) of the Ḳuban Cossacks—also included the valleys, further north of the Baisugh, Čelbasī, Sasīka and the left bank of the Yeya, all flowing towards the Sea of Azov or ending in lakes and marshes. This territory between the chain of the Caucasus and the sea stretched to the north as far as the province of the Don Cossacks and to the east as far as that of the Terek Cossacks. The area of this

great province, which is divided into 7 districts (Yeya, Temrük, Kawkazski, Ekaterinodar, Maykop [in Turkish: "much oil"], Laba, Baṭṭālpas̲h̲insk), was estimated at about 32,000 sq. miles.

Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, Paris 1827, 89, estimated the tribes of the Ķuban at about 100,000 families. According to the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, the native population in about 1861 was 200,000 men (?), but as a result of expatriations en masse, this number had fallen to 90,471 by about 1883. Russian colonisation, which was begun by the Cossacks in about 1861, had reached 1,500,000 by 1894. In 1916, official statistics put the whole population of the province at over 3,000,000. The number of "highlanders" and "Sunnīs" included in this total had also increased and reached 139,000. The native elements indicated by these official terms, which lack precision, included the remainder of the Čerkes and Abaz tribes [*q.v.*] (related to the Abk̲h̲āz, *q.v.*) and Turks of Ķara-Čay. The latter (about 15,000 in 1900) lived in the villages (*aul*) of Ķart-D̲j̲urt, Uč-Ķulan and K̲h̲urzuķ, etc. in the upper waters of the Ķuban and spoke a northern Turkish dialect (Nog̲h̲ay). They were at one time under the Čerkes princes of Ķabarda and in 1822 submitted to the Russians.

After 1920, the territory of Ķuban was re-organised on an ethnic basis; besides the Kabarda-Balķar region (on the Terek) (now an Autonomous SSR) two autonomous (within the Soviet system) areas were created on the Ķuban: first, the Ķara-Čay-Čerkes, east of Urup with its capital Baṭṭāl-pas̲h̲insk; it has about 150,000 inhabitants of whom 45% are Turks, 25% Čerkes and 13% Cossacks; and second, the Adīg̲h̲e, a strip of territory along the Ķuban and Laba; its capital is Tok̲h̲tamukay and it contains about 70,000 Čerkes. Both these are now Autonomous Regions.

The basin of the Ķuban has been inhabited since the bronze age. The oldest tombs at Maykop go back to the second (according to Rostovtzeff, to the third) millenium B.C. Scythian tombs of the 4th-5th centuries B.C. are very numerous (Kelermes, Voronežskaia) and Sarmatian tombs from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st A.D. The Greeks called the Ķuban Hypanis, Vardanes and Anticites. In Byzantine authors we find Κοῦφις, Κοῦφις (Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, 32). The spread of Christianity among the Adīg̲h̲e (Čerkes), according to local legends, dates from the emperor Justinian (527-65); cf. S̲h̲ora Nogmov, *Istoria adīg̲h̲eiskago naroda*, Tiflis 1861, 43.

The Arabs were not well acquainted with the district. According to a bold conjecture of Marquart, *ibid.*, 37, 161, 164, Ķuban is to be read for Dūbā (*Kūbā), which according to Gardīzī (quoting D̲j̲ayhānī, *ca.* 301/914) formed the southern boundary of the Mad̲j̲ār (Magyars) and to the south of which (on the left bank) lived (Ibn Rusta, 139) the Ṭwlās, probably an Alān [*q.v.*] tribe (cf. the southern Ossete tribe of Tual-tā and the name of the Alāns: Ās). On the other hand, Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲ al-d̲h̲ahab*, ii, 45-6) says that the immediate neighbours of the Alān were the Kasak living between the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The Kas̲h̲ak (a parallel form is al-Kāsakiyya, Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 157) are the Čerkes, whom the Russian chronicles call Kasogī and with whom the Russian principality of Tmutarakan (on the peninsula of Taman in the 9th to the 11th century) had continuous relations.

The later history of the territory of Ķuban is at first the story of the struggle between the Russians and Ottomans, and more particularly the K̲h̲āns of the Crimea, for the possession of the fertile plains southeast of the Sea of Azov and later of the struggle of the Russians with the warlike tribes of the left bank of the Ķuban.

In the 16th century, Moscow's interest in the northern Caucasus was stimulated by the marriage of Ivan the Terrible with the Ķabardian princess, Maria Temrükovna, in 1561. Soon afterwards Sulṭān Selīm II sent Ķāsim Pas̲h̲a to Astrak̲h̲an, and Dewlet-Giray of the Crimea invaded Ķabarda.

In 1589 the Cossacks appeared before Azov, a former Venetian and Genoese colony, which the Ottomans had taken in 880/1475. A long series of struggles began for the possession of Azov [cf. AZAĶ] and the Čerkes principality of Ķabarda (to the east of the Ķuban on both sides of the middle course of the Terek). Down to the beginning of the 18th century the K̲h̲āns of the Crimea had the upper hand, and by about 1717 the Čerkes had been converted to Islam (Nogmov). By the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1739 the two Ķabardas were proclaimed independent to constitute a buffer state between the two powers. By the treaty of Küčük-Kaynard̲j̲ī [*q.v.*] in 1774, Great and Little Ķabarda were placed under the suzerainty of the K̲h̲ān of the Crimea, whose independence was recognised. In 1782 the Turks occupied Taman, but by the edict of 8 April 1783, Catherine II proclaimed the annexation by Russia of the Crimea, Taman and the "Tatārs of Ķuban". On 28 December 1783, the Porte recognised the course of the Ķuban as the frontier. Between 1787 and 1791, the movement in the western Caucasus led by the religious leader S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Manṣūr caused the Russians considerable trouble, but the Russo-Turkish treaty of Yassi (a town which owes its name to the Ās = Alān; cf. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa[2], i, 1282-4) confirmed the frontier of 1783. The treaty of 1829 moved it southwards to the roadstead of St. Nicolas (between Poti and Batum), but the territory within these bounds was only effectively occupied 32 years later after a stubborn and heroic resistance by the tribes of the Ķuban.

The line of defences of the Caucasus had been planned under the Empress Anna (1730-40). In 1777, the line started from Azov and went by Stavropol, Georgievsk to Ekaterinograd (on the Terek). In 1792, it began at Bug̲h̲az (north of Anapa) and following the Ķuban for a while, left it to go to Georgievsk (1794) and then 1798 to Ekaterinograd (cf. the map in the *Aktī kavk. ark̲h̲eogr. kommissii*, Tiflis 1868, i). In 1834 General Veliaminov established a military cordon on the left bank of the Ķuban as far as Gelend̲j̲ik on the Black Sea. In 1838 Novorossisk (Tsemes) was founded on the site of the old Turkish fortress of Sud̲j̲uk-Ķalʿa. After risings provoked by the operations of the allies in the Crimean War, General Yevdokimov in 1861 carried out an enveloping manoeuvre with the object of making the highlanders descend into the plains and of driving the rebels towards the coast to force them to migrate to Turkey. According to native sources (H. Bammate, in the *Revue Politique Internationale*, Nov.-Dec. 1918), 75,000 (?) refugees left the Caucasus in 1864; Russian sources give the number of emigrants at 13,586 from 1871 till 84. In 1864, the Russians reached the passes of the chain of the Western Caucasus.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles ABK̲H̲ĀZ, AZAĶ, ČERKES, and AL-ĶABĶ. Archaeology: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Oxford 1913, 634-8 gives a complete bibliography; N. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922. All the passages in classical authors relating to the Caucasus are in B. Latyschev, *Scythica et caucasica*

e veteribus scriptoribus graecis et latinis, in *Zap. Russ. Arkh. obshč.* (1890-1906). Similar passages in the Arabic geographers have been translated by N. Karaulov, *Sbornik materialov ... Kavkasa*, Tiflis, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxviii (map). For the general bibliography, see Miansarov, *Bibliographia caucasica et transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874-6, and Dubrovin in *Istorya voinï na Kavkase*, iii/1, St. Petersburg 1885-8. For Ottoman connections with the region, see C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman imperialism during the reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*, New York-London 1972. There is an account of the Russo-Turkish wars and geographical information in the *Grande encyclopédie russe*, ed. Brockhaus and Efron. For the situation after 1923, see the publication of the Foreign Office, *Soviet Russia. A description of the various political units*, London 1924, and in *BSE*², i, 240-3, under Adlghe. On the Čerkes [*q.v.*] language, cf. also Prince N. S. Troubetzkoy, *Langues caucasiques septentrionales*, in *Les langues du Monde*, ed. A. Meillet, Paris 1924, 336, 341, and N. Yakovlev, *Tables phonétiques de la langue cabarde*, and *Glossaire des exemples*, fascs. i-ii of the *Travaux de la section des langues du Caucase septent. de l'Institut Oriental*, Moscow 1923. For the Turkish dialect of Ḳara-Čay, cf. W. Pröhle, *Karatschaisches Wörterverzeichnis*, in *Keleti Szemle* (1911).

(V. Minorsky*)

ḲUBBA, the Arabic name used throughout the whole Muslim world for a tomb surmounted by a dome.

Purpose and significance. The term is applied to the thousands of simple local domed tombs of *shaykhs* and saints made by the people as well as to great mausoleums. The term *ḳubba* became established as a *pars pro toto* abbreviation for the domes of tombs, for which it is exclusively reserved. All the special names for sepulchral buildings, which vary with country and language as well as with the style of building and person interred, come under the generic name of *ḳubba*. The classical word *turba* was driven out of use by *ḳubba* until it was again popularised by the Turks. Just as we have *gunbād* for *ḳubba*, so we occasionally have *turbat* for *turba* in Iran. Tombs of saints which, along with tombs of princes, are almost the only material with which the history of art has to deal, have different names in different countries, and these usually also indicate different grades. The highest is the *mashhad*, which according to its etymology means a place where a *shahīd* is buried. "As a rule a *mashhad* is found only as the tomb of a martyr held in particular esteem, indeed of a saint endued with a semblance of divinity; but then the *mashhad* is not only a grave, but a memorial in the wider sense, which as a place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) attracts numerous visitors and has certain rites associated with it, that is to say, it is not a burial-place for any Muslim, but a tomb and also a place of worship for saints" (M. van Berchem, in E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* [to be quoted as *Ch. Bdkm.*], 89). The general term in Shīʿī lands for the tomb of a saint is *imām-zāde* or *shāh-zāde*. In lands where Arabic is spoken, these domed tombs are called *marbūṭ*, *shaykh*, *walī*, *nābī*, and as places of pilgrimage, *maḳām*.

Form, evolution and embellishment. The original form of the *ḳubba* is a square building covered by a dome, which evolved from the domed house of the peoples of the desert and became stereotyped as a monumental form. In the process, the very low-lying vaulting of the dwellinghouse, which is only a flat calotte rising from the cube of masonry, was raised. This evolution of a rounded vault into a round dome required the insertion of an octagonal intermediate story, the drum, and led in the interior to that development of the transitions from the square to the round dome which constitute the constructive and decorative charm of all Muslim domed chambers (pictures of round vaulting in Diez, *Kunst der islamischen Völker*¹, Berlin 1915, 79). This development began with primitive corbelling, then passed to simple spherical corner arcades or niches and in the end took its own way in West and East, as will be dealt with under the separate countries. Alongside of this typical orthodox normal form of *ḳubba*, which is found from the Maghrib to the eastern Asiatic steppes and India, special forms, which are described under the different countries, arose in the lands conquered by the Turkish peoples, such as northern Iran, Māzandarān, the lands of the Caucasus, Anatolia and Central Asia. The ornamentation of the buildings depended on the material and the systems of decorations in vogue in the different countries. So far and so long as brick predominated, we find also the primitive, probably almost always coloured, stucco covering, with which in Iran, and exceptionally also in Anatolia, is associated glaze, which gradually took the place of stucco. The stone buildings of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Anatolia and the Caucasus, attained their effects through alternating layers of colour and decoration in relief. The stone domes of the Cairo *ḳubbas* covered with geometrical patterns and scrolls rival the brightly decorated glazed domes of Iran.

We shall now deal with the form and development of the *ḳubba* in the various lands.

Maghrib. The *ḳubbas* or *marabūṭs* of the Maghrib are usually of uncertain age. Even the period of introduction of the different types is often difficuit to determine. Comparisons with the architectural forms, especially with the decoration of the great dated mosques, sometimes afford a clue. The types of the different countries have their origins in old forms of the sepulchres of the people. The Tunisian type A has derived its octagonal drum from the monumental style; the Algerian type B shows the combination of the original domed circular structure with the later rectangle, with the addition of the pinnacles indigenous to African native architecture; the western type C also found in Spain conceals the dome under the pyramid roof, which comes from building in wood and thus points to mountain valleys rich in wood and is a parallel phenomenon to the tomb of similar form in Māzandarān on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. Type D is found among the nomads of the high Algerian plateau and follows the local style of building in clay of the nomad territory, with the egg-shaped dome and the usually tapering lower structure.

In view of this undoubtedly popular origin of the *ḳubba*, we can hardly agree with the common assumption that the open type of *ḳubba*—a dome on four pillars—as represented in the Cubola in Palermo, is the oldest in the Maghrib (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 532). Several *ḳubbas* of the cemetery of Ḳayrawān might, according to Marçais, date from the same time as the domes of the Great Mosque (cf. Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 17). To the same group also appears to belong the *ḳubba* of Sidi el-Mazeri in Monastir which can be dated to the 6th/12th century.

In al-ʿUbbād al-Suflī ("the Lower") near Tlemcen, Algeria, there are still several pre-Marīnid *ḳubbas* (i.e.

before 591/1195) built of brick and pisé on four pillars with horse-shoe arches and semi-niche pendentives as arcades and octagonal domes (Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 310). The walls were either crowned with wreaths of pinnacles or with corner pinnacles. In the old cemetery of Sīdī Yaʿḳūb outside Tlemcen is the "Tomb of the Sulṭāna", the rounded arches in nine sections of which piercing the eight sides of the lower drum make a date in the early 7th/13th century certain. The octagonal drum made the arcades superfluous here. The Ḳbibat Benī Merīn ("Tombs of the Marīnids") in Shālla (Chella) near Rabat link up with the preceding type from Tlemcen. Here from 763-801/1361-98 were buried four successors of Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī. One of these *ḳubbas* has a quadrangular drum, pierced by four horse-shoe arches, and a dome with twelve sections. The arcades have again the form of semi-pendentives. The mausoleum of Abu 'l-Ḥasan there, the most splendid of the Marīnid tombs, has also a square drum with slightly deformed horse-shoe windows in three sides (H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris* [1922]; Marçais, *op. cit.*, 497). Next to these open *ḳubbas* just mentioned the closed *ḳubba* is by far the most frequent. These buildings have only one door, but within, three similarly formed blind-niches. This is the form of the *ḳubbas* of Sīdī Bū Medyen, the famous Spanish mystic, in Tlemcen which was already in existence in the 8th/14th century and restored at the end of the 18th century. The dome is divided inside by painting with intertwining bands into twelve sectors. The *ḳubba* in Tlemcen now called Sīdī Brāhīm was built by Sīdī Abū Hammū Mūsā II (753-88/1352-86). The interior walls with the usual blind-niches still possess their socles ornamented with glazes and their painted stucco relief. The dome divided into eight parts rests on Maghribī arcades in the form of semi-pendentives. These two last-named *ḳubbas* have pillared outer halls for the pilgrims. As elsewhere, in the Maghrib, particularly in Tunis, mosques and *madrasas* were rendered particularly sacred by the inclusion of a *ḳubba* (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 860).

Egypt. The oldest buildings of the *ḳubba* type in Cairo belong to the Fāṭimid period. The oldest is the *mashhad* built by Badr al-Djamālī, the builder of the second wall and its gates, and by his son al-Afḍal—the *mashhad* of al-Djuyūshī on the Muḳaṭṭam hills. *Amīr al-djuyūsh*, commander-in-chief of the army, was Badr's title. The date of the inscription was read as 478/1085 by van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe, I.*, in *JA* (1891), 478-9 = *Opera minora*, Geneva 1978, 144-5. The building consists of a rectangular chamber, roofed by a high arcaded dome raised on an octagonal drum and five cross-vaults, which opens into a little court with three arcades on which a minaret is built (picture in Glück-Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 159; M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924, figs. 35-8).The tomb chamber, left of the cupola, encloses the tomb of an unknown saint, whom the natives call Sīdī Djuyūshī, and to which pilgrimage is made on certain days; van Berchem raises the question whether this is the tomb of Badr himself (*Notes*, 487-8 = *Opera minora*, 153-4; idem, *Une mosquée du temps des Fatimides*, in *Mems. de l'Inst. égyptien*, ii [1888], 605-19). In the domed chapel is a finely painted stucco *miḥrāb*. The transition from square to octagon is done with Persian single arcades which survive in Cairo down to the Ayyūbid period. Directly below the Djāmiʿ al-Djuyūshī at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam hills in the Ḳarāfa is a building similar in plan and construction to the Mashhad on the Muḳaṭṭam, *Djāmiʿ Ikhwat Sidnā Yūsuf*. It has no court or minaret. The arches here again have the Persian profile characteristic of the Fāṭimid period as well as the cupola. This building again is not a mosque but a *ḳubba*. There are four small *ḳubbas* of this period in the Ḳarāfa near the *ḳubba* of Sīdī ʿUḳbā called by people *es-sabʿā banāt* "the seven daughters" (van Berchem, *Notes, loc. cit.*). These are small square buildings with octagonal drum and cupolas, originally seven, already mentioned by Maḳrīzī.

A *ḳubba* with tombs of ʿAbbāsid caliphs situated behind the renovated mausoleum of Sayyida Nafīsa in the south of Cairo shows the characteristic forms of the transition to the Ayyûbid style (van Berchem, *Notes. II.*, in *JA* [1892], repr., 20 ff.). A date 640/1243 in an inscription gives the *terminus ante*, which in view of the style of writing cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Ayyûbid period. Here the transition from square to octagonal drum is also produced through two series of *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] niches which shows Turkish influence. This *ḳubba*, however, still follows Fāṭimid tradition as a brick building and in its stucco decoration. The profile of the cupola still retains its Persian form, indeed according to van Berchem, it is the only cupola of Cairo which still retains this cupola in completely characteristic fashion (*Notes. II.*, 21). From the Ayyūbid period also date the *ḳubbas* of Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyûb of 647-8/1249-50 and of his widow Shadjarat al-Durr of 648/1250. These are rectangular buildings of stone with octagonal drum and a thin, eggshaped cupola with eight rectangular windows shooting up from it. Three keel-arched windows arranged in a triangle pierce each of the four principal sides of the drum. The façades of this *ḳubba* are ornamented with keel-arched flat niches and lozenge-shaped and circular shields decorated in stucco in the style of the Aḳmar mosque (519/1125) and other Fāṭimid buildings. In the interior, the transitions from the rectangular to the octagon are made with squinches and *muḳarnas*, the *miḥrābs* were decorated with rich ornament and framed above with keel-arched *muḳarnas* in the form of a fan (pictures in the volumes of the Comité de Conservation . . . , in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo mosques and their founders*, London 1922, fig. 32 and Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture*, figs. 72-5).

With the Baḥrī Mamlūks (1250-1390) there began an increase in the height of the cupola by raising the drum, as could be seen in the ruins still standing in the early 20th century of the *ḳubbas* of the family of Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90) (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 187 and 153). The two *ḳubbas*, which were associated with *madrasas*, had rectangular substructures of stone with an octagonal drum of brick like those of the great mausoleums of Ḳalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The two domes fell in and one was renovated. The interior of the drum had stepped recess niches with pillars from ancient buildings, but was otherwise bare. The substructures had windows of brick with pointed arches set into the stone walls, the fluted frames of which were decorated with stucco. The Syrian stone and the local brick technique here encountered one another. With these ruins the last remnants of the *ḳubba* of the Baḥrī Mamlūks disappeared. The *ḳubba* of Ḳalāwūn himself is an exception; he had it built after the model of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem, and therefore it is outside of the regular line of development. It also fell in, and was given a wooden cupola. In the

Baḥrī period, the melon cupola also appears in Cairo.

The *ḳubba* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, a Ṣūfī *shaykh* of the line of the Banū Umayya, of 697/1298, is one of the most beautiful *ḳubbas* of Cairo, unfortunately much damaged in the interior by fire. The outside shows polygonal bevelling of the squinch area, a drum full of windows with a richly decorated calligraphic frieze about it, and a melon dome divided into numerous compartments. All the compartments and windows are framed in bands of stucco. The interior of the drum zone is broken up into richly ornamented, formerly painted, *muḳarnas* (picture in Briggs, *op. cit.*, 73). On this rests a dome of 28 segments, the ribs of which are decorated with sprigs of leaves in relief and it is beautifully adorned at top and bottom by inscriptions (picture in Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 42). If the influence of the Central Asian style was already seen in the melon cupola of the *ḳubba* just considered, it became more and more powerful in the raising of the cupola, the drums of which were no longer borne by Persian squinches and the cell-work evolved from it, but by Turkish triangular consoles and their numerous interruptions and combinations with *muḳarnas* honeycomb. The internal transition by means of such stereometric structures is henceforth shown outside also in triangular bevellings of the corners of the drum storey. The dome is in the shape of a helmet and is placed like a helmet on the drum. The external decoration of these domes with network patterns of all kinds in high relief carved in glazed stone is one of the peculiarities of Cairo. The older so-called "Tombs of the Mamlūks" and the later so-called "Tombs of the caliphs" all belong to the second Mamlūk period and are similar.

Lists of the *ḳubbas* of Cairo are given in K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief chronology*, in *BIFAO*, xvi, and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 123-7.

Syria. According to Wulzinger's list, there are still in Damascus and its neighbourhood over a hundred *ḳubbas*, which are there called *turba* and *walī* and are usually connected with small *madrasas* or *djāmiʿs*. The general form is the same as everywhere else: a quadrangular-cubic building with a squinch storey, a window storey and dome. Nothing has survived from the Umayyad period. It was only under the Zangids and their successors the Ayyūbids that architecture began to flourish again. As, however, the sepulchral dome over the Nūriyya *madrasa*, with its clusters of cells shows, architecture on the larger scale under Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī was still dependent on other lands, and in this case imitated the Mesopotamian form (F. K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die antike und die islamische Stadt*, Berlin 1921-4, ii, pl. 4b). Saladīn's *ḳubba* above the ʿAzīziyya *madrasa* has a rather too small dome above the heavy substructure.

From the period of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 1250-1390, many *turbas* still exist which are described by Wulzinger and Watzinger. Through the Crusaders, the Syrians learned to work in a way suitable to dressed stone. "A touch of Gothic, even in so far as the artistic side, the idea, the aesthetic norm is concerned, becomes perceptible in the time of Baybars, indeed half a century earlier, just as in Egypt. The dome now rises with still greater vigour, the drum becomes higher and the silhouette steeper ... In particular, the portal niche now becomes high and steep" (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 7). In keeping with this towering tendency, the *turba* of Rukn al-Dīn of 621/1224, which has a *masdjid* associated with it, has already two transitional stories on a square substructure, one octagonal with Persian concave squinches and the other 16-sided with windows, and a melon-shaped dome above (Wulzinger and Watzinger, fig. 42, pl. 8c and 9b). Very similar is the *turba* of ʿIzz al-Dīn of 626/1228-9 and several others (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 9a, figs. 34, 35; pl. 7b, pl. 10a). A more modest type is represented by the Ḳilidjiyya *turba* of 645/1247 built along with a *madrasa* for Sayf al-Dīn Ḳilidj al-Nūrī. As frequently in Syria, there were originally here two domes separated by a gateway, but of the western one nothing has survived. Here one squinch-area was sufficient, since with the help of pendentive consoles the transition was made direct from the quadrilateral to the duodecagon, and then by twelve triangular consoles, which are placed in the spandrels of the twelve pointed drum windows, the round base of the dome was reached (Wulzinger and Watzinger, figs. 10-12; cf. also fig. 47). Open *ḳubbas* with four great gate arches are also found in the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 7c). As an example of rich inner decoration with stucco-relief may be mentioned the al-Ṣāliḥiyya *turba* of the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 12).

As in Egypt, so also in Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks, the architectural form rapidly lost vigour, and was replaced by a fondness for decorative detail (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 10). The exterior was brightened, as in Cairo, by the use of stones of many colours, which were also arranged in ornamental patterns. The dome shows a further tendency to increase in height. The Ṭāwūsiyya of 784/1382 betrays a marked slackening in creative power by its two window-storeys directly opposite and externally exactly like one another (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 22b). As the al-Turīzī *ḳubba* of 828/1424-5 shows, there are no further changes internally in the transition from square to octagon and sixteen-sided figure (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 28a). The rich dome *muḳarnas* of Egypt is not to be found in Syria, and it remained here confined to the niches of the gateway. Outside of Damascus we may mention the double dome of Khayrbek in Aleppo, also known as the *ḳubba* of Shaykh ʿAlī and Ḳāʾit-Bay, of 924/1518 (Gluck-Diez, *op. cit.*, 189 and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 106).

The Ottoman *türbes* from 1517 A.D. offer, as in Egypt, little of interest and little variety. They are, as the *türbe* of Darwīsh Pasha of 987/1579 shows, mainly octagonal with two drum storeys in the lower of which the corners are still decoratively rounded off with niches, although they are now functionally superfluous (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 55).

Asia Minor and Armenia. In Saldjūḳ Anatolia more than in other countries, the association of *madrasas* with the sepulchral domes of the founders was the rule. In Ḳonya and the towns under its influence, such as Aḳsaray, we find in the open *madrasas*, as in those with domes courts, at each side of the *ḳibla-īwān* in the main axis behind the court a domed chamber, one of which is usually used as a tomb, the other as a lecture room; exceptionally both are tombs (Indje Minareli; cf. MASDJID, Architecture). In Ḳonya the transition to the dome is made partly still by fanshaped trihedral consoles and partly by salient and re-entrant friezes of trihedral consoles (Ḳara Ṭāʾiʿ, 649/1251-2), Indje Minareli, 650-684/1252-85, Sirdjeli Medrese, 641/1243-4). The earliest, still clumsy, trihedral console friezes shrink in the course of development to narrower, ornamental friezes. This abstract stereometric rounding-off of the angles was brought by Turkish architects from Central Asia where they had developed it in wood-

work. In the more eastern Anatolian towns like Nigde, Ḳayṣariyya etc., the system of transition with arcades, most used in Iran and Syria, predominates. In addition to those already mentioned, attention may be called in Ḳonya to the *turba* of Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn ʿAlī (666-82/1267-83) which was also built as a *madrasa* with two domed sepulchral chambers (cf. F. Sarre, *Konia*, reprinted from *Persische Baudenkmaler*). The independent *ḳubba*, usually called *turba* or *gunbād*, also *minareli*, forms in Anatolia and Armenia a uniform group of tent-like buildings, mainly of stone, polygonal in Asia Minor, round in Armenia, with pyramidal or conical roofs.

A list of the more important *turba*s, so far as they have been published, follows. In Ḳayṣariyya: Čifte Günbed, 645/1247; Döner Günbed, 675/1276; Sird̲j̲eli Günbed, 750/1349; ʿAlī D̲j̲aʿfar, 750/1349; Amīr ʿAlī, 751/1350, all of stone, octagonal with pyramidal roof, except the last named which is square (cf. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*). The transition from the polygon to the round dome is here usually effected through rows of pointed arches. The Kös̲h̲-Madrasa in the same town (740/1339-40) has an octagonal *turba* standing in its court. The mosque of Lala Pas̲h̲a has an octagonal *turba* of the 8th/14th century built on to it. In Nigde the mosque of Sunḳur Bey has an octagonal *turba* of the year 620/1223 added to it. Outside of the town stands the octagonal *turba* of K̲h̲udābanda (712/1312-13); there are also several undated *turba*s in the vicinity (Gabriel, *op. cit.*). In Sīwās is the octagonal *turba* of Ḥusayn b. D̲j̲aʿfar of 629/1231-2) and the square one of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥasan Beg (Guduk Minâre) of 748/1347 (cf. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus . . . , Asie Mineure*, i, 17 and 39, pl. ii). In Diwrigi are the octagons of Amīr Kamāl al-Dīn, 529/1134-5 and of Amīr S̲h̲āhāns̲h̲āh (Sayyida Malik), 529/1134-5, also an anonymous *turba* (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 94, pl. xli). In Tekke, a village near Zara-Diwrigi, is the undated *turba* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Marzubān. In Beys̲h̲ehir the As̲h̲raf Rūm D̲j̲āmiʿ has a square *turba* attached to it with a conical roof, the inner dome of which is decorated with unglazed mosaic such as we occasionally find in Ḳonya. These stone *turba*s are usually decorated on the outside with bands of relief and in the entrance doorway with *muḳarnas* lunettes. Of the *turba*s in Aḳs̲h̲ehir, Sarre mentions that of Sayyid Maḥmūd, 621/1224 (*Kleinasien*, 22; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique* [1894-5]).

In Armenia there are several *turba*s of structural interest by Lake Van. They are cylindrical, like most northern Iranian sepulchral towers, with cement walls faced with hewn stone in the Armenian tradition, and occupy a special position in view of their subterranean tombs. The latter are vaulted on a square base and have concealed entrances. The interior chambers vaulted with pointed arched domes are therefore above the level of the ground, reached by steps and used as chapels. These sepulchral towers have further four entrances facing the four quarters with *muḳarnas* lunettes. The exterior is decorated with arcades in relief and Armenian two-sided niches with friezes of *muḳarnas* at the top. The combination of Turco-Islamic and Armenian traditions of structure constitutes their particular charm. The three great *turba*s in Ak̲h̲lāṭ date from the end of the 7th/13th century, the small one from 862/1457-8, the *turba* in Vostan from 736/1334-5 (cf. W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, 1913; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 156 f., 118 f.).

Ottoman Turkey. The building of *turba*s continued under the rule of the Ottomans without, however, new types of artistic interest being created. The polygonal shape continues. The buildings show a stereometrically clear articulation of the façades, with triads of windows with pointed arches framed by straight lines. The often too large number of windows and the glazing of the windows make these *turba*s as a rule look plain and practical. In addition, the inner chambers lose in atmosphere by being too well lit and overfilled with sarcophagi. To give a list of the monuments by name seems hardly worth while here, in view of their large number and uniformity, as well as their lack of significance in the history of art; see on them G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971.

ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Central Asia. In ʿIrāḳ and Iran the normal type of *ḳubba* was preceded by indigenous tomb-buildings. In ʿIrāḳ these are the polygonal tombs with *muḳarnas* domes above them, of which the best known example is the tomb of Sayyida Zubayda near Bag̲h̲dād. Others are al-Nad̲j̲mī, al-Asiba, Imām Dūr, Imāmzāde Tuil, etc. This type was also taken to Ḳūm (figs. in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1911-20; Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 100-202; or p. 20, 72-74 and MUḲARNAS). Ḳum [*q.v.*], as one of the holy places of Iran since an early date, still offers, with its 16 *ḳubba*s still standing, the most fruitful source for the study of this type in Iran. They are almost all octagonal with an inner dome, which is covered over by a polygonal tent roof. With one exception, they are built of red brick and have roofs of blue glaze. They date from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th centuries. They are S̲h̲āhzāde Ibrāhīm, an octagonal domed building with eight high deep niches, a Sald̲j̲ūḳ (?) precursor of the similar Ṣafawid type (K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a Rabīʿ); S̲h̲āhzāde Ibrāhīm near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate of 721/1321 and restored in 805/1402; S̲h̲āhzāde Ismāʿīl 776/1374; ʿAlī b. D̲j̲aʿfar 740/1339; ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Maʿālī near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate 761/1359; K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a ʿImād al-Dīn near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate 792/1389; K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn near the Kās̲h̲ān Gate; S̲h̲āh Sayyid ʿAlī outside the Rayy Gate; S̲h̲āhzāde Aḥmad outside the Rayy Gate; S̲h̲ahār Imām-zāde outside the Rayy Gate; S̲h̲āhzāde D̲j̲aʿfar 707/1307; S̲h̲āhzāde Aḥmad (K̲h̲āk-i Farad̲j̲); S̲h̲āhzāde Aḥmad Ḳāsim; Čihil Ak̲h̲tarān 905/1499; S̲h̲āhzāde Ḥamza; S̲h̲āhzāde ʿAbd Allāh (A. U. Pope, *Preliminary report on the tombs of the saints at Qumm*, in *Bull. of the Amer. Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv/1 [1935]). The Imām-zāde Karrār in Buzūn dated 528/1134 east of Iṣfahān was published by M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld (*Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, vii [1935]). It contains splendid stucco decoration. In northern Iran along the Elburz chain, much more frequently than the normal *ḳubba* we find in the period of the 4th/10th to the 7th/13th centuries cylindrical sepulchral towers of brick, usually called *mīl* or *gumbād*: D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān, Rayy, Radkān, Dāmg̲h̲ān, Demāwend, Kis̲h̲mar, Wārāmīn, Nak̲h̲čewān, Marāg̲h̲a, Bistām, etc. (figs. in Sarre, *op. cit.*; Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.* and *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, etc.).

The type is found with variations beyond Iran as far as K̲h̲ʷārazm (Old Urgend̲j̲), although the norm in Central Asia is the domed *ḳubba*. These towers are mediaeval descendants of the very ancient Central Asian tombs, which were built by the sometimes nomadic, sometimes settled peoples of the steppes for their tribal chiefs and leaders. In form they are to be interpreted as a rendering of the prince's tent of the nomadic peoples in monumental form and sometimes they copy its textile character (cf. Diez, *Persien*,

islamische Baukunst in Churasan, 1923, 51-5, 73 ff.; R. Hillenbrand, *The tomb towers of Iran to 1550*, Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1974, unpublished). A particular type which is closer to that of the normal *ḳubba* developed in the province of Māzandarān on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. These are quadrangular and polygonal brick buildings, with pyramidal tower-roofs mainly belonging to the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries and are undoubtedly descendants of an older native type of wooden building (figs. in Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 98, 99 or 73.) The *ḳubba* proper was already latent in the old square building of stone with squinch dome, with which, however, it has nothing genetically to do. The few Sāsānid domed buildings of this kind that have survived are simply monumental examples of a much older Īrānian type of house (cf. the eastern Iranian, Sāsānid domed building Ribāṭ Sefīd in Diez, *Persien*, fig. 1). Domed buildings of the *ḳubba* were probably already in use as fire-temples in the pre-Islamic period.

The oldest *ḳubba* in ʿIrāḳ is, if Herzfeld's ascription is correct, the Ḳubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya in Sāmarrā, which deserves our attention as the domed sepulchre of the caliph al-Muntaṣir, in which al-Muʿtazz and al-Muhtadī were perhaps also buried, as three graves were found: a domed building quadrangular in the interior, while outside the corners were cut off by the corridor-like octagonal pathway round it. The transition to the (now destroyed) dome was made by an octagonal series of squinches with niches, of which only fragments survive. There are four gates at the ends of the axes. The building followed the Ḳubbat al-Ṣak͟hra in Jerusalem and its Christian predecessors (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Erster Bericht ... von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, 28-31; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigrisgebiet*, i, 83-6).

The oldest remaining *ḳubbas* in Central Asia and Iran date from the 3rd/9th century, and in contrast to Sāsānid domes, show an innovation in construction which opened up new possibilities of development: the corners are bridged over with keel arches instead of with the clumsy, funnel-shaped squinches proper. These, in smaller buildings, as in the *ḳubba* in Sāngbāst, might be closed up with a filling of bricks arranged in a pattern, in larger buildings left open to the gallery passage behind, whereby the intramural passage which already existed in the great Sāsānid domes in Fārs in the squinch storey was now made visible for the first time and given an aesthetic function for the inner articulation of the chamber and the external articulation of the façades. The oldest *ḳubba* still preserved is the tomb of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad Sāmānī in Buk͟hārā of 296/907; the most celebrated and largest is the *turba*—as Yāḳūt calls it—of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Sand͟jar (511-52/1117-57) in Marw. The building is of colossal dimensions. The square lower part, with walls 20 feet thick and sides 90 feet long, is 45 feet high and is crowned outside by a gallery 17 feet high, behind which rises the drum with the dome, originally covered with blue glaze, to a height of about 100 feet. The drum shows signs of its original concealment by a wall of niches, in the empty niches of which only the Buddhist idols are lacking to complete the resemblance to the stupas of similar structure—for example in Balk͟h which is not far away. The direct connection between this decoration of the exterior of the *ḳubba* and the equally imposing stupas is undoubted. The gallery is ornamented with reliefs in brick and stucco. The interior walls are painted with ornamental designs, and have a frieze in Kūfic script around the top. The keel arches bridging the corners connect the chamber with the gallery. Similar windows pierce the walls in the central axes. The spandrels between these eight windows in the zone of transition are decorated with *muḳarnas*. The vaulting of the dome which towers above this is adorned with ribbed arches arranged in fan-shaped and criss-cross patterns in plaster, a method of giving the dome a spheroidal shape, which in later buildings came to be painted and filled in with tendril patterns (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 93 f.; E. Cohn-Wiener, *Das Mausoleum des Sultan Sandjar*, in *Jb. d. As. Kunst*, xi/1, 925; idem, *Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien*, Berlin 1930).

In Old Sarak͟hs on the Harī Rūd in the modern Turkmenistan S.S.R. is a *ḳubba* similar in construction, but on a more modest scale (V. Zhukovskii, *Rasvalini Starago Merva*, fig. 33). Two others in the region of the Murg͟hāb and Zarafs͟han oases are Talk͟hatan Bābā and Mazār Sulṭān Ismāʿīl in Buk͟hārā, both of the 6th/12th century (Zhukovskii, *op. cit.*, figs. 30-2). Their squinches are still funnel-shaped like the Sāsānid ones and without a gallery. Like the tomb of Sand͟jar, they are distinguished by their brick ornamentation and are evidence of a native pure brick style of a vigorous character in the Marw oasis area, of which Cohn-Wiener gives examples in his book. The small *ḳubba* with its richly decorated interior belonging to the former Ribāṭ of Sāngbāst in Mas͟hhad is probably an outlier of this style on the Iranian highlands (Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, 52 f., pls. 14-18; Glüeck and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, 292-3). The *ḳubba* of Sandjar opens the important series of Central Asian-Iranian mausoleum *ḳubbas* of the 7th-11th/13th-17th centuries. If the emancipation of the squinches from the body of the dome and their becoming independent in an intermediate storey was the first step in this development, the second is the emancipation of the gallery storey from the squinch area. We see the process completed in the *ḳubba* of New Sarak͟hs on the Persian side of the Harī Rūd, which was restored in the 8th/14th century, but probably dates from the beginning of the 7th/13th century (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 62 ff., pls. 20-2; Glüeck and Diez, *op. cit.*, 291). Here the gallery is included in the lower structure which makes the latter, and also the dome, higher. The dome is still resting on a square substructure with an octagonal drum formed by corner arches. This intermediate storey, however, no longer plays an important part in the articulation. It has already disappeared in the *ḳubba* of Ṭūs almost contemporary with that of Sarak͟hs (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 55, pls. 19-20; idem, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, coloured plate; idem, *Persien, Bauk. in Chur.*, fig. 40; Glüeck and Diez, *op. cit.*, 291). In Ṭūs the four interior niches of the square main course have become broader, and these now become broader still. They were also made higher than before and linked up by a common framework with the niches above (cf. *Chur. Bdkm.*, fig. 26, section). The four corner arches rising out of the squinches which make the transition from the square to the octagon are now also included by a common framework in the main body of the building, so that they no longer form as before a separate intermediate storey but bring about the change from square to octagon within the main storey. Formally, this is a fusion with combined effect, i.e. a step towards the decorative Islamisation of the interior. The development of the gallery as a factor in shaping the interior was thus more or less brought to an end. As Ṭūs is not dated (8th/14th century?), we cannot fix the time relation of this *ḳubba* with the Western

Persian one of Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda (703-16/1304-16) in Sulṭāniyya. In the interval, a variant had established itself there, the object of which was to transfer the gallery to the outside, an aim latent since the *ḳubba* of Sandjar. We really have here a type of building of a different, namely octagonal, shape which, as Texier has already pointed out, was an Indian variant imitated in Iran. The interior gallery with corridor has here become a series of separate windows which resemble in shape and size the eight doorways below, so that two stories of equal size are created within, which gives the interior an effect of massive calm. On the other hand, a staircase within the wall leads up to a gallery above the window storey, which opens to the outside only and can no longer be regarded as an interior gallery. Equally peculiar are the eight minaret-like pillars which are placed at the corners of the roof terrace to buttress the dome (cf. the illustrations in *Kunst d. isl. Völker* and Dieulafoy and Sarre's sketches in *Pers. Bdkm.*). We shall return to this type of *ḳubba* in the section on India. Another *ḳubba*, the only one of its kind in Iran, is the Djabal-i Sāng near Kirmān, an octagonal building of cement with dome and drum of brick, which resembles the Syrian *turba*s (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 97 and fig. at p. 79; Creswell, *Persian domes before 1400 A.D.*, in *Burlington Magazine*, xxii [1915], 208, pl. 2). With the sepulchral dome of Öldjeytü, the *ḳubba* in Iran reached the considerable height of 165 feet.

Alongside of this line of development in construction, there was a second which began probably as early as the Saldjūḳ, but certainly in the Tīmūrid period; this aimed at the same object, the raising of the height of the dome, and attained it by other means, namely by a drum and double-shelled dome. In both cases, the aim is not so much to raise the height of the interior chamber as to give a towering effect to the exterior. For the inner shell of the dome makes the interior much lower than would appear from the outer shell. The Ḳubba-yi Sābz in Kirmān is the oldest—at latest dating from the middle of the 7th/13th century—sepulchral tomb of this kind (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 115). The models for these towered domes may possibly be found in the equally towerlike stupas of Afghānistān and the Tarim basin, with domes built one above the other and chambers between them. Tīmūr's *ḳubba*, the Gūr-i Mīr in Samarḳand of 808/1405, the dome of which structurally resembles the Ḳubba-yi Sābz, is the next monument of this style still standing; after it come the *ḳubba*s of the Tīmūrids at Shāh Zinda near Samarḳand and others in Herāt and Turkestān (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 116, 119; J. M. Rogers, tr., *V. V. Barthold's article O pogrebenii Timura* ("*The burial of Tīmūr*"), in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, xii [1974], 65-87). Gūr-i Mīr has, it is true, a gallery, but this no longer opens on to the interior by open niches, piercing the wall, but only through grilles, which are in the plane of the wall, is it possible from the passage within the wall to get a glimpse of the interior, an innovation of decisive importance in the layout of the latter. In and around Herāt there were once many *ḳubba*s, of which only two still exist (Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, figs. 163, 164); others east of Herāt (figs. 182-4).

The last phase of evolution in Iran was reached in the Ṣafawid period. The very similar memorial buildings of Khōdja Rabīʿ of 1030/1621 near Mashhad and Ḳadam-gāh of 1091/1680 east of Nīshāpūr (*Chur. Bdkm.*, pls. 23, 39) are octagonal *ḳubba*s with galleries, which open to the outside in four great corner niches. These buildings seem to have their origin in the Persian garden pavilion, as a comparison with the Hasht Bihisht in Iṣfahān shows. But the idea of using garden pavilions as memorial buildings again comes from India. We may here mention also the *ḳubba* of Shaykh Djām which has a court mosque and *madrasa* adjoining in Turbat-i Shaykh Djām near the Afghān frontier, as an example of a *mazār* on a large scale (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 78 ff., pls. 35-7). The largest place of pilgrimage of this kind is the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, with the domed sepulchre of the Imām (Diez, *Persien*, etc., figs. 44-56). In Afghānistān, the *mazār*s of Khōdja Akashi in Balkh and Mazār-i Sharīf, with domed tombs, may be mentioned (O. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, 64 ff.).

India. The first Muslim dynasty to reign exclusively in India was descended from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], a former slave of Muḥammad Ghūrī who was installed by his master as viceroy in Dihlī and on the latter's death declared himself independent (602/1206). It is only with this dynasty of the "Slave Kings" or Sulṭāns of Dihlī that monumental Muslim architecture begins in India. Nothing has survived of earlier buildings, which were probably built of perishable material. From the 7th/13th century, however, the building of tombs in the Muslim regions of India becomes important, and in keeping with the great expansion of Islām over the vast peninsula there are still in India far more *ḳubba*s than in the other lands of Islām. The influences interacting within the peninsula were very varied; the main genetic principle in the style of the *ḳubba*, as for all Indian Muslim architecture, can therefore only be said to be the combination of foreign and native Arabo-Turkish-Persian and Indian, traditions. The amalgamation of these two traditions, which found expression in material, technique, shape and form, resulted in the manifold variations of the Indian types of *ḳubba*.

In the course of the general development, we can distinguish some ten different phases of style, or local styles (and when we use the word "local" we must remember the great scale of India). Sir Alexander Cunningham distinguished the following styles (*Archaeological survey of India, Reports*, iii, iv): 1. The Indo-Turkish, which began with the Slave Kings dynasty, with pointed or overlapping arches of corbelled horizontal layers, i.e. still using the old Indian technique of vaulting, and with rich decoration in relief in stone: tomb of Sulṭān Iltutmish in Dihlī (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 228, 187). 2. The style of the Khaldjīs of the second dynasty (689-720/1290-1320), or decorated Turkish style with horseshoe arches of radiating layers and rich ornamentation. 3. The Tughluḳid, called after the third Turkish dynasty (720-817/1320-1414), with sloping, very thick walls and cusped horseshoe arches. The domes rest on low drums and the walls of red limestone are panelled with white marble frames: *ḳubba* of Tughluḳ Shāh in Tughluḳābād (*op. cit.*, fig. 226, 168); also brick buildings inlaid with glazed bricks: sepulchral dome of Rukn al-Dawla in Multān. Later, we have still thicker walls without arches and inlay but with a covering of stucco, which was probably decorated and painted: *ḳubba* of Fīrūz Shāh in Fīrūzābād. 4. The Afghān style, called after the Afghān dynasties (Sayyids, Lodīs and Sūrīs) (817-962/1414-1555) with perpendicular walls; mostly octagonal mausoleums with arcades: tomb of Shēr Shāh (*op. cit.*, fig. 224, 173); decorated with coloured stucco or with strips of glaze: *ḳubba* of Bahlūl Lōdī near Čirak-Dihlī; the octagonal mausoleums of

Sikandar in Old Khayrpur and others in Mubārakpur-Kotila and Khayrpur. Later, a coating of different coloured stones was preferred to the covering of stucco: mausoleums of Shēr Shāh and Ḥusayn Khān in Sahsarām. 5. The Turkish style in Bengal, an independent provincial style; squat buildings of brick sometimes decorated with minute faïence work: tombs in Ḥaḍrat Pandua (769/1368) and Gawr with curved brick roofs. 6. The Turkish style of the Sharḳids in Djawnpūr (796-883/1394-1479) a provincial style similar to (1) and (2): tombs in Djawnpūr. 7. The early Mughal style comprises the buildings of the reigns of Akbar and Djahāngīr (963-1037/1556-1628). With the tomb of Humāyūn, finished in 980/1572, the Persian style established itself. In Akbar's tomb it again makes way for the Indian (here the old vihāra type) to reappear in Djahāngīr's tomb in Lahore—in the faïence which decorates it, at least (*ca.* 1039/1630). Red sandstone is the material preferred. 8. The late Mughal style under Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57) finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Tādj Maḥall, which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union.

To this list may be added: 9. The Deccan style, which covers the numerous sepulchral domes and around the old capital on the plateau of the Deccan, although they show as many varieties as localities and are only variations of the north Indian sepulchral domes of the Turkish dynasties who founded Muslim rule in the Deccan. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Dihlī was the first to establish himself here in 693/1294. Half a century later the Bahmanids succeeded in bringing the northern half of the Deccan under their rule (748-934/1347-1527). Their capital was Gulbargā [*q.v.*]. At the end of the 9th/15th century began the division of the Deccan under five dynasties: the ʿImād Shāhs in Berār (890-980/1485-1572), the Niẓām Shāhs (897-1028/1492-1619) in Bīdar, the ʿĀdil Shāhs (895-1097/1490-1686) in Bīdjāpūr and the Ḳuṭb Shāhs (918-1098/1512-1687) in Golkondā. The most important sites for the study of the architecture are Gulbargā, the oldest capital, then Bīdjāpūr, Bīdar and Golkondā; Bīdjāpūr, "the Palmyra of the Deccan", stands out from all for the richness and size of the buildings. The shape common to all domed tombs is here as in northern India a square building with a dome. Some of them, like the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II (987-1036/1579-1626), and the incomplete ʿAlī II Rawḍa of the last ʿĀdil Shāh in Bīdjāpūr, are enclosed by long terraced arcades. Almost all the old buildings in the Deccan are built of hewn stone; in Bīdjāpūr and elsewhere also we frequently find a reddish-brown basalt. The transition from the square to the dome was here again effected from the transition zone with corner arches to a kind of folding of the wall by means of crossing pendentive-like arches which led direct to the round of the dome without an intervening course. By far the largest of these tombs, indeed the largest *ḳubba* in the world, is that of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh (1036-70/1626-60), the celebrated Gul Gumbād in Bīdjāpūr (pictures in *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 223 and 171; *Die Kunst des Islam*, 319 and many other works); a square building with an interior diameter of 150 feet, i.e. larger than the interior of the Pantheon (110 feet). The interior narrows towards the top through a system of intersecting pendentives to a circular basis of about 105 feet in diameter on which rises the dome—leaving an inner gallery open—about 130 feet in diameter; the interior height is nearly 200 feet and the exterior 220 feet. The weight presses inwards through the pendentives, but is counteracted by the weight of the dome, so that it was not necessary to counteract any outward pressure by massive walls.

In Gulbargā, which was the capital of the Bahmanids (748-920/1347-1514), still stand the simple *ḳubbas* of the early rulers of this dynasty, among them the tomb—here reproduced—of its founder Ḥasan Gangū ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (748-59/1347-58). The *ḳubbas* of the later Bahmanids from Aḥmad Shāh Walī onwards (825-39/1422-36) are at Bīdar and are already much larger and sometimes richly decorated, especially the mausoleum of Aḥmad Shāh. The square building is transformed to the round by keel arches at the corners. The interior walls are brought into rhythm by three flat niches on each, of which the central ones on the north-south axis are opened as doors. The central niche on the west is deepened to form a pentagonal *miḥrāb*. The niches are flanked with Indian pilasters. The painting of the interior is undoubtedly of later origin, but the old designs may survive in places. The painting of the dome resembles that of Khōdja Rabīʿ (in Khurāsān; see above), as does the frieze of inscription. Almost as large as that just mentioned, but without decoration in the interior, is the *ḳubba* of Maḥmūd Shāh II (887-924/1482-1518). To this group also belongs an octagonal tomb without dome, obviously unfinished, which resembles the mausoleum of Khudābanda Shāh in Sulṭāniyya (Persia) and was built for Shāh Khalīl Allāh Ḥusayn, the iconoclast and saint, son of the tutor of Aḥmad Shāh Bahman. The tombs of the Barīdīs who followed the Bahmanids are open *ḳubbas* standing on pillars.

The fine city of tombs of the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkondā lies outside the town in a large walled garden, the *ḳubbas* of the last rulers of the dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh (1045-83/1635-72) and of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (1083-98/1672-87), who died in Mughal captivity, built only up to the dome, outside the walls. The cubic buildings are sometimes surrounded by galleries of arcades as in Bīdjāpūr. The bulbous domes rise out of a lotus pattern (see the illustrations). In the country around are *ḳubbas* of prominent families and saints, like the Čahār Gumbād reproduced here. They belong to the same type. The last great group to be mentioned is: 10. The style of Gudjārāt, with Aḥmadābād as its capital, founded by the second ruler of the sulṭāns of Gudjārāt, Aḥmad Shāh I (814-46/1411-42); his descendants ruled till 991/1583. Aḥmad Shāh's *ḳubba* or *rawḍa* in the centre of the town beside the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, a square building with sides 90 feet long, consists of a domed chamber 35 feet high and four corner chambers connected by pillared halls. The preference for rich, pointed ornamentation peculiar to this style finds expression in the marble cenotaphs and fillings of the windows. In *ḳubbas* outside the city, as in the mausoleum of Daryā Khān of *ca.* 857/1453, we again find the Turco-Persian transition storeys with corner arches and gallery with a dome above built of horizontal layers (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 214, and 182).

The most important groups have been mentioned. For the most notable Mughal tombs, which are only briefly mentioned above, see HIND, vii. Architecture, and MUGHALS, Architecture.

Finally, it should be noted that *ḳubba* "cover" occurs as a technical term in the construction of scales and balances, where the housing for the pointer (*lisān*), often used also as a carrying handle (cf. Pedro de Alcala: *cûbba = manija del peso*), was called the *ḳubba*. See J. D. Latham, ***The interpretation of a passage on scales*** (mawāzīn) ***in an Andalusian*** ḥisba ***manual***, in *JSS*, xxiii (1978), 285-7.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the relevant sections of the general works on Islamic architecture by Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*. i. *Umayyads*, Oxford 1932, ii. *Early ʿAbbāsids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Ṭūlūnids and Sāmānids*, Oxford 1940; G. Michel, ed., *Architecture of the Islamic world, its history and social meaning*, London 1978. Of studies on more particularly limited periods and regions, see the relevant sections in F. Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien aus der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser, 1320-1540*, Leipzig 1918; Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*. i. *Ikhshīdids and Fāṭimids*, Oxford 1942, ii. *Ayyūbids and early Baḥrite Mamlūks*, Oxford 1959; A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, iii, viii; D. N. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il-Khanid period*, Princeton 1955; *Āthār al-Islām al-taʾrīkhiyya fi 'l-Ittiḥād al-Sūfiyitī*, Tashkent n.d. [*ca.* 1960]; O. Grabar, *The earliest Islamic commemorative structures*, in *Ars Orientalis*, vi (1966), 7-45. See further the bibls. to ARCHITECTURE; HIND. vii. Architecture; ĪRĀN. viii. Art and Architecture, in Suppl.; MASDJID; MANĀRA; MIṢR. Architecture; SHĀM.

(E. DIEZ*)

ḲUBBA (now Ḳuba), **a district in the eastern Caucasus** between Bākū and Derbend [*q.vv.*]. The district of Ḳubba, with an area of 2,800 sq. miles, is bounded on the north by a large river, the Samūr, which flows into the Caspian, on the west by the "district" of Samūr which belongs to Dāghistān [*q.v.*], on the south by the southern slopes of the Caucasian range (peaks: Shāh-Dagh, 13,951 feet high, Bābā Dagh, 11,900) which separate Ḳubba from Shamākha (cf. the article SHIRWĀN), on the south-east by the district of Bākū and on the east by the Caspian. The area between the mountains and the flat coast land is called Djāf (Vullers, i, 499; *djāf*, "ad venerationem principis destinatum nemus"). The plain between the rivers Yalama and Belbele is called Muskūr; Shābarān lies further south (cf. SHIRWĀN). The other cantons are Barmak (so-called after a member of the Barmakī family, who sought refuge here in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd), Shishpāra, Tīp, Khinalugh, Budugh, Yukharī-bash, Sīrt, Anakh-dara, and (sometimes) Ḳabistān (*Akti*, iv, 650).

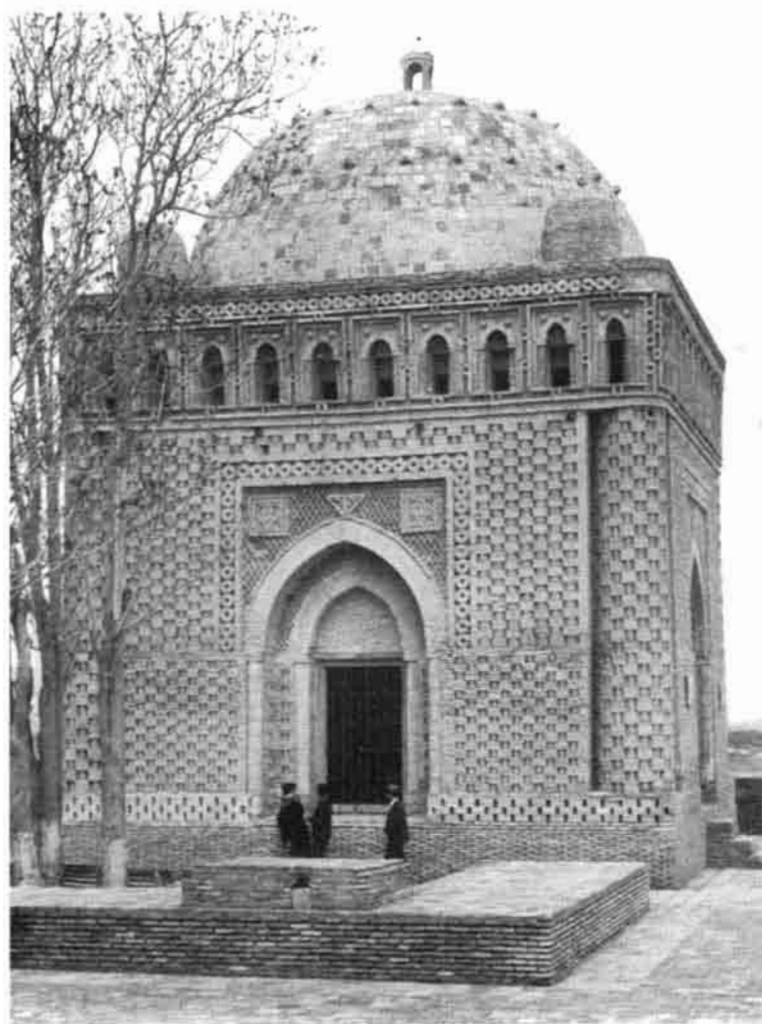
The population in 1896 was 175,000; 36.7% Tāt [*q.v.*], speaking the Iranian dialect of Tatī; 25.5% of Ādharbāydjāni Turks; 24% of highlanders of the Kürā group (the Kürin [*q.v.*]); and 8% highlanders of the group (southeastern Dāghistān group) formed of Khinalugh [*q.v.*], Djek, Ḳrīz [*q.v.*] and Budugh, to whom the Udi of Shekkī [*q.v.*] seem to be related. Muslims form 94% of the population (76.5% Sunnīs, and 17.5% Shīʿīs). Jews, Russians and Armenians together number several thousands. The town of Ḳubba (16,300 inhabitants), only founded in about 1750, lies on the right bank of the river Ḳudiāl; on the left bank is the Jewish quarter of the town. Near the mouth of the Ḳudiāl is the roadstead of Nisābād (called Nizovaia by the Russians) which played an important part in Russian military operations in Transcaucasia.

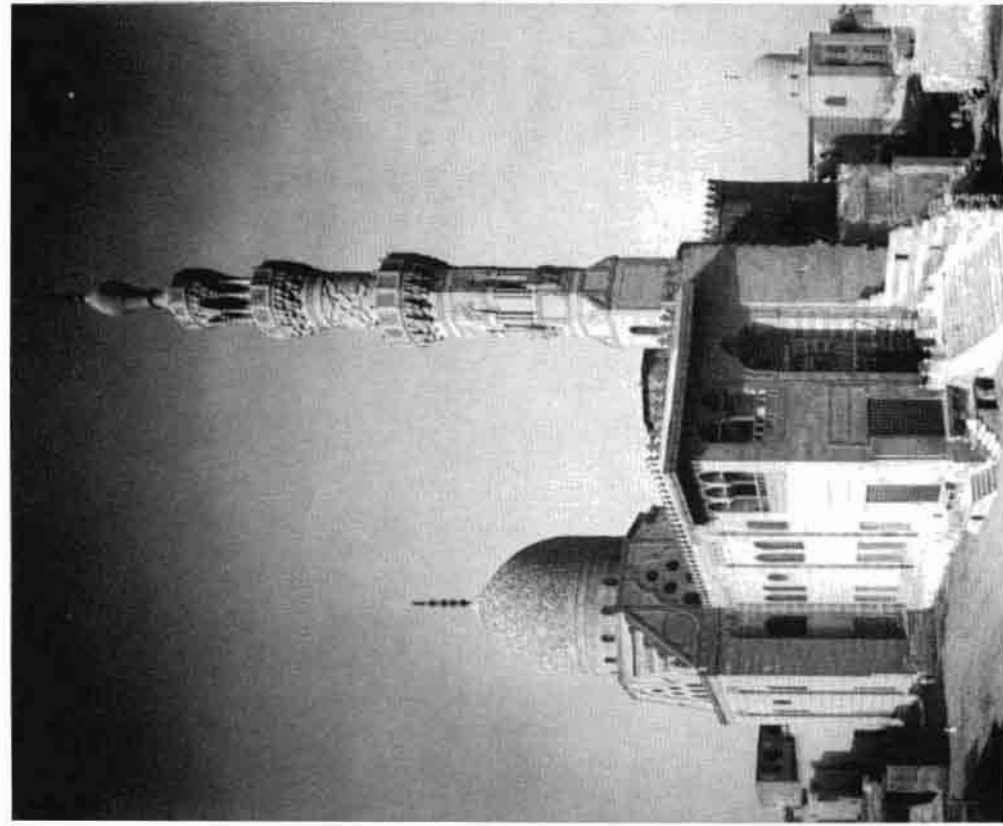
The history of the district of Ḳubba, which at first must have formed part of the ancient Caucasian Albania, is mixed up with that of Shīrwān; Shābarān (now a ruined site on the river Ḳulhan, Russian Gilkhin) had been an important centre inhabited by Christians (Muḳaddasī, 376) before Shamākha became the capital of Shīrwān. On the banks of the river Ḳulhan may still be seen ruins with a wall running from the sea to Bābā Dagh. Near the town of Ḳubba is the tomb of the Shīrwān-Shāh Kāwūs b. Kayḳubād (d. 774/1373).

It was only in the 18th century that Ḳubba enjoyed a period of independence. In the time of Shāh Sulaymān Ṣafawī, a member of the family of the *ūsmī* of Ḳaytaḳ (cf. DĀGHISTĀN) called Ḥusayn Khān arrived at the court of Iṣfahān. He became a Shīʿī and gained the favour of the Shāh, who appointed him Khān of Ḳubba and of Sāliyān (at the mouth of the Kura). Ḥusayn Khān built the castle of Khudād. His grandson Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, with the help of Peter the Great, regained the ancestral estates of the *ūsmī*, but his position was threatened by the alliance of Surkhay, prince of the Ḳāzī-Kumūkh, with Ḥādjdjī Dāwūd, religious chief of Muskūr, who with the help of Turkey played a considerable part in Dāghistān from 1712. Nādir Shāh restored Sāliyān to Ḥusayn ʿAlī. After the death of Nādir, local dynasties arose everywhere. At this time Ḥusayn ʿAlī moved his capital from Khudād to Ḳubba where he built a town and annexed Shābarān and Ḳulhan. He died in 1171/1758. His son Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān who succeeded him sought the help of the empress Catherine II, who in 1189/1775 sent General de Medem to Derbend, under a pretext of avenging the death of the academician Gmelin, who had died on 27 June 1774 in captivity with the *ūsmī* of Ḳayaḳ. With the help of the Russians, Fatḥ ʿAlī re-established his authority over what he could regard as his hereditary fief (Dāghistān, Ḳubba, Sāliyān). He also took Shīrwān, and the Khān of Bākū appointed him his son's guardian. The influence of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān gradually extended beyond the bounds of the district. In 1193/1778 he sent 9,000 men to Gīlān to restore Hidāyat Khān, who had been driven out by the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*]. In 1202/1788 he seized Ardabīl, whereupon the Shāh-sewān [*q.v.*] recognised his authority. The Khāns of Ḳara-Dagh and of Tabrīz sought his support. Fatḥ ʿAlī is credited with ambitious designs on Ādharbāydjān. To reconcile his plans with those of the king Irakli of Georgia, Fatḥ ʿAlī met the latter at Shamkūr (Shamkhor) but soon afterwards fell ill and died in 1203/1789.

The political and military work of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān crumbled away under his successors. His young son Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā (succeeded in 1791) had a very adventurous career. This young Khān relied on the support of the Ḳādjārs, but Count Zubov took Derbend on 4 May 1796, and entrusted the government to his sister Perī-Djahān Khānum. Taken prisoner by the Russians, Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā escaped and renewed the struggle. On the accession of the emperor Paul, Russian policy suddenly changed and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Shaykh ʿAlī returned to Derbend. In 1801 he and the other Khāns sent a delegation to Alexander I, but by 1805 we again find Shaykh ʿAlī rebelling against the Russians to whom he caused continual trouble till 1226/1811. The khānate of Ḳubba was occupied by the Russians in 1806, and by the treaty of 1813 Persia renounced her claim to the eastern Caucasus. From its incorporation in the Russian empire, Ḳubba formed a "gouvernement" of Shīrwān (later of Bākū). Since 1919 Ḳubba has been part of the republic of Ādharbāydjān, at first independent and then a Soviet SSR.

Bibliography: cf. the articles DĀGHISTĀN, DERBEND, SHEKKĪ and SHĪRWĀN. See especially the work of the local historian ʿAbbās Ḳulī Āghā Bākī-Khānov (a descendant of the Khāns of Bākū, who were related to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān), the *Gülistān-i Iram*, of which a Russian version by the author

1. Jerusalem. Dome of the Rock. Exterior.

2. Bukhārā. Mausoleum of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl, 4th/10th c. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

6. Sulṭāniyya. Mausoleum of Uldjaytū, 707-11/1307-11. (Photo M. Rogers)

7. Cairo. Mausoleum of Ḳāʾitbāy, ca. 877-9/1472-4. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

8. Samarkand. Mausoleum Gūr-i Mīr, 806/1404. (Photo B. Brentjes)

9. Samarkand. Shāh-i Zinde. General view. (Photo Konstanze Göbel)

himself (1794-1846) was published at Bākū in 1926 (*Travaux de la société scientifique de l'Azerbaidjan*, part 4). The principal documents are in the collection by A. Bergé, Tiflis 1866 ff., i-xii, index under *Derbend-Ḳubba*. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-ḲUBBA, ḲUBBAT AL-ʿĀLAM, Ḳ. AL-ARḌ, Ḳ. ARĪN "the dome of the world, of the earth, of Arīn", expressions used by the Islamic geographers and astronomers to denote the geographical centre of the earth (*wasaṭ al-arḍ*) at the zenith of which exists the *ḳubbat al-samāʾ* or *wasaṭ al-samāʾ*; the *ḳubbat al-arḍ*, defined as being equidistant from the four cardinal points or *djihāt* (see e.g. Ibn Rustih, 8, tr. Wiet, 7), is theoretically to be found at 90° from each of the poles and meridians of longitude zero and 180°, passing through the two extremities of the inhabited world (whether the longitudes are calculated starting from the east or the west). It is thus situated on the equator, and, for those authorities who followed Ptolemy, at 90° to the east of the meridian of the Fortunate Isles [see AL-DJAZĀʾIR AL-KHĀLIDĀT] taken as the starting point. Now, if the theoretical position of the *ḳubba* causes no problems, its localisation in practice does in fact pose an interesting one.

The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (tr. Minorsky, 58, § 4, No. 13) echoes a tradition which places the centre of the inhabited world in an island called Nāra (read as Bāra by Minorsky) at a longitude of 90° east, and he adds that the astronomical tables and the position of the planets and fixed stars were calculated in relation to this equinoxial island (*istiwāʾ al-layl wa 'l-nahār*; cf. Ibn Rustih, 84 tr. 92, "l'île équatoriale"). However, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, whilst noting the fact that this island is mentioned by al-Fazārī and Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭārik, places it at 190° 50′ longitude east, i.e. at 50′ to the east of Yamakoṭi/Djamakūt/Djamagūd, which marked the extreme eastern boundary of the inhabited world, and he states that there are some more or less unknown places there. In his *India*, 157, tr. i, 303-4, al-Bīrūnī notes that the name Yamakoṭi is reminiscent of Kankdiz/Gangdiz, which Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī took as the starting-place for the longitudes, calculated from east to west and no longer from west to east (cf. D. Pingree, *The thousands of Abū Maʿshar*, London 1968, 41 and index). Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 131 = § 555, recording an ancient Iranian tradition, attributes to Kay Khusraw the foundation of Kankdiz, and he notes specifically that certain authorities equate it with Yang-chʾeou; he further adds that several Chinese kings made it their capital. Al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*, mentions Kay Kāwūs or Djim/Djamshīd as founder of this legendary town which was to remain, at least theoretically, as the extreme limit of the known world for later scholars. Abū Maʿshar likewise places it to the east of China and at 90° from the *ḳubbat al-arḍ*, but he identifies it with Ūzayn, which is a dangerous error.

The Indians used to calculate the longitudes from Lanka (Ceylon), whose southern tip is not very far from the equator, but they were led to displace the original meridian westwards and to adopt instead that of Udjdjayn [*q.v.*], which is near to the Tropic of Cancer but not at all near to the Equator. The name of this town, which has indeed a genuine geographical existence, was written in Arabic script Ūzayn/Uzayn أزين/أوزين (cf. Ibn Rustih, 22, tr. 19 and n. 6, with bibl.; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1937, 192), and then, by means of a wrong reading, Arīn أرين; it is under this latter form that this toponym appears in later works, that it is transcribed in the mediaeval Latin translations, and that it appears even in some French lexica (Arine). Being unaware of the exact position of Udjdjayn, some authors tended to consider it as an island in the Indian Ocean (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 190), or at least to place it quite naturally on the equator, totally unaware of their error (thus Ibn Rustih, *loc. cit.*, or al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *loc. cit.*). In this way, *ḳubbat Arīn* and *ḳubbat al-arḍ* became synonymous; an astronomer as recent as al-Rūdānī correctly defines the *ḳubbat al-arḍ* or *al-ʿālam* as the point of intersection of the equator and the *dāʾirat niṣf al-nahār* and still calls it the *ḳubbat Arīn*, but he probably saw only there a traditional name without any direct connection with the town of Udjdjayn.

Finally, it may be noted that the use of the word *ḳubba* to denote the geographical centre of the earth has given rise to the idea that a particularly high point of the earth is involved here. The Indian tradition which makes the zero meridian go through Ceylon, where Adam's Peak rises, may conceivably be influenced by this conception, which al-Bīrūnī attacked in his *Ḳānūn* (cf. A. Bausani, in *Studies on Islam*, Amsterdam-London 1974, 28-9).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already mentioned, see above all the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 189, 245, 335-6; M. Reinaud, *Introd. générale à la géographie des Orientaux*, Paris 1848, pp. ccxxxix ff.; Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, Milan 1899-1907, *passim*; art. DJUGHRĀFIYA. (CH. PELLAT)

ḲUBBAT AL-HAWĀʾ, "the Dome of the Winds", a popular appellation for isolated monuments situated on rocky spurs, for example, the (undated) domed tomb of a *shaykh* on the west bank of the Nile (cf. Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Upper and Lower Egypt*, 9th edition, ed. Mary Brodrick, London 1896, 920) above Aswān. This presumably postdates the destruction of an adjacent Coptic monastery, attested by a graffito, in Shams al-Dawla's Nubian expedition of 1173, though the monasteries of the area, to judge from desecratory Muslim visitation inscriptions in Arabic dated, *inter alia*, 694/1294-5, in the neighbouring monastery of "St. Simeon" (not mentioned in U. Monneret de Villard, *Description générale du monastère de Snt. Siméon à Aswân*, Milan 1927), survived for a further century or more.

The most celebrated edifice of the name no longer exists. This is recorded by al-Kindī (*Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 147, ll. 14-15; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, Būlāḳ 1853, 201, l. 21; 202, ll. 3-31) as a palace built by Ḥātim b. Harthama, governor of Egypt in 194-5/809-11 on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam hills. This was deliberately destroyed on the fall of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty and no trace of it exists. The exact site has been disputed, but its total disappearance makes it more probable that it was on the site later occupied by the Ayyūbid Citadel of Cairo (K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 6, and references) than higher on the Muḳaṭṭam hills in the neighbourhood of the Fāṭimid *mashhad*, generally known as the Mashhad al-Djuyūshī. The site of this Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ was subsequently converted into a cemetery, and various mosques, which have equally disappeared without trace, were erected there (P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* [= *MMAFC* VI], Paris 1894, 557-61).

Though the possibility that the Cairene Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ may be identified with the presumed Fāṭimid observatory on the Muḳaṭṭam hills must be

discounted (cf. A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory*, Ankara 1960, 130-56), the sense of the term *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* suggests the persistence into Islamic tradition of some reminiscence of the Athenian Tower of the Winds, described as an *horologium* by Varro (*De re rustica*, 3.5.17) and dated accordingly pre-37 B.C., but also representing the winds on its eight facets (H. S. Robinson, *The Tower of the Winds and the Roman market place*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlvii [1943], 291-305; J. V. Noble and D. J. de Solla Price, *The water clock in the Tower of the Winds*, in *ibid.*, lxii [1968], 345-55]. The term *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* may thus have been used in Islam for structures associated with time-keeping or meteorology, though the evidence for this in the standard authorities is lacking. The reasons, incidentally, for the use, in the 18th century A.D., of the Tower of the Winds in Athens as a *samāʿ-k͟hāne* of the Ḳādirī dervishes (Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1928, i, 12 *et passim*) have still to be elucidated.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(J. M. ROGERS)

ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAK͟HRA, the Dome of the Rock, at times called the Mosque of ʿUmar, is the oldest remaining monument of Islamic architecture, and probably the first conscious work of art of Islamic civilisation.

Location and description. The Dome of the Rock is located on an artificial platform, roughly but not exactly in the centre of the Ḥaram al-S͟harīf [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem. The shape and emplacement of the platform were probably determined by the ruined state of the old Jewish Temple area, together with whatever Roman constructions may have been left; it is also possible that there were pious and historical or legendary associations with parts of this area of the Ḥaram, but these are difficult to demonstrate (see below).

A celebrated inscription, in which al-Maʾmūn replaced ʿAbd al-Malik's name with his own, dates the construction of the Dome (*ḳubba* in the inscription) to 72/691-2. It has been superbly described in all details by K. A. C. Creswell, and recent repairs have only confirmed most of his reconstruction of the original monument. It consists of a dome (20.44 m. in diameter and 30 m. in height) surrounded by two octagonal ambulatories, each side of the outer one being around 20.50 m. Interior supports consisted of piers and columns; the dome was set on a high drum and probably was from the very beginning a wooden double dome. There were fifty-six windows in the drum and the octagons, a parapet on the outside, and simple porches. Two important architectural characteristics of the Dome of the Rock must be noted. One is the superb geometry of its layout, based on the extension of two squares inscribed in the circle of the rotunda. It is this geometry which provides the monument with its harmonious airiness and which makes it possible to perceive the whole building at a glance. The second characteristic is that, from the point of view of its plan and composition, the Dome of the Rock belongs to a high tradition of Byzantine architecture represented by monuments found in Ravenna, Syria (St. Simeon, Boṣrā), and Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre, Church of the Ascension). It is almost certain that its builders and planners were Christians from Syria or Palestine.

The Dome of the Rock was lavishly decorated with marble, mosaics, and gilt bronze plaques. The cupola was gilded on the outside and the outer walls were in large part covered with mosaics. Most of the exterior decoration has disappeared, but, in spite of numerous restaurations, the interior still approximates to its original appearance of a glittering sheathing of mosaics. Almost every part of the walls was covered with vegetal and geometric designs, and these included the very unusual motif of royal crowns and jewels. A fairly complete description of all these themes has been provided by Marguerite van Berchem in Creswell's *Early Muslim architecture*. Although there is some debate about the origins of the mosaicists (Syrian or Byzantine), there is little disagreement about the stylistic origins of the decoration. Most of it derives from the rich vocabulary of Late Antique and early Byzantine art, but there are also definite Iranian elements. Together with the important absence of any figural representations, this mixture of sources indicates that a conscious new Muslim taste affected the decoration of the Dome of the Rock far more than its architecture. We shall return later to the interpretation which could be given to these mosaics, since it is closely related to the problem of the meaning of the whole monument. As we shall see, a key document for whatever interpretation is given lies in the long inscription in gold mosaic cubes which runs along both sides of the octagonal arcades. In addition to providing the date of the building, this inscription contains numerous Ḳurʾānic passages which range from statements of the faith of Islam (cxii; xxxiii, 54; xvii, 111, etc.) to the major Christological passages in the Holy Book (especially iv, 169-71 and xix, 34-7). These are our earliest dated fragments from the Ḳurʾān, and C. Kessler has shown recently that many letters were already provided with clear diacritical marks (see *Bibl.*).

Although the Dome of the Rock has been amazingly well preserved, it was affected by many alterations and repairs over the centuries. The exact chronology of all these changes is difficult to establish. The cupola was redone in Fāṭimid times and under the Ottomans; the roof of the octagons was repaired in ʿAbbāsid times; and their ceilings transformed under the Mamlūks. The Crusaders added a handsome iron screen around the Rock, which has now been removed, but it was the Ottomans who in the 10th/16th century covered the building's exterior walls with some of the best-known examples of Turkish ceramics. Between 1956 and 1964 a Restoration Committee under the leadership of Egyptian and Jordanian architects and authorities undertook a complete restoration of the monument. Some part, such as the dome, were totally redone, others, the mosaics for instance, cleaned and repaired. The guiding principle of this work was to put every part of the building back in its earliest documented shape. Although future research may quibble at some of the decisions taken (for instance, it is likely that the beams of the ambulatory's roof were visible, since painted ones were found there), it has been one of the most successful jobs of restoration known anywhere, and it is hoped that its carefully-kept records will soon be published.

Significance. The Dome of the Rock has excited more scholarly concern than any other Islamic monument, and this for several reasons. It is a unique building which was rarely copied for its shape (a few later mausoleums like the Sulaybiyya in Sāmarrā or Ḳalāwūn's tomb in Cairo may have used it as a model), and never for its functions. It does not fit into any architectural series. Also it is located on the site of the Jewish Temple, in the holy city of

Christianity, without showing obvious traces of impact from the two older monotheistic faiths. It does not look like a mosque, and the Aḳṣā nearby fulfilled the congregational needs of the Muslim community. Finally, literary sources on the Dome of the Rock are confused and contradictory, even though the inscription on the building indicates that it was a major effort of the Umayyad dynasty.

The many explanations which exist can be divided into three broad groups. The first one is the traditional pious Muslim view, which interprets the Rock as the place whence the Prophet went on his celebrated Journey into Heaven (*miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]). That such became eventually the holy meaning of the Dome of the Rock is undisputable, since the whole Ḥaram became the *Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* of Ḳurʾān, XVII, 1. But, while the association between the Rock and the Prophet's Journey may have been made quite early, there is no trace of it in the most authentic document about the monument, sc. its long inscription.

The second explanation is concretely historical, and goes back to a passage from al-Yaʿḳūbī. This explanation holds that, during the struggle of the Umayyads with Ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to create in Jerusalem a shrine which would compete with the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Recently, W. Caskel revived the theory by pointing out that the Umayyads as a dynasty did seek a cultic center in Syria or Palestine, and that Jerusalem was the only one which fulfilled the necessary conditions. The main objection to this theory is that, even though there are several literary indications of a special Umayyad attachment to Palestine, there is some doubt as to whether such a basic Islamic requirement as the pilgrimage to Mecca could be altered. Furthermore, al-Yaʿḳūbī was a violently anti-Umayyad polemicist, whose interpretations are open to criticism.

The third explanation is cultural-historical. Starting with the evidence of the inscriptions and of the mosaics, it proposes to see in the Dome of the Rock a monument proclaiming the new faith and empire in the city of the older two religions. It sanctified anew a Jewish sanctuary and slowly incorporated within itself the memories of Abraham and Joseph, among others. It set up the crowns of Byzantine and Persian kings like an offering around the centre of the monuments, and put up its own Christology above the crowns. It was a missionary monument of victory, built at a time when ʿAbd al-Malik was concerned with Christian enmity, but especially when he sought to proclaim Islamic uniqueness within a common religious tradition, as, for instance, in his coinage. As the specific need of maintaining the cohesion of the community of faithful waned, pious associations grew up and eventually transformed the Dome of the Rock into the unique sanctuary it is today.

While this third explanation seems to us to reflect bettei than the first two the evidence of contemporary sources and of the spirit of the time, it is only fair to say that the debate is not yet closed. However it may be eventually resolved, two conclusions are pertinent. One is that, both as a work of art and as a cultural and pious document, the Dome of the Rock is a unique monument of Islamic culture in almost all repects. The second one is that it is a monument with a history, for, whatever its initial purpose may have been, it developed more and more complicated associations as time went on. It may indeed be a rare instance of a sanctuary whose holy meaning grew after it had been built. But, as a work of art, it is one of the most telling documents about the gradual transformation of a local Syro-Palestinian Christian art into Islamic art.

Bibliography: All earlier works are listed and discussed in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i, Oxford 1969. Of particular importance are O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1957), and C. Kessler, *Above the ceiling of . . . the Dome of the Rock*, in *JRAS* (1964). Since 1969, one should see Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973; Kessler, *ʿAbd al-Malik's inscription*, in *JRAS* (1970); M. Ecochard, *A propos du Dôme du Rocher*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972); W. Caskel, *Der Felsendom und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, Cologne 1963.

(O. GRABAR)

ḲUBBE WEZĪRI (T.) "vizier of the dome" was the name given, under the Ottomans, to the members of the imperial *Dīwān* (*dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]) who came together on several mornings each week around the Grand Vizier in the chamber of the Topkapı Palace called Ḳubbe altı because it was crowned by a dome. The *ḳubbe wezīrleri* were the *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*s [*q.v.*] of Rumelia and Anatolia, the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, the *defterdār* [see DAFTARDĀR], the *nishāndjī* [*q.v.*], the *agha*s of the Janissaries, the commander of the cavalry and, when he happened to be in the capital, the *ḳapudan pasha* [*q.v.*]. This institution was abandoned under Aḥmed III [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 80 ff.; see also the *Bibls.* of the articles cited above and above all, WAZĪR. (ED.)

ḲŪBČŪR (in Central Asia), the most important of the taxes and impositions of Mongol origin in the Čingizkhānid period. It was originally a tax on flocks and herds, payable by the Mongols to their ruler. Such a levy was made by Čingiz-Khān early in his career for the support of his ally and patron the Ong-Khān of the Kereyts (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, 107; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisei*, ed. Berezin, xiii, 178). In the formative years of the Mongol Empire, *ḳūbčūr* was levied at a rate of one animal out of every 100 (Djuwaynī, iii, 79; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djami el-Tévarikh*, ed. Blochet, 42). At this stage it seems to have been paid only by the nomads.

In 650/1252 the Greak Khān Möngke introduced among other reforms a new method of taxation. Following the model that had been established in Transoxania by the governor Maḥmūd Yalawāč, he imposed on the Empire a poll-tax, levied according to the wealth of the individual taxpayer on a sliding scale from ten *dīnār*s down to one. Other rates are also mentioned. This tax was to be called *ḳūbčūr*, and was to be paid by the subject population (Djuwaynī, i, 253-4). Such a tax inevitably involved periodical censuses of the conquered population (Djuwaynī, i, 25; cf. Grigor of Akancʿ, *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. and tr. Blake and Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 57). On the basis of a new census, *ḳūbčūr* was reassessed in 656/1258 on a scale ranging from 500 *dīnār*s to one. Thereafter the imposition of census and "poll-tax" *ḳūbčūr* seems to have become a regular procedure, at least in the west, as new territory submitted to the Mongols or was conquered by them (see e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, 256-7). It became something of a byword for Mongol oppression (see Minorsky, *Pūr-i Bahā and his poems*, in *Iranica*, Tehran 1964, 299).

The original "animal-levy" *ḳūbčūr* continued to

be paid by the Mongols—in Persia until the reign of Ghāzān, who abolished it (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫān's*, ed. Jahn, 300). The sources consequently sometimes use the term *ḳūbčūr-i mawāshī* for the animal-levy, in order to distinguish it from the poll-tax.

Bibliography: H. F. Schurmann, *Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century*, in *HJAS*, xiv (1956), 304-89; J. M. Smith, Jr., *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *HJAS*, xxx (1970), 46-85; I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledie i agrarnïe otnosheniya v. Irane XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 360-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 387-91; and see for this tax in Persia, KHARĀDJ. 2. Persia.

(D. O. MORGAN)

ḲUBILAY, Mongol Great Khān (1260-94), the brother and successor of Möngke [*q.v.*], was born in 1215. In 1251 Möngke entrusted him with the administration of Northern China, and he took part in the subsequent war which his brother launched against the Sung rulers of the South. The conquest of the Sung was finally completed only during his own reign (1279), when the whole of China was again united under one ruler for the first time since the tenth century. Already in 1260 he had transferred the capital of the Empire from Ḳaraḳorum [*q.v.*] to Peking, in Mongol Khān-Balīgh [*q.v.*], i.e. "Khān's Town", and in 1271 he proclaimed the foundation of the Yüan Dynasty, the twentieth of the Chinese Official Dynasties. His right to the Khānate was at first disputed by his younger brother Arīgh Böke, who perhaps had the stronger claim and who finally surrendered only in 1264; the struggle was then taken up by Ḳaydu [*q.v.*], who remained a thorn in Ḳubilay's side during the whole of his long reign. Nor was Ḳubilay more successful in his campaigns against the Japanese and the Indo-Chinese or in an attempt to gain a foothold on the island of Java. In China he encouraged the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism, but, like most of the Great Khāns, was favourably disposed to Islam and the Muslims; only for a time (during the years 1282-9), as a result of the events connected with the assassination of the minister Aḥmad, did the Muslims fall into disfavour with him. He was described by a European observer, who had travelled widely within his territories, the Venetian Marco Polo, as "the most puissant of men, in subjects, lands, and treasures, that there is on earth or ever was, from the time of our first father Adam to this day".

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 350-580, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 241-315; Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, 16-23; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, 352-90; P. Ratchnevsky, *Rašīd ad-Dīn über die Mohammedanerverfolgungen in China unter Qubilai*, in *Rashīd al-Dīn commemoration volume (1318-1968)*, ed. J. A. Boyle and K. Jahn, Wiesbaden 1970, 163-80. (W. BARTHOLD - [J. A. BOYLE])

KUBRĀ, SHAYKH ABU 'L-DJANNĀB AḤMAD B. ʿUMAR NADJM AL-DĪN, eponymous founder of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī order, one of the major orders of the Mongol period in Central Asia and Khurāsān, from which stem numerous derivative initiatic lines. The sobriquet of Kubrā is an abbreviation of the Ḳurʾānic expression *al-ṭāmmat al-kubrā*, "the major disaster", a nickname Nadjm al-Dīn earned through his formidable talent in polemic and disputation.

Born in Khwārazm in 540/1145, he began his career as a scholar of *ḥadīth* and *kalām*, travelling extensively in the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Ṣūfism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a *murīd* of Shaykh Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī, an initiate of the Suhrawardī order. After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabrīz to pursue his studies of *kalām*, but came instead under the influence of a certain Bābā Faradj Tabrīzī, who persuaded him definitively to abandon his concern with the external religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the Ṣūfī path. He then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir al-Bidlīsī and Ismāʿīl al-Ḳaṣrī, from both of whom he received the ritual *khirḳa*, before returning to Shaykh Rūzbihān in Egypt. By then, Rūzbihān evidently regarded Kubrā as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back to Khwārazm with full authority to train and initiate disciples. Kubrā swiftly gathered a large following, including a remarkable number of individuals who attained prominence in their own right as gnostics and writers on Ṣūfism; he is, in fact, frequently designated as *walī-turāsh*, the "manufacturer of saints". Among his foremost disciples were Madjd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 616/1219), Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256; author of the celebrated Ṣūfī compendium *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352/1972; Eng. tr. Hamid Algar, *The path of God's bondsmen from origin to return*, forthcoming), Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252), Bābā Kamāl Djandī, Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 658/1260; cf. Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, in *Madjalla-y Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt*, ii/4 [Tīr 1334/October 1955], 1-15, and Īradj Afshār, *Sargudhasht-i Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, Tehran 1341/1962), and Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā (d. 642/1244). Kubrā died during the Mongol conquest of Khwārazm in 617/1220; according to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at the head of a band of followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *khānaḳāh* outside the city, and his tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Köhne-Urgenj [see GURGANDJ], became a centre of pious visitation, retaining this function even under Soviet rule (cf. G. P. Snesarev, *Relikti domusul'manskikh verovanii i obryadov u Uzbekov Khorezma*, Moscow 1969, 269, 433).

Kubrā left behind a number of brief but important works dominated by a concern with the analysis of the visionary experience. He discussed in them, for example, the various significances of dreams and visions; the degrees of luminous epiphany that are manifested to the mystic; the different classes of concept and image (*khawāṭir*) that engage his attention; and the nature and interrelations of man's "subtle centres" (*laṭāʾif*). Most important of Kubrā's treatises are *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-djalāl* (edited with an exhaustive introduction on the life and work of Kubrā by F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957), *al-Uṣūl al-ʿashara* and *Risālat al-khāʾif al-hāʾim min lawmat al-lāʾim* (edited, together with other lesser treatises, by M. Molé under the title of *Traités mineurs*, in *Annales Islamologiques (Cairo)*, iv [1963], 1-78). In addition to these short works on the path, Kubrā also embarked on a Ṣūfī commentary on the Ḳurʾān that he was unable to complete but was continued after his death first by his *murīd* Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī and then by another Kubrawī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Simnānī (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 175-6, 276 n. 90, and Süleyman Ateş, *Işarî tefsir okulu*, Ankara 1974, 139-60).

The line of Kubrā was perpetuated by several of his disciples. Sayf al-Dīn Bā<u>kh</u>arzī established a well-endowed *<u>kh</u>ānaḳāh* in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā. *Waḳf* documents relating to this *<u>kh</u>ānaḳāh* have been published by C. D. Če<u>k</u>hovič, *Bu<u>kh</u>arskie dokumentī XIV v.*, Tashkent 1965); it was there that Berke <u>Kh</u>ān, fifth ruler of the Golden Horde, proclaimed his acceptance of Islam (J. Richard, *La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or*, in *REI*, xxxv [1967], 173-9). Badr al-Dīn Samarḳandī, a *murīd* of Bā<u>kh</u>arzī, travelled to India and established there a branch of the Kubrawiyya that came to be known as the Firdawsiyya; its most important figure was Aḥmad Yaḥyā Manērī (d. 772/1371), author of widely-read *Maktūbāt* (publ. Lucknow 1911). Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya established a *<u>kh</u>ānaḳāh* at Baḥrābād in <u>Kh</u>urāsān, the direction of which was assumed by his son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who in 694/1295 presided over the conversion to Islam of <u>Gh</u>āzān <u>Kh</u>ān, the Īl<u>kh</u>ānid ruler of Iran (cf. Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Mubārak-i <u>Gh</u>āzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 76-80). Another *murīd* of Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya was ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. 661/1263), author of several important treatises (published by Molé under the title *Kitāb al-Insān al-kāmil*, Tehran and Paris 1962).

The most long-lived and prolific initiate line deriving from Na<u>dj</u>m al-Dīn Kubrā was probably that descending by way of Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā and two further links of the chain to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī. Simnānī further elaborated the analysis of the *laṭāʾif* and also formulated a critique of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of *waḥdat al-wu<u>dj</u>ūd* that was to have much influence on Indian Naḳ<u>sh</u>bandī circles (see H. Landolt's introduction to *Mukātabāt-i ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Isfarāʾinī wa ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī*, Tehran and Paris 1972, for a copious bibliography on Simnānī). ʿAlī Hamadānī, a *murīd* successively of two of Simnānī's followers, Taḳī al-Dīn A<u>kh</u>ī and Maḥmūd Mazdaḳānī, introduced the Kubrawī order to Bada<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>ān and Ka<u>sh</u>mīr. He died in 786/1385, and is variously reputed to have been buried in <u>Kh</u>uttalān (present-day Kulāb, Tadzhik SSR) [see <u>Kh</u>UTTALĀN] and Srinagar (J. K. Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs ʿAlī-i Hamadānī*, Leiden 1962; Sayyida A<u>sh</u>raf Ẓafar, *Amīr-i Kabīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī*, Lahore 1972). He designated himself as a "second ʿAlī", and although the branch of the Kubrawī order he introduced to Ka<u>sh</u>mīr remains purely Sunnī to the present day, it is not surprising that various descendants of Hamadānī came to adopt <u>Sh</u>īʿism. Isḥāḳ al-<u>Kh</u>uttalānī, successor of ʿAlī Hamadānī, was murdered by emissaries of the Tīmūrid ruler <u>Sh</u>āhru<u>kh</u> in about 826/1423, but before dying appointed as his successor Muḥammad Nūrba<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>. The majority of <u>Kh</u>uttalānī's followers accepted Nūrba<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>, but a minority gave their loyalty to ʿAbd Allāh Barzi<u>sh</u>ābādī instead. This schism gave rise to two separate derivatives of the Kubrawiyya, each with its own name, but having in common an adoption of <u>Sh</u>īʿism. One was the Nūrba<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>iyya, that survived in Iran into the Ṣafawid period; the other came to acquire, at a date and in a fashion unknown, the designation of <u>Dh</u>ahabbiyya, and has survived down to the present in Iran, where its chief centre is <u>Sh</u>īrāz (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, in *AfKM*, xxvi/1 [1965], 14-26).

The latter history of the Kubrawiyya in its Central Asian homeland is not well-known. It is probable that it was almost universally displaced, even in <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, by the Naḳ<u>sh</u>bandiyya from the early 9th/15th century onwards. The small town of Sāktarī near Bu<u>kh</u>ārā remained, however, an active centre of the Kubrawiyya until at least the early 11th/17th century (for a list of works produced by the *<u>shaykh</u>s* of Sāktarī, see A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnī<u>kh</u> rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, Tashkent 1955, iii, 327-8); and at some point the Kubrawiyya spread eastwards from Central Asia into the Muslim regions of China (cf. Muḥammad Tawāḍuʿ, *al-Islām wa 'l-Ṣīn*, Cairo 1364/1945, 112).

Finally, there are traces of the Kubrawiyya in Turkey—a Kubrawī *<u>shaykh</u>* by the name of Muṣṭafā Dede is recorded to have fought in the ranks of the army that conquered Istanbul (Ayvānsarāʾī, *Ḥadīḳat ül-<u>dj</u>ewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1861, ii, 261)—but no lasting implantation of the order appears to have taken place either in Turkey or the Arab lands. Only a nominal existence of the Kubrawiyya persisted in the western Islamic world as one of the multiple secondary affiliations professed by Naḳ<u>sh</u>bandīs of the Mu<u>dj</u>addidī-<u>Kh</u>ālidī line (cf. Muḥammad Asʿad al-Irbilī, *al-Risāla al-asʿadiyya fī 'l-ṭarīḳa al-ʿaliyya*, Istanbul 1343/1924, 29).

Bibliography: (in addition to that contained in the text): Meier's introduction to his edition of the *Fawāʾiḥ al-<u>dj</u>amal* contains a comprehensive listing of all sources on the life and work of Kubrā. See also Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī, *Tibyān wasāʾil al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ wa-salāsil al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, ms. Ibrahim Efendi (Süleymaniye) 430, iii, ff. 79b-84a; Molé, *Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shi'isme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142 (a pioneering study, despite excessive emphasis on allegedly proto-<u>Sh</u>īʿī elements in the early Kubrawiyya; cf. Algar, *Some observations on religion in Safavid Persia*, in *Iranian Studies*, vii/1-2 [winter-spring 1974], 287-90); Ye. E. Bertel's, *Četverosti<u>sh</u>iya <u>Sh</u>ei<u>kh</u>a Nadžm ad-Dina Kubra*, in *Sufizm i sufiiskaya literatura*, Moscow 1965, 324-8; Corbin, *L'Homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, 95-148; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 55-8.

(H. ALGAR)

ĶUBRUS, modern Turkish Kıbrıs, Greek Kúpros (etymologically derived probably from the word for "copper"), in western languages Cyprus, is the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean, with a surface area of 9,251 km². The nearest distance to the mainland is from Cape Kormakiti in the north to Anamur on the southern coast of Turkey, 71 km. The distance to the Syrian coast between Cape Andreas and Raʾs ibn <u>Kh</u>ān north of al-Lā<u>dh</u>iḳiyya [*q.v.*] is 98 km. The distance to Crete (Arabic Iḳrīṭi<u>sh</u> [*q.v.*] is about 553 km. The island consists of two mountain ranges, Kyrenia-Karpass rising to 1,019 m. altitude in the north, and Troodos rising up to 1.952 m. in the south-west. In between lies a plain, the Mesaoria (Turkish Mesarya, Mesalya), which supports most of the island's agriculture, although its rainfall is marginal and the percentage of irrigated land is not large. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the economy. Copper has been mined since before 3,000 B.C., but its known veins, like those of other minerals (iron pyrites), are near exhaustion. Non-metal minerals are available in exportable quantities, e.g. asbestos. Refining of salt is still revenue-producing; it is being extracted from salt lakes in the low lands near Limassol and Larnaca (old names Les Salines, Turkish Tuzla).

The geopolitical situation of Cyprus within the spheres of the ancient civilisations of the Near East explains why the island has always played a certain

role in history, although its importance has sometimes been overrated. Lying on the main sea routes of the Levant, within striking distance of the mainland, the island has always been in a dependent position to any of the surrounding big powers; political independence has rarely been attained (see below, *Lusignan period*).

1. *Byzantium and Islam* (*632-1192*).

Cyprus' history in antiquity will not be dealt with here. When the expansion of Islam began, the island was a province of the Byzantine Empire, with its capital at Constantia, ancient Salamis. Since 431 (Council of Ephesus) the Orthodox Church of Cyprus has been autocephalous under an archbishop who ranks immediately behind the four great patriarchs. The church has moulded the island into a social, religious and cultural unit. The old and strong links between clergy and people have created a sense of social solidarity, which has remained characteristic for the history of the Orthodox Greek population of the island during the succession periods of foreign dominations. Cyprus's important cities at this time were: Salamis-Constantia, Citium (near Larnaca), Curium (near Episkopi), Tamassus (Nea) Paphos, Neapolis (Nemesos) (= Limassol), Amathos, Arsinoe (Marium) (= Chrysokhou), Lapithos, Karpasia (Near Rhizo karpaso), Chytri (= Kythrea), Tremithus, Soli, Kerynia and Ledrae or Leukosia (= Nicosia).

It was after the reign of Heraclius (610-41) that Cyprus began to be invaded by the Arabs. According to a Greek writer, a raiding party under the caliph Abū Bakr appeared on the island in 632, which is not very probable. In 647 (648, 649?) Muʿāwiya, governor of Syria, organised an expedition against the island, which was in fact the first large-scale maritime enterprise of the Arabs in the Mediterranean (cf. Balādhurī, tr. Hitti, i, 235 ff., 431 f.). His fleet of 17,000 sail, commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b. Kays, landed the Arab forces at Constantia. The city was besieged, surrendered and sacked. The whole island was overrun. Cyprus was compelled to pay a tribute of 7,000-7,200 goldpieces, to be paid annually to the governor at Damascus, a sum equal to the island's tribute to the Byzantine treasury. This seems to indicate a form of joint-rule over the island by the Emperor and the caliph. It was during this raid that Umm Ḥarām, wife of ʿUbāda b. al-Sāmit, a relation of the Prophet, died and was buried near Larnaca. On that site was to be erected the most venerated shrine of the Muslims of Cyprus, the Hâla Sultan Tekke. A second raid was organised by Muʿāwiya in 33/653-4 led by Abu 'l-Anwār. Lapithos was sacked, and a force of 12,000 occupied the island permanently till the caliph Yazīd (680-3) withdrew it. The tributary relationship with the caliph at Damascus lasted till the time of caliph al-Manṣūr (754-75), it seems.

The peace treaty concluded between Constantine IV and ʿAbd al-Malik in 685 and renewed in 688-9 with Justinian II provided for the division of the revenues of Armenia, Iberia and Cyprus. The last-mentioned emperor decided to transplant the Orthodox population of Cyprus to the south coast of the sea of Marmara near ancient Cyzicus, where the city of Nova Justiniana (Justinianopolis) was founded for the archbishop of Cyprus and his flock. (This town's name still figures in the title of the head of the church of Cyprus. This exile of the Cypriots lasted till 698, when the island became resettled by its old inhabitants, and also by those who had gone to Muslim Syria.) For two-and-a-half centuries longer, there persisted the intermediate status of Cyprus between the Roman Emperor and the caliph. The island was normally used as a base for Arab maritime actions against Asia Minor.

In 747 a fleet from Alexandria was destroyed by a Byzantine force commanded by the admiral of the Cibyrrhaeote Theme. Raids and attacks followed each other in 772, 790 and 806 under command of the ʿAbbāsid governor in Syria, Ḥumayd. The island nevertheless remained a part of the Byzantine Empire, and the Emperor Basil I (867-86) reorganised its administration temporarily into a theme, the general Alexius being governor. The tribute to the caliph was continued (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, Bonn ed., 40). Cyprus served as a base during the campaign of Himerius against the Arabs in Crete [see IḲRĪṬISH] in 902. In 911-12 an Arab force under Dimyana occupied the island for four months. Byzantine authority was restored after the recovery of Crete in 963. After *ca.* 963, Cyprus was hardly ever more troubled by Arab invasions, and was able to restore its economy. Evidence for the island's renewed florescence is the new foundation of the main cities, old sites on the sea coast being abandoned. In 1042-3 and in 1092 revolts against the Emperor Alexius Comnenus occurred.

Towards the end of that century, Cyrpus became a base for operations of Byzantine land and sea forces, sometimes in combination with those of the Crusaders (in particular, Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, and his successors at Tripoli). Scanty evidence for the interior history of Cyprus in this period points to maladministration and the economic draining of the island's resources by the Byzantine government. The source of Nicolas Mouzalon, one-time archbishop of Cyprus, must, however, be considered suspect because of prejudice against the emperor. The first half of the 12th century left Cyprus in peace. Pilgrim traffic passed through it as usual, and relations with Muslim powers were correct. The *amīr* of Beirut and many inhabitants of that city found refuge on Cyprus when Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, captured it on 13 May 1110. The first Maronites probably settled on the island around this time. Inhabitants of Tell Ḥamdūn in Little Armenia were removed to Cyprus by the Emperor John II Comnenus (Caloioannes) (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 241). In 1148 Manuel Comnenus extended the commercial privileges of the Venetians to Crete and Cyprus. This marked the beginning of the Latin penetration.

In 1155 or 1156 the Crusader Renaud of Châtillon, in co-operation with Thoros II (1145-68) of Little Armenia (Armeno-Cilicia), launched an expedition against Cyprus and put the Byzantine authorities (the Duke John Comnenus) out of action. Cyprus suffered badly, and had to pay ransom for hostages from among principal members of the clergy and the lay population.

In 553/1158 a fleet from Egypt raided Cyprus, and in 1161 pirates equipped by Raymond III of Antioch, Count of Tripoli, raided Cyprus and the coast of Cilicia. The last period of Byzantine dominion over Cyprus was the rule of Isaac Ducas Comnenus, the self-styled Emperor of Cyprus from 1185 to 1191, who was able with support of the Norman King William II to defeat an expedition sent by the Emperor Isaac II Angelus against him and to rule till he was dethroned by Richard the Lion Heart in 1191.

King Richard's fleet ran into heavy weather on its way to the Holy Land. The ship carrying his sister Joanna and his bride Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, sought shelter in the port of Limassol. Isaac tried to take the ladies hostage, but Richard appeared on 6 May 1191 and landed in force on Cyprus. Having been joined by Crusader lords from Syria, among whom were Guy de Lusignan, a claimant to the crown of Jerusalem, Richard, after failure of a peaceful settlement, opened war against Isaac and defeated his forces. Isaac surrendered at the end of May 1191. The people of Cyprus delivered half of their possessions to the King of England, who confirmed the laws and institutions as granted to Cyprus by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. Frankish garrisons took the place of the Greek ones, and two English gentlemen were appointed as justiciars and sheriffs to administer the island. It was to serve as the base to provision the Crusaders in Syria, and the island became essential for the operations of the Franks in the Holy Land during the next century, after Saladin had almost destroyed the Latin's position there at Ḥaṭṭīn (1187).

2. *The Frankish period (1192-1571)*

(a) The rule of the House of Lusignan (1192-1489). — The King of England sold the island in July 1191 to the Knights of the Temple. During their rule, a rebellion broke out which was suppressed at great cost. In May 1192 King Richard resold Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, husband to the heiress of the crown of Jerusalem. The Byzantine Emperor could only raise a protest on the diplomatic level.

Aimery de Lusignan succeeded his brother as lord of Cyprus (1194-1205). He continued the feudal organisation, granting fiefs to many Latin nobles and founding an extensive private domain. The state acquired its administrative institutions, and the castles of St. Hilarion ("Dieu d'amour"), Kyrenia (Cérines) and Buffavento were built. By Papal bulls of 20 February and 13 December 1196 a Latin hierarchy was installed under the archdiocese of Nicosia, with three suffragans, as a parallel to the Latin feudal institution. In 1197 Aimery acquired the title of King, holding his dominion from the Emperor Henry VI with Papal assent. In the same year, the Syrian Crusader barons elected him King of Jerusalem in Acre. This personal union was restored under King Hugh III (1267-84) of Lusignan in 1269, to remain as a honorific title of the Kings of Cyprus after 1291. A third royal title was collected by the Lusignans, that of Armenia in 1368—again an empty title without land.

The new kingdom kept the peace with the Muslim powers in Syria till the 5th Crusade (1228-9). The Cypriots also participated in the expedition to Damietta of 1219-21. During the Seventh Crusade, the King of France, St. Louis, used the island as his support base in the campaign against Egypt, when Damietta was again taken in 1249, and both Kings entered the town triumphantly together. The Kings of Cyprus remained involved in the Crusaders' wars till the end. In 1269 Hugh III became King of Jerusalem, but could not establish his authority over the unruly Crusader barons of Syria, Cyprus and the maritime republics of Italy. He withdrew from Acre in 1276, and when that town fell to the Mamlūks in 1291, Cyprus became the last refuge for the Christians fleeing from Syria. This new position in the Levant was of advantage to Cyprus.

The 14th century was the great period of the kingdom of the Lusignan "Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem". Its legal foundation was the purest feudal constitution ever to come about in mediaeval times, involving an elected monarchy controlled by the feudal nobility. The latter had as instruments of their policy the *Haute Cour* (*Cour des Liges*) with all executive, legislative and judicial power, as the only organ entitled to establish the rightful succession to the throne. The King was its president, and he had to convene the *Haute Cour*, but the continuity of the dynasty ensured the strong and dominating position of the monarch versus the Latin nobility.

The royal administration was directed by the *sénéchal, chambellan, chancellier* and *Grand Bailli* for civil affairs, and the *connétable, maréchal, Grand Turcoplier* (commander of light cavalry) and an admiral for military affairs. The two main cities of Nicosia and Famagusta were administered by 2 viscounts assisted by *mactasibs* (*mahtescps*).

The King, together with the Crusader aristocracy of baronial families of French origin (d'Ibelin, de Norès, etc.) and a smaller group of Frankish citizens, formed a small ruling class. The second element of Cyprus society formed the foreign merchants communities living in privileged, extraterritorial *fondachi*, Italians from Genoa and Venice, Catalans and Provençals.

The native Orthodox Greek-speaking people formed on the whole a class of subjects, ruled and exploited like slaves and serfs, *parici* and *perperiarii*. Personally free were the Greek *lefteri* or *Francomati*. The division between native Greeks and foreign Franks became strengthened by the existence of two churches. In 1196 King Aimery installed a Roman Catholic ("Latin") hierarchy at the side of the Orthodox one. By 1260 Pope Alexander IV issued the *Constitutio Cypria* confirming the supremacy of the Latins over the Greeks. The Latin archbishop solely remained as metropolitan of both hierarchies. However, the Orthodox clergy managed to subsist as a church organisation conserving the Greek ethnicity of its flock.

The Lusignan period was the first in which the island's produce and taxation became spent in and for the land itself. This alone must be considered a major cause of its economic growth. Next to that was the island's position as a transit trading station for the East-West trade, the *échelle du Levant par excellence* after the disappearance of the Crusader states. Famagusta developed into a commercial centre connecting Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Florence, Barcelona and Montpellier with Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and through to the Persian Gulf, with South and East Asia.

King Henry II (1285-1324) had to direct the influx of the refugees from Syria and Palestine after the fall of Acre (1291) and the settlement of the Syrian Crusader barons and merchants. In 1343 a Holy League between the Pope, Venice, the Knights of St. John at Rhodes and Cyprus was instituted against the emerging sea power of the *amīrs* of Aydın [*q.v.*] in Anatolia. Smyrna was occupied on 28 October 1344. Otherwise, peaceful commercial relations were maintained with Mamlūk Egypt and the southern Anatolian coastlands. King Peter I (1359-69) revived the ideal of a crusade against Islam. In 1361 Gorhigos (Kızkalesi) was annexed and Antalya [*q.v.*] was captured from the Turkman Amīr Ḥamīdoghlu Meḥmed Bey. A European tour of the King, now styled *athleta Christi* by Pope Urban V, prepared for a Crusade: Venice, Cyprus and the Knights of St. John collected 10,000 troops transported in a fleet of 115 sail at Rhodes.

In October 1365 Alexandria was temporarily occupied, but the commercial interests of Venice and Genoa stopped any further confrontation with Mamlūk power. These two merchant republics were to dominate Cyprus's politics in the last century of its independent existence. At first, it was Genoa which gained the upper hand in the competition with Venice. In 1372 the Genoese Podestà (in Famagusta) defeated the Venetian Bailo, whose party received support from the Greek Cypriots. A Genoese force invaded Famagusta and Nicosia. In October 1374, a treaty was concluded which assured Genoa complete economic hegemony on Cyprus for 90 years. The *Maona Cypri* was the private mercantile organisation of Genoese bankers established at Famagusta. The King of Cyprus had to cede the town as a guarantee for the payment of reparations amounting to 2,146,400 florins and the yearly tribute to Genoa of 40,000 florins.

The next blow to Cyprus's independence was an invasion by the Mamlūk Sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*]. On 7 July 1426, King Janus (1398-1432) and his army were defeated near Khirokitia, and Nicosia was plundered. The King was set free on the condition of becoming a vassal, paying 200,000 florins' ransom and a yearly tribute of 8,000 florins. After this invasion, the island's economy began to decline. Social unrest within the Greek population worsened the situation. In 1448 Gorhigos fell under control of the Ḳaramān amīrate [see ḲARAMĀN-OG͟HULLARI]. Cyprus lost her last continental interest.

When in 1458 Charlotte, the daughter of King John II, came to the throne, her half-brother James the Bastard (1440-73) disputed the succession. He applied to the Mamlūk sultan for support. In 1460, with the aid of Mamlūk auxiliaries, James II defeated the legitimist opposition and took the last stronghold of the Queen, Kyrenia, and the Genoese held Famagusta in 1464. To defend himself against a Genoese counter-attack, James II enlisted Venice as an ally, and chose a Venetian subject, Caterina Cornaro (d. 1510) as his Queen in 1472; after his death (1473), she was to rule as the last monarch of independent Cyprus till 1489. During her reign, Venice installed a virtual protectorate. A Venetian garrison and two Venetian counsellors to the Queen were not considered enough by the Venetian government to safeguard the island from the Ottoman Turks' expansion. In 1488 an Ottoman fleet appeared before Famagusta. On 26 February 1489, Queen Caterina abdicated in Famagusta, and the Venetian *Capitan Generale da Mar*, Francesco Priuli, took over the government of the island.

Thus it was Christian Venice that ended the last of the Crusader states in the East. The Signory of Venice duly notified and offered justification of the take-over to the Sultan Ḳāʾit Bāy [*q.v.*] in Cairo, and the envoy carried with him presents and 16,000 ducats, being the tribute for 2 years. The Sultan thereupon agreed to the transfer of the Kingdom of Cyprus to Venice (February 1490).

(b) Venetian rule (1489-1571). — With the acquisition of Cyprus, the commercial "colonial" empire of Venice reached its greatest dimensions. The new possession was reorganised. The centralised government, the *Rettori*, consisted of the *Luogotenente* and two counsellors. Venetian nobles elected for a two years' tenure, controlled the finances and administration, and resided at Nicosia. A quadrennial census was instituted, the first reliable population data of Cyprus's history. The governor of Famagusta, the *Capitan del Regno di Cipró*, acted as commander-in-chief of the army and the fortresses in peace-time, and had a share in the civil administration. In time of war or menace, a proveditor-general was elected for two years to command. From the period of the Lusignan rule, two offices were retained only, the viscounties of Famagusta and Nicosia being reserved for Cypriots. A Great Council replaced the *Haute Cour*, but did not leave any real power to the Frankish baronage, by now a commingling of military adventurers from all over the Mediterranean world.

On the whole, Venetian administration was inefficient and corrupt. It estranged the local Latin ruling class and did not manage to gain the loyalty of the Greek population. The island remained a colony and a military base only for the Venetians, and one inadequately manned at that. The economy continued its decline, aggravated by natural disasters in the course of the century. The burden of the tribute to the Mamlūk sultans remained till 1517, when it became payable to the Ottoman sultan at Istanbul. The monopolistic exploitation of the island's resources did not encourage local enterprise. Apart from salt and grain, cotton, cultivated since the early 14th century, now became the major source of revenue, replacing sugar cane. Various forms of taxation pressed hard upon the labouring population. A conspiracy against Venice in 1562, led by a Greek, one Jacob Diassorin, was suppressed. Its dangerous aspect was that the rebels had made contact with the Ottomans. The Venetians now modernised the island's defences, and three fortresses, those of Kyrenia, Nicosia and Famagusta, were to be the sole defensible places; old fortifications like St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara were dismantled by 1567.

The Ottoman threat hovered over Cyprus during the rule of Venice, and in the years following the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty of 1540 (cf. texts ed. by Bonelli, Lehmann and Bombaci), pressure increased. The admiral Piyāle Pas͟ha promoted the continuation of a naval policy aimed at annexing the Latin-held islands in the Levant seas on the routes of Ottoman communications; Chios and Cyprus, the principal among them, were both already tributary to the Porte. In the end, the pro-Venetian peace party at the Porte, Soḳollu Meḥmed Pas͟ha's, gave in to the war party, and the attack on Cyprus was decided for the early spring 1570. Joseph Nasi, alias Don Juan Micas, seems to have been implicated here.

Selīm II (1566-74) issued his orders for war in 1568. A *fetwā* by the *s͟heyk͟h ül-Islām* provided a justification for breaking the peace (cf. text in Pečewī, i, 386-7, tr. in d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ed. 1824, v, 73 f. = *GOR*, iii, 566 f.). Preparations continued during 1569. On 28 March 1570 the Ottoman envoy Ḳubād formally handed to the Senate and the Doge Sultan Selīm II's demand for the cession of Cyprus, which was refused. In the meantime, Lâla Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha, the fifth vizier [*q.v.*] was appointed *serdār*, and Piyāle Pas͟ha, the third vizier [*q.v.*], was made commander of a fleet of 80 galleys and 30 galliots, followed by ʿAlī Pas͟ha with troops, munitions and materials for the land campaign.

On 3 July 1570 the Ottoman fleet appeared before Larnaca (*Les Salines*). A Holy League created by Pope Pius V, Spain and Venice failed to organise a timely counterattack. The Venetian commander, the *Luogotenente* Nicolo Dandolo, had to limit himself to the defence of the fortress towns. On 25 July 1570 the siege of Nicosia began, and ended on 9 September when the city was taken by storm. Kyrenia capitulated without a fight 5 days later. The population

in the countryside seems not to have opposed the invaders at all. The fortress city of Famagusta still held out. The Ottomans began the siege in September 1570. The fleet of the Holy League never came nearer than Castelorizo island, and only small Venetian reinforcements reached Famagusta in January 1571. The new season of war began in the middle of April 1571, when work on the siege trenches and mines was begun in earnest. Heavy bombardments, mining and ensuing man-to-man fighting exacted a heavy toll (50-80,000 on the Turkish side, out of a force totalling 250,000 or more). Marc Antonio Bragadin surrendered on 1 August upon condition of a free withdrawal of troops with their dependents. Lala Muṣṭāfā Pas̲h̲a did not, however, keep to the treaty of surrender in the end, and the Venetian commander and many of his staff were massacred.

3. *Ottoman Rule (1571-1878).*

By a treaty of 7 March 1573 Venice formally ceded Cyprus to the Ottoman Sultan and agreed to pay a war indemnity of 300,000 ducats.

Already, by an imperial order of 9 September issued by the *serdār* Lala Muṣṭāfā Pas̲h̲a after the capture of Nicosia, Cyprus had been made an *eyālet* or *beglerbegilik*, with Muẓaffar Pas̲h̲a as the first Ottoman governor. Next to the *beglerbegi* were appointed, as usual, a chief *ḳāḍī* of the province and a *defterdār*. The new province comprised eight *sand̲j̲aḳ*s: *merkez* or Nicosia (Lefḳos̲h̲a), and on the mainland Ičel, Sis, ʿAlāʾiyye (Alanya), Ṭarsūs, Ṭarāblus and S̲h̲ām (till 1573) (all with the *tīmār* system), and Kyrenia, Paphos (Baf) and Famagusta (Magos̲h̲a) (with *sālyāne* [*q.v.*]). Apart from the main towns, there were, according to the 1572 *taḥrīr*, 905 inhabited and 76 desolate villages.

Population numbers of Ottoman Cyprus fluctuated greatly; from the 18th century many observers indicated ± 80,000, but some observers 200,000, both figures contrasting with the census result of 1572 which produced ± 85,000 taxable heads of family (*k̲h̲āne*). Ewliyā Čelebi indicated 30,000 Moslems and 150,000 infidels in around 1670-5. Probably the reports of the depletion of the island in the first centuries of Ottoman rule have been exaggerated. The first census after the British occupation in 1881 showed a total population of 185,630.

The organisation of the new province was based on a new survey of population and revenue, *taḥrīr*, ordered by a *fermān* of 19 D̲j̲umādā II 979/9 October 1571 to the newly-appointed *beglerbegi* Sinān Pas̲h̲a. This survey is recorded in the *defter-i mufaṣṣal-i Ḳibrus* dated 18 October 1572 (Ankara tapu ve kadastro arşivi, Old records No. 506/64). Government was to be according to Islamic and Ottoman law. A major change was the grant of *mīrī* lands in usufruct to the native farmers, who were freed from serfdom, the feudal system being abolished. The amount of *d̲j̲izya* (= *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*) [*q.v.*] was one gold piece per head of family. In the other forms of taxation, the Ottoman government also exercised moderation and produced a favourable change in respect to Venetian and Lusignan policy.

The abolition of the *mète du sel*, for instance, resulted in a sharp decrease of revenue, though production of salt was not reduced (Inalcık, *Ottoman policy* ... [see Bibl.], 60 f.). Forced labour was abolished in practice as well. From 45 % to 67 % of taxes were levied in kind, as elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces; *d̲j̲izya* and *ispend̲j̲e* [*q.vv.*] were paid in cash.

A squadron of galleys was stationed at Famagusta and Kyrenia. Ottoman troops garrisoned on the island numbered 3,779 including 1,000 Janissaries, established in Nicosia, Limasol, Paphos, Famagusta and Kyrenia. A great number of Anatolian Turks from the regions of Ḳonya, Ḳaramān, Niğde, Içel, Alanya, Antalya, Mentes̲h̲e and Deñizli were settled on the island as so-called *sürgün* (cf. Barkan, in *IFM*, xi [1949-50], xv [1955], *fermān* of D̲j̲umādā I 980/21 September 1571 to the *Ḳāḍīs* of Ḳaramān, Anadolu and D̲h̲ulḳadriyye; see *Muhimme defteri*, 19, pp. 334-7, no. 669, publ. in *ibid.*, 552-3). In total, 1689 families immigrated by 1572, mainly farmers. In 1581 8,000 families were registered as immigrants (MD 43, cf. C. Orhonlu, art. in *Kıbrıs tetkikleri kongresi* [see Bibl.], 99-103). Conversion of Latin and Greek Christians added little to the number of Muslim "Turkish" population, amounting to only about 400.

A major contribution to the welfare of the native Greek population was the Ottoman decision to abolish the Roman Catholic hierarchy and to restore the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under its archbishop. This prelate was made representative of his community vis-à-vis the Ottoman government as the Ethnarch or head of the Greek community. It meant an increasing degree of autonomy for the Orthodox Greek population under its own chosen leaders, and the relatively unhindered development of its own cultural tradition into modern times. This privileged status of the Greek population, together with the new dominating but smaller group of Turkish Muslims on Cyprus, was to form the basic situation of the Cypriots down to modern times. The Latin element entirely lost its former status. It survived only in small numbers, profiting from diplomatic protection within the framework of the Capitulations system [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

Ottoman possession of the island was not seriously threatened after 1571. The Grand Duke of Tuscany organised a raid on Famagusta in 1607 at the time of his grand oriental scheme involving Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn [*q.v.*], *amīr* of the Druzes, and the rebel D̲j̲ānbulāt ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. The Veneto-Ottoman war of Candia (1645-69) did not have any great effect on Cyprus. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Cyprus was still an important centre of Levant trade, cotton and salt being valuable commodities. Consuls of Venice, France, of the Dutch Republic (since 1613) and of England resided at Larnaca, the factory (*iskele* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) of the island. The consuls and their national groups of foreign residents sometimes played an important political as well as a commercial role on the island, especially in times of rebellion.

The importance of Cyprus decreased after the conquest of Crete was completed in 1669. At that time, the *beglerbegilik* was incorporated into the province of the *Ḳapudān Pas̲h̲a*, who sent a deputy-governor, the *müsellim*. The role of the Orthodox hierarchy in the administration increased at the same time. Strife among the Ottoman notables of Nicosia led to armed conflict, which in its turn caused the Porte to interfere by sending troops repeatedly. Čifutog̲h̲lu Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a at last succeeded in defeating the rebels and executing their leader Boyad̲j̲ı Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a in *ca.* 1690. In 1703 Cyprus was transformed into a *k̲h̲āṣṣ* domain of the Grand Vizier. The government was now exercised by a *muḥaṣṣil* (*taḥṣīldār*) in the name of the latter, who was a farmer of taxes at the same time. The frequent change of these functionaries, as elsewhere, led to overburdening by taxation. In 1745 Cyprus once

again became an independent province under its own *pasha* for a few years. Abū Bekir Pasha (1746-8) exercised his charge satisfactorily, bequeathing to the island an aqueduct serving Larnaca, the harbour and passing ships (*waḳfiyya* of 12 Rabīʿ I 1161/12 March 1748, in Luke, *Cyprus*, 69-74).

In 1754 a *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* was issued at the request of the Archbishop and suffragans to fix the amount of the *kharādj* together with the *maʿishet* and *nuzūl* taxes at 21½ piastres per head on 10,066 assessments. The bishops acquired the status of *Ḳodjabashî* (Gr. *demogeron*), responsible for the peace and the payment of taxes by the Greek subject population. In 1764 Čil ʿOthmān Agha, *muḥaṣṣil* of the Grand Vizier and a *mültezim*, doubled the *kharādj* on Christians and Muslims alike, who rose in revolt and killed him. The revolt lasted till August 1766. Cyprus suffered the depredations of the Russian fleet after the destruction of the Ottoman one (Česhme 5-7 July 1770) till 1774. From 1777 to 1783 Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd ül-Bāḳī Agha was *muḥaṣṣil*. By this time, the actual administration and levying of taxes was shared between the Ottoman administrator and the Archbishop and bishops, who employed the Greek "Dragoman of the Saray" as their agent also. In 1804 a revolt of the Turkish troops broke out against the Archbishop and the dragoman Ḥādjdjī Georgiakis Kornesios (executed in 1809), and this lasted till 1805.

The Greek Cypriots contributed little to the Greek War of Independence (1821-9). The little involvement there was (1821) gave the *müsellim* the pretext for, firstly, a general disarmament of all Christians. Then the leading personalities were arrested and put to death in July 1821, among them the Archbishop Kyprianos (1810-21) and three bishops. After the massacre there followed a partial confiscation of the possessions of the victims and of the churches and monasteries on the islands, although much was restored later. The Christians living within the fortresses of Nicosia, Famagusta and other towns were ordered to remove themselves to the outside, a situation which has remained. The archbishops never recovered their powerful pre-1821 position. The Greek Kingdom was recognised by the Porte in 1829, and this caused the beginning of nationalist aspirations of *enosis* amongst the Greek Cypriots. The overtaxation of the island's resources continued to frustrate a fundamental improvement of its economy, and revolts by both groups of the population occurred in 1833.

In 1838 the era of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] set in. By 1849 Cyprus was reformed as a *sandjaḳ* of the province of the Islands of the Aegean Sea, *Djezāʾir-i baḥr-i sefīd* [*q.v.*] and administered by a *müteṣarrif*, assisted by a *dīwān* or council where Christians and Muslims were represented. Governors followed each other in quick succession. In 1861 Cyprus became an independent *sandjaḳ* (Hill, iv, 239). The second *tanẓīmāt* decree of 1856 was applied in Cyprus, and the effects of reform were becoming noticeable during the last decades of the Ottoman administration (1856-78), when courts came into being. The population increased from *ca.* 100,000 in 1840 to 200,000 in 1862. The island's economy progressed moderately, and Larnaca remained the principal port. The administrative status of Cyprus was however reduced again in 1868 to a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of the Islands, but restored in 1870.

4. *The British Occupation 1878-1959.*

A few days before the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain concluded with Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] a secret Convention of Defensive Alliance in which she promised help to defend his empire against Russian encroachment. The sultan ceded Cyprus for occupation and administration as a "place d'armes". In an annexe of 1 July 1878 it was provided that the annual surplus revenue of Cyprus, assessed from the average of the previous 5 years, was to continue to be paid to the Sultan. The so-called "tribute" in fact never reached the Sultan, but was diverted to the creditors of the Ottoman Debt instead, and this arrangement remained in force till Sir Ronald Storrs' administration in 1927. The Sultan retained his sovereign rights to the island and continued appointing its *müfti* and *ḳāḍīs*. This status gave little incentive to the British government to develop Cyprus, but elementary reforms and ameliorations were effected. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Great Britain annexed the island. A representative régime was instituted (1922), with a council of 18 members, comprising 9 Greeks, 3 Turks and 6 British officials. Any proposal for union with Greece, *enosis*, could thus be deadlocked by the Turco-British bloc. The repeated refusal of *enosis* created tension between Greek Cypriots and the British. At the Peace of Lausanne (1923), Turkey formally renounced all claims to Cyprus. In 1925 Cyprus became a British crown colony.

A small number of Turks, however, opted for the Turkish nationality and left. The first great conflict between Greeks and British broke in 1931 during Sir Ronald Storrs' tenure as governor. A state of emergency was proclaimed. Military government remained till after World War II. Already in 1941, however, political parties were permitted again: a communist party A.K.E.L., a Greek nationalist party K.E.K., and a Turkish party. Trade Unions came about mainly under communist leadership. Municipal elections were held in 1943. After 1945 the British government did not consider any change of status for Cyprus. In 1950 Greek Cypriot nationalists organised a plebiscite among Greek Cypriots, and 96 % voted for *enosis*. The young Bishop of Kition, Michael Mouskos, was the organiser of this demonstration. On 18 October 1950 he was elected the "Most Blessed and Most Reverend Archbishop of New Justiniana and all Cyprus" under the name Makarios III (1919-77). In 1954 a Cyprus-born Greek officer, George Grivas, began organising an anti-British guerrilla organisation, E.O.K.A. The British government devised a new constitution for the colony without giving any hopes for independence. In early 1955 the first discussion of the Cyprus problem in the U.N.O. failed to have a pro-Greek result. Soon afterwards guerrilla warfare by E.O.K.A. began. In July 1955 the British Premier Sir Anthony Eden held the first tripartite talks on the question, with Greece and Turkey, the latter also invited to have a say as an ally of N.A.T.O. Turkey's point of view was maintenance of the *status quo* as a guarantee against *enosis*. The leader of the Greek Cypriots, Archbishop Makarios III, protested against discussion of the interests of Cyprus without the presence of its own people, meaning only the Greek Cypriots. E.O.K.A. stepped up its activities. Field-Marshal Sir John Harding was appointed governor. He opened talks with Makarios upon the base of "a wide measure of self government". This was acceptable for the Turks and nearly so for Makarios. The talks were unexpectedly broken off by order of the London government, and Makarios deported to the Seychelles Islands (9 March 1956).

E.O.K.A. terrorism came into full fury. The

British began to recruit Turkish Cypriots as policemen, who consequently also fell victim to Greek bullets; the beginning of inter-communal violence dates back from this time. A Turkish militant organisation grew up, and a Turkish Cypriot leader emerged, Dr. Fazil Küçük. At the U.N.O. meeting in February 1957, neither *enosis* nor its Turkish answer *taksim* (division of Cyprus into two parts) got sufficient support. The new British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, decided to release Makarios, who was not, however, allowed to return to his island, and Sir Hugh Foot was appointed governor. The Menderes government in Ankara protested against this liberal figure succeeding the Field-Marshal, and blocked the plans for self-government of Cyprus, the return of the Archbishop and talks with all Cypriot leaders. A revised Foot-Macmillan constitutional proposal contained many elements later used in the London-Zürich treaties of 1959. At the time of its announcement, Cyprus experienced the worst terrorist fighting between the two communities, between E.O.K.A. and T.M.T., the Turkish National Defence Organisation, with 200 dead in two months. At this time there were 20,000 British troops on the island.

Civil war suddenly came to an end in July 1958, although E.O.K.A. continued its fight against the British. Makarios, fearing an Anglo-Turkish co-operation to divide Cyprus, came forward in September with a proposal for independence under auspices of the U.N.O. Grivas did not support it, and *enosis* remained his only aim. Great Britain did not consider it either, but began to change its own position: 28,000 troops on Cyprus became too heavy a burden, and a Greco-Turkish conflict would harm N.A.T.O. Sovereign base areas in Cyprus would be sufficient for Britain's strategic needs. Athens wanted to prevent *taksim*; but Ankara could accept any compromise which prevented *enosis*. The U.S.A. made it clear that it would not continue supporting Great Britain in the Middle East. Any Greco-Turkish solution must be accepted.

In December 1958, the first talks between Greece and Turkey (by Averoff-Tossizza and Zorlu respectively) were held. In February 1959 the prime ministers and foreign secretaries reached agreements in Zürich. At a second meeting in London these and a draft constitution were submitted to the British government. The Cypriots had not taken part officially before, but the Cypriot leaders Makarios and Küçük were now invited to accept the agreements. Makarios was put under heavy pressure by Greece. In London, at Lancaster House on 19 February 1959, three treaties were signed by all parties:

(1) a "Treaty of establishment", Britain declaring Cyprus independent, with the reservation of two sovereign base areas.

(2) a "Treaty of guarantee": the 3 powers guarantee the independence of Cyprus and its status as defined in a number of fundamental articles of its Constitution. *Enosis* and *taksim* are forbidden, and in case of violation, all three powers together, or if not feasible, each separately, may take action to restore the *status foederis*.

(3) a "Treaty of alliance" between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, a military alliance with headquarters at Nicosia, where 950 Greek and 650 Turkish soldiers will be stationed, was laid down as an extra guarantee for the other treaties.

Furthermore, a Constitution was laid down which came into force on 16 August 1960. The independent Republic of Cyprus, with a presidential régime and Greek and Turkish as official languages, has an executive of one President and one Vice-President, a Greek and a Turk respectively, elected by their own communities. There is a council of 10 ministers, comprising 7 Greeks and 3 Turks, deciding with a majority vote. Its decisions are subject to a veto of President and/or Vice-President. There is a Parliament of 50 (35 plus 15), with a Greek speaker and a Turkish deputy speaker, deciding with a majority vote, except in electoral municipal and fiscal legislation, when separate communal majorities are needed. (Full text in: *Conference on Cyprus. Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on February 19, 1959*. Cmnd. 679, London [H.M.S.O.] 1959).

5. *Independence 1960.*

After the transitory period from 19 February 1959 to 15 August 1960, Cyprus became an independent state on 16 August 1960. Its population in about 1968 was estimated at 621,500 (last official census of 1960: 557,615, with 442,521 Greeks, 104,350 Turks, 3,628 Armenians, 2,708 Maronites, 3,351 British, 2,796 Latins and 18,261 others). Reliable estimates are that in 1970 the Greeks made up 78 % and Turks 18 %, which means a slight lack of increase of the Turks.

The application of the detailed and imposed constitution caused serious difficulties. The first opposition came from Grivas, who with his followers continued to insist on *enosis*. The formation of an army caused insurmountable difficulties; the Turks wanted separate communal units and Küçük in the end used his veto against Makarios. Appointments of civil servants became problematical because the Turks could not fill all the 30 % of posts due to them. The most serious conflict was caused by the separation of municipalities, no longer desired by the Greeks. The Turks took this point as a test case for the loyal application of the constitution. When the Turks proposed to continue with it in the end of 1962, Makarios blocked it. Both parties were considered to be wrong by the constitutional court, whose members ("neutral" German lawyers) left the country not long after for fear of their lives.

On the 1 January 1963 Makarios came forward with a proposal to amend 13 points of the constitution, which was no longer functioning. The idea was to install a more unified state, with guarantees for the Turkish Cypriots, Makarios and Küçük being co-presidents.

The Ankara government declined these proposals. The intercommunal deadlock led to civil war. On 4 March 1964 a United Nations peace force was organised and a U.N. mediator was appointed. Violence continued. Makarios introduced military service, and could thus mobilise a Greek National Guard to control the extremist bands directed by Grivas from Athens. The situation worsened in the course of the year. The U.S. President Lyndon Johnson warned the Prime Minister İnönü in June that Turkey would not be protected by N.A.T.O. in case of a Russian attack after Turkish unilateral action. All over the island the Turkish Cypriots withdrew inside fortified enclaves surrounded by Greek Cypriot guerrillas and men of the National Guard. This meant a definitive change of the old settlement pattern of 120 all-Turkish and 106 mixed villages. There was a relocation to Turkish-dominated areas of at least 25,000 Turkish refugees. In 1969, 115,189 Turk refugees still remained unsettled. A precarious balance was maintained by the U.N.

Force in Cyprus (U.N.F.I.C.Y.P.). Greek Cypriots dominated the greater part of the Republic. A U.N. mediator, Galo Plaza, began his work in March 1965. Makarios and Küçük did not act together any more, nor did the cabinet or parliament. Makarios kept on insisting that the imposed constitution was impracticable. Küçük maintained that a limitation of independence was necessary for the survival of the Turkish community, which must never be treated as a minority, and proposed *taksim*. Neither of the two Cypriot parties was able to make concessions.

Greco-Turkish talks in 1966 led to no results. In the autumn of 1967, violence flared up again after Greek Cypriot provocation. The Ankara government threatened intervention. The Athens Junta government gave in, and withdrew Grivas from the island. Makarios's position had now become the stronger one. Küçük proclaimed a separate transitional government for all Turkish sectors in December 1967. On 25 February 1968, presidential elections were held which resulted in a 95.4 % vote for Makarios and his independence policy. Concessions were granted to the Turks. R. Denktaş was allowed to return and was elected president of the Turkish Communal Chamber. He conducted intercommunal talks with G. Clerides in June, July and autumn of 1968 and in the spring of 1969. On 8 March 1970, an attack was made on President Makarios, probably by Greek ex-E.O.K.A. members. Parliamentary elections were held in July 1970 separately by both communities.

The year 1971 saw talks on Cyprus by the governments of Athens and Ankara in Lisbon (by Foreign Ministers Olçay and Xanthopoulos-Palamas). The communal talks between Denktaş and Clerides were also continued. In September, General Grivas returned secretly to organise a new E.O.K.A. terrorist (1972) movement, mainly directed against Makarios' position, but also a menace to Turkish Cypriots. In March 1972 Grivas, assisted by the Bishops of Paphos, Kitium and Kyrenia, staged a coup to defrock the President-Archbishop and followed it up with raids and killings among Makarios's party which continued during 1973. Grivas died on 27 January 1974. Makarios's conflict with the Athens Junta led to the overthrow by Greek army officers of his government on 15 July 1974.

Led by an E.O.K.A. terrorist, Nikos Sampson, the coup seemed to aim at *enosis*. The Turkish government invoked the Treaty of Guarantee and intervened unilaterally. On 20 July massive Turkish troop landings were effected near Kyrenia and elsewhere. A short war ensued between the Turkish army units and the Greek Cypriot National Guard, which led to a lasting division of the island along the cease-fire line, stretching from the East, south of Famagusta to the West, near Lefka including the Turkish zone of Nicosia. Massive relocation of the population was the result, with at least 200,000 displaced persons. In December 1974 Makarios returned to Cyprus as President. His authority was now, however, less. The new leaders of the two communities are G. Clerides and R. Denktaş, both lawyers by profession. Intercommunal talks were continued by them in 1975 without significant results, and on 13 February 1975 Denktaş announced the formation of a separate Turkish state in the northern half of Cyprus. The intercommunal talks were resumed in Vienna in April under the auspices of U.N. Secretary-General K. Waldheim.

On 3 August 1977, President Archbishop Makarios III died aged 63. S. Kyprianou succeeded him as President, and Bishop Chrysostomos of Paphos was elected head of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus in the course of the year. Intercommunal talks were resumed in January 1978 under auspices of the U.N.O. Secretary-General between Kyprianou and Denktaş.

The Cyprus Question, one of the last remnants of the Eastern Question, remains to be solved on the both national and international levels.

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(A. H. de Groot)

KUBU, a sub-district (*kecamatan*) of the regency (*kabupaten*) of Pontianak, situated in the south of the delta of the Great Kapuas river, in the Indonesian province of Western Kalimantan in Borneo [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 1971 it had 16,031 inhabitants, among them 643 foreigners, most of them Chinese. The scattered population is mainly of mixed Arab, Buginese, or Malay origin, besides the Chinese and few Dayaks. Since 1955, the Indonesian government has tried to open some areas for Javanese immigrants.

The family which ruled this area until 1958 was of Arab descent originating from Ḥaḍramawt. The founder of the kingdom was Sayyid (according to others S̲h̲arīf) Īdrus al-Īdrus, who settled not far from the mouth of the river Terentang with a few Arab, Buginese and Malay followers in *ca.* 1780, soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer S̲h̲arīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳadrī, had founded the sultanate of Pontianak. The capital and kingdom received its name from an entrenchment (Malay *kubu*) thrown up as a defence against raids by pirates. He put himself under the protection of the Dutch East India Company, who recognised him as a ruler with the title *tuan* (lord). One of his sons, ʿAlawī bin Īdrus, because of his opposition against the Dutch and favour of the British, left Kubu in 1823 and finally settled in Sarawak; some of his descendants have had a certain political influence there, especially since independence (1963).

In 1910, the Dutch introduced a *bestuur comité* in Kubu, consisting of three notables, each of whom was allotted a certain territory as an appanage. The last king, Ḥasan bin Zayn, was appointed as head of the *bestuur comité* by the Japanese in 1943, before he was elected head of the self-governing kingdom in 1949. In 1958, the monarchy was abolished and Kubu was transformed into its present administrative position as a *kecamatan*. The predominant religion is Islam, but this is mixed with animistic beliefs.

Bibliography: see that for KUBU in *EI*[1], and also J. U. Lontaan, *Sejarah hukum adat dan adat-istiadat Kalimantan Barat*, Pontianak 1975.

(W. H. RASSERS — [O. SCHUMANN])

KŪČAK KHĀN DJANGALĪ, MĪRZĀ, known also as Shaykh Yūnus (1880-1921), Persian revolutionary and the first person to declare a republican régime in Iran. He was born into a lower middle class family of Rasht, in the north of Iran, and studied Arabic and other religious subjects in the traditional schools in his region. He then moved to Tehran, continuing his studies in a religious school called the *madrasa-yi maḥmūdiyya*. His early training in traditional schools, together with his association with the Russian revolutionaries in Tiflis and Baku in 1908, plus his close co-operation with the militant Iranians involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, developed in Kūčak Khān a strong sense both of revolutionary patriotism and also of devotion to Islam. We therefore see him occasionally consulting the Ḳur'ān as well as setting up sessions for reciting the heroic poetry of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] (Ibrāhīm Fakhrā'ī, *Sardār-i Djangal Mirzā Kūčak Khān*, Tehran 1965, 37-8). In 1909 Kūčak joined the revolutionary group of Gīlān aimed at overthrowing the then despotic Shāh, Muḥammad ʿAlī (reigned 1907-9). The Gīlān Bakhtiyārī forces moved on Tehran victoriously in July 1909 while Kūčak Khān was suffering a severe back injury caused by carrying a heavy gun during the expedition.

After this short-lived victory on the part of the constitutionalists, Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh fled to Russia, where he made an attempt to regain his throne. A year or so later he entered Iran and, with the help of some Turkoman supporters, he moved towards Tehran. At this time (1911) Kūčak Khān joined the government troops in Māzandarān and "took many heroic actions" against the former Shāh's forces (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Ta'rīkh-i hidjdahsāla-yi Ādharbāydjān*, Tehran 1961, 181). In this expedition, Kūčak Khān was wounded. After his recovery, he was denied residence in Rasht by the then Consul-General of Tsarist Russia; hence he moved to Tehran, suffering extreme poverty.

While in Tehran, Kūčak Khān took an active interest in the idea of Pan-Islamism which was then (1913) being propagated by the Ottomans and which enjoyed a considerable following in Tehran and elsewhere. Kūčak Khān had a series of meetings and discussions with religious and political personalities concerned about the future of Iran, and finally decided to undertake armed struggles against the British-backed government of Iran. In 1914, therefore, he went to Gīlān and rose against the government and, with the help of some German and Ottoman advisers, organised his Pan-Islamic group, with the newspaper *Djangal* as its official organ, the latter first appearing in 1917.

After the Soviet Revolution, the termination of Tsarist claims on Iran and the conclusion of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 which established British control over the Persian army, customs, and financial affairs, Kūčak Khān, like other revolutionary leaders such as Khiyābānī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Pisyān, intensified his campaign against the British. He established friendship with the Russian Bolshevik régime and in the name of the liberation of Iran, in May 1920, he proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Gīlān.

To Kūčak Khān's revolution was, of course, opposed the British-backed government of Tehran; a number of clashes therefore took place between the Djangalīs and the opposing British and Persian troops. There were also internecine fights between Kūčak Khān on the one hand and other Djangalī leaders, such as Iḥsān Allāh Khān and Khālū Ḳurbān and a number of the ʿAdālat Party members, who held extremist communist views. These conflicts finally resulted in the murder of a prominent revolutionary, Haydar Khān ʿAmū Ughlī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the meantime, the pro-British Sayyid Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī set up the Zarganda Committee, which was joined by a number of the large landowners of Gīlān such as Fatḥ Allāh Khān Sardār Manṣūr. At the same time the Soviets decided to establish friendship with the British and the government of Tehran, culminating in the Soviet-Persian Agreement of 1921, on the basis of which the Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, M. Rothstein, wrote a long letter to Kūčak Khān urging him to put an end to his revolutionary activities. Thus abandoned, Kūčak Khān took refuge in the forests of Gīlān, and shortly afterwards his frozen corpse was found and his head was taken to the authorities.

Kūčak Khān's writings and manifestos suggest that he was aiming at a united Iran without any foreign interference, including that of the Soviets. He believed in land reform and in compulsory education, and during his short control over Gīlān, he did carry out some land reform and founded a number of public primary schools in Sawmaʿasarā, Shaft, Kasmā, and Māsūla.

The evaluation of the revolutionary activities of Kūčak Khān has caused controversy, and many contradictory accounts have also been given concerning the factual history of the Djangalī movement. He has been called a "willing puppet" of the Soviets (George Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948*, Ithaca 1949, 60). On the other hand, Soviet writers (*The borderlands of Soviet Central Asia*, in *Central Asian Review*, iv [1956], 287-331), as well as the Iranian revolutionary groups (S. ʿAwn Allāhī, *Inḳilāb-i kabīr-i sūsiyālīstī-yi uktubr va nahḍat-i kumūnīstī va kārgarī-yi Īrān*, and Taḳī Mūsawī, *Inḳilāb-i uktubr va nahḍat-i Gīlān*, both in *Inḳilāb-i uktubr va Īrān*, ed. Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān, 1967, 241-62, 263-74; *Djunbish-i kumūnīstī-yi Īrān*, in *Tūda: Urgān-i sāzmān-i inḳilābī-yi Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān dar khāridj-i az kishwar*, No. 15, 1969, 22 ff.) do not seem to have paid enough attention to the eventual Soviet abandonment of the Djangalī movement; this latter question has constituted the point of emphasis of a number of other writers (Muṣṭafā Shuʿāʿī, *Nigāhī bi rawābiṭ-i shūrawī va nahḍat-i inḳilābī-yi Djangal*, Tehran 1968) who have considered Kūčak Khān to be a national hero. A third group of the accounts are hostile to the movement, expressing openly the attitude of the big landowners of Iran, particularly of those of Gīlān; the best example of this group of literature is the anonymously-written book *Ta'rīkhča-yi Djangaliyān*, Tehran 1918.

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(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

ĶŪČĀN, modern form of the mediaeval Islamic Khabūshān/Khūdjān, a town of northern Khurāsān on the main highway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It lies at an altitude of 4,060 feet in the fertile and populous Atrek River-Kashaf Rūd corridors, on the headwaters of the Atrek and between the parallel mountain ranges of the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid on the north and the Kūh-i Shāh Djahān and Kūh-i Bīnālūd on the south; the modern town lies several miles upstream, sc. to the east-south-east, of the mediaeval town.

Khabūshān was apparently the earliest Islamic form of the town's name, although nothing is known about it during the period of the Arab conquests and the ensuing two or three centuries. But already in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, such writers as Ibn Ḥawḳal; ed. Kramers, 433, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 419, Muḳaddasī, 318-19, the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, § 23, and Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], 604, 607, tr. Arends[2], 735, 739, spell its name as Khūdjān. Samʿānī (who had personally visited the town), *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 223-4, repeated in Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, ii, 399-400, says that the locals pronounced Khadjdjān. The geographers and others describe it as the chef-lieu (*ḳaṣaba*) of the rich and flourishing rural district (*rustāḳ*) of Ustuwā (the Ἀσταυηνή of Greek sources), which was administratively a dependency of Nīshāpūr and comprised 93 villages. It constituted the granary of Nīshāpūr, growing corn and fruits in both rain-watered fields (*mabākhis*) and in those irrigated by *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 153-4. Cotton was also grown and textiles produced. Concerning the religious complexion of the district, we learn that in the early 5th/11th century the doctrines of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* were promoted in Khūdjān and Ustuwā by the *faḳīh* Abū ʿAmr Farāhī (Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd fī maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1332/1953, 24); at this time, the famous Shāfiʿī scholar Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] served for a while as *ḳāḍī* of Ustuwā before moving to Baghdād (cf. H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung des šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 96). By the Il-Khānid period, the name Ustuwā was going out of use, though still used in the tax-registers, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 150, tr. 149.

Ḳūčān makes sporadic appearances in the mediaeval Islamic chronicles, since it lay on the principal route from Gurgān and the Caspian provinces to Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr, and because the pasture grounds of the upper Atrek valley were especially attractive to powers with nomadic followings, such as the Saldjūḳs, the Mongols and the Il-Khānids. It played a part in the manoeuvrings of Masʿūd of Ghazna and the Saldjūḳs under Ṭoghrīl Beg during the struggle for Khurāsān (Bayhaḳī, *loc. cit.*). In 551/1156 it was the meeting-place of the Khwārazm-Shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] and the Ḳarākhānid Maḥmūd Khān, after the latter had invited the Shāh into Khurāsān to combat the Oghuz captors of Sultan Sandjar, and it was in Ḳūčān that Atsïz died shortly afterwards (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 330-1). The town suffered badly during Čingiz Khān's attack on Khurāsān. According to Djuwaynī, the Mongol general Sübetey wrought great slaughter at Khabūshān, Isfarāʾin [*q.v.*] and (?) Adkan, and for nearly 40 years the town lay devastated and depopulated. Then in 654/1256, Djuwaynī—who had with considerable acumen purchased a quarter of the town from its inhabitants—himself persuaded Hülegü to rebuild it. The latter issued a *yarlïgh* for the repair of the *ḳanāts* and the rebuilding of the houses and markets, all at his own expense, and the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Aḳa expended 3,000 *dīnārs* on reconstructing and restoring the Friday mosque and cemetery (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 146, ii, 617, cf. Boyle, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 342).

Ķūčān thus enjoyed a recovery of prosperity under the later Mongols and Il-Khānids. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions that there was an imperial workshop (*kārkhāna*) there (Petrushevsky, in *ibid.*, v, 513), and also that Ghāzān, when governor of Khurāsān and himself still a Buddhist, built a Buddhist temple in the town for those devotees within the Mongol court entourage and official classes (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārikh*, ed. Alizade, iii, Baku 1957, 373, cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, The Hague 1834-5, iv, 147-8). However, Ķūčān had at some point of time also acquired an *imāmzāde* or saint's tomb of some importance, sc. that of Ibrāhīm, son of the Eighth *Imām* of the Shīʿa, ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

The whole Atrek-Kashaf Rūd corridor lay in the front line of Persian defences against the Özbegs during the Ṣafawid period. Hence Shāh ʿAbbās I settled Kurdish tribesmen in northern Khurāsān, to the number, it is said, of 15,000 families, and subsequently, what were in effect a string of Kurdish tribal principalities grew up along the frontier, with hereditary chieftains and exemption from taxation in return for maintaining armed cavalrymen against incursions from Central Asia. Ķūčān came within the area of the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds, whose hereditary leaders had the title of *Ilkhānī* bestowed upon them. Nādir Shāh had an especially consistent policy of resettling peoples in frontier regions for strategic purposes, and during his reign (1148-60/1736-47) there were considerable further implantations in northern Khurāsān, including the Ķūčān district (see on all these population movements, J. R. Perry, *Forced migration in Iran during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *Iranian studies, Jnal. of the Society for Iranian Studies*, viii/4 [New York, Autumn 1975], 205 ff.).

The local chiefs of Ķūčān were nevertheless frequently in revolt against the Persian central government. Nādir Shāh was killed in 1160/1747 whilst engaged in the subjugation of the town, and a nearby hill is still called Nādir Tepe. In the reign of the Ķādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the *Ilkhānī* Riḍā Ķulī Khān (who entertained the British traveller J. B. Fraser in Ķūčān in 1822) revolted against his overlord, so that the Shāh's *walī ʿahd* or heir, ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*], came and suppressed the outbreak, razing the town's walls and causing much destruction within it. Severe earthquakes in 1852, 1871, 1893 and 1895 increased the devastation, and Curzon, who was there in 1889, found many ruinous houses there, estimating the population at less than 12,000. With the pushing-forward in the later 19th century of the Russian frontier in Central Asia up to the natural frontier of the Kopet Dāgh-Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid range and the subjection to Imperial Russian rule of the formerly predatory Türkmens, the three Kurdish principalities of northern Khurāsān, Ķūčān, Budjnurd [*q.v.*] and Darreh Gaz, lost much of their military and strategic raisons d'être, and Curzon noted that the power and prestige of the then *Ilkhānī*, Shudjāʿ al-Dawla Ḥusayn Khān b. Riḍā Ķulī Khān, had diminished (G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 94-112).

In the present century, Ķūčān has remained the centre of an important wheat-growing area, supplying much of the rest of Persia; these crops are grown, as in mediaeval times, both on *ķanāt*-irrigated land and on *daymī*, dry-farmed (cf. *Admiralty handbook, Persia* London 1945, 40, 43 439, 453). Administratively, Ķūčān is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or district of the 9th *ustān* or province of Khurāsān; the population of the *shahrastān* in 1950 was *ca.* 111,000 (cf. *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ix, 307).

Bibliography: In addition to sources given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 393, and for the accounts of European travellers who visited Ķūčān, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 157-61, 221-3, 252. (C. E. Bosworth)

KÜČÜK ĶAYNARDJA (modern Tkish. Küçük Kaynarca, "little hot spring", a village in north-eastern Bulgaria, 25 km. south-east of Silistre, noteworthy as the place at which was concluded between the Ottoman and Russian Empires on 12 Djumādā I 1188/$^{10}/_{21}$ July 1774 one of the most famous and important treaties in the history of diplomacy. The Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja, which brought to an end a disastrous war over the partition of Poland on which the Porte had irresponsibly embarked six years previously, contained terms which were uniformly regrettable in their consequences for the Ottoman state and, in particular, for the khānate of the Crimea.

The treaty, which consisted of 28 articles and a separate secret convention of two articles, was the final outcome of protracted negotiations for a truce which had been conducted by the two sides since 1186/1772. Only in the campaign of 1188/1774, with Russian forces strongly entrenched south of the Danube and with the strong fortress of Shumen (Shumla, Shumnī), which commanded the passage of the Balkan range, abandoned by the Ottomans, were negotiations pushed rapidly to a conclusion. The Ottoman field-commander (*serdār-i ekrem*), the Grand Vizier Muḥsinzāde Meḥmed Pasha, nominated as plenipotentiaries his *kāhyā-begi* Nishāndjī/Tewķīʿī Aḥmed Resmī Efendi and the then *reʾis efendi* Ibrāhīm Munīb (Münip) Efendi; the chief Russian negotiator, under the aegis of the Russian commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Count Pyotr Aleksandrovič Rumyantsev, was Prince Nikolai Repnin, who had served as Russian ambassador at the Porte prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

Negotiations were begun and rapidly concluded in the Russian camp before Shumen on 8 Djumādā I 1188/$^{8}/_{17}$ July 1774; the actual date and place of signing were stipulated by the Russians for their historical significance. The controlling text of the treaty was drawn up in Italian; Russian and Turkish versions were also signed by the respective plenipotentiaries. Contrary to a widely-held belief, there are only minor textual variations between the Russian and Turkish versions.

The consequences of the Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja were most unfortunate for the khānate of the Crimea. Although by the terms of art. 3 Russian forces were to evacuate its territory with the exception of the strong points of Kerč and Yeñi Ķalʿe, the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish their suzerainty over the khānate, and to concede to the Crimean Tatars a specious and unlooked-for "independence" (*serbestiyyet*). Religious supremacy over the Muslim inhabitants of the khānate was reserved to the Ottoman sultan as rightful caliph ("Supremo Califfo Maomettano"), a concept entirely alien to Islamic law, and one which was to cause endless diplomatic confusion, in part corrected by the *convention explicative* of Aynalī Ķavaķ (3 Rabīʿ I 1193/$^{10}/_{21}$ March 1779). The "independence" of the Crimea proved in fact to be merely a prelude to its absorption by Russia, on the pretext of misgovernment, in 1783 [see further, ķirim].

For the Ottomans, the consequences, in strategic

terms, of the treaty were equally ominous. Through her possession of the fortresses of Ķilburun (Ķinburun) [*q.v.*] (art. 18); Kerč and Yeñi Ķalʿe [*q.vv.*] (arts. 3 and 19); Azaķ (Azov) [*q.v.*] (art. 20) and Greater and Lesser Kabarda [see KABARDS] (art. 21), and despite restitution to the Ottomans of Özü (Ochakov) and Bessarabia, including, *inter alia*, the fortresses of Aķ Kermān, Kili, Ismāʿīl, Bender and Khotin [*qq.v.*], Russia gained a secure and permanent strategic foothold on the northern shores of the Black Sea, thus bringing to an end its four centuries' history as an Ottoman "lake". This new position of strength Russia was able immediately to exploit through further concessions (art. 11) which gave her unrestricted commercial privileges in the Black Sea and through the Straits into the Mediterranean, and the right to establish consulates and vice-consulates at will on Ottoman territory and to maintain a permanent embassy at Istanbul. A further detailed clause afforded Russia a privileged position with regard to the Christian population and the semi-autonomous hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia (Boghdan and Eflāķ [*q.vv.*]) (art. 16), while by art. 13 the Porte was obliged to concede to Catherine II and her successors the title of *pādishāh* (*tamāmen Rusyalarinîñ pādishāhi*, i.e. "Empress/Emperor of all the Russians").

Two articles in particular (arts. 7 and 14) of the treaty have given rise to much subsequent misunderstanding. Art. 7, which in fact specifically recognised the protection of the *Ottoman* government over its own Christian subjects, permitted Russia only to make representations on behalf of a single church building—an Orthodox church in Ghalaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.], separate from the Russian embassy chapel, where services were to be held according to the Russian rite—and those who served in it. Art. 14, which actually gave to Russia the right to establish a church in Ghalaṭa to serve the Russian community resident there "on the example of the other Powers"—i.e., France and Austria—had already been proposed in the negotiations of 1772-3. From these articles, or possibly from those which related to Moldavia and Wallachia, or to the Archipelago (still under the occupation of the Russian fleet: art. 17) or to Georgia and Mingrelia (art. 23), but more probably from a general claim to guardianship over the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire which was put forward by Catherine II in 1775, there derived the widely held but erroneous belief that by the terms of the Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja Russia had acquired an "ill-defined 'right'" to exercise a protection over the largely Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sulṭān which might serve as a basis for subsequent diplomatic claims against the Ottoman state.

Two separate secret articles provided for the evacuation at an unspecified date of the Russian fleet from the Archipelago and for the payment by the Porte of a war indemnity of 15,000 purses (*kese*), i.e. 7.5 million *ķurush*.

The largely factitious "rights" in arts. 7 and 14 apart, the gains which were made by Russia as a consequence of the Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja were considerable, and the losses in territory and prestige in which the Ottoman state was obliged to acquiesce were correspondingly severe. For the khānate of the Crimea its consequences were sombre in the extreme. To Catherine II, Küčük Ķaynardja was a treaty "the like of which Russia [had] never had before"; a recent historian has correctly characterised it as "a major step, possibly the greatest single step prior to 1955, by Russia into the Near East".

Bibliography: No satisfactory edition of the three versions of the Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja exists. The original of the Italian and Russian-language treaty seems to be lost: the Russian text printed in Družinina, cited below, 349-60, does not derive from it (for references to other published Russian versions, see Davison, below, 469, n. 22). The original of the Turkish and Russian version has not yet been found in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul. A register book copy exists there (Ecnebī Defterleri, 83/1, 138-49), which may be the source for the various printed versions (e.g. *Medjmuʿāt muʿāhedesi*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1294-8/1877-8 to 1880-1, iii, 254-75; Djewdet (Cevdet), *Taʾrīkh*[2], Istanbul 1301-9/1883-4 to 1891-2, i, 285-95; Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāʾidj al-wuķūʿāt*[2], Istanbul 1294-1327/1877-1909, iii, 56-64). The Italian text is reproduced (from a version published in the *Storia del Anno* for 1774) in G. Fr. Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités de l'Europe*[1], 7 vols., Göttingen 1791-1801, iv, 606 38; 2nd edn. 8 vols., Göttingen 1817-35, ii, 286-322; no other version appears to exist. A French version (of no legal standing but widely regarded as authoritative in the 19th century) is most conveniently accessible in Gabriel Efendi, Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, Paris 1897, 319-34, and in *Treaties... between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, London 1855, 463 ff.

The sole monograph devoted to the Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja is E. I. Družinina, *Kyučuk-Kaynardžiiski mir 1774 goda*, Moscow 1955; a collection of essays of unequal value by Soviet and East European historians (N. Todorov, E. I. Družinina and others) is contained in *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia), 1975/2, 74-127. For the effect of the treaty on the khānate of the Crimea, see A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970; for a more extended treatment from the Ottoman side, cf. Cemal Tukin, *Küçük Kaynarca*, in *İA*, vi, 1064-71. The most recent study is R. H. Davison, "*Russian skill and Turkish imbecility*": *the treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji reconsidered*, in *Slavic Review*, xxxv (1976), 463-83. All these works contain supplementary bibliographies and further references to sources in the relevant languages.

(C. J. Heywood)

KÜČÜK SAʿĪD PASHA (1838-1914), 19th century Ottoman statesman, seven times Grand Vizier under Sultan ʿAbd al Ḥamīd II, and twice in the Young Turk era. Born in Erzurum, Saʿīd received a traditional Muslim education until his father's death in 1853 forced him to seek an administrative career. Trained largely as an apprentice rather than in the new secular schools being established by the Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*], he served first as secretary to the governor of Erzurum Province (1853-7) and secretary to the Anadolu Ordusu (1857-9) before entering the central bureaucracy in Istanbul. He served for some time as secretary in the *Medjlis-i Wālā* (1859-63), rising to various high positions in and out of Istanbul before becoming director of the Imperial Press (*Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire*) and editor of the official government newspaper *Taķwīm-i Weķāyiʿ* (1863-8). He continued to rise in the secretarial service, becoming director of a department in the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*) in 1868, and of the Courts Department of the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* in 1871, rising to become Chief Secretary of the Ministry of

Trade (*Tid̲j̲āret Neẓāreti*) in 1874 and Chief Secretary of the Grand Vizier a year later.

It was during these later years that Saʿīd Efendi came into contact with Prince ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, advising him on administrative matters, so that one of the latter's first acts after his accession to the sultanate was to raise him to the rank of Pas̲h̲a and appoint him as Chief Secretary (1876-8), at which time he acquired the nickname *Küčük* ("the small one") to distinguish him from Ingiliz Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a, who also advised the sultan for a time until he was dismissed due to implication in the ʿAlī Suʿāwī affair.

Küčük Saʿīd now became the Sultan's chief instrument in the Ottoman cabinet. As minister of justice (1878-9), he worked to modernise the *Niẓāmiyye* secular court system, introducing the institution of public defender, and also securing promulgation of new commercial and criminal codes of law. In seven terms as Grand Vizier (1879-80, 1880-2, 1882, 1882-5, 1895, 1901-3, 1908), he faithfully carried out the sultan's reform programs, also taking the initiative to introduce important reforms. He developed a program to centralise government control of the provinces, modernised the financial system, increased tax collections and balanced the budgets, negotiated the settlement with the empire's foreign creditors that led to the creation of the Public Debt Commission (1881), established the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce to develop native trade and industry, modernised and expanded the system of secular schools on the elementary and higher technical levels in particular, reorganised and modernised the regular police, and made the secular courts fully independent of government interference so they could administer justice without fear of intervention. He played a major role in modernising the bureaucratic hierarchy, introducing examinations for appointment and promotion and establishing a pension system so that aged officials could retire without fear of poverty.

As the sultan became increasingly withdrawn and subject to the influence of his palace coterie, Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a became more and more fearful of his master. At the same time, his rivalry with Meḥmed Kāmil Pas̲h̲a became so intense that he at times feared for his life, and at one point refused the sultan's call to resume the Grand Vizierate. As a result, Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a was not included in the disfavour of the Young Turks for most of the sultan's advisers following the Young Turk Revolution (108), and in fact served twice more as grand vizier during the Constitutional period which followed, in 1911 and 1912, with the support of the Committee of Union and Progress, leading its fight against the Liberal Union Party, and directing the government's efforts against the Italian invasions of Libya and of the Dodecanese islands. In the face of strong military pressure in support of the Liberal Union, however, Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a resigned for the final time (17 July 1912), so that the hero of the Russo-Turkish war, Aḥmed Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a, could establish a non-party government to resolve the crisis. Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a then served as chairman of the upper house of the legislature, the Council of Notables (1913-14) until he retired shortly before his death.

Bibliography: S. J. and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, ii, *Reform, revolution and republic: the rise of modern Turkey*, 1808-1975, Cambridge and New York 1977, 219-20, 274-5, 290-1, 453-4; Ercüment Kuran, *Küçük Said Paşa as a Turkish modernist*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 124-32; idem, art. *Said Paşa*, in *IA*; Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*[1], Ankara 1951, 8-112; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Son sadrâzamlar ve başvekiller*, Istanbul 1940-9, v; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrâzamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 989-1263; Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a, *Saʿīd Pas̲h̲anïñ k̲h̲āṭirāti*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1328; *Saʿīd Pas̲h̲anïñ Kāmil Pas̲h̲a k̲h̲āṭirātina d̲j̲ewāblarï*, Istanbul 1327; ʿAbdurraḥmān S̲h̲eref, *Taʾrik̲h̲ muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1339; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Said Paşa'ya dâir bâzı vesikalar*, in *Tarih dergisi*, viii, 105-34.

(S. J. Shaw)

KUČUM K̲H̲ĀN, a Tatar K̲h̲ān of Siberia, in whose reign this country was conquered by the Russians. Abu 'l G̲h̲āzī (ed. Desmaisons, 177), is the only authority to give information regarding his origin and his genealogical relation to the other descendants of Čingiz K̲h̲ān. According to this source, he reigned for forty years in "Tūrān", lost his eyesight towards the end of his life, was driven from his kingdom by the Russians in 1003/1594-5, took refuge with the Mang̲h̲īt (Nogay) and died among them. References to Kučum are also found in the work of the Ottoman Turk Sayfī, said to have been written in 990/1582 (Leiden MS., No. 197; tr. without a reference to the MS. by Ch. Schefer as an appendix to his translation of the history of Central Asia. *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Buk̲h̲ārī, Paris 1876, 303 ff.). Kučum's kingdom and its capital are there called "Turā"; the Russians had taken this town during Kučum's absence. Kučum afterwards returned and drove out the Russians after a long siege (one to two years), but the latter carried off his son a prisoner to Moscow. These stories seem to show that Sayfī's work was probably composed later than the year given in the title (Schefer, *loc. cit.*, Preface, p. iv, even gives the year 990 A.H. as date of death of the author).

The name of "Isker" for the capital of Kučum (near the confluence of the Tobol and Irtis̲h̲) seems to be found only in Russian sources; it is only from the latter also that the principal events of his reign can be chronologically arranged. Kučum did not inherit his kingdom from his father but had expelled his predecessor Yādigār; in 1563 Yādigār is still mentioned as king of Siberia, while in 1569 we find Kučum. In 1581 Isker was conquered by Russian Cossacks under Yermak; the Cossacks owed their victory to the use of fire-arms, then still unknown in Siberia. Kučum's son Mak̲h̲met-Kul (Muḥammad Ḳulī) was sent a prisoner to Moscow. It was not till Yermak fell in an unexpected attack (1586 or 1585) that Isker was vacated by the Russians; but by the year 1587 we find troops, who had just arrived, building the Russian town of Tobolsk near this town. Kučum did not suffer his last defeat at the hands of the Russians till 20 August 1598. He is said to have been slain by the Nogay, with whom he had taken refuge, out of revenge for his father's raids on them. The document used by Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*[2], Leipzig 1893, 146 ff.) dealing with an embassy from Kučum to Buk̲h̲ārā and the order by ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān to his governor in K̲h̲ʷārazm to send teachers of religion to Siberia, cannot be genuine. K̲h̲ʷārazm was at this date an independent kingdom and not under the rule of the K̲h̲ān of Buk̲h̲ārā. The form "Közüm" adopted by Radloff is also not to be found in any historical sources.

Bibliography: Sir H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, London 1880, 982 ff. and the Russian works used there; Hādī Aṭlāsī, *Sībīr taʾrīk̲h̲ī*, Kazan 1912, 36, 46, 67 ff., and W. Barthold's review in *ZVOIRAO*, xxiii, 421 f. (W. Barthold)

ĶUḌĀʿA, a group of Arab tribes of obscure origin. The opinions of the genealogists about their origin are contradictory. Some of them assert that they were descendants of Maʿadd, others say that they were from Ḥimyar. Both parties had recourse to traditions and utterances attributed to the Prophet, in which he is said either to have declared that Maʿadd's *kunya* was Abū Ķuḍāʿa, or to have stated explicitly that Ķuḍāʿa is a descendant of Ḥimyar. Harmonising traditions reported that the mother of Ķuḍāʿa was the wife of Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Murra b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar and later married Maʿadd, bringing with her Ķuḍāʿa, her son from the first marriage; Ķuḍāʿa was therefore later called Ķuḍāʿa b. Maʿadd. A contradictory tradition of this kind claimed that Ķuḍāʿa was the son of Maʿadd; later his mother married Mālik b. ʿAmr al-Ḥimyarī, who adopted the child, Ķuḍāʿa, and thus he was called Ķuḍāʿa al Ḥimyarī (see M. J. Kister and M. Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Ğamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi [1976], 56-7, and references in notes 43-51; also Nūr al-Dīn al-Hayt̲h̲amī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, repr. Beirut 1967, i, 194-5; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, vii, 77-8; al-Hāmdānī, *al-Iklīl*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 180-90). Some traditions say explicitly that the Ķuḍāʿī tribes related themselves to Maʿadd, but turned to the Ḥimyarī *nasab* under Muʿāwiya's pressure and bribes (see e.g. Kister and Plessner, *op. cit.*, notes 51-7; Nūr al-Dīn al-Hayt̲h̲amī, *op. cit.*, i, 194; Ag̲h̲ānī, *loc. cit.*; Iḥsān Naṣṣ, *al ʿAṣabiyya al-ķabaliyya wa-at̲h̲aruhā fi 'l s̲h̲iʿr al-umawī*, Beirut 1964, 340 3; and see al-Ķuṭāmī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī and Aḥmad Maṭlūb, Beirut 1960, 34, 145, 147, 149; al-Kumayt, *S̲h̲iʿr*, ed. Dāwūd Sallūm, Bag̲h̲dād 1969, nos 162, vv. 10-13, 469 vv. 1-7, 509 vv. 1-4, 523 v. 2, 550 v. 1, 606 v. 1). The name Ķuḍāʿa is an early one and can be traced in fragments of the old Arab poetry. The tribes recorded as Ķuḍāʿī were: Kalb [*q.v.*], Djuhayna, Balī, Bahrāʾ [*q.v.*], K̲h̲awlān [*q.v.*], Mahra, K̲h̲us̲h̲ayn, Djarm, ʿUd̲h̲ra [*q.v.*], Balķayn [see AL-ĶAYN], Tanūk̲h̲ [*q.v.*] and Salīḥ; the attribution of some of these tribes to Ķuḍāʿa (like Tanūk̲h̲, K̲h̲awlān and Mahra) was the subject of dispute among genealogists. Several of the clans of Ķuḍāʿa joined other tribes, adopting their pedigree and changing their tribal identity.

Among the prominent divisions of Ķuḍāʿa one may particularly refer here to Djuhayna and Balī.

1. The vast territory of Djuhayna, controlling the coastal route of the caravans between Syria and Mecca, included the localities of Ṣafrāʾ, Ṣufayna, al Marwa, al Ḥawrāʾ and Yanbuʿ; to them belonged the mountains of Raḍwā ([*q.v.*]; and see M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig 1943, ii, 361, on the legendary story of the hidden *Imām* living in Raḍwā), Adjrad, As̲h̲ʿar and ʿAzwar and the *wādīs* of Iḍam and al-ʿĪṣ (see e.g. al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saķā, Cairo 1364/1965; Yāķūt, s.v. Raḍwa; ʿArrām, *Asmāʾ djibāl Tihāma wa-sukkānihā*, in ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn's *Nawādir al-mak̲h̲ṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1375/1956, ii, 8, 396-8 and indices; cf. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Bilād Yanbuʿ*, Riyāḍ n.d., *passim*, and see esp. the supplement: *bilād djuhayna wa-manāziluhā 'l ķadīma*, 156-7). Djuhayna seems to have had a clear perception of tribal identity, as can be gauged from a collection of tribal war poetry, the *ayyām Djuhayna*; some fragments of this poetry were recorded as late as the 4th/10th century (see al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Mukāt̲h̲ara ʿind al-mud̲h̲ākara*, ed. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭandjī, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, i [Ankara 1956], 37-9; see on Bug̲h̲ayt: al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l muk̲h̲talif*, ed. Krenkow, Cairo 1354, 57-8; and see on Salāma b. al-Yaʿbūb, *ibid.*, 53, 165; on the compilation of war poetry of the Ķuḍāʿī tribe of Balķayn, *as̲h̲ʿar Bani 'l Ķayn*, see *ibid.*, 23-4).

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī, a Djuhanī, ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḥudayb (or Hud̲h̲ayl in another version), intended to build a sanctuary in one of the centres of Djuhayna, Ķawdam, to rival the Kaʿba of Mecca; however, he encountered opposition on the part of his people who were reluctant to aid him in carrying out his plan (Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pas̲h̲a, Cairo 1343/1924, 45; Yāķūt, s.v. Ķawdam). This report may give us a clue for assessing the attitude of some other tribal groups of Ķuḍāʿa. Ibn His̲h̲ām records a tradition according to which al-G̲h̲awt̲h̲, who was in charge of certain pilgrimage practices at Mecca, used to announce during one of the services, "O God I am following the example of others; if there is a sin it is Ķuḍāʿa's" (Ibn His̲h̲ām, *Sīra*, ed. al-Saķā, al-Abyārī, S̲h̲alabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 126, l. 1; Guillaume's translation, *The life of Muhammad*, Karachi 1967, 50, of the second hemistich "If that is wrong, the fault is Quḍāʿa's" is inaccurate). It is evident that this declaration points to certain sections within Ķuḍāʿa who were reluctant to acknowledge the authority of Mecca and the sanctity of the Kaʿba.

The relations of Djuhayna with the Aws and K̲h̲azradj seem to have been quite close; some Djuhanīs are recorded as allies of the Medinan families or clans (see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1962, 444). It is noteworthy that among the Anṣārī group who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance at the ʿAķaba was an ally of the Banū Salima of Kalbī extraction, who joined Djuhayna and stayed with them, ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays; he gained the honourable titles of *al-muhādjiri, al-anṣārī, al-salamī, al-djuhanī al-ʿaķabī* (see e.g. Ibn His̲h̲ām, ii, 106 sup.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 22346, f. 73a; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1389/1970, iv, 15-17, no. 4553; Ibn Ķudāma al-Maķdisī, *al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhid, Beirut 1392/1972, 166-8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1380/1960, 869-70, no. 1477; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 249). It was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays who asked the Prophet on which night he should come to Medina from his abode in al-Aʿrāf during Ramaḍān, and the Prophet bade him come on the night of 27 Ramaḍān; this night is therefore named "The Night of the Djuhanī". It refers, of course, to the *laylat al-ķadr* (see e.g. *al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, xvii, 133; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, 870).

On the Day of Buʿāt̲h̲ [*q.v.*], Djuhayna fought on the side of the K̲h̲azradj (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xv, 162-3; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956, ii, 602), but on the eve of the encounter of *Badr al-mawʿid* they were said to have hurried to Medina (together with Balī) as allies of the Aws (al-Wāķidī, *Mag̲h̲āzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 385, l. 11).

When the Prophet settled in Medina, he was, of course, concerned to establish peaceful relations with its neighbours, Djuhayna. Djuhayna, making a careful assessment of the fundamental change in the situation in Medina with the advent of the Prophet, were eager to secure their position in the new structure of power. According to some traditions, a delegation of Djuhayna came to the Prophet in Medina, pointed out that the Prophet alighted

"among them" (*bayna aẓhurinā*, i.e. in the area controlled by them) and requested him to conclude with them an agreement of mutual security (*fa-awthiḳ lanā ḥattā naʾmanakā wa-taʾmananā*). This treaty was indeed agreed upon between the Prophet and Djuhayna. A peculiar aspect of this treaty was the tacit agreement by the Prophet for Djuhayna not to convert to Islam; this is clearly indicated in the account about the treaty, *wa-lam yuslimū*. The implementation of the treaty occurred a short time after its conclusion; the Prophet sent a troop of less than hundred warriors to raid a tribal group of Kināna which dwelt in the neighbourhood of Djuhayna. When the Muslim warriors realised that the Kinānīs outnumbered them, they retreated asking refuge with Djuhayna. When the Djuhanīs interrogated them as to why they had gone out fighting in the holy month of Radjab, they justified their deed by mentioning that they were driven out from the *Ḥaram* (of Mecca) during the holy month. The account further tells about dissension among the Muslim warriors; a group of them wanted to remain in the place where they were staying, whilst another one planned to return to the Prophet to obtain a decision from him. When this group met the Prophet, he expressed his anger about the division that had occurred within the expedition, which having left in unity returned divided. He then appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh as the commander of the troop; ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh was thus the first appointed *amīr* in Islam (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Taʾrīkh*, Ms. Berlin 9409 = Sprenger 104, ff. 28b-30a; cf. Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, vi, 66-7, with an essential variant, that the Djuhanīs converted to Islam after the conclusion of the treaty; and see al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 304-5 [the commander of the first troop, dispatched by the Prophet, was Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās]; Ibn Djunghul, *Taʾrīkh*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 5912, i, 229b).

The reports about the first cases of co-operation between Djuhanīs and the nascent Muslim community at Medina, though sometimes divergent or even contradictory, point clearly to the period preceding the battle of Badr and are connected with the earliest attempts of the Prophet at impeding the free traffic of the Ḳurashī caravans. The detachments dispatched by the Prophet were relatively small and served a twofold purpose: that of reconnoitring in case a greater force of the enemy made an appearance, and of an attacking troop in case they met with a smaller division of the enemy. It was essential in such a situation to have at their disposal a territory with a friendly population both for military enterprises and as a resort to which the force could retreat in safety. The treaty with the Djuhanīs was indeed successful, and enabled the Prophet to launch his first attacks against some Kinānī allies of Ḳuraysh; the expeditions operated indeed in the territory controlled by Djuhayna.

Furthermore, some Djuhanīs carried out certain subtle and responsible duties for the Prophet's troops: Basbas b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abi 'l-Zaghbāʾ (both allies of the Anṣārī clans) served as spies for the Muslim troops (see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djawāmiʿ al-sīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo n.d., 110; Ibn Hishām, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280, i, 178 ult.-179; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, i, 288, no. 640, iv, 474, no. 5486; al-Wāḳidī, 40-1; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 289). Another Djuhanī, Kashad, granted shelter to two other spies of the Prophet, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Saʿīd b. Zayd; he misled the men of the Ḳurashī caravan who inquired about the spies sent by the Prophet. After the departure of the Ḳurashī caravan, Kashad accompanied the two spies to Turbān, where he met the Prophet; the Prophet wanted to grant him Yanbūʿ (as an *iḳṭāʿ* or fief), but Kashad advised the Prophet to grant it to one of his relatives (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 19-20; Ibn Ḥadjar, v, 590, no. 7409; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 239; al-Māḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʾ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 62). Another Djuhanī, Madjdī b. ʿAmr, performed an even more complicated service for the Muslim detachment; he interposed between the small Muslim force under the command of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the Ḳurashī caravan escorted by 300 Ḳurashī riders under the command of Abū Djahl (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 9-10, 40-1; al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 302; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 446; idem, *Djawāmiʿ*, 101, cf. 110; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 51-2; Ibn Hishām, ii, 245, 269). Madjdī succeeded in accomplishing his task as he was an ally (*ḥalīf, muwādiʿ*) of both parties (i.e. of the Muslim party and the Ḳurashīs). It is noteworthy for the assessment of the personality of Madjdī and the reliability of the traditions that some reports state that he did not convert to Islam (see e.g. al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1325, i, 390).

The reports about the participation of Djuhanīs in the first encounters of the Prophet with Ḳuraysh seem to be sound, and are confirmed by a tradition recorded by al-Ṭabarānī, stating that the first tribe to fight on the side of the Prophet was Djuhayna (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Awāʾil*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 1530, f. 196b).

Some factors which motivated Djuhayna in concluding the treaty with the Prophet can be deduced from a report recorded by al-Samhūdī and al-Fayrūzābādī; the Prophet alighted at Dhu 'l-Marwa; Djuhanī people assembled at the place from the mountains and the plains and complained of being pressed by alien people, who were trying by force to get hold of their wells. Then the Prophet granted the people of Djuhayna the lands of Dhu 'l-Marwa, forbade them to be treated with iniquity and announced that the angel Djibrīl ordered him to consider Djuhayna as his allies (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, 1305-6; al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fī maʿālim ṭāba*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 379). It is plausible that this utterance of the Prophet confirmed Djuhayna's rights to their landed property and formed a warning for tribal groups to refrain from transgressing on the wells (sc. wells and other property) of Djuhayna, as they were the allies of the Prophet and their rights would be defended by the Prophet. The lands of Dhu 'l-Marwa were in fact granted by the Prophet to a man from Djuhayna (see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1380/1960, i, 271; see on ʿAwsadja b. Ḥarmala, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 216; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 739, no. 6093; on Dhū 'l-Marwa see al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Marwa).

The Prophet concluded several treaties with the various tribal groups of Djuhayna. Some of these treaties can be traced to the very early period of the Prophet's stay at Medina; they do not contain any stipulation as to conversion to Islam. There are, however, some treaties which may be attributed to a later period, when conversion to Islam became obligatory, and include instructions concerning the religious duties to be performed (cf. Ibn Saʿd, i,

270-1). A tradition recorded by Ibn Saʿd (i, 333) says that a delegation of Djuhayna embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet to Medina; this story may, however, refer to a unit of Djuhayna, and certainly not to the whole tribe.

The early conversion of several groups of Djuhayna and another Ḳuḍāʿī group, the Aslam, is reflected in some traditions attributed to the Prophet, in which Djuhayna is counted among the tribal groups surpassing (in virtues) the great tribes of Asad, Ghaṭafān, Tamīm and ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see e.g. al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut-Cairo 1381, ii, no. 1048; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1392/1972, xi, 47, no. 19877; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 54, ii, 151). Only few cases of opposition by some units of Djuhayna against the Muslim commonwealth of Medina are known (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 774-5; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969, iii, 32, about the expedition of Abū ʿUbayda). When the Prophet set out for al-Ḥudaybiya, some nomad Djuhanīs were disinclined to respond to his summons and to join him, fearing that the Muslims might be defeated by the Ḳurashī forces (see e.g. Mudjāhid, *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāhir al-Sūratī, Beirut n.d., 601 inf.; Muḳātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Aḥmet II, 74/II, ff. 160b, 166b; al-Wāḳidī, 574, 619; al-Nawawī al-Djāwī, *Marāḥ labīd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 305 inf.; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1387/1967, xvi, 268, 348; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 72-73).

Djuhayna appeared as a strong force of 800 warriors and 50 riders (or 1400 warriors according to Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 65 sup.) on the expedition for the conquest of Mecca; four banners were borne by its leaders (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 799, 820, 896; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1390/1970, xvii, 78, no. 199; and see Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii, 445, no. 2549, ii, 604 sup., no. 2897, vi, 165, no. 8098; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 124; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istiʿāb*, 871-2). The Djuhanī Rāfiʿ b. Makīth was appointed by the Prophet as tax-collector (*muṣaddiḳ*) of his tribe (al-Wāḳidī, 1073). A number of Djuhanīs emigrated to Medina; the Prophet himself fixed the place of the tribal mosque of Djuhayna in Medina (Ibn Saʿd, i, 333).

Djuhayna remained faithful to Islam after the death of the Prophet (cf. al-Wāḳidī, 1122) and favourable utterances attributed to the Prophet emphasised their virtues. The Prophet is said to have considered Djuhayna among his *mawālī* (see e.g. al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, Cairo 1348, xvi, 75-6; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-ḳadīr*, Beirut 1391/1972, iv, 516, no. 6122). The Prophet is said to have recommended seeking refuge in the mountains of Djuhayna during the periods of strife, *fitan* (see e.g. al-Bakrī, 154; Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Abū ʿAlī al-Hadjarī*, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 192; and see the utterance of the Prophet in Ibn Saʿd, i, 333). In an alleged utterance, the Prophet is said to have recommended marrying Djuhanī women (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Madjrūḥīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Beg al-Naḳshbandī, Hyderabad 1390/1970, ii, 10). A peculiar tradition attributed to the Prophet forbids anyone to harm Djuhayna, saying "he who harms Djuhayna harms me, and he who harms me harms God"; this utterance was instantly denied when transmitted to Muʿāwiya (al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, 60, no. 147).

Djuhayna participated, together with other groups of Ḳuḍāʿa, in the conquest of Egypt; some of them settled in Fusṭāṭ (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, index). Djuhanīs lived in Manfalūṭ and Asyūṭ. After clashes with other tribal groups, Djuhayna migrated to Upper Egypt and settled in the region of Ikhmīm during the Fāṭimid period; they became one of the powerful Arab tribes of Egypt (see Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-iʿrāb ʿammā fī arḍ Miṣr min al-aʿrāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿĀbidīn, Cairo 1961; and see the researches of ʿĀbidīn, in *ibid.*, 77-8). Groups of Djuhayna penetrated in the 8th/14th century into the Christian kingdom of Nubia and got mastery over it. From Nubia, Djuhayna continued to push forward into the Sudan and mixed with the native tribes (see C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des östlichen Sudan*, in *Isl.*, i, 153-77; idem, *EI*[1] art. *Djuhaina*; F. C. Thomas Jr., *The Juhaina Arabs of Chad*, in *MEJ* [1959], 142-55; von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii, 359). In the Djuhanī territories of the Arab peninsula, the different sections of that tribe became controlled by the descendants of ʿAlī, who succeeded in acquiring a great deal of landed property in these regions. Nevertheless, the various branches of Djuhayna succeeded in keeping their identity during the centuries. Although wavering at the beginning of the First World War, the majority of the tribe followed the sons of the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn; later, they changed attitude and became loyal subjects of the Saʿūdī dynasty (see von Oppenheim, ii, 360). In recent times, they have been exerting themselves in developing their region (see Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Bilād Yanbuʿ*, *passim*).

2. To the north of the territory of Djuhayna was the region of Balī, another branch of Ḳuḍāʿa. Starting at Wādī Iḍam, their usual habitations extended far to the north, including the places of Shaghab, Badā and Taymāʾ (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 516; von Oppenheim, ii, 315, 352-3). The Ḳuḍāʿī tribal groups of Balī, Djuhayna and ʿUdhra migrated, according to tradition, to the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā in which Jewish settlers cultivated the soil, dug the wells and planted palm-trees. According to an agreement between the Jewish settlers and these Ḳuḍāʿī groups, the Jews undertook to give them a certain payment; in return Balī, Djuhayna and ʿUdhra were under obligation to give protection to the Jewish settlements against the Bedouin tribes, including other Ḳuḍāʿī units (see Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Ḳurā; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 43). The stipulations of this agreement remained valid until the advent of Islam; then the ʿUdhrī Djamra b. al-Nuʿmān visited the Prophet and was given by him a grant of land. The Jewish settlers of the family of ʿUrayḍ (or ʿArīḍ) were allowed by the Prophet to stay in their places; they were granted by the Prophet the privilege of receiving a certain annual payment (see Ibn Saʿd, i, 279; al-Bakrī, i, 44; cf. W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 107-8). Some clans of Balī got involved in internal fighting; one of the fighting groups, the Banū Ḥishna, was compelled to seek refuge with the Jewish settlers of Taymāʾ, and at their demand converted to Judaism. Some of these refugees left later for Medina and embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet (see al-Bakrī, i, 29). A corroborating report counts among the Jewish tribal groups at Medina three groups from Balī (see Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 596; and cf. al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 162-3, 194, 200, 223). Some traditions, in reporting of the migration of the Balawī clans to Medina, remark that they became allies (*ḥulafāʾ*) of the Aws and Khazradj (see e.g. al-Bakrī, i, 28; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā*

ķabā'il al-ruwāt, Nadjaf 1386/1966, 128). The position of Balī at Medina and their status can be gauged from the accounts about the ʿAķaba meeting, reporting that seven members out of the seventy Anṣārī group of delegates, who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance, were of Balawī descent (ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istiʿāb*, 1248, no. 2052; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 158; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 745 inf., no. 6116], Maʿn b. ʿAdī [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn Ķudāma, *al-Istibṣār*, 297; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 401], Khadīdj b. Uways [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 249; Ibn Hishām, ii, 106], Abu 'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān [see on him: al-Balādhurī, i, 240; Ibn Ķudāma, *op. cit.*, 228], Abū Burda b. Niyār [on whom see Ibn Hishām, ii, 198; al-Balādhurī, i, 241; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 28 inf.], al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr [or b. ʿIṣr, on whom see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 27; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 443], Yazīd b. Thaʿlaba [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 251; Ibn Ķudāma, 202; al-Samhūdī, i, 228; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, vi, 650]. However, the Balawī descent of some of these persons is put in question in some of the sources). Balawī tribesmen took part in the battles between the Prophet and Ķuraysh on the side of the Prophet, and names of Balawī warriors can be found in the lists of those who were killed in the encounters. The traditions mention a peculiar letter of the Prophet sent to a Balawī group, the Banū Djuʿayl. According to this letter, the Prophet granted to them the privileges of being taxed no more than once a year and of not having to gather with their live stock in the tax-collection centres (*lā yuḥsharūn wa-lā yuʿsharūn*; this explanation given by Ibn Saʿd seems however to be uncertain: there are interpretations commenting that *ḥashr* and *ʿashr* refer to exemption from being levied and taxed); they were also appointed by the Prophet as tax-collectors of some other tribes. They were given the status of Ķurashīs, as they were allies of the ʿAbd Manāf (see Ibn Saʿd, i, 270-1; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 111). The favourable conditions granted to the Banū Djuʿayl were probably intended to gain the loyalty of a tribal group allied with Ķuraysh, securing their control over other tribal groups for the benefit of the Muslim community.

The expedition against the Balī sent in 8 AH was intended to gain their allegiance and their succour for the Muslim community; it was essential for the latter to secure the co-operation of the Balī who dwelt in the northern regions of the peninsula, who controlled the road to Medina and Mecca, and of whom some members were in the service of the Byzantine army; the commander of the troop which fought the Muslim force at Mu'ta was a Balawī (see al-Wāķidī, 760). It was a shrewd decision of the Prophet to appoint ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, whose mother was from Balī, as commander of the Muslim force (*ibid.*, 770); the expedition was also directed at the Mahra and Balķayn, two Ķuḍāʿī tribes sojourning in the region of Balī. In 9 A.H. the Prophet met the delegation of Balī, who embraced Islam (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd, i, 330; al-Zurķānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, iv, 57-8; Ibn Ķayyim al-Djawziyya, *Zād al-maʿād*, Beirut n.d., iii, 49).

The forces of Balī played an important role in the conquest of Egypt; ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ fought under the banner of Balī (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, i, 62). ʿUmar established the pay of Balī warriors as equal to that of Muḍar, Kalb and Ṭayyi', sc. 300-400 *dirhams*; it was lower than that of the Yemeni tribes because they were closer to the places of migration (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1374/1955, 212). When ʿUmar was informed that a man from Balī summoned his people in Syria by the battle-cry *yā Ķuḍāʿa*, he ordered a third of Ķuḍāʿa to be removed to Egypt; as Balī formed a third part of Ķuḍāʿa, they were indeed transferred to Egypt (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 116; al-Maķrīzī, *al-Bayān*, 29). It was a Balawī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays, a Companion of the Prophet, who was at the head of a troop of riders in revolt against ʿUthmān. He was later imprisoned by Muʿāwiya, and was killed on his flight from the prison (see al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1963, ii, 324, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 309-10; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 334, no. 5166; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī al-Mālikī, *al-Tamhīd wa 'l-bayān fī maķtal al-shahīd ʿUthmān*, ed. Maḥmūd Yūsuf Zāyid, Beirut 1964, index).

Balī settlements are mentioned in the regions of Akhmīm, Asyūṭ and Ushmūn; they were expelled by Fāṭimid troops and were compelled to move to the south. In the 8th/14th century the Balī entered together with Djuhayna, the Sudān and contributed considerably to the islamisation and arabisation of the native tribes of the Bedja and the Baķķāra [*q.vv.*]; the Arabic language is known among the Bedja even today as "Balawiyyat", i.e. the language of Balī.

In the Arabian peninsula, the Balī played during the First World War an important role in the conflict between the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn and the Turkish authorities, finally (in 1918) following the lead of the sons of the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn.

Some groups of Balī joined the new régime in the Ḥidjāz in 1925 and became loyal subjects of Saʿūdī Arabia; but some rebellious units of Balī took refuge in the kingdom of Trans-Jordan. They crossed the borders at ʿAķaba and raided, together with other rebels, the northern districts of Saʿūdī Arabia in 1932, but were defeated by the Saʿūdī forces (cf. von Oppenheim, ii, 354).

In Spain descendants of the Balī tribe lived in the region of Cordova or Ķurṭuba and it was reported that they excelled in hospitality. They were unable to speak Romance (*al-laṭīniyya*), and spoke only Arabic, according to Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 443.

Bibliography: given in the article essentially, but see also W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885, 8-9, 155, 246-9, and H. Lammens, *EI*[1] art. s.v.

(M. J. Kister)

ĶUDĀMA b. Djaʿfar al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Faradj, philologist, historian, and one of the first scholars to introduce the systematic study of the figures of speech in Arabic literature. The date of his birth is nowhere mentioned and may have been as early as around the year 260/873-4. He died at an uncertain date which is variously given as "during the reign of al-Muķtadir" (i.e. not later than 320/932), 328/939-40, and 337/948. The dates "shortly after 300" and 310 cannot be correct (see below).

Almost every aspect of Ķudāma's biography, his work, and his personality as a scholar raises delicate problems which cannot be fully discussed, let alone answered, in the context of this article. The only data which are certain, or at least have not been questioned, are (a) that he converted from Christianity to Islam during the reign of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8); (b) that he held unimportant positions in various *dīwāns* of the central administration in Baghdad till he won an appointment in Shawwāl

297/910, or shortly thereafter, to the *madjlis al-zimām* in the *dīwān al-mashriḳ* when Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] appointed his son, al-Muḥassin, as head of that office (thus according to Yāḳūt, vi, 205, whose account however contradicts reports that al-Muḥassin was in charge of the *dīwān al-maghrib*); (c) that he was alive in 320/932; and (d) that he was the author of a *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, which has survived in part. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the famous and often-quoted *Kitāb Naḳd al-shi'r* was written by Ḳudāma, since al-Muṭarrizī [*q.v.*] in his commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (quoted in the introduction to the edition of Ḳudāma's *Djawāhir*, 13), who lived three centuries later, is the only author to mention that the *Naḳd* was sometimes attributed to Ḳudāma's father.

The *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* does not have a biography of Ḳudāma. It only mentions (vii, 205) one Dja'far b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād whom the Khaṭīb describes as a learned and distinguished secretary. The Khaṭīb also mentions that Dja'far wrote books dealing with the secretarial art as well as other subjects, that he was often quoted as an authority by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, the author of the *Aghānī*, and was himself a pupil of, among others, Ḥammād, the son of the famous Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 130) states that Ḳudāma's father, Dja'far, was a man without scholarly distinction, and this statement is repeated by Yāḳūt, who clearly borrowed it from Ibn al-Nadīm. Since Yāḳūt (ii, 412-15) also has a fairly elaborate biography of Dja'far b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād al-Kātib (he adds the *kunya* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, cf. *Aghānī*³. x, 281, l. 7) he apparently did not believe that this Dja'far b. Ḳudāma was the father of our author, since otherwise he would have noticed the discrepancy between the facts as they appear from this biography and the characterisation of Ḳudāma's father as a man without learning (if the "poet-secretary", Dja'far b. Ḳudāma, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 168, l. 7, is identical with the scholar mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* and in Yāḳūt, Ibn al-Nadīm must have held the same view). Yāḳūt's contemporary, al-Muṭarrizī does not, however, hesitate to identify the scholar mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* as the father of Ḳudāma. The question is of considerable interest, since, according to the *Aghānī*³ (x, 280-5, xii, 52), Dja'far b. Ḳudāma [b. Ziyād al-Kātib in several places in the *Aghānī*] was a close friend of Ibn al-Mu'tazz [*q.v.*], the author of the *Kitāb al-Badī'*. Yet Ḳudāma is reported to have written a book to refute Ibn al-Mu'tazz (according to the version of the title of the book in Yāḳūt, in order to refute Ibn al-Mu'tazz's views on the poet Abū Tammām) and makes no mention of his predecessor in the *Naḳd*, even though some of the subject matter is the same and may even have been borrowed by Ḳudāma from the *Kitāb al-Badī'* (see *Naḳd*, introd., 29-30). Ḳudāma also fails to use the term *badī'*, but here the explanation may be that, unlike Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ḳudāma was not concerned with the identification of the figures of speech to which this term was applicable, and that the practice of using the term as a collective for figures of speech had not yet been established (cf. *Kitāb al-Badī'*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 57, l. 15-58, l. 3, and S. Bonebakker, *Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba''s text of the Kitāb al-Badī'*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii [1972], 89-90). One could also suggest that the *Naḳd* was written shortly after the abortive attempt to bring Ibn al-Mu'tazz to the throne and that Ḳudāma thought it wiser not to make any reference to the unfortunate "one-day caliph". His attack on Ibn al-Mu'tazz could have been written in the same period as an attempt to dissociate himself from his famous predecessor. Still, the possibility remains that there were two personalities by the name of Dja'far b. Ḳudāma who could easily be confused. The first would have been a member of a Christian family and a professional secretary who occupied a minor position in the central administration, in which he was succeeded by his son, Ḳudāma; the second a Muslim official who enjoyed a considerable reputation as a scholar, distinguished himself as a poet, and won the favour of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's champion, the vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā (see below), and later of 'Alī b. 'Īsā's rival, the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt (see Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Tuḥfat al-umarā' fī ta'rīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 211-12; Yāḳūt, ii, 414, ll. 9-10). It is curious that the *Aghānī* nowhere mentions that Dja'far b. Ḳudāma was a Christian, and even suggests in two places that his name was Dja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (³x, 131, note and xxiii, 115). That both this Dja'far and Ḳudāma were acquainted with members of the Ibn al-Furāt family and with the vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā [*q.v.*] may be due to the fact that both of them pursued the same type of official career (for 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Dja'far, see Yāḳūt, ii, 413, ll. 16-18, and for 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Ḳudāma, see below). Similarly, the fact that Dja'far and Ḳudāma distinguished themselves as men of letters would account for their reliance on the same sources: Ḳudāma, in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, used the same sources as Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*] (see de Goeje's ed., introd., xxii). Dja'far was acquainted with the same Ibn Khurradādhbih, as is shown by an *isnād* in the *Aghānī*³, xxii, 201, l. 6. It appears certain that Ḳudāma knew a definition of the *ishāra* [*q.v.*] by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and a definition of the *taḳsīm* by the same scholar (see Bonebakker, *Notes on the Kitāb Naḍrat al-Ighrīḍ*, Istanbul 1968, 18-19; idem, *Materials for the History of Arabic Rhetoric*, in *AIUON*, Suppl. no. 4 = vol. xxxv [1975], 36, 45, 48-50; cf. also *Naḳd*, introd., 26, ll. 17-21). Dja'far was a pupil of Isḥāḳ's son, Ḥammād. Less likely to be coincidental—and therefore to be considered an argument in favour of al-Muṭarrizī's identification—is the acquaintance of the two authors with the family of the Ṭāhirids (see *Materials*, 36-7; *Aghānī*³, v, 390, xi, 337, xviii, 128). Finally there is strong evidence that the author of the *Aghānī*, who related many traditions from Dja'far, also knew Ḳudāma's work and may even have met him in person (see *Notes*, 17-18, 27-9; *Materials*, 39, 51). If al-Muṭarrizī is correct, one could suggest that Ibn al-Nadīm had wrongly identified a certain Abū Ḳudāma as the father of our author. This Abū Ḳudāma appears in al-Marzubānī's *al-Muwashshaḥ* (Cairo 1385/1965, 572) as a *kātib* who composed bad verse (cf. also an anecdote on a certain Ibn Ḳudāma whom Yāḳūt, ii, 414-5 is apparently unable to identify, and al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ*: *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa-'l-Muttaḳī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, Cairo 1354/1935, 212-13).

The date 337/948 for Ḳudāma's death which is reported by Ibn al-Djawzī (*al-Muntaẓam*, vi, 363) and repeated by others, is rejected by Yāḳūt (vi, 204). Yāḳūt also rejects a statement by an unnamed commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī who makes Ḳudāma a secretary of the Buwayhids. He argues that Ḳudāma was a contemporary of Tha'lab (*adraka zamana Tha'labin*), al-Mubarrad, Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī, Ibn Ḳutayba, and other scholars of the same generation. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm* (Cairo 1348, iii, 297-8) goes further and says

explicitly that Ḳudāma was a pupil of al-Mubarrad, and according to Ibn al-Djawzī, he consulted Thaʿlab; but in the *Naḳd* there is evidence only of a personal acquaintance between Ḳudāma and Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) (*Naḳd*, text, 35, 44, 45, 102, 115, 117, introd., 23-9). If Ḳudāma was indeed a pupil of Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (d. at the latest 275/888), this would mean that he was born around 260, which would not necessarily conflict with the date reported by Ibn al-Djawzī. Yāḳūt offers the year 320/932 as the only reliable *terminus post quem*. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, to whom Yāḳūt refers, mentions that in that year Abū ʿAmr (*sic*; read Abū ʿUmar wa-?) Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar attended a famous disputation between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus in the presence of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt (in 326 according to Abū Ḥayyān's *Imtāʿ*, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 108, but cf. i, 129, l. 1; in 320 according to his *Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1347/1929, 69, and Yāḳūt, iii, 106 and vi, 204, see also *JRAS* [1905], 82, 84-5). According to a second report by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*Imtāʿ*, ii, 145-6), Ḳudāma showed (*ʿaraḍa*) his *Kitāb al-Kharādj* to the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā in that year.

The two other dates for Ḳudāma's death, "during the reign of al-Muḳtadir" and 328, appear respectively in al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* (Cairo 1351, 256 = Cairo 1383/1964, 386) and in the *Dhayl taʾrīkh Baghdād* of Ibn al-Nadidjār [*q.v.*] as quoted in an unedited section of the *Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt* of al-Ṣafadī (see Ṭabāna, 4 and 71).

Finally, mention should be made of de Slane's assertion that Ḳudāma belonged to a Christian family from Baṣra, possibly based on a statement by al-Idrīsī, who mentions one Ḳudāma al-Baṣrī among the sources which he used in compiling his monumental geography (*Opus geographicum*, i, Naples-Rome 1970, 6).

It is not easy to determine the range of Ḳudāma's scholarly interests on the basis of the titles of his works. So much seems certain that he was competent as a philosopher and commentator on Aristotle, as well as a historian, a philologist, and an expert on administration. To the list in the *Fihrist*, 130, 250, we should add a *Zahr al-rabīʿ fi 'l-akhbār* mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ed. Ch. Pellat, i, 15-6) and Yāḳūt, and an *al-Ḥayawānāt* (*Djawābāt*, *Djawābān*?) listed by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-dhakhāʾir*, Cairo 1373/1953, 6). Lists of titles given by later authors are probably unreliable (see below). Only three works have survived: (a) the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The full title of this work is no doubt *Kitāb al-Kharādj wa-ṣināʿat* (or *ṣanʿat*) *al-kitāba*. Not only is this the form in which the title appears in the unique manuscript of this work in the Köprülü Library (the manuscript in Paris is a late copy), but it also agrees with the contents of the work as far as they are known (Ṭabāna, 81-4; the *Ṣināʿat al-kuttāb* quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 481, must be a work by Abū Djaʿfar al-Naḥḥās quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī elsewhere in the *Ṣubḥ*). Only the second half of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (the 5th to the 8th *manzila*) have survived. They deal not only with a wide range of technical matters, sc. the various departments which constitute the central government, taxation and its historical, geographical and legal foundations, etc., but also give attention to linguistic usage, literary traditions, and the proper forms for conducting official correspondence. The first half had a section (the 3rd *manzila*) especially devoted to literary rhetoric (see Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual for secretaries*, in *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 328), on which ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (quoted in the *Imtāʿ*) had made some interesting observations. Some prose examples quoted on Ḳudāma's authority may go back to this section, and its fame may have earned Ḳudāma his proverbial reputation as a master of eloquence (see al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. de Sacy, 9; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xi, 306; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1388/1968, ii, 670). There is no satisfactory explanation for the statement of the *Fihrist* (repeated by others) that the book consisted of eight *manāzil*, to which Ḳudāma himself added a ninth (Ṭabāna, 93). This statement conflicts with the testimony of al-Muṭarrizī, who had read the work and found that it had only seven. A note in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Fihrist* (quoted on p. 144 of the Tehran ed. of 1391/1971) lends support to al-Muṭarrizī's assertion and suggests that the 8th *manzila* did not originally belong to the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, though it may have been identical with a *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* by Ḳudāma which is also listed in the *Fihrist*. This 8th *manzila* is the only extant section that remains unedited (apart from the historical outline in the 7th *manzila*, which merely copies al-Balādhurī, cf. de Goeje's ed. of the *Kharādj*, xxiii). It is characterised by Rosenthal as a systematic presentation of social and political science and as a *Fürstenspiegel*. De Goeje believes that the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* was written between 316 and 320.

(b) There is no reason to question the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ* or *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, even though al-Muṭarrizī is the only author to mention this work (see *Naḳd*, introd., 7-8, 12-5, 47 note, and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 328-9, 336-7 and notes 34-5, 43). Nor is there any reason to suggest that it was originally perhaps part of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ* lists synonyms and phrases in *sadjʿ* for use by orators and writers of artistic prose, and offers a short introduction on the figures of speech.

(c) The *Kitāb Naḳd al-shiʿr* is intended, as its title says, as a guide for the literary critic. Disregarding the treatise by Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the Introduction to the *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], Ḳudāma claims that no book has ever been written that would enable people to distinguish between good and bad poetry. He defines poetry as "metrical, rhymed speech expressing a meaning" (*maʿnā*). This definition in itself cannot be used to distinguish good poetry from bad, but it is possible to set standards for the use of the four constituent elements of poetry implicit in this definition, sc. the *maʿnā* (content), the *lafẓ* (verbal expression of this content, wording), the *wazn* (metre), and the *ḳāfiya* (rhyme) [*q.v.*], and the combination of these elements two by two (the combination of the *wazn* with the *ḳāfiya* need not be considered, since the *ḳāfiya* is part of the *lafẓ* and as such already subject to the metre). In passing, he reminds his readers that the distinction between good and bad poetry does not rest on the moral quality of the theme or on the question whether or not the poet is consistent in the sentiments he expresses, but rather on his skill in the use of the four constituent elements separately and in combination. The success of the poems thus depends on the ratio between good qualities (*nuʿūt*) and defects (*ʿuyūb*) specifically related to these elements or to combinations of these elements. Ḳudāma lists these *nuʿūt* and *ʿuyūb* in separate sections. In the first section he begins by discussing the four elements separately. Speaking of the *maʿnā*, he admits that there are an unlimited number of *maʿānī*, i.e. concepts, ideas, that may come to the

poet's mind. He will therefore limit himself to the principal "aims" (*aghrāḍ*), i.e. subjects or themes which can be associated with these *maʿānī* and to which the *maʿānī* should correspond; panegyric, satire, elegy, simile, description, and the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] which he sees as an erotic theme. The various figures of speech which come next are interpreted as ornaments pertaining to the *maʿnā* or as successful combinations of the four constituent elements. In the classification of these figures Ḳudāma shows much ingenuity. He has to recognise, however, that there are no figures of speech that can be classified as combinations of *lafẓ* with *wazn* and *maʿnā* with *wazn*: all technically good poetry that adequately expresses the poet's intentions illustrates these two combinations. Specimens of bad poetry are therefore the only illustrations of the principles involved. The section on the defects in poetry follows the arrangement of the section on the good qualities: Ḳudāma examines the faults resulting from a wrong use of the four constituent elements and classifies certain errors under these four elements or the combinations of these elements two by two. He also shows how the figures of speech are sometimes handled incorrectly. In both sections the discussion follows the pattern of term—definition—example found in the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* and the *Ḳawāʿid al-shiʿr* of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*]; but whereas the two earlier treatises usually do not comment on the examples, Ḳudāma often analyses his examples in detail.

There are some further points in Ḳudāma's presentation that deserve to be mentioned. The following are perhaps the most important: (a) his interest in Greek philosophy which appears, for instance, in his analysis of the function of the four cardinal virtues, *ʿaḳl*, *shadjāʿa*, *ʿadl*, and *ʿiffa* in panegyric, elegy, and satire (he goes on to list other virtues as deriving either from these cardinal virtues themselves or from combinations of these cardinal virtues two by two), from a quotation from Galen's Περὶ ἠθῶν in the chapter on satire, and from arguments based on Aristotle's *Categories* (further details in *Naḳd*, introd., 36-44 and the recent studies cited in the *Bibliography*). There is no clear evidence, however, that he was influenced by the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle; (b) his defence of the hyperbole (*ghuluww*). Ḳudāma quotes an unidentified connoisseur of poetry as saying: "The best poetry is the least truthful" (*aḥsanu 'l-shiʿri akdhabuhū*). He finds that the "Greek philosophers" support this view, but does not attribute the maxim itself to the Greeks (an antecedent of this famous maxim in L. Zolondek, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī*, Lexington, Kentucky 1961, 128b, 133; cf. also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1958, 26-7). Ḳudāma does not go so far that he accepts every form of hyperbole: there must be a link with reality which can be established by using the verb *kāda*, "to be almost ..." in a paraphrase of the statement, e.g. "You inspire the infidels with fear so that even the seed [of these infidels] fears you before it becomes a creature [in the womb]" can be paraphrased "... so that it is almost as though the seed of the enemy fears you ...", but a prayer to grant immortality to a ruler cannot be justified, since immortality in man is inconceivable (*laysa fī ṭibāʿi 'l-insāni*; he illustrates this rule more clearly when he points out that describing the noise of battle as being so strong that it can be heard as far as a two days' journey is an exaggeration, though it is possib'e in principle that this should happen); (c) his lack of interest in the early ʿAbbāsid poets (*muḥdathūn*). This tendency appears clearly from the above-mentioned list of the "principal aims" from which genres like the love lyric (*ghazal*), the wine poem (*khamriyya*), and the hunting poem (*ṭaradiyya*) are conspicuously absent. Ḳudāma nowhere expresses a categorical judgment. One could suggest therefore that his choice reflects a belief, which was perhaps not uncommon in his days, that ʿAbbāsid poetry did not represent a real break with ancient, that is classical, tradition. Consequently he may not have felt that there was a need to justify his choice. The same may be true of the examples, most of which are taken from ancient poetry, though Ḳudāma occasionally discusses examples by later poets (see *Naḳd*, text, 80-1, 83; for a list of *muḥdathūn* poets quoted in the *Naḳd*, see p. 72 of the article by Kratchkovsky cited in the *Bibl.*).

Ḳudāma may have been more dependent on his predecessors than is apparent at first sight (see *Naḳd*, introd., 22-36). He may have followed Ibn Ḳutayba and Ibn al-Muʿtazz respectively when he discussed the *lafẓ* and the *maʿnā* as independent constituent elements and distinguished between the proper and the erroneous use of the figures of speech. He may have depended on Ibn al-Muʿtazz and on earlier critics for the choice of his terminology and examples. Yet the theory on which he based the framework of his thesis, as well as many aspects of the elaboration of this theory, appear to be unique. However, his system did not provide a sound basis for a theory of literature and quickly fell into oblivion: the four-element scheme was rarely taken over and never in its complete form. The same is true of the distinction between *nuʿūt* and *ʿuyūb* and the system of cardinal virtues. By contrast, those aspects of his work that conformed closely to the system of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the 2nd and 3rd century scholars who preceded him were readily accepted, in particular his terminology and definitions of the figures of speech. Ḳudāma's figures were combined with those of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and came to be known collectively as *badīʿ*. The exact extent of Ḳudāma's influence is not, however, always easy to determine, since direct references to Ḳudāma are far exceeded by instances of unacknowledged borrowing (*Naḳd*, introd., 44-60). In other cases it is clear that scholars used not only the *Naḳd*, but also the *Kharādj* (*ibid.*, 57 and 47 note). There is a third category of borrowings where we find scholars borrowing from Ḳudāma without having any direct knowledge of the text they are quoting (ibid., 58; Bonebakker, *Notes*, 16-17 and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 309-10). Parallel to this we find that biographers after the time of Yāḳūt copy out their predecessors or offer erroneous information on the author and his work (see, for instance, al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1372/1952, i, 20).

Ḳudāma's *Naḳd* was the subject of refutations and commentaries, none of which appear to have survived. A complex system of division into sections, chapters, and paragraphs introduced by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] was recently discovered in a manuscript in Tunis (see Bonebakker in a forthcoming article in *RSO*, which also offers minor corrections to the text of his ed.). A work with the title *Naḳd al-nathr*, erroneously attributed to Ḳudāma, was identified in 1949 as the *Kitāb al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān* of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib (ed. A. Maṭlūb and Kh. al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1387/1967), though it is occasionally still quoted by its old title [see IBN WAHB in Suppl.]. The Shīʿī bias of this last work may have prompted Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī to include Ḳudāma in his *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa* (*al-Ḳarn al-*

rābiʿ, Beirut 1390/1971, 221). The attribution to Ḳudāma existed as early as the 6th/12th century (see *Naḳd*, introd., 15-20, 60-1; Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 48-9 note).

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(S. A. Bonebakker)

AL-ḲUDS, the most common Arabic name for Jerusalem.

A. History

1. The Islamic history of Jerusalem clearly falls into three periods. During the first six hundred years, the possession of the city was contested between Islam and Christianity and between many Islamic princes and factions. After the bloodless and poorly-recorded delivery of the town into the hands of an inconspicuous tribal commander, the history of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony to the Islamic presence in the Holy City; it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exclusion of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The subsequent six hundred years were comparatively uneventful. Jerusalem mostly lived the life of an out-of-the-way provincial town, delivered to the exactions of rapacious officials and notables, often also to tribulations at the hands of seditious *fellaḥīn* or nomads. But, in conformity with the religious policy of the Mamlūks and Ottomans, and with the general spirit of the age, Jerusalem greatly benefited by its holy character. The many Mamlūk buildings still decorating the old city and Sultan Sulaymān's wall encircling it manifest this trend to the present-day visitor.

The modern history of Jerusalem begins with its conquest by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1831. The reforms started by the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī could not be ignored by the Ottomans, to whose control the city reverted in 1840. The restrictions imposed on the non-Muslims were alleviated. Many important Christian buildings and institutions were erected both inside and outside the old city. The improved living conditions (albeit still very hard) induced many religious persons to settle in Jerusalem. By about 1880 Jews formed the majority of the population. Jerusalem became the capital of a *mutaṣarriflīḳ*, whose governor was directly responsible to the government in Istanbul, and by 1920 it was the capital of mandatory Palestine. In December 1949 the State of Israel made it its capital and seat of government (a step not recognised internationally). Fortunately, the war of 1967 and the events following it have not changed the historical character of the old city, while the new city has immensely expanded in every respect and direction. Jerusalem will always live on its past, but at present one feels in it the pulse of an active and vigorous community.

Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, the excellent historian of Jerusalem, who wrote his book *al-Uns al-djalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl* in 900/1494-5, rightly observes (p. 6) that besides material of the type of the *faḍāʾil* ("Praises of the excellence of the city"), "ʿUmar's conquest" and stories about the Dome of the Rock and scholars visiting Jerusalem, little useful about the history of the city had been written before him. He explains this deficiency partly by the interruption of the Muslim tradition by the Christian conquest (232, 262, etc.) and mentions the symbolic fact that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī, who had compiled a book on the subject, was killed by the Crusaders before completing it (264). The intrinsic reason for the absence of coherent information was, of course, the character of Jerusalem as a holy city which lived on the care lavished on it from outside, rather than being itself of political, administrative or cultural significance. Consequently, the presentation of its history must be one of highlights rather than a continuous account.

I. The first six hundred years

2. *Names*. In early Islam the full name of Jerusalem was *Īliyāʾ madīnat bayt al-maḳdis*, "Aelia, the city of the Temple" (Ṭabarī, i, 2360, l. 15). In practice, Īliyāʾ, or, more commonly, *bayt al-maḳdis*, were used. Īliyāʾ (pronounced in three different ways, Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, ed. 1945, i, 134, l. 5; 217), is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Muslim scholars, they suggested various other ex-

planations, such as the sanctuary of Elijah (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 87, l. 8; from Hebrew, since the Ḳur'ānic form of the name is *Ilyās*), or "the House of God" (*Yāh* as name of God is mentioned by Muṭahhar). *Bayt al-maḳdis* is Aramaic *bēth maḳdᵉshā*, "Temple", and was used in this sense by Muslims, e.g. *ʿIḳd al-farīd*, 1321, iii, 290, l. 10: "In the prayer of Ezra this is found: Oh God, from all places you have chosen Īliyā' and from Īliyā'—*bayt al-maḳdis*". Soon, however, the term (pronounced also *bayt al-muḳaddas*, see below) was transferred to the city, while the Temple area was designated by the Arabic equivalent of *bayt al-maḳdis*, sc. *al-ḥaram*.

The common name of Jerusalem, *al-Ḳuds*, still unknown to Ibn Saʿd, Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, the *Aghānī*, the *ʿIḳd al-farīd* and other classics of the 3rd/9th century, underwent a similar development. Muṭahhar, himself a native of Jerusalem, writing in 355/966, mentions the term only once (vi, 91, perhaps a later change), but al-Muḳaddasī, writing *ca.* 375/985, uses it frequently. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (439/1047) states that *al-Ḳuds* was used by the local people. *Al-Ḳuds* is Aramaic *ḳudsha*, which, in the term *ḳarta de-ḳudsha* (e.g. Isaiah, xlviii, 2) was understood not as "city of holiness", but as "city of the sanctuary". This is borne out by the usage of Karaite scholars writing in Jerusalem early in the 10th century, who call the city *bayt al-maḳdis*, but the Temple area *al-ḳuds* (see the lengthy quotation in J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, Philadelphia 1935, ii, 18; cf. also the Geniza [*q.v.*] fragment in S. Assaf, *Texts and studies*, Jerusalem 1946, 21, l. 13). Similarly, in a version of the often-quoted tradition in which the Jewish convert Kaʿb al-Aḥbār tries to induce the caliph ʿUmar to pray north of the Holy Rock, he says to him: "Then the entire *al-ḳuds*, that is, *al-masdjid al-ḥaram* (!) will be before you (Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣā'*, Ms. Heb. Univ. Library, fol. 81a, l. 8). It should be noted that, in letters from the 5th/11th century, when Hebrew had replaced Aramaic, Jerusalem was commonly called *ʿīr haḳ-ḳōdesh*, to be understood as "city of the sanctuary".

In accordance with the principle that "the multitude of names proves the excellence of their bearer", *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣa'*, ff. 9b-10b, enumerates seventeen Arabic names of Jerusalem (*Midrash Tehillim*, ed. S. Schechter, 1896, 8-9, has "seventy"). Suyūṭī's list does not include here the Ḳur'ānic expressions taken by the Muslim commentators as denoting Jerusalem, such as *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* (see below), or *mubawwā ṣidḳ*, "the safe abode" (X, 93, cf. *neve ṣedeḳ*, Jeremiah xxxi, 22). *Al-arḍ al-muḳaddasa* (V, 21), "the Holy Land", also was understood as denoting Jerusalem (*Itḥāf*, fol. 188b, l. 9), which is in conformity with Jewish and Christian usage, which often expands the name of the city on the country. This explanation might have influenced the pronunciation of *bayt al-maḳdis* as *bayt al-muḳaddas*.

Various Arabic versions of Hebr. *shālēm* (Ps. lxxvi, 3) and Aram. *Urishlem* (Arabicised *urshalīm*) are found in the sources and even in ancient Arabic poetry (*Sallam*, al-Aʿshā, al-Bakrī, 144, l. 22, 812, l. 17; *Salim*, *Itḥāf*, f. 10a). Whether *dār al-salām*, "abode of peace" (S. Assaf, *Texts*, 108-10, corresponding to Heb. *ʿīr hash-shālōm*, Gottheil-Worrel, *Geniza fragments from the Freer Collection*, New York 1926, 26), found in Geniza letters of the 11th century, was used also by Muslims has not yet been ascertained.

3. *Jerusalem in the Ḳur'ān.* Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly in the Ḳur'ān. But "the city of the sanctuary" certainly was known to the Prophet. Sūra XVII, significantly named both *al-Isrā'* and *Banū Isrā'īl*, in vv. 2-8 clearly refers to the destruction of the first and second temples (called *masdjid* in V, 7) as crucial events in the history of the Banū Isrā'īl. *Al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* in the opening verse of the Sūra is taken by the prevailing Muslim tradition as referring to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Against this, it has been argued that there was no building on the site of the Temple at the time of the Prophet, that the Holy Land is called in the Ḳur'ān the "nearest" (XXX, 2) and not the farthest (XVII, 1), and that, in general, the verse makes the impression (and is taken thus by Islamic tradition) of an account of a nightly ascension to a heavenly sanctuary (details in the articles of Bevan, Schrieke and Horovitz, cited in MIʿRĀDJ). But knowledge of the state of the site of the Temple or consistency in geographical definition were outside the interests of the Prophet. It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2-8, the tradition identifying *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another (cf. "The Jerusalem above", St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv, 26).

The situation is similar with regard to the *ḳibla*, or direction of prayer (II, 136-8). Again, Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly, but the Islamic tradition that it was intended by "the first *ḳibla*" is no doubt genuine; since the new *ḳibla*, which satisfied the Prophet's heart, was to the direction of the sanctuary of his native city, it stands to reason that the original one also was oriented to a holy city, and there was none for monotheists except Jerusalem. No "political" reasons, however, should be assumed for this change ("trying to win the Jews", "breaking with the Jews"). One prayed towards Jerusalem because this was the direction of the People of the Book as was known in Medina. It simply was the proper thing to do. When Islam became a separate religion with Mecca as its central sanctuary, the change was natural and religiously cogent.

4. *The Conquest.* The battle of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in the summer of 13/634 opened southern Palestine to the conquering Muslims. No siege was laid on Jerusalem, but already in his sermon on Christmas night 634 the aged patriarch Sophronius expressed his grief that it was impossible to proceed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as usual because of the marauding Arabs. A few days later, in his sermon on Epiphany, he mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracens, "who boast they would conquer the entire world". Still, four years passed from the Arab invasion of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem. It came about early in the year 638 (end of 16, or beginning of 17 A.H.), after the decisive battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*] (Radjab 15/Aug. 636).

The stories about the fall of Jerusalem can be divided into three groups. The ancient and most trustworthy tradition simply reports that the capitulation was arranged with Khālid b. Thābit al-Fahmī, a little-known tribal commander, under the condition that the open country belonged to the Muslims, while the city would not be touched as long as its inhabitants paid the tribute imposed on them (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 139, ll. 4-9). No treaty is mentioned yet. The second type, represented, e.g. by Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 167, and Eutychius, *Annales*, ii, 17, reproduces a treaty,

but the treaty is very succinct and does not differ much from Balādhurī's version. Later, conditions similar to those made with the Byzantine authorities in Egypt were added and some (but not all) Christian authors added the condition "that no Jew should live with them in Jerusalem". This condition is found also in Ṭabarī, i, 2405, from where several later Muslim writers have copied it. But Ṭabarī's source here was Sayf b. ʿUmar, whose fathomless unreliability has been proved in detail long time ago (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 3-7) and who tells us, e.g. here, Ṭabarī, i, 2404, about the conquest of Ramla, a city founded by the crown prince Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik eighty years later. A mere look at the treaty produced by Sayf, its wrong date and fantastic witnesses, shows its worthlessness. It is natural, however, that in times of tension, as in 879/1474, when the Mamlūk sultan ordered the rebuilding of a synagogue in Jerusalem, or as from 1929, this treaty served a purpose. From the Christian point of view, it is understandable that some writers wished to preserve Jerusalem as a Christian city, as it was in Byzantine times, but this was hardly in the interests of the Muslims, and their actions proved that such a stipulation never existed.

In addition to these three comparatively old versions, a later one, represented among many others by *Uns*, 225, adds several conditions of the legendary "Covenant of ʿUmar", in which the Christians undertake, *inter alia*, not to speak Arabic. Even more fantastic is Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 323 (pseudo-Wāķidī), where the treaty is made with twenty Jews headed by Yūsuf (a scribal error for Yūshaʿ) b. Nūn. This is a "harmonising" legend; a Jew, bearing the same name as the Jewish conqueror of the Holy Land, delivers it into the hands of the Muslims.

5. *The beginnings of Islamisation*. Ṭabarī, i, 2408, ff., and many later Muslim and Christian sources, tell about a visit to Jerusalem by the caliph ʿUmar, but all we have about it are legends whose easily recognisable tendencies betray their worthlessness. According to one school, the caliph was accompanied by Jews who showed him the true site of the Temple, which was concealed by rubble purposely heaped on it by Christians. When the place was cleared and the ubiquitous Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] suggested to ʿUmar to pray behind the Holy Rock so that the two *ķibla*s should be in front of him (see § 2, above), the caliph refused, since the Muslims should turn towards the Kaʿba alone. This is, of course, one of the many traditions against the *bidʿa* of the overrating of the sanctity of Jerusalem (see § 11, below). According to Christian sources, the caliph visited the churches, but declined to pray in one of them in order to preclude any claims on it by later Muslim generations. This legend was a pious wish which originated at a time when the encroachments of the Muslims, which later became a reality, still were only a menace, see § 7, below. Since the conditions of the surrender safeguarded to the Christians the use of their churches, it is likely that the Temple area, which was largely or entirely unoccupied, served as a place of prayer to the Muslims from the very beginning, and there is no reason to doubt that this was done on order of the ruling caliph ʿUmar.

As far as the ancient sources go, it appears that the early Muslim settlers in Jerusalem were people from Medina, such as Aws, the nephew of the Prophet's court poet Ḥassān b. Thābit. Aws was a disciple of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and himself a pietist, Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 124; his tomb was still known at the time of Mudjīr al-Dīn, *Uns*, 233. Several other Medinese are listed as settlers in Jerusalem by Ibn Saʿd, iii/3, 57; vii/2, 129, l. 13, etc. Among them the famous "companion" ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, the first Muslim judge in the city (al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, 1364, i, 14) is to be noted. The Anṣār were accounted of Yaman; thus it was natural that the Yemenī auxiliary corps, *al-madad min ahl al-Yaman*, also was stationed there (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 140, l. 14). Simeon, the father of Muḥammad's Jewish concubine Rayḥāna, settled in Jerusalem and delivered sermons in the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area. He, too, of course, was from Medina (*Uns*, 235).

The strange *ḥadīth* running *ʿimrān bayt al-maķdis kharāb yathrib*, "The building of Jerusalem is the destruction of Medina", might have been originally a *bon mot* on this exodus from the capital of the Ḥidjāz to Jerusalem (which cannot have been more than a trickle); but soon became a standing element in the *malāḥim* literature. (Its continuation: *wa-kharāb yathrib khurūdj al-malḥama*, "and the destruction of Medina is the beginning of the war of the End of the Days". *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, v, 232, 245; Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*, 3; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, ii, 28; Ibn Kathīr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya*, i, 79; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, 1955, i, 120; *al-Sirādj al-munīr*, ii, 460, where are further sources).

Muķaddasī, 171, l. 12 and others report that the caliph ʿUthmān, whose rule began only eight years after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, dedicated the revenue from the rich vegetable gardens of Siloam (which, in accordance with the peace settlement, belonged to the Muslims) to the poor of the city. Umm al-Dardāʾ, the wife of the wise *ķāḍī* of Damascus, spent every year six months in Jerusalem, where "she sat among the poor" (*Uns*, 254). These and similar reports are not necessarily spurious, but may betray early Christian influence.

The Islamic conquest threw the Christian community of the city into complete disarray. The aged patriarch Sophronius died shortly afterwards and no new one was appointed until 706. The further history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in early Islamic times is almost as obscure as that of the Jewish spiritual leadership in the country during that period. But Jerusalem retained largely its Christian character. As al-Muķaddasī tells us (182, l. 16 ff.), the Christian holidays regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population, and through Jerusalem and the hermits populating the mountains in its environment, pious Muslims became acquainted with the ways of Christian ascetism (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history*, 141, 146).

6. *The Umayyads (19-132/640-750)*. About two years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Umayyad Muʿāwiya was appointed commander of the army operating in Palestine and Syria. He governed these countries for forty years, first as governor, and later as caliph. Jerusalem was the scene of two decisive events in his career. In 38/658, Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, concluded there a pact of co-operation, which decided the contest between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in the latter's favour (Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 2, l. 22 ff.; the text of the agreement seems to be genuine). In Ṣafar-Rabīʿ I 40/July 660 homage was paid to Muʿāwiya as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Muʿāwiya prayed on this occasion at Golgotha, Gethsemane and the Tomb of Maria (T. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 95). This was hardly mere politics (*ibid.*, 85), but a manifestation of the chiliastic state of mind of the time, sc. Islam entering into its inheritance of the preceding monotheistic religions.

During the long rule of Muʿāwiya, the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area, approximately described by bishop Arculfus in *ca.* 680 (see L. Bieler, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, clxxv, *Itineraria etc.*, Turnhout 1965, 177), must have taken shape. Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, iv, 87, l. 11, expressly states that Muʿāwiya built the Muslim sanctuary there "after ʿUmar". It stands also to reason that the plan for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, which needed immense preparations, was already made during the protracted and orderly rule of Muʿāwiya. The inscription in the dome bears the year 72/691-2, but the beginning of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign (65-86/685-705) was extremely turbulent. ʿAbd al-Malik had good reasons to make efforts towards the completion of the building, which would show him as the great champion of Islam, but the early years of his caliphate were hardly suited for both conceiving such an enormous undertaking and carrying it out to its very end during a comparatively short period. Contrariwise, Muʿāwiya is known also by his extensive buying and building activities in Mecca (in order to provide shelter for pilgrims and *mudjāwirūn*), in which he was not followed by later Umayyads, see M. J. Kister, *Some reports concerning Mecca*, in *JESHO*, xv (1972), 84-91.

Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 35-7, Eng. tr. ii, 44-6, expounded the theory that ʿAbd al-Malik, by erecting the Dome of the Rock, tried to divert the Pilgrimage from Mecca, then the capital of his rival ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the many "traditions" in the name of the Prophet in favour or against the sanctity of Jerusalem reflect this political contest for the caliphate. This thesis was generally accepted and has found its way into the textbooks on Islamic history. It cannot be maintained, however. None of the great Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th century who describe the conflict between ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr in utmost detail, nor any of the older geographers, including al-Muḳaddasī, a native of Jerusalem, makes the slightest allusion to such an intention of the Umayyad caliph. On the contrary, for the year 68/687-8, Ṭabarī, ii, 781-3 and others, report expressly that the soldiers of ʿAbd al-Malik's expeditionary force participated in the *ḥadjdj*. They wished to do so even during the very siege of Mecca, a request which Ibn Zubayr naturally had to refuse, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 360. Moreover, it is obvious that ʿAbd al-Malik would not have strengthened, but endangered his position by trying to divert the *ḥadjdj* from the holy sites expressly mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, and this after the *ḳibla* had been emphatically turned away from Jerusalem. By abolishing one of the five pillars of Islam, he would have made himself a *kāfir*, against whom the *djihād* was obligatory. The two older sources that mention the allegation that ʿAbd al-Malik, by constructing the Dome of the Rock, tried to attract the *ḥadjdj* to Jerusalem, sc. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 311, and Eutychius, i, 39, invalidate their statements by others, obviously untrue, connected with them. They have the Umayyads forbid the Pilgrimage to Mecca, which is in flagrant contradiction to trustworthy reports that Umayyad caliphs made the pilgrimage themselves.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 439/1047, reports that people in Palestine who were unable to make the *ḥadjdj*, assembled in Jerusalem *wa-bi-mawḳif bi-īstand*, "and performed the *wuḳūf*", the standing in the presence of God which was the main ceremony at the sacred mountain of ʿArafāt [*q.v.*]. This statement, which has sometimes been adduced as a corroboration of Goldziher's thesis, must be understood in a wider Islamic context. Such a substitute for the pilgrimage is attested also for the main cities of other provinces, such as Baṣra and Fusṭāṭ; it even had a special name, *taʿrīf*, derived from ʿArafāt, Ibn Taghribirdī, i, 207. But, like the individual sacrifices, it manifested a participation in the *ḥadjdj*, celebrated on the same day in Arabia, not its replacement by a local pilgrimage.

The real urge for the erection of the Dome of the Rock on the site where it stands and in the form which it has, was religious, in addition, of course, to the natural acculturation of the Arabs to an environment, where magnificent edifices were the eloquent witnesses of a triumphant Church and of great rulers. Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywa [*q.v.*] of Baysān, who was in charge of the building operations (*Uns*, 241, and others; probably only the financial aspect, while the *mawlā* Yazīd b. Salām supervised the actual work) was the most prominent traditionist of Shaʾm, a pietist and ascetic, (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 266), and he and people of his ilk might have been the spiritual originators of the undertaking. By choosing the site, Islam manifested itself as the exclusive heir of the older religions. The gorgeous mosaics, representing jewels and ornaments of the greatest variety, were in chiliastic fulfillment of the prophetic descriptions of the future Jerusalem (Isaiah, liv, 12, etc.), which had become known to the Muslims (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 97, ll. 11-13) and were incorporated by them in the legendary descriptions of Solomon's Temple (*ibid.*, 99, l. 10). The detailed inscriptions in the Dome betray a spirit of Islamic mission, specifically to the Christians, since the "prophethood" of Jesus is emphatically stressed and his sonship denied with equal fervour. Details in the articles of Goitein, Grabar and Caskel; see Bibliography.

Muslim and Jewish sources report that Jews were employed as servants of the sanctuary on the Temple area, its cleaning and illumination (including the making of the glass lamps). If true at all, these reports can refer only to an early and very short period. On the other hand, the contribution of oil for the illumination of the Temple area seems to have been regarded by both Christians and Jews as a pious deed, widely observed. Al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874-5) in his book on *waḳf*, 341, says: "If a Christian or Jew dedicates his land or house to the repairs of the *Bayt al-maḳdis* or for the purchase of oil for its illumination, it is permissible to accept this from him, for this is an act of piety both with regard to Muslims and to them". Previously, the author had explained that it was not permitted to accept from non-Muslims a *waḳf* for specific Muslim purposes). An Italian Jew of the 10th century, who was of great munificence, also contributed oil "to the sanctuary on the Western Wall, namely to the altar (clearly an expression for a non-Jewish building) which is inside" (*Aḥimaʿa's chronicle*, ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem 1944, 47).

Besides the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad period contributed to Jerusalem other great architectural achievements, the *masdjid al-aḳṣā* and the *dār al-imāra*, see section B. New gates were added (Ibn Kathīr, xi, 226, repeating the anecdote that the gate with the inscription of al-Ḥadjdjādj, at that time governor of Filasṭīn, remained intact, while that bearing the name of ʿAbd al-Malik collapsed) and the road to Jerusalem was repaired (mentioned also in a Jewish source), its milestones receiving Arab inscriptions (*RCEA*, no. 15). It is evident that such comprehensive building operations must have had a considerable impact on the composition of Jerusalem's population.

The extensive foundations of Umayyad buildings laid bare to the south and south west of the Aḳṣā mosque during the recent excavations of B. Mazar (1968-76) suggest that the Muslims planned to do in Palestine what they had done in Ifrīḳiya, Egypt and Syria, sc. to replace the Byzantine capital situated on the seashore (Caesarea) by an inland administrative centre. In view of the lack of written sources on the subject, we cannot know why Jerusalem finally did not acquire this status. For the then available means of transportation, Jerusalem was perhaps too far away from the main lines of international traffic.

The foundation of Ramla [*q.v.*] as capital city of the province of Filasṭīn by the crown prince Sulaymān was in the first place a blow for neighbouring Lod or Lydda, but in the long run was detrimental to Jerusalem. According to later traditions, Sulaymān himself received homage in Jerusalem and intended to stay there (Ibn Kat͟hīr, ix, 174; cf. also E. Sivan, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i, 270, n. 33), but he took Ramla as his permanent residence and the town became the administrative and economic centre of the country. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were well aware of this fact, as Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, one of them, observes (iv, 72, ll. 2-3): *bayt al-maḳdis min sawād al-ramla baʿd mā kānat dār al-mulk fī ayyām Sulaymān wa-Dāwūd*, "Jerusalem is a provincial town attached to Ramla after having been the seat of the government in the days of Solomon and David".

7. *The ʿAbbāsid Period (132-358/750-969)*. The end of Umayyad rule was for Jerusalem, as for Palestine and Syria in general, a period of great tribulations. In the wake of a rebellion against the last Umayyad Marwān II, the walls of Jerusalem were pulled down and its inhabitants punished. Earthquakes aggravated the situation. At the beginning, the new dynasty paid special tribute to the holy character of the city. This was manifested by the first visit of al-Manṣūr, who set out for Jerusalem immediately after returning to Bag͟hdād from the pilgrimage to Mecca of the year 140/758 (Ṭabarī, iii, 129). He did so in order to fulfill a vow (Masʿūdī, vi, 212, l. 9), made perhaps because a hundred lunar years had passed since Muʿāwiya had received homage in the Holy City in 19/40. A second visit of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, in 154/771 (Ṭab. iii, 372) was made in connection with a great rising in the Mag͟hrib; al-Manṣūr accompanied as far as Jerusalem the large army assembled by him for the quelling of the revolt (Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 233, ll. 4-5, Ibn al-At͟hīr, v, 467). His son al-Mahdī also visited Jerusalem and prayed there (Ṭab. iii, 500), but Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, who made the *ḥadjdj* almost every second year and frequented Syria because of the Holy War against Byzantium, never came to Jerusalem. Nor did his son al-Maʾmūn, although he sojourned in Syria and even in Egypt, or any other later ʿAbbāsid caliph. This change of attitude probably reflected the new trend of Islamic piety, which abhorred the *bidʿas*, the foreign elements and "innovations", in the legends about Jerusalem.

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i, 446, reports that al-Manṣūr, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, ordered the Christians and Hebrews to tattoo their names on their hands (so that they could not escape the poll tax), whereupon many Christians fled to "Romania" via the sea. Such measures had been taken earlier in Islam; their adoption with regard to Jerusalem obviously means that at that time both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population of the city must have become quite numerous and the mutual assimilation of the various elements comparatively progressed. This increase must have been due to religious incentive, for the ancient *ḥadīt͟h* assuring the Muslims that God permanently guaranteed sustenance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, l. 12, and others) proves that life there never was easy. The legendary biographies of most of the early Ṣūfīs, especially those of Iranian origin, contain the detail that they stayed in Jerusalem one time or another (*JAOS*, lxx, 107), and well-founded sources prove a considerable Muslim influx from Iran, see § 9, below.

The Christians of Jerusalem received a mighty uplift by the interest shown for the Holy City by the rulers and the pious of Western Europe. Whatever the truth about the embassies exchanged between Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd and Charlemagne, and the delivery to the latter of the key and the standard of Jerusalem (received by him in Rome in the year 800, at the time of his coronation as Emperor), there can be no doubt that many new buildings destined for the religious and material needs of pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors (a list in T. Tobler, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i, 314). Charlemagne's son and successor Louis ordered each estate in his empire to contribute one denarius for the needs of Christian Jerusalem. It is evident that most of the money needed for the payment of the poll tax and other impositions on the Christians of the city came from abroad. The composition of the Christian population may be gauged from a list of the hermits living in cells on the Mount of Olives, of whom eleven said their psalmodies in Greek, six in Syriac, five in Latin, four in Georgian, two in Armenian, and one in Arabic (Tobler, *op. cit.*, i, 302).

Ca. 800, the Jewish High Council, the *yes͟hiva*, headed by the Gaon (corresponding to the Christian patriarch), moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem. His authority was soon challenged by the Karaites [*q.v.*]' a dissident Jewish sect, which made Jerusalem its centre. The Karaite dispensation, which mainly developed on Iranian soil, is to be understood in the Islamic context as a branch of the S͟huʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], emphasising the return to the Bible, the revival of Hebrew, and the settling in the Holy Land. As is natural, the movement originated preponderantly in circles near to the Arabs, Jewish government officials or otherwise prominent people. Consequently, the Karaite settlers in Jerusalem easily got the upper hand. Jerusalem became indeed their main spiritual centre. In the ensuing controversies, which, during the turbulent 3rd/9th century, were brought before the Muslim authorities, one Gaon lost his life and two others with difficulty escaped a similar fate (J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, repr. 1970, i, 57). In the course of time, the two denominations learned to co-exist and to cooperate, but in Jerusalem rather less than, e.g., in Egypt. The Fāṭimids recognised the Gaon of Jerusalem as the head of the Rabbanite Jews in their empire (see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 5 ff.).

During the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), Jerusalem suffered by a famine and became depleted of its Muslims, an opportunity used by the patriarch to execute repairs in the building of the Holy Sepulchre (Eutychius, ii, 55-57). More serious was a great revolt of *fellāḥīn*, which broke out at the end of the reign of his successor al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). The revolt was led by one Abū Ḥarb al-

Mubarḳaʿ ("veiled one"—as former impostors had been) and soon encompassed the whole of Syria. Its leader assumed the role of the Sufyānī, or messiah of Umayyad stock, reduced the poll tax and made other promises to the population. But soon he changed his ways. When he entered Jerusalem, its entire populace, Muslims, Christians and Jews, fled and all the places of worship were pillaged. Only a large contribution by the patriarch prevented him from burning the Holy Sepulchre. It was a typical peasants' revolt, which was unable to make a stand against the regular army sent to subdue it by al-Muʿtaṣim's successor (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 371-2, who does not mention Jerusalem; Michael Syrus, ii, 541).

In 256/869-70 Syria and Palestine received for the first time a Turk as governor (Amadjūr, Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 165, ll. 3-7), but this did not change the ways of the ʿAbbāsid régime, which had long before assumed the character of a bureaucracy based largely on foreign hirelings. Precisely at that time, the patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem praised the Saracens for permitting the Christians to build churches and to live in accordance with their religion without oppressing them. (J. D. Mansi, *Conciliorum collectio*, repr. 1960, xvi, 26), and Bernard the monk expressed his admiration for the safety of the roads in the country (Tobler, *Itinera*, 319).

Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, who had made himself lord of Egypt in 254/868, conquered Palestine in 264/878, but in the wars between the Ṭūlūnids and later the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*], the rulers of Egypt, and their overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, Jerusalem played no role. But a new turn in the concepts about the holy character of Jerusalem must have taken place. The belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgement and the gate to Paradise (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, etc.), must have gained ground, whence people who could afford it arranged for their burial there. Ṭabarī, i, 486, l. 12, and others report that the Jews from all countries, following the example of Moses, who carried the coffin of Joseph with him from Egypt, used to bring their dead to the Holy Land. This custom, as is proved by many Geniza documents, was indeed widespread, even among people of limited means. It went back to Roman times, when "Ḥimyarite" Jews buried their dead in the Bēth-Shaʿarayim necropolis near Haifa. In the 4th/10th century it must have become popular among Muslims. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Nūsharī, the first ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt after the overthrow of the Ṭūlūnids, was buried in Jerusalem in 296/909; the founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, the Turk Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, happened to die in Damascus in 334/946, but he and several other members of his family and retinue, including the famous black eunuch Kāfūr, one of the able rulers of Egypt, were interred in Jerusalem.

Ṭabarī, iii, 2128, l. 18, and others report under the year 891 that the esoteric sect of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. But he notes also that they kept Monday instead of Friday as their weekly day of worship and celebrated it (in the Jewish fashion) as a day of rest. Such oddities (if they really existed) were of no general significance for Islam. In their devastating raids, the Ḳarmaṭians reached also Palestine, but Jerusalem is not mentioned at that time in connection with their exploits.

The absence of a strong central government during the 3rd/9th century and perhaps also other circumstances, such as the Byzantine offensive against Islamic territories (culminating in the boasting threat of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 964 that he would take Jerusalem) caused friction between the various religious communities. Half of the outer court of the Holy Sepulchre was taken away and a mosque erected on it (later called *masdjid ʿUmar*, probably in order to emphasise, against Christian claims (above, § 4), that the caliph had prayed there). Shortly afterwards, on Palm Sunday 938, the Christian procession was attacked and the Holy Sepulchre damaged by fire. Even worse, and characteristic for the period, were the events of 355/966. The patriarch of Jerusalem had sought the intervention of Kāfūr, the black viceroy of Egypt, against the overreaching Berber governor of Jerusalem who had imposed excessive financial demands on the Christians. Kāfūr sent a Turkish officer for the protection of the Christians. But the governor did not budge. When, on Pentecost, the patriarch refused to pay more than the tribute usually delivered on that holiday, the Berber incited the mob; the Holy Sepulchre and other churches were pillaged and set on fire, the patriarch was murdered and his body burnt. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, 125, who tells this story, adds that the Jews outdid the Muslims in damaging the sacred buildings. This sounds strange, considering the weak position of the Jews in Jerusalem, but perhaps finds its explanation in a cryptic remark by a contemporary Karaite scholar about dangerous Christian machinations against the Jews in the city (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, 18-19) and in complaints about Jews in letters sent from Jerusalem and Venice to Henry I the Fowler in 922 (*M.G.H. Const.*, i, 4-7).

8. *Fāṭimids, Turkomāns and Saldjūḳs* (*358-492/969-1099*). Shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], Palestine with Jerusalem came under their domination, but participated only comparatively little in the economic efflorescence of the first hundred years of their rule. Palestine was incessantly harrassed by Ḳarmaṭians and bedouins, first as allies, but soon (as from 363/974) separately. For about seventy years the Banū Djarrāḥ chieftains tried to get a hold of the country including Jerusalem (Ibn Athīr, x, 308, l. 17), sometimes supported by the Byzantine emperors. The 1020s were particularly harrowing. The outrages perpetrated by the bedouins "were unlike anything experienced in the countries of Islam since its inception" (Geniza letter, J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, ii, 181, l. 22). The details reported in the Geniza letters are revolting.

The unceasing local tribulations were temporarily overshadowed by the general persecution of Christians and Jews ordered by the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021). It culminated in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre on 28 September 1009. This extraordinary measure cannot be explained by special circumstances alone, such as the abnormal state of mind of the caliph or the Muslims' anger over the pious fraud of the holy fire (M. Canard, *La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection ... et ... la descente du feu sacré*, in *Byzantion*, xxv (1965), 16-43, where the literature on the event is surveyed). The persecution was a prolonged process; that of the Jews began only in 402/1012, at a time when the Christians of Jerusalem, with the help or connivance of the bedouin chieftain Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ already tried to restore the Holy Sepulchre. Most likely, an inner turn-about of the religious policy of the Ismāʿīlī leadership was the main cause of the persecution. Anyhow, it left Jerusalem, which had consisted largely of Christian buildings, a shambles. The earthquake of 407/1016, in which the dome of the

Ṣak͟hra collapsed, made things worse (according to a Geniza letter, the collapse occurred on the 25 July, at 4 p.m., J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, i, 313). The persecution petered out, but the Jews and Christians were much too impoverished to be able to undo the destruction. It took almost forty years until the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre was completed.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem began to take the place of Ramla as the main city of the country. Ramla had suffered by the earthquakes of 424/1033 and 460/1068 and by the endless depredations of the bedouins more extensively than had Jerusalem (cf. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ii, 201). Contrariwise, the stream of pilgrims from Europe to Jerusalem became ever stronger, the great caravan of 12,000 pilgrims from southern Germany and Holland arriving in 1065, so lively described by Lambert of Hersfeld, being one of its best known examples. It may also be that the techniques of warfare and fortifications had changed, making Jerusalem more easily defendable than a city in a flat country like Ramla. The audacity of the Banū D̲j̲arrāḥ and other bedouin hordes forced the Fāṭimids to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem in 424/1033 and again in 455/1063. In the last third of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events.

The Sald̲j̲ūḳ invasions set into motion motley crowds of soldiers of fortune from many nations, led by ruthless condottieri. One of these was the Turkoman Atsïz b. Uvak [*q.v.*], whom the Fāṭimid government, paralysed by famine, plague and complete anarchy in Egypt, called in against the unruly bedouins in Palestine. But Atsïz turned against the Fāṭimids and took Jerusalem in 463/1071 after a prolonged siege. Emboldened by his successes, he attacked Egypt itself, but there order had been restored by the Armenian convert Badr al-D̲j̲āmālī [*q.v.*], and Atsïz was forced to retreat (469/1077). In a long Hebrew poem celebrating the Fāṭimid victory, a Jewish dignitary from Palestine describes in detail the sufferings of Jerusalem, and in particular the devastation of its environment with its vineyards and orchards by Atsïz's hordes (ed. J. Greenstone, repr. from *AJSLL* [1906], 1-34). The local population rose against the barbarian conquerors and Atsïz had to take Jerusalem a second time, putting the inhabitants to sword, even those who had fled into the al-Aḳṣā mosque. Only those who had taken refuge in the Dome of the Rock were spared. Atsïz was soon liquidated by the brother of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sultan Malik S̲h̲āh, Tutus̲h̲, who then was governor of Damascus (470/1078). Thus Jerusalem was incorporated in the great Sald̲j̲ūḳ empire, the borders of which henceforth were given as stretching "from Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar to Jerusalem" (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-d̲j̲anān*, iii, 139). Tutus̲h̲ assigned Jerusalem to Artuḳ [*q.v.*], the founder of the Mesopotamian dynasty called after him. It is not sure when exactly Artuḳ took possession of the city; it was in his hands in 479/1086 (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 96), and was given by him to two of his sons in 484/1091. In S̲h̲aʿbān 491/July 1098 (Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 38), that is, when the Crusaders were already on their march to Jerusalem, al-Afḍal, the Fāṭimid viceroy of Egypt, laid siege on the city, "bombarding it from forty catapults during forty days" (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 184). The two brothers surrendered, but were released unharmed by al-Afḍal. How unaware the Muslims were of the magnitude of the Crusader menace can be gauged from the fact that another Sald̲j̲ūḳ, Riḍwān, a son of Tutus̲h̲, set out from Damascus via Nābulus to wrest Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids. But he was no match for al-Afḍal's army; the viceroy returned to Egypt, leaving a small garrison in Jerusalem.

9. *Life in Jerusalem in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries*. Copious references in the works of Muslim authors and over a hundred Geniza letters from Jerusalem written during the 5th/11th century enable us to form a fairly substantial idea about life in Jerusalem during the two centuries preceding its capture by the Crusaders. This is particularly true with regard to the last third of the 4th/10th century, when al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir and al-Muḳaddasī wrote, and the second third of the 5th/11th, when Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw visited the city and when the country had a short respite of comparatively normal times, reflected in the Geniza letters, between the atrocities of the bedouins and the devastations of the Turkomans.

The Muslim geographers naturally dedicated most of their attention to the sacred buildings and the fortifications, see section B. Al-Muḳaddasī, a keen observer (see e.g. his remark about a bath near the Bāb al-Asbāṭ (St. Stephen's gate), which was built half in the local tradition, and half according to the Persian fashion, 440, l. 15) again and again praises the unique beauty of Jerusalem (e.g. 33, l. 16; 166, l. 2; 167, n.n.), its clean and well-stocked markets and public bathhouses, and does not forget to mention the latrines near the mosques and in the bazaars (182, l. 9). During the 4th/10th century, it seems, Muslim religious instruction in Jerusalem was mainly concentrated in the mosques of the Ḥaram (comparable to what happened in other Islamic cities; see also below). In the wake of al-Ḥākim's persecution, some Christian buildings might have become available for the *zāwiya*s mentioned by Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 264. The Persian religious group of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], which had first settled in Jerusalem already around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, erected *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*s for the needs of its members. By the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Christian quarter in the north-western part of the city, that is, around the Holy Sepulchre and other age-old churches, the Armenian quarter near St. James cathedral in the south, as well as two Jewish enclaves, one near the Western Wall, where people prayed, and one near the Damascus gate, were well-established. The synagogues referred to by Muṭahhar, Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw and Ḳalānisī, might have been identical with the *midrās̲h̲*s or houses of learning mentioned in a Geniza letter as places where prayers were held. The Karaites lived in a separate quarter in the south of the city, called *ḥārat al-mas̲h̲āriḳa*, the quarter of the Easterners, since most of them had come from Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

It is difficult to form a judgment about the size of the population. Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw's 20,000 betrays only the mysterious and widely-diffused predilection for the number 20. He gives 20,000 also for Tripoli in Lebanon, and for the number of people assembling in Jerusalem during the *ʿīd al-ḳurbān*, but Ibn At̲h̲īr, xi, 20, assigns that number to the membership of the Karrāmiyya settled in Jerusalem alone. Al-Muḳaddasī is more helpful when he says that Jerusalem was smaller than Mecca, but larger than Medina (167, l. 9), or more populous than many a provincial capital (165, l. 12). The repeatedly-mentioned number of 70,000 persons killed by the Crusaders in 492/1099 can by no means be used as an indication of the number of the inhabitants. Many people fled into the city before the approaching

invaders, and in general, on such occasions numbers are grossly exaggerated and worthless. If the al-Aḳṣā mosque was indeed reduced from fourteen to seven aisles after the earthquake of 424/1033 and others, the population must have considerably shrunk, possibly an outcome of the catastrophic tribulations by the bedouins in the 1020s.

The most characteristic trait of life in Jerusalem was, of course, that "no day passed without foreigners" (Muḳaddasī, 166, l. 6). Pilgrims from all regions filled the city (*ibid.*, 167, n. 12). The usage of pious Muslims to enter the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Jerusalem had the consequence that the city was frequented by Muslims from distant countries, in particular from the Maghrib (*ibid.*, 243, l. 12). Similarly, many a Jew from the Maghrib and Spain, visiting Jerusalem either as *ḥādjdj* (i.e. on the holidays prescribed for the pilgrimage) or as the *zāʾir* (on another occasion) has left letters in Geniza. The religious ceremonies of the various communities were not always confined to the houses of worship or even the walls of the city. We have detailed descriptions of these processions and assemblies. They must have conveyed to Jerusalem a festive appearance during many days of the year.

As to the government of the city, Muḳaddasī, 167, l. 7, complains that "the oppressed has no helper". But he makes similar remarks concerning other places, e.g. 448, and the Geniza letters show that the situation was not quite so hopeless. Justice was done, provided that there was someone strong and interested enough to take care of the case. Since Ramla was the capital of the province, everything had to be dealt with there, and in more serious cases appeals had to be made to Cairo. A dignitary from Jerusalem would appeal to a notable in Ramla such as "the chief physician of the dysentery department in the hospital", and ask him to bring the case of the wronged person or institution before the governor or chief *ḳāḍī* there, as the matter required, whereupon the latter would instruct their subordinates in Jerusalem to settle the dispute properly. In public affairs, the system worked the same way, as the edicts of the Fāṭimid caliphs for and against the Karaites of Palestine and the correspondence connected with these matters prove (see S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*, London 1964; idem, *A petition to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir*, in *REJ*, cxxviii [1969], 203-22).

Ramla was also the economic centre of the country, as many references prove. *Suftadjas*, or bankers' cheques, for persons in Jerusalem were converted into cash in Ramla, which then was forwarded to Jerusalem, though we find also a banker, with a Persian name, in Jerusalem who issued *suftadjas* on Cairo. The money mostly used in Jerusalem around the middle of the 5th/11th century was the "Rūmī" (i.e. Southern Italian) and Muslim quarter- *dīnār* of the West, presumably because the pilgrims coming from those parts and from western Europe formed the majority of the customers. Oil, cheese, cotton and fruits are mentioned by the Muslim geographers and in the Geniza letters as main exports from Jerusalem. A letter from Tyre speaks of yarn sent from Jerusalem sufficient for the weaving of a thousand robes, *thawb*, of the bazaar type and even more of the home-made class. Since every mediaeval traveller tried also to do some business, we find in Jerusalem transit trade too, especially with Persians, bringing the heavy *ibrīzim* silk from Khurāsān (to be re-exported to Egypt), and taking with them Mediterranean goods such as coral. Jerusalem, as becoming a holy city, affected some austerity in clothing. "Here", a silk merchant writes in a letter to Fustat, "black and sky-blue silk is worn, not crimson as in Ramla and Ascalon". Wool traders, *ṣawwāf*, clothiers and *tādjirs* are mentioned as the prominent types of businessmen in the city. The well-developed commercial mail service connecting Jerusalem with Cairo, which was carried on by Muslims, shows that the city must have had some economic importance (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 292-4).

Those newcomers who could afford it bought houses and stores and lived on the income from their rents. Others tried to do business, but complaints such as "there is no livelihood in Jerusalem", "when one exerts oneself here, the exertion works against him", or "many have come here rich and have been reduced to poverty", are frequent. As many letters show, the town was too far away from the main stream of international commerce. Another unfavourable factor was the crushing impositions on non-Muslims (or perhaps on foreigners in general). The Jewish community was almost permanently in debt to Muslim creditors, paying them exorbitant interest, because it had to deliver the yearly tributes to the authorities and others, e.g. the *Aḥdāth* [*q.v.*], whether the expected numbers of pilgrims arrived or not. To a large extent, the city was a refuge for the poor, of whom their respective religious communities abroad took care in many different ways (about which social service the Geniza is again very specific, cf. Goitein, *op. cit.*, ii, 96-7 and *passim*).

Jerusalem's mostly unsatisfactory economic situation might have been responsible for another negative aspect of its life during this period; despite its holiness for the three monotheistic religions, it did not become for any of them a great spiritual centre with a characteristic contribution of its own (smaller groups, such as Armenians and Georgians on the Christian side and the Karaites among the Jews, perhaps excepted). Many Muslim scholars came there to teach or to study, cf. Yāḳūt, i, 516, 859, 887, etc.; Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 397, l. 26; ii, 54, l. 3; 161, 14; iv, 153, l. 16; 154, l. 2, etc. But it is characteristic that in Yāḳūt's *Dictionary of learned men* Baṣra occurs 170 times, Damascus 100, but Jerusalem only once and in passing; in the *K. al-Aghānī* it is not mentioned at all. Al-Muḳaddasī's complaint, 167: "The mosque (that is, the house of study, see above) is empty, there are no scholars and no savants, no disputations and no instruction", was certainly an exaggeration, inspired by the deep love of the writer for his native city, as was his famous censure that Christians and Jews had there the upper hand, but Jerusalem certainly could not boast of excellence in the sciences of Islam or any other fields. The great al-Ghazālī sojourned there in 488/1095 not in order to make contacts, but with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude.

The city had some importance as a refuge or place of banishment for persons with unorthodox views and ways of life. This trend began already in Umayyad times (Ṭabarī, i, 1920, l. 10; Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 156-7). Thawr b. Yazīd had to leave Damascus because of his Ḳadarī [*q.v.*] views and died in Jerusalem ca. 153/770 (Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 68, l. 21; iii, 383-84). Tekīn, the Turkish governor of Egypt (who, at his request was buried in Jerusalem in 321/933) banished thither the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dīnawarī (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 294). In Mamlūk times forced retirement in Jerusalem became almost customary, see § 12, below.

Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts written in the monastery of Mār Sābā near Jerusalem in the second half of the 3rd/9th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th are still extant, and an Armenian colophon from Jerusalem from the year 870 is known (J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, Louvain 1966, i, 24, 25, 33; E. Stone, *The manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem*, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1972], 158). Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.

According to Mudjīr al-Dīn, 263-5, the main local *madhhab* in the town, even before the Crusades, was Shāfiʿī, with a sprinkling of the Ḥanbalī, introduced by the Persian Abu 'l-Faradj al-Shīrāzī, while a Ḥanafī Turk was the *ḳāḍī*, a situation similar to that of much later times.

There was a marked difference between the spirit of the late 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one. The former was characterised by three highly interesting Jerusalemites of Persian origin and of wide humanistic interests: the great traveller al-Muḳaddasī, one of the finest personalities produced by Islamic civilisation; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, a keen and remarkably unbiased student of religions, writing in Bust, eastern Persia; and Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿshar al-Ḳudsī al-Bustī, who, according to Abū Sulayman al-Manṭiḳī, was the author of the *rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*]. The subsequent century witnessed a narrowing down to the more specifically Islamic branches of knowledge. A typical representative of the age was Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysarānī, active in Arabic language study, *ḥadīth*, and, especially, mysticism; he made his extensive travels on foot, carrying his books on his back and finally settled in Hamadhān, continuing the long-standing connection between Jerusalem and Persia. Al-Musharraf b. Muradjdjaʾ, the author of a book on the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* (see § 11, below) lived in the same century. The leading scholar of Jerusalem, "the *shaykh* of the Shāfiʿīs in the whole of Syria", Abu 'l-Fatḥ Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, left the city for Tyre (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, iii, 152-3). The Jewish Gaon did the same (*ca.* 1071). This, as well as many Geniza letters, shows that the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether.

10. *Crusaders and Ayyūbids.* The Crusaders laid siege on Jerusalem on June 6, 1099 and took it by assault on July 15, penetrating into the city from three different points. The behaviour of the different groups of conquerors, Frenchmen, Flemings, Provençals and Normans from Sicily, was not entirely uniform. Tancred, the leader of the Normans, granted safe-conduct to the Fāṭimid commander of the citadel (the "Tower of David") and to his men. A Geniza letter reports that the Jews in the entourage of the commander were included in the safe-conduct. Thus, no doubt, the Muslim civilians in the citadel were saved as well. The same letter says also that "the damned ones called Ashkenazim" (convincingly identified by B. Z. Kedar as Normans), "unlike others", did not rape women. The massacre of the Muslims and the Jews in the town was perpetrated out of military and religious considerations alike. The Crusaders did not run berserk, but proceeded systematically, as is shown first by the fact that they took time to collect hundreds of books, which they sold at Ascalon soon afterwards. The Geniza naturally speaks about Hebrew books, but there is no reason to assume that Muslim books were treated differently. The fact that a number of prisoners were sold far beneath the standard price of 33 1/3 *dīnārs* per person does not prove at all that the Crusaders were ignorant of the accepted norms; the war situation did not permit the keeping of larger numbers of captives for a protracted period. But prisoners from better families, for whom higher ransoms could be expected, were retained in Antioch for years. All in all, the letters of persons actually involved in the events somehow qualify the accepted notions about the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. There was a gruesome bloodbath, no doubt. But it was not as all-embracing as the summary reports of the chroniclers led us to believe.

Jerusalem became a Christian city, where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take residence permanently. The mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings. The newly-founded kingdom was appropriately called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Regnum Hierusalem*, since the conversion of the Holy City into a Christian sanctuary had been the purpose of its erection. As a capital city, Jerusalem soon began to flourish. The court, the administration of the state, the ecclesiastical authorities, the monastic and military religious orders were all located here, and thousands of pilgrims visited the city every year, many staying on for longer periods or for good. Besides Eastern Christians, such as Syrians, Copts, Armenians and Georgians, the inhabitants were mostly Europeans, above all French. Smaller European communities, such as Spaniards, Provençals, Germans and Hungarians, lived in compact groups around their churches and public institutions. Many new buildings were erected, of which the enlarged Holy Sepulchre was the most conspicuous. The remarkably spacious and beautiful market hall, erected on the foundations of a similar Islamic building, still dominates daily life in the Old City today. Everywhere in Jerusalem the vestiges of Crusaders' activities are visible. When, after the war of 1967, the ruins of the Jewish quarter were cleared away, what is believed to be the remains of St. Mary of the Germans made their appearance.

Less than a decade after the conquest, a letter from Palestine (not from Jerusalem) reports that life in the country had returned to normal also for the non-Christian population. Jerusalem remained closed to Muslims and Jews, but, in the course of time, they were permitted to come there for business and prayer. A famous incident reported in the autobiography of Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*] shows him performing his prayers on the Temple area during a considerable stretch of time (ed. P. K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). Jewish dyers worked for the King's wardrobe in the vicinity of the palace *ca.* 1170.

After the decisive victory of Ḥaṭṭīn (Rabīʿ II 583/July 1187), Saladin advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege on the city. After prolonged negotiations, in which the defenders threatened to kill the Muslim prisoners and all non-combatants (so that they would not be sold into slavery), to burn all the valuables and to destroy the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, an agreement was reached in Ramaḍān 583/November 1187, which permitted the inhabitants to ransom themselves after surrender. Only the Eastern Christians remained, and Jerusalem soon assumed the character of a predominantly Muslim city. The Muslim shrines were given back to their original destination and many Christian buildings were

dedicated to Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples were the convent of the church of St. Anne, which became the famous Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa*, so called after its founder Saladin, and the Mūristān, a hospital, which originally had been the church at the hostel of the Knights of St. John. The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians, but the pilgrimage to it was temporarily suspended until 1192.

There remained the problem of repopulation. In 587/1191 the great port city of Ascalon was dismantled and destroyed at Saladin's command, in order to prevent the Crusaders from turning it into a new base for their operations. The dispossessed inhabitants must have found new homes in the empty houses of Jerusalem, for the Geniza letters from this period repeatedly speak of a community of *ʿAsāḳila* in the Holy City, and Jews certainly were given no preferential treatment. Another community listed alongside with them was that of the *Maghāriba*—a trend noted already two hundred years before by al-Muḳaddasī, see § 9 above. Individuals are described in the same source as hailing from Yaman, ʿIrāḳ, and Egypt. The influx of learned Jews from France attested for the period *ca.* 1210-15 in both literary texts and Geniza letters proves that Ayyūbid rule at that time must have had a reputation of an orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. But life in Jerusalem was hard, and before the 6th/12th century was out, we already read about newcomers who had left for the greener pastures of Egypt and the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A new and catastrophic turning point in the history of Jerusalem was the rule of Saladin's nephew al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Sultan of Damascus. On the one hand, as his many inscriptions prove, al-Muʿaẓẓam did much to adorn the Ḥaram, and erected there the Ḥanafī college called after him, see section B; but being afraid of a new encroachment by the Christians, he ordered in 616/1219 the destruction of the city with the exception of the Temple area, the Holy Sepulchre and the citadel. His apprehensions did not materialise, but his brother al-Kāmil, the ruler of Egypt, in order to shield himself from the Syrian Ayyūbids, concluded a treaty with the Emperor Frederick II, ceding to him the city for ten years (626/1229). The emperor, being under papal ban, crowned himself there without clerical assistance—the last time that a monarch was crowned in Jerusalem. Again Muslims (and of course, also Jews, as proved by a Geniza letter from 1236) were not permitted access to the city with the exception of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which remained in Muslim hands, but the *ḳāḍī*, the bearer of Muslim authority, had his seat outside Jerusalem (in al-Bīra, near Rāmallāh, J. Prawer, *Royaume latin*, Paris 1970, ii, 199). The subsequent hostilities between the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria resulted in an agreement between the latter and the Christians, which seemingly removed the Muslims even from the Temple area, so that the commander of the Templars could boast that the city was inhabited solely by Christians (Matthew Pâris, ***Historia major***, iv, 290, quoted by B. Z. Kedar, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1971] 88). But this lasted only a very short time. The Egyptian Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn enlisted the help of the wild Khwārazmians, who had been driven to the West by the Mongols. The Khwārazmians overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in Rabīʿ I 642/August 1244 and plundered and murdered in the town, desecrating the Holy Sepulchre and other churches. The combined armies of the Khwārazmians and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm joined battle with the Syrians and their allies, the Crusaders, and vanquished them (Djumādā I 642/October 1244). Consequently, Jerusalem came under the domination of the rulers of Egypt, under which, after a short interval in 647/1249, when again it was returned to the Sultan of Damascus, it remained until the Ottoman conquest of 922-3/1516-17).

II. The second six hundred years

11. *The sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds.* The history of Jerusalem during this period was largely influenced by the enhanced religious halo it had acquired through the long struggle between Christians and Muslims. The position of Jerusalem in Islam had its ups and downs. It cannot be described yet in full, since important relevant texts, such as the *Tafsīr* of al-Muḳātil (d. 150/767), the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 211/827) and the two oldest books of *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* still await publication (see below). An excellent discussion of the literature on the subject and the present stage of research is found in E. Sivan, *Le caractère de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, in *SI*, xxvii (1967), 149-82, and idem, *The beginnings of the Faḍāʾil al-Quds literature*, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i (1971), 263-71.

It was entirely in the spirit of early Islam that it incorporated the Jewish and Christian notions of the holiness of Jerusalem and made the area of the ancient Jewish Temple into a Muslim place of worship (§§ 4-6, above). The *ḥadīth* ranking Jerusalem as the third central sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, excluding others, was formulated in the course of the first century of Islam and obtained general recognition during the second, after the status of Jerusalem had been vehemently contested as being alien to Islam, whose cradle was the Ḥidjāz (cf. the saying attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and Ḥudhayfa: "Even if the distance between me and Jerusalem was only two parasangs, I would not go there", quoted in M. J. Kister, *You shall only set out for three mosques, a study of an early tradition*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxii [1969], 173-96, where the material about this struggle is assembled [this quotation at 182, n. 39].

Both aspects, the veneration for Jerusalem and the objection to it, deepened with the increasing influx of foreign ideas on the subject and their development by Islamic popular piety. The notions that Jerusalem was holy as the domicile of the ancient prophets and saints [see ABDĀL] and as the scene of Muḥammad's *Isrāʾ* and *Miʿrādj* [*q.v.*] (the latter was mentioned in Saladin's letter to Richard Cœur de Lion as the main proof for the Muslims' claim on Jerusalem, Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 165) were accepted by everyone; it was the more exuberant legends woven around those notions and, above all, the belief that Jerusalem would be the scene of Resurrection and of the Last Judgment, and the crude fantasies evolving from these themes, which aroused criticism and suspicion that they were local inventions destined to attract pilgrims and visitors. As Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, viii, 280, l. 4 ff., formulated it: "They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the *Ṣirāṭ* (the bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be thinner than a hair etc.), of the gate of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet, and of the valley of Gehenna". As a result, Jerusalem during the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries did not com-

mand a paramount position in the religious consciousness of the Islamic world. While many Islamic cities inspired books of *faḍāʾil* already by the end of the 3rd and throughout the 4th centuries, Jerusalem appears only with two, compiled during the 5th: a tract by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, a *khaṭīb* of the al-Aḳṣā mosque (recently identified by M. J. Kister in the library of the al-Djazzār Pasha mosque of Acre; in the course of publication by Y. Hasson), and another by Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. Muradjdjā, a *faḳīh* living in Jerusalem (to be edited by E. Sivan). The author of a third compilation, mainly of *ḥadīth*s, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī al-Maḳdisī, did not complete his work, since he was captured and killed by the Crusaders, see above. It is characteristic that these three authors were inhabitants of Jerusalem. The often-noted astounding fact that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and its conversion into an exclusively Christian city did not arouse any strong Muslim reaction for decades also indicates that the veneration for the Holy City had not yet become a spiritual force in Islam.

The situation changed when ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī's conquest of Edessa in 539/1144 suggested to an ambitious ruler that territorial aspirations could well be underpinned by religious propaganda. The court poets and secretaries of Zankī and his son Nūr al-Dīn took up the topic of the *djihād* for Jerusalem. With Saladin, both before and after 583/1187, this propaganda reached its apogee. While no *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* work appeared during the first half of the 6th/12th century, they became abundant and ubiquitous in the second half and in the subsequent centuries. How much Jerusalem had become an all-Islamic concern might be gauged from the widely diffused protests against al-Muʿaẓẓam's dismantling of the city in 616/1219 and al-Kāmil's ceding it to the Emperor Frederick II in 626/1229. Precisely after Jerusalem had ceased to be a military or political issue, sc. during the Mamlūk period, the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* multiplied; at least thirty are known from this period, see Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 181. The exceptions taken by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] in his treatise on the subject were directed against the *bidʿa*s disfiguring the cult of Jerusalem; its canonical status as third in rank of the sanctuaries of Islam was never questioned.

To modern Muslims, this position symbolises the universal character of Islam. Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1966) writes this in his huge work on the Ḳurʾān with reference to Sūra XVII, 1: "The *Isrāʾ* connects the great monotheistic religions from Abraham and Ishmael to the Seal of the Prophets. It combines the sites holy to the monotheistic religions with one another and it is as if Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, declares by this wondrous night voyage that his message contains those of the prophets preceding him and is connected with theirs" (*Fī ẓalāl al-Ḳurʾān*, xv, 12, ll. 5-9).

12. *Jerusalem under the Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1516)*. At the beginning of this period, Jerusalem was mostly in ruins and deserted. The few Christians who remained or returned there after the sack by the Khwārazmians in 642/1244 and the Muslims and Jews who had settled there anew, fled in 658/1260 before the onslaught of the Mongols who had reached places as far south of Jerusalem as Hebron and Gaza (latest discussion of the sources: B. Z. Kedar, *Tarbiz*, xli [1971], 89-91). After the victory of the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q v*] in Shawwāl 658/September 1260, Jerusalem was definitely incorporated in their empire and was administered first by the Mamlūk viceroy of Damascus. In 778/1376 the Jerusalem district was made a separate administrative unit, whose governor, styled *nāʾib*, or deputy of the Sultan, was directly responsible to the government in Cairo. The sanctuaries of the Ḥaram (together with that of Hebron) were under the supervision of the "superintendent of the two holy sites", *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*, who was responsible for their upkeep and in charge of their endowments. The history of the period was mainly one of rebuilding the city, see section B, Monuments. While the sultans repaired or adorned the great sanctuaries and carried out works for providing them with water, or erected important institutions such as the Ashrafiyya (see section B), so the *amīr*s and princes of the Mamlūk empire, as well as of other Muslim states and private persons erected *madrasas*, *zāwiyas*, *khānaḳāh*s, and mausoleums, many of which are still extant, or at least identifiable. Most of these buildings were small, having the appearance of ordinary townhouses, and were probably built with the use of ruins and their materials. But some of these foundations, such as the 8th/14th century Tengiziyya college, were spacious and distinguished.

Because of its relative isolation, its proximity of Egypt the absence of strong fortifications or of a garrison of any size, which might be used by a potential insurgent, Jerusalem served as a place of compulsory sojourn for discharged, dismissed, or exiled members of the Mamlūk military nobility, the so-called *baṭṭāl*s. What had been in early Islam an occasional occurrence (§ 9, above), now became a widespread practice of high socio-economic importance. As D. Ayalon, in a special study devoted to the subject, has pointed out, the Holy City was the most commonly assigned place of exile in the entire Mamluk empire (*Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonments in Mamluk society*, in *Israel Or. St.*, ii [1973], 324-49). To the many reasons for this choice adduced by the author, *ibid.*, 333, it might be added that the authorities intended with this perhaps the repopulation of the city. In any case, these *baṭṭāl*s, to whom fixed incomes were assigned by the government and who often possessed means of their own, were in a position to keep fine households and to leave behind them well-constructed mansions.

In the main, Jerusalem of the Mamlūk period must be envisaged as a city of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries. The most conspicious aspect of the members of this dominant class of Jerusalem's society was their mobility. They served, often simultaneously, in different occupations and posts, such as professors or "repetitors" in *madrasas*, as *khaṭīb*s, *ḳāḍī*s, *muftī*s, or heads of dervish convents. They rarely stayed in Jerusalem for good, but moved on to Cairo or Damascus or other places, often returning for some time to Jerusalem, and finally concluding their lives somewhere else or back in the Holy City. Their literary output was equally diversified, comprising several or all of the fields of *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* (*uṣūl* and *furūʿ*), *tafsīr*, *sīra*, occasionally also Arabic language and rhetorics. Arranging and classifying the knowledge they wished to impart under novel headings, or in the form of commentaries to other works, or in versifications, were favourite means of pouring old wine into new bottles.

A second characteristic of this class of scholars was the prominence of leading families which divided between themselves the most richly-endowed offices. This was, of course, nothing new in Islam. But in Jerusalem, which lived on endowments from abroad, nepotism was rife, and family rule was not always

to the benefit of scholarship or good administration (we often hear about pious foundations falling into desuetude). The most prominent family of Muslim divines during almost the entire Mamlūk period (and also in early Ottoman times), were the Banū Ibn Djamāʿa [*q.v.*], who originated in Ḥamā and inhabited in Jerusalem a mansion bordering on the north-west corner of the Ḥaram. The biographies of the more prolific authors of this family show, however, that they passed most of their adult lives in the great centres of Islamic scholarship, sc. Cairo and Damascus. In Jerusalem they mostly served as *khaṭīb*s and *ḳāḍī*s. One branch of them, the al-Khaṭīb family, is still extant. (There are other families in Jerusalem, unconnected with them, bearing this name.) An Egyptian family, the Ḳarḳashandīs, shared with them the prerogative of the office of *khaṭīb*s in the al-Aḳṣā mosque. The Banū Ghānim, also living on the northern edge of the Ḥaram, mostly held the position of heads of the large al-Ṣāliḥiyya *khānaḳāh*. All these were Shāfiʿīs. The most important Ḥanafī family were the Dayrīs, natives of Palestine. They served as Ḥanafī judges in Jerusalem and in other cities of Palestine, as well as in Cairo, as teachers in the Ḥanafī al-Muʿaẓẓamiyya *madrasa*, and one of them became *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*. The well-known modern al-Khālidī family (see §§ 13 and 14, below) derives its origin from them.

Besides the great families of divines, there were smaller ones, as well as unaffiliated scholars, local and foreign, who were appointed to teaching of juridical posts, or purchased them (or parts of them; positions were often held in partnership). Of the more distinguished scholars who passed considerable parts of their lives in Jerusalem, Ibn al-Hāʾim, an expert on arithmetic and the science of the division of inheritances (d. 412/1021), and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf, a native of Jerusalem and great authority on Muslim law (822-905/1419-1500), both prolific authors, should be noted. Both died in Jerusalem and were buried in the Māmillāh cemetery (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds*, Jerusalem 1961, 506, 508).

Jerusalem, the city of the poor and the pious, was the proper domicile for Ṣūfīs. Mudjīr al-Dīn notes about twenty Ṣūfī convents representing most of the major orders and several less known ones. E. Ashtor, in his study on Jerusalem in the Mamlūk period (the most comprehensive one on the subject, see Bibliography) describes the ambivalent relations prevailing in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, between the two classes of Islamic divines, the scholars and the mystics. On the one hand, we read about members of a *zāwiya* studying at a *madrasa* or about prominent scholars adopting the Ṣūfī way of life. On the other hand, the ecstatic practices of some orders, especially the whirling dances accompanied by instrumental music (prohibited in principle by Islam) were sharply condemned. A collection of *fatwā*s in this spirit, written by an Ibn Djamāʿa and copied many years later by a Dayrī, has been described by Ashtor.

The Christians, hard pressed in this intensely Islamic atmosphere of Mamlūk Jerusalem, were strengthened by the establishment of a Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion in the 1330s. Mount Zion with its many religious associations, the "Tomb of David", the Cenaculum (scene of the Last Supper) and the Dormitio (the place where Mary, the mother of Jesus, fell into eternal sleep), was the scene of endless contests between Christians and Muslims and even Jews, involving the demolition, re-erection and renewed destruction of buildings down to the very end of the Mamlūk period, see section B. Other Christian buildings were also objects of attacks. The demolition and restoration in 879/1474 of the synagogue of the then small Jewish community is described in great detail by Mudjīr al-Dīn, 633-46, by Ibn Iyās, ii, 154-5, and in a book especially devoted to this matter by the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem Ibn ʿUbayya (analysed by Goitein, in *Zion*, xiii-xiv [1948-9], 18-32). Against orders from Cairo, Ibn ʿUbayya three times decided that the Jewish place of workship was to be closed; it was finally demolished by mobs led by a Ṣūfī *shaykh*. Upon this, the Sultan took stern measures. Ibn ʿUbayya and others involved were summoned to the capital, flogged and imprisoned; Ibn ʿUbayya lost his post and ended his days in Damascus, consoling himself with writing poems; the synagogue was restored. These happenings were typical for their time and place. Ibn ʿUbayya was certainly right in asserting that the synagogue was "new", that is, a building erected after the advent of Islam and used as a non-Muslim house of worship, which was against the provisions of Islamic law. But the government, naturally, had to pay attention to the exigencies of life and the preservation of public order.

The impressive number of Muslim schools founded in Jerusalem in the course of this period (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 236-57, describes fifty-six) should not be taken as an indication of economic prosperity. The endowments were mostly limited in size and dwindled rapidly. The governors and other officials who had often to buy their offices for considerable sums and frequently also served for only short terms, had to indemnify themselves by heavy impositions, first on the non-Muslims, but on Muslims as well. Jerusalem's only important industry (still flourishing in the 19th century), sc. the manufacture of soap made from the oil produced in the then rich olive groves of its environment, was heavily damaged by the pernicious economic policy of the Mamlūk government, which monopolised production and forced the population to buy quantities not needed by it for exorbitant prices. The constant insecurity inside and, in particular, outside the city added to the hardships of life. Early in the 16th century no one could make the *ḥadjdj* from Jerusalem for ten years because bedouin anarchy prevented travel between Jerusalem and the Red Sea (L. A. Mayer, *A sequel to Mujīr al-Dīn's chronicle*, in *JPOS*, xi [1931], 95-6, Ar. text 11-12). At that time, as travellers' reports show, there were still many unbuilt areas within the boundaries of the city. But the core of the Old City outside the Ḥaram, as it appears today, was the creation of the Mamlūk period.

13. *The first Ottoman period (922-1247/1516-1831)*. The exact date of the entry of the Turks into Jerusalem during the victorious campaign of Selīm I against the Mamlūks in 1516-17 is not known. His successor Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī left most enduring imprints on the city: the wall, constructed between 944/1537 and 948/1541, as indicated in its eleven decorative inscriptions, the renovated Dome of the Rock and the four beautiful public fountains, *sabīl*, inside the city and the one near the Sultan's Pool, also created by him, at the foot of Mount Zion. The many *waḳf*s made by him and his wife Khurrem [*q.v.*] further contributed to the welfare of the city during his reign. The soup kitchen, *ʿimāret*, donated by her for the feeding of the poor and of students, naturally does not operate any more, but its caul-

drons, lists of recipients and other impressive remnants can still be seen in the Ḥaram Museum.

The Ottoman archives for the first time provide us with exact demographic, topographic and, to a certain extent, also economic data about Jerusalem. Bernard Lewis analyses the relevant material in *Studies in the Ottoman Archives*, in *BSOAS* xvi/3 (1954), 476, and *Yerushalayim*, ii/5, Jerusalem 1955, 117-27 (see *ibid.*, 117, n. 1, further publications of his on the subject, and also his *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952). The population movement during Sulaymān's reign is illustrated on p. 122 by lists of taxpayers: (H = Heads of households; B = Bachelors; E = Exempt from the duty of paying taxes, such as religious dignitaries and insane persons):

	932/1525-6			940-45/1533-9			961/1553-4		
	H	B	E	H	B	E	H	B	E
Muslims	616	2	1	1168	75	34	1987	141	16
Christians	119	-	-	136	26	42	413	25	3
Jews	199	-	-	224	19	-	324	13	1
Totals	934	2	1	1528	120	76	2724	179	20

Thus at the beginning of the Ottoman period Jerusalem had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which tripled during Sulaymān's reign. (Lewis points out that the later lists might have been more complete than the first one). The slower increase of the Jewish population, which until the end of the thirties was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Ṣafad and not Jerusalem, was the main Jewish centre around the mid-century. By far the most important revenue collected in Jerusalem was the toll levied from the visitors of the Holy Sepulchre, which also tripled during this period (from 40,000 *aḳčas* in 1525 to 120,000 in 1553). It was given by the Sultan to the readers of the Ḳur'ān in the Aḳṣā mosque. The second largest item was the poll tax paid by Christians and Jews (one gold piece per person, the total being about one half of the income derived from the Holy Sepulchre). All taxes derived from economic activities, such as licenses (*iḥtisāb*), sales taxes and tolls on export of soap to Egypt, brought far smaller amounts.

Sulaymān's wall, though a lasting monument to his munificence, also revealed that the Ottoman government was not able, nor willing, to guarantee the safety of Jerusalem by administrative and military means. During almost the entire Turkish period, well into the second half of the 19th century, Jerusalem's development was impeded by this lack of security. The safety of the travellers between Ramla and Jerusalem, that is, the bulk of visitors from abroad, was entrusted already under Sulaymān to the Abu Ghosh, a rural clan after which the picturesque village Ḳaryat al-ʿAnab west of Jerusalem was renamed. Complaints that bedouins murdered Muslim inhabitants, burnt copies of the Ḳur'ān and taxed Muslim pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem are officially noted already in 991/1583 (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, no. 43). An imperial order of 1023/1614 exempts the fiefholders in the *sandjaḳ* of Jerusalem from participation in military expeditions outside the *sandjaḳ*, because this was "the border of ʿArabistān, where rebellious bedouins disturb the peace" (Heyd, *ibid.*, no. 28). By the end of the 18th century Giovanni Mariti, *Voyage*, Neuwied 1791, ii, 301-3, reports that the Pasha of Jerusalem accompanied the Christian pilgrims under heavy guard to the Jordan, but only after having paid the usual tribute to the bedouins. Shortly afterwards another traveller, W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, etc.*, London 1806, writes with regard to 1797 that the whole environment of Jerusalem was dominated by the bedouins (see Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973).

The root of this misery was the fact that Jerusalem was not so much administered by Istanbul as given as a source of income, albeit a very modest one, to the *wālī* of Damascus, or sometimes to that of Sidon, or, early in the period, to that of Egypt. The *wālī* was represented in the town by a *mutasallim*, but once a year he himself would appear, accompanied by a detachment of troops and collect taxes (described by ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 309-10, for as late a date as 1808). By the 18th century the revenue from economic activities had dwindled to next to nothing (one list notes as income from the *iḥtisāb* only 500 *ḳurush*, one-twelfth of that of Sidon, Cohen, *ibid.*) and consisted mainly in taxes and tolls on Christians and Jews. A *firmān* by Selīm III (1205/1791) reducing the toll usually imposed on a Jewish pilgrim entering Jerusalem from between 3 and 4 to the legal 1½ *ḳurush* and freeing him from any payment while leaving the city, shows that arbitrary extortions were common in those matters (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period, documents from archives and collections in Israel*, Jerusalem 1970, 38).

An important source for the socio-economic history of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is contained in the *sidjills* of the *maḥkama sharʿiyya* of the city. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 241 ff., provides a number of specimens: a detailed list of prices by the *ḳāḍī* "in the presence of the two *muḥtasibs*" in 970/1563, the inventory of the estate of a Christian veterinary surgeon from the same year, and prices of building lots, houses, rents, salaries and *mahrs* through three centuries. Other matters, like three letters concerning the revolt of the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in 1117/1705 and the demolition of his mansion, or notes about Jewish communal affairs, are also included. Only a systematic study of the entire material will provide historically valid results.

The governor of Jerusalem was a military man (a tentative list of Ottoman governors 1517-1917 in ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 317-28). The governor, the holders of fiefs in the *sandjaḳ* and the garrison in the town were not normally recruited locally. The *ḳāḍī* was sent from Istanbul and invariably belonged to the Ḥanafī rite. This preponderance of a foreign ruling class with no roots in the city and often connected with it only for short periods naturally precluded healthy developments. But it had also its advantages. Since few Turks settled permanently in Jerusalem, its Arab character was preserved and germs of local autonomy developed. Popular risings, sometimes deteriorating into riots, occasionally chased a particularly oppressive (or weak) governor from the city. A more constant factor was the rise of families becoming powerful by the holding of well-paid religious offices, tax-farming, the administration of *waḳfs* and by acting as protectors of villages (in which capacity they also mostly succeeded in acquiring large holdings of land). The well-known families of the Khaṭīb, Khālidī (see sec. 12, above) ʿAlamī, Anṣārī, Dadjānī, Ḥusaynī, Nashāshībī, Nusayba and others, were formed or gained prominence in this period. The very considerable percentage of fair, blue-eyed, round-headed persons found in these families indicates that the local upper class, during the long centuries of Otto-

man domination, became thoroughly mixed with the many non-Arab elements passing through the city.

An interesting picture of folk life in Jerusalem is preserved in a pamphlet by Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Dadjānī (d. 1660), entitled *Djawāhir al-ḳalā'id fī faḍl al-masādjid*. It shows the *ḥaram al-sharīf* as the scene of popular feasts and other mundane activities (see M. Perlmann, *A seventeenth century exhortation concerning al-Aqṣā*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, iii [1973], 261-92, reproducing the Arabic original of the *Djawāhir*).

The 19th century opened for Jerusalem ominously. In 1808 a fire destroyed most of the western part of the Holy Sepulchre. Sultan Maḥmūd II granted the Greeks the right to restore the building, but the Janissaries in the town, who were angry that the citadel was garrisoned by other troops, incited the Muslim population to obstruct the repairs. A general revolt ensued. Finally, the *wālī* of Damascus, alerted by the beleaguered *mutasallim* of Jerusalem, sent a detachment of Maghribī horsemen on a clandestine route, which succeeded in penetrating into the city and to overpower the insurgents. Thirty-eight of the leaders were hanged (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 356-8, quoting Mikhā'īl Burayk al-Dimashḳī). At the time of the Greek revolt of 1821, the Christians of Jerusalem were charged of conniving with them and were in great danger. But thanks to the quick action of the *wālī* of Damascus and the firm attitude of the *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem, no harm was done to the Christians. Another *wālī* of Damascus was the cause of a revolt of large dimensions and long duration. Townsmen and *fellāḥīn* alike refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed by him. He came to Jerusalem with a large army in 1825 and raised a fine of 100,000 *ḳurush* from the rebellious city. But hardly had he turned his back, when the population rose again; the *mutasallim*, who had been on a punitive expedition to Bethlehem, was unable to re-enter Jerusalem; the few soldiers who had remained in the citadel were easily overpowered, and the city and the countryside alike were in full revolt. Even when the Sultan sent a special detachment which laid siege on the city, the inhabitants would not budge. Only when the balls from the canons deployed on the Mount of Olives fell into the city and set some houses of notables on fire was the resistance broken (Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine*, 1821-1841, ed. S. N. Spyridon, Jerusalem 1938, 3-4). This time the revolt was terminated without bloodshed. But it showed that the spirit of resistance to tyranny, fully ablaze in Hellas, was not entirely absent from the Holy City.

III. Modern times

14. *1831-1917*. A time of radical changes. Before one half of this short period was over, Jerusalem had become preponderantly Christian and Jewish, while the Muslim population, too, had made visible progress. The unprecedented expansion of the Christians was caused by the increasing dependence of Ottoman Turkey on developments in Europe, with its rivalling states and churches, and by the upsurge of political, religious, humanitarian and scientific interest in the Holy Land manifest in many Christian countries. The steep increase in the number of Jews, who formed the majority of the population by the end of the seventies, was a corollary of the general improvement; they formed a modest community of devout and mostly poor people.

This development was put into motion by the conquest of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha, the stepson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1831. His actions, of particular significance for Jerusalem, were inspired by his endeavour to create a strong government and to win the friendship of the European powers. He started to disarm the civil population, to break the despotism of urban families and rural factions, to raise a standing army by enforced recruitment and also to enlist the co-operation of the local people by appointments to administrative posts and the formation of consultative bodies. The Christians (and Jews) of Jerusalem were freed from the many special contributions they had to pay to local notables, permitted to repair and erect religious buildings and to work in the government. All this hurt many vested interests and aroused the ire of the Muslim population in general. The *fellāḥīn*, supported by the leading urban families, rose in arms and drove the Egyptian garrison from the town (1834-5). But Ibrāhīm Pasha quelled the revolt and vigorously pursued his aims. The establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838 was a sign of the time.

When European intervention forced Ibrāhīm Pasha to give up his conquests, the Sultan, who had just promised equality to all his subjects (1839), could not turn the clock back. The trend of western penetration was strengthened by the Crimean war, in which Turkey was saved by England and France from Russian aggression. France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, Spain and the United States opened consulates in Jerusalem. The flags of Christian powers were now raised in the Holy City on Sundays and Holidays, the birthdays of their sovereigns were honoured by 21-canon salvoes (an honour, formerly reserved in Jerusalem for Muslim holidays and the birthday of the Prophet), and bells began to chime from the churches. At first, the Muslims in Jerusalem tried to stop these innovations by force. But such attempts were quickly suppressed and soon the immense material and spiritual advantages derived by the local population from the foreign activities became evident. Naturally, the local Christians were the first to benefit; it was in this period that certain Christian families of Jerusalem became rich and influential.

The Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been abolished in 1291 as a result of the Crusades (being represented by merely titular patriarchs who lived in Rome), was revived in 1847 and became a powerful factor in the city. The Greek Patriarch moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. An Anglican bishopric was established in 1841 (functioning for some decades in co-operation with Prussia). In the same year the Jewish community of Jerusalem received by imperial *firmān* a *ḥākhām bashī*, or chief rabbi, who was sent from Istanbul and had access to the central government. The gift by ʿAbd al-Medjīd of the Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* (see § 10, above), the ancient convent of St. Anne, to the French emperor Napoleon III in 1856 (resulting in its restitution to its original use) and the presentation of a part of the Mūristān area (see § 10, above) to Prussia, which used it for the erection of a Protestant church, palpably illustrate the new situation.

Slowly the central government was able to assert its authority over the unruly city and the anarchic countryside. At mid-century, the bedouins still plundered travellers under the very walls of Jerusalem and inside the town Christians and Jews were still exposed to arbitrary extortions by notables and officials. But administrative and military reforms, the interventions by the consulates and improved means of communications brought relief. By 1865 Jerusalem was connected with the outer

world by telegraph, and in 1868 the first road between Jerusalem and Jaffa usable by wheeled vehicles was completed. The railway followed only in 1892, and the French company building it had to insure its safety and that of its station-buildings (even that of Jerusalem) by arrangements with the heads of the villages adjacent to it. Postal services were provided by Austrian, French and other foreign agencies. There were many changes in the administration of the Jerusalem district (details in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIwāḍ, *Mutaṣarrifiyyat al-Ḳuds awākhir al-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī*, in *Palestine Affairs*, iv [Beirut 1971], 126-41). In a letter to the German consul, dated 2 January 1872, the Pasha of Jerusalem calls himself "gouverneur de la Palestine" (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period*, 25), but the Jerusalem administrative unit never comprised more than the southern part of the country. As from 1874 (as several times before) Jerusalem was an independent *mutaṣarrifliḳ* directly responsible to Istanbul and was headed by a rather ramified administration, having besides departments for general administration, finance, *ṭābū* (land register), *waḳf*, security, agriculture, commerce and education, one for foreign affairs, a speciality necessitated by the many consulates and foreign nationals in the town. In the consultative bodies, both of the district and the city, Christians and Jews were represented, albeit less than warranted by their numbers.

The area of Jerusalem, its physical appearance and the size and composition of its population totally changed during this period. Cathedrals and churches, some new mosques, synagogues and yeshivas (rabbinical colleges), palaces of patriarchs, convents, hospices, schools (first schools for girls, Jewish 1864; Arab, a German foundation, 1868), scientific institutions, hospitals, clinics, orphanages and other charitable foundations were erected in and outside the Old City, see section B. As from 1860, the inhabitants of the Old City began to establish new quarters outside, with the Jews, who were particularly closely crammed, taking the lead. For a further twenty years, the gates remained closed during the nights, which was not conducive to the security of the suburbs. The Muslims preferred to settle in the south (Abū Tōr) and in particular north of the city, in Wādī Djōz and the hills west of it; the Greek Orthodox centred mostly in the vicinity of St. Simon, the summer residence of their patriarch (the Katamon quarter), and the Jews founded about sixty suburbs mostly in the west. The "German colony" of the Templars in the south-west, and the "American colony" in the north, largely inhabited by Swedes, were renowned as particularly roomy. Selma Lagerlöf's famous novel *Jerusalem* (1901-2) depicts, besides the religious and personal plights of Swedish pilgrims, also local representatives of Islamic mysticism, inspired probably by the *imām* of the Shaykh Djarrāh mosque near the American colony, who was a leading Ṣūfī.

The events of the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, the disappointment following it and of World War I, with its terrible sufferings by an oppressive military dictatorship, famine and epidemics and the subsequent shrinking of the population—all these belong to the general history of the country. An often-reproduced photograph shows the British general Allenby entering the Holy City on 11 December 1917 on foot, displaying Christian humility.

15. *After 1917*. The military government of the British occupation army was replaced by civil administration on 1 July 1920. Jerusalem, as the seat of the Mandatory government, of the executives of the Jewish world organisations for Palestine, of the national council of the Jews of Palestine, of the Muslim Supreme Council (created in 1921), the various Christian church authorities and other local and foreign bodies, recovered, albeit slowly, from the effects of World War I. According to the census of 1931, the population comprised 90,503 souls, of whom 51,222 were Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians and 52 others. It increased to about 150,000 at the beginning of World War II.

During the Mandatory period, important public buildings were erected, such as Government House (later the headquarters of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation), the Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital compound on Mount Scopus, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, the YMCA and several new churches, and a great number of schools. New suburbs were founded, some of which quickly developed into populous centres.

The composition of the municipal corporation council experienced many changes, but always a Muslim mayor was appointed, although the vast majority of the population, and especially of the taxpayers, was Jewish. When, after the death of a Muslim mayor in 1944, the Jewish acting mayor demanded to be appointed officially, the council was dissolved and replaced by a commission composed exclusively of British officials.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society, whose committee comprised leading religious dignitaries, prominent scholars and other outstanding Jerusalem personalities, was indicative of the hopes for co-operation prevailing in the years immediately following the arrival of the British; its subsequent dissolution manifested the change of hearts and conditions. An interconfessional meeting place of longer duration was the Palestine Oriental Society, which had its seat in Jerusalem and in which local, British, American, French and other scholars joined efforts. The newly founded Hebrew University (opened 1925), the British, French, American and Pontifical institutes for archaeological and biblical studies and the ever-increasing number of writers (e.g. S. Y. Agnon, Nobel Prize winner) and artists of all descriptions created a lively intellectual atmosphere. The Government Arab College, led by the jovial savant Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Khālidī, laid the foundations for the rise of a new generation of Arab intellectuals in the country. Younger writers connected with the Government Department of Education, such as Isḥāḳ Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and A. L. Ṭībāwī, published the first fruits of their pens. Jerusalem authors, such as Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī, Khalīl al-Sakākīnī and Khalīl Baydas, enjoyed good standing in the world of Arabic letters. Alongside with all these developments much of the traditional life of the various communities and their subsections continued almost unchanged.

The clash of the national aspirations of Arabs and Jews affected the destinies of Jerusalem more than that of any other city in Palestine. The first bloody events occurred in Jerusalem in April 1920 with several Jews and Arabs killed and many wounded. Al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, who had been condemned to death by a military court as main instigator of the disturbances and exempted from the amnesty granted by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel when he took office, was appointed by him soon afterwards as *muftī* of Jerusalem and then elected head of the Supreme Muslim Council

created by the government (1921). For the next seventeen years al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Amīn strove for unrestricted leadership of the Palestine Arabs, which brought him into conflict with other leaders, especially the mayor of Jerusalem, Rāg̲h̲ib al-Nas̲h̲ās̲h̲ībī and the *amīr* (since 1946 king) ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan. The Western Wall - Burāḳ [*q.v.*] affair, which led to the shocking events of August 1929 (when, however, Jerusalem suffered less than Ṣafad and Hebron) greatly enhanced al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Amīn's prestige, and so did his collections in India and elsewhere for repairs on the Ḥaram and the organisation of the Muslim Conference convened in Jerusalem in 1931. The burial in the same year of the Indian leader Muḥammad ʿAlī in the western portico of the Ḥaram was another significant step in arousing the interest of the Muslim world.

The mass immigration of Jewish refugees in 1933 and after led to a general uprising of the Arab population and ferocious fighting. Internecine warfare between the followers of al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Amīn and his adversaries acerbated the situation. Among the many victims were the British archaeologist J. L. Starkey, famous as discoverer of the Lachish ostraca, and two fine Arabists, Levi Billig of the Hebrew University and Avinoam Yellin of the Government Department of Education, known to many students of Arabic as authors of a useful classical Arabic reader.

The Peel Royal Commission, sent out in 1936 to investigate the situation, for the first time recommended the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state and the conversion of Jerusalem, together with Bethlehem, into a separate unit remaining under British mandate. But neither this nor any other of the subsequent attempts of the mandatory government to find a solution led to results. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 189 (II) calling for the division of Palestine into two states, but united by economic union. Jerusalem was to be "internationalised".

Immediately after this decision the country was in flames. Jerusalem in particular suffered great losses in lives and property even before 15 May 1948, the official end of the British mandate. An Egyptian detachment took position in the Bethlehem area, while the Transjordanian Arab Legion attacked the Jewish quarter in the Old City. It was left by its Jewish population on 27 May and subsequently demolished, including its old Sefaradi synagogues and the two large Ashkenazi synagogues, the Ḥurva (dedicated 1865) and Nisan Bak (1872), whose cupolas had been landmarks of Jerusalem.

The ceasefire divided Jerusalem by a line slightly west of the western wall of the Old City. This left a number of predominantly non-Jewish quarters within the Israeli sector, while Mount Scopus with its University and Hadassah Hospital compounds formed an Israeli enclave, which soon became useless, since the free access to it, envisaged in the armistice agreement with Transjordan of 3 April 1949, was never granted. East Jerusalem was cut off from its electricity and water supply and from its direct routes to the West and the South. Both parties had to work hard before a semblance of normality was restored.

On 13 December 1948 the Transjordanian parliament resolved the annexation of the areas of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion. Israel followed suit by transferring its parliament from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in February 1949 and proclaiming Jerusalem its capital on 13 December 1949. Both actions were in contradiction of the U.N. resolution of November 1947, which had foreseen Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum*. The matter came up repeatedly in the U.N. until 1952, when it was left dormant, until the war of 1967 created an entirely new situation.

The history of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem during the years 1948-1967 lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that during this period it received most of the administrative and cultural edifices a modern society needs. The eastern sector had lost its status as part of a capital, but still was the main city of the West Bank and developed also as a centre of tourism. It expanded greatly towards the north, engulfing S̲h̲aʿfāṭ and other villages. Important public buildings, founded by both local and foreign authorities, were erected and stately new hotels were built to cope with the developing tourist trade. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, a former senior official of the Mandatory regime and meritorious author of books on Jerusalem and on the Beersheba district and its tribes, became mayor of Jerusalem. The last Jordanian mayor was Rūḥī al-K̲h̲aṭīb (Rouhi el Khatib) of a Hebron family, thus personifying the considerable influx of Hebronites into Jerusalem during its Jordanian period. The ups and downs of inner-Arab politics with regard to the legal status of Jerusalem and Jordan's rights on it belong to history. Jordan's rule left a permanent imprint by the restoration work carried out in the *ḥaram al-s̲h̲arīf*, in particular, the golden dome and the ceramic inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. The murder of King ʿAbd Allāh while proceeding from the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 July 1951 did not have the far-reaching consequences expected by his assassins. Fires broke out during this period both in the Holy Sepulchre and the Aḳṣā mosque, but did not give rise to any demonstrations or diplomatic moves. The visit of Pope Paul VI in January 1964 to both sectors of Jerusalem showed his deep concern for the Holy City.

The war of 1967, which lasted in Jerusalem only three days (Monday-Wednesday 5-7 June) caused loss of precious lives, but comparatively little damage. The Jordanians had occupied the U.N. headquarters and tried to encircle the new city from the south, but this attempt failed. The main fighting was in the north. After having taken the positions on the north-eastern hills, the Israeli forces entered the Old City from the St. Stephen's (Lions) Gate, *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, finding but little resistance. The barriers between the two sectors of the city were removed, the eastern sector was immediately connected with the Israeli water system and received other municipal services and on 28 June 1967 the inhabitants of the two sectors were permitted to move freely throughout the town.

Naturally, this sudden turn of events at first had a stunning effect on the population of East Jerusalem. There were also great socio-economic difficulties. The middle class, especially the circles connected with the Jordanian administration and courts, was particularly affected. But the enormous expansion of the city in the subsequent years, which provided work and income for almost everyone, greatly alleviated the economic situation and brought about many contacts between the two parts of Jerusalem. But this did by no means solve the political problem. Strikes and acts of terror were not uncommon, but under the leadership of Teddy Kollek, mayor of the united city, the policy devised and implemented was one of non-intervention in the daily life and communal institutions of the Muslim population. The

most conspicuous expression of this policy was to be found in the exclusive control which the Muslim religious institutions retained on the mosques of the Temple Mount and in the continued independent activities of the Muslim *Waḳf* and religious courts.

The declarations and actions of the Israeli authorities aiming at the "reunification" of Jerusalem were immediately followed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N. calling for a return to the *status quo* prior to the war, as well as by protests on the side of Muslim bodies all over the world. The creation of a huge square in front of the Western Wall and of secure approaches to the inner city involved the demolition of a considerable number of Arab dwellings. Although such measures had been envisaged already in Ottoman times and although the inhabitants were indemnified, these were, of course, grave actions. Relevant complaints were submitted by Jordan to U.N., as from June 1967 but were described by Israel as grossly exaggerated. The fire damage caused to the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 August 1969 by a deranged Christian tourist from Australia made great stirrings in the Muslim world and it took some time until the truth penetrated.

About a year after the fire, the Muslim Council began repairing the damage caused by the fire. The repairs took several years and are practically completed. During the process of the work many parts of the mosque were built anew, including areas which were not damaged during the fire. With the funds of the Muslim *Waḳf* several ancient drinking fountains and the market of the cotton merchants were restored, existing mosques were repaired, and two new mosques were built.

Besides the monuments described in part B. and the vibrant folklife in the Old City, Jerusalem offers much of interest to the Islamist. The Palestine ("Rockefeller") Museum contains unique exhibits from Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*] and other treasures of Islamic art and archaeology. The Khālidiyya library in the Old City possesses valuable manuscripts, including some not listed in the *Barnāmadj al-maktaba al-Khālidiyya*, Jerusalem 1318, and so does the library of the Hebrew University. The Oriental reading room of the University library is an exceptionally good working library for Islamic studies. The Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University harbours, among other collections, a Concordance of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry, comprising at present over a million-and-half index cards, while the newly created L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art (officially opened on 9 October 1974) can boast of exquisite examples of Islamic art and workmanship.

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(S. D. GOITEIN)

B. MONUMENTS

The Islamic monuments of Jerusalem reflect at the same time the unique character of the Holy City itself with its complex memories translated into major works of architecture or into mystical and liturgical associations and the pecularities of the Muslim rule of the city as it has been outlined in the historical section A of this article. With the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem possesses the first consciously-created masterpiece of Islamic art, while the city remains unique among almost all Muslim cities in the manner in which its Muslim monuments are almost entirely concentrated in one part of the city, on or near the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [*q.v.*]. The first feature reflects the singular position of Jerusalem in early Umayyad times, while the second one is a direct result of the city's unique character. Any understanding of Jerusalem's monumental history requires, therefore, both an awareness of the city's archaeology, i.e. of its own peculiar relationship between a complicated topography and remains from former civilisations, and a knowledge of the types of official, religious, emotional, and financial investments which Muslim culture put into it at various times. As has been shown in the historical part, the latter changed considerably over the centuries and the changes affected the growth and the meaning of monuments in a way which is totally unique in Islamic history. While the presentation which follows is primarily historical, it should be borne in mind that eventually a similar survey could and should be made quarter by quarter, or else from the point of view of the type of political or pietistic associations which have surrounded the Muslim monuments of Jerusalem.

There is no complete study of Jerusalem's Islamic monuments as a whole. The most thorough investigation is that of Max van Berchem, which utilises simultaneously inscriptions, architectural remains, and written sources, especially the invaluable guidebook of Mud͟jīr al-Dīn. Since his time a number of monographs have modified our understanding of the two main buildings on the Ḥaram (we will use the term for convenience's sake, even though it did not become common until the Ottomans, see AL-ḤARAM AL-S͟HARĪF), the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, while recent and still unfinished excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram have introduced a large number of new elements in any understanding of the city in early Islamic times. A survey of Jerusalem's Ayyūbid and Mamlūk remains has only recently been initiated and very little has been published so far. The bibliography which follows this essay gives an idea of the considerable amount of information we possess about Jerusalem, but this very abundance identifies the main problem faced by the investigator of the city's monuments, which is to determine what in them is typical of Islamic culture as a whole and what is unique to a unique city. We shall return to this question at the end of our survey. In the meantime, it has seemed preferable to describe the city's growth chronologically and to identify in it four major periods of development: (1) early Islamic up to the middle of the 4th/10th century; (2) from the middle of the 4th/10th century to the Crusades (492/1099); (3) Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, from the time of the reconquest at the end of the 6th/12th century to *ca.* 1500; (4) Ottoman period. No mention is made of the city's development after its awakening to the modern world in the 19th century, for by then we are no longer dealing with an Islamic city in the traditional sense but with a modern town searching for ways to accommodate its own unique spiritual and emotional values with the pressures of contemporary life. Much thought has been given to these problems in Jerusalem since the first reports sponsored by British mandatory authorities and by various ecclesiastical groups. Their investigation and discussion belongs, however, to modern urbanism rather than to the understanding of a Muslim city.

1. *Early Islamic, until the middle of the 4th/10th century.*

All later developments in the monumental history of Jerusalem were affected by the manner of the

city's conquest and by the circumstances surrounding its first Muslim settlements. However uncertainly known the actual events of the conquest may have been, one key archaeological point is clear: the huge Herodian setting for the Jewish Temple on the eastern side of the city was standing in ruins; many courses of its magnificent masonry, most of its gates, possible fragments of its towers could still be recognised, and its surface as well as the surrounding areas were littered with easily-accessible stones from its constructions. For scriptural reasons, the Christians had left the Herodian space unused except for a small and comparatively late memorial church to St. James in the south-western corner. South of the Temple area there were Christian hostels and monasteries, but apparently no major living areas, for the Christian city was concentrated in the western side of the town, around the hills of Zion and Golgotha, with the Holy Sepulchre and its attendant constructions as focal points. Whether or not there was a Byzantine wall enclosing the whole of Zion hill and the spur of Mount Moriah which overlooks Siloam from the north (the so-called wall of Eudocia) is still a moot question, but seems likely.

Almost as soon as the formal take-over had been completed, the Muslims appropriated for themselves the Herodian Temple area for their own administrative and religious purposes. The reasons for this act were many. It was a large empty space in a city in which by treaty the conquerors were not allowed to expropriate Christian buildings; the early Muslims were under the influence of Jewish converts with presumed knowledge of the area's holy significance; the Muslims may have wanted to show their opposition to the Christian belief that the area must stay empty; and, finally, the Muslims themselves may have had a spiritual attachment to Jerusalem before conquering it, though the possibility is difficult to demonstrate. But regardless of the reasons, the key point is that a huge space became available to the new culture in a striking location overlooking most of the city. It can furthermore be deduced from a variety of later developments that the earliest settlements by Muslims took place in the sparsely populated area south and south-west of the Temple.

There began then a monumental and ideological Islamisation of an ancient site, for which we possess a rather remarkable series of documents, even though all of its concrete modalities are still far from being clear. What occurred in effect is that the Muslims provided new and highly individual meanings to an existing space with different meanings. The following chronological scheme can be provided for this unusual development, although, as will be seen, much in it is still hypothetical.

First a small "rudely built . . . quadrangular place of prayer" (as described by the western pilgrim Arculfus *ca.* 680) was erected. It was mostly in wood and set somewhere in the midst of the Herodian ruins. Nothing is known of its internal arrangements, but it was probably a typically early Islamic hypostyle mosque. Its exact location is also unknown, although it is likely but by no means certain that it was not far from the place of the present Aḳṣā mosque. This building probably remained until the first decade of the 8th century, but, as will be seen below, there is a possibility that already under ʿAbd al-Malik a new building was begun. There is no textual or archaeological information as to whether any of the newly found buildings south and south-west of the Ḥaram belong to this very first period, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The second step in the development of the Herodian site coincided with the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik. Its most remarkable monument is the Dome of the Rock completed in 71/691. Often described and often studied, it consists of two octagonal ambulatories around a dome-covered cylinder, 30.30 m. high and 20.30 m. in diameter. The dome is set over a huge rocky outcrop with an underground chamber. The building is provided with four axial gates preceded by often redone porches. The building is a remarkably thought-out composition whose every detail in plan and in evaluation has been most accurately measured so as to create the most impressive effect. Its conception, and almost every architectural detail in its interior arrangement (piers, columns, capitals, arches, etc.), belong to the architectural repertory of Byzantine art and more specifically to the *martyrium* tradition of Jerusalem buildings like the Holy Sepulchre or the church of the Ascension. It is from the same tradition that derives its internal decoration of marble panelling and especially of mosaics covering almost all wall surfaces above the capitals and cornices of piers and columns. There is both literary and archaeological evidence that the early building was also covered with mosaics on the outside. The subject matter of these mosaics is also derived from earlier artistic traditions, mostly Mediterranean, but also with a few themes of Iranian origin. These mosaics are often considered as typical examples of a pre-Islamic way of decorating the interior of major buildings. This is true to the extent that a rich variety of vegetal and occasionally geometric motifs, superbly adapted to the shapes provided by the architecture, have any number of models in earlier buildings, even though rarely preserved in such spectacular fashion. But there is quite a bit of originality in these mosaics as well. In subject matter two points are of importance. One is the presence of an imperial jewelry of Byzantine and Iranian origin on all wall faces directed toward the centre of the building. The other one is the absence of any representation of living beings several decades before we become aware of a partial Muslim prohibition of images. A long inscription, however, comprising primarily Ḳurʾānic quotations, has been shown to fulfill an iconographic purpose by its choice of passages, as will be discussed below. Stylistically, the mosaics are perhaps less unique, although their effect as a sort of sheath over the architecture rather than as a series of independent panels emphasising each part of the building may be understood as prefiguring the later use in Islamic art of decoration overwhelming the architectonic values of a monument.

The Dome of the Rock, as it appears today, is not entirely in its original shape. Beyond numerous repairs and restorations carried out over the centuries on basically original elements (particularly under the Fāṭimids and after the Crusades), there are two areas where later changes have completely obliterated earlier features. Inside, all the ceilings, including the dome, appear in Mamlūk or Ottoman garb and the whole exterior has been redone with superb coloured tiles in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the 1950s and 1960s the building was virtually taken apart by a team of Egyptian architects and engineers supported with contributions from the whole Muslim world and then put back together and restored in a particularly successful manner. Every part of the building was put back in the manner which reflects the earliest information we possess about it.

The most frequently-raised question about the

Dome of the Rock is that of its original purpose. Three explanations are available. One is that it is a building commemorating the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (*isrāʾ* and *miʿrād̲j̲*); the second one is that it sought to replace the Meccan Kaʿba for Muslim pilgrimage; the third one is that it was a monument celebrating the new faith's presence in the city of Judaism and Christianity and its belonging to the same monotheistic tradition. Too many arguments (see above, section A and articles by Goitein and Grabar) exist against the second explanation to maintain its possibility. The first one has the advantage of corresponding to the eventual association which was and still is made by Muslim piety, but there is much doubt about the likelihood of its existence at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. The third explanation agrees with the political and psychological circumstances of the times and with the internal evidence of the decoration (with its royal symbols strung like trophies around the centre of the building) and especially of the inscriptions (which contain the whole Christology of the Ḳurʾān). For the history of art, the Dome of the Rock would then appear as an extraordinary monument which succeeded in providing new meanings to traditional forms.

But the construction of the Dome of the Rock raises a number of additional problems which pertain to the archaeological history of the city of Jerusalem. It is on an artificial platform situated excentrically to any other part of the former Temple area. The platform was reached through a series of stairs, some of which must have been there at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. Since we know otherwise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the Temple area was in ruins, we must conclude that by 71/691 a considerable amount of work had already been accomplished on the walls and pavements of the area as well as on its gates. The nature and extent of this work cannot be determined but, if it is true, as H. Stern believes (*contra* Creswell and Hamilton) that the earliest Aḳṣā mosque may have been begun at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, then we must also assume that much of the south walls of the Ḥaram and the Double and Triple gates had been rebuilt, for, as Corbett and Monneret de Villard have suggested, their plans and location may be Herodian but their construction and completion are early Islamic.

Be this as it may, the third step in the transformation of the Temple area by the Muslims can be dated to the time of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15). It is to him that we owe the first clearly documented Aḳṣā mosque (see, however, the controversies between Stern, Hamilton and Creswell). It was a building consisting of an uncertain number of naves perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall with a central nave provided with a dome (following here Stern *contra* Creswell). The plan was an unusual one for its time, and should probably be explained by the fact that the substructures of the Ḥaram platform which had to be restored by this time consisted of north-south arcades serving as supports for the building above. The Aḳṣā mosque was decorated with mosaics and with marble and was also provided with remarkable carved and painted woodwork, now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and in the Aḳṣā Museum. One last point should be made about the Aḳṣā mosque. Although its internal organisation was but a modification of the hypostyle tradition prevalent at the time, it was quite consciously located on the same axis as the earlier Dome of the Rock and thus was part of an architecturally thought-out ensemble comprising a congregational and a commemorative building, just as in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in the western part of Jerusalem. Although their exact chronology is still difficult to establish with any sort of precision, we may also assume that the group of large buildings with courts and with long rooms recently excavated to the south and to the south-west of the Ḥaram had been completed by the time of al-Walīd. Whether they were the palaces and administrative buildings (*dār al-imāra*) mentioned in papyri, whether they were commercial establishments or more simply the residence of whatever Arab families and clans moved into the city in early Islamic times, they form a striking monumental ensemble of large constructions along streets and stairs (partly Herodian) leading up to the Double Gate, at the time the main entrance into the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, or, as we probably must call it, the *masd̲j̲id bayt al-maḳdis*, the mosque of Jerusalem. It is at this time that we begin to have the first indications of specifically Muslim associations with the Ḥaram, whether strictly new ones pertaining to the life of the Prophet or Muslim versions of the lives of earlier prophets. These developments are, however, very difficult to date properly. What can be ascertained is that by the middle Umayyad period a uniquely original architectural composition had been created: two major buildings on a partly refurbished enormous space inherited from earlier times which, unlike the Roman temple in Damascus, was too large to be transformed into a single building for new Muslim functions, but which therefore ended up by acquiring particularly original ones.

The following two centuries are the least documented in the monumental history of Jerusalem. Yet their importance is considerable, not so much by their contribution to the architecture of the city (consisting mostly of repairs and restorations, including major reconstructions of the Aḳṣā mosque under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī) as by the indications they provide of the continuing concern of the Muslim community at large for its sanctuary in Jerusalem. Part of this concern is purely practical; walls are built up or repaired after earthquakes; the area of the Ḥaram is officially measured and apparently surveyed, as appears from inscriptions which are our main source for this aspect of Muslim activities on the Ḥaram. Each gate was provided with a wooden porch ordered by the mother of al-Muḳtadir, who also paid for the repairs of the Dome of the Rock's cupola. A portico was built on the western and northern sides of the Ḥaram, thus providing a formal frame to the sanctuary; some of the minarets may be of that time.

But another concern is far more interesting. It consists in the growth of pious associations. The latter were certainly translated into buildings, although none of the latter are known to have survived and our information is entirely through the testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Faḳīh or al-Muḳaddasī or through littérateurs like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Three themes appear in these associations which will remain constantly in the religious and architectural history of the Ḥaram: the Night Journey of the Prophet commemorated through a score of *maḳāms* and of *ḳubbas*, ancient prophets commemorated either through gates or through *miḥrābs*, and eschatology commemorated by the new interpretations given to the strange *Ḳubba al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain, probably the Treasury of Umayyad times, see van Berchem) as the place of Judgement, by a *ḳubba* of

the Trumpet, or by the appearance of a new name to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Mercy. The theme of eschatology should probably be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery to the east of the Ḥaram into something more than just a local cemetery, for even the rulers of Ikhshīdid Egypt wanted to be buried there. But it is also true that funerary cults grew at that time in many parts of the Muslim world, although Jerusalem, as the town of the Prophets and of Resurrection, played a unique part in this growth.

Altogether, then, if one takes the time of al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 385/985) as the terminal point of the first period in the monumental history of Jerusalem, one can clearly see that its most remarkable achievement was the transformation of Herod's ruined Temple into a unique Muslim sanctuary, by then already accepted as the third most important sanctuary of the faith. Dominated by the Dome of the Rock, high above the whole city, comprising a large mosque with a cupola, full of new commemorative buildings of varying sizes, partly surrounded by a portico, with almost all of its gates underground leading to the Muslim quarters to the south and possibly also to the west, the Ḥaram must have been a very impressive sight, a fitting tribute to the Umayyad princes who initiated the transformation of an empty space full of memories into a Muslim holy place. But beyond such conclusions as can be drawn from the buildings of Jerusalem in early Islamic times for religious and cultural history, they also lead to a number of important conclusions for the historian of art. For, on the one hand, they illustrate the ways in which pre-Islamic themes have been transformed into Islamic ones and, on the other, they are our best examples of what may be called an imperial Islamic style initiated by the Umayyad dynasty.

Little is known about Islamic constructions outside the Ḥaram area. From an inscription analysed by van Berchem and from a passage in the Christian chronicler Eutychius (*Matériaux, Ville*, no. 24), it appears that in the early 4th/10th century a mosque was built within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre in contradiction to the early treaties between Muslims and Christians. Nothing is known of its shape.

2. *From ca. 338/950 to the Crusaders.*

In many ways, the second period is nothing but a continuation of the first one. Repairs and restorations are recorded in texts and in inscriptions as buildings deteriorated or as they were damaged by man or by nature. But two phenomena identified primarily with the Fāṭimid dynasty appear to indicate more significant changes.

The first of these affected the whole city of Jerusalem. It is that under the caliph al-Ẓāhir, probably around 421-4/1030-3, the walls of the city were rebuilt and, more importantly, shortened on the south side of the city to approximately their present position. What this meant is that the traditional Muslim quarter to the south of the Ḥaram was abandoned and that the underground gates found there were blocked. The main entrances into the sanctuary were shifted to the west and possibly to the north. This involved certain changes in the names of gates (cf. Ḥaram), but it also involved a major building-up of the western gate, the present Bāb al-Silsila, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in 438/1047, describes the brilliance of its mosaics, apparently similar to those of the Aḳṣā mosque which are Fāṭimid (cf. below). It is also from the Persian traveller that we can infer that the commercial centre of the city had by then shifted to the area west of the sanctuaries, probably to where it is now.

The second phenomenon is the rebuilding of the Aḳṣā mosque also under al-Ẓāhir. Probably as a reflection of a depopulation in the city, the mosque diminished in size to approximately its present dimensions, but the most remarkable feature of the Fāṭimid mosque consists in its mosaic decoration, studied by Henri Stern who showed, among other things, that the Fāṭimids used Umayyad models in their decoration. If one considers that a number of additional buildings were built on the Ḥaram—for instance a mosque near the Golden Gate—and that the imperial mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch of the Aḳṣā is the first one in Jerusalem to begin with Ḳurʾān, xvii, 1, the *isrāʾ* verse, one may propose the hypothesis that there had been a formal attempt by the dynasty to build up the holiness of Jerusalem's sanctuaries. This development, which was cut short in the second half of the 5th/11th century by political difficulties, must probably be connected with other Fāṭimid activities in Palestine, as exemplified for instance in the celebrated *minbar* now in Hebron (G. Wiet, *Notes d'épigraphie arabe*, in *Syria*, v [1924], 217 ff.) and even with the earlier destruction of the Holy Sepulchre under al-Ḥākim. All these matters still require fuller investigation. What is important at this stage is that, even though the city had diminished in size, the Fāṭimids, probably for religious and political reasons of their own, sought to increase both the splendour and the meaning of the main sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

It should also be pointed out that it is under the Fāṭimids that we have our first evidence for the use of the citadel on the western side of the city. The evidence is primarily archaeological.

3. *The Ayyūbids and Mamlūks.*

As is well known, the Crusaders took over the Ḥaram area and transformed it into a palace and eventually into the military and religious centre of the Knights Templar. Since the earlier underground gates had been blocked, the Crusaders made a new gate, the so-called Single Gate leading directly into the Stables of Solomon in the north-eastern part of the sanctuary. In addition, the Crusaders modified the Holy Sepulchre and built many new churches, some of which, like the Church of St. Anne, still survive, even though in a slightly romanticised 19th century garb. Much in the city's topography during the time of the Latin Kingdom is not clear, but it does seem that they initiated many buildings in the valley immediately east of the Ḥaram and thus began the process of partial levelling of the Ḥaram's platform with its western surroundings which has continued from that moment onwards. Finally, it should be noted that the Crusaders were very active builders and, even though much of their work was destroyed, it provided an enormous supply of already-carved stones with the result that, in addition to remaining completed units such as the transept of the Aḳṣā mosque, a large number of subsequent Muslim buildings, especially in the area of the Bāb al-Silsila or in adjoining streets, contain decorative units taken from Latin constructions.

It is possible to discuss as one entity the monuments built in Jerusalem between 1200 and 1500 for two main reasons. One is that the nearly ninety original monuments which remain (not to speak of those mentioned in Mudjīr al-Dīn's chronicle) have

not been studied with as much attention as the earlier ones, and stylistic or functional differentiations which doubtlessly occurred cannot therefore be identified as precisely. The second reason is that, partly because of their number and partly because they are functionally and even stylistically relatable to monuments found in Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, these monuments lend themselves more readily than the earlier ones to typological rather than to chronological definition.

One kind of architectural activity which followed the Crusades does, however, escape this general rule. It consisted in the task of re-Islamising the city. Churches were destroyed or transformed into mosques and the two main sanctuaries on the Ḥaram were systematically cleansed of as many traces of Christian occupation as possible. This activity was particularly notable in the Aḳṣā mosque, where Saladin put up a new *miḥrāb* with a rare mosaic decoration and to which he transported Nūr al-Dīn's celebrated *minbar* made especially for Jerusalem and which was tragically destroyed in 1969 (cf. the historical section, § 15, above). In addition, Saladin and his immediate followers sought to repair, rebuild, and resanctify all the holy places which had existed on the Ḥaram. As van Berchem showed on several occasions, this task was carried out in some confusion and led to any number of misunderstandings. On the whole, however, it seems that the old sanctuary was returned quite rapidly to its former shape but not necessarily splendour, for, as will be shown presently, a totally new taste affected its western and northern sides.

One can put into the same category of refurbishing the city of Jerusalem the rebuilding of its walls. Inscriptions, texts, and masonries are for the time being quite confusing for the establishment of a coherent chronology of the fortifications from the 7th/13th century until the Ottomans. It is not even certain whether the present walls coincide with those rebuilt under the Ayyūbids, although what differences may have existed were probably minimal. The citadel on the western side of the city, whose use by the Muslims before the Crusades is still uncertainly documented either archaeologically or through literary sources, was entirely redone and remained in use as a typical late mediaeval *ḳalʿa* until very recent times.

Within a walled city with its restored ancient sanctuary and with a diminished Christian population, an enormous building activity took place over three centuries. Its first characteristic is that it was almost entirely concentrated on the Ḥaram proper and on its western and northern sides, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets leading to it. Only two Muslim buildings are known with certainty in the whole western half of the city. Its second characteristic is that it was a continuous activity. It is true of course that one can recognise and identify certain particularly active moments, such as the twenties and thirties of the 8th/14th century, during the times of the remarkable governor Tenkiz or else the times of Ḳāʾitbāy in the 9th/15th century. But these clusters of activity, which deserve individual monographs, should not hide the fact that buildings were erected all the time and by an extraordinary broad social spectrum of sponsors.

The functions of the buildings are typical of any place in the Mamlūk period: schools, orphanages, libraries, *madrasas*, baths, *k͟hānaḳāhs*, *ribāṭs*, hospitals, commercial establishments, caravanserais, public latrines, fountains. The only apparent peculiarity of Jerusalem when compared to Cairo or to Aleppo is the preponderance of purely charitable institutions over private mosques, *madrasas*, and mausoleums, the latter being quite scarce. This latter point obviously reflects the practicality of Muslim piety as well as the fact that, as a politically provincial city, Jerusalem did not lend itself to the conspicuous consumption inherent in the construction of mausoleums.

Few plans and elevations are available for these buildings but, when they do exist, the plans appear to be variations of the ubiquitous central plan (often covered, either because of the small size of the buildings or because of the impact of another tradition of construction than Cairo's) with one to four *īwāns*. The most visible feature of each building was always its façade, and Jerusalem is provided with an unusually wide range of Mamlūk portals. There are few variations in their plans, but many in their elevation, especially in the types of vaults used. Superb *muḳarnas* series coexist with simple barrel vaults and the zone of transition of the Bāb al-Silsila's domes exhibit the remarkable range of models available to local masons and architects. Of all the buildings the most remarkable ones are the Tenkiziyya, the Arg͟hūniyya, and the Sūḳ al-Kattānīn for the 8th/14th century and the As͟hrafiyya or the jewel-like fountain of Ḳāʾitbāy on the Ḥaram for the 9th/15th one. The construction is throughout of stone and all monuments exhibit the superb technique of Palestinian masonry: closely jointed courses often of stone of alternating colour, joggled voussoirs, sobriety of decoration consisting usually of mouldings around openings or of inscriptions. While it will eventually be possible to determine a number of stylistic details which will identify a Jerusalem style of architecture, the main impression given by most of these monuments is that they exemplify the consistently high standards of Mamlūk architecture all over Syria and Egypt.

The more important aspect of all these constructions lies in the manner in which they have transformed the Ḥaram. For instead of being simply an area surrounded by a portico and reached through a number of more or less monumental gates, the northern and western sides of the Ḥaram became a show place of façades to buildings whose function was no longer connected to the Ḥaram but received a certain value or grace from it. Thus the most magnificent gateway on the Ḥaram is not an entrance to it but to the bazaar of cloth merchants. The older, traditional gates with their consecrated names lost their importance. The Ḥaram itself became cluttered with all sorts of new buildings which detract by their very multiplicity from the main sanctuaries, inasmuch as many of them were for private or restricted use as places of prayer or for public charity rather than for the formal expression of the faith's beliefs. What seems to be involved is at the same time a different, far more practical and more pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor probably that of the Fāṭimids, but the taste of a wider social order which sought individual salvation through works rather than through the monumental glorification of the faith.

4. *The Ottomans.*

During the first years of Ottoman rule, earlier practices continued and a *madrasa* like the Risāsiyya (947/1540) still follows Mamlūk practice and Mamlūk ideals. A large number of fountains are even later.

But the main effort of the Ottoman dynasty in its heyday was once again an imperial one, and it is therefore not an accident that its two most spectacular achievements are still among the most impressive monuments of the city. One is the tile revetment of the Dome of the Rock and the other one is in the walls and gates of Jerusalem. Both are essentially 10th/16th century achievements attributed to Sulaymān the Magnificent, and it is important to note that neither one sought to be functionally or spiritually original. For regardless of their effectiveness, which is striking indeed, their main point is that they have managed to capture two consistent themes in the monumental history of Jerusalem: the creation of a new Muslim holy place and the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world.

After this century, the main activity of the Ottomans consisted in constant repairs of the main sanctuaries of the Ḥaram. The quality of these repairs decreased with the centuries as Ottoman wealth decreased and as Jerusalem declined in population and importance, until the second half of the 19th century brought a new, European-centred, significance and architecture into the city.

In the most recent years, two different types of investigations have been carried out in Islamic Jerusalem. The first one is the continuation and partial publication of excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram. These have by now fully demonstrated that the Umayyads utilised and probably rebuilt the staircases of Herodian origin leading to the sanctuary. See N. Avigad, *Archaeological discoveries in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, Second Temple period*, Jerusalem 1976, and Mayer Ben-Dov, *Hashiridim min hatikufa hamuslamit hakaduma beʿazor har habayit*, in *Qadmoniot* (Jerusalem 1972).

The second group of investigations are the studies of Mamlūk monuments by A. Walls and M. Burgoyne, published in vols. iii (1971) onwards of *Levant, Jnal. of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, and with a checklist by Burgoyne, *The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1976. In addition to providing accurate plans and elevations of buildings to the west of the Ḥaram, these studies have at times dealt with broader issues and a particularly original note by A. Walls in *Levant*, viii (1976), 159-61, suggests that the construction of the minarets of Afḍal ʿAlī (1465-6) and of the Ṣalāḥiyya (1417) in the western and primarily Christian part of the city served to frame symbolically the domes of the Holy Sepulchre with prototypical Muslim monuments.

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General considerations on the monuments of Jerusalem in early Islamic times can be found in U. Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell' archeologia islamica*, Venice 1966, especially 181-215; Lucien Golvin, *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse musulmane*, ii, Paris 1971, and O. Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973. For the Dome of the Rock, the most complete description is by K. A. C. Creswell and Marguerite van Berchem, *Early Muslim architecture*², Oxford 1969. For a different interpretation, see O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1957). Additional information is in C. Kessler, *Above the ceiling ... of the Dome of the Rock*, in *JRAS* (1964), and *ʿAbd al-Malik's inscription*, in *JRAS* (1970). For the Aķṣā mosque, the key works are R. W. Hamilton, *The structural history of the Aqsa Mosque*, Jerusalem 1949, and H. Stern, *Recherches sur la Mosquée al-Aqsa*, in *Ars Orientalis*, v (1963). For the Ḥaram gates in Umayyad times, see S. Corbett, *Some observations*, in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1952-3). The first publications of the new excavations are by B. Mazar and M. Ben-Dov, *The excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1971.

Much less work has been done on the later periods. See O. Grabar, *A new inscription*, in *Studies in honour of K. A. C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965; A. Miquel, *Jérusalem arabe*, in *B. Et. Or.*, xvi (1961); L. Golvin, *Quelques notes sur le Suq al-Qattanin*, in *B. Et. Or.*, xx (1967); M. H. Burgoyne, *Some Mameluke doorways*, in *Levant*, from iii 1971 to present; *idem*, *The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem 1976. For the citadel, C. H. Johns, *The Citadel*, in *QDAP*, xiv (1950).

No understanding of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages can avoid a thorough awareness of pre-Islamic Jerusalem. Among the huge bibliography dealing with the latter, the most convenient works are L. H. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, Paris 1954, summarising and revising his older work; J. Simons, *Jerusalem*, Leiden 1954; and M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba mosaic*, Jerusalem 1954.

Several general books have provided valuable introductions to Islamic Jerusalem, even though many of them still tend to deal primarily with pre-Islamic times. The most accurate ones are Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem revealed*, New Haven 1975 and Israel Pocket Library, *Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1973. An exception with good photographs is A. Duncan, *The Noble Sanctuary*, London 1972. An interesting but controversial book about the future is A. Kutcher, *The new Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1973. (O. GRABAR)

ĶUDSĪ, MUḤAMMAD DJĀN, poet at the Mughal court in India. He was born and raised in Mashhad, from where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was then engaged in the grocery trade before he went to India. In 1041/1632 he joined the ranks of the Emperor Shāh Djahān's poets. Dāghistānī, the author of the *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, states that Ķudsī preceded Kalīm as poet-laureate to Shāh Djahān, but this is not confirmed by contemporary sources. He died in Lahore in 1056/1646-7 and, according to Ādhar's *Ātash-kada*, his remains were removed to Khurāsān.

Ķudsī's poems are distinguished by a felicity of style. Like Kalīm, he was also engaged to compose a poetic history of Shāh Djahān's reign. Though less talented than his more famous contemporary, he seems to have been held in high esteem, and was regarded as a leading poet of his day.

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KUDUMMUL, a small volcanic island in the Red Sea in 17° 52′ N lat., called Kotumble on the English Admiralty charts and Qotanbul in *Admiralty handbook, Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 133. The island has a rich flora, which has been studied by the botanist Ehrenberg, and is noteworthy for its iron deposits, which are mentioned as early as the geographer Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 630/1233). Kudummul, which lies near Ḥamiḍa on the Arabian coast off ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], once marked the boundary between the land of the Kināna and Yemen.

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(A. GROHMANN)

AL-ḲUDŪRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN/AL-ḤASAN AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. DJAʿFAR B. ḤAMDĀN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Ḥanafī *faḳīh* who was born and who died at Baghdād (362-5 Radjab 428/972-24 April 1037). He was head of the Ḥanafī school in ʿIrāḳ, and had occasion to lead several public discussions, in which he defended his own viewpoint, with his contemporary, the Shāfiʿī Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāʾinī, whom he however especially revered. A number of pupils gathered around him, the most famous of whom was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*].

As well as various works like his *K. al-Nikāḥ* on marriage and his *K. al-Tadjrīd* on the differences between the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, al-Ḳudūrī wrote a *Mukhtaṣar*, which had a great scholarly renown and enjoyed a sanctity comparable to the *Risāla* of al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] amongst the Mālikīs. It is a concise legal manual, but is clearer than the one of the same name by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]; it deals with ritual, contracts, personal status, criminal law and the law of succession, without particular care for logical order. This *Mukhtaṣar* inspired many commentaries, including e.g. *al-Djawhara al-nayyira* of Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbādī (Istanbul 1301, 1314, 1323, Delhi 1327) and *al-Lubāb fī sharḥ al-Kitāb* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maydānī (in the margins of the previous work, and Cairo 1344/1927). Numerous mss. of the *Mukhtaṣar* exist, which has been published many times, notably at Delhi in 1847, at Bombay in 1303 with trs. in Persian and Pashto, at Istanbul in 1281 with a Turkish paraphrase, and in 1309 also. The chapter on the holy war was edited and translated into Latin by Rosenmüller, in *Analecta arabica*, Leipzig 1825-6, and in French by Ch. Solve, Paris 1829; that on marriage was edited and translated by G. Helmsdörfer, Frankfurt 1832; and more recently, G.-H. Bousquet and L. Bercher edited and translated extensive passages in *Le statut personel en droit musulman hanéfite*, Tunis n.d.

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AL-KŪFA, one of the two cities (*miṣr* [*q.v.*]), along with Baṣra [*q.v.*], founded in ʿIrāḳ by early Islam. A permanent military establishment of the Arabs in Mesopotamia, Kūfa retained the whole of the ʿIrāḳī *Sawād* [*q.v.*] under its control. It participated actively in the Islamic expansion into Iranian territory, and, throughout the 1st/7th century, was a hotbed of intense political ferment. It was there also, as at Baṣra, that there took place for three centuries the gestation of Arabo-Islamic civilisation and culture. Then Kūfa experienced decline and ruin; today only a few traces remain, mostly of late date or restored.

Kūfa was founded in 17/638 by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], the victor of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], after the whole of ʿIrāḳ had been wrested from the hands of the Sāsānids and notably after the capture of Madāʾin-Ctesiphon (16/637), whose climate the Arabs could not endure. But other no less important reasons must be added to this: given the existence of a willingness to settle and immigrate, ʿUmar preferred to keep the Arabs grouped together and segregated from the peoples and territory conquered, in a relationship of spatial continuity with Arabia. This presupposes that, very swiftly, these main ideas were issued which set out to dictate the relationship of conquering people-conquered peoples: no dispersal in the *Sawād* or agricultural settlement, maintenance of the military striking force, the setting-up of a newly-originated fiscal system which would tap the revenues of the ʿIrāḳī territory without direct exploitation on the part of the Arabs, all this resting upon the co-existence of Arab clans very dissimilar in their origin. The role of the new state and the new religion as tutelary power and unifying principle was also implicitly taken into consideration. There is no doubt that ʿUmar wished to make of it the experimental melting-pot of his system, given concrete form by the establishment of the *dīwān* between 20 and 23/640-3.

I. The city of Kūfa.

Kūfa, a creation *ex nihilo*, was placed at the edge of the Arabian steppe, but on the bank of the principal branch of the middle Euphrates, guarding the passage to Bābil and, from there, Ctesiphon, a few miles to the north-east of al-Ḥīra; an excellent position of contact, astride two worlds, somewhat familiar to the Arab army due to its being situated in the region of al-Ḳādisiyya. Kūfa, placed on the right bank of the Euphrates, on a tongue (*lisān*) of dry, grey sand mixed with gravel, was slightly above the water level. It escaped floods, was well-supplied with water, and enjoyed a salubrious climate.

We do not know with exactitude the origin of the word Kūfa. The Arab historians and geographers, as they were accustomed, made of it a common noun designating any surface of rounded sand, but obviously, this appears to be a reconstruction a *posteriori*. Massignon derives it from the Syriac ʿAḳūla,

basing it in particular on Chinese testimony; a text of al-Ṭabarī situates the place ʿAḳūl between the Euphrates and the houses of Kūfa, probably to the north of the *miṣr*. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to see its origin in the Persianised form Kūba (Sarkis, in *Sumer* [1954]). Only a text of Sayf b. ʿUmar (al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo, iv, 40 ff.) gives some detailed information on the first settlement, on the *takhṭīṭ* of the mosque and the palace, and the apportioning of land to the tribes, clans and fragments of tribes, who constituted the army of Madāʾin. This has to be rectified and completed in the light of other historical and geographical texts. A public area was at first delimited; this was to include essentially the mosque and the governor's palace, and to become the focal point from which the whole encampment branched out. Fifteen *manāhidj* or avenues separating the tribal lots, each forty cubits wide, radiated from this central area. Along the five *manāhidj* of the north were settled the tribes Sulaym, Thaḳīf, Hamdān, Badjīla, Taghlib and Taym al-Lāt; to the south, the Asad, Nakhaʿ, Kinda and Azd; to the east, the Anṣār, Muzayna, Tamīm and Muḥārib, Asad and ʿĀmir; finally, to the west, Badjāla, Badjla, Djadīla and Djuhayna. This picture, it may be seen, contradicts a tradition of al-Shaʿbī cited by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 276) according to which all the Yemenīs were placed to the east, between the mosque and the Euphrates, and the Nizārīs to the west, a tradition which study of the topography of Kūfa as it appears from the narratives on the great revolts of the 1st/7th century does not corroborate. But it is beyond doubt that some alterations were effected by historical evolution in this picture of tribal geography: the Tamīm, in particular, migrated from the east to the west with the ʿAbs. The problem of the great tribes of Rabīʿa, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays still remains. For the most part, the Bakr migrated to Baṣra, but a certain number of them settled at Kūfa—including the ancient family of Dhu 'l-Djaddayn. As for ʿAbd al-Ḳays, initially established at Baṣra, they were possibly moved on a large scale to Kūfa at the time of the caliphate of ʿAlī, to leave it again in 40/660 for Baṣra. In any event, a certain number of characteristic features of the tribal establishment at Kūfa are to be noted: settlement of the main part—but not the whole—of the Arab *muḳātila* who had to confront the Sāsānid armies; heterogeneity of the tribal structure, in contrast to Baṣra; presence of a majority of Muḍarī and Ḳaysī elements formed either from large Bedouin clans (Tamīm, Asad), or from clans of the Ḥidjāz (Thaḳīf, Sulaym, Djuhayna, Muzayna), but nevertheless a concentration of a strong Yemenī minority, completely uncustomary elsewhere. It may even be asked if early Kūfa did not contain a majority of Yemenīs, who later became a weaker and weaker minority; certain modern authors have gone as far as to assert that the *takhṭīṭ* of Kūfa was conceived to shelter these distant migrants, together with those of the Ḥidjāz, rather than the others (M. Hinds, in *IJMES*, ii [1971], 346-67). The pure Yemenī elements are here massively present (Ḥimyar, Hamdān, Ḥaḍramawt, Madhḥidj) alongside tribes newly Yemenised (Kinda and Badjīla in particular, Azd Sarāt and Ṭayyiʾ), but the tribe which became the most numerous of the Yemenīs and without doubt of all the tribes, that of Hamdān, was not settled at Kūfa as early as the Madhḥidj, Badjīla and Kinda, and it was made up for the most part of recent immigrants (*rawādif*), who had come under ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and perhaps Muʿāwiya. It remains a fact that the Yemenī phenomenon was to determine the political destiny of Kūfa as well as the colour of its civilisation. According to Massignon, it is through the influence of the old Yemenī element, city dwellers for a long period, that the sedentarisation of the Arab tribes at Kūfa was effected; hence a civilising and urbanising role of the first order may be attributed to it from very early on.

Figures for the total population vary according to the sources and periods. It may be admitted that during the very first phase, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 276), although Yāḳūt gives the figure of 40,000 (*Buldān*, iv, 491). A text of Abū Mikhnaf (al-Ṭabarī, v, 79) speaks of the mobilisation by ʿAlī of all the 57,000 *muḳātila*, of whom 40,000 were adults and 17,000 adolescents. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, having enlarged the mosque, foresaw it as accommodating 60,000 people, a figure corroborated by a reliable piece of information given by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 345) concerning the people registered in the *dīwān*. So there would have been, around the year 50/670, 60,000 men and 80,000 women and children, that is, 140,000 Arabs of whom a census had been made, to which it is reasonable to add the clandestine residents and the non-Arabs, slaves or *mawālī*. Certainly at the same period the figure for the population of Baṣra (200,000 registered) rather outnumbered that of Kūfa, but the demographic inflation in the space of a generation was nevertheless considerable. This may explain the transplantation by Ziyād to Khurāsān of 50,000 people, of whom 40,000 were from Baṣra and 10,000 from Kūfa. It is probable that after Ziyād and throughout the Umayyad régime, the number of Arabs drawing stipends and registered remained stable or even had a tendency to diminish from al-Ḥadjdjādj (75-95/694-713) onwards, but the number of non-Arabs, uprooted from the land, new *mawālī* flocking to the *miṣr*, cannot be known for certain. The fact that this last governor took drastic measures to repulse them is clear proof of the existence of this disordered influx, dangerous for the equilibrium of the city. The history of the population of Kūfa, in the earliest and Umayyad period, is that of a very swift and essentially Arab expansion in a first phase (17-53/638-73), followed by a stabilisation, at times disrupted by the rural non-Arab immigration.

The topographic framework of Kūfa during the 1st/7th century evolved while remaining faithful to the original plan. The first Kūfa, that of ʿUmar (17-23/638-43) was a military camp, geometrical, airy and open, where tents quickly raised for an expedition were drawn up in lines. Soon, without doubt after the pacification of the Iranian territories, the need arose for a more permanent settlement, where tents were replaced by huts of reeds, which were abundant in the region. A third stage saw the substitution of houses (*dūr*) for huts, in *labin* or clay dried and cut up in large rectangular blocks, a stage inaugurated under the first governorship of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (22-4/642-4). In fact, all this is information given by Yāḳūt and reproduced by Massignon. Nevertheless, it is contradicted by Sayf, who compresses the stages, stating that the building of Kūfa in *labin* was decided very rapidly, before the *takhṭīṭ* itself, in 17/638. Finally, it is with Ziyād (50-3/670-3) that the *ādjur* or Mesopotamian fired brick was introduced, at first to construct the cathedral mosque and the governor's palace which adjoined it on the south, later no doubt for the houses of the aristocracy or *dūr*. Considerable ex-

penses were incurred to give to the mosque an architectural form: materials brought from al-Ahwāz for the columns, and the calling in of Aramaean or Persian masons. Kūfa was changed into a well-built city and began to take on, with this governor, the features of its topography which would only really change with the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

Umayyad Kūfa was not surrounded by ramparts; it may be supposed that its diameter did not exceed two kilometres. The monumental centre was composed of the *djāmiʿ*, of the fortified *ḳaṣr*, of the *raḥba* or *maydān* where various ceremonies took place, and of markets or *aswāḳ*, constructed under the governorship of Khālid al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-37) but given a specialised use much earlier. Massignon sees here the prototype of the future *aswāḳ* of Baghdād, but it is permissible to consider them as the model for the markets of all the Islamic towns of the Middle Ages by virtue of their vaulted form as well as the structure of their activities, where a special place had to be accorded to the *ṣayārifa* or moneychangers, at the time bankers of the governors and moneylenders of the Shīʿi conspiracies.

From the monumental centre there radiated out the *khiṭaṭ* or tribal lots which constituted the main part of the dwellings of Kūfa. Nevertheless, *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* or individual lots were assigned from the earliest period as exceptional favours to the Companions and to certain great figures who had their aristocratic houses built there, always situated in the centre. Al-Yaʿḳūbī gives a list of 25 *dār*, in which are to be noted the names of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd and his son ʿUmar, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and his descendants who played an important role in Kūfa before emigrating to Ḳumm, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭa, one of the principal leaders of the army of conquest, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, al-Ashʿath al-Kindī and Umm Hānī sister of ʿAlī. Other sources speak of the private houses of al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, al-Mukhtār al-Thaḳafī and ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth.

In addition to the monumental centre, to the collective *khiṭaṭ* and the private *dūr*, let us cite as essential elements of the topography of Kūfa the *manāhidj* or avenues, the *sikak* or streets, the *ṣaḥārī* (waste pieces of ground? e.g. *ṣaḥrāʾ al-Bardakht*), the *ḥammāmāt*, the *masādjid*, small mosques of a clan or quarter, and especially the *djabbānāt* of Kūfa. The *djabbānāt*, numbering a dozen, riddling the city everywhere almost certainly from the time of ʿAlī, played the role of tribal cemeteries, but they owed their importance to the fact that they served as places of assembly, mobilisation and taking-up arms. Their name was linked with some major historical episodes, such as the revolt of al-Mukhtār. It may be that we have there a privileged example of the influence of old Yemen on the urban structure of Kūfa. Among the principal *djabbānāt* may be cited that of Sabīʿ devolved to the Hamdān, dj. Mikhnaf (Azd), Murād (Madhḥidj), Kinda (Kinda and Rabīʿa), Ṣāʾidiyyīn (Asad), Uthayr (ʿAbs), etc. Other topographical features, whether in Kūfa itself or in its immediate environs, are often mentioned in the sources and assume a certain importance: the *Kunāsa*, at first a dumping-ground situated to the west of the camp-town, having become later, from the Umayyad period, a place of unloading for caravans from Arabia, a market for animals, on occasion a place of execution, and above all a fair for the poets similar to the *Mirbad* of Baṣra; the *dār ar-rizḳ*, the *sikkat al-barīd*, the *bāb al-fīl*, the *ḳinṭara*, all this within the city; *ḥammām* Aʿyan, *sūḳ* Asad, *dayr* Hind, *dayr* Kaʿb, *dayr* al-Djamādjim and *ḳaṣr* Muḳātil, situated immediately outside but all places intimately involved in the city's existence.

Umayyad Kūfa, marked by the attempt at urbanism of Ziyād and Khālid al-Ḳasrī, evolved, while remaining faithful to the earliest plan, from a Bedouin-style camp to a well-built, articulated, functional city, an evolution which was to be completed in the ʿAbbāsid period by the mere fact of the maturing of the Arabo-Muslim civilisation of which Kūfa was precisely one of the two primordial melting pots. Throughout the 1st/7th century, Kūfa no doubt remained airy, not yet surrounded by ramparts and open to the Arab steppe, as is witnessed by the traffic of men and poetry and the obstinate presence of the Bedouin model. Sedentarisation, a rapid and undeniable success, would have been inexplicable without the maintenance of the umbilical cord with Arabia, but the Arabs of Kūfa were well and truly settled people, almost totally cut off from the nomadic way of life. For it was the first time in their history that the Arabs united to form such a great urban concentration, a melting-pot where specimens of the whole of Arabia came to live and dwell together. If we continue to consider the urban sphere, we have to notice that Kūfa was to undergo profound changes during the high ʿAbbāsid period. The early ʿAbbāsids considered making it their capital and established themselves there for some time, but the ʿAlid presence and sympathies were so strong that they wavered for some time between Kūfa, Anbār and the new city of Hāshimiyya which was coupled with Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, before al-Manṣūr founded Baghdād (145-6/762-3) and moved the *bayt al-māl* and *dawāwīn* there from Kūfa (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 293), which indicates clearly that Kūfa had assumed the role of administrative capital of the empire, even if the caliphs did not always reside there.

During this short period of thirty years (132-46/750-63), there took place an Iranisation of a part of the Kūfan toponymy, following the influx of Khurāsānian soldiers: for example, the streets of Laḥḥām Djarīr and Ḥadjdjām ʿAntara and the naming of crossroads by the Iranian form of *čahārsūdj*, such as the *čahārsūdj* of Badjīla (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 280). On the other hand, the early ʿAbbāsids undertook the building at Kūfa of al-Ruṣāfa and the castle of Abu 'l-Khaṣīb; above all, al-Manṣūr, after the move to Baghdād, had the city surrounded by ramparts and a moat, making the inhabitants bear the costs of it. It is probable that the enclosure did not surround the *Kunāsa* and some *djabbānāt* outside the centre, thus creating a differentiation between a *madīna* and suburbs. The term *madīna* in the sense of a historical urban nucleus, elaborated, closely-packed and protected by walls with gates, makes its appearance for the first time in the account given by al-Ṭabarī with regard to the revolt of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (199/814). The same author remarks that the *Kunāsa* contained dwelling houses, just as there appears in his writing the idea of a suburb or *rabaḍ* (viii, 561). Thus we are in the presence of the "process of civilisation" of Kūfa in every sense of the term: it became a classical Muslim town after having been an Arab camp-town, and it became a civil centre after having been a military camp. Finally, during the 3rd/9th century, and although it always remained clearly Arab, its population was mixed and the city began to live in osmosis with the Sawādiyyūn or people from the Sawād who started to become Muslim. Nevertheless, there is a problem of knowing

whether, at its apogee as a city, in the 3rd/9th century, Kūfa entirely lost its character of a spacious town and came to resemble those Islamic cities of a latter age where the *madīna* became an assemblage extremely crowded with houses and almost stifling. It does not seem so, because the geographers of a later period, such as al-Muḳaddasī and much later Ibn Djubayr (though the latter was writing in a period of the city's complete decadence), allow one to catch a glimpse of the existence of green or garden spaces in the heart of the town. But these same geographers, as the archaeological remains stretching as far as Nadjaf also indicate, testify to the expansion of Kūfa towards the west, far beyond the early boundaries. But then, Kūfa was no longer one of the centres from which early Islam, i.e. conquering Arab Islam, radiated, but an important city of ʿIrāḳ, the simple capital of an administrative area.

The provincialisation of Kūfa, and even its decadence, became an established fact in the 4th/10th century. The old structures (the military *arbāʿ*, the tribal spirit, the financial system) began to break down, because the whole edifice of the conquest, inherited from the Arab empire, and of which Kūfa was merely the concrete form, became obsolete, and it is known that at its height the caliphate submitted to the tutelage of the Būyids at the same time as the unity of the Muslim world broke up. Because of this, the decadence of Kūfa was only one of the manifestations of this profound change which intercontinental commercial activity was unable to sustain and prolong, as at Baṣra for one or two centuries. One may speak of a crisis of the Islamic city (Massignon), but in reality we are concerned with a general crisis of early Islam as a state and society, indeed as a civilisation; even more, one might say, with a historical mutation for which a town like Kūfa should certainly pay the price. On the concrete level, there was the great Ismāʿīlī outbreak at the end of the 3rd/9th century, of which Kūfa was the primordial crucible and of which the Ḳarmaṭian violence was one of the destructive elements. In 293/905, 312/924 and 315/927, Kūfa underwent the assaults and pillage of the Ḳarmaṭians. It was never to recover from these. It is this which explains the emergence in 334/945, not far from it, thanks to the protection of the Būyids, of Nadjaf or Mashhad ʿAlī as a centre of Shīʿī devotion which, since the 3rd/9th century, had become the specifically distinguishing dimension of Kūfa. Shīʿī religious symbolism was concentrated there, but as it happened, the old Arab Kūfa which was far from being identified with the Shīʿī phenomenon vanished. The urbanised tribal structure also collapsed at the same time as there arose a "re-bedouinisation" or, at any rate, a growing threat from a new nomad world of the Arabo-ʿIrāḳī steppe. Thus it was in 386/996 that Bahāʾ al-Dawla ceded Kūfa as an *iḳṭāʿ* to the chief of the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*]. The Banū Asad, the Ṭayyiʾ, of whom a large fringe remained outside the city limits, because undoubtedly living in symbiosis with it, and also the Shammār, newly-come on the scene, dominated Kūfa and ruined it. Thus these same Asad (to differentiate them from the settled Asad), from whom the grammarians of Kūfa derive, by means of a real ethnological effort, all the flavour of their citations, preserving themselves with their very strong identity, came to present themselves as taking part in the ruin of Kūfa, the new incarnation of Lagash, Ur and Babylon, and which was soon dead like them. In 495/1101, with the emergence of al-Ḥilla, Kūfa lost definitively its importance and the major part of its inhabitants. Ibn Djubayr (539-614/1144-1217), who visited it a little later (578-81/1182-5), speaks of it as a deserted and ruined city but one where some inhabitants still survived, subjected to the regular pillages of the tribe of Khafādja (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1959, 187, 188). The whole built-up area between the mosque and the Euphrates had been destroyed and was covered now with orchards. He speaks at some length of the cathedral mosque, still standing, with its high ceilings, its columns leaded on the inside, a prayer hall with five bays, its sacred vestiges where the Shīʿī myths were neighbours to the recurring myths of old Babylonia taken over by Islam: the *muṣallā* of Ibrāhīm, the *miḥrāb* of ʿAlī, the *tinnawr* of Noah and the supposed tomb of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl. After the Mongols had conquered ʿIrāḳ, Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī wrote for the Mongol prince a treatise describing the resources of the country (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 30, 166, 210), where he speaks of Kūfa as having ramparts with a circumference of 18,000 paces and of its important agricultural role. Finally, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (8th/14th century) who, on the subject of Kūfa, reproduces in part Ibn Djubayr but adds some personal elements, sees it, in a similar way to Mustawfī, as a town ruined for the most part, but not yet dead. According to him, of the *ḳaṣr al-ʿimāra*, nothing more than the foundations remained, but the markets, still beautiful, survived. He speaks of the *djabbāna* of Kūfa as if there were no more than one, where the tomb of al-Mukhtār had been repaired and over which a cupola had been erected (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1960, 219). In the Ottoman period, Kūfa fell to the rank of a *nāḥiya* dependent on the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Nadjaf, which was dependent in its turn on the *sandjaḳ* of Karbalāʾ. Niebuhr visited it and compiled a plan of it. Massignon went there for a first time in 1908 and for a second time in 1934. He spoke of the "now deserted site of the great city which was the most Arab of the Muslim metropolises", of which just a few traces of buildings were marked out: the Djāmiʿ, the tombs of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa and Muslim b. ʿAḳīl, the Bayt ʿAlī, two guard houses, one of which was built by the English, the small oratory Ḥannāna and the *masdjid* al-Sahla. He noted that a new quarter had appeared between the mosque and the Euphrates. It still exists, and has even been extended; however, it is less important than the recent western quarter, towards Nadjaf, which is mainly residential. Some other European archaeological missions went to al-Ḥīra (Talbot Rice in 1931, in particular). Since 1938, the site of Kūfa, declared an archaeological site, has become an object of interest to the ʿIrāḳī academic authorities and a first season of excavations was made there at that date. The great mosque, completely and sometimes awkwardly restored, remains the central building; it seems to be raised in comparison with its earlier level and only the ramparts remain. The *ḳaṣr*, much larger, has just been mapped out. It is a building now in ruins, though more instructive than the mosque. Let us also note the presence of the mosque of al-Sahla to the west of the site. Various objects in glass and ceramic and some coins of the Umayyad period have been found. Nevertheless, the archaeological exploration of Kūfa may be considered as only in its early stage and, if well handled, as being capable of adding much to our knowledge of the city, still essentially one derived from books.

II. Politics, ideology and culture in Kūfa.

While in the 1st/7th century Kūfa played a political

role of the first order, as the matrix of a large number of matters of future significance for Islam, in the 2nd/8th, after the foundation of Baghdād and with the opening-up of the Islamic empire, politics and the struggle for power left Kūfa aside; but, on the other hand, cultural activities developed there and achieved a high level (between 150 to 250/approx. 760 to 860). From then there is evidence of a triple Kūfa: a political Kūfa (up to 150); a cultural Kūfa (150-250) and then a purely ideological Kūfa (250-350) which had become a focal point of doctrinal Shīʿism.

The principal episodes which punctuated the political activity of early Kūfa were: the participation in the revolt against ʿUthmān (34-5/654-5); the support given to ʿAlī for the two great internecine battles of al-Djamal (36/656) and Ṣiffīn (37/657); the emergence in its heart of the Khāridjī movement; the beginnings of political Shīʿism with the action, which was suppressed, of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī (51/671). After that, the pro-Shīʿi revolts succeeded one another, and were just as regularly quelled: the episode of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl and the massacre at Karbalāʾ (60-1/679-80), the march of the *Tawwābūn* (65/684), the uprising of al-Mukhtār (66-7/685-6), the preaching of al-Mughīra and of Bayān, the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/739) and that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (127/744). Finally, it was Kūfa which was the directing brain behind the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and it was at the great mosque of Kūfa that the first caliph of the new dynasty was solemnly invested (132/749). But Kūfa equally underwent numerous rounds of Khāridjī assaults, particularly in 76/695, when it was threatened by Shabīb, and more seriously in 127-8/744-5 by al-Ḍaḥḥāk. It participated, in 82-3/701-2, alongside Baṣra, in the great revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath which brought the Umayyad régime close to its collapse and which was a revolt of the *amṣār* without ideological content.

This abundance of insurrections, of seditious actions and political events, earned Kūfa the reputation of a turbulent, agitated, ambitious city, and, for the later Shīʿi consciousness, of a martyr city. Thus on the majority Sunnī side, there were some solid prejudices, on the other side, a whole apocalyptic elaboration in which "accursed Baghdād will be destroyed and Kūfa will be queen of the world, after having been a dwelling of exile and waiting for true believers." According to the *ḥadīth* of Salmān, "Kūfa is the *ḳubba* (= royal tent) of Islam; a time will come for the world when there will be no true believer except the one who lives there or whose heart sighs for it" (Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, repr. in *Opera Minora*, iii, 54).

In reality, this constant political effervescence of the 1st/7th century resulted from the structure of Kūfa itself as well as in historical evolution. As a fundamental component of the system of the *amṣār* at least until 30/650, the date at which Baṣra outstripped it in the conquest of the Iranian East, Kūfa sheltered the conquerors of ʿIrāḳ from the time of the first wave onwards, that of the *Ahl al-Ayyām* until the *Ahl al-Ḳādisiyya*. The first presumed upon the antiquity of their conversion and their faithfulness to Islam, the second had participated in the *Ridda*, but they were of no less high Arab lineage. Kūfa, on the other hand, drained the major part of the resources of the *Sawād* and the leaders of the army managed the ancient royal domains, this becoming later a real apple of discord, while the immigration to Baṣra, except for that of the Bakr, was that of latecomers, of tribes from the Arabian south-east, newly come to the scene of conquest and arriving in complete, homogenous tribal groups. Within the tribal structure of Kūfa, in the conditions which surrounded its genesis, by the attraction exercised over the new immigrants or *rawādif*, and the lack of any immigration control, from the very fact of its supremacy in the high period, some germs of tension took root which were ready to develop. Under the caliphate of ʿUmar, the equilibrum was maintained, and the armies of Kūfa were occupied in conquering Persia. It is in the caliphate of ʿUthmān that the internal conflicts began to appear; the former Islamic élite, raised up by ʿUmar, yielded ground to the traditional chiefs who shared in the *aʿmāl* and saw their position reinforced by the waves of *rawādif* of their own tribes (a typical case of opposition is between an Ashtar Nakhaʿī and an Ashʿath b. Ḳays). The activism of the Ahl al-Ayyām, disappointed by the new politics, resulted in the murder of ʿUthmān in which a number among them were involved, and this ranged them necessarily on the side of ʿAlī. ʿAlī's coming to Kūfa highlighted the new phenomenon of the supremacy of the *amṣār* over Arabia for the definition of the political destiny of the Arabs; for four years, Kūfa was to be if not the capital of the empire, seeing that the empire was divided, at least a centre of major decision and the seat of the caliphate. From this privileged episode of its existence, Kūfa was to derive its future pretensions, but also a persistent faithfulness to ʿAlī and his family. Nevertheless, from its origin, this faithfulness was far from making for unanimity. The Ashrāf or traditional chiefs of the tribes, having in general participated at al-Ḳādisiyya, and being enrolled in the *sharaf al-ʿaṭāʾ*, were lukewarm towards the cause of ʿAlī and consequently also the mass of the inhabitants who, in general, followed them. The activists remained (who may be named as the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*]), of whom a majority cast in its lot with ʿAlī and on whom he showered benefits, but of whom a minority, harder and more intransigent, showed itself reticent and soon hostile with regard to him. After the arbitration, it appeared that ʿAlī could no longer be certain of anyone except his partisans, his *shīʿa* in the political sense of the term, while the intransigent members of the *ḳurrāʾ* fell into Khāridjism and the conservative group of the Ashrāf abandoned him; whence the dislocation of the coalition which he had constituted, whence also the minority character and powerlessness of the Shīʿa for a century. The Umayyads governed indeed with the support of the Ashrāf, who did not like them, but found in them a principle of order. They were satisfied with their growing social influence, guaranteed by the Umayyad régime. It is this which explains why the Ashrāf ranged themselves on the side of the established power every time that a Shīʿi insurrection broke out, and why that power gained their collaboration in disarming the Shīʿi troops. In 61/680, they even took part in the murder of Ḥusayn; they mobilised actively against al-Mukhtār, who threatened their privileges; and they regrouped themselves around the governor in order to bring about the failure of Zayd b. ʿAlī's action. Only the great revolt of 82-3/701-2 was a specifically ʿIrāḳī revolt against the preponderance of the Ahl al-Shām, the tyranny of the governor al-Ḥadjdjādj and, because of this, it was led by the Ashrāf as well as by the *ḳurrāʾ*. But there followed a large-scale demilitarisation of the *miṣr*, and the foundation of Wāsiṭ, the settlement of the Syrian army in ʿIrāḳ as if in occupied territory.

If, throughout the 1st/7th century, the majority of the Ashrāf showed themselves hostile to the

S͟hīʿī movement. certain of the As͟hrāf nevertheless participated actively in it, such as al-Mukh͟tār himself, Ibrāhīm b. al-As͟htar and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. S͟huraykh al-S͟hibāmī, But after al-Mukh͟tār, it was above all popular elements which supported S͟hīʿī activism, whether from among the Arabs, Yemenīs in particular and, more precisely, Yemenīs from certain clans of Hamdān (Kh͟ārif, S͟hakir, etc.), or else recruited from among the plebeians of the new immigrant *mawālī*, a mass operation utilised by al-Mukh͟tār. It is probable that the rallying of the Yemenīs to the S͟hīʿī cause was due to their marginal position in the Arab city, socially as well as culturally, for there is no doubt that a number of poor were recruited from the clans of Hamdān (clans of *rawādif?*) and that the call for the rights of the *Ahl al-Bayt* found some echoes in the old Yemenī consciousness. It is this which explains the populist character of the revolt of al-Mukh͟tār (66-7/685-6), perhaps the most important S͟hīʿī revolt of the 1st/7th century. It succeeded in assuming power at Kūfa for some time; above all, it fashioned the S͟hīʿī consciousness by giving it a mystique, a language, slogans and some elements of a doctrine. Also, the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], who derived from it, would be, via Abū Hās͟him, at the root of the *daʿwa* for the Family.

With the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, there took place an intellectualisation and a deepening of S͟hīʿism, the political action becoming intermittent. Hence one must wait until the year 195/814 to see a resurgence of an insurrection of the old style, that of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, and the year 250/864 for that of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, far less dangerous, to break out. But S͟hīʿism as a faith did not cease to gain ground, so that it veritably became the quasi-unique ideology of the town at the end of the 3rd/9th century and constituted a cultural and religious tradition in the 4th/10th century. Certainly, it was at this moment that the S͟hīʿī imagination, re-reading the history of the town, reclassified its sites according to its own standards, dividing quarters and mosques into blessed and cursed ones.

Kūfa was able to export its S͟hīʿī consciousness to the Iranian world, and to Ḳumm especially. Ḳumm was indeed a projection of S͟hīʿī Kūfa, as Balkh͟, Marw and Nīsābūr were a projection of Baṣra. Because of this, as a colonising centre, Kūfa showed itself less active than Baṣra. Each of the two *miṣrs* is known to have had its *th͟ugh͟ūr* and its *māh* [*q.vv.*]. The central Iranian territory was practically partitioned: Rayy was the *th͟agh͟r* of Kūfa, and Iṣbahān depended on it, but the *māh* of Kūfa, sc. Nihāwand, showed itself less active than the *māh* of Baṣra, sc. Dīnawar, although several sources speak of Dīnawar as the *māh* of Kūfa. But it is especially in the race to the peripheral Iranian territories, from 29/649 onwards, that Baṣra gained the upper hand, with the conquest of Kh͟urāsān, while Kūfa had to be content with Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, a province of little account, with Ḳazwīn as an extreme *th͟agh͟r*. Nevertheless, over the centuries, the specifically S͟hīʿī nature of Kūfa imposed itself by a process of slow penetration into the whole S͟hīʿī consciousness of Islam by way of Bagh͟dād and, by that of Ḳumm and Mas͟hhad, to the whole modern Iranian lands, while Baṣra was not alone in defining the structures of later Sunnī Islam, although it had been a primordial centre bringing the idea of *d͟jamāʿa* into action. However, the religious and cultural legacy of Kūfa should not be limited to the transmission of the S͟hīʿī tradition. Far more important can be shown by analysis to be the participation of Kūfa in the elaboration of the universal Arabo-Islamic culture which became rooted in the great *miṣr* of the first two centuries. Bagh͟dād was to be the heir of Kūfa and Baṣra. these two fundamental matrices which defined the general lines of the culture of Islam, each with its own genius: Kūfa excelled in the recovery of the Arab poetic patrimony, in the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, in law and genealogy, whereas Baṣra, more rationalist and critical, invented Arabic grammar and was the great centre of Muʿtazilī speculation.

There are two great cultural moments in the history of Kūfa: the one oral, of obscure gestation, where the culture, still undifferentiated, was seeking to establish its foundations (17-150/638-767); the other, brilliant, which developed a true classicism and bequeathed to us some great works (150-250/767-864). In both cases, the two fundamental poles around which the new culture expressed itself were Bedouin Arabism and the Islamic message, the influence of the conquered peoples proving negligible. Arabic writing was perfected at Kūfa, undoubtedly with the participation of the Arabs of al-Ḥīra, and Kūfic, having become a monumental writing, may be considered the most ancient specimen of post-Islamic Arabic writing, although the type of writing was used on Sāsānid *dirhams*. It is also in very early Kūfa that Ibn Masʿūd lived and taught, later becoming the eponym whose name crystallised the traditionist current and to whom some disciples were attached: ʿAlḳama b. Ḳays, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, Masrūḳ b. al-Ad͟jdaʿ, ʿUbayda, al-Hamdānī and S͟huraykh. Schacht thought that the founding role of Ibn Masʿūd was fictitious and that some forged traditions were projected on to him between 100 and 130/719-48, establishing the chain Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān-Ibrāhīm al-Nakh͟aʿī-Ibn Masʿūd, but that nevertheless *fiḳh*, which preceded *ḥadīth͟*, was created by the single centre of Kūfa. In fact, it seems clear that three key-personalities, living in the 1st/7th century, played a main role in the first glimmerings of law, *ḥadīth͟* and exegesis: Ibrāhīm al-Nakh͟aʿī, Saʿīd b. D͟jubayr and ʿAmr b. S͟harāḥbīl al-S͟haʿbī. In the domain of spirituality, there was no personality here comparable to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but the currents of asceticism and mysticism found their masters in Uways al-Ḳaranī and Rabīʿ b. Kh͟uth͟aym. Let us cite in the sphere of *tafsīr* and *akh͟bār* the names of two precursors: Mud͟jālid b. Saʿīd and Muḥammad al-Kalbī; for the collection of poetry that of Ḥammād; and for poetic creation, the names of Aʿs͟hā Hamdān and al-Kumayt.

The second phase of the cultural history of Kūfa, whose beginnings coincide with those of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, saw the differentiation of the disciplines and the emergence of the great founders and synthesisers: Abū Ḥanīfa, master of the school of *raʾy* in canon law (d. 156/772); Abū Mikh͟naf, one of the first great Arab historians (*akh͟bāriyyūn*) (d. 157/773); al-Ruʾāsī, to whom the first work of grammar is attributed, ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala (d. 131/748), and Ḥamza, who, together with al-Kisāʾī, established three of the seven canonical readings of the Ḳurʾān. Later, the generation of those who died in the years between 180 and 200/796-816 assumed the burden of recording, codifying and totalising the knowledge founded in the preceding period, so that the works which survive today belong to this generation of active disciples and totalisers: Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-S͟haybānī (d. 189/804) in law; His͟hām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821), highly erudite, a genealogist and *akh͟bārī*, well-versed in

knowledge of the Arab patrimony which he worked increasingly at collecting and establishing; and finally al-Kisāʾī (d. 179/795), who was the supreme master of the grammatical school of Kūfa. This school collective opinion still claims to set up as a rival of that of Baṣra. It is regarded as more deeply rooted in the Arab environment, with a passion for anomalies (*shawādhdh*) and a more acute sense of poetry. Nevertheless, on examination, it is revealed as being a particularisation of the fundamental contribution of Baṣra, i.e. that of al-Khalīl, master of everyone, although the role of al-Ruʾāsī deserves to be clarified. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Sībawayh at Baṣra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Akhfash, and by Thaʿlab, who may be compared with al-Mubarrad, the height of activity of these two last occurring around 250/864; the two of them achieved the totalisation of the earlier knowledge of the two schools. But already Baghdād, after having gathered to itself the greatest names of Kūfa and Baṣra for two generations, begins to give forth an eclectic tradition in all fields, digesting, surpassing and delivering to the Islamic world the admirable work of two centuries which had been produced in the two *miṣrs*.

In the intellectual consciousness of contemporary Islam, that which is willingly remembered of the historical evolution of Kūfa, that by which it is largely known, is its school of grammar and its role as cradle of Shīʿism, perhaps because this is what particularises it the most in the last instance, and laid the foundations for its survival in the other. But the renewal of interest in the political and cultural history of ancient Islam will allow for the growth of a further consciousness of the role it assumed as a place of Arab settlement and immigration, as a centre of great political struggles and as a specifically Arab city which, along with Baṣra, established the basis and true style of the cultural scheme of Islam.

Bibliography: The most ancient sources on the history of Kūfa, consisting of monographs written by the *akhbāriyyūn* of the 2nd/8th century, have entirely disappeared as such, but some more or less important fragments of them are to be found in the great well-known standard works which have derived from them the main part of their information. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, *Kitāb Khiṭaṭ al-Kūfa*, *K. Wulāt al-Kūfa*, *K. Ḳuḍāt al-Kūfa wa 'l-Baṣra*, *K. Fakhr ahl al-Kūfa ʿala 'l-Baṣra*; ʿUmar b. Shabba al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Kūfa*, *K. Umarāʾ al-Kūfa*; the well-known monographs of Abū Mikhnaf, resumed by al-Ṭabarī in particular, inform us of the main events but also indirectly of the topography. A manuscript attributed to Abū Mikhnaf exists at Berlin under the classification Spr. 160 and bears the number 9039 in Ahlwardt's catalogue, with the title *Kitāb Khabar al-Mukhtār wa-bni Ziyād*; the present author has examined it and it appears to him apocryphal. Moreover, the later monographs have themselves also disappeared: that of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Nadjashī al-Asadī (*Kitāb al-Kūfa*) and that of Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. al-Nadjdjār (*Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*).

Great classical works: (a) Principal sources: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* and *Ansāb al-ashrāf*; Ṭabarī; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, devoted to Kūfa; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh* and especially *Buldān*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*.—(b) additional sources: these comprise the greater part of the works of history, geography, *adab*, law etc. The most useful are, apart from those which have been indicated in the body of the article: Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*; anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿAbbās wa-waladih*, ed. Dūrī, and anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Griyaznevitch; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh* and *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* and *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; all the classical works of geography and *adab*; amongst works of *fiḳh*, in particular Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, but also Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl* and Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar; the works of *Ṭabaḳāt* and heresiography are equally useful;—Shīʿī sources: Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*; Kulaynī, *Kitāb al-Kāfī*; al-Kashshī, *Akhbār al-ridjāl*, Bombay 1317; anonymous, *Mukhtār-nāma*, lith. Tehran 1351; Ṭabarsī Nūrī, *Nafas al-Raḥmān*, lith. 1868, *al-Iḥtidjādj*, Nadjaf 1966; al-Barāḳī, *Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*, Nadjaf 1960;—Studies: Nearly all that has been written by modern scholars on early Islam, the Umayyads, the development of Islamic culture, Shīʿism, is relevant to Kūfa. We refer the reader only to the studies relating specifically to Kūfa: Le Strange; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, i, *IFAO*, Cairo 1910; idem, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 337-60 (fundamental); idem, *Explication du plan de Baṣra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954, 154-74; P. Pelliot, *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside*, in *T'oung Pao* (1928-9); R. Guest, *A tablet in Kufic from Kūfa*, in *JRAS* (1933); F. Kmietowicz, *Un trésor de monnaies coufiques trouvé en Pologne*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1959), 209-30; W. M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* (1960), 158-72; Muḥammad ʿAlī Muṣṭafā, *Taḳrīr awwalī ʿan al-tanḳīb fi 'l-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, x, xii, xiii (1954, 1956, 1957), with Eng. tr. in *Sumer*, xix (1963); Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *Dirāsa Tubughrāfiyya li-nāḥiyat al-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, xxi (1965); Mahdī al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa wa-manhadjuha fī dirāsat al-lugha wa 'l-naḥw*, Baghdād 1955; Kāẓim al-Djannābī, *Takhṭīṭ madīnat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1967; Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shiʿr fi 'l-Kūfa*, Cairo 1968; Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī, *al-Ḥayāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Kūfa fi 'l-ḳarn al-awwal al-hidjrī*, Baghdād 1970; M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments and their background in the mid-seventh century A.D.*, in *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971; ʿAbd Allāh al-Kayyāḍ, *Taʾrīkh al-Imāmiyya wa-aslāfihim min al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1975; Hichem Djaït, *Les Yamanites à Kūfa au Ier siècle de l'Hégire*, in *JESHO*, xix/2 (1976), 148-81.

(HICHEM DJAÏT)

KUFRA, a group of oases in the Eastern Sahara in the Libyan Desert half-way between Cyrenaica and Wadai. For a long time it was known only from Rohlfs' account, who managed to reach it in 1879. Subsequently, Kufra has been visited by two other Europeans, Maréchal des Logis Lapierre (1918) and Mrs. Rosita Forbes (1920-1). Their descriptions have completed and corrected that of Rohlfs.

The name Kufra applies to a number of oases

which stretch from the south-east to the north-west in a line about 300 km. long, between 24° and 26° N, 18° 40′ and 21° 40′ E. The most southerly oasis lies about 1,350 km. south-east of Tripoli and 900 km. south of Benghāzī. There are five in all, and they are separated from each other by *sarir*, or plains of compressed gravel. The total area of the group amounts to about 17,842 km². It occupies the bottom of a depression which rises in altitude from 250 m. in the north to 460 m. in the south. The soil is generally formed from overlapping strata of marly sand in the northern area of the dunes which join those of the Libyan desert. In the central and southern parts, the depression is crossed by calcareous mountains which rise above a base of Numidian sandstone; their summits are table-shaped and similar to that of the *gūr* of the South Algerian Sahara.

There are neither springs or running water at Kufra, but everywhere the water-table rises to between one and three metres from the surface. At various points of the landscape the water forms brackish lagoons or even permanent lakes, of which the most imposing is 10 km. long. They can be regarded as the remains of an earlier situation when the lacustrian nature of the oasis was much more marked than it is to-day. The subterranean water is sufficient to support plentiful and varied vegetation. In the dried-out basins *hād* (*cornucala monacantha*) and *dīs* grow, which provide excellent food for camels. Although the green belt around the lakes and marsh depressions is often very narrow, cereal crops are grown in it—wheat, *dhura* (*sorghum vulgare*), vegetables, plantations of fruit trees (olives, figs, oranges and lemons). The main source of wealth is the date palm. Among the fauna are gazelles, many species of bird (crow, falcon and stork) and reptiles such as lizards and non-poisonous snakes.

Almost the entire population belongs to the Zāwiya tribes, Arabised Berbers who took the place of the Tūbu, the previous masters of the oases. Most of them are semi-nomadic and occupy only temporary encampments. The geographical position of Kufra gives it a certain commercial importance. It was a stopping place on the caravan route leading from Cyrenaica to Wadai and has been in use as such since the beginning of the 19th century. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥashā'ishī, there was a market at Djōf, where business was conducted by barter. As in all Saharan markets, the chief item of trade was slaves.

There is very little information on the history of Kufra. According to Rohlfs, it could have been inhabited by the Garamantes. Buildings there are comparable with some at Fazzān [*q.v.*] which Duveyrier pointed out and which seem to go back a considerable period in time. When its history began, the country was occupied by the Tūbu, who left many traces of their stay from this period—cemeteries, houses and fortified villages built on the summits of mountains. The population of these places was pagan, and this may explain the origin of the name Kufra (*kafara*, pl. of *kāfir*, "infidel"), given to the region when they settled there. In about 1730 they were ousted by the Zāwiya and the Ḥassūna, tribes from Tripolitania, who took over their position. The last of the Tūbu seem to have disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century. In the middle of that century the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] appeared and built the *zāwiya* of al-Istāt not far from the village of Djōf. They appropriated the best ground and the richest gardens. At the time of Rohlfs' journey, they already owned a quarter of the palm trees in the oasis and had begun new plantations. The *zāwiya* of al-Istāt was already very important at this time, and it became the residence of the Grand Master of the brotherhood from the moment in 1895 when Sīdī al-Mahdī, son and successor of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, the founder of the order, left Djaghbūb [*q.v.*] to go and take up residence there.

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(G. YVER)

ĶUFṢ, Arabised form of Persian Kūfičīs, a people inhabiting south eastern Persia, more exactly the Kirmān-western Balūčistān region, in early mediaeval Islamic times.

The name, literally "mountain dwellers", probably stems ultimately from O. Pers. *ākaufačiya*—(< O. Pers. *kaufa*- "mountain"), the name of a people in the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, who are mentioned together with the *mačiya* "men of Maka" (= Makrān, the coastal region of Balūčistān?), via N. Pers. *kūfidj/kūfič* (cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian grammar, texts, lexicon*², New Haven 1953, 151, 165). In early Islamic sources, the Kūfičīs are frequently linked with the Balūčīs in the alliterative phrase *Kūč u Balūč*, although it is clear that we are dealing here with two separate peoples [for the latter, see BALŪČISTĀN].

The Arabic and Persian geographical writers of the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, etc.) mention the region of the Kūfičīs as a mountainous one, lying to the south of the Djabal Bāriz in eastern Kirmān, where dwelt the Balūč. *Grosso modo*, this region corresponded with the little-known one of Bashākard/Bashkardia [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in modern Persia, sc. the mountainous area lying to the east of Mīnāb and between the Djāz Mūryān depression on the north and the coastal plain of Makrān on the south. Whether the present-day Bashkardīs are descendants of the mediaeval Kūfičīs is unclear and probably impossible to prove or disprove, in view of the dearth of historical, demographic and linguistic information on this remote corner of Persia; one can only remark that the two groups of dialects making up Bashkardī form a distinct Iranian language of its own, to be separated from New Persian on the one hand and Balūčī on the other.

The Islamic sources agree on stigmatising the Kūfičīs on the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries as a predatory people, nominally Muslim, but behaving with inhuman cruelty to the travellers and others whom they intercepted within the Dasht-i Lūṭ, into which they raided from their hill fastnesses; there is a classic description of their characteristic savagery in al-Muḳaddasī (wrote *ca.* 375/985), 488-90, cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 263-5. The Būyid *amīr*s Muʿizz al-Dawla and his nephew ʿAḍud al-Dawla took draconian measures against the Kūfičīs as they extended their rule eastwards from Fārs to Kirmān and put an end to the independent power in Kirmān of Muḥammad b. Ilyās [see ILYĀSIDS]. In 324/936 Muʿizz al-Dawla defeated the "chief of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ", ʿAlī b. al-Zandjī, at Dilfārid in the *sardsīr* or mountainous zone of Kirmān, but had to leave him in control of the Kūfičīs' mountain haunts.

After the death of Muḥammad b. Ilyās in 356/967, ʿAḍud al-Dawla invaded Kirmān and wrested the province from the former's sons and their allies the Kūfičīs. During 360-1/970-2, two campaigns were launched against the Kūfičīs, as a result of which Būyid authority was extended as far eastwards as Tīz and Makrān, the Kūfičī and Balūč lands laid waste, and large numbers of them deported or taken as hostages (for details, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 111-18).

The Kūfičīs did not, of course, disappear after this. They continued to prey on travellers through the Great Desert, although the establishment in the 5th/11th century of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate and the autonomous Saldjūḳ amīrate in Kirmān seems to have reduced their activities to manageable proportions. The *amīr* of Kirmān Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] is said to massacred the Kūfičī chiefs in their strongholds in the Djabal Bāriz, and after this, mention of the Kūfičīs as a distinct ethnic element drops out of mention in the histories; presumably they now mingled with the general ethnic stock of south-eastern Persia.

Bibliography: The information of the mediaeval geographers is given in Le Strange, *The lands of the Castern Caliphate*, 316-17, 323-4, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 261-6, cf. also *Ḥudud al-ʿālam*, 65, 124, 201, 374-5. The Būyid campaigns are described by Miskawayh in his *Tadjārib al-umam*, later repeated in Ibn al-Athīr; see Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān, loc. cit.* All these sources are utilised in the detailed study by idem, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9-17. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪH-I BĀBĀ, the mountain massif of central Afghānistān, being the westwards and southwards extension of the Pamirs "knot" and the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*] of north-eastern Afghānistān. The name Kūh-i Bābā is properly given to the east-west chaîne magistrale running westwards from Kābul and lying to the south of the upper Herī Rūd, with outliers running southwards and westwards through the regions of the Ghōrāt and Hazāradjāt [see GHŪR and HAZĀRADJĀT in Suppl.] between such river valleys as those of the Helmand, Arghandāb and Tarnak. On the northern side of the Herī Rūd stretch the Paropamisus Mountains, rising to 3,600 m./11,200 ft., and northwestwards to the Murghāb valley and the Russian border, the Kūh-i Ḥiṣār (4,230 m./13,150 ft.) and its continuation the Band-i Turkistān (3,500 m./10,900 ft.). To the east of Kābul, the Safīd Kūh stretches to the south of Djalālābād towards the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR PASS] and the Pakistan frontier, attaining a height of 4,760 m./14,800 ft. The central Kūh-i Bābā has as its highest point Shāh Fūlādī, 5,140 m./16,000 ft. high and covered in perpetual snow. The whole region is thus a ganglion of mountain chains and upland plateaux, across which communication has always been arduous: thus the Unai Pass between the headwaters of the Kābul River and the Helmand lies at 3,300 m./10,300 ft., the Shibar Pass between the Kābul valley and northern Afghānistān via the Ghōrband lies at 3,000 m./9,400 ft., the Hadjigak Pass from the Unai district northwards to Bāmiyān lies at 3,700 m./11,550 ft., and the Kirmu Pass connecting the valleys of the upper Herī Rūd and the Helmand lies at 3,100 m./9,730 ft.

Because of the difficult communications, the historic routes linking the principal towns of Afghānistān, sc. Kābul, Ḳandahār and Herāt, have often gone round this central massif southwards or northwards, and today, it remains one of the most thinly-populated and least-known regions of the country. Much field work, archaeological, ethnological and topographical, needs to be done here, and this will certainly throw important light on Afghānistān's past history. Because of the configuration and the harsh climate, much of the region is totally unpopulated, but on the plateaux and in the villages there is pastoralist transhumance and nomadism and some agriculture. The population of the Ghōrāt and Hazāradjāt regions is predominantly Tādjīk, with vestigal ethnic elements like the Mongols, and with increased penetration on the southern fringes by Pashtūns. The towns of the region, like Pandjāb or Pandjāō, Ghizāō, Uruzgān and Dawlatyār, are small and have only local importance.

Bibliography: J. Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 16-37, 85-8; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 3 ff., 57 ff. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪH-I NŪR (Koh-i Noor) a diamond, now weighing 106¹/16 carats, but originally much larger; the early history of it is obscure, and authorities are not agreed as to whether it may be identified with the diamond mentioned by Bābur in his Memoirs (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 477, 702); but *ca.* 1656 it was presented by Mīr Djumla [see MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD] to the Mughal emperor, Shāh Djahān, and was seen in 1665 by Tavernier in the treasury of Awrangzēb; in 1739 it was carried off to Persia by Nādir Shāh, who gave it the name it now bears. Nādir Shāh's grandson, Shāh Rukh, gave it in 1751 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, whose grandson, Shāh Shudjāʿ, when in exile in Lahore in 1813, had to surrender it to the Sikh Mahārādjā Randjīt Singh. On his death-bed in 1839, Randjīt Singh is said to have expressed a wish that the diamond should be sent to the temple of Djagannāth, in Orissa, but it remained in Lahore until the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849 by the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria. It was subsequently incorporated in the state crown used by Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI, at their coronation in 1937.

Bibliography: E. W. Streeter, *The great diamonds of the world*, ch. xi, London 1882; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, Appendix i, London 1889; N. S. Maskelyne, *The Koh-i-Nur*, in *Nature*, xliv (1891), 555 f.; H. Beveridge, *Bābur's diamond: was it the Koh-i nūr?*, in *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* (April 1899); Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. W. Crooke, London 1903, 491, s.v. *Kohinor*. (T. W. Arnold)

AL-**KŪHĪ** [see Suppl.]

AL-**KŪHIN**, name of a certain number of Moroccan families, of Jewish origin but converts to Islam. One of the best-known of them is the family to which belonged Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Aḥmad, who towards the end of the 12th/18th century pursued religious studies under the direction of such famous scholars as Ibn al-Ḥādjdj [*q.v.*], Ḥamdūn, Ibn Sūda [*q.v.*], Aḥmad and Ibn Kīrān [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Being an immediate disciple of Mawlāy al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī [see DARḲĀWA], he joined the religious order which the latter had recently founded. He made his first pilgrimage, and wrote about this in a *Riḥla* apparently lost, then finally settled in Medina where he died in Ṣafar 1254/April-May 1838.

Al-Kūhin left behind a *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] called *Imdād dhawī 'l-istiʿdād ilā maʿālim al-riwāya wa 'l-isnād* (Ms. Rabat, 514, ff. 1-20), two commentaries on al-Bukhārī, *Minaḥ ilāhiyya wa-mawāhib ikhtiṣāṣiyya ʿalā 'l-Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Ms. Rabat, 34) and *Nawāfiḥ al-ward wa 'l-ʿanbar wa 'l-misk al-wārī li-sharḥ ākhir tardjamat Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Ms. Rabat, 892 D), and finally, a *Munyat al-faḳīr al-mutadjarrid wa-samīr al-munīr al-munfarid*, a selective gloss on the *Sharḥ al-Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn ʿAdjība [*q.v.*], printed at Istanbul in 1315: "purely grammatical explanations are set aside, and only the allusive character is kept, in which the grammar is used to illustrate the process of the manifestation of divine light" (J.-L. Michon, 282, cf. 115-19, where two passages from this work are translated).

One of this mystic's descendants, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (b. 1915 in Cairo) is the author of the *Kitāb Ṭabakāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, published at Cairo in 1347/1938-8).

Bibliography: Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316, ii, 169-70; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346-7/1937-8, i, 368-71; R. Basset, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVᵉ Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 20; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*; Brockelmann, S II, 881; J.-L. Michon, *Ibn ʿAjība et son Miʿrāj*, Paris 1973, index. (ED.)

ĶŪHISTĀN (P.) or **ĶUHISTĀN** is the arabicised form of the Persian name Kūhistān meaning a mountainous country (derived from *kūh*, "mountain" with the sufix *-istān*) and corresponds to the Arabic designation al-Djibāl. As the Iranian plateau is very mountainous, we find many more or less extensive areas in it to which the name Ķūhistān has been given, as Yāḳūt has already remarked (iv, 204). Many of these names have disappeared in course of time. Thus Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, 228) says that the term Ķūhistān is used for Media, which other geographers always call al-Djibāl. In the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī we even find Ķūhistān used as the old name of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr (ed. Vullers, 531) but this is probably a case of erroneous identification made by Firdawsī himself (cf. also Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Kūh*).

The principal districts that are or have been called Ķūhistān are as follows:

1. Ķūhistān-i Khurāsān. This is the mountainous and partially arable region which stretches south of Nīshāpūr as far as Sīstān in the south-east. It is surrounded on all sides by the great salt desert of the Central Iranian plateau and consists of scattered groups of oases; one feature of its geographical unity is the fact that no part of it belongs to one of the great centres of civilisation that surround it. These are in the north Nīshāpūr, in the north-east Herāt, in the south-east Sīstān, in the south-west Kirmān with Yazd, and in the west Media. Although Ķūhistān has always been connected with these by caravan routes and is therefore not absolutely cut off, its isolated position, combined with the relatively low productivity of the soil, has caused it to be little-known and neglected and its inhabitants have usually been ruled by a member of independent lords. If it has been reckoned a district of Khurāsān, this is only because Nīshāpūr and Herāt are relatively the nearest places to it. Ķūhistān has therefore never been a very clear-cut geographical term; a modern traveller like Curzon, although he describes the different districts, does not even mention its name.

The orography of Ķūhistān is still little known. The mountain chains which in the north run more east to west, assume the direction N.W.-S.E. as one moves southwards. These chains, which have passes rising to over 3,000 feet, enclose cultivated areas of which the principal are, beginning in the north: Turshīz and Turbat-i Ḥaydarī [*q.v.*], now called Turbat-i Shaykh Isḥāḳ, and to the east Djām; next comes the district of Djunābād (formerly Yunābid) and more to the east, that of Khwāf [*q.v.*] with the old town of Zawzan; then comes Tūn, with the district of Ṭabas on the west of it, which later extends so far to the west that in the Middle Ages it was not included in Ķūhistān; next come to the south of these, Ḳāʾin and Bīrdjand, to the south of which there are no more oases of any importance until we reach Sīstān by the Nih route. The rivers of the region are of little importance; irrigation is done by canals and *ḳanāts*; Muḳaddasī, (322, reading of the Istanbul ms.) says that the only running stream he knows in Ķūhistān is near Ṭabas; the latter is also the only town which he includes, with the neighbouring district of Kurī, in the *djurūm* or warm regions.

It is probable that various places in Ķūhistān have a history going back to pre-Islamic times, but so far we have no information on this period. To realise this, it is sufficient to glance at the second map given by Herfeld in his article *Khorasan: Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 107-74. The journey of this writer in 1925 confirmed his first impression. Moses of Chorene does not mention this region in his *Geography*. In the period of the early Arab conquests, we find Ķūhistān under the rule of the Hephthalites. Historians say that it was first conquered in the caliphate of ʿUmar by ʿAbd Allāh b. Budayl al-Khuzāʿī; the latter setting out for Kirmān took al-Ṭabasayn—it is by this dual (for Ṭabas and Kurīn, according to al-Balādhurī) that the Arabs always refer to the district of Ṭabas—later called the "two gates of Khurāsān" (Ṭabarī, i, 2704); a deputation of the inhabitants is said to have concluded a treaty with ʿUmar (Balādhurī, 403). In 31/653, when Ibn ʿĀmir undertook the conquest of Khurāsān, his advance guard under al-Aḥnaf passed through Ķūhistān and defeated the Hephthalites there (Ṭabarī, i, 2885, and Balādhurī, 403, who give other traditions also). In the years following, Ķūhistān was the centre of a great national revolt under a chief called Ḳārin (a village in Ķūhistān still bears this name), a rising which was put down by Ibn Khāzim (Ṭabarī, i, 2905; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 135). In 51/671 it was again necessary to reconquer it; this was done by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād from "the Turks" or rather Hephthalites (Ṭabarī, ii, 156). Henceforth Ķūhistān formed from the administrative point of view a part of Khurāsān, and more particularly of the provinces which the Arab geographers still call by the old name of Abarshahr with its capital Nīshāpūr (cf. particularly Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 278, tr. Wiet, 84, who gives a rather limited definition to Ķūhistān, for he mentions al-Ṭabasayn, Djām and Zawzan separately). These remote districts became in the early centuries of Islam the principal refuge of Zoroastrians driven from their homes by the new religion (cf. particularly, Inostrantsev's work quoted in the Bibliography). In the 3rd/9th century the province was under the rule of the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 35) and later of the Ṣaffārids. The Arab geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries know it very well. In this period Ḳāʾin was the capital and the commercial centre of

Ḳūhistān, especially for through trade between Kirmān and Khurāsān. The province was further noted for a very fine linen woven there, which Abū Nuwās mentions under the name *Ḳūhiyya* (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i, 79, and R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 95-6); this industry flourished at Tūn in particular. Prayer-carpets also were made there. In the year 444/1052, Nāṣir-i Khusrāw passed through Ḳūhistān, going from Iṣfahān. He went by Ṭabas, Tūn, Ḳā'in and Sarakhs and describes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of the Saldjūḳs, Ḳūhistān, the old asylum of the Zoroastrians, became a refuge for the Ismāʿīlī heretics, who for this reason were often called *al-malāḥida al-ḳūhiyya*. They built here strongholds on the model of the famous citadel of Alamut; there are still many ruins of these castles which have not yet been fully examined (Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, 273; M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of Assasins*, The Hague 1955, index; B. Lewis, *The Assasins, a radical sect in Islam*, London 1967, 44-5; P. R. E. Willey, *The Assassins in Quhistan*, in *Jnal. Royal Central Asiatic Soc.*, lv [1968], 180-3). The Khwārizmshāhs had on several occasions to send military expeditions to punish the *malāḥida* (cf. e.g. Djuwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān-Gushā*, ii, 47, 49). The coming of the Mongols, who exterminated the Ismāʿīlīs, at the same time brought about the ruin of Ḳūhistān. The region lost all importance and the geographers—like Abu 'l-Fidā'—only quote their predecessors of several centuries before. It is improbable that this is the district referred to by Marco Polo under the name of Tunocain, which Le Strange, *Lands*, 352 proposes to identify as Tūn-u Ḳā'in. During the following centuries the region must have very often been in a state of anarchy (cf. Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 430) when power was in the hands of chiefs of Arab origin. The Ṣafawids exercised some authority there, but after them, power lay in the hands of the *amīrs* of Ṭabas and of Ḳā'in. At this time, Ḳūhistān inclined towards Afghānistān rather than Persia, until the Ḳādjārs succeeded in bringing it under their sway towards the middle of the 19th century. The chiefs of the ruling families kept their positions as governors for the Shāh and received pompous titles from the Persian court. About 1900 the *amīrs* of Ḳā'in no longer lived in this town but in Bīrdjand; they claim descent from the Arab tribe of Khuzayma. Some members of this family also ruled Sīstān. The rulers of Ṭabas also governed at this time the district of Djunābād (chief town Djunayn).

The settled population of Ḳūhistān is of a very ancient stock; their houses are also of a very archaic type. Their dialect seems to offer few pecularities. Ivanov distinguishes in Ḳūhistān the dialect groups of Turshīz and Djunābād and that of Ḳā'in, Tūn and Bīrdjand. Many villages around Ḳā'in and Bīrdjand are inhabited exclusively by *sayyids*. In some places we also find descendants of the Ismāʿīlīs, who recognise the authority of the Agha Khān, e.g. at Ḳā'in and Bīrdjand. There are also small colonies of Bahā'īs, while the Sunnī Afghān element is relatively strong. The nomads are for the most part Arab Sunnīs, still speaking Arabic; they live along the main routes, and include the Khuzayma, from whom came the *amīrs* of Ḳā'in. A few Turkish tribes are found only in the north as far as Turbat-i Ḥaydarī. Finally, in the south there are Balūčīs, who move in summer towards Sīstān.

Ḳūhistān has never in its history contained any major urban centres comparable to those of northern and eastern Khurāsān; when Sykes was there in 1900, Ḳā'in had only *ca.* 4,000 inhabitants. This may be one reason why the region (with the exception of the more northerly part, around Zawzan, see KHWĀF) did not in earlier times produce such an abundance of *ʿulamā'* and scholars as the other cities of Khurāsān. However, Storey, *Persian literature*, i, 923, mentions a modern *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarā'-i Ḳā'ināt* by one Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ḳā'inātī on some poets of Ḳā'ināt and Bīrdjand, and in mediaeval times we find Thaʿālibī mentioning poets with the *nisba* of "al-Ḳā'inī", e.g. the Abū Manṣūr Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳā'inī in *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, ed. Eghbal, ii, 45. Bīrdhand has in recent times been the most important town, even though it lies in a less fertile situation than the smaller Ḳā'in. Administratively, much of Ḳūhistān falls today within the *shahrastān* of Bīrdjand, in the 9th *ustān* or province of Khurāsān, and within this *shahrastān* or district there is *bakhsh* or sub-district of the same name (pop. in 1950, 43,4009) and a further *bakhsh* of Ḳā'in (pop. in 1950, 65,000). The products of the region include some cereals, such as wheat and barley, opium, silk and saffron, and there is carpet-weaving and camel-raising.

Bibliography: All the Arab authors in the *BGA*; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, comm. 326-7; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 95; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 79; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 444; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 466; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 352-63; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 260 ff.; Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, i, 341; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i, 199-203; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900; Sykes, *Twenty thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 28 ff., 394; E. Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG*, lxxx (1926), 272 ff.; von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1818, 99 and *passim*; Inostrantsev, *The emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman world in the middle of the 8th century*, tr. L. Bogdanow in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute*, No. 1 (Bombay 1922), 33, 71 (quoted by Herzfeld); W. Ivanov, *Notes on the ethnology of Khurasan*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, lxvii (1926), 143-57; idem, *On the language of the gypsies of Qainat (in Eastern Persia)*, in *JASB*, N.S. x (1914), 439-55; *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 1945, 108-9, 388-9, and index *s.vv.* Birjand, Qain, etc.; W. B. Fisher, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968, 73-6. For the European travellers through the region, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1950; N. N. Ambraseys and C. P. Melville, *The seismicity of Kuhistan, Iran*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, cxliii/2 (1977), 179-99. See also KHWĀF, ṬABAS and TURSHĪZ.

2. The Arab geographers appear to have known two towns of the name Ḳūhistān in the province of Kirmān. One of them was called Ḳūhistān Abī Ghānim and was in the district of Djīruft, between this town and the Djabal al-Ḳufs (Muḳaddasī, 52, 461, 467; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 65, 124, comm. 374-5; Yāḳūt, iv, 206; Le Strange, 318). The other Ḳūhistān was situated on the road from Sīrdjān to Bām, 6 *farsakh*s from the former town (Ibn Khuradādhbih, 66; Ḳudāma, 196; Muḳaddasī, 473; Le Strange, 311).

3. Ḳūhistān of Kābul in Afghānistān is a district to the north-east of the town of Kābul and includes the districts of Pandjshīr, Nidjzan, Tagan, etc. The population is composed of an element called Tādjiks,

who speak Persian and Pas̲h̲tō, and other elements called Ķūhistānī who speak Pas̲h̲aʾi (a Dardic dialect, see DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES) and Parāči (Iranian) (cf. *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xiv, 241).

4. The northern part of the native state of Swāt in the north-west of India is also called Ķūhistān. It is the mountainous region around the upper course of the river Swāt; it stretches eastwards as far as the Indus and westwards as far as Pand̲j̲kora so that a distinction is sometimes made between Ķūhistān of Swāt and Ķūhistān of Pand̲j̲ora. The people of the valleys (estimated to number 20,000) have suffered since the 9th/15th century from Afg̲h̲ān invasions. Under the rule of the Afg̲h̲āns they became very zealous Sunnī Muslims; the religious chiefs (*āk̲h̲und*) have had an enormous influence in the country. Another consequence of the Afg̲h̲ān invasions has been the expansion of Pas̲h̲tō all over the country. This language has gained ground at the expense of the old local dialects. The latter—to which the general name of Ķūhistānī is given—are very numerous and belong to the Dardic group which, according to the researchs of Morgenstierne, seems to belong to the Indian group of dialects. The principal dialects are: Gārwī (Swāt Kūh.), Tōrwālī (Swāt and Pand̲j̲kora Kūḥ.) and Mayyā (Indus Kūh.).

Bibliography: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo koosh*, Calcutta 1880; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxiii, 183 ff. On the languages, see Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*, viii/2, 507; G. Morgenstierne. *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, *Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, series C, 1-2; idem, in DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES.

5. Lastly, Ķūhistān is the name of a barren and mountainous region in the eastern part of the district of Karāčī. The population in 1901 was estimated at 12,877 (*Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, 353). (J. H. KRAMERS*)

AL-**KUḤL**, traditionally translated as antimony sulphide (stibnite), is synonymous in the Arabic and Persian geographical sources with *it̲h̲mid* and *surma*. Its primary source was Iran, where the following places were noted for its production: in K̲h̲urāsān, Ṭūs (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. M. Sutūda, tr. and comm. V. Minorsky, § 23.11—*surma*), and Gūzgān (*Hudūd a-ʿālam*, § 23.51—*sang-i surma*); in Māzandarān, Sāmār near Sārī (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 32.23—*surma*) and Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne, 33—*surma*); and in D̲j̲ibāl province, Mt. Damāvand (Abū Dulaf, *al-Risāla al-t̲h̲āniyya*, ed. V. Minorsky, § 51—*kuḥl*) and Iṣfahān (Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, 156—*it̲h̲mid*; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik al-mamālik*, 203; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 372; al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 397; al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. de Jong 110, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 128; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tid̲j̲āra*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *RAAD*, xii (1932), 345—*kuhl*; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 210—*it̲h̲mid*). Modern geological surveys record only three sources of antimony in Iran—at Patyār (7 miles east of Anārak), at Turkmanī (25 miles south-east of Anārak), and at S̲h̲ūrāb (100 miles north-west of Bird̲j̲and) (G. Ladame, *Les ressources métallifères de l'Iran*, in *Schweizerische mineralogische und petrographische Mitteilungen*, xxv [1945], 189-91; J. V. Harrison, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968, 512-13, fig. 119). None of these, it should be noted, are near the sites listed above.

A study of the words *al-kuḥl*, *surma* and *it̲h̲mid* indicates that the substance was in fact only rarely antimony sulphide. *Al-kuḥl* was used in two different ways in mediaeval Arabic and Persian texts. First of all, it was used as a general term for any eye cosmetic. Such eye cosmetics were prepared from numerous different substances and would have had quite different colorations, as is made clear for example in the *Lapidary* of Pseudo-Aristotle (ed. J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, §§ 11, 12, 52) where turquoise, lapis lazuli and *tūtiyā* (zinc oxide) are mentioned as ingredients of *akḥāl*, and al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī also note a variety of stones and other substances which could be included (e.g. al-Ḳazwīnī, ii, 229-34). The word *kuḥl* was still used in this way in the last century—for example, Sanguinetti (*Quelques chapitres de médicine et de la thérapeutique arabe*, in *JA* [1866], 320-1) gives the constituents of three types of *kuḥl*—*kuḥl ag̲h̲bar*, *kuḥl aṣfar* and *kuḥl ʿazīz*, the latter being composed of eleven different substances.

Al-kuḥl was also used, however, to indicate a particular substance, as for example when al-Iṣṭakhrī records a mine of *al-kuḥl* at Iṣfahān, and an interesting story in this connection is related by al-T̲h̲aʿālibī (*loc. cit.*). He writes that al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ is reported to have given one of his special followers the provincial governorship of Iṣfahān with the words, "I make you governor of the area of which the stone is *al-kuḥl*", and adds that Iṣfahān was talked of in these terms because the *kuḥl* stone there was of such excellent quality. *Al-kuḥl* in these instances was something more specific than eye cosmetics in general, i.e. it was a particular substance, mineral or metal.

The equating of *al-kuḥl* in this latter sense with *it̲h̲mid* and *surma* is evident from such passages as al-Ḳazwīnī, i, 210, and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kās̲h̲ānī, *ʿArāʾis al-d̲j̲awāhir wa-nafāʾis al-aṭāyib*, Tehran 1345/1966, 189, and the sources are unanimous in associating the substance with lead. This is the evidence of Pseudo-Aristotle, § 51 and al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-D̲j̲awharatayn al-ʿatīḳatayn*, ed. C. Toll, fols. 21a, 23a, the latter identifying *it̲h̲mid* with the ore from which silver came i.e. lead ore. Al-Hamdānī, it should be noted, had a great deal of first-hand experience of metallurgy. Equally confirmatory is the evidence of al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, ed. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxiv, in *SPMSE* (1911), 93, and Kās̲h̲ānī, 190, 344. It therefore seems reasonable to assert that the *kuḥl* mined at Iṣfahān was a lead mineral (Ibn Rusta, 157, says that Iṣfahān produced lead as well as *it̲h̲mid*), and to suggest that where *kuḥl* in the literary sources indicates a naturally-occurring substance as opposed to an artificially-made compound, it almost certainly refers to a lead mineral too. In this connection it should be noted that while it had generally been assumed that eye-paint in ancient Egypt had an antimony base, A. Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, revised by J. R. Harris, 1962, 195-9) showed by analysis that it in fact consisted of galena, pyrolusite, brown ochre or malachite, and only in one instance, of antimony sulphide.

As a cosmetic, *al-kuḥl* was ground as fine as possible and then used by women to dye their eyebrows and eyelashes or the edges of the lids. The cosmetic was applied by means of a small probe or stick with a rounded end called a *mirwad*, and was kept in a small vessel called a *mukḥula* (E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 1954, 37-8); in mediaeval times, the sticks were commonly

of bronze and the vessels of glass, and a special object known in Khurāsān as *wasma-djūsh* was used for grinding the substance and pouring it into the narrow-necked vessels (for such an object, see G. Fehérvári, *Islamic metalwork in the Keir collection*, London 1976, no. 18, and numerous similar pieces elsewhere).

Al-kuḥl also had a specifically medical function as an eye unguent, particulars of which are to be found in Ibn al-Bayṭār and other such writers. From this function comes the idea of *al-kaḥḥāl*, ophthalmist [see ʿAYN].

Al-kuḥl is also the origin of our word alcohol. From a fine powder used to stain the eyelids, it came by extension to mean any fine impalpable powder produced by trituration or sublimation, and hence was applied to fluids of the idea of sublimation—an essence, quintessence or "spirit" obtained by distillation or rectification. Sublimation and the distillation of drugs was known to Khalaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrawī (Abulcasis) in the late 4th/10th century, but the more complicated process needed for the production of alcohol was probably introduced into the Islamic world from Europe, where it was first discovered in the 12th century. (For a description of the preparation of arak in 10th/16th century Mughal India, see Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllamī, *ʿĀʾin-i Akbari*, tr. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1893, i, 69).

Bibliography: the continued publication of previously unknown scientific or semi-scientific texts such as those of al-Hamdānī and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī means that the works cited in the article on *al-kuḥl* in *EI*[1] have become outdated, but no detailed work on *al-kuḥl* has since been published. The reader is referred to E. O. Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin 1919, and to the works of Wiedemann, *Beiträge* xxiv, 93, 99; xxv, 218-9; xl, 176, 186, in *SPMSE*, 1911, 1914, and H. E. Stapleton, *Chemistry in ʿIrāq and Persia in the tenth century*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society in Bengal*, viii, no. 6, 352, 372; but is advisable to read them in conjunction with all the information now available in the Arabic or Persian texts cited above. Additional information is to be found in other geographical texts, in works on pharmacology, and in semi-scientific texts such as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Tansūkh-nāma-yi Īlkhānī*, Tehran 1348/1969. Much material is also to be found in *WKAS*, i, 73 f.

(E. WIEDEMANN - [J. W. ALLAN])

ḲUHRŪD, Arabic form of Persian Kōh-rūd "mountain river", a village in western Persia on the summer caravan route between Ḳāshān and Iṣfahān [*q.vv.*]. In mediaeval times it fell within the province of Djibāl, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. 184, places it some 8 *farsakhs* from Ḳāshān, sc. 27 miles/45 km. from the latter town; cf. also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 929 n. 16. Today, Ḳuhrūd falls administratively in the *bakhsh* of Ḳamṣar, in the *shahrastān* of Ḳāshān, in the second *ustān* or central province of Iran, see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾ-yi Īrān*, iii, 218-19. It lies in the mountains on the slopes of a cultivated valley, and the agreeableness of its climate in summer has been commented upon by numerous European travellers, from Chardin onwards, who have passed through it. E. G. Browne was there in 1888 and collected specimens of the distinctive dialect of the Ḳuhrūd-Naṭanz district, see his *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1926, 203-8.

Ḳuhrūd is apparently unmentioned by the earlier Arab and Persian geographers, until Mustawfī (8th/14th century) comments upon it and upon the fact that the river of Ḳuhrūd supplied Ḳāshān with some of its water (*op. cit.*, tr. 72); this river was dammed in Ṣafawid times by the Band-i Ḳuhrūd in order to assure a supply for Ḳāshān during the summer months, see Browne, *op. cit.*, 202-3. Its monuments comprise a Ṣafawid caravanserai and two 8th/14th century mosques, one apparently the Shīʿī mosque and the other possibly that of the Sunnī villagers; for these, see O. Watson, *The Masjid-i ʿAlī, Quhrūd: an architectural and epigraphic survey*, in *Iran. Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xii (1975), 59-74. The mountains of the Ḳuhrūd district produce lead and cobalt, and the village may accordingly have had connections with the great ceramics centre of Ḳāshān; see Hans Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 163.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KŪKAWA, or **KŪKA**, capital of Bornū [*q.v.*] for much of the 19th century, situated at 12° 55′ N. and 13° 30′ E. It was founded about 1814 by al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī [see AL-KĀNEMĪ], better known as Shaykh, or Shehu, al-Kānimī. He was a Kanembu *mallam* [*q.v.*], who had established himself at Ngala, south of Lake Chad. In 1808 or 1809 Fulani forces, linked with the *djihād* of Usuman dan Fodio [*q.v.*], occupied and ravaged Birni Gazargamu [*q.v.*], then the capital of Bornū. The Bornū ruler, or *mai* [*q.v.*], called upon al-Kānimī's help. The city changed hands several times but, although eventually the Fulani were conclusively expelled, Gazargamu never became the capital again. Mai Dunama wandered about, earning the derisive title "*mai* of the calabash" (a significant item of luggage) for his much travelling. Al-Kānimī received the fief of Ngornu, northwest of Ngala but still far from Gazargamu, for services rendered. Dunama was deposed by his uncle, Muḥammad Ngileruma, who established a new capital, Birni Kafela, very near Ngornu. About 1813 al-Kānimī's power had so much grown that he was able to depose Muḥammad, and to reinstate Dunama, keeping however Kafela as the *mai*'s official capital. With Gazargamu abandoned, Kafela very much in the shadow of al-Kānimī, and al-Kānimī himself somewhat at odds with local leaders in his own fief of Ngornu, there was no obvious centre of power in Bornū. About 1814 al-Kānimī decided to leave Ngornu, and built a new town, Kūka, again somewhat to the northwest, nine miles from Lake Chad. The name comes from the Kanūri [*q.v.*] word for baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) tree, one of which was growing on or near the site of al-Kānimī's own future dwelling.

For the next thirty years, an uneasy balance existed between the legitimate dynasty at Kafela, and the *shehu*'s one at Kūka. In 1817 (Barth) or 1820 (Brenner) a Bagirmi [*q.v.*] force invaded Bornū, intending to oust al-Kānimī and restore to the *mai* his traditional powers; the plan failed and the *mai* was killed. Schultze (p. 257) mentions a sack of Kūka by the invaders at this time, but this is not confirmed in other sources. Al-Kānimī struck his own seal, dated 1819-20, but still continued to preserve a figurehead *mai*. Al-Kānimī died in 1837; the hitherto generally accepted date, 1835, seems almost certainly disproved by manuscript evidence. He was succeeded by his son ʿUmar [*q.v.*], under whom Kūka continued to become increasingly the seat of all real power. In 1846 Wadai [*q.v.*] was invaded,

with the intention of removing Shehu ʿUmar and re-establishing the *mai*. Kūka was partially destroyed, and for two months lay almost a desert; but again the plan miscarried. The *mai* was executed; after his son was killed in battle some months later, no new *mai* was appointed, ʿUmar openly asserting that sovereignty which he and his father had long enjoyed in fact. Kūka was now the official, as well as the actual, capital of Borno.

As, in the period after 1814, power came more and more to centre upon Kūka, the essential pattern of government—in essence, through fiefs ruled by courtiers—did not change, although there was greater centralisation than in the old days at Gazargamu. The Kūka court was characterised by relative informality, lack of splendour, and a certain religious simplicity, in contrast to the elaborate, and increasingly hollow, ceremonial at Kafela. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, son of a former imam at Gazargamu, was appointed *imām* of the Kūka mosque, and presided over all religious festivals. Minor legal matters, such as divorce and inheritance, were handled by *ḳāḍīs* appointed by al-Kānimī; serious crimes and capital cases were referred to al-Kānimī himself, and his six principal companions. After 1846, ceremonial tended to increase, and the number of courtiers and noblemen grew larger. With the challenge from Kafela removed, and with an ever-larger number of people competing for wealth and rewards which were no longer expanding sufficiently rapidly, divisive forces appeared within Kūka itself; ʿUmar, a pious and aimable man, was also irresolute and weak, unable to maintain his father's firm control of the city and the state.

After the Wadai sack in 1846, Kūka was rebuilt, but a new town was added to the east, and into this quarter the political leaders moved. The *shehu*'s main palace was in the east town, although that in the west town was refurbished, and the *shehu* visited it from time to time, particularly at religious festivals. The west town, i.e. the original Kūka, became the residential area of non-titled families, and foreign merchants; it had the larger population. Each town was walled separately. (Kūkawa is a plural form: there were in fact two Kūka towns). The wall of the eastern town, in 1870, was crenellated, about 20 feet high, made of clay and gravel, with terraces on the inner side; during the rains, the upper and thinner part of the wall began to disintegrate, and goats grazed on the terraces. The space between the two towns was almost as densely built up as the towns themselves, and there were in addition many huts, farms and hamlets round about. Nachtigal, who arrived on 6 July 1870, estimated the double town as about 2 1/4 miles long and 1 mile broad. A *dendal*, or promenade (Barth called it "this high road of ambition"), a standard feature of Kanūri towns but here on a much extended scale, started at the west gate of the west town, and ran straight on, across the intervening space, and two-thirds of the way through the east town, until it came to the *shehu*'s main palace, which was distinguished by an upper storey and some towerlike elevations. Before the palace, a little to the north, a low minaret overlooked the boundary wall of a complex of houses and huts, identifying them as a mosque. The usual dwelling consisted of a considerable area, in which were huts of thatch, and cubical earthen buildings usually of one room; as much as three-quarters of the total area might be of courtyards and unroofed enclosures, including gardens and stable yards. The general architectural appearance of the city was dispiriting; the outer walls, at a distance, could hardly be distinguished from the surrounding ground, whilst within, the roads and paths were generally lined by the windowless walls of adjoining compounds. Some trees, and an unusually abundant bird life, refreshed the eye of the visitor.

Daily markets were held in various parts of Kūkawa, but the main market took place on Mondays, outside the westernmost gate. Although this was often very crowded, and shopping there difficult because of the press of customers, the people were generally orderly. Among the goods offered for sale were livestock (camels, horses (both riding and draft), cattle, donkeys, goats, sheep and fowls), cloth and clothing of all kinds, foodstuffs (various grains and meats, honey, milk, butter, dried fish, vegetables, fruit, natron), cooking and eating utensils, leather goods, basketware, carpentry and metalwork, weapons, even boats, firewood, fodder, charcoal, building materials (mats, poles, etc.), rope, and other commodities. Slaves formed an important element in market transactions, with prices for a *sedasi* (a boy measuring six spans from the ankle to the top of the head, aged 12 to 15) indicating the general tone of the slave market. Special slaves, such as eunuchs, dwarfs, deaf-mutes and concubines, were generally sold privately, as were the best quality horses, and not on the open market. Major imports from Europe and North Africa about 1870 were coins (both cheap and of luxury quality), women's ornaments, rosaries, aromatics, tarbushes, paper, guns, swords and sabres (although weapons were also manufactured locally), chain mail, needles, scissors, knives and razors; principal exports northwards were slaves, ivory and ostrich feathers. Barth in 1851 was very critical of the lack of local industry in Kūkawa; there seems to have been a considerable improvement by the early 1870s, when also a greater variety of goods is reported on the market, and the use of currency (cowries, strips of cloth, Maria Theresa dollars) seems to have won a wider acceptance. Trade with North Africa was at this time being inconvenienced by the extreme unreliability, in any commercial contracts, of most of the Kūkawa nobility. Kūkawa did not profit much from modern trade patterns developing to the south. In 1891 Charles MacIntosh, of the Royal Niger Company, visited the city in search of a trade treaty, but the North African community there persuaded the Shehu, Hāshim b. ʿUmar, to refuse his presents and send him away.

The population of Kūkawa was probably about 60,000 during its heyday. There were a considerable number of Ḳurʾānic scholars and teachers, and many blind beggars; *shurafāʾ* came from Morocco and the *ḥaramayn*, pious men from Egypt and Tunis, Timbuktu and Senegal, pilgrims from the western Sahara and the Hausa and Fulani countries, all more or less attracted by the reputation for open-handed generosity which Shehu ʿUmar in particular enjoyed.

The downfall of Kūkawa was at the hand of Rābiḥ [*q.v.*], a man of eastern Sudanese origin. Probably early in 1893, although precise dating of these events is extremely difficult, Rābiḥ and his army, moving westwards, occupied Logone, a vassal state under Bornū. In two battles, at Amja and Legarwa, the Bornū forces vainly tried to defeat Rābiḥ; after the second defeat, organised Bornū resistance collapsed. Shehu Hāshim had been present at the second battle, though taking no active part; he fled to Kūkawa, and abandoned it within a few days, at Rābiḥ's approach. Rābiḥ occupied the town, sometime in 1893, without a struggle. What hap-

pened next is uncertain; some authorities report the ruthless pillaging of the capital, with several thousands of people killed or captured, while others argue that the violence was much more restrained. Certainly an immense booty was captured. Readings from the Ķur'ān were among the festivities celebrating the victory. Shortly after the conquest, Rābiḥ decided to move the capital to Dikwa, an older town of strategic importance, where water supplies were better and grain more accessible. Kūkawa was partly demolished, and everything which could not be carried away was burnt. Only the tombs of the Shehus, where Rābiḥ himself had prayed, were respected.

In 1902, the British installed Bukar Garbai, a grandson of ʿUmar, as Shehu, first at Mongonu 17 miles south of Kūkawa, but with the explicit intention of reoccupying Kūkawa. Attempts to revitalise the desolate capital failed, and at the end of 1906 both the British administration and the traditional Bornū administration were definitively established at Maiduguri. In 1922 Kūkawa was reported to be no more than a mass of ruins, and a small hamlet. By 1975 it had so far recovered as to be a thriving little town, and an administrative District Headquarters. The graves of al-Kānimī, ʿUmar, and their two immediate successors are still revered, and a baobab tree, said to replace the one from which the town first took its name, is preserved as an historical monument.

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ĶUL, an old Turkish word which came, in Islamic times, to mean "slave boy, male slave", defined by Maḥmūd Kās͟hg͟harī, *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bilge, i, 282, tr. Atalay, i, 336-7, as *ʿabd*. However, the original meaning of *ķul* in Orkhon Turkish was rather "servant, vassal, dependent" (the masculine counterpart of *kün* "female servant, etc.", the two words being linked in the Kültegin inscription, text references in Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington, Ind. 1968, 347), since slavery in the Islamic juridical sense did not exist among the ancient Turks.

The word spread through the northern tier of the Islamic world as the Turks became Islamised and entered the Iranian lands and beyond, passing into Persian, Kurdish, Caucasian languages, etc., and used both in a religious sense "slave [of God]" and above all in military contexts, since Turks became so omnipresent as military slaves. Under the Ottomans, *ķullar* became the standard designation for the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI], and under the Ottomans and the Persian Ṣafawids alike, the latter with their Turkish, Georgian and other slave troops, we find the title *ķullar ag͟hasī* given to the commander-in-chief of the sovereign's slave forces [see G͟HULĀM, iv and ORDŪ]. An extension of the religious usage of the word may also be seen in such names, common in Ṣafawid Persia and in neighbouring states influenced by it, with *ķul* as a component, e.g. ʿAlī-ķulī, S͟hāh-ķulī, Yazdān-ķulī; see further LAĶAB v.

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ĶUL MUṢṬAFĀ, called **ĶAYİKD͟JĪ**, 11th/17th century Turkish folk poet of Janissary origin. His nickname Ķayïkd͟jī ("The Boatman") seems to have originated from his association in his youth with the corsair, later admiral, Turg͟hud Re'īs [*q.v.*] in Algeria. His narrative or epic poems on contemporary important events became very popular in the army and at court, and his fame lies more in these than in his less attractive lyrics. Among his famous narrative poems, the most notable concern the assasination of ʿOt͟hmān II by the Janissaries; S͟hāh ʿAbbās's conquest of Bag͟hdād; Murād IV's siege of Bag͟hdād; the revolt of Abaza Ḥasan Pas͟ha, the governor of Aleppo; and particularly, the epic of Gend͟j ʿOt͟hmān, a young hero who is drowned in the Tigris during the siege of Bag͟hdād. Ķul Muṣṭafā's style and language are in the true tradition of folk poets, and are very little influenced by *dīwān* poetry.

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ĶŪLA, a town in western Anatolia, classical Opsicum. It lies on the margin of a fertile plain, a few miles south of the upper course of the Gediz river and to the north of the main Manisa-Uşak road, in lat. 38°33′ north and long. 28°40′ east and at an altitude of 2,140 feet/652 m. it is in a volcanic area (classical Katakekaumene or Combusta), with the extinct volcano Karadevlit north-east of the town; hence many of the houses are built from dark basalt. There are numerous marble remains from classical times, but the citadel, apparently late mediaeval, is ruinous.

Ķūla came within the lands of the Turkmen *beylik* of the Germiyān-og͟hullarī [*q.v.*], and was conquered by Meḥmed Germiyān (*ca.* 741-63/1340-61), and after his son Süleymān S͟hāh Čelebi (*ca.* 765-90/1363-98) had given Kütahya and several others of his towns to the Ottoman Bāyezīd I Yïldïrïm as dowry for his daughter Dewlet K͟hātūn, he himself went to Ķūla to reside and died there. In the *Ṭas͟h wakfiyye* at Kütahya of Yaʿķūb Čelebi b. Süleymān S͟hāh (814/1411), the name of Ķūla is rendered as كولاى. In Ottoman times, Ķūla fell within the *sand͟jaķ* of Ṣaruk͟hān, whose capital was Manīsa [*q.v.*]; Ewliyā Čelebi mentions there 8 quarters, 2,100 households, 24 mosques, 3 baths, 6 caravanserais and 200 shops. In recent times, carpet-weaving has been a significant local craft, and it is now a centre for wine-making. Cuinet (*ca.* 1890) recorded 6,100 inhabitants, of whom 5,655 were Muslims and 345 Greeks, together with 30 mosques and two Greek Orthodox churches. In 1950, Ķūla's population was 8,600, whilst the *kaza* of which it was the chef-lieu had one of 38,242 and

was composed of 62 villages. It is now the chef-lieu of an *ilče* (formerly *kaza*) in the *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of Manisa. In 1975 the population was 10,807.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 633; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3766; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 565; *Admiralty handbook, Turkey*, London 1943, i, 139, ii, 207, 234-5, 565; *İA*, art. *Kula* (Besim Darkot).

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲŪLAM, the name given in mediaeval Arabic geographical and travel literature to the port of Quilon at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular South India, in ancient and modern Kerala (lat. 8° 53′ N. and long. 76°36′ E.).

Quilon early became a centre of the St. Thomas Christians of South India, and is mentioned in a letter of the Nestorian Patriarch Īshūʿyāb of Adiabene (d. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of Fārs, under the name of Colon and as lacking at that time a settled ministry (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, iii/2, Rome 1728, 437). The first mention of the place in the Islamic sources appears to be that of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (237/851), which mentions "Kūlam of Malay" (this latter component being generally written in later Arabic sources, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as "al-Malaybār", yielding the name "Malabar", possibly meaning in the local tongue "hilly coastland"). It describes Kūlam as a fortified point where Chinese junks plying towards Arabia had to pay a transit due of 1,000 *dirhams* per ship to the local ruler (J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, text § 14, comm. 42-3, 69). Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī, in his *Āthār al-bilād* (Beirut 1380/1960, 55, 106), quotes Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*], sc. the latter's *First Risāla*, on Kūlam, and he and other sources mention such exports from it to the Islamic world as locally-produced porcelain (which was not, however, as fine and translucent as the genuine Chinese porcelain), pepper, cinnamon, ginger, teak, brazil-wood, indigo, etc. In regard to the important export of pepper, we sometimes find Arabic authors (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidā) referring to the whole Malabar coast as *Bilād al-fulful* "Land of pepper". See on the Arab trade to Kūlam and beyond in general, G. F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early mediaeval times*, Princeton 1951, 70-4.

The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela visited Quilon, as did several western ecclesiastical envoys to the Far East in the Mongol period, such as Odoric or Pordenone (translated in Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*[2], London 1915-16, ii, 129-30) and John of Monte Corvino; the latter mentions that at that time, i.e. the end of the 13th century, the Chinese, Christian and Jewish traders there were being pushed out by the Muslims. Around this time also, Marco Polo visited what he calls Coilum, describing it as an independent city-state (Book iii, ch. 22 = *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Yule and Cordier, London 1903, ii, 375-82; cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 399-402).

To Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, iv, 99-104, cf. Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, iv, 79) we owe an especially valuable account of Kūlam in the first half of the 8th/14th century, with important information about its Muslim mercantile community. Whilst on his visit there, he stayed in the Ṣūfī *zāwiya* of Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Kāzarūnī, whose father was *shaykh* of another *zāwiya* in nearby Calicut/Kalikat [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The whole body of Muslim merchants was called Ṣūliyyūn (sc. Cholia, a term used in South India to denote either Arab settlers or Muslim converts from the indigenous peoples, see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*[2], London 1903, 207, s.v. *Choolia*), and these seem to have been largely composed of traders of Persian Shīʿī origin, the head merchant being ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Āwadjī (i.e. from Āwa [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia), and the *ḳāḍī* a man from Ḳazwīn. The Muslim community was, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates, prosperous and highly-respected. He names the local ruler as Tīrwarī, sc. Tiruvati of the indigenous Venad dynasty, and praises his impartial justice and his tolerance of the Muslims.

From the opening of the 16th century onwards, the history of Quilon is bound up with European economic and political penetration of South India, a process which soon became unfavourable to the earlier Muslim commercial supremacy along the Malabar coast. In December 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was at Cochin, and received friendly delegations from the ruler of Kannanūr [*q.v.*] and from the Queen of Quilon (Portuguese Coilom), both of these potentates being anxious to secure Portuguese help against the powerful Muslim ruler in Calicut, the Zamorin. In 1502 Vasco da Gama made a treaty with the Queen of Quilon, who promised to load two Portuguese ships per year with pepper, and in the next year Albuquerque secured permission to open a factory there. Muslim opposition was strenuous; Portuguese ships were prevented from loading, and 1504 the Portuguese factor at Quilon was killed by them. In 1505 Don Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of All the Indies, and received instructions to erect four fortresses along the Malabar coast, including one at Quilon. In 1516 and 1520, further treaties were made between the ruler of Quilon and the Portuguese aimed at providing the latter with a monopoly of the export of pepper from there.

In 1651 the Dutch captured the fortress of Quilon from the Portuguese, and in 1659 the Dutch East Indian Company made a treaty with the Queen. In December 1661 the Admiral Rijklof van Goens appeared with a fleet at Quilon, since regained by the Portuguese, and occupied the fortress without opposition; he then proceeded in 1662 to reduce the fortresses of Cranganor and Cochin (see, for the whole of this period of the rise and fall of Portuguese influence at Quilon, F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their eastern empire*, London 1894, i, 88-9, 114, 118, 121, 336-7, ii, 325). But during the 17th century, the Dutch fortress at Quilon decayed from lack of cash and of profit in the trading operations there, and during the period of warfare between the British and the rulers of Mysore, Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*], in the later 18th century, these two rulers having in their expansionist phase extended Muslim political control into Malabar, the Dutch fortress of Cochin, together with its dependencies, including Quilon, surrendered to British troops (October 1795). During the middle years of the 18th century, the principality of Quilon had been absorbed by Travancore, and in British India, Quilon continued to fall within the native state of Travancore. It is now (since 1956) in the component state of Kerala in the Indian Union. According to the *Census of India 1961. vii. Kerala*, Quilon district had in 1961 a total population of 1,941,228 (Hindu 64 %, Christian 25 %, Muslim 11 %), and Quilon municipality alone 91,018 (1901 figure, 15,961).

Bibliography: (in addition to references given

in the article): W. Logan, *Malabar*, Madras 1887-91, i; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 751-3; C. A. Innes, *Madras District gazeteers. Malabar and Anjengo*, Madras 1908; *Imperial gazeteer of India*[3], xxi, 21-2; Murray's *Handbook for India, Burma and Ceylon*[7], London 1909, 435; A. S. Menon, *Kerala District gazeteers. Quilon*, Trivandrum 1964. For the indigenous Muslim communities of the region around Quilon, see LABBAIS and MĀPILLAS. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ĶULAYʿA (A.), "little castle", the diminutive of *al-ķalʿa* [*q.v.*], like this last used, in one way or another, as a place-name.

1. Muslim Spain

Students of the history and geography of Muslim Spain are familiar with *al-ķulayʿa* as the name of a number of small or relatively small places whose importance seems to have lain only or primarily in the military purpose they served. In Spanish Umayyad history it occurs as the name of at least three different places mentioned in connection with raids and campaigns. One was situated in the Asturian kingdom, another in the neighbourhood of Guadalajara, and yet another to the north-east of Cordova (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 204; ii, 40, 282, 309 (map), 310). The exact location of the first two remains uncertain, but the third, which still bears its old name in Spanish guise, viz. Alcolea, is situated 10 km. or so on the main eastward road of Cordova.

As regards the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, two places called *al-Ķulayʿa* are listed in their appropriate administrative divisions by Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*]. Both are located in what is today Almería province. One—Alcolea—lies north of Berja on the main road to Laujar. In other parts of the Peninsula, the same hispanised name can be found in such compounds as Alcolea de Calatrava (Ciudad Real province), A. del Pinar and A. de las Peñas (Guadalajara prov.), A. de Cinca (Huesca prov.), A. del Río (Sevilla prov.; (?) *Ḥiṣn al-Ķulayʿa*, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vii, 196), and A. del Tajo (Toledo prov.). Other Peninsular forms are Alcolecha (Alicante prov.) and Alcoletge (Lerida prov.). In Spanish and other European writings the name appears in various guises (Alcolaya, Alcolya, Alcoleia, Alculeiha, etc.). Finally, in Spain today there are a number of place-names which are most probably literal translations of *al-ķulayʿa* (Castilian diminutive: "castillejo"), e.g. Castillejo (Cáceres and Granada provs.), C. de Iniesta (Cuenca prov.), C. de Robledo (Soria prov.), etc.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya*, Cairo 1347, 19; F. J. Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, new ed., Granada 1872, 222 f., 286, 303, etc.; M. Asín Palacios, *Contrib. a la toponimia árabe de España*[2], Madrid-Granada 1944, 25, 54; H. Lautensach, *Maurische Züge im geographischen Bild der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Bonn 1960; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, Barcelona, 1905-30.

2. North Africa

1. El-Goléa (the French spelling of al-Ķulayʿa, reflecting the local pronunciation with the usual voiced *ķāf* of nomadic vernaculars) is the name of an oasis town situated at the far eastern end of the great western Erg (*ʿirķ*; see map above, i, 365) of Saharan Algeria and lying, by road, 906 km. almost due south of Algiers on the parallel 30° 31′, and 320 km. south of Ghardāya [*q.v.*]—air distances are noticeably shorter—at a height of 391 metres. Although the most isolated of Algeria's larger oases, it is one of the most beautiful. In 1973 the *dāʾira* of El-Goléa had a population of 16,670.

The place owes its name to an old stronghold (*ķṣar*) built on the north side of a *gāra* (*ķāra*, pl. *ķūr*), i.e. a small, isolated flat-topped hill. This *gāra*, from which can be seen a vast expanse of desert, sandy to the west and stony to the east, is one of three forming something of a protective semi-circle into which the huge oasis nestles beneath. Below the *ķṣar* lies a town that has risen on old and new foundations: the old town, home of an original sedentary population living in mud houses similar in shape and size to the *tatas* of Mali, and the new, modern town, which owes its foundation to the French, but its felicitously harmonious architecture to the inspiration supplied by local tradition. The latter's mosque and market-place are the focal point of social, religious and economic life. From the outset this new town has accommodated administrative buildings. In 1938 it also witnessed the consecration of the first church in the Sahara.

Today the *ķṣar* is deserted and in ruins. With the establishment and eventual consolidation of French rule, the need for its use as a stronghold disappeared and gradually it came merely to supply the local nomads' needs for storage. Its last inhabitants dispersed throughout the oasis to form hamlet communities alongside various plantations. The remains of the stronghold's double walls still stand, and among the ruins a small, plain mosque can be seen where it has been the custom of local women to gather for Friday prayer. The remains of rock dwellings are also in evidence. Dotted around the foot of the *gāra* on which the *ķṣar* stands, as well as about the oasis generally, are the *ķubbas* of local holy men, amounting to between forty and fifty in all and of different shapes and sizes.

As a result of improvements in irrigation and drainage techniques first effected by the French, the oasis now covers more than 800 hectares and supports around 182,000 date-palms watered from artesian wells dug in the bed of the Wād Seggur. Fruit trees also abound, notably citrous and apricot varieties, and there are winter crops of cereals, beans and many other kinds of vegetable.

The inhabitants and frequenters of the oasis are, in the main, wholly or partly sedentarised nomads of the Shaʿanba sub-tribe Mawādhī; traders from the Mzab; negroes and *ḥarāṭīn* (sing. *ḥarṭānī* [*q.v.*]) from Twāt (Touat) and Grāra (Gourara). These last two groups account for about half the population and between them work the land in one capacity or another. Formerly there was also a Jewish element.

El-Goléa's early history is lost in legend. The old *ķṣar* is said to have been founded as Taurirt (Berb. "little castle") by the Zenata in the Middle Ages and to have then been taken by the Touareg. Its mediaeval origin may be well founded: Ibn Khaldūn mentions the existence of a seemingly not too dissimilar desert advance post inhabited by Matghāra Berbers and frequented in intensely hot weather by veiled nomads. It too was a *ķulayʿa*, viz. Kulayʿat Wāllan (on some European maps Gucléa). Be that as it may, the Shaʿanba in and around El Goléa are said, probably rightly, to have come from the region of the Matlīlī oasis, near Ghardāya, where there is still a branch of the Shaʿanba, and to have been in the carrying-trade there, to say nothing of brigandage, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Drifting south as population pressures grew, they made El-Goléa their centre and doubtless profited from its position on the route from the Mzab to Twāt

and Tidikelt. In the 17th century, according to al-ʿAyyashī, this evidently prosperous place was ruled, through a governor, by the sultan of Wārglā. Its first contact with Europe was with Duveyrier in 1859. General de Gallifet reached it in 1873, and in 1891 a permanent garrison was installed. The local Shaʿanba provided Laperrine with the first detachments of the famous *méharistes* with whose aid the central Sahara was brought under French control.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in *EI*[1] art. AL-GOLÉA, see J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*[3], Paris 1964; *idem* and R. Raynal, *Géographie de l'Afrique du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1967; Algerian Ministry of Information (*Wizārat al-akhbār*), *al-Fann al-miʿmārī al-Djazāʾirī*, Algiers-Madrid 1970; up-to-date information is always obtainable from the current edition of Hachette's *Guide bleu* on Algeria. On Kulayʿat Wāllan: Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 241; iv, 501.

2. Koléa, a small town of 35,000 inhabitants lying 46 km., by road, west of Algiers. Situated on the landward side of the Sāḥil hills at a height of 130 metres, it offers a commanding view of the Mitidja plain. Dating from the Ottoman period, it is said to have been founded by Ḥasan Pasha, son of the corsair Khayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa) [*q.v.*], around 1550. What is certain is that it was peopled by Muslim refugees from Castile, Andalusia, and the kingdom of Valencia, for whom the excellent prospects offered by its fertile cultivable land were the main attraction. In the sources it is therefore referred to as "Col de Mudechares" (Mudechares being the Spanish *mudéjares* from Ar. *mudadjdjanūn*). In modern times Koléa's attraction has been the tomb and mosque of a holy man, Sīdī Mubārak, who lived in the 17th century. One of his descendants, Ibn ʿAllāl b. Mubārak (Ben Allal Ben Embarak), who fell in the cause of the Algerian rebel ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] in 1843, is also buried there.

Bibliography: Marmol, *Descr. de Affrica*, Granada 1573, ii, 214; O. Dapper, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, Amsterdam 1686; C. Trumelet, *Les saints de l'Islam . . . Les saints du Tell*, Paris 1881.

(J. D. LATHAM)

KULAYB B. RABĪʿA, a chief of the Banu Taghlib of the Islamic period, whose murder by his brother-in-law Djassās b. Murra al-Shaybānī was the cause of a long and bloody war between the two sister-tribes Taghlib and Bakr [*q.vv.*] which was known as "the war of Basūs" [*q.v.*]. His genealogy was: Kulayb b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Zuhayr b. Djusham (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, c. 22; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 164, where Murra is not mentioned). Kulayb's real name is said to have been Wāʾil, and the name of Kulayb ("little dog") to have given to him because of his habit of taking a small dog with him and making it bark by beating it in all the places which he wished to reserve as his own private property; the people who heard the barking of the dog refrained from using the place. This story, the point of which, however, eludes us, is evidently a later invention: the name Kulayb is frequently met with in Arab nomenclature and does not look like a surname.

Kulayb is represented as having all the characteristic traits of the tyrant, of which the independent and critical spirit of the Bedouins has always had a profound horror; he is said to have been proclaimed "king" (on the use of this title cf. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 210) after the brilliant victory won at Khazāzā over the united Yemenī tribes and to have ruled not only over Taghlib but also over the Banū Shayban, the most important section of Bakr. After a short time, he is said to have abused his power and to have usurped the rights of hunting and of pasturage at the expense of his subjects (the usurpation of the *ḥimā* is the regular grievance of the Bedouins against "tyrants"; the same reproach was made against the caliph ʿUthmān). Indeed, it was because the she-camel Sarāb, belonging to a Tamīmī woman al-Basūs or to one of her clients of the tribe of Banū Djarm, trespassed upon the private property of Kulayb, that the latter put her to death (or killed its young one and injured the mother), and this act of violence was the cause of his murder by Djassās, whose mother was the sister of al-Basūs.

The details of the story are given in our sources with some variations, most of which are found as early as the work of Abū ʿUbayda who is, as is well known, the source of almost all our information on the *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*]. Certain features, especially in the *K. al-Aghānī*, have been borrowed from Ibn al-Kalbī, and the account of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī has also been preserved. It is evident that we are no longer able to ascertain if the history of Kulayb (and in general that of the war against Taghlib and Bakr) contains a nucleus of historical truth along with a mass of features undoubtedly legendary. This is a problem which can only be solved in connection with the general question of the historical value of the whole of the traditions of the pre-Islamic period. Considered by itself, the episode of Kulayb has nothing improbable about it. We might be tempted to recognise in it a fairly clear memory of an attempt to form a political organisation among Taghlib and Bakr of a kind superior to the ordinary Bedouin tribes; the attempts, similar to that which gave the royal crown to the chiefs of the tribe of Kinda, must have been suggested by the example of the kingdom of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra, not far from which Taghlib and Bakr have their houses. The story of the tyranny and the death of Kulayb must have taken form at a very remote period; this is evident from the verses of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās and of al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī (both contemporary with the beginning of Islam) given in our sources; in that of al-Nābigha in particular, the history of the killing of the camel is already told in detail. An allusion to the power of Kulayb is found as early as the *muʿallaḳa* of the Taghlibī ʿAmr b. Kulthūm (v. 65). We have, moreover, contemporary documentary evidence of the accounts relating to the fate of Kulayb in the numerous allusions contained in the elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muhalhil (one of the earliest Arab poets; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje, 164-6; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Hell, 13 lines 11-16 etc.), but naturally their authenticity is more than doubtful.

The story of the murder of Kulayb is developed in a quite arbitrary fashion in the romance cycle of the Banū Hilāl (cf. Mittwoch, *Proelia arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899, 11).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article AL-BASŪS, see *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 905-7; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Fākhir*, ed. Storey, 76-8; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amthāl*, Istanbul 1300, 55-6; al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, 1310, i, 254-5; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 150-1.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-KULAYNĪ (or AL-KULĪNĪ), **ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD** B. YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ AL-RĀZĪ, Imāmī traditionist. He originated from a village located 38 km. southwest of Rayy in the district of

Pas͟hāpūya whose Persian name Kolēn, with *imāla*, was Arabicised as Kulayn and Kulīn. His *nisba* is thus variously given in the sources as al-Kulaynī, al-Kulīnī, or, erroneously, al-Kalīnī.

Few facts are known about his life. Since his chief transmitters of Imāmī traditions were several scholars of Ḳumm, it is certain that he studied in that town for a prolonged time, most likely during the last decade of the 3rd century A.H. (903-13). He also transmitted from several scholars of Rayy, among them his maternal uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kulaynī al-Rāzī, known as ʿAlān, and al-Nad͟jās͟hī describes him as the *s͟hayk͟h* of the Imāmiyya in Rayy in his time. It is uncertain if it was in Naysābūr or elsewhere that he heard Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Naysābūrī, his transmitter of the traditions and views of the prominent Imāmī scholar al-Faḍl b. S͟hād͟hān of Naysābūr, whom he evidently held in high esteem. At an unknown date, perhaps in the first decade of the 4th century A.H. (913-23), he moved to Bag͟hdād where he lived and taught in the Darb al-Silsila near the Bāb al-Kūfa on the west bank of the Tigris. Here he completed his voluminous *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, on which he is said to have worked for twenty years. The book, though mostly a collection of traditions of the *Imāms*, was meant to be a guide to authoritative Imāmī doctrine in theology and *fiḳh*. Thus it is arranged according to subject matter and tends to contain only those traditions which the author considered as reflecting orthodox teaching. Only exceptionally are the views and elaborations of Imāmī scholars quoted, such as the elaborations of al-Faḍl b. S͟hād͟hān on the law of inheritance. The work is divided into the *uṣūl*, dealing mainly with theology, prophecy, the imāmate, and prayers; the *furūʿ*, dealing with *fiḳh*; and a final volume, entitled *K. al-Rawḍa*, containing miscellaneous traditions of mostly edifying or paraenetic character. His other works, all of which are lost, included a refutation of the Ḳarāmiṭa, a book on transmitters (*rid͟jāl*), a collection of letters of the Imāms, an anthology of poems about them, and a book on the interpretation of dreams. The date of his death is given as 328/939-40 or 329/940-1. The latter date, mentioned by al-Nad͟jās͟hī, is more likely to be correct, since al-Ṭūsī, who in his earlier *K. al-Fihrist* gives the year 328, in his later *K. al-Rid͟jāl* specifies S͟haʿbān 329/May 941. The funeral prayer was led by the Imāmī Ḥasanid Abū Ḳirāṭ Muḥammad b. D͟jaʿfar, and he was buried near the Bāb al-Kūfa.

The reputation of al-Kulaynī and his *K. al-Kāfī* appears to have been modest during his lifetime and for a century after his death. Ibn al-Nadīm (writing in 377/987-8) does not even mention him, and Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn (d. 423/1030) observed that his tomb had become obliterated. The *K. al-Kāfī* was evidently not widely used in the Imāmī communities as an authoritative source of *fiḳh*. Though the S͟hayk͟h al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) in Bag͟hdād referred to it as one "of the most important and useful books of the S͟hīʿa", his student the S͟harīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) included al-Kulaynī in his general censure of the Imāmī traditionist school of Ḳumm and accused him of including numerous forged and rationally absurd traditions in the *K. al-Kāfī*. It seems to have been largely due to the influence of the S͟hayk͟h al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068), who praised al-Kulaynī and relied extensively on the *K. al-Kāfī* in his *fiḳh* works, that the latter gained popularity. The favour in which the *K. al-Kāfī* was held by the pro-Muʿtazilī Imāmī school of Bag͟hdād, in spite of the criticism of al-Murtaḍā, was partially based on al-Kulaynī's support of the theology of the anti-anthropomorphist wing within the school of Ḳumm which was later represented by Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūḳ, the only scholar of Ḳumm whose works were preserved in large number, evidently because of their author's relative closeness to Muʿtazilī theological doctrines. The *K. al-Kāfī* soon came to be considered as one of the four canonical collections of traditions on which Imāmī *fiḳh* is to be based, and often as the most authoritative one among them. It reached the peak of its fame in the Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid age, when numerous commentaries, interpretations, glosses, studies of various aspects, Persian translations, and an abridgment of it were composed. A tomb of al-Kulaynī with a *ḳubba* was now shown on the east bank of the Tigris near the modern al-Maʾmūn bridge in Bag͟hdād, and has continued to attract large numbers of visitors until the present.

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(W. Madelung)

ḲULD͟JA or G͟hULD͟JA, modern Ili or I-ning, a town in the fertile and mineral-rich upper valley of the Ili river [*q.v.*] in Central Asia. For the mediaeval history of the district in which modern Ḳuld͟ja lay, see ALMALÏG͟H.

The town of Ḳuld͟ja ("Old Ḳuld͟ja") was probably a new foundation in 1762 by the Chinese after their victory over the Kalmucks [see KALMUK] in 1759, and they named it Ning-yüan-chen. Two years later the town of Hoi-yüan-chen was founded as the headquarters of the Chinese governor-general (*dsandsün*) of Chinese Turkestan; this was known as "Great" or "New" Ḳuld͟ja. The Imperial government resettled in the largely depopulated region, amongst other peoples, 6,000 families of Muslim Turks from Kās͟hg͟haria, after the devastation of the latter province during the wars with the Kalmucks; these came to be called the Tarančis, "agriculturists". Also in the 18th century were settled there Chinese Muslims (probably, in fact, of mixed Chinese and Uyg͟hur Turkish blood) called the Dungans or T'ung-kan. In 1851 a trade treaty was made at Ḳuld͟ja between the advancing Russians and the Chinese, opening the upper Ili region to Russian traders, and in 1860 the Treaty of Peking between Russia and China gave both Russia and Britain the right to establish consulates in, amongst other places, Ḳuld͟ja. In 1862 W. Radlov visited both Old and New Ḳuld͟ja and described them fully in his *Aus Siberien*, Leipzig 1893, ii, 305 ff., 336 ff., see also his *Das Ili-Thal in Hoch Asien und seine Bewohner*, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen* (1866); a decade or so later, the American traveller E. Schuyler visited Old Ḳuld͟ja and its hinterland, see his *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Khuldja*, London 1876, ii, 156-201.

Following a Dungan rebellion in Shen-si, which spread to Kan-su [see KANSU] and other Muslim

areas of western China proper in 1862, revolt also broke out amongst the Muslim population of northern Chinese Turkestan, sc. in the province of Dzungaria, amongst both Tarančis and Dungans, and in 1863 it spread to the Ḳuldja area. After hard fighting between the Chinese authorities and the rebels, New Ḳuldja was captured in 1865 by the rebels and completely razed; Schuyler, *op, cit.*, ii, 162-4, found the site utterly deserted apart from the one or two houses of Dungan squatters. The Russian consulate in Ḳuldja and a Russian factory in the area were destroyed in this strife. The Dungans and Tarančis now began to fight amongst themselves, and after much internecine warfare, power passed in 1867 to a Taranči leader who styled himself Sulṭān Aʿlā Khān or Abu 'l-Aʿlā (in Russian sources, often Abil-Oglya); after savage massacres perpetrated by the Tarančis, some 5,000 Dungans and others fled westwards into Russian territory for refuge. In 1867 also, Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], a Khoḳandī by birth who had earlier fought against the Russians at the battle of Aḳ Masdjid [see KHOḲAND], established his power in Kāshgharia, sc. the southern part of Chinese Turkestan. Since Yaʿḳūb Beg was believed to be anti-Russian and received two diplomatic missions from British India, the appearance of an ostensibly hostile power in Central Asia disturbed Russia, and was a factor in the Russian decision to annex completely in 1875-6 the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*]. It further led to the Russian occupation in 1871 of Ḳuldja and the upper Ili basin, this being announced as a temporary measure, till China should re-establish her authority in Kāshgharia and Dzungaria. The local ruler Aʿlā Khān was deported to Russia, and lived out his life there as a state pensioner.

The Russians probably assumed that Yaʿḳūb Beg would never be dislodged from power and that the Ḳuldja district would eventually be permanently annexed. In fact, Yaʿḳūb Beg was defeated in 1876-7 by the Chinese forces and died in May 1877; his state collapsed totally and Chinese authority was restored in Eastern Turkestan. In 1879 negotiations began between the Chinese diplomat Chʾung-hu and the imperial Russian government, but the Treaty of Lividia made in that year was abortive, and negotiations dragged on for a considerable time, the retrocession of Ḳuldja being used as a bargaining counter for extracting concessions elsewhere, till in 1881 the Treaty of St. Petersburg was made, and in 1883 Ḳuldja was finally evacuated by Russia. Russia nevertheless retained trading privileges in the upper Ili valley, received an indemnity of 9 million dollars for the expenses of the Russian occupation, and acquired consulates at Ḳuldja and Kāshghar which in the ensuing decades gave her important influence in Chinese Turkestan, e.g. during the period of the Chinese Revolution 1911-12, when Chinese settlers in the Ḳuldja region were massacred by the Muslims and the Russian consular defence forces of troops enlarged. Chinese Turkestan was from 1882 onwards organised as a formal province of China under the name of Sin-kiang "New dominion". The population of [Old] Ḳuldja was estimated at 7,700 in 1872, of whom 4,100 were Muslims; two or three years later, Schuyler estimated the population of the town at 10,000, over half of whom were Tarančis. These estimates were made at a time when the whole region was in a devastated and depopulated condition, and by *ca.* 1900, the estimated population of Ḳuldja had risen to 30,000.

When the authority of the Manchu Imperial government in the Sin-kiang capital of Urumchi crumbled in 1911, a revolutionary government proclaimed its independence in the Ili region, but in 1912 the new Chinese governor of the whole province, Yang Tseng-hsin (1911-28) managed to conciliate the separatists and secure unification of the Ili and Sin-kiang regions (see R. Yang, *Sinkiang under the administration of governor Yang Tseng-hsin, 1911-1928*, in *Central Asiatic Jnal.*, vi [1961], 270-7). Yang weathered a further potential crisis in 1916-17, when thousands of Kazakhs fled from Tsarist Russian oppression into the Ili and Kāshgharia regions (*ibid.*, 305-8), and under his long tenure of power, the whole of Chinese Turkestan enjoyed an unwonted period of prosperity and firm government. He kept up good relations with Soviet Russia, and even after the Kuomintang's diplomatic break with Russia in 1927, the Russian consulates at Ḳuldja and in other towns remained open. His successor Chen Shu-jen followed a similar policy, and in a secret treaty of 1931 conceded to the Russians rights to commercial offices in Ḳuldja or Ili, Urumchi, etc.

These governors in the far west of China had been virtually autonomous, but in 1941 Chiang Kai-shek managed to extend the direct control of Chunking over Sin-kiang, with disquieting effects on the non-Chinese population elements there. Hence in November 1944 there was a rebellion of the Kazakh Turks in the Ili region, soon joined by the Uyghurs. An Eastern Turkestan Republic was proclaimed in Ḳuldja, independent of the Sin-kiang Chinese provincial government in Urumchi. The Kuomintang government in distant Chunking was unable to do more than come to a compromise with Aḥmad Djān's régime in Ḳuldja, but by the end of 1948 its influence in Sin-kiang was in any case declining perceptibly. In September 1949 representatives both of the Ḳuldja régime and the Urumchi one started negotiating with the Communists in Peking, and in December of that year a Communist Provincial People's government was established in Sin-kiang. The Communists eventually accorded to the province a certain autonomy, and in 1954 the Ḳuldja region was made into the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District of what in 1955 became the Sin-kiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Now, under the Chinese name of I-ning, Ḳuldja is one of the chief towns of that Region.

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KULLIYYA (A. lit. "completeness"; Turkish: *fakülte*; Persian: *dānishkada*) acquired in the 19th century the technical meaning of faculty as a unit of teaching and learning, mostly at the university level, according to branches of learning.

Islamic education in *masdjid*, *madrasa* or *khānaḳāh* did not know of a division into *kulliyyāt*, which presupposes institutionalised specialisation. So it was only in 1930 that al-Azhar in Cairo was reorganised according to three *kulliyyāt* of higher studies: *uṣūl al-dīn*, *sharīʿa*, and *al-dirāsāt al-ʿarabiyya*. Nadjaf in ʿIrāq, as a centre of Shīʿī *Ithnā*

ʿas͟harī learning, had in 1963, besides a number of independent *madāris*, a *kulliyyat al-fiḳh* which was connected with the University of Bag͟hdād. When modern institutions of higher education were established beside the traditional Muslim ones in the 19th and 20th centuries, the latter underwent a number of innovations and reforms which were mostly imposed by the state authorities. In this way, the faculty system was introduced into the traditional Islamic teaching, either by a radical transformation of an existing old-established institution (e.g. at al-Azhar); or by integrating such an institution as a *kulliyyat al-s͟harīʿa* or a faculty of religious studies into a new modern state university (e.g. at al-Zaytūna in Tunis); or by establishing completely new religious institutions with a division into faculties, replacing older such institutions (e.g. the King Saʿūd Islamic University in Medina). By now, the faculty system has been introduced in nearly all Islamic institutions of higher education; sometimes such institutions have "modern" faculties side-by-side with those of the Islamic sciences. These institutions provide the education of religious leaders and they perform a function in the transmission and reformulation of Islamic thought. They may lead to a career in the judiciary, in institutional teaching or in less formal forms of instruction in Islam, both within and outside Muslim countries.

The non-religious modern (state) universities [see D̲J̲ĀMIʿA] and other institutions of higher education (*al-taʿlīm al-ʿālī*) have been organised according to the faculty system, as taken over from the West, since their establishment in the 20th and sometimes the 19th century. They come under the Ministry of Education, or in some cases the Ministry of Higher Education. These universities expanded greatly in number and size after the independence of the different countries, and they serve the modernisation and development of the societies of these countries by providing them with professional intellects, besides the general role of such institutions in the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. There is a direct link between the modernisation of a society and the expansion of its educational system, including higher education. The educational institutions undergo during the process the influence of those ideological forces which constitute, or at least accompany, the dynamic of the modernisation process. The planning of higher education has started in most countries according to the needs of these countries, following western models and resulting in the growth of faculties (*kulliyyāt*).

In Arab universities the following *kulliyyāt* have developed: *ādāb* (arts), *ḥuḳūḳ* (law), *ʿulūm* (sciences) and *ṭibb* (medicine), the first two of which are called *naẓarī* (theoretical), the latter two *ʿamalī* (practical). Then there are those of *tarbiya* (education, i.e. for teacher-training at secondary schools), *tid̲j̲āra* (commerce), *idāra* (administration), *handasa* (engineering), *zirāʿa* (agriculture), *ṣaydaliyya* (pharmacy), *ṭibb al-asnān* (dentistry) and *bayṭara* (veterinary medicine). In some cases there is a *kulliyyāt al-ʿulūm al-id̲j̲timāʿiyya* (social sciences), but mostly these disciplines are served by an institute instead of a faculty. Some universities, e.g. al-Azhar, have a *kulliyyat al-banāt* (women's faculty). In a number of cases, university faculties are the continuation of previously existing educational institutions which became part of the university once it had been founded.

The faculties have been organised in different countries according to French (especially for law faculties), British and American models, but they have developed on their own and adjusted to ministerial directives. The *kulliyyāt* constitute together a *d̲j̲āmiʿa*. Within the university, the *kulliyyāt* enjoy a relative independence; their deans have great authority; they often have their own *dalīl* (guide) besides the *taḳwīm* or *taḳrīr* (calendar) of the university. They mostly have their own library and may issue their own periodical. Generally speaking, the decision-making process is slow and the bureaucratic apparatus allows for little efficiency, apart from ever-recurring financial problems. Most programmes of study show an early specialisation, and the *kulliyyāt* or faculties tend to function as professional schools. Certain courses on history, culture and society may be made compulsory for all students. The degrees awarded are those of bachelor, master, specialised diplomas and doctorate. The faculties (*kulliyyāt*) are each subdivided into sections (*ḳusūm*, sing. *ḳism*), and specialised institutes may be attached to them. Nearly all teaching is done in the national language, and English and French are not well known; most universities have insufficient funds to obtain books for their libraries in these languages.

Given the great number of students enrolled, faculties like medicine and the sciences limit the admission of students according to the number of places available, taking into account the earlier marks received by applying students. There is evidently a job-market problem in most countries for those who obtain their bachelor degree, and even for those who finish graduate studies. A certain number of students are sent abroad or admitted for foreign scholarships to continue their studies or to specialise; a certain percentage of students, varying according to country, stays abroad. Faculty teachers, on the other hand, have a high teaching load and often take supplementary jobs besides; there is not only a lack of facilities for reading and research, but also in some cases a problem of intellectual independence.

As everywhere else, the *kulliyyāt* in Muslim countries are in transition and undergoing permanent re-organisation. The exact, natural and applied sciences have an immediate relevance for the modernisation of these countries. The social sciences, not always developed adequately, are sensitive to ideological considerations, but are pivotal for the interpretation of the present-day situation of the societies of these countries; this holds true for the teaching of history too. The tendency at all faculties is to spread knowledge imposed from above, and this knowledge often appears to be considered as a finite quantity, to be assimilated by memorisation. Consequently, little attention is paid to promoting the awakening of the available natural intelligence.

It would be difficult to interpret the *kulliyyāt*, and the institutions of higher education in general, apart from their social context and the function which they fulfil in societies with pressing needs and with many uncertainties. They play an important role, in particular in the construction of a modern society and in the cultural transformation of whole countries. This takes place at a time when the ideals of culture have changed greatly, not only in relation to the religious orientation of the traditional Islamic educational institutions, but also since the political independence of the countries under consideration.

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(J. D. J. WAARDENBURG)

KÜLLIYYE (T.), in Ottoman usage the complex of buildings with varying purposes centred round a mosque. The concept of a *külliyye* was inherent in the earliest form of the mosque or *djāmiʿ* where one building housed the place of prayer and teaching as well as serving as a hostel [see EI¹, art. MASDJID]. Later, other services were incorporated under one foundation document, and each was housed in its own building within an enclosure. This did not preclude the foundation of hospitals, etc., as separate institutions, as in 7th/13th century Anatolia. The early grouping of a *külliyye* was often due to the contours of hillsides or the irregularities of the site donated, as with the royal foundations at Bursa in the 8th/14th centuries. In the late 9th/15th century, the great ordered *külliyye*s of the Ottoman dynasty were founded, in particular those of Bāyazīd II at Amasya and Edirne, the latter devoted to all aspects of medicine including the training of students. While each element of the foundation was separate, the buildings, their courts and parterres were conceived as an architectural whole.

The greatest of these *külliyye*s were built in Istanbul by Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ and Sülaymān I (Ḳānūnī). The latter incorporated seven *madrasa*s, four for each of the Sunnī law schools, a preparatory college and one for studying the *Ḥadīth* and a medical school. Besides these with their courts, latrines and two houses for teachers or *mudarrisūn* there was a school for boys, a chantry, a hostel with stables, a bath or *ḥammām*, the mausoleum of the sultan and that of his consort in a cemetery, rooms for mosque servants over gateways, a large kitchen and refectory with store-rooms attached, a wrestling ground, and in the vaults supporting the vast platform on which these many buildings were erected, there were ironsmiths, cafés, button shops and other workshops. The one pavilion lacking was the usual royal *ḳaṣr* with access to the *maḳṣūra* or royal lodge (*khünkār maḥfili*).

Each and all of the charitable services had to be staffed, and detailed foundation documents regulated every duty, item of diet or salary. Besides the administrative officers who came under the chief eunuch in the department of the harem at Ṭopkapl Sarāyl, there were religious officers and teachers, porters, chanters, grave diggers, servants responsible for maintenance, including the polishing of courtyards and window grilles, cooks, scullions, plumbers, lamp-lighters, a guard against the theft of oil for lamps, carpenters, masons and tilers responsible for the lead sheets covering well over 500 domes. The kitchens coped with the feeding of this company, as well as the students and travellers and the poor; the scraps were given to the dogs. All these services required a considerable supply of water, and the cost of laying pipes and rebuilding aqueducts exceeded that of building the foundation. The initial building costs and the endowment needed to maintain so vast a foundation were raised by public subscription, including the gift of various properties, ranging from entire estates to a mill or one cottage. The donors ranged from the ruler, who might assign the revenues of a part of the realm through office holders of greater and lesser rank, to the common people.

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(G. GOODWIN)

ḲUL-OGHLU (T.) "son of a slave", in Ottoman usage, more specifically the son of a Janissary, admitted to the pay-roll of the corps; for further information see YEÑI ČERI.

In the period of Turkish domination in Algeria and Tunisia, the word *ḳulughlī/kulughlī* and, with dissimilation, *ḳurughlī/kurughlī* (pl. *ḳulughlān/kulughlān*, *ḳurughlān/kurughlān/krāghel*; French *koulougli* and variants) denoted those elements of the population resulting from marriages of Turks with local women. They were fairly numerous at Tunis, Algiers and Tlemcen, and in the towns which had Turkish garrisons, such as Médea, Mostaganem, etc. In Algeria, they lived in special quarters, and were rather looked down upon by the urban population (*ḥaḍar*), who would not give them willingly their daughters in marriage. The rules of the *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*] did not allow them to rise to higher levels, and they often endured harassment from the authorities. A considerable number of them also became mingled with the rural population and took up agriculture, especially in Tunisia. After the conquest, those who lived in Algeria were the target for hostility from the tribes, and many of them enrolled in the locally-recruited bodies of troops. They subsequently be-

came merged within the general urban or rural populations. (ED.)

ḲULOGHLU, Turkish folk poet of the 11th/17th century. Hardly anything is known about his life. He seems to have belonged to the Janissary corps and to have flourished during the reigns of ʿOthmān II, Muṣṭafā I, Murād IV and Ibrāhīm, and to have found particular favour at the court of Murād IV. A contemporary of Ḳul Muṣṭafā and Kātibī, he was at his best in lyric and epic poems, the best known of which is his elegy for Murād IV. His poems, scattered in most of the 17th and 18th century anthologies of folk poets (*djönks*), have been collected and published by Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun.

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KULTHŪM B. ʿIYĀḌ AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, Ḳaysī notable [see ḲAYS] whom the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent to the Maghrib, in Djumādā II 123/April-May 741, to avenge the bloody defeat which the Berbers, commanded by the successor of Maysara [*q.v.*], Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī, had inflicted on the Arabs in the "battle of the nobles" (*ghazwat al-ashrāf*). Kulthūm left at the head of an army of 30,000 men, to which there were added contingents raised along the way, and he joined up with Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda al-Fihrī, the former companion of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], who was endeavouring to halt the progress of the Ṣufrī Khāridjites near Tlemcen. The clumsy conduct of the Syrian army and the arrogant attitude of the commander of the vanguard, Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*], who was Kulthūm's nephew, towards Ḥabīb hampered the conduct of operations. Khālid al-Zanātī, after retiring before the Arabs, gave battle to them near the Wādī Sabū (Oued Sebou). Ignoring Ḥabīb's sensible advice, Kulthūm sent to the front Baldj's cavalry, which succeeded after great efforts in piercing the Berber lines, but the latter reformed behind them and overwhelmed by their mass the caliphal troops which had taken up battle order too late. Ḥabīb and the other chiefs were killed.

Kulthūm fought with the greatest bravery, reciting verses of the Ḳurʾān to encourage the others, but finally he fell. One-third of the army was killed and a third taken prisoners (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 123/Oct.-Nov. 741). Baldj's cavalry's only hope was to take refuge in Ceuta, whence after much suffering they were able to cross to Spain.

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ḲULUMRIYA, the name given by the Arabs to the town of Coimbra, on the right bank of the Mondego River in central Portugal. The town still has some ruins from the Roman period, and was originally called Aeminium; but it took over the name of another important Roman town, Conimbriga, which lay 18 km. to the south and had been devastated and depopulated during the barbarian invasions. The episcopal see of Conimbriga was transferred to Aeminium in *ca.* 580-9, and the change of name took place towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. Although the usual Arabic form was Ḳulumriya, Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (4th/10th century) has that of Ḳulunbiriya (*Iftitāḥ*, 200). The occupying of the town is attributed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, governor of al-Andalus 95-7/714-16. His lands, like those of Santarém to the south, appear to have been omitted from the conqueror's division of the territories, probably because of a treaty (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 201-2).

The Arab geographers give descriptions of Ḳulumriya. Al-Rāzī states that it was an ancient town, well-fortified and with fertile surrounding estates where there were cornfields, olive groves and gardens. Al-Idrīsī (548/1154) says that the walls had three gates (one of which still exists, with the name of *almedina*), and mentions the mills along the Mondego vineyards and gardens and also the force of Christians living there. Al-Ḥimyarī repeats this information, and Yāḳūt gives a brief notice of the town.

Coimbra may have been the central town of a *kūra* or territorial district during its Islamic period. This last was very disturbed, for the town was coveted by the Christians who set afoot the *Reconquista* [see AL-ANDALUS and BURTUḲĀL]. In 264/878 the town was taken by Count Hermenegildo in Alfonso III's name, but al-Manṣūr recaptured it in 377/987 after having briefly occupied it two years previously. It was finally conquered by Ferdinand I in 456/1064 after a six-months' siege. He created the Mozarab Sisnandus Davidiz governor as a reward for his role here. The Coimbra district was one of the Mozarabs' most lively centres; as well as the facts described in e.g. the works of Gomez-Moreno and I. de Las Cagigas, P. da Cunha Serra (*Contribuição*, 35-6 and map II) has emphasised the role of the town's Mozarabs in the peopling of northern Portugal during the *Reconquista*. The presence of the Muslims in the area has left many traces, as its toponomy shows. From the 10th century onwards, Christian documents make a very clear distinction between what was in the *almedina* (the walled town and citadel) and what was in the *arrabalde* (< *rabaḍ*) outside the walls at that time.

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AL-ḲULZUM, an ancient town and seaport on the Red Sea (A. *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum* [*q.v.*], *Baḥr al-Hind* or *Baḥr al-Ḥabasha*), now administratively in the province (*muḥāfaẓa*) of al-Suways. It appears to have been a fort as well as a town, and was,

perhaps, the spot where the troops destined to guard the sluices of the canal were stationed. It was called Castrum by Hierocles and Epiphanius; and κλύσμα (Clysma), or κλεῖσμα is first mentioned by Lucian. Ḳulzum is a corruption of the Greek name κλύσμα (in both Arabic and Greek almost always without the article; the Greek refers to the "sluice" at the mouth of the canal, which led from the Nile to the Red Sea). This canal, begun by Pharaoh Necho and finished by Darius of Persia, was later restored by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and by Trajan. In the Muslim period, when the construction of the canal was wrongly ascribed to Hadrian, labour was repeatedly spent on it.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23/643-4 for example had it repaired to facilitate the transport of corn for Mecca from al-Fusṭāṭ to the Read Sea; it was called after him *Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ, its mouth was at al-Ḳulzum, according to al-Masʿūdī and others (more accurately) at *Dhunb* (*sic*; *dhanab*?) *al-Timsāḥ*, one mile from the town, where the Meccan pilgrims from Egypt crossed the canal by a large bridge. The caliph al-Manṣūr in 158/775 had it partly filled in, fearing an attack from his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who had rebelled against him in Medina, so that in Abū Ṣāliḥ's time it ended at al-Sadīr at the entrance to the Wādī Ṭumīlāt. New but fruitless attempts to make it navigable again were made by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who is said to have abandoned the attempt out of fear of the Greeks. Henceforth the bulk of its water flowed into the Birkat al-Djubb till it was completely filled in (1899) for sanitary reasons.

The town of al-Ḳulzum owed its importance mainly to this canal, for according to the descriptions of the Arab geographers, it was a desolate and miserable site without water and vegetation; neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. However, it was useful as a source of salt which was transported to various parts of Egypt and Syria for sale, and al-Baghdādī reports that quarries for red flint were operated in its vicinity. In antiquity and in the early Muslim period its main importance was as a point of departure for shipping on the Red Sea, which consequently came to be most commonly known to the Arabs as *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum*. The corn ships of al-Fusṭāṭ after they had passed the canal sailed from here to al-Djār and Djidda. Of the Jewish merchants called al-Rādhāniyya, Ibn Khurradādhbih says that they came from the lands of the Franks to al-Faramāʾ; thence they carried their wares 35 *farsakhs* on camels to al-Ḳulzum, where they were loaded on ships which sailed to India and China. According to the same geographer, al-Ḳulzum with al-Ṭūr and Ayla formed a district of Egypt.

The country round al-Ḳulzum was inhabited at an early date by Arabs. They are already mentioned in the *Acta* of the hermit Sisoes (Coptic: *apa Djidjōi*). Sisoes was one of the three Coptic martyrs (the other two being ʿIṭānās and Pidjīmī) whose place of burial is known to have been in al-Ḳulzum. For seventy years the anchorite Yūḥannā al-Kaṣīr (John Kolobos, died *ca.* A.D. 409) lived in a cave which he had dug himself in the nearby Djabal Anṭwān, and was buried beside the graves of the three martyrs. Djabal Anṭwān was so named after St. Antony who went into retreat there from the importunities of the secular world. In the *History of* John Kolobos, Ḳulzūm (*sic*) appears for the first time in the Arabic Synaxarium as the name of the ancient Clysma.

When under the last ʿAbbāsid governor in Egypt, ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāḳ, the Budjā or Bedja [*q.v.*] rebelled in Nubia, invaded the Ṣaʿīd or Upper Egypt and laid waste many towns, al-Mutawakkil sent against them an army under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī which went from Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] straight through the desert to the emerald mines, while seven ships with stores sailed from al-Ḳulzum to Ṣanga near ʿAydhāb and provided the victorious army from there with the necessary supplies.

In the autumn of 361/971, the Ḳarmaṭian leader Ḥasan b. Aḥmad on his campaign against the Fāṭimid Djawhar took the towns of al-Ḳulzum, al-Faramāʾ, and Tinnīs; after his defeat before Cairo (3 Rabīʿ I 361/24 December 971), he retired under cover of night via al-Ḳulzum to Arabia.

Reynald de Châtillon at the beginning of his naval expedition against the holy cities in the winter of 578/1182-3 sent two ships from Aden, which were to watch the citadel of al-Ḳulzum and prevent the garrison from procuring water. But soon afterwards the Ḥādjib Ḥusām al-Dīn Luʾluʾ built a fleet by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in al-Ḳulzum, which sailed for ʿAydhāb and put a sudden end to the desperate enterprise. When al-Dimashḳī includes al-Ḳulzum among the lands under al-Karak, this is perhaps a memory of these events of a century before.

In the time of al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and al-Dimashḳī, al-Ḳulzum was already a deserted town. Al-Maḳrīzī found among old documents in the palace of Cairo accounts of the expenditure on the civil and military administration of the town and district and concluded from them that it must once have been most flourishing. He quotes al-Ḳuḍāʿī as saying that the town was already ruinous in his day, and this presumably included the fortress (Ḳalʿat al-Ḳulzum) mentioned in several accounts. According to al-Idrīsī, the Bedouins had occupied and plundered it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well at al-Suways, which yielded only a scanty supply of brackish water. Al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) already mentions al-Suways (i.e. Suez), which gradually took the place of al-Ḳulzum, a mile from it.

The name of al-Ḳulzum is still given to some heights to the north of Suez, Kōm al-Ḳulzum.

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(E. Honigmann - [R. Y. Ebied])

ḲUM (Ar. Ḳumm, current Persian pronunciation G̲h̲om rather than Ḳum), a city of central Iran (Media in ancient times, later D̲j̲ibāl or ʿIrāḳ-i ad̲j̲am) situated in lat. 34°38′ N. and long. 50°58′ E., 150 km. to the south of Tehran. It is the capital of a *s̲h̲āhristān* of the Central Province (*Ustān-i markazī*) and the ninth city of Iran, with a population of 246,873 in 1976. Situated on the great north-west/south-east axis, which follows the foothills of the central Iranian range and skirts the fold of the Zagros, it lies at the junction of all the road and rail routes linking southern Iran with Tehran.

Geographical setting.

With a complex geological history (entirely post-Cretaceous terrain; late formation of mountains linked to volcanic activity; marine development of the site of Ḳum in the Oligo-Miocene period), the region is characterised by its uneven relief. As elsewhere in central Iran, the natural environment bears the marks of aridity and of the features associated with an inland continental setting (steppe vegetation, saline earth; see M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 5 ff.). To the south, the mountainous region of Ḳuhistān contains half-a-dozen peaks whose south-western elevation exceeds 3,000 m. Towards the north-west, other mountains separate Ḳuhistān from another dense range exceeding 3,000 m. in altitude in the region of Tafris̲h̲. The valley of the river Ḳum (Anārbār in antiquity) constitutes a pass crossing the mountainous region of the south. It clears the final barrier of the mountains through a broad gap and spreads a thick deposit of sediment on the plain where the city of Ḳum is situated. To the north-east, the plain is barred by hill-ranges of only moderate elevation (1,000 m.), dominated to the west by the Kūh-i Namak (Mountain of Salt); distorted in shape and dangerous of access, it has given rise to a whole cycle of legends (see Bazin, *op. laud.*, 8, n. 4). Further to the north, the relief rises, dominating the low-lying areas which are divided unequally between *das̲h̲t* and *kawīr*. Rivers of most irregular current flow into the basin of Ḥawḍ-i Sulṭān and the vast salt lake (*daryā-i namak*) of Masīla. Although meteorological data are incomplete, the temperatures are characterised by strong daily and annual fluctuations, and a high general average (18·4° over the period 1958-68, as calculated by M. Bazin, *op. laud.*, 13; the pioneering work of A. H. Adle, *Āb u hawā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1339, 77, gives an average of 18·5°). The winter is not very cold, and the temperature in summer frequently exceeds 40°. Rainfall is sparse everywhere (less than 200 mm. below 1,500 m.) and very irregular. Prolonged droughts can be disastrous (there have been instances in 1869-72 and more recently in 1960-6). The strength of the river-currents is also most irregular and there are often catastrophic floods (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 14 ff.; Bémont, 180). The soil is in general unfavourable to agriculture, and the natural vegetation is very poor.

Socio-economic setting.

This hostile natural environment is inhabited by a population of great ethnic and linguistic diversity. Since the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, a number of significant Arab elements have been added to the original Persian nucleus. Among the groups of foreign origin are the K̲h̲alad̲j̲ [*q.v.*], who speak an archaic oriental Turkish and who arrived in the area at a very early stage (between the 11th and the 14th centuries). They have given their name to the mountains of K̲h̲alad̲j̲istān, to the east of Ḳum, the region where they are settled. There are considerable contrasts in the demographic evolution of this rural environment, where the density of population is generally below five inhabitants per square kilometre and where, in contrast to other regions of central Iran, the larger villages are mostly situated at high altitudes (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 23 ff.).

Agriculture depends primarily on irrigation by the traditional utilisation of water-courses (barrages, diversion channels) and of underground reserves (*ḳanāts* [*q.v.*]) as well as on modern techniques of developing fertility through wells of varying depths. The sharing of water among those exploiting it has given rise to a system of minute division which, in contrast to the practice elsewhere in Iran, operates without any particular supervision (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 39). In spite of the introduction of some modern methods of exploitation, agricultural techniques and systems are still archaic. Cereals (wheat, barley) give a rather mediocre yield. Summer crops (cotton, market-garden products including various kinds of melon and water-melon, pomegranates, figs, raisins, apricots, almonds, more recently opium, etc.) are mostly grown for sale. In general, agricultural production is inferior (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 40 ff.). In contrast to the situation prevailing elsewhere in Iran, before the implementation of land reform the bulk of the land belonged to urban middle class landlords and to peasant smallholders. The crown properties (*k̲h̲āliṣa* [*q.v.*]) which existed in the Ḳād̲j̲ār period were no longer represented in the region (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 55). The *waḳf* estates gifted to the sanctuary of Fāṭima al-Maʿṣūma continue to be decidedly less important than those of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā at Mas̲h̲had (Bazin, *op. cit.*); for a comparison, see Fisher, 70, and on Mas̲h̲had, N. Hakami, *Le vaqf d'un lieu saint en Iran-Maşhad*, Mémoire de l'EPHE, Section vi, Paris 1975, 22 ff.). Traditional forms of ownership, exploitation and the sharing of crops are now being modified by the gradual implementation of land reform; a number of successful co-operatives have been created (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 57 ff.).

The relatively meagre agricultural yields are supplemented by ancillary activities: peasants and numerous nomadic and semi-nomadic groups practise stock-breeding (cattle, sheep, goats, camels); the crafts formerly practised (see below) have been replaced by the manufacture of carpets, introduced, at least as far as quality products are concerned, by merchants of Kās̲h̲ān in the nineteen-thirties (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 64 ff.; idem, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 105 ff.; idem, *Le travail du tapis dans la région de Qom*). Numerous factors (including the religious and social conservatism of the population) have hindered the industrial development of the town and of the region, in spite of the discovery and exploitation of petroleum and natural gas in the folds of the Alburz and of Sarād̲j̲a (for a bibliography relating to the industry of the region: textiles, building materials, ceramics, flour-mills, petroleum, natural gas, etc., see M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 109 ff.). The influence of Ḳum over the region has been to some extent artificially diminished to the advantage of the surrounding

s͟hāhristāns, especially those of Kās͟hān and Tafris͟h, the latter being a recent creation (*ibid.*, 124 ff.). In spite of the potential richness of the soil and attempts at modernisation, crop yields and the standard of living continue to be rather poor (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 79 ff.; idem, with regard to nutrition, in *Studia Iranica*, ii [1973], 243-53).

Historical evolution.

Numerous signs testify to the occupation of the site of Ḳum in ancient times (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 25 ff.). The remains of *čahār tāḳs* of the Sāsānid period are still visible in the region (A. Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 232 ff.; M. Siroux, *Le site d'Atesh-Kouh pres de Delidjan*, in *Syria*, xliv [1967], 53-71). Excavations on the site of one of these, the Ḳalʿa-yi Duk͟htar, very close to Ḳum, have brought to light fragments of pottery of the type associated with Sialk II and III (5th and 4th millenia B.C.): see M. Siroux, *Le Kalʿè Duk͟htar de Ḳumm*, in *Āt͟hār-e Īrān*, iii, (1938), 113-20; R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, Paris 1938, i, 91; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden 1959, 125. Similar remains have been discovered in K͟haladjistān (see M. Bahrami, in *Āmuzis͟h wa parwaris͟h*, x/4 [1940], 31-8). Two Seleucid columns are still to be found near Dilidjān (A. Godard, *op. laud.*, 149, 153, 164, and plate 88).

Ḳum is included among the *kūras* of Djibāl (Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 20). Ibn al-Faḳīh (209 ff.) and other Arabic sources mention Sāsānid Ḳum in various contexts (see Faḳīhī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i mad͟hhab-i Ḳum*, 54 ff.). According to the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳum*, 24, Alexander the Great destroyed Ḳum, and it was the Sāsānid Ḳubād I (488-531) who restored its prosperity and gave it administrative independence from Iṣfahān. Many of the *rustāḳs* of Ḳum mentioned in the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳum* bear Iranian names, some of which are still in use today. A version of a Pahlavi text draws attention to the merits of the saffron of Ḳum (see J. M. Unvala, *The Pahlavi text "King Husraw and his boy"*, Paris 1924, 44, following al-T͟haʿālibī). In the *S͟hāh-namā* of Firdawsī, Ḳum is included among the towns belonging to the Pis͟hdādiyān and Kayānid kings (Faḳīhī, 55, etc.).

But in spite of the archaeological remains and the literary allusions to Ḳum in the ancient texts, as in the case of Kās͟hān, with which it is often associated (Ḳum and Kās͟hān together are said to have supplied 20,000 horsemen to the Sāsānid army at al-Ḳādisiyya: see Faḳīhī, 56, following Ibn Aʿt͟ham al-Kūfī), virtually nothing is known of the pre-Islamic town. According to the majority of Arabic sources (which often contain internal contradictions), the town was an Islamic foundation. According to the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳum*, the As͟hʿarī Arabs of Kūfa, persecuted for their S͟hīʿī beliefs, came and established themselves in the region (where they were probably received by co-religionists), in 94/712-13, protected it from attacks by the Daylamīs, and ultimately built a wall around seven of the forty villages of the plain (240 ff.; on the non-As͟hʿarī Arabs who established themselves at Ḳum, see Faḳīhī, 43 ff.). This conglomeration presumably took its name from that of one of these villages, Ḳumīdān. But the author of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳum* follows al-Barḳī in preferring to derive the name Ḳum from *kūma*, a kind of hut, possibly the origin of Ḳumamaydān, which could have been contracted into Kūmaydān/Kumīdān (25; Houton-Schindler, 59). A derivation from Godman, pronounced Goman, is suggested by R. N. Frye (*The golden age of Persia*, London 1975, 11). Other fanciful etymologies (generally based on the Arabic imperative *ḳum* "rise up!") have also been proposed (see for example, Houtum-Schindler, 59 ff.). There are also numerous S͟hīʿī *ḥadīt͟hs* extolling the virtues of Ḳum as a place of refuge for believers etc. (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳum*, 90 ff.; Faḳīhī, 75, 83 ff.); this latter attribute earned it in the course of time numerous honorific titles such as Dār al-Muʾminīn, Dār al-ʿIbāda, Dār al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Dār al-ʿIlm, K͟hāk Faradj etc. (Faḳīhī, 14).

This region, with its strong undercurrent of religious feeling (including Jewish and Christian associations; see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, Vatican 1952, 84 ff.) became one of the first bastions of S͟hīʿism (on the S͟hīʿī and non-S͟hīʿī groups at Ḳum, see Faḳīhī, 308 ff.). The Zoroastrian community, whose chief, Yazdānfad͟hār, had in an earlier period assisted the As͟hʿarī Arabs to settle in the region, was ultimately eliminated (sometimes brutally) or Islamised; it has been observed, however, that Zoroastrian fire-temples continued to be in use in the area until the 3rd/9th century, and perhaps even later (Monneret de Villard, 139). From the start, the inhabitants of Ḳum had a reputation for rebelliousness, for resistance to Sunnī governors and to the payment of the levy (for the collection of taxes by force under Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd; the destruction of the city's fortifications at the orders of al-Maʾmūn, who more than tripled the already excessive rate of *k͟harādj* exacted from the Ḳumīs; and a further punitive expedition ending in massacre in the reign of al-Muʿtazz, see Schwarz, 562). By contrast, a S͟hīʿī governor was accorded such co-operation that he was recalled by the caliph (Fisher, 56). Also to be noted are the conflicts between the people of Ḳum and the people of Iṣfahān, who were fanatical Sunnī (Faḳīhī, 222).

In the 3rd/9th century, the principal settlement was Manīdjān, one of the original "seven villages" or "seven fortresses" (Faḳīhī, 13, 58 ff.). In the 4th/10th century, Ḳum was described as a prosperous city, fortified with a rampart, with fields well-irrigated by means of canals, dams and pumping apparatus. The majority of the population was S͟hīʿī, ethnically Arab but Persian-speaking (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 370). There were frequent disputes between Ḳum and settlements lying up-stream (Taymara/Gulpāygān and Anār/Maḥallāt) regarding the distribution of the waters of the Anārbār. The flooding of this river was sometimes catastrophic (notably in 292/904-5, 1634, 1670, 1881, 1893: see Houtum-Schindler, 65 ff.; M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 33 ff.). With its many *ʿulamāʾ* (tradition tells of seventeen *tābiʿūn* and of hundreds of As͟hʿarī *ruwāt* (see Faḳīhī, 37 ff.; in the 3rd/9th century there were two hundred and sixty-six S͟hīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* and fourteen Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*, *ibid.*, 309) and especially the family of the famous S͟hayk͟h Ṣadūḳ (Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābūya), Ḳum could boast of having preceeded Nadjaf as a great theological centre.

The prosperity of the city seems to have begun with its administrative independence from Iṣfahān in 189/804-5. In 201/816-17, Fāṭima al-Maʿṣūma went to visit her brother, the Eighth Imām, ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, at Ṭūs. She fell ill at Sāwa (a Sunnī town) and asked to be taken to Ḳum, where she died and was buried. Besides the town's reputation as a centre of theological education, it was this event which contributed most to its fame. The town expanded progressively from north-east to south-west in the direction of the tomb of Fāṭima, which ultimately

became its centre (Faḳīhī, 94 ff.). Patronised by the Būyids (Faḳīhī, 127 ff.), Ḳum was renowned in the Saldjūḳ period for its *madrasas*, for the sanctuary of Fāṭima (visited by Sunnīs as well as Shīʿīs), for its religious foundations, and also for its administrators and viziers (see J. Calmard, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, Paris-Geneva 1971, i, 58 ff.) as well as for its many *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars, known by the *nisbas* of Ḳumī, Barḳī, Baravistānī, Ṭabrisī (from Ṭabris/Ṭafrish), etc. At the time of the Mongol conquest in 621/1224, its inhabitants were massacred, possibly at the instigation of the Sunnīs (see Faḳīhī, 223). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī described the town as being mostly in ruins in the 8th/14th century. It seems, however, that there was an attempt at reviving the region under the Īlkhāns, as evidenced by some important hydraulic constructions: the weighted dam at Sāwa (end of the 13th century) and the vaulted dam at Kebar, 25 km. to the south of Ḳum (see H. Goblot, *Kébar en Iran, sans doute le plus ancien des barrages-voûtes (1300 environ)*, in *Science Progrès (La Nature)*, Paris, February 1965, 50-6; the same, in *Arts et Manufactures*, Paris, June 1965, 43-9, April 1973, 15-20). Although travellers have drawn attention to the massacre perpetrated by Tīmūr, it seems that the Tīmūrids showed respect and favour to this holy city (we may note the mosque of Gawhar-Shād, wife of Shāh-Rukh, near the mausoleum of Fāṭima, and the fact that the sultan Muḥammad, son of Baysunghur, chose Ḳum as his capital in 846/1442: see Faḳīhī, 144-7). It was in any case from the 9th/14th century onwards that the town began to enjoy definite royal patronage. The Turkoman sultans Djahān-Shāh, Uzun Ḥasan, Yaʿḳūb, Murād and Alvand used it as a kind of winter capital for hunting, and this tradition was continued under the earlier Ṣafawids, Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I (Fisher, 56 ff.; Faḳīhī, 147 ff.; on the *farmāns*, Turkomans charged with the appointment of an official (*mutawallī* of the sanctuary and *naḳīb* of the *sayyids*), see Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, xix/1-4, 118-35).

But it was above all the result of the religious policy of Shāh ʿAbbās I—consisting in attracting pilgrims to the Shīʿī shrines of Iran (Mashhad and Ḳum) rather than to those of ʿIrāḳ, then controlled by the Ottomans—which endowed Ḳum with an unprecedented glamour. The sanctuary was embellished, and two of its four *ṣaḥns* were transformed into a *madrasa* with a hostel for pilgrims. Many *ʿulamāʾ* came to Ḳum to study, men such as Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ, Mullā ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhidjī, Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳumī, etc. (Fisher, 57). Traditions extolling the sanctity of the soil of Ḳum became current, and to the hundreds of tombs of Imām-zādas (at the time Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī counted 444 of them) were added the tombs of thousands of the faithful. The descendants of Shāh ʿAbbās I were buried there, as were thirty-one other princes (M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 84). No other Iranian city has such a vast number of tombs of *ʿulamāʾ*, of distinguished people or of simple believers, and the cemeteries extend over an enormous area.

In the 17th century, travellers described at length the merits of the town's craft-products (rapier and sabre blades, silks, cottons, glass, porcelain, porous white ceramics, etc.: see Bazin, *Qom*, 105). But at the same time it was a kind of land of exile for deposed aristocrats (Faḳīhī, 151), and insolvent debtors took refuge in the sanctuary (Gemelli Careri, ii, 74-5). Money was coined at Ḳum in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, and it appears that the Ṣafawids and the Ḳādjārs sought to re-establish this tradition (Houtum-Schindler, 73; Faḳīhī, 39, 152 ff.).

After the terrible depression of the 18th century (pillage by the Afghāns, massacres perpetrated by Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of Nādir Shāh and by an Uzbek governor in the service of this sovereign: Faḳīhī, 224 ff.), the practice of building royal monuments was revived by the Ḳādjārs. The shrine of Fāṭima built by ʿAbbās I was embellished by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh who also built a *madrasa*. The vast "new court" (*ṣaḥn-i djadīd*) was constructed by Amīn al-Sulṭān, vizier of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, in 1883. Around the "old court" (*ṣaḥn-i ʿatīḳ*) stand an octagonal monument containing the tombs of senior Ḳādjār dignitaries (Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh, his wife Mahd-i Awliyā, etc.) and the sanctuary library (1,000 manuscripts and 8,800 volumes) which also contains a museum. The Masdjid-i Aʿẓam, constructed on the orders of the Āyat Allāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961), stands to the west of the sanctuary which includes other monuments (for a plan of the sanctuary, see Bazin, *Qom*, 91; Fisher, 58; a history of the monuments, including a description of their contemporary state, with plans and illustrations of inscriptions, documents, etc., is supplied by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Turbat-i pākān*, 2 vols., Ḳum 2535/1976). The city-sanctuary today (1976) comprises fourteen large traditional *madrasas*, supervised by the Āyat Allāhs, four modern schools (Fisher, 23) as well as numerous private libraries, the most important being that of the Āyat Allāh Marʿashī Nadjafī (70,000 volumes including 15,000 manuscripts). After 1965, the sanctuary was administered by a *mutawallī* nominated by the Shāh (Fisher, 66). The revenues of the sanctuary and the annual number of pilgrims (about a million in 1970) are poor in comparison with those of Mashhad (four and a half million, including tourists, in 1352/1973-4). Nevertheless the spiritual role of Ḳum continues to be very important. Since 1340/1920, a modern Centre for Theological Education (*Ḥawḍa-yi ʿilmī*) has been established there (Fisher, 62 ff.). Three of the most eminent *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* (Gulpāygānī, Marʿashī Nadjafī, Sharīʿat Madārī) reside there (on the religious élite and the role of the *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*, see Fisher, 30 ff., and A. K. S. Lambton in *Studia Islamica*, xx [1964], 115-35).

The demographic evolution of the town—which, in spite of mistakes on the part of travellers, may be more or less traced from the 9th/15th century onwards—contributes to an understanding of the vicissitudes that have affected it:

20,000 houses in 1474 (Barbaro)
2,000 hearths in 1524 (Tenreiro)
2,000 hearths in 1565 (Mestre Afonso)
2,000 families in 1627 (Herbert)
15,000 houses in 1673 (Chardin)
50 houses (*sic*) in 1796 (Olivier)

(each hearth, house or family should represent five to six persons).

After 1850, the population fluctuated between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants (with a drop to 14,000 in 1874-5 on account of a famine; see A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 153, n. 3) rising to 35,000 in 1886-7. Since 1913 (30,000) the population has grown continuously (55,000 in 1937-8; 81,540 in 1947-8; 96,499 in 1956; 134,292 in 1966; and 246,873 in 1976).

Under the Ḳādjārs, Ḳum was a haven of refuge (*bast-nishīnī*) for political opponents of the régime. This opposition was particularly marked during the

events of the constitutional revolution of 1905-11. Under Riḍā Shāh (1925-41), the opposition of certain *ʿulamāʾ* was also manifested in various ways (Fisher, 62). There now exists a dichotomy between technocratic and religious power, and some influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḳum have encouraged their disciples to rebel: examples are Kāshānī, under Muṣaddiḳ, and Khumaynī, who was arrested on the 15th of Khurdād (5th of June) 1963 and exiled to Turkey, then to ʿIrāḳ (see H. Algar, in *Scholars, saints and Sufis*, ed. N. R. Keddie, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972, 241 ff.); and riots involving "Muslim Marxists" on the 15th of Khurdād, 1975 (Fisher, 77 ff.). The troubles which convulsed the whole of Iran in 1978 began in Ḳum between the 7th and 9th of January 1978. In October 1978, Khumaynī took refuge in France, at Neauphle-le-Château, whence he led the opposition which caused the Shah's departure from Iran. He returned to Tehran (1 February 1979) and thence to Ḳum (1 March 1979). He still represents the most radical Islamic tendency; a steadfast though more moderate opposition had crystallised around other *ʿulamāʾ*, especially the *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* of Ḳum, Sharīʿat Madārī.

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AL-ḲŪMĀ or **AL-ḲAWMĀ**, the name of one of the seven types of post-classical poetry [see KĀN WA-KĀN]. It was invented by the people of Baghdād, and is connected with the *saḥūr*, i.e. the last part of the night when, during the month of Ramaḍān, it is still permitted to eat and drink and to take meals at that time; it derives its name from the expression *ḳūmā li 'l-saḥūr* which the singers recite after each strophe of a *ramal* or *zadjal* in praise of the master of the house. Contrary to what is generally believed, it does not seem that *ḳūmā* is the imperative dual, "Arise, both of you!", but the singular *ḳūman* > *ḳūmā* "Arise!". This interpretation is justified by Ḳurʾān, XCVI, 15, *la-nasfaʿā bi 'l-nāṣiya* (for *la-nasfaʿan*), and better still, by a verse of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1371/1952, 226, l. 4), where we have exactly *ḳūmā* for *ḳūman* "Arise!" as the rhymeword (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwāʾ*, § 158; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 340 = § 1317). The origin of this poetic genre is obscure, and it is probable that it existed before Ibn Nuḳṭa, who is said to have invented it to please the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225). At all events, the *ḳūmā*, which is always in Arabic colloquial, has only been cultivated in ʿIrāḳ, where it has been used to express various themes, such as those of love, of wine-drinking, of flower-description, etc.

Technically, there are two types of *ḳūmā*:

Type 1 is made up of strophes of four hemistichs,

of which three (the first, second and fourth) are the same in length and rhyme with each other, whilst the third is longer and does not rhyme with the rest.

hemistiches 1, 2, 4 { *mustafʿilun* / *mafāʿilun* / *mutāfaʿilun* } { *fāʿilān* / *faʿilān* / *faʿlān* / *faʿlun* }

hemistich 3 *mustafʿilun* { *fāʿilātun* / *faʿilātun* }

Type 2 is made up of three hemistiches of the same rhyme, but of increasing length—

hemistich 1 { *mustafʿilātun* / *mafāʿilātun* }

hemistich 2 *fāʿilātun, fāʿilātun*

hemistich 3 { *mustafʿilun, mustafʿilun, mustafʿilātun* / *mafāʿilun mafāʿilun* }

Bibliography: see that for KĀN WA-KĀN. The main sources are Ibs̲h̲īhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, ii, 275 = Cairo 1332, ii, 253-4 = Cairo n.d., ii, 889-91; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī—W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik* ..., Wiesbaden 1956, 47-8, 72-3, Ar. text 171 ff.; H. Gies, *al-Funūn al-sabʿa* ..., Leipzig 1879, 63 ff.

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ḲUMĀN, a Turkish people whose origin is connected with Central Asia. In all probability their forefathers are to be found in the people indicated by Marwazī (*Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. Minorsky, 18, § 3), as *s̲h̲ārī* (*sārī*), identical with the Yellow Uyghurs, who since about 850 A.D. were living to the east of the Tarim basin. This name is probably derived from their physiognomy, varying from that of the other Turkic peoples. At the beginning of the 11th century A.D. (*ca.* 1012-18), the Sārī left their homeland under the pressure of the Ḳūn [*q.v.*] who were migrating to the west before the Ḳitāy. This movement of peoples reached in the west also the regions of the Turkmens, who were driven away to new areas. In the newly-conquered regions to the north of the Sīr Daryā, close contact between the participants in this migration (the Sārī and the Ḳūn) and the Kīmāk and Ḳipčaḳ [*q.vv.*] tribes who were living there, led to the formation of a new tribal confederation. It is probable that about this time the Sārī (*sarī* = yellow) were given by other Turkic-speaking peoples the name *ḳumān*, derived from a root with similar meaning (*ḳū* = yellowish).

A few decades later the Ḳumān pressed forward to the west. Apart from their own name, various other names were mentioned in Western and Armenian sources (*polovci, polovcy, plauci, plavci, Valben, Valwen, Falones, Xarteš*, etc.), but semantically these terms ("yellow, pale, sallow, bright, clear") accord with the meaning of the name Ḳumān. Towards the middle of the 11th century A.D., the Ḳumān were living in the Dniepr region. In 1062 they started launching attacks against Kiev, and in 1078, together with the Pečenegs, against Byzantium. In 1085 they took part in the rebellion of the Bulghars, but in 1091 they were allies with emperor Alexius against the Pečenegs. Their raids against Hungary started in the same period. Hungarian historical sources mention them under the name Ḳūn (*cuni, chuni*), but it has not yet become clear whether these tribes can be put in direct relation with the above-mentioned Ḳūn, who probably were absorbed later by the Sārī (i.e. the Ḳumān). In 1094 and again in 1114 the Emperor Alexius waged two quite important wars against the Ḳumān, who were to be pushed back to the other side of the Danube. The Mongol invasion put an end to the control of the Ḳumān over the Pontic steppes, and after the final defeat in 1239, a part of them sought refuge in Bulgaria. Thus they played an important rôle in the history of Hungary, in that of the second reign of the Bulgarian Tsars and in that of Byzantium. The Ḳumān who had remained in the Pontus area were incorporated into the western part of the Mongol empire called Ḳīpčaḳ [see DAS̲H̲T-I ḲĪPČAḲ in Suppl.].

The most important document of the Ḳumān language is the *Codex Cumanicus* (14th century) a collection of texts brought together in South Russia by Italian and German missionaries. Some rudimentary remnants of the language are also found in Hungarian. Important references to their language are further present in loan-words of Ḳumān origin in Hungarian, Bulgarian and Rumanian, as well as in place-names in various regions of these countries.

Bibliography: Besides the literature given in the article ḲĪPČAḲ, see J. Németh, *Die Volksnamen quman and qūn*,* in *Kőrösi-Csoma Archivum*, iii (1941-4), 95-109; K. Czeglédy, *A kunok eredetéről*, in *Magyar Nyelv* xlv (1949), 43-50. For the Codex Cumanicus, see *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, i, Wiesbaden 1959; A. Tietze, *The Koman riddles and Turkic folklore*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1966; Vl. Drima, *Syntaxe comane*, Bucarest 1973; idem, *Problèmes d'une nouvelle édition du "Codex Cumanicus"*; idem, *Miscellanea Cumanica I-IV*, in *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, xv (1970), 455-59, 579-84; xvi (1971), 275-85; xvii (1972), 3-21.

(G. HAZAI)

ḲUMĀS̲H̲ (A. pl. *aḳmis̲h̲a*), in general sense, "cloth", but in a more particularised sense, "a Mamlūk garment". The term *ḳumās̲h̲* in the later Middle Ages commonly designated "cloth" or any "woven stuff" in general and was synonymous with the classical words *bazz* and *t̲h̲iyāb*. Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī (*ca.* 5/11th century) does not use the term at all in his handbook for merchants *K. al-Is̲h̲āra ilā maḥāsin al-tid̲j̲āra* (Cairo 1318), but the word is employed by the 4th/10th century geographer Ibn Ḥawkal in his *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (BGA ii², ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, 132). It rarely appears in the documents of the Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*] (for example, TS 16.298, ed. S. D. Goitein, *India book*, 190, l. 13; *al-ḳumās̲h̲ al-s̲h̲arb*—"fine linen stuff"). *Ḳumās̲h̲* does not seem to have come into common usage until Mamlūk times. Thereafter, it became the general word for fabric throughout the Middle East and is still current in most dialects, as well as in Persian and Turkish. It never seems to have been particularly common in the Mag̲h̲rib, although the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyāʾ (625-47/1228-49) is reported to have built a *sūḳ al-ḳumās̲h̲* in Tunis.

Under the Mamlūks, *ḳumās̲h̲* took on the specialised meaning of "dress uniform" although this sense is not found in any dictionary. A young Mamlūk was presented with his horse, a *ḳumās̲h̲*, and a sword upon his manumission and induction into the corps. Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (693-741/1293-1341) is credited with introducing the *s̲h̲ās̲h̲ wa 'l-ḳumās̲h̲*, or "turban cloth and formal coat" of a Mamlūk warrior (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, i, 173, ll. 15 f.). This dress uniform was also called *ḳumās̲h̲ al-k̲h̲idma* (service coat), *ḳumās̲h̲ al-rukūb*, and *ḳumās̲h̲ al-mawkib* (parade or processional coast). The Mamlūk *ḳumās̲h̲*

must have been a heavy garment. Mamlūk soldiers threw off their armour and *ḳumās͟h* when fleeing the battlefield (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 76, citing al-Yūnīnī), and the Sulṭān al-Malik al-As͟hraf Ḳāʾitbāy (872-901/1468-96) is reported to have abolished the obligation of wearing the *ḳumās͟h* for ordinary palace service (*k͟hidmat al-ḳaṣr*) as it was too hot for continual wear throughout most of the year in Egypt (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii, ed. P. Kahle and M. Mostafa, Istanbul 1931, 322, l. 12). The less formal coat for everyday wear was called *ḳumās͟h al-d͟julūs*.

Ḳumās͟h (pl. *ḳumās͟hāt*) was also sometimes used in Mamlūk terminology as a synonym for *kanbūs͟h* or "caparison" of a horse (Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Duwal wa 'l-mulūk*, ed. Ḳ. Zurayḳ and N. Izzedin, Beirut 1942, ix, 247, ll. 9 f.).

Bibliography: (in addition to the works cited in the text): Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 405; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman: l'architecture*, Paris 1927, ii, 558; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, iii; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, Paris 1940, 345; A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français—Dialectes de Syrie*, Paris 1950, 681; Ibn al-Ḥād͟jd͟j, *al-Madk͟hal ilā 'l-s͟harʿ al-s͟harīf*, Cairo 1380/1960, iv, 31; *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*, Istanbul 1968, 685; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles: material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972. The best survey on the concept of *ḳumās͟h* as a form of attire is to be found in L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva 1952, 75-80.

(N. A. Stillmann)

al-**KUMAYT** b. **ZAYD** al-**ASADĪ**, Abu 'l-Mustahill, an Arab poet of Kūfa (60-126/680-743) who is not to be confused with two earlier and lesser known Asadīs, al-Kumayt b. Maʿrūf and al-Kumayt b. Thaʿlaba (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *D͟jamhara*, ii, 373; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*; al-Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, no. 571; Ibn Ḥad͟jar, *Iṣāba*, nos. 7498 and 7499; etc.).

Al-Kumayt applied himself in an indirect fashion to the poetry and the language of the Bedouins, and he was acquainted with poets such as al-Farazdaḳ, Ruʾba b. al-ʿAd͟jd͟jād͟j and the K͟hārid͟jī al-Ṭirimmāḥ, whose hostility towards the Umayyads he shared; in contrast to the last-mentioned, he came under the influence of the S͟hīʿi tendencies of his native town and these had a decisive effect on the direction that his career was to take, inspiring him with violently pro-ʿAlid opinions. He is reckoned to have acquired a fairly extensive intellectual training, and he also possessed a talent for oratory which shows in his poems, to the extent that some critics regard them as speeches. At first a schoolteacher in a Kūfa mosque, he was pressed by his family, so at least tradition has it, to set his poetic gifts to work and to undertake a poetic career which nowadays would be called "committed". Henceforward he acquired distinction with the composition of verses in praise of the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*] and of a series of poems, among which the best known are his long *Mud͟hahhaba* directed against the Yemenīs and his *Malḥama* in praise of the Ḳurays͟h. The chronology of his work is far from clear, and the outstanding incidents of his career cannot be dated with certainty. His celebrated conflicts with the governor K͟hālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-38 [*q.v.*]) and the decision of His͟hām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) to have him put to death, have given rise to conflicting accounts which are difficult to reconcile and to romantic embellishments which are to be treated with caution. It was probably the *Mud͟hahhaba* which earned him the hostility of K͟hālid, at a time when the latter needed assurance of the loyalty of the South Arabian elements. By a circuitous procedure, the governor informed the caliph of the attitude of the poet, who was imprisoned; with the help of his wife, who had come to visit him, he succeeded in escaping disguised as a woman and, after a period of wandering, he finally obtained pardon from the caliph through the mediation of the prince Maslama b. His͟hām. On his return to Kūfa, he must have been gratified at the dismissal of K͟hālid (120/738); although his successor, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-T͟haḳafī [*q.v.*] was responsible, two years later (122/740), for the death of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who had allowed himself to become involved in a S͟hīʿī revolt, al-Kumayt had no scruples about flattering him, although he did not succeed in deluding the Yemenī soldiers of his guard, who, on an occasion when he arrived to recite a poem, inflicted on him a mortal wound (126/743).

The renown of the poet, maintained by S͟hīʿī circles, rests fundamentally on the *Hās͟himiyyāt*, which have been the objects of a commentary by Abū Riyās͟h (d. 339/950 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and of a number of editions: of M. S͟hākir al-K͟hayyāṭ (Cairo 1321, 1331), of Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Rāfiʿī (*S͟harḥ al-Hās͟himiyyāt*, Cairo n.d. [1928]), of ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, with a quite interesting commentary (*al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī, s͟hāʿir al-ʿaṣr al-marwānī wa-ḳaṣāʾiduh al-Hās͟himiyyāt*, Cairo n.d.), and most of all, of J. Horovitz, with a German translation (*Die Haschimijat des Kumait*, Leiden 1904). In spite of the title, the poet's praises are not aimed at all the Banū Hās͟him, but principally at the Prophet and at ʿAlī and his descendants. Some verses (i, 79, ii, 105 ff. of the Horovitz edition), in which mention is made of ʿAbbās and of his sons, were no doubt added in the ʿAbbāsid period, perhaps by the son of al-Kumayt, al-Mustahill, who was also a poet (see *Ag͟hānī*, index) and was concerned to perpetuate his father's memory. The *Hās͟himiyyāt* are composed, in the Horovitz edition, of four long *ḳaṣīdas* (103, 140, 133 and 111 verses), of two short *ḳaṣīdas* (33 and 20 verses), of one fragment of seven verses of which more than half constitutes an opening typical of the *ḳaṣīda*, and of four short pieces of six, two, two and two verses. In the long poems, al-Kumayt follows the framework of the *ḳaṣīda*, but with a short and not very conventional *nasīb*. In the *raḥīl*, he follows the classical tradition, and subsequently he produces lavish eulogies of the ʿAlids similar to those that were addressed to the Bedouin *sayyids*. He also borrows frequently from the Ḳurʾān, to such an extent that a scholar of Kūfa, Ibn Kunāsa [*q.v.*] was able to compose, in the 2nd/8th century, a *Kitāb Sariḳāt al-Kumayt min al-Ḳurʾān*. Some philologists and poets accuse him of plagiarism and inconsequence (see for example, al-Marzubānī, *Muwas͟hs͟hah*, 191-8) and do not judge him worthy, in spite of his antiquity, of figuring among the poets who serve as a "proof", a *ḥud͟jd͟ja* (cf. al-Bag͟hdādī who takes his *s͟hāhid* no. 16 from a poem of al-Kumayt). His compositions were on the other hand very highly regarded in S͟hīʿī circles, whose members probably did not hesitate to add to them verses or even whole sections of which he was not the author. For R. Blachère, "the simplicity of the language, the platitude of the arguments makes one think of a poetry of propaganda aimed at a public (possibly urban) immune to the lexicographic beauties of the desert poets." The language of al-Kumayt nevertheless does not lack refinement, but the artifi-

cial use of a badly-understood *gharīb* was a source of irritation to some of his contemporaries. In fact, the importance of the *Hāshimiyyāt*, insofar as they are entirely authentic, resides in the opinions and the sentiments current in the Shīʿī circles—or rather Zaydī circles, so it seems—of Kūfa which they reflect. Al-Kumayt, it is true, regards the first caliphs as usurpers (iv, 10), but he refrains from excommunicating them, even if they did wrong in not handing Fadak [*q.v.*] back to Fāṭima; ʿAlī is the *waṣī* of the Prophet, who bequeathed the *walāya* to him near the pool of Khumm (vi, 6, which seems to be the earliest evidence of this Shīʿī doctrine); it is to the ʿAlids alone that power belongs and it is they who will consolidate afresh the foundations of Islam which unworthy rulers have shaken. The poet's enthusiasm does not, however, run to the extent of leading him to take up arms in support of the ʿAlid cause, personified especially by Zayd b. ʿAlī, and his warfare is limited to virulent versified attacks on the ruling régime, although his convictions do not prevent him from addressing compliments to it, as is shown by the eulogies of Maslama and of Hishām himself, after his tirades had been pardoned. He recognises, besides, that in doing this, he had used *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], in a verse (iv, 86) where this term, according to Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, lx, 219) is used for the first time in the sense which the Shīʿis give to it (Goldziher, in *ZA*, xxii [1909], cf. *Arabica*, vii/1 [1960], 11, also comments on the metempsychosis referred to in iii, vv. 39-40).

It is probable that Hishām would not have shown so much clemency if he had really known the content of the *Hāshimiyyāt*; these must in fact have been circulated surreptitiously, with or without the complicity of the local authorities. It seems clear, in fact, in spite of divergences in the traditions, that al-Kumayt owed his rebuffs to the *Mudhahhaba* alone. This poem of 300 verses, of which only a part has been preserved, is a riposte to a Kalbī poet referred to by the name al-Aʿwar, who had attacked Muḍar and, among them, the ʿAlids. In the *Hāshimiyyāt* there is no sign of any hostility towards the Yemenīs, and the poet had even lauded the Muhallabids in the person of Makhlad b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, which seems to prove that the section in which were enumerated the disreputable characteristics of the tribes of the Yemen is of a mainly occasional nature. Not only was this poem the primary cause of the assassination of al-Kumayt, but in addition, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 36-46 = §§ 2267-72) comes close to seeing here both a manifestation and a cause of the conflicts between the Northern and Southern Arabs which led to the fall of the Umayyads. This *Mudhahhaba* certainly enjoyed a dangerous renown among the tribes of Muḍar, since, at the beginning of the following century, another Shīʿī poet, Diʿbil al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*], still considered it advisable to refute it and to take up the defence of the Yemenīs in a *ḳaṣīda*, which is said to have comprised 600 verses, of which only 25 are now extant (see ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 193-7; idem, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī*[2], Damascus 1967, index).

As for the *Malḥama*, preserved by Abū Zayd al-Kurashī (*Djamhara*, 187 ff.), it comprises 56 verses and contains general and personal observations and the eulogy of Ḳuraysh, that is, ultimately of the Umayyads.

The *Dīwān* of al-Kumayt, which must have contained 5,000 verses, has been the object—proof of the interest aroused by this poet—of a number of recensions by Ibn Kunāsa, Al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Sukkarī and Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Fihrist*, 158; Cairo ed., 225). It has been partially reconstituted by Dāwūd Sallūm, Baghdād 1969-70 (3 vols. without the *Hāshimiyyāt*).

In spite of the studies that have been devoted to him, the personality of this poet, who was capable of composing eulogies simultaneously to the ʿAlids and the Umayyads, remains inscrutable, even enigmatic, by reason of the meagre credit that may be accorded to the sources, Sunnī as well as Shīʿī; his versatility, even when justified by *taḳiyya*, is such as to throw doubt upon his sincerity and to advise the greatest caution in the use of his work.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index (giving the name of al-Kumayt's *rāwī*, Muḥammad b. Sahl, vii, 18; the abundantness of citations comes from the poet's frequent use of animal names in his verses); Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 268-9; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 368-71 (ed. Shākir, 562-6); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 347-8; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; *Aghānī*, xv, 113-30 (ed. Beirut, xvi, 328-60) and index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 67-71, 86-7 = ed. Cairo, i, 134-41, 168-70; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7498; A. S. Nadjā, *al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī shāʿir al-Shīʿa fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Umawī*, Beirut 1957 (a serious study); Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shiʿr fi 'l-Kūfa*, Cairo 1388/1968, passim; Brockelmann, S I, 96-7; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 518-21 (with bibl.).

(J. Horovitz - [Ch. Pellat])

KUMĪDJĪS, a people mentioned in the Arabic and Persian historical and geographical sources of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries as dwelling in the Buttaman Mts. at the heads of the valleys running southwards through Khuttal and Čaghāniyān down to the course of the upper Oxus. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) describes them as professional brigands and as linked with a smaller group, the Kandjīna Turks. In fact, these two peoples must be remnants of some earlier waves of invaders from Inner Asia, left behind in the Pamir region, probably of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA], or even of the earlier Sakas; Ptolemy mentions a Saka tribe of Kōmēdai, and it is accordingly probable that the name of our people should be read as *Kumēdh-djīs. Sources like Gardīzī and Bayhaḳī mention the Kumīdjīs as marauders called in by warring factions during the decline of the Sāmānids (*e.g.* by Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī), and during the disintegration of Ghaznawid power in the west (*e.g.* by the incoming Ḳarakhānids); but with the opening of the Saldjūḳ period, they disappear from recorded history.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 120, 361-3; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 233; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 54-9, 93; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 248, 297-8, 301; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 73, 239; idem and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 8-9.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KUMIS, the Russian form of the Turkish *ḳïmïz* "fermented mare's milk", "koumiss", the staple drink of the steppe peoples of Eurasia from the earliest time. Herodotus refers to its manufacture by the Scyths and the Chinese sources to its use amongst the Ancient Turks and the Khitan. William of Rubruck, who calls it *cosmos*, describes in detail the production of this drink by the 13th-century Mongols: and we read in the *Secret history of the*

Mongols how the youthful Čingiz-Khān, fleeing from the Tayiči'ut, sought refuge in a tent "in which koumiss was churned all through the night till the dawn". In this, as in other respects, the Tīmūrids continued the practice of their Čingizid predecessors; and koumiss is prepared and drunk to this day by the nomads of North-Eastern Asia.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 512-17 (No. 1529). (J. A. Boyle)

ḲŪMIS, the Arabic transcription of the Latin *comes*, a title which in al-Andalus denoted the person responsible to the state for the *mu'āhidūn* [*q.v.*] or Scriptuaries, or at least, for the Christian Mozarabs [*q.v.*]. According to A. Fattal, "les représentants religieux des *ḏimmīs* sont autorisés par le pouvoir, moyennant *waṣiyya*, a exercer leur autorité. Il semble bien que les Arabes de la conquête respectèrent tant l'organisation administrative que judiciaire, que religieuse des populations soumises". Certain capitulation documents (*'ahd*, *ṣulḥ*) [*q.v.*] expressly affirm this: "They shall not be forbidden the exercise of their religious cult and shall keep their own laws". This was the case in al-Andalus, as reflected in clauses 3-9 of the "treaty of Tūdmīr" [*q.v.*].

The first known *comes* was *Arṭubās ḳūmis al-Andalus wa-za'īm 'Adjam al-dhimma wa-mustakhridj kharādjihim li-umarā' al-muslimīn* (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, 109), who advised the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār to grant to the Syrians fiefs of income (Chalmeta, *Concesiones territoriales*, in *Cuadernos de Historia Hispania*, vi, 1975). According to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ*, 38, "he was the first to exercise *ḳimāsa* in Muslim Spain". We have therefore here a concentration in the person of the protector or defensor of extremely wide powers, embracing administrative, judicial and probably—to a certain degree—religious ones. At least, this is what one can deduce from the treatment as *serenissimo hominum catholicorum summo* which Alvaro of Cordova accords to the Count Romanus (*Corus*, 211), as does Ibn Khaldūn from Aṣbagh b. 'Abd Allāh. In this context, it would probably be correct to see in the confiscation of Ardobas's properties not only a "resumption of former crown domains" (*ṣafāyā al-mulūk*), but also an extraordinary impost (not paid in cash) of the same type as we find in the East (Fattal, *Le statut légal*, 220-4) or as that which probably cost the Count Ḥazmīr his life. The *ḳūmis* was equally responsible, as *mustakhridj*—which could be translated by the Latin *exceptor*—for the collecting of taxes on his co-religionists. As such, he had to levy not only the *kharādj* and *djizya*, but also all extraordinary imposts (*ma'āwin*, *maghārim*). This gave him a certain expertise and "vocation" as a professional tax-collector, and it explains the fact that we find under al-Ḥakam I a *ḳūmis* Rabī' in charge of all taxes, on *dhimmīs* and Muslims equally (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl*, 15).

The *comes* was, then, a Christian, appointed by the state, but we do not know whether he was officially designated from above or nominated after proposal and election of his co-religionists. As an official, he had his subordinates. His powers made him the supreme judicial authority over his flock, by virtue of his röle as *za'īm* or head of the community. He was therefore by virtue of his office also *ḳāḍī al-'Adjam* or *ḳāḍī al-naṣārā*, whether in person, or by delegating his powers. Consequently, the meagre list of our "counts" should be completed by adding the list of *censores* or *iudices* (a hypothesis put forward, but not followed up, by Simonet, *Historia de los mozarabes*, 112).

The names of some *ḳawāmis* have come down to us. After Arṭubās, one should doubtless place a certain Alfonso, since the genealogy of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn given by Ibn Khaldūn (*'Ibar*, iv, 134). and Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 108), quoting Ibn Ḥayyān, gives him as the sixth descendant after a *ḳūmis* Adfunsh. Rabī' b. Theodulf, *mutawallī al-mu'āhidīn min al-naṣārā*, was not only the hated chief tax collector over the Cordovans, but also commander of the foreign palace guards of al-Ḥakam I, and ended up by being crucified (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 96). He was probably followed by the count (and physician) Romanus cited by Alvarus (*Corpus*, 211). St. Eulogius mentions one Isaac, a noble Cordovan who, before retiring to the monastery of Tabanos, had been *doctus lingua arabica, exceptoris rei publicae officio fungeretur* (*Corpus*, 402). Ḳūmis b. Antunyān, who served in 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's administration and was *kātib* to the *amīr* Muḥammad, and who is stigmatised by Alvaro and St. Eulogius as a hateful persecutor, *Ecclesiae publicanus... publicae rei exceptor*, should be included amongst the *comes* (and not amongst the "Gomez", as according to Simonet), because of (a) his function as *mustakhridj*, and (b) the fact that he seems to have been the official intermediary (much more than Recafred, metropolitan of Seville) between the state and the Mozarabs. With this authority, he transmitted the *amīr*'s commands, and consigned members of his flock to jail, when necessary, not as a state official, but as the leader and one responsible for the Christians under his jurisdiction. He presided over the council at Cordova in 852 which forbade the Mozarabs to seek voluntary martyrdom. The course of events shows that he had not only the backing of the whole state apparatus but also that of the majority of his community. The upper classes were unable to agree, and he reached the point of fearing for his life (Khushanī, *Ḳuḍāt*, 130-1; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, ii, 138, 142), but things did not go as far as his assassination, as frequently happened in the East (Fattal, *op. cit.*, 220-3). He must have been followed by the *comes* Servandus, who held power in *ca.* 853, according to Alvaro (*Corpus*, 214, 551, 554, 560, 581). Ibn Antunyān's son, also the *amīr*'s *kātib*, disappeared in 298/911 (*Bayān*, ii, 153). The Archpriest Cyprianus wrote in *ca.* 890 his *Epigrammas* for the *comes* Adulfus, and he also mentions a *comes* Guifredus (*Corpus*, 685-6). Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (*Iftitāḥ*, 5) cites his contemporary Abū Sa'īd *al-ḳūmis*, as well as the *ḳāḍī al-'Adjam* Ḥafṣ b. Albar, both of them descendants of Artobas. Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 142) records under the year 293/905 that "Ḥazmīr *al-ḳūmis* was imprisoned; he was tortured and underwent the torture of the iron boot until he died". It is likely that the *ḳāḍī al-naṣārā* of Cordova in 351/962, who acted as interpreter for Ordoño IV, was also the "*comes* of the Mozarabs". This was doubtless also the case with Aṣbagh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nabīl, who was commissioned, in the name of the 'Āmirid 'Abd al-Malik, to arbitrate in the dispute over the tutelage of Alfonso V between the two counts, Sancho Garcia of Castile and Menendo Gonzalez of Léon. Aṣbagh must have been the successor of Mu'āwiya b. Lubb, who was *ḳūmis* in 361/971. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl (*Ṣila*, No. 443), there was in the time of the caliphate a little market in Cordova called the *suwayḳat al-ḳūmis*.

The fact that, in the course of the 4th/10th century, one finds more references to judges than to counts,

in contexts where one would expect the reverse, must indicate a lowering of the latter's status, who by then had lost many of his duties. It is hard to believe that Ibn Zaydūn, appointed by Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar to "enquire into certain affairs of the dhimmis" (Ibn al-Abbār, *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb*, 212-13), can have had the title of *ḳūmis*. Indeed, if he had really fulfilled this role, it would have been indicative of a profound change, since Christians would have become subject to a Muslim and not to one of their co-religionists. It is very possible that Ibn al-Ḳallās, *kabīr al-muʿāhidīn* of Granada in 1125-6, at the time of Alfonso the Warrior's Andalusian expedition, was *comes* of the Mozarabs (*Iḥāṭa*, 113, 116). The disorders of the period of *fitna* [*q.v.*], conducive to rebellions, the emigration of native Christians to the kingdoms of the north, and the severities of the Almoravids and Almohads, explain the silence of our sources for the later periods.

The term *ḳūmis* was applied not only to the head of the Mozarabs, however, but also to the counts of the Christian kingdoms. Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muḳtabas*, v) says that Ordoño II rallied for warfare all his counts at the siege of Evora in 301/913. He gives this title to the counts of Alaba and Djallīḳiya, to the Banū Gūmis and Banū Anshūr, and cites by specific name Sandjo b. Gharsiya (Banbalūna), Fardhiland b. Ghundishalb (Ḳashtīliya), Barmundh b. Nuño (Shalamanka), Abu 'l-Mundhir (Gormaz), Fortūn b. Gharsiya known as Amāṭ *al-ḳūmis*, Rudhmīr *al-ḳūmis* alias Ibn Māmma Ṭūta, the counts Manyūra and Falīn, and above all, *al-Ḳumṭ ḳūmis Djarisha*. At the time of al-Ḥakam II (*Muḳtabas*, vi), the same author gives this title to Bon Filyo, Gundishalb b. Munyo, Esimeno b. Gharsiya and Ashraka b. ʿUmar b. Dāwūd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter in the *K. al-ʿIbar* on the Christian kings of Spain, speaks of Fernan Gonzalez and Garcia Fernandez *ḳūmis Alaba wa 'l-Ḳilaʿ*, Menendo Gonzalez *ḳūmis Ghalisiya*, Henry of Burgundy, and the Banū Gūmis and Banū Fardhiland, as well as Alvar Fañez. Ibn Bassām spoke in *ca.* 1010 of the *ḳūmis* Raymund, lord of Barcelona. Speaking of events from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Khaldūn uses *ḳumṭ*, *aḳmāṭ* for Raymond of Burgundy, Don Nuño (Gonzalez de Lara) and Henry of Trastamara. The *Vocabulista* attributed to R. Martí gives *ḳumṭ*, *aḳmāṭ* as the equivalent of *comes*; P. de Alcalá has *conde o condesa* = *cónd*, *aqnát*; whilst the *Fragmento . . . reyes nazaries* published by Müller and re-edited by Bustani-Quiros (Larache 1940) translates "count" by *kundī*.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see Fr. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas*, Madrid 1888, 125-6; idem, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1903, 111-13; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 218-19; A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans*, Beirut 1958; A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, Oxford 1930; I. Cagigas, *Los mozárabes*, Madrid 1947-8; E. P. Colbert, *The martyrs of Cordoba (850-859)*, Washington 1962; *Bol. R. Acad. Cordoba*, lxxx (1960), dedicated to St. Eulogius; J. Gil, *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, Madrid 1973. (P. CHALMETA)

ḲŪMIS, a small province of mediaeval Islamic Persia, lying to the south of the Alburz chain watershed and extending into the northern fringes of the Dasht-i Kavīr. Its western boundaries lay almost in the eastern rural districts of Ray, whilst on the east it marched with Khurāsān, with which it was indeed at times linked. It was bisected by the great Ray-Khurāsān highway, along which were situated the chief towns of Ḳūmis, from west to east Khuwār or Khawār (classical Χοαρηνή, modern Aradūn), Simnān [*q.v.*]. Dāmghān [*q.v.*], and Bisṭām [*q.v.*], whilst at its south-eastern extremity, out in the Great Desert, was the small town of Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], modern Biyārdjumand. The administrative capital of Ḳūmis was Dāmghān, which is often accordingly called in the sources Madīnat Ḳūmis or Shahr-i Ḳūmis, according to a well-known toponomastic process (cf. the town of Bardasīr/Kirmān). The name Ḳūmis is obsolete today, and the lands making up the mediaeval province are included administratively in the *farmāndārī-yi kull* or governorate of Simnān and the *ustān* or province of Māzandarān. The present-day town of Shāhrūd, just to the south-west of Bisṭām, does not seem to have been in existence as such in mediaeval times.

The province was one of considerable importance in pre-Islamic times. In Greek sources it appears as Κωμισηνή, and in Armenian writers like Sebeos and Moses of Khoren as Komsh. H. W. Bailey, in *JRAS* (1970), 61-2, has suggested that the name derives from an Old Ir. root *ka-*, *kaur-*, conveying the idea of "hollowness", plus a passive or agental suffix, whence Komish "opened up, excavated place". Seleucus Nicator seized the satrapy of Parthia between 311 and 302 B.C., and it was allegedly he who founded the "city of a hundred gates", Hecatompylos, although it almost certainly existed before then; a legend retailed in the 8th century A.D. Middle Persian catalogue of the towns of Iran says that Ḳūmis "the five-towered" (*pandj-burg*) was built by the sorcerer Azh-i Dahāk, whilst from later Islamic times, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 161, tr. 157, attributes the building of Dāmghān to the hero Hūshang. Such classical authors as Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, etc. mention Hecatompylos as the royal city of the Parthians, and some of these sources give the distance of the city from the Caspian Gates (e.g. Strabo, 1260 *stadia*, and Pliny, 133 *milia passuum*; the consensus of modern opinion tends to identify the Caspian Gates with the Sar-Darrah defile through the Kūh-i Namak spur of the Alburz). But the site was never properly identified with any reasonable certainty, although it was thought that it probably lay somewhere between the towns of Dāmghān and Shāhrūd, until recently, however, Hansman and Stronach have examined and excavated the site of the modern spot called Shahr-i Ḳūmis, near Ḳūsha to the south-west of Dāmghān on the Simnān road. It seems that this very extensive site could well be the ancient Parthian capital, apparently largely abandoned around the middle of the 1st century B.C. when the Arsacids moved their winter capital to Ctesiphon. See A. D. Mordtmann, *Hekatompylos*, in *SB Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl. (1869), 497-536; Pauly-Wissowa, xii/2, cols. 2790-7, *s.v.* (Kiessling); Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 12, 55-6; R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 183-4; J. Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis*, in *JRAS* (1968), 111-39; idem and D. Stronach, *Excavations at Shahr-i Qumis*, 1967, in *JRAS* (1970), 29-62; idem, *A Sasanian repository at Shahr-i Qumis*, in *ibid.*, 142-55; S. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*[1], London 1972, 191-2.

In Sāsānid times, there seems to have been a refounding of Kōmish, perhaps by Yazdagird I (399-421) as a defensive post against the Turks and Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] who were threatening the north-eastern frontiers of his kingdom. The region

retained its old connection with the Parthians through its being the home of the noble Parthian family of Mihrān, to whom belonged the Spahpat (Islamic form, Ispahbadh, [*q.v.*]) Pahlav, killed by Hormizd IV (579-90); in the next reign, Kōmish was the residence of the Spahpat of Khurāsān, Ķāren of Nihāwand [see ĶĀRINIDS for the subsequent history of this family]. There was there a highly-venerated fire-temple, described in Middle Persian sources of the early Islamic period as burning perpetually without fuel (whence, presumably, its N. Pers. name Khurishn < M. Pers. *a-xvarišn* "without food"), obviously a fire fed from some volcanic source or else from a natural seepage of petroleum. Towards the end of the Sāsānid period, however, the administrative centre of the province seems to have been transferred to the apparently new foundation of Dāmghān, which thereafter acquired in early Islamic times the name of [Madīnat] Ķūmis. It may have been that the old Kōmish of middle Sāsānid times had never been more than a frontier post, since no Sāsānid coins are known to have been minted there. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 71-2; Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 56-7; Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis*, 136-9.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, the men of Ķūmis fought in the Sāsānid army at Nihāwand and at the defence of Ray, but the province offered no resistance to the Arabs thereafter. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 318, Sulaymān b. ʿUmar al-Ḍabbī sent troops into Ķūmis, but according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2656-7, the caliph ʿUmar sent an army under Suwayd b. Muķarrin in 22/643, and Ķūmis was thereafter used as a base for attacks on Gurgān and the Caspian region. As with Djibāl and Ray, it was Arab warriors from Kūfa who garrisoned the chief town of Dāmghān. Al-Ṭabarī further records, i, 2839, that the more northerly highway to Khurāsān was less used in these early decades than the one via Fārs and Kirmān, since Ķūmis was vulnerable to attacks by Daylamī and other mountain peoples of the Alburz; it was, so he says, the governor Ķutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] who first regularly used the Ķūmis route to Khurāsān and Transoxania (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 20). In fact, the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] had used that route in 31/652, according to al-Yaʿķūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 192. The region had meanwhile been disturbed by Khāridjī sectaries, involving the appearance there of the Azraķī leader ʿAbīda b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī in 77/696 with the remnants of Ķaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa's forces fleeing before the pursuing Umayyad army [see AZĀRIĶA and ĶAṬARĪ B. AL-FUDJĀʾA]. Also, soon after 127/744-5, Ķūmis, together with much of northern Persia, was occupied by the ʿAlid pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1880, 1976). Reform type *dirhams* were minted under the name Ķūmis from 91/710 onwards, but there do not seem to have been any Arab-Sāsānid coins minted there (cf. J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum. i. Arab-Sassanian coins*, London 1941, pp. cxxxviii-cxxxix).

Administratively, Ķūmis was mostly linked during this period with Damāwand [*q.v.*] or Dumbāwand and with northwestern Persia in general; thus under the caliph Hishām, Ķūmis and Iṣfahān both formed part of the governorship of Ray (al-Yaʿķūbī, ii, 388), until in 164/780-1 under the early ʿAbbāsids Ķūmis was separated from Ray, according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 503. Abū Muslim's troops early occupied Ķūmis in their march westwards during the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and some years later, in 137/754-5, it was briefly seized by the anti-ʿAbbāsid Persian rebel Sunbādh [*q.v.*]. In the 3rd/9th century, Ķūmis suffered several severe bouts of plague (e.g. in 242/856-7), and in 259/873 it was occupied temporarily by the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] in his expansionary wars outside his base of Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1880). By the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Ķūmis had fallen away from caliphal control, and was disputed by various Daylamī and other adventurers contending, together with the major powers of the Būyids and Sāmānids, for mastery in northern Persia; at various times, Būyids, Sāmānids and Ziyārids controlled it, as the evidence of coins, principally bearing the mint-name of Dāmghān, shows (cf. E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 115).

The geographers of this period give descriptions of the province, usually dealing with it town-by-town. They emphasise its fertility, with exports of its fruit, such as the famed *ķūmisī* and *bisṭāmī* apples, as far as ʿIrāķ, and the fame of its woollen, silk and goats' hair textiles and carpets (see e.g. al-Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 276, tr. Wiet, 80; Abū Dulaf, *Second Risāla*, tr. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, 56-8; Muķaddasī, 367; according to al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, Ķūmisī *ṭaylasān*s were the best procurable after those of Rūyān, Āmul and Egypt (cf. R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 75, 80). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 135, § 32, comments on the bellicosity of the people of Ķūmis and Dāmghān, perhaps a reflection of their position, exposed to attacks along the Khurāsān highroad and from the Caspian region. Al-Muķaddasī, 353, 367-8, comments on the piety of the Ḥanafī inhabitants of Ķūmis and on the peculiarities of their Persian dialect, which he says is connected with that of Ṭabaristān and which seems to show archaic features. Various authorities give the tax-yield of the province, from the figures of Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 34, of 2,196,000 *dirhams* to those of al-Muķaddasī, 371, according to whom the *kharādj* of Ķūmis amounted to 1,196,000 *dirhams* plus 26,000 *dirhams* from Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], this before Biyār was transferred administratively from Ķūmis by the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) and linked with Nīshāpūr and Khurāsān.

From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the name Ķūmis gradually drops out of usage, although Mustawfī (8th/14th century) still uses it in his *Nuzha*, 162-3, tr. 157-8, to denote the province; its last appearance on a coin appears to be on a Ziyārid *dirham* of 364/974-5 (Zambaur, *op. cit.*, 199).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 364-8, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 809 ff.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ĶŪMIYA, one of the most important tribes of the Maghrib in the Middle Ages; they were at one time called Saṭfūra and were descended through Fātin from Mādghīs al-Abtar. Tradition says that the brothers of Ķūmiya, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, were Lemāya and Maṭghara from whom were descended numerous families, some of whom still exist at the present day. The most important representatives of the Ķūmiya, who live in the north-

west of Algeria between Tlemcen and Areshḳūl (Rashgun) are the B. ʿĀbid, from whom was descended the first caliph of the Almohad dynasty, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*], born at Tādjera between Humayn and Nedroma; the Nedroma who gave their name to an important town; the Saghāra, now represented by the Mātila, the Banū Hūl, of whom a section the Masīfa still exist. The Kūmiya showed themselves devoted to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was one of them. They formed the second *djund* in the Almohad army; but they exhausted themselves in supplying the dynasty with soldiers for the wars in Spain and North Africa. Subjected to *kharādj* by the Zenāta. some of them joined another group, the Ūlhāṣa and formed the powerful confederation of Trāra in the north-west of Algeria.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901, and the writers there quoted.

(R. Basset)

ḲUM(M)Ī, Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī Ḥusaynī, Persian chronicler and chancery clerk (*munshī*), was born on 17 Rabīʿ I 953/18 May 1546 in Ḳum(m), the son of the *munshī* Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. In 964/1556-7 he went with his father to Mashhad at the court of the art-loving prince Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā b. Ismāʿīl I, where he was trained by well-known calligraphers. In 973/1566 he was a *munshī* at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, together with his father. At the instigation of Shāh Ismāʿīl II, he started composing in 984-5/1576-7 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*. From 984-8/1576-1580 he was employed at the chancellery of *mustawfī al-mamālik* Mīr Shāh Ghāzī, in 988/1580 as financial supervisor with Erdoghdī Khalīfa Takkalu and from 959/1581 onwards worked at the highest level of the financial administration by command of the highest authority. In 997/1589 he was at the residence of Shāh ʿAbbās I to whom he dedicated in 999/1591 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*. About his further life nothing is known; so far his works are the only sources for his life (see Minorsky, 1-12, Müller 3-7).

Ḳum(m)ī composed at least three works: 1. *Madjmaʿ* (or *Tadhkirat*) *al-shuʿarā-yi ʿAbbāsī*. The work has not been preserved but the author refers to it several times in his later works. According to these references the work must have been an anthology of at least six volumes in which among other things information was given about the lives of great scholars, scientists and poets.

2. *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, a ch onicle in five volumes, of which the fifth volume only has been preserved. It describes at full length the history of the Ṣafawids from their origin to the first years of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I and was probably composed between 995/1587 and 1000/1592. It exists in five manuscripts. The first part of this volume, dealing with the early Ṣafawids, has been published, translated into German and annotated by E. Glassen, and the last part, in which the first years of Shāh ʿAbbās I are treated, by H. Müller. This chronicle is one of the most important sources of Ṣafawid history. Although the first part is highly dependent upon other known and unknown sources, the sections dealing with later times, witnessed by the author himself, give truly independent information. Together with Iskandar Beg Munshī's *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, it may be considered as one of the two most important sources for the period of Shāh ʿAbbās I.

3. *Gulistān-i hunar*, a treatise on calligraphers and painters, composed *ca.* 1005/1597, exists in several incomplete manuscripts; it has been edited by A. S. Khʷānsārī, translated into Russian by B. N. Zakhoder and into English by V. Minorsky. The contents of this work, classified according to the various kinds of writing, are mainly based on earlier sources. There are however many important observations by the author himself on contemporary calligraphers, whom he had plenty opportunity to meet at the court of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, at that time a flourishing centre for calligraphy.

For other works, possibly written by Ḳum(m)ī (*Muntakhab al-wuzarāʾ* and *Madjmaʿ al-khiyār*) see Müller, 8-10.

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(H. Müller)

ḲUMR, the Arabic name for the Comoro Is., a group of four islands in the Indian Ocean at the northern exit of the Mozambique Channel, halfway between East Africa and northern Madagascar. The largest island of the archipelago is Grande Comore (in the local language: Ngazija; in the chronicles also: Hangazidja, Langazidja, al-Angazidja, Ḳum[u]r), with 1148 km² and *ca.* 120,000 inhabitants (1966); followed by Anjouan (Nzwani, Hinzwani; in older Portuguese and English sources: Johanna) with 424 km² and *ca.* 85,000 inhabitants; Mayotte (Mayuta, Ma[h]ore) with 374 km² and *ca.* 28,000 inhabitants; and Mohéli (Mwali; in older European sources Molaly, Mohilla etc.), with 290 km² and *ca.* 10,000 inhabitants. The capital of the islands is Moroni on Grande Comore. The islands are of volcanic origin (still active is the volcano Karthala, 2361 m, on Grande Comore) and consist mainly of basalt and tuff. The climate is tropical-maritime with the heaviest rainfalls from November to April. The natural vegetation is a dense rain-forest with rare varieties of wood, which, however, for the most part have been rooted out and replaced by plantations and savannas. Agricultural products of importance for export are coco palms, vanilla, coffee, pepper, aromatic plants (ylang-ylang), sisal and sugar-cane. Cattle-breeding and fishery are scarcely developed.

The population, which suffers from a very high birthrate (outside the islands, in Madagascar and

East Africa, there already live about 300,000 Comorians, cf. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 149), has developed from three different ethnic elements; (a) Bantus from East Africa, (b) Malayo-Indonesians who came via Madagascar, and (c) Arabs who immigrated directly from South Arabia (especially Ḥaḍramawt) or from Arab settlements in East Africa. The Comorian language is divided into two main dialects, the Shi-Ngazija and the Shi-Nzwani, and, at least from the phonetic point of view, seems to be related more to the Venda, a Bantu language spoken on the middle Limpopo river, than to Swahili (Heepe, *Die Komorendialekte*, 45). Like Swahili, which is well understood by most of the Comorians, it has incorporated many Arabic loanwords. While Arabic seems to have been used as the written language still in the last century, most of the recent chronicles and correspondence are written in the local language with Arabic letters. Arabic is taught in Ḳur'ān-schools but is understood only by a small minority. The Comorians are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite, but many African animistic conceptions and magic practices have survived in popular belief (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 51, with further references). Al-Nawawī's *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* is widely used and still serves as the theoretical base for Civil Law. The Shafiʿī law was widely respected by the French administration, but in many fields it is supplemented by the customary law (*ada*) which shows many matriarchal characteristics (e.g. law of succession). The Ṣūfī brotherhoods of the Shādhiliyya, Tidjāniyya, Rāfiʿiyya, Ḳādiriyya and ʿAlawiyya play a very important part in religious life (sc. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 145 ff.).

Local legendary tradition, as well as false identifications of place-names, have led some former historians (Gevrey, Grandidier, etc.) to fantastic speculations about the early relations between the Comoro Is. and the ancient Mediterranean world. Until now there seems to be only one hint which deserves some attention and which might establish such relations. Pliny gives as the name for an island, the location of which would fit well with one of the Comoro Is., Damnia, and Von Wissmann (art. *Zangenae*, in *Paulys Realencyclopädie*, Suppl.-Bd. xi [1968], 1339) may be right in identifying Damnia with Domoni, an old settlement on Anjouan and formerly used as name for the whole island. Arab geographers, including the pilots of the 15th and 16th century like Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, used the name Ḳumr for Madagascar exclusively and cited, if they did at all, each of the islands by its proper name (cf. Tibbets, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, 432). Local tradition starts the history of the islands with the legendary report (unknown on the Swahili coast) of the immigration of two families from the Arabian peninsula some years after the death of Solomon. But the first traditions which deserve more interest are those that speak of the arrival of Bantu-speaking people from East Africa to Grande Comore at an unknown date but in any case before the 14th century. One chronicle (Rotter, *Muslimische Inseln*, 24) calls them Wa-Mizi and Tungi; Mizi as a place-name was already known to Pliny (Von Wissmann, *Zangenae*, 1339) and corresponds with modern Kilwa Kisimani, while Tungi is identical with Tungui south of Cap Delgado. Since a group of former slaves in Anjouan bears the name Makwa (Robineau, *Islam*, 46; idem, *Société*, 34) which corresponds with the tribe Makua in the hinterland of Tungui, it is very likely that at least the greatest part of the Bantu element on the Comoro Is. came from the East African coast between Lindi and the mouth of the Limpopo River. This fits with the above-mentioned linguistic facts. At least on Anjouan these Africans were not the first inhabitants, but merged with an older population, now generally called Antalaotra, of Malayo-Indonesian race, which might have immigrated in the course of the first millenium (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 34) via Madagascar (former European sources often call them wrongly Bushmen, cf. Repiquet, *Sultanat*, 50).

The local tradition of Grande Comore and Anjouan has preserved the names of the ruling houses before the coming of the Shīrāzī (15th century). On Grande Comore the *ma-fey* (or *ma-fe* "chiefs", cf. Swahili *fu* and *fumu*) are said to have established and ruled the first eleven villages, before they were defeated by the *ma-beja* (cf. Swahili *wa-mbeja*) (Harries, *Swahili chronicle*, 12, 71). On Anjouan the *beja* are regarded as the oldest ruling class, which was replaced by chiefs who bore the title *fani* (Faurec, *L'Archipel*, 33). Although we must take for granted that at that time, i.e. in the first half of this millenium, Arab or Swahilised-Arab merchants were in contact with the islands, and some of them might have settled there, it is difficult to say, whether Islam was already wide-spread. It is noteworthy, however, that the last *fani*-rulers on Anjouan bore Arab names like ʿAlī and ʿĪsā.

The decisive turn in Comorian history was the arrival of the Shīrāzīs in the second half of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, who by fighting and intermarriage seized power on all four islands (the coming of the Shīrāzī clan with their ancestor Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is described through the legend of the Seven Brothers which is also well-known in East Africa, cf. among others, Chittick, *Shirazi colonization*, 276; Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, 10 ff.) and became the real founders of Islamic culture on the islands (the first mosques were built by them at Tsaweni on Grande Comore, at Sima and Domoni on Anjouan, and at Chingoni on Mayotte, all in the middle of the 16th century).

In the following three centuries the political situation was marked by (i) very complicated internal dynastic struggles, (ii) the invasions of the Malagasy tribes, Sakalava and Betsimisaraka, and (iii) the growing political influence of the French and British in the area.

(i) Grande Comore was divided into eleven more or less independent territories (Bajini, La Dombe, Bambao, Hambu, Itsandra, Hamamvu, Mitsamihuli, Mbude, Mbaku, Washili, Hamahame) ruled by sultans who only seldom jointly recognised the supremacy (*utibe*) of one of them. Sulṭān Aḥmad (= Mwinye Mkuu) (1793-1875), the son of Shaykh Ngome from Pate in northern Swahili country, and of Mwana Mtiti, half-sister of a *sulṭāna* of Grande Comore (women rulers were not unusual, and the maternal line was often accorded higher prestige on all four islands) was the last really great personality who, at least for some years, managed to unify the islands, before he was defeated by Mūsā Fumu. The rivalry between Sulṭān Aḥmad's grandson Sayyid ʿAlī, the favourite of the French, and Mūsā Fumu (d. 1883 in prison), who was supported by the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar, marked the last years of independence. Against the will of most of the other sultans ʿAlī signed in 1886 a treaty of protectorate with France.—On Anjouan the political situation was characterised by the bipolarisation of the two main towns Domoni, which was made the capital by the Shīrāzīs after Sima, and Mutsamudu, which became the political and commercial centre from the

end of the 18th century onwards when power shifted from the clan (*ḳabīla*) of Āl Madwa to the clan of Āl Masīla (both names show their Ḥaḍramawtī origin, cf. B. G. Martin, *Migrations from the Hadramawt to East Africa*, in *Centre of Arabic Documentation, Research Bulletin*, Ibadan 1973). Continuous succession struggles in the first half of the 19th century were only ended by Sulṭān Sālim (1842-55), whose son Sulṭān ʿAbd Allāh III (1855-1890) put his island under French protection. Neither was Mayotte spared from dynastic rivalries within the Shīrāzī clan who ruled at Chingoni from the 16th century. In addition, the situation was complicated by the constant attempts of the sultans of Anjouan to bring Mayotte under their control. The last Shīrāzī sultan ceded his island in 1832 to the Malagasy nobleman of the Hova tribe Ramanetaka who already ruled on Mohéli. In 1835 or 1836 Ramanetaka was defeated by the Sakalava Dia-Ntsoli (= Andrian-Tsouli), and the island became nominally a possession of the sultan of Anjouan. The same Dia-Ntsoli, without the authorisation of the sultan of Anjouan, in 1841 presented the island to France. The smallest island Mohéli apparently was always dependent on Anjouan, until in 1830 the above-mentioned Ramanetaka (d. 1841) after having become a Muslim, appointed himself sultan of the island. One of his descendants signed the treaty of protection with France in 1886.

(ii) There seems to have been a more or less peaceful influx of Malagasy people to the islands throughout the centuries, but around the turn of the 19th century the nearly annual invasions of the Betsimisaraka and Sakalava threatened the political and cultural integrity of the islands. The main reason for these invasions, which caused heavy losses among the population and the destruction of whole settlements, was the search for slaves, although some groups had been summoned by the quarrelling sultans themselves. Only after the Anglo-Malagasy treaty of 1817 did the invasions gradually stop. In the following decade it was the political situation on Madagascar and the extension of the Hova state that drove large groups of Sakalava (under Dia-Ntsoli) and Betsimisaraka (under Ramanetaka) to the islands. They finally settled down on Mayotte and Mohéli.

(iii) The first contact with a European power was a short visit of the Portuguese on Grande Comore about 1505 which, however, left no permanent traces on the islands. In the first half of the 19th century when the British and the French disputed control of the Indian Ocean, the Comoro Is. also became involved. In taking possession of Mayotte in 1841, France tried to counterbalance the growing British influence on the other three islands (in 1833 the British had reinstalled Sultan ʿAbd Allāh II on Anjouan by force). Only after the British slowly withdrew from the Malagasy region after 1880 could France bring the other islands under its protection in 1886 (a process intensively studied by B. Dubins, *Political history*).

From 1914 till 1946 the whole archipelago was placed under the Gouvernement Général of Madagascar. On 6 July 1975 the Comoro Is. declared their independence, except for Mayotte, where on 11 April 1976 a referendum saw a large majority voting to become a *département outre-mer* of France.

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ḲUMUḲ (variant: Ḳumiḳ) a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Ḳumuḳs belong to the Ḳipčaḳ Turkic ethnic group, along with the Noghay, Karačay and Balkar. They live north of the main chain of the Great Caucasus, on the northern, northeastern and eastern slopes of the Dāghistānian Caucasus between the foothills and the Caspian Sea, from Derbend to Adzhi-Su (near the lower Terek River). Although confined to a narrow strip of land in the south, they inhabit a wider area near the Terek in the north. The Ḳumuḳs are bordered by the Noghays in the north, the Avars [*q.v.*] and Darghins [*q.v.*] in the west, and Tabasarans and Azeris [*q.v.*] in the south. The major rivers in Ḳumuḳ territory are the Terek, Sulak, Shura, Ullu-Čai, Gamzi, Manas, Aksai and Gubden. The great majority of Ḳumuḳs are Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī school, although some Ḳumuḳs of Derbend and Makhačḳala are "Twelver" Shīʿīs. The 1926 Soviet census lists 94,549 ethnic Ḳumuḳs, of which some 10,000 lived outside Dāghistān, and 94,909 Ḳumuḳ-speaking people. The 1959 Soviet census lists 134,967 ethnic Ḳumuḳs, and 132,303 Ḳumuḳ-speakers. (Due to the adoption of Russian as a primary language by Ḳumuḳ-speakers in the north, and Azeri by those in the south, the relative number of Ḳumuḳ-speaking people has declined, despite increasing numbers of

mountaineers using Ḳumuḳ as their primary language.)

The Ḳumuḳs inhabit eight districts of the Dāghistān ASSR: Baba-Yurt, Khasav-Yurt and Ḳizil-Yurt on the northern plains, and Buynaksk and Karabudakhkent in the eastern coastal plains. The "Southern Ḳumuḳs" (Ḳumuḳs of Kayakent) live in the Kayakent district and in the villages of Mağalis, Yangikent and Tumenler in the Ḳaytaḳ district. The Ḳumuḳs are also found in six settlements in the vicinity of Makhačḳala, and in the cities of Makhačḳala, Khasav-Yurt, Buynaksk, Izberbash and Derbend. A number of Ḳumuḳs live outside Dāghistān on the Noghay steppes in the Groznyi region, north of the Terek River, as well as in North Ossetia.

The ethnic origin of the Ḳumuḳs is complex and difficult to determine. They are probably a mixture of the indigenous Ibero-Caucasian tribes and various nomadic Turkic groups (Kuman-Polovtsi, Khazar, Ḳïpčaḳ, etc.) who were pushed into the lowlands from the North Caucasian steppes in the 11th-13th centuries, imposing their language on the inhabitants.

The formation of the Ḳumuḳ people began in the 7th century when the Khazars [q.v.] overran the plains of southern Russia and populated them with Turkic-speaking peoples. The indigenous Ibero-Caucasian population mixed with these Turkic peoples, especially the Ḳïpčaḳs [q.v.], and adopted their language. The Ḳumuḳ "nationality" appeared in the 13th century on the steppes of northern Dāghistān when successive waves of the Golden Horde pushed these Turkic-speaking peoples southwards. Their Islamisation began immediately, under the influence of the Golden Horde from the north and the Laks from the south, and was completed by the 14th century when the Golden Horde annexed northern Dāghistān. Prior to this, the people had been Christians, Jews and animists.

The first political organisation of the Ḳumuḳs was the feudal Shamkhalat, which united all the Ḳumuḳs as well as other northern and eastern Dāghistāni peoples. The Shamkhal originally resided in the mountains of the Lak (Ḳazi-Ḳumuḳ) region. When Shamkhal Čoban died in 986/1578, the Laks shook off the rule of his son Sulṭān-But, and the centre of government was shifted to Buynaksk. After 1050/1640, Tarku was the capital of the Shamkhalat. In the 16th century the Shamkhal ruled most of northern Dāghistān. The semi-independent states of Endirey, Aksaey, Kosteko, Bammatulah, Buinaksk, etc. were all headed by representatives of the Shamkhal of Tarku's family.

The Shamkhals acknowledged Persian sovereignty throughout their existence, in spite of their strong diplomatic ties with Russia in the late 16th century when Russia was attempting expansion into Dāghistān. The power of the Shamkhalat began to decline with the wars against the Kabardines and Georgians. It lost control of the area between the Terek and Sulak Rivers first, then the Darghin and Lak regions in the 17th century. However, the Russian expeditions of 1586, 1590 and 1604 were defeated by a joint Ḳumuḳ and Ottoman effort. Although the Shamkhals were formally vassals to the Moscow state, they remained close allies of the Ottomans from the late 16th till the late 18th centuries. In 1725 the Russians ended independent Shamkhal rule and the decline of the Ḳumuḳs was completed with the creation of the Mehtulin and Bammatulah Khānates. By 1765 the Shamkhalat was reduced to a 2,500 km² strip of land along the Caspian Sea.

Imām Manṣūr attempted to rally the feudal nobility of the Caucasus (especially among the Ḳumuḳs and Kabarda) against the Russians in the late 18th century, but failed. The Treaty of Gülistān (1813) formally ceded Dāghistān to Russia, but the Ḳumuḳs continued to be governed by the Shamkhals. After the Russians subdued the Murīd insurrection (1834-59) led by the Imām Shamīl [q.v.], the Ḳumuḳs and the other Dāghistāni peoples were incorporated into the Russian Empire. Native rule was supplanted by a Tsarist military administration.

A small Ḳumuḳ intelligentsia emerged in the early 20th century. They had been educated in the *Djadīd* [q.v.] schools on the borders of Dāghistān, and were among the first to be impregnated with socialist ideas. This small group was destined to provide the leadership for the national liberal movement (which was doomed to failure) during and after the Russian Revolution.

In 1917 the Ḳumuḳs played an important role in the North Caucasus peoples' move for independence. Motivated by their own political traditions and Turkic cultural influences, they favoured a "Turkic" consolidation of Dāghistān (as opposed to the "Islamic" consolidation favoured by conservative Dāghistānis), with linguistic unification based on Ḳumuḳ or Azeri. They sought to become part of the great Pan-Turkic movement centred on Bākū, Ḳāzān and the Crimea. Following a power struggle between the religious and conservative elements led by *Shaykh* Uzun Hağï and Imām Gotsinski and the socialists, the Soviet régime was established in the principal cities on the plain in April 1918. By September 1918, General Bičerahov's "White" army, equipped in Persia by the English, had crushed the Soviet forces. Soviet power was not re-established in Dāghistān until 1920 when the Eleventh Red Army defeated Denikin's White Army and drove the partisans of Imām Gotsinski back into the mountains.

The Ḳumuḳs had one of the most powerful, complete and complex feudal structures in Dāghistān before the Revolution. The ruling class consisted of the Shamkhal, *beks*, high nobility (*čanka*), middle nobles (*sala-uzden*), and religious leaders. The freemen (*uzden*), free serfs (*čagar*, organised into various groups (*dims*)), serfs bound to the land (*terkeme*, living in separate *aul*s and working the land), and house slaves (*kul*, a very small group) comprised the lower classes. The merchant class grew rapidly with the rise of industry and capitalism in the late 19th century, but the working class was never large, since most industry was domestically oriented.

The Ḳumuḳ language belongs to the Ḳïpčaḳ-Oghuz subgroup of the Ḳïpčaḳ group of Turkic languages, to which the Noghay and Ḳaračay-Balkar languages also belong. Ḳumuḳ has three dialects: Khaydak is strongly influenced by the Ibero-Caucasian languages and is used by the Meridional Ḳumuḳs; Buynaksk, and Khasav-yurt (or Aksay), which forms the basis of the literary language, developed with the Arabic script in the late 19th century. In 1927 a Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic, and Cyrillic script was adopted in 1938. Ḳumuḳ was the *lingua franca* of the Dāghistāni peoples. The first Dāghistāni Communists accepted this rôle for Ḳumuḳ in the 1920s, but Russian was later adopted as the official language. Although Avar has replaced Ḳumuḳ as an inter-tribal language, Ḳumuḳ remains the second or third language of certain Ibero-Caucasian peoples in north and central Dāghistān (Andi-Dido-Avar, Darghin, Lak). Article 78 of the *Constitution of the ASSR of Dāghistān*

names Ḳumuḳ as one of the nine official literary languages of Dāghistān.

The Ḳumuḳs are the only Dāghistān people having a true national literature which dates back to the early 19th century. These early works were generally local versions of heroic epics or adventure novels, and were often consigned to small pamphlets destined for public readings. Turkic-language publications from Ḳāzān, Adharbāydjān, the Crimea and Turkey satisfied the desire for other literature. Christian missionary publications of the early 19th century were instrumental in the development of a literary language. Written in a composite language of various Caucasian peoples, they were among the first written literature of the area.

Ḳumuḳ literature came under the influence of the Turkic modernist movement centred on Ḳāzān and Baghčesarāy in the second half of the 19th century, resulting in the nationalistic poetry of Yūsuf from Yakhay and Ayyûb from Djengutay. In 1883 the Ḳumuḳ ʿOsmānov Muḥammad (b. 1843) published an anthology of Ḳumuḳ and Noghay folklore and literary texts in St. Petersburg, where he was a member of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at the Academy of Sciences. The collection includes a letter in verse, dated 1872, from the revolutionary Ḳumuḳ poet Yirči Ḳazaḳ (1830-80), inviting Muḥammad Efendi, then a student at St. Petersburg, to return home. This letter is one of the oldest literary vestiges of the Ḳumuḳ language, and Yirči Ḳazaḳ is thus considered the founder of Ḳumuḳ literature.

Muḥammad Mīrzā Magarayef established a printing shop utilising Arabic script at Temir Khān-Shura at the beginning of the 20th century. By 1912 he had printed translations from Arabic and Ḳāzān Tatar and the poetry of Abū Sufyān in Ḳumuḳ. Nokhay Batīrmurzayev (1860-1919) wrote the first modern narrative works inspired by Ḳumuḳ contemporary life in 1906-7. His son Zainalabid (1897-1919) was the first Ḳumuḳ Bolshevik writer. Together they founded the political-literary society *Tañ čolpan* (*"The morning star"*) at Khasav-Yurt in 1916 to promote the development of modern Ḳumuḳ literature. With the assistance of poet and dramatist Temir Bulat Beybulatov and other Ḳumuḳ, Tat and Russian writers (including S. S. Kazbekov and H. O. Bulač), this organisation sponsored a nationalist, progressive review of the same name, first published at Temir Khān-Shura in August 1917. The Khasav-yurt dialect of Ḳumuḳ was adopted as their literary language.

Tañ čolpan was instrumental in reviving the Ḳumuḳ national consciousness. In actuality a radical nationalist organ, it professed to be apolitical and declined to choose between the socialist and nationalist positions. However, as a result of the first short-lived Soviet occupation of Dāghistān beginning in April 1918, *Tañ čolpan* adopted a pro-Bolshevik position. Publication ceased in July 1918.

Tañ čolpan was not the first Ḳumuḳ journal to appear. In 1913 the liberal nationalist Mīrzā Muḥammad Mavaraev of Temir Khān-Shura requested authorisation for a Ḳumuḳ journal entitled *Ḳumuḳ gazäti* ("The Ḳumuḳ journal"). This demand was rejected by the authorities, and the classical Arabic publication *Djarīdat Dāghistān* (published in 1915) notwithstanding, the first Ḳumuḳ publications did not appear until after the Revolution of February 1917. The journal *Musāvāt* ("Equality") was the first Ḳumuḳ periodical, published at Temir Khān-Shura in June 1917, under the editorship of Mavaraev.

This first period of Soviet domination witnessed the publication of a third Ḳumuḳ journal, *Iškči khalḳ* (*"The working people"*); it was edited by Zainalabid Batīrmurzayev and adhered to a Bolshevik position. The journal *Yoldash* also supported the development of a national Ḳumuḳ literature. The Ḳumuḳ press is currently represented by one republican organ published at Makhačkala, and several district organs (at Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt, etc.).

The Ḳumuḳs possess a very rich Soviet literature. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammadoghlu Magomedov (1869-1937) is considered the national poet of Dāghistān by the Soviets as a result of his pro-Communist writings in the post-Revolutionary years. The most celebrated Ḳumuḳ prose writer is Yûsuf Gereyef, whose satirical style was influenced by the Ādharbāydjānī poet Ṣābir. Other literary figures of note include poet, dramatist and author of children's books ʿĀlimpasha Salavatoghlu (1901-43), poets A. Beshirov and Kaiyan, poet-novelist ʿAbdul-Wahab Sulaymānoghlu (b. 1909), playwrights Ḥamīd Rustamov and Amīr Kurbanov (b. 1909), and novelist Anvar Agiev (b. 1913). The Ḳumuḳ poetess Inču Gadieva is the most renowned female Dāghistāni writer. In addition, many Russian authors have been translated into Ḳumuḳ (e.g. Tolstoy, Lermontov, etc.).

The Ḳumuḳs participate actively in the political life of Dāghistān. In 1924, Ḳumuḳs comprised 5.7% of the *profsoyuz* of the Dāghistān ASSR, and in 1927 there were 696 Ḳumuḳs in the Dāghistāni Communist Party.

The Ḳumuḳ educational system is less developed than that of the Avars; in 1948 there were eight Ḳumuḳ secondary schools (compared to 17 Avar); Karabudakhkent, Kayakent, Izberbash, Makhačḳala, Buynaksk, Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt and Ḳizil-Yurt. Islam seems to remain a strong force among the Ḳumuḳs up to the present time.

Modernisation is changing the character of the traditional Ḳumuḳ economy. Agriculture and animal husbandry remain the basis of the rural activity, but mechanisation and collectivisation have made the large-scale production of cereals and cotton possible. The fishing and canning industries, as well as oil (at Kayakent), hydroelectric plants and other factories are evidence of advanced industrialisation in certain sectors. Nonetheless, traditional crafts are still pursued: woven woollen goods and carpets (villages of Kumtorkal, Kayakent, Upper and Lower Kazanishče), gold work (Irneli, Kafir-Kumukh, Sultan-Yañi-Yurt, etc.), wrought iron work (Verkhneye, Nizhneye, Kazanishče, Anderey-aul), and pottery (Verkhneye, Kazanishče).

The Ḳumuḳs, along with the Avars, Darghins, Laks and Lezgs, appear to be points of consolidation among the Dāghistāni peoples, destined to absorb certain small groups (although certainly not all). Of the nine official languages of Dāghistān, newspapers are only published in the languages of these five groups.

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(W. Barthold - [David K. Kermani])

KUMŪN, "latency", a key-notion of speculative physics in early Muslim theology, especially in the system of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*].

The concept was derived from simple observations: blood is "hidden" in the body of man, oil in sesame, flour in wheat, butter in milk etc.; these substances can be made patent by certain procedures, such as grinding, churning etc. On the other hand, new substances can be produced by putting several ingredients together: pottery results from the "mixture" of clay, water, and fire, and these primary elements are "hidden" in it afterwards. On this empirical basis, where the term still had a rather non-technical meaning, al-Naẓẓām constructed a rather elaborate system which has not yet been the object of more thorough investigation. He did not follow the atomism of his teacher and uncle Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl, who treated qualities as accidents which may be replaced by their contraries. For him, all natural qualities (with the exception of movement, understood in a very broad sense, as "all actions depending on man's will") were "bodies" inherent in other bodies: fire is not hot and luminous, but is composed of heat and luminosity. As such, fire may itself be considered an ingredient (*k̲h̲ilṭ*) of wood where it is "latent" until the wood is burnt. When it becomes manifest, other ingredients do so too: ashes, which consist of taste, colour, and dryness; smoke, which consists of taste, colour and smell; and water, which consists of humidity and a certain sound, i.e. the crackling produced in burning. In consequence of his "corporealism", al-Naẓẓām thus treated the qualities of an object and its constituent parts alike. It is possible that he differentiated between them insofar as the qualities form the ingredients of the primary elements which then make up for the more complex bodies; but we are not yet able to ascertain whether his theory implied such a hierarchy.

The "elements" (fire, water, etc.) are thus not simple themselves, but composed or, as al-Naẓẓām said, "joint" (*muzdawid̲j̲*). They may inhere in each other: water always contains fire, which may be activated through heating and then leaves it for the empyraean. The process can be recognised through the bubbling of the water; the particles of humidity which are dragged along the fire in its upward movement manifest themselves as vapour. Similarly, water normally contains earth which remains as a salty or limelike sediment in the kettle after evaporation. On the other hand, earth usually contains water; otherwise, it would not keep together (clay being normally given as an example). That fire and water may penetrate each other (*mudāk̲h̲ala*) without conflicting, is to be explained by the fact that they keep each other's balance; God has wisely calculated their proportions so that things do not explode by themselves (cf. al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, Beirut 1957, § 18). Their equilibrium may even be used as a proof for the existence of a creator (*ibid.*, § 26). Only when this equilibrium of "hidden" contradictory ingredients is disturbed by external influence does disintegration ensue. When fire is brought close to wood, the fire latent in the wood gets the upper hand and destroys the coherent structure of its vessel. When somebody is bitten by a snake he dies not through the venom of the snake, but through the venom which he has in his own body and which is now reinforced. For the same reason the snake does not die from its own venom; here the venom is balanced by the right proportion of antidotes. When water freezes, this means that not only the cold which is latent in it has been enforced from outside, but also its "hidden" dryness; for ice is not only cold, but also dry. When it melts again, this process is thus not merely produced by heat, but also by humidity which was added from outside. When something wet becomes dry, it does not only lose humidity, but also weight; this shows that humidity contains "latent" weight, whereas heat does not.

Disintegration may be slow and imperceptible, as happens, e.g. with an oil lamp which burns down during the night, although it looks alike from one moment to the other. Disintegration may sometimes also be stopped. Wood must not lose all its fire at once; it may be transformed into charcoal which still contains part of it. Different species of the same genus may contain different proportions of the proper *ak̲h̲lāṭ*. Some kinds of wood are more inflammable because they contain more fire; for the same reason, some kinds of stone can be better used as a flint than other ones.

This advanced theory presupposes a rather intricate intellectual tradition and a widely-developed range of discussion. As a matter of fact, the word *kumūn* is already alluded to in a poem by Abū Nuwās, one generation before al-Naẓẓām (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. E. Wagner, i, 136, l. 6). Al-Naẓẓām took over his vocabulary (*kumūn* and *mudāk̲h̲ala*) and the basic structural assumptions of his system: his rejection of atomism and his definition of the body, from the S̲h̲īʿī theologian His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], who had adopted them in his discussions with dualists, especially with Abū S̲h̲ākir al-Dayṣānī, whom he seems to have converted to Islam. Via the Dayṣāniyya and their spiritual ancestor Bardesanes (died 216 A.D.), we may trace some basic ideas back to Stoicism: a similar definition of body (σῶμα) and the concept of κρᾶσις δι' ὅλον (= *mudāk̲h̲ala*) or μῖξις (= *imtizād̲j̲*, *ik̲h̲tilāṭ*). In the Iranian environment this tradition was perhaps amalgamated with certain Indian ideas (the example of pottery is used in the Indian Samkhya; cf. W. Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Berlin 1954, 193). All dualist creeds understood the world as being in a stage of "mixture" (*gumēčišn*) between light and darkness. In a Syriac fragment of Bardesanes, the qualities (ποιότητες = *znayyā* or *ḥailē*) are called *muzzāgē*, "mixtures". But al-Naẓẓām did not simply imitate: he refuted the Manichaeans, as is shown by several passages in al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ's *K. al-Intiṣār*, and he attacked the Dayṣāniyya; he did not accept their axiom that light and darkness are at the bottom of every mixture (cf. al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 46, ll. 6 ff. etc.). He used the advantage of meeting them on common ground, but he seems to have developed quite individual ideas.

Inside Islam, there were certain affinities with the—rather vaguely definable—*aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ* who believed that all things have a nature of their own which, once being created, no longer depends on God's will (and may as well be "hidden" in them, the *k̲h̲ilḳa* in al-Naẓẓām's terminology), and with the Muʿtazilī Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād (cf. H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, 110 ff.). Opposition came from the *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāḍ*, the "accidentalists" or atomists whose ideas had been first expounded by

Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], but also from apparently al-Aṣamm [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who, in spite of denying the accidents, did not think of qualities as "bodies". The critique used mainly three arguments: (a) nothing can take place in something smaller than itself (and fire is bigger than wood); (b) several things cannot be simultaneously in the same place (which would be the case if several qualities were "hidden" in one substance); and (c) if fire were hidden in wood, we should feel it when we touch the wood, or we should find it when we cleave it. Arguments (a) and (b) were already brought forth against the Stoics (e.g. by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his Περὶ μίξεως, ch. 5 ff.); (c) is found in Indian philosophy (cf. W. Ruben in *AO*, xiii (1935), 147). The discussion turned especially around (c); al-Naẓẓām objected that coldness balances the fire hidden in the wood; when the fire comes forth in burning, the coldness also leaves the wood immediately and enters the cold substances in its environments, i.e. water and earth, in a leap (*ṭafra*), without getting into contact with the things in between. This is why the ashes are not cold, in spite of the fact that the fire has left; the warmth found in it is not the warmth of the fire, but the warmth which was "hidden" in it and was activated by the fire. As the "accidentalists" recurred to Aristotelian tradition (visible in (a) and (b)), al-Naẓẓām also criticised Aristotle's model of physics.

The theory was eagerly defended by Naẓẓām's disciples. But already al-Djāḥiẓ did not conceal his scepticism (cf. the quotations in van Ess, *Das K. an-Nakṯ des Naẓẓām*, Göttingen 1972, 120). In the second half of the 3rd/9th century, it was apparently given up completely within the Muʿtazila. The future belonged to atomism.

Bibliography: The main source for Naẓẓām's ideas about *kumūn* is Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 6 ff. (partly tr. into Turkish by Nafiz Danışman, *Kelâm ilmine giriş*, Ankara 1955, 126 ff.). Cf. also Ashʿarī, *Maķālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1927 ff., 327, ll. 4 ff., with further references mentioned in the apparatus; Job of Edessa, *The book of treasures*, ed. A. Mingana, Cambridge 1935, chs. xvi-xx. For an analysis of the material, cf. J. van Ess in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 241 ff. See also S. Pinès, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, index s.v. *Kumūn*; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda, *Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām*, Cairo 1365/1946, 140 ff.; van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, index s.v. *Naẓẓām*; M. Fakhry, *Islamic philosophy*, New York 1970, 64 f.; F. Rex, *Zur Theorie der Naturprozesse in der früharabischen Wissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1975, introd.; J. Hecker, *Reason and responsibility. An explanatory translation of Kitab al-Tawlīd from al-Mughnī ... by Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār*, diss. Berkeley 1975, index s.v. "latency."
(J. van Ess)

ĶUN, Arabic orthography Ķūn, a Turkish tribe of Inner Asia known in the pre-Mongol period, but only in a shadowy fashion.

The earliest mention of the Ķun is in Bīrūnī's *K. al-Tafhīm* (420/1029), ed. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 145, and he places them in the Sixth Clime, in the territory of the eastern Turks between the Ķāy and the Khirkīz [see ķāyī and ķirgiz]. The tribe is not, however, mentioned in Bīrūnī's *al-Ķānūn al-Masʿūdī* (*pace* Pelliot, *À propos des Comans*, in *JA*, Ser. 11, Vol. xv [1920], 134-5). Nor are the Ķun given in Kāshgharī (who does however deal with the other two tribes mentioned in the *Tafhīm* as their neighbours), but there is an important section on them in Marwazī's *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* (early 6th/12th century), see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text li, tr. 29-30, comm. 95-102. This was adapted a century later by ʿAwfī in his *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, section on the Turks, printed and tr. by Marquart in his *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in Bang and Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. xiii/1 (Berlin 1914), 40-2, and used by him as the basis of a complex and convoluted commentary on the Ķun, *ibid.*, 42-77.

It seems that the Ķun were amongst the easternmost of the Turkish peoples, with their original homeland in eastern Mongolia and the fringes of Manchuria. It may be that the Ķun were the epigoni of the T'u-yü-hun to the north of the great northwards bend of the Huang-Ho or Yellow River; the resemblance of the name Ķun to that of the proto-Huns, the Hsiung-nu, etc., had already been noted by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 64-5, cf. also Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, 12. According to Marwazī, the tribe had been converted in their homeland to Nestorian Christianity (by missionaries from the Ordos region?), but had been impelled to migrate far westwards by pressure on their pasture grounds from the Ķayi. The Ķun then moved into the land of the Shārī/Sārī (whose name Barthold, in Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1936, *34*, connected with the Turkish word *sarī* "yellow" and the Ķīpčaķ/Comans, the Russian *Polovtsi* "pallid, yellowish ones"; possibly, however, they should be linked rather with the Sarī Uyghur of Kansu [*q.v.*]), and eventually ended up in the Aral Sea-Ķīpčaķ Steppe area. This chain of migrations must have been set off after Bīrūnī's time, i.e. in the middle or later years of the 11th century. Minorsky was at first inclined to identify the Ķun with the Ķūrī/Fūrī (mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 14, tr. 97, cf. comm. 283-6, 311-12, a savage and bestial tribe living to the east of the Ķirgīz (i.e. apparently to the east and south of Lake Baikal, their name surviving in the present-day Khori tribe of the Buryats), but subsequently abandoned this equation when he found the clear orthography *Ķūn* in Marwazī. Earlier, Marquart had attempted to connect the Kun with the later Comans (in Magyar, Kún) of the South Russian-Western Siberian steppes [see ķīpčaķ], and this was later affirmed by J. Németh: that Ķun and Ķuman/Ķoman both stem from a Turkish adjective *ķū* < *kub* "yellowish, pale" (*Die Volksnamen* quman *und* qūn, in *KCsA*, iii [1941-3], 95-109).

At all events, the Ķun have left very little mark on the Islamic history of Central Asia; we do not know whether they were substantially Islamised before losing their identity in some larger steppe confederation, such as that of the Ķīpčaķ or the later Golden Horde. The only member of the Ķun to achieve mention in Islamic sources is the slave commander of the Saldjūķs Ekinči b. Ķočķar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was appointed governor of Khwārazm by Berk-Yaruķ in 490/1097; Minorsky plausibly surmised that he may have been Marwazī's informant for his section on the Ķun.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see L. Rásonyi, *Les Turcs non-islamisés en Occident*, in *PTF*, iii, Wiesbaden 1970, 11-12 of offprint.
(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶUNĀ, Qena, a town in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile (population 40,000). It is the

capital of the province (*mudīriyya*) of the same name, which is divided into seven districts (*markaz*), namely: 1. Dishnā; 2. Isnā; 3. Ḳunā; 4. Ḳuṣayr; 5. Ḳūṣ; 6. Lukṣur; 7. Nadjʿ Ḥamādī. In 1897 the population of the province was 711,457, but by 1956 it was more than 1,100,000. In 1940 the town of Ḳunā and the village of al-Humaydāt and their dependencies were detached from the district of Ḳunā and made into a separate *maʾmūriyya*. The region produces cotton and cereals; in the town, cloth and sweet-stuffs are manufactured. But Ḳunā is especially noted for its porous pottery; the jars (*ḳulla*) which are made there are called *ballāṣ* from the name of a place a few miles to the south.

The Arabic name, written Iḳnā by some geographers and *Ḳūnā* in the Copto-Arab *scalae*, comes from the Coptic **ⲔⲰⲚⲎ** which gives rise to a play on the Greek καινή πόλις "new town", a name which did not last long as it is never found in the Byzantine period. The identity of this town with the Neapolis of Herodotus has been seriously urged; it is rather the modern Minshaʾa, the ancient Ptolemais. On the other hand, it has been conjectured with much probability that at the end of the 3rd century it received the name Maximianopolis.

In the first Arab period, the *kūra* of Ḳunā extended to the east of the Nile between that of Fāw on the north and Ḳifṭ in the south, in front of that of Dandara from which it was separated by the river. The first author to mention it, al-Yaʿḳūbī, gives a very unflattering description of the district: he says it is a little town rapidly going to ruin, deserted by its inhabitants who feared the raids of the Bedouin robbers and brigands. Therefore, when the new provincial divisions were made under al-Mustanṣir, it was Ḳūṣ which gave its name to the district (*ʿamal*) and became its capital. Ḳunā remained unimportant for some time, as Yāḳūt only gives it a brief note and Abu 'l-Fidā does not mention it.

Its prosperity was not long in beginning, owing to the tomb of the saint ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, which became an object of pilgrimage, while pious Muslims settled in its vicinity. Some years previously, Ibn Djubayr had mentioned Ḳunā as a pretty little town with houses of a dazzling whiteness; he makes special mention of the virtue of the women, who never appeared in the streets. After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, al-Adfuwī gives us an account of the merits of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm; he describes the houses of the town as spacious and very high and mentions two *madrasas* in Ḳunā and a number of hospices (*ribāṭ*), Ibn Duḳmāḳ only copies al-Adfuwī. In the Turkish period, Ḳunā was the residence of a *Kāshif*, but it is only in modern times that it has assumed the administrative position which it owes to its present steadily-increasing prosperity.

The town, situated at the point where the Nile comes nearest to the Red Sea, had become the point of departure for caravans in the direction of Ḳuṣayr. This route took the place of the one used in the Middle Ages between Ḳūṣ and ʿAydhāb, which in turn succeeded the ancient Copto-Berenice road. The continual intercourse between Egypt and Arabia and India gave these roads great value; it is by this route that many of the Muslims of North Africa go to Mecca, and even during the Crusades, it was the only pilgrim road. In 1831-3 Muḥammad ʿAlī had the wells inspected on the Ḳunā-Ḳuṣayr road; some were deepened so that they would provide water at all seasons (cf. *L'Égypte moderne*, collection *L'Univers*, 164-6; Barron and Hurne, *Topography and geology of the East Desert of Egypt, Central Portion*, Cairo 1902).

The saint who is the object of Muslim veneration, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Ḥadjdjūn, twelfth descendant of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, was born in the environs of Ceuta in Morocco. After a journey to Mecca where he spent seven years, he settled in Ḳunā and died there on 9 Ṣafar 592/13 January 1196. Honoured during his life for his reputation for sanctity and asceticism, he has become one of the principal saints of Egypt, along with Aḥmad Badawī, Ibrāhīm Dasūḳī and Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Aḳṣurī. At one time a pious formula used to be handed down which, if recited beside the tomb, hastened the realisation of a desire or brought about cures. According to some travellers, the pilgrims who came to Ḳunā made circuits (*ṭawāf*) of the tomb of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm similar to those made by the pilgrims at the Kaʿba (Adfuwī, *Ṭāliʿ saʿīd*, no. 231; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 315, Eng. tr. ii, 287; *RHR*, ii, 284; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 224). There were descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm living in Egypt for two centuries; they were, in particular, jurists and professors (Adfuwī, nos. 29, 117, 129, 308, 402, 476, 533; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 423).

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ḲUNAYṬIRA [see ḲANṬARA].

ḲUNBI ṢĀLIḤ, an important cluster of ruins of mediaeval date, situated in lat. 15° 46′ N and long 7° 59′ W in Hodh (southern Mauretania), 330 km. N of Bamako, 95 km. WNW of Nara and 70 km. SSE of Timbédra. Most modern writers agree that it was the capital of the Sarakoli kingdom of Ghāna [*q.v.*] which dominated the southern part of the Western Sahara and the North Sudan from around the 6th century until *ca.* 1076.

The ruins are situated on a schistose plateau which is covered with thorn-bushes, and they stand between two seasonal pools. They extend for about 1,200 m. north to south and 800 m. east to west, but this does not include the scattered outbuildings and two extensive burial grounds. The one in the north-west covers an area 1,600 m. by 800 m. and contains a columned tomb with six chambers. The other in the south-east at Sohobi measures 700 m. by 400 m.

There are many mediaeval references in Arabic to Ghāna, from al-Fazārī (before 184/800) to Ibn Khaldūn, but local oral traditions do not mention this place name. In fact, it is not until the 17th century that the name Ḳunbi appears in the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh*, which says: "The name [of the empire of Kayamaga] was Ḳunbi, and this Ḳunbi was a great city." The *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* specifically states that the capital of Kayamaga was Ghāna, but all the Sarakoli traditions about the Wagadu speak of Ḳunbi (Ch. Monteil, *Mélanges ethnologiques*, 390; A. Bathily, *B. IFAN B* [1975], 73; Wa Kamissoko, 1976, unpublished) as the residence of the serpent Bida. The persistance of the Sarakoli and Moorish tradition is best illustrated by the fact that in 1914

Bonnel de Mézières was driven directly from Walata to Ḳunbi when he expressed a desire to the marabouts to see the site of the capital of Gh̲āna.

Although the ruins of Ḳunbi were well known to Africans, Bonnel de Mézières in 1914 was the first European to see them. He then undertook some excavations there, and the results were published in 1920, but unfortunately none of the material which was brought back from the expedition can now be located; it cannot be found in the Musée de l'Homme, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres or anywhere else. Later excavations have been made by M. Lazartigues (1939), P. Thomassey (1949-50) and R. Mauny and G. Szumowski (1951); the most recent excavations have been by J. Devisse, D. and S. Robert and their team (1972, 1975, 1976), but as yet these are not published. These excavations have revealed many schist-built houses with beautiful Arab-Berber architecture, which predates the Hispano-Moorish style. They contain carefully-made paving stones, wall-niches, stairways and stone beds. An imposing columned mosque is slowly being revealed on the Main Avenue which crosses the ruins from east to west. It has superimposed *miḥrābs* showing that at least two sanctuaries have stood on the same site. Material remains include stones with painted inscriptions of the *s̲h̲ahāda*, countless pieces of coarse pottery with some slip-decorated ware and even some glazed (Mediterranean) ware, tools and weapons in iron, objects in copper and glass and beads in stone and glass.

The north-east necropolis comprises a series of chambers for multiple Muslim burials; they are collective tombs for families or for people from the same Mag̲h̲ribī town or the same tribe. The most elaborate "columned tomb" is surrounded by six successive chambers, the last of which has a perimeter of 800 m.

The ruins show that this was an urban settlement with a high population density. The estimated population for the town at its peak is 15,000 to 20,000, which is an enormous figure for a Saharan town with a limited water supply (R. Mauny, *Tableau geogr.*, 482). Walls have been found at depths of up to 8 m., showing occupation levels over several centuries after the 8th century. The dates provided by carbon 14 analysis are: 828 ± 115 A.D.; 933 ± ? A.D.; 963 ± 114 A.D.; 1210 ± 121 A.D. This confirms what is already known of the history of the capital of Gh̲āna with which these ruins are to be identified, in the present writer's opinion, despite the hesitations of Ch. and V. Monteil (1951, 441-52; 1964, 58-62; 1968, 109-12), who are more inclined to follow al-Idrīsī (i, 2) in situating Gh̲āna "on the two banks of the river [Senegal]". However, their identification must be challenged, for al-Idrīsī made enormous errors in his work and, furthermore, no ruin of this importance has ever been found on the banks of the middle Senegal river. The evidence of oral traditions and what is written in the *Taʾrīk̲h̲s* all points to Ḳunbi as the correct site.

The irritating question remains to be resolved about the two places called Gh̲āna which al-Bakrī (460/1067-8) describes. The one was populated by Muslim merchants and had twelve mosques; the other was six miles away and was reserved for the king and his court. The present writer holds that Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ should be identified with the town of the rich Arab-Berber merchants described by al-Bakrī. If this is so, where was the royal capital? New ideas about this problem have been suggested at a recent conference on the history of Mali, held at Bamako in February 1976. Traditions show that the royal residence was apparently at Kalaka (Karka, 23 km. south of Ḳunbi) and the royal stockyard at Ḳunbi Dyufi, a modern village 20 km. SSE of Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ, which was in fact the merchants' town. The existence of a double or triple town can be understood because of the natural desire of the animistic kings to live apart from the Muslims and also because of the scarcity of water in the area. This is a potentially new field for archaeological investigation. Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ is the most important ruined site in West Africa—with Tegadaoust (Awdag̲h̲ost?) running it a close second—and because of this, fresh excavations ought to be undertaken there.

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AL-KUNDURĪ, ʿAmīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, vizier of the first Great Saldjūḳ, Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg (447-55/1055-63). The *nisba* Kundurī may refer to one of two villages by the name of Kundur, one located in Ṭurayt̲h̲īt̲h̲ in Ḳūhistān, the other near Ḳazwīn; the reference may also be to the selling of *kundur* (frankincense).

The Great Saldjūḳs, Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg, Alp Arslān and Maliks̲h̲āh, were served by two *wazīrs*: Kundurī, *wazīr* of Ṭug̲h̲rïl Beg, and the more famous Niẓām al-Mulk, *wazīr* of Alp Arslan and Maliks̲h̲āh. The main ambition of these two *wazīrs* was to manipulate power and influence through the sultans whom they served. Niẓām al-Mulk did this with consummate skill for three full decades, outmanoeuvring his

rivals, and always keeping a step ahead of them in their plots and intrigues against him. Kundurī was not as successful. In comparison with the magisterial politics of Niẓām al-Mulk, he appears as a bungling fool.

Kundurī's first ill-advised deed is recorded early in his career as Ṭughrïl Beg's minister. Sent by Ṭughrïl on a mission to contract a marriage for him, Kundurī contracted the marriage for himself instead; as punishment for this, Ṭughrïl had him castrated.

Kundurī's next ill-advised deed was to scheme against Ṭughrïl Beg in an effort to replace him with Anūshirwān, son of Khātūn, Ṭughrïl's wife. This plot against Ṭughrïl appears to have been mounted when Ṭughrïl was setting out to fight one of his rivals in Mawṣil, the Turkish general Arslān Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. At his departure, noticing that he had a following of only 2,000 men, he reproached Kundurī, saying: "Why did you not inform me so that I could wait until all the men were assembled?" Again at Hamadhān, faced by the superior forces of Ibrāhīm Ināl, his half-brother, Ṭughrïl asked his wife Khātūn and Kundurī to come to his aid. Khātūn wanted to do so, but was convinced by Kundurī that their troops would fall into the hands of Ināl and that this would only serve to strengthen Ināl's forces and weaken hers as well as Ṭughrïl's. Kundurī then began to arrange for Anūshirwān to make a bid for the sultanate, and money was distributed among the troops for their allegiance (*bayʿa*). Kundurī, Khātūn and Anūshirwān contributed, as well as the caliph, the merchants and the high functionaries of Baghdād. But Kundurī's plan met with opposition from two of Ṭughrïl's generals, ʿUmar and Ināndjīl, who refused to recognise Anūshirwān. Then when Kundurī asked the caliph to proclaim Anūshirwān as sultan, he was told to defer the matter, and to see that the city was not deprived of troops to defend it against the menace of Basāsīrī. Khātūn also changed her mind and went to rejoin her husband. The sources are not expansive in their reports regarding this plot, but we later see both Kundurī and Anūshirwān in the service of Ṭughrïl Beg. They later fought against Basāsīrī and negociated the latter's delivery at the hands of the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, and their success here regained for them the confidence of the sultan.

After Ṭughrïl's death in 455/1063, Kundurī once again saw his opportunity to serve under a sultan whom he could manipulate. Ṭughrïl, before his death, had designated Sulaymān, son of his brother, Čaghrï Beg and brother of Alp Arslān. This choice may have been suggested by Kundurī. In any case, the succession to the sultanate had to be secured by eliminating all other pretenders. Alp Arslān was ready to oppose the choice of Ṭughrïl, and here he had to deal with Kundurī. From the beginning, Kundurī had the *khuṭba* in Rayy made in the name of Sulaymān. He then wrote a letter to Alp Arslān and, in threatening tones, told him to be content with the possession of Khurāsān. Alp Arslān marched on Rayy. Kundurī having now to face both Alp Arslān and Ḳutlumush, called on Alp Arslān to help him against Ḳutlumush, and made the *khuṭba* in Rayy in the name of Alp Arslān. Arriving at the palace of the sultanate in Rayy, Alp Arslān did not make known his true feelings towards Kundurī, and insisted on Kundurī remaining with him in the palace when the latter wanted to move, saying "My joy consists in having you beside me, how can you entertain the thought of going away from us?". This was the beginning of a cat-and-mouse game played with relish by Alp Arslān, who kept Kundurī until he had recovered all the wealth amassed by the *wazīr*, before finally putting him to death, having taxed him with crass ignorance for imagining that he could stand against three Saldjūḳ pretenders to the sultanate, meaning himself, Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] and Ḳutlumush.

Kundurī's ambition had been to hold *de facto* power under a docile and malleable sultan, but his plans failed disastrously. He did, however, succeed in arranging the marriage between Ṭughrïl Beg and the daughter of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim, the negociations for which lasted for a period of three years (452-5/1060-3). Ṭughrïl had hoped to see a Saldjūḳ descendant assuming the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, but the marriage ended with his death and without issue. Kundurī's success in arranging the marriage, against the caliph's will, earned for him the enmity of al-Ḳāʾim who, on making the *khuṭba* in Alp Arslān's name in Baghdād (Rabīʿ II 456/March-April 1064) asked Alp Arslān to eliminate Kundurī.

Where Kundurī had failed, Niẓām al-Mulk succeeded. The difference between these two *wazīrs* consisted in the political acumen and consummate administrative skill of the latter as compared with the former's lack of perception and discrimination. Kundurī supported the Muʿtazilī movement, and was instrumental in having al-Ashʿarī cursed from the pulpits of Khurāsān by the order of Ṭughrïl Beg. In Baghdād, he earned the hatred of the Sunnīs by supporting the Shīʿīs. By contrast, Niẓām al-Mulk supported the Ashʿarīs, but was not averse to supporting *ʿulamāʾ* of other movements wherever these last had a strong following. Also, his establishing *awḳāf* for the *ʿulamāʾ*, in the form of *madrasas*, *masdjids* and *ribāṭs*, secured the support of the masses among their followers. Not the least among al-Kundurī's mistakes was his personal engagement in battle, whereas Niẓām al-Mulk remained a man who manipulated the pen, leaving the sword for those better suited to the battle field.

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(G. MAKDISI)

ĶUNDUZ, the name of a river, a town and a modern province of Afghānistān.

1. The river is one of the two main left bank affluents in Afghānistan of the Oxus. It rises in the central region of the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*], with Bāmiyān in its catchment area, and flows for some 300 miles/480 km. until it reaches the Oxus just below where it receives its right-bank affluent the Wakhsh River. The different stretches of the river have varying names; thus the middle course, within which are situated the towns of Baghlān and Pul-i Khumrī, is called the Surkhāb or "Red River".

2. The town is situated in lat. 36°45′ N. and long 68°30′ E. at an altitude of 1,300 feet/400 m. in a region which has the general name of Ḳataghān. The surrounding countryside, centred on ancient Ḳunduz and the nearby modern town of Khānābād, is now fertile agricultural land (rice, fruits, etc.) and pastures, but was until very recently notoriously malarial and unhealthy. The town of Ḳunduz (presumably Pers. *kuhan-diz* "fortress") is not mentioned under this name by the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but it

fell within the province of Ṭuk͟hāristān [*q.v.*], and is very probably identical with, or situated close to, the important early Islamic town of Walwālid͟j or Walwālāz, originally a centre of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] in their struggles with the invading Arabs in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, and then an administrative centre and mint town for northern Afg͟hānistān until Sald͟jūḳ times (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 340, and Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 428); today, there are many ruins in the vicinity of Ḳunduz.

In the Tīmūrid period, Ḳunduz is frequently mentioned under this name. It figures in the campaigns of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā [see ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ], e.g. in 901/1495-6, being until this time ruled by the rival Tīmūrid prince Maḥmūd Mīrzā b. Abī Saʿīd, d. 900/1495 (see Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia. iii. Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr*, Leiden 1962, 53, 62-3). It then passed for some years into the hands of Bābur, who during the years 916-20/1511-14 used it as a base for his unsuccessful attempts to conquer territory north of the Oxus in Ḥiṣār and Wak͟hsh (*Babūr-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 45-8, 318, 345, 352 ff., and *passim*).

Northern Afg͟hānistān was by now becoming increasingly Turkicised by Özbeg and Turkmen groups, and in the period of the Ṣafawid-Özbeg rivalry, petty Özbeg principalities were established in towns like Balk͟h, K͟hulm and Ḳunduz. These submitted in 1164/1751 to Aḥmad S͟hāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], but in the early 19th century Mountstuart Elphinstone again found Ḳunduz under an independent Özbeg chieftain "Khauldaud Khaun", who had 15,000 men under his command (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*[3], London 1839, ii, 200). A few decades later, in the years 1850-9, the Özbeg principalities of Balk͟h, K͟hulm, Ḳunduz, Maymana, Aḳča, etc. came into the orbit of Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] of Kābul. Ḳunduz was visited by John Wood in the 1830s, who found it a miserable settlement of 500 to 600 mud huts of sedentaries plus reed huts and black tents of Özbeg nomads (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*[2], London 1872, 137-8).

The present population of the Ḳunduz district is highly mixed, but includes a large proportion of Ozbegs, Turkmens and Kazakhs, plus some Pas͟htūns settled there in the present century by the Afg͟hān government, and some Arabic-speaking groups have been reported from the region (see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an attempt at a preliminary classification*, in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. Avd. i, Bd. 35, Nr. 5 (1939), 17-20). There is now an important amount of seasonal immigration from the Hindū Kus͟h mountain regions, the workers being attracted by the higher wages which can be earned in agricultural work.

Since the 1964 administrative re-organisation, Ḳunduz town has been the capital of a province of the same name, having been previously in the province of Ḳatag͟hān; the population of the town has been estimated (1969) at 40,000, and of the province at 415,000. It is now a centre for agricultural development schemes in the Oxus lowlands, and the local Turkish population also carries on carpet-weaving; moreover, it has an airfield, with regular flights connecting the town with Kābul.

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ḲUNFUD͟H, ḲUNFAD͟H (A., fem. *ḳunfud͟ha*, pl. *ḳanāfid͟h*), a masc. noun preserved in all the Arabic dialects (Maghrib, *ḳenfūd/genfūd*, Middle East, *ḳenfūḍ*) which denotes, like its Hebrew counterpart, *ḳippod* (see Isaiah, xiv, 23, xxxiv, 11, and Zephaniah, ii, 14), both the hedgehog and the porcupine. These two small excavating mammals, externally fairly similar through the sharp, hairy spines covering their backs and flanks and through their nocturnal habits, are nevertheless quite different zoologically in their respective species, dimensions and food habits. But all the ancient authors, Greek and oriental, systematically included them in the same family, although the first is insectivorous and the second a rodent.

1. The hedgehog (Pers. *k͟hār pus͟ht*, Tkish. *kirpi*), of the Erinaceid family, comprises, in the Old World, some fifteen species spread from the Atlantic coasts to Manchuria and from the 60th parallel north to South Africa, with the exception of Madagascar, where it is not present. Thus in the Arab lands is found, at the side of the universal *Erinaceus europaeus*, the race *E. algirus* in the Mag͟hrib (nicknamed in Algeria *al-Ḥād͟jd͟j Aḥmad*, Berber *inisi/insi*, pl. *inisawen/insan*), *E. deserti* in the Sahara (Tamahaḳ, Hoggar *ekenisi/tekenisit*, pl. *ikenusay/tikenusay*, at G͟hāt *kensiin*, in Aïr *tikaneshit*), *E. albiventris* in Egypt and the Sudan, *E. aethiopicus* in Abyssinia, and *E. syriacus* and *auritus* in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Arabia. This unobtrusive, nocturnal traveller, with its rapid and jerky movements like a mechanical toy, is endowed with, as well as the generic names *ḳunfud͟h* and *anḳad* (this latter one shared with the tortoise), various bynames evoking its nocturnal habits (*ʿasʿas, dālid͟j, madlid͟j*), its scampering gait (*darrām, darrād͟j, mudad͟jd͟jid͟j, d͟hafīf, mazzāʿ*), and its spinyness (*ḥasīka, ḥiskik, ḥiskil, ḥarba, abū s͟hūkāt*); its sleeping or defensive attitude, involving its curling up into a ball like a chestnut-bur, cause it to have such names as *kabbābat al-s͟hūk, kubbwiba* "ball of spines" in Syria and, since one cannot then see its head any longer, once it is buried within its prickly suit of armour, it is called *ḳubaʿ/ḳubbāʿ*. The cry of the male hedgehog is a short sighing noise, whence its name *hinana* "whining, grizzling one". The hedgehog is considered as one of the most inoffensive and feeble of animals, as expressed in the old, assonantal and metathesising adage, *matā lam naḳḍi al-tulunna ak͟had͟hatnā 'l-lutunna* "when one does not do what is required, one becomes subject even to every gentle hedgehog".

2. The porcupine (Pers. *tas͟hī*, Tkish. *büyük kirpi*, in the Mag͟hrib *ḍorbān* through confusion with the classical *ẓaribān/ẓarbān* denoting the zoril, Berber *arwi*, Tamahaḳ, in Aïr and Adrar, *emerey/temereyt*, pl. *imereyen/timereyn*) is from the family of Hystricidae which comprises five genera and some fifteen species. It is present, with two geographical races which are the most universal (*Hystrix cristata* and *H. leucora*), in all Africa, the Near East, Iran, and from the East Indies to China; but in Arabia, it is present only in the southern half of the peninsula. It is three or four times larger than the hedgehog and always considered to be its big cousin, but this vegetarian is nevertheless distinguished from the former by al-D͟jāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 461-2) under the

names *duldul/duldūl*, *shayham/shayẓam* and *nayṣ* (this last preserved as *niṣ/nis* in the Near East). This careful observer adds, in good faith, that the porcupine is to the hedgehog as the ox is to the buffalo [see DJĀMŪS in Suppl.] or the rat to the mouse. The long, horny, erectile and widely-spaced needles (*dhāt al-madārī*), which are its only defence, are at the base of the legend that it defends itself by hurling at the enemy these sharp-pointed darts although it only leaves them behind in the wounds caused by their immediate contact; without grudging it the by-name of *abū shūk*, that of *ḳabḳāb* is in no way justified, though it is given it in Syria, because it never in fact goes into a spiny "ball" and never curls up like the hedgehog. On the other hand, the motherly care with which the female porcupine surrounds her young, usually from two to four, is well-recognised; a touching and very ancient fable (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, i, 337-8, ii, 57, 265-7, and in the same edition, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 357-61) relates that the porcupine, when it has young, climbs up the vine-stems by night, pulls off the bunches of grapes and lets them fall, then comes down and rolls among its harvest and carries it off transfixed on its spines to its home territory, thus providing an ample diet of succulent grapes for its children.

3. Whether it is a case of the hedgehog or of the porcupine considered as a large hedgehog—and both of these are taken by the mediaeval Arab naturalists, together with the thorn-tail lizard [see ḌABB] and the jerboa (*yarbūʿ* [see FAʾR in Suppl.]), as "creeping beasts" (*aḥnāsh al-arḍ*, *ḥasharāt al-arḍ* (*Ḥayawān*, v, 283)—the *ḳunfudh*, through its nocturnal life and its innate distrustfulness, has given rise to such comparisons as *asrā min ḳunfudh* "travelling more often by night than a hedgehog" and *asmaʿ min ḳunfudh* ... *min duldul* "having sharper ears than a hedgehog ... porcupine"; whence a night racked by insomnia may be described as *laylat al-ḳunfudh*, *layl al-anḳad* "hedgehog's night". The mysteriousness of the gloom envelopping its journeyings summoned up in the fertile imagination of the Bedouin the image of dissimulation and calumny and, by a simple inversion of the construction of the two preceeding expressions, an "undercover" spy was called *ḳunfudh layl*, *anḳad layl* "night hedgehog" (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 166).

Like the Greeks, the Arabs, despite all this, well recognised the great value of the hedgehog as a destroyer of vermin and especially, against the venom of serpents, which they were considered to be immune from after having nibbled thyme bushes (*saʿtar*); for this reason, experienced men from certain tribes recommended that this valuable helper should not be killed, if the land abounded in vipers, and in particular, this was the order given to Ibn al-Ashʿath's army at the time of the expedition of 81/700 into Sidjistān, a region infested with these dangerous reptiles and a great producer of snake-charmers as well as the compounders of snake-bite antidote. The ancients had likewise observed in regard to the *ḳunfudh* an innate faculty for detecting the direction of winds (Aristotle, *Hist. anim.*, ii, 602, and *Ḥayawān*, iv, 229) prevalent at the orientation of the two entries of its burrow.

The flesh of the *ḳunfudh* (of both kinds) is succulent according to those who eat it, such as, in Europe, the gypsies. The Bedouins have always been fond of it, and in our time, the Touareg appreciate it in a stew or braised within the glowing embers after having wrapped it in a covering of clay. Although it formed a kind of game easily captured, in ancient Arabia the risk was never taken of killing it in the early hours of the night, because it could serve as the mount for some benevolent genie, and people preferred to pound it with a cudgel, by day, in chance encounters rather than mounting a regular hunt for it. At beginning of this present century, in the Maghrib and especially in Morocco, the capture of these two spiny creatures was one of the nocturnal activities of slimly-built adolescents of the equivocal class of kif smokers; slipping into the haunts of these animals, they would empty them of their occupants either with gloved hands in the case of the hedgehogs, or with a spear in the case of the porcupines, and groups of vagrants would have a feast of the *mashwī* of these victims (see L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, 55-6). The long spines of the porcupine were used for the making of pretty, darkened cages for nightingales.

This ancient custom of eating the flesh of the *ḳunfudh* posed a question, as with the hyena [see ḌABUʿ in Suppl.], in early Islam, about the lawfulness of this practice. When the Prophet was asked about this, he is said merely to have relied laconically that such an animal was "ignoble" (*khabīth*), but he did not make a formal prohibition. Basing themselves on this vagueness, the Shāfiʿīs considered the *ḳunfudh* to be perfectly legal eating, whilst the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs formally excluded it from the category of permitted types of meat. As for the Mālikīs, they remained undecided on the question and depended on the decisions of local authorities, basing themselves on the customs and usages of the region; thus amongst the Berbers in the Maghrib, no objection is met with against making the *ḳunfudh* an article of diet.

The various anatomical parts of the *ḳunfudh* possessed, in the ancient therapeutic inventory, numerous specific qualities, notably that of the right eye, which, boiled in sesame oil and mixed with collyrium, caused nyctalopia or day-blindness; this formula was, it seems, used by rogues and nocturnal prowlers in order to facilitate their nefarious activities. Salted hedgehog flesh was beneficial for children suffering from urinary incontinence. At the present day, according to what the Touareg say, a porcupine-needle stuck in a camel's saddle prevents fatigue in the loins for the camelriders of the Sahara. Of a more practical kind is usage of a hedgehog skin, with its spines, as a muzzle for kids too inclined inconsiderately to suck their mothers' milk. The porcupine's quills are also used, moreover, for making little instruments and tools like needles for sewing, sticks for applying kohl, etc.

For some time past, the hedgehog, which is very easily domesticated, has been the domestic pet in numerous dwellings of the Saharan oases in order to rid them of cockroaches and other undesirable infestations; here we have a modest rehabilitation of the *ḳunfudh burḳa*, "hedgehog of the stony ground", a byname given metaphorically to an individual with unattractive features but where there is still a possibility of finding someone even less attractive.

From a similarity of appearance, the terms *ḳunfudh al-baḥr* or *shayham baḥrī* "sea hedgehog" denote the edible sea-urchin (*Echinus esculentus*), whilst in al-Ḍamīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, the term *ḳunfudh baḥrī* is applied to the beaver.

Bibliography: in additions to references given in the text, see A. Maʿlūf, *Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. Hedgehog and Porcupine; E. Ghālib, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa*, Beirut 1965, s.vv.; L. Lavauden, *Les vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926, 32, 45; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*,

Paris 1951, 117-18, 135-6; Fīrūz Iskandar, *Rāhna mā-yi pistāndārān-i Īrān* (*Guide to mammals of Iran*), Tehran 1977, 7, 12, 20, 50. (F. Viré)

AL-ḲUNFUḎHA, a port on the Red Sea coast of the Tihāma or lowland of the southern Ḥidjāz, situated in lat. 19°9′ N. and long. 41°04′ E. and at the mouth of the Wādī Ḳanawnā. It lies 210 miles south of Djidda or Djudda [*q.v.*] and 45 miles north of Ḥaly.

The town is in the form of a large rectangle enclosed by a wall, strengthened at several points by towers and pierced by three gates. Practically the only stone buildings are at the harbour, where is the bazaar with its one-storied warehouses in an irregular line, and the chief mosque and smaller mosques with low minarets. On a little island about a quarter of a mile away is a small castle which used to be the residence of the representative of the Sharīf of Mecca. The town was estimated in *ca.* 1920 to have a population of 10,000, but S. Langer in 1882 put it at only 2,000. The harbour, which is enclosed by a number of sandy islets and is only accessible to Arab vessels of medium size, has great disadvantages, notably that the boats cannot land there; until recent times, however, a certain number of pilgrims on the *ḥadjdj* have landed there and at al-Līth to the north by sailing craft. Trade and commerce are moderate: It exports the myrrh collected in ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] and also hides and honey; the harbour used to be frequented by slave-dealers who brought their Abyssinian slaves for sale here, but Britain's sharp control made slave smuggling practically impossible by the early 20th century. Trade with the interior is limited to the exchange of provisions and everyday necessities and is confined to modest bounds. The much more important harbour of Ḥudayda further south has long since attracted almost all the trade. The poverty of the inhabitants is revealed by the primitive huts, built of poles and thatch with gable roofs, which are typical of the whole coast plain. Of agricultural products, cotton and millet are grown in the district.

Al-Ḳunfudha is perhaps a very old settlement; in any case it is a district of great interest to classical students, the land of the Debae. Pliny's *regio Canauna* has been identified by A. Sprenger and B. Moritz with the Ḳanawnā mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī, but this town lies at the mouth of the Wādī of the same name. Gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Āl Khatārish still get gold from the streams. Al-Ḳunfudha, however, seems to have been the northern limit of this ancient gold area. The name appears to be comparatively modern. The Portuguese know it in the form Confutá. Niebuhr calls al-Ḳunfudha a large but badly-built town, In his day (1761) it derived a certain importance from the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Djidda had to pay toll here to the Sharīf of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ. It passed to the Sharīf, together with the whole strip of coast from Djidda to Haly which the Sharīf of Mecca won in *ca.* 1722, and even had a certain revival of prosperity when Muḥammad ʿAlī conquered the Sharīfs and made al-Ḳunfudha his base of operations for the campaign against Central Arabia and ʿAsīr. Soon after this, al-Ḳunfudha figured in the rebellion of the Georgian commander Meḥmed Agha Türkče Bilmez against Muḥammad ʿAlī's governor in the Ḥidjāz, Aḥmad Pasha (1832-3); Türkče Bilmez penetrated to al-Ḳunfudha, Abū ʿArīsh, Ḥudayda, and even to Mocha by 1833, before his revolt was quelled. It was only in 1870 that the Ottomans were able to revive Muḥammad ʿAlī's plans and al-Ḳunfudha became the base of operations against the tribes of the hill country of ʿAsīr, after the conquest of which in 1871, al-Ḳunfudha with its hinterland became a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAsīr. A certain degree of Ottoman control was now implanted, and al-Ḳunfudha was linked by telegraph with Djidda to the north and Luḥayya, Ḥudayda and Ṣanʿāʾ to the south. However, the district soon fell to the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca's son ʿAbd Allāh at the time of the Arab Revolt, and in September 1916 both al-Ṭāʾif and al-Ḳunfudha were lost by the Turks; already in the previous year, the local ruler of adjacent ʿAsīr, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, had adhered to the Allied cause [see ʿASĪR]. In 1923-5 the whole of the Ḥidjāz was occupied by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd, and al-Ḳunfudha henceforth has formed part of the Saʿūdī kingdom.

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(A. Grohmann-[C. E. Bosworth])

ḲUNGRĀT, the name of first a Mongol and then a Türkmen tribe of Central Asia, and deriving its name from these last, a settlement on the lower Āmū Daryā or Oxus, modern Kungrad.

The Mongol tribe of Ḳonḳīrat/Ḳonḳurat or Onggirat (spelt Ḳ.n.ḳūrāt in Djuwaynī, Ungrat in Marco Polo) seems to have lived in the extreme east of Mongolia, towards the Khinggan Mts. in a district called Ābdjiya-Küteger. The tribe gave its allegiance to Čingiz in his struggle against Ong Khān [see ČINGIZ KHĀN], and had the privilege of supplying the Khāns with wives; thus Čingiz's wife Börte Fudjin, mother of his five principal sons, was from the Ḳonḳīrat, as were wives of Djoči and Orda. Cf. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, trs., *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-wou ta'in-tcheng lou*, i, Leiden 1951, 402-9; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959-63, ii, 869-70, No. 375; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 38, ii, 585; J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1971, 17, 97.

The tribal name was carried westwards in the mass movement of peoples during the Mongol invasions, and elements of the Mongol Ḳonḳīrat doubtless mingled with and were eventually absorbed into Turkish tribes of the Turkestan steppes. Hence in recent times Ḳungrāt has been noted as a tribal name amonst both the Özbegs and the Ḳara Ḳalpaḳs of the

region to the south of the Aral Sea (M. A. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia in history and at the present day*, London 1918, 38, 40). In the 18th century the Özbeg Ḳungrāt played a dominant role in the Khānate of Khīwa. When the ʿArabshāhid line of Khāns of Khīwa became extinct at the end of the 17th century, real power was exercised in the Khānate by Ḳungrāt military chiefs who held the title of Inaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the early 19th century, these Inaḳs came themselves to assume the title of Khān and ruled in Khīwa until the period of the Russian protectorate [see KHWĀRAZM]. The tribal name was given to a settlement in the delta or "island" area of the Oxus mouth, on the road between Khodja-ili and the Aral Sea shores; during the later 18th century, until 1226/1811 and the time of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān of Khīwa (1221-41/1806-26), this district centred on Ḳungrāt was in effect an independent principality (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 151, and idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 192).

In 1858 a Russian military steamer sailed up the Oxus delta, alarming the inhabitants of Ḳungrāt, and the town was an important strategic point in the Russian expeditions of 1873 under General Kaufmann and directed against Khīwa; it formed the concentration-point for the naval force from the Aral Sea and the land forces from Orenburg and from Manghïshlāḳ (see E. Schuyler, *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 107, ii, 331, 336, 346-8). Kungrad is now a town in the Kara Kalpak ASSR; see on it *BSE*[2], xxiv, 53.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲŪNKA, variant forms Ḳūnḳa, Kūnka, Kūnkā, Kunka, the Arabic name for the modern town of Cuenca, administrative centre of the province of the same name in Castile, Spain, situated near the confluence of the Júcar and Huécar Rivers at an altitude of 922 m. at the point where the Mancha becomes a mountain chain. According to al-Idrīsī, Ḳūnḳa was "a small, ancient town, surrounded by a wall, and lacking a suburb". Al-ʿUdhrī mentions it among the 20 stages of the route connecting Cordova and Saragossa. Al-Idrīsī mentions Cuenca in his division of al-Andalus into 26 *iḳlīms*, but gives it the title of a *kūra*. Al-ʿUmarī makes it the eleventh province of Spain, comprising the towns of "Orihuela, Cuenca, Elche and Denia, as well as numerous strongholds". Yāḳūt makes it part of the *aʿmāl* of Santaver, and Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, who was there in 567/1172, has left a description of it.

During the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, various political and economic factors reinforced the strategic importance of Cuenca. Previously, from 151/768 to 160/777, it had been part of the region shaken by the rebellion of Shaḳyā al-Fāṭimī. It had then passed to the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*], and in 295/908 had been divided among the three sons of Mūsā, who in these strongholds of the frontier zone, were virtually independent of the central government. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Cuenca belonged to Ismāʿīl b. Dhī 'l-Nūn, who proclaimed his independence in the *ṭāʾifa* of Toledo. Later, we find Ibn al-Faradj, who distinguished himself in military campaigns, as *wālī* of Cuenca for the Dhu 'l-Nūnids. Whilst al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas temporarily occupied Toledo (472/1079), al-Ḳādir took refuge in Cuenca. In the following year, Sancho Ramirez and Aḥmad b. Hūd besieged the town, which bought them off with a sum of money. After Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo (478/1085), Cuenca passed under Castilian rule and was included in the famous "dot de la mora Zaida". Alfonso probably kept the Muslim structure of the town, requiring a tribute, according to the homilies of the Mozarab Count Sisnando. In 490/1097, whilst Cuenca was being protected by Alvar Fañez's army, the Almoravids led by Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾisha raided the district, and after the victory of Uclés (501/1108) occupied the town; but in 531/1137 the populace rose against the Almoravid garrison and felt the sting of Tāshfīn b. ʿAlī's sword. Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] made over to the Christians lands near Cuenca, but the latter retreated before the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb, who in 567/1172 found the town sunk in decay, with only 700 inhabitants. It was besieged by Alfonso VIII, helped by Alfonso II of Aragon, and surrendered on 21 September 1177 after a seven months' siege, without the Almohads being able to protect it. Abu Yaʿḳūb tried to regain it in 1194 and burnt its standing crops in 1197. After the conquest of Cuenca, the Castilian king made grants to the military orders of Santiago and Calatrava, and the town was soon organised as a *Concejo*, whilst retaining some of its older organisations and structures, such as the office of *almotacen* (*muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA]). The *Fuero* offered commercial concessions to the Mudéjares. The second bishop of Cuenca was a Mozarab from Toledo, Saint Julian. There remained a mosque, "lindante con el monasterio de Ntra. Sra. de la Contemplacion" until the 15th century. During the period of the harrying of the Moriscos, Cuenca was the seat of a tribunal of the Inquisition.

The local economy of Cuenca flourished greatly during the 4th/10th century, with textile and ivory-carving crafts, and there were salt pans and silver and iron ore mines in the vicinity. Also, wood cut in the Serranía was sent down the Júcar to the Mediterranean shores.

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P. Iradiel, *Evolución de la industrie textil ... ss. XIII-XVI ... en Cuenca*, Salamanca 1974, 44-5; S. Cirac Estopañan, *Registros ... Sto. Oficio de Cuenca*, Cuenca-Barcelona 1965; B. Loupias, *La pratique secrète de l'Islam dans ... Cuenca*, in *Hésp.-Tamuda*, vi (1965), 115-31; M. Garcia-Azenal, *Inquisición ... de Cuenca*, Madrid 1978.

(Maria J. Viguera)

ḲUNṢUL [see consul].

KUNTA (sometimes pluralised as Kanāta), a highly ramified Arabic-speaking tribe widely dispersed over the southern Sahara from Tagānit in Mauritania to the Adrar-n-Ifoghas in eastern Mali and beyond. Their own genealogies claim descent from ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], to whom they attribute a series of exploits in and beyond ancient G͟hāna as far as Takrūr. According to the so-called *Taʾrīk͟h Kunta* (tr. in I. Hamet, *Notice sur les Kounta*), Sīdī ʿAlī, a descendant of ʿUḳba, married the daughter of Muḥammad b. Kunta b. Zazam (or Zam), chief of the Id Oukal (Ibdūkal/Abdūkal) fraction of the Lamtūna Berbers, allegedly in the early 9th/15th century. Their son, Muḥammad, married into another Lamtūna group, the Tād͟jakānt, as did also his son Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī. It is from the latter's three sons that all the branches of the Kunta derive. Thus, even by their own accounts, the Arab element in Kunta stock would appear small, and, significantly, their eponym is Berber. Their *zawāyā* (non-warrior) status, too, is indicative of Berber origin and, like most such groups in the western Sahara, they probably acquired an Arab pedigree along with the Arabic language during the period of Ḥassāniyya ascendancy in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

The period from the mid-10th/16th century, when Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī's son Sīdī ʿUmar al-S͟hayk͟h is said to have died, until the early 12th/18th century seems to mark the emergence of the Kunta as a distinct and relatively large tribe, their numbers no doubt being augmented by the acquisition and eventual integration of tributaries and slaves. They appear to have roamed over a wide area from the Hodh (al-Ḥawḍ) in the south to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ in the north and Tuwāt in the east. Some members settled in Walāta and in a village in Tuwāt known as Zāwiyat Kunta where Sīdī ʿUmar's son, Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-S͟hayk͟h, is said to have been buried.

In the early 12th/18th century a rift occurred. The clans descended from Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ṣag͟hīr b. Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī hived off to roam the western Sahara from the banks of the River Senegal to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ (the Kunta al-Ḳibla), while those descended from Sīdī ʿUmar al-S͟hayk͟h combined pastoralism with commerce, establishing a network of camps and trading posts from the Wādī Darʿa through Tuwāt and the Azawād region north of the Middle Niger to Timbuktu in the west and Katsina in the east.

Among the latter, the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī established a position of pre-eminence in the second half of the 12th/18th century, due to the role of their leader Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Kabīr b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr (1142-1226/1729-1811), who combined qualities of sanctity with political astuteness and commercial acumen. In *ca.* 1167/1753-4 he established his camp at al-Ḥilla in Azawād, which rapidly became a centre of study and of the propagation of the Ḳādiriyya Order. It is from the sub-order which he established, the Muk͟htāriyya, that most of the Ḳādiriyya

Abridged genealogy of Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Kuntī and some of his descendants

[ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ (d. 63/623)]
[Lamtūna]
Kunta b. Zazam
Muḥammad
Sīdī ʿAlī = (daughter)
Sīdī Muḥammad al-Kabīr
Sīdī Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī
Sīdī ʿUmar al-S͟hayk͟h (d. mid 10th/16th cent?)
Sīdī Abū Bakr al-Hamīlī (ancestor of the Hammāl)
Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ṣag͟hīr
Sīdī al-Wāfī
Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-S͟hayk͟h
Sīdī Aḥmad al-Fayram
(Awlād Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-S͟hayk͟h)
(al-Ragāgda)
Aḥmad ↔ Lalla Mbārka
Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Kabīr (d. 1226/1811)
Sīdī Muḥammad (d. 1241/1826)
(Kunta al-Ḳibla)
Sīdī al-Muk͟htār al-Ṣag͟hīr (d. 1264/1847)
Sīdī Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (d. 1281/1865)
Sīdī ʿUmar (d. 1281/1865)
Muḥammad
Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (d. 1889)
Sīdī al-Muk͟htār (Baddī) (d. 1878)
Sīdī Muḥammad (d. 1896)
Bāy (d. 1865)
Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn

groups in West Africa derive their affiliation. Sīdī al-Mukhtār's role as a Ṣūfī leader and his prestige as a scholar enabled him to mediate between warring Arab and Tuareg tribes in the area and to heal the rift between the eastern and western Kunta. His far-ranging missionary tours (*siyāḥa*) in the Sahara, and his *zāwiya* at al-Ḥilla, which received disciples from distant areas, were supported by income from participation in the salt trade from Taoudeni to the Niger and the trade in tobacco from Tuwāt to Timbuktu.

His teachings, born of his Ṣūfī outlook as well as the position of his clan as a *zawāyā* group, emphasised leniency, the overlooking of faults and the winning of hearts through "*djihād* of the tongue" rather than "*djihād* of the sword", though when ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] initiated a militant *djihād* in 1218/1804-5, he expressed his approval of it. He proclaimed himself the sole "regenerator" (*mudjaddid*) of the 13th century of the *hidjra* (1200 = 1786), though for earlier centuries he named a multiplicity of regenerators in different spheres of endeavour such as *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *siyāsa*, *zuhd* etc. (cf. the view of Ibn Kathīr reported by al-Suyūṭī, *Risāla fī man yabʿath Allāh li-hādhihiʾ 'l-umma ʿalā raʾs kull miʾa*, ms. Leiden, 2409², f. 6). Over sixty works are attributed to him, including several series of *adjwiba*, as well as a great deal of poetry. None has so far been published and manuscript copies are scattered over private libraries in Timbuktu and the southern Sahara and in such public collections as the Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, Rabat, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

His son, Sīdī Muḥammad (*ca.* 1178-1241/1765-1826), inherited his position as leader of the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya and was himself a prolific author. His *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (properly called *al-Risāla al-Ghallāwiyya*) has already been mentioned, and his *Kitāb al-Ṭarāʾif wa 'l-talāʾid*, ostensibly a hagiographical work on his father and mother, has been abstracted by Ismael Hamet in his *Littérature arabe saharienne*, in *RMM*, xii (1910), 196-213, 380-405. It contains an annotated *silsila* for the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya, in which the names of al-Suyūṭī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī and Ibn ʿArabī appear as successive links, thus invalidating it as an historical document, but no doubt enhancing the spiritual prestige of the order in the eyes of its members. The *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya was widely propagated in southern Mauritania by an outstanding pupil of Sīdī Muḥammad, Shaykh Sīdiyya (1190-1284/1776-1868) of the Awlād Abyayri from his *zāwiya* in Būtilimīt.

On Sīdī Muḥammad's death, leadership of the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī and direction of the Mukhtāriyya passed to his eldest son Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Ṣaghīr (1204-64/1790-1847). He was instrumental in saving Timbuktu from the worst excesses of the Fulbe forces of Aḥmadu Lobbo [*q.v.*] and eventually driving them from the city. His brother, and successor to both his political and spiritual role, Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (*ca.* 1217-81/1803-65) negotiated a pact with the Fulbe in 1846 at Muḥammad's request and himself came to settle in Timbuktu, gaining sufficient moral authority there to be able to act as protector for the explorer Heinrich Barth, an open Christian, in 1853. Al-Bakkāʾī wrote numerous poems and *rasāʾil*, some addressed to the Fulbe rulers of Māsina, others attacking the claims of the Tidjāniyya order.

In the closing years of the 19th century, two grandsons of Sīdī Muḥammad distinguished themselves by their attitudes to French penetration of the central southern Sahara: Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad al-Kuntī (b. 1848), who declared a *djihād* against the French after their occupation of Timbuktu in 1894 and whose continued challenge to French authority remained a menace in the first two decades of the 20th century; and Sīdī Bāy b. Sīdī ʿUmar (b. 1865), a scholar and man of saintly repute who took up residence in the Adrar-n-Ifoghas and encouraged both the Ifoghas and Ahoggar Tuareg to avoid conflict with the French. Several copies of his *Nawāzil*, as yet unstudied, are preserved in the Institut des Sciences Humaines, Niamey, Rép. du Niger.

The spiritual influence of the Kunta in the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries was far-reaching. The two major Fulbe leaders, Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī and Shaykh Aḥmadu Lobbo, both received and propagated the *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya, though in both Hausaland and Māsina the Tidjāniyya gained ground rapidly from the mid-19th century. A list of the main groups of West African Muslims attached to the Order or branching from it may be found in P. Marty, *Études*, i, 140-1 (see Bibl.).

Bibliography: For the Kunta view of their own history, see Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (= *al-Risāla al-Ghallāwiyya*), tr. I. Hamet in *RMM*, xv (1911), 302-18, and as *Notice sur les Kounta*, in *Mission Cortier 1908-1909-1910*, Paris 1914, 263-88, summarised in Shaykh Sīdiyya Bābā, *History of the Western Ṣanhāja*, in H. T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1972, 195-200; and idem, *K. al-Ṭarāʾif wa 'l-talāʾid bi-karāmāt al-shaykhayn al-wālida wa 'l-wālid*, ms. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 5511. A critical study of early Kunta history has been made by T. Whitcomb in his doctoral thesis *The origin and emergence of the tribe of Kunta: a contribution to the history of the Western Sahara between the Almoravid period and the seventeenth century*, University of London, 1979; see also idem, *New evidence on the origins of the Kunta*, in *BSOAS*, xxxviii (1975), 103-23, 403-17. Further biographical material on Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr is to be found in Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Bartilī, *Fatḥ al-Shakūr fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-Takrūr*, ms Bibl. de l'Inst. de France, 2406/118, f. 23, which includes a list of his writings; Muḥammad Bello, *Infāḳ al-maysūr fī taʾrīkh bilād al-Takrūr*, Cairo 1964, 220-2; Aḥmad al-Amīn al-Shinkīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ fī tarādjim udabāʾ Shinḳīṭ*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1370/1961, 361, also 494, 506-7, 509-10, for Kunta struggles in Mauritania. On Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī, see H. Barth, *Travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa*, New York 1857-9, repr. London 1965, iii, *passim*; on Sīdī Bāy, see Cortier, *D'une rive à l'autre du Sahara*, Paris 1908, 286-9, H. T. Norris, *The Tuaregs: their Islamic legacy and its diffusion in the Sahel*, Warminster 1975, 168-71, and other material on the Kunta, *passim*. A list of titles of works by Kunta authors is given in W. A. Brown, *The Bakkāʾiyya books of Timbuktu*, in *Research Bull., Centre of Arabic Documentation*, Ibadan, iii/1 (1967), 40-4, and ms. listings appear in C. C. Stewart, *Notes on North and West African manuscript material relating to the Qādiriyya ṭarīqa*, in *ibid.*, iv (1968), 1-25; see also L. Massignon, *Une bibliothèque saharienne*, in *RMM*, viii (1909), 409 ff. The fullest study of Sīdī al-Mukhtār's life and teachings is in A. A. Batran, *Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and the recrudescence of Islām in the Western Sahara and the Middle Niger, c. 1750-1811*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1971; also idem, *The Qādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya brotherhood in West Africa and the concept of taṣawwuf in the writings of Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-*

Kuntī (*1729-1811*), in *Trans-African J. of Hist.* (Nairobi), iv/1-2 (1974), 41-70. For the influence of the Kunta *shaykhs* on Shaykh Sīdiyya, see C. C. Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*, Oxford 1973, 34-53. A history of the eastern Kunta and their *shaykhs* is given in P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, i, Paris 1920, 1-175, and their contemporary situation is described in J. Genevière, *Les Kounta et leurs activités commerciales*, in *BIFAN*, xii (1950), 1111-27. See also Brockelmann, S I, 894; Muḥammed b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930-1, 377; Cne G. Salvy, *Les Kounta du Sud Marocain*, in *Travaux de l'Inst. de Rech. Sahariennes*, vii (1951), 166-86; Kaḥḥāla, iv, 198.

(J. O. Hunwick)

ḲUNŪT (A.), a technical term of Islamic religion, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. "Refraining from speaking", "prayer during the *ṣalāt*", "humility and recognition that one's relation to Allāh is that of a creature to his creator", "standing"—these are the usual dictionary definitions which are also found in the commentaries on different verses of the Ḳur'ān where *ḳunūt* or derivatives from the root *ḳ-n-t* occur. There is hardly one of these for which the context provides a rigid definition of the meaning (see II, 110, 239; III, 15, 38; IV, 38; VI, 121; XXX, 25; XXXIII, 31, 35; XXXIX, 12; LXVI, 5, 12).

The *ḥadīth* gives more definite contexts. "The best *ṣalāt* is a long *ḳunūt*" (e.g. Muslim, *ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trad. 164, 165, *bāb afḍal al-ṣalāt ṭūl al-ḳunūt*; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 168). Here, in the unanimous opinion of all the commentators (see al-Nawawī on the passage), *ḳunūt* means "standing". In the well-known *ḥadīth*: "alike to the fighter on the path of Allāh is he who fasts, who stands, who *ḳānit bi-āyāt Allāh*" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 110), *ḳānit* has obviously the meaning of "to recite standing" (cf. Abu Dāwūd, *Shahr Ramaḍān*, *bāb* 9: "And he who recites 100 verses of the Ḳur'ān standing is enrolled among the *ḳānitūn*"). *Ḳunūt*, however, usually seems to be connected in meaning with *du'ā'*, e.g. in the oft-quoted tradition which tells how Muḥammad in the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* appealed to Allāh for a month against the tribe of Ri'l and Dhakwān, as they had slain the *ḳurrā'* at Bi'r Ma'ūna (*Witr*, *bāb* 7); in this case the meaning is certain from the explanation *yad'ū 'alā* (al-Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7; *Djihād*, *āb* 184). In the parallel tradition, idem, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 28, trad. 3, there is added "and till then we were wont to perform the *ḳunūt*". Some sources (see Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 323) add that this was in the month of Ramaḍān.

The rite also appears in parallel traditions in a more precise form; it is said that the *ḳunūt* took place in the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* (al-Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, *bāb* 59) after the *rukū'* (idem, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is still more precisely defined in a *ḥadīth* in al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 32: "... that he heard how the Prophet when he raised his head after the first *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, said: "O Allāh, curse this and that man (i.e. some of the *munāfiḳūn*); thereupon Allāh revealed: "It does not concern thee whether He turns to them with favour or punishes them" (III, 123). The following is another example of *ḳunūt*: "When the messenger of Allāh lifted his head after the second *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, he said: "O Allāh, save Walīd b. Abī Walīd and Salima b. Hishām and 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a and the weak ones in Mecca. O Allāh, tread heavily on Muḍar and send them years of famine, like the years of Joseph" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 28). According to another tradition, which also goes back to Abū Hurayra (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 126), the *ḳunūt* consisted of prayers and blessings for the Muslims and curses upon the unbelievers.

We are also told that the *ḳunūt* was regularly performed at the morning and evening *ṣalāt* (*subḥ* and *maghrib*; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 177; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 30). Al-Tirmidhī gives the following note on this tradition: "The learned differ in their views about the *ḳunūt* at the *ṣalāt al-fadjr*. Some of the scholars of the *Ṣaḥāba* and later generations advocate this *ḳunūt*, such as Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī". Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] and Isḥāḳ say: "There is no *ḳunūt* uttered at the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* except in case of a calamity, which affects the Muslims as a body". In such a case the *Imām* has to pray for the Muslim armies. *Ẓuhr* and *'ishā'* are also mentioned as *ṣalāt*s into which the *ḳunūt* was inserted (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 126; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 29).

There is further a difference of opinion as to where, in the *ṣalāt*, the *ḳunūt* should be inserted. 'Āṣim is said to have asked Anas b. Mālik about the *ḳunūt*. Anas replied: "The *ḳunūt* took place ..." I asked: "Before or after the *rukū'*?" He replied: "Before the *rukū'*". I said: "But I have been told on your authority, after the *rukū'*". Anas replied: "Then they lied. The apostle of Allāh only uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer after the *rukū'* for a month. I think, after he ..., etc." (here follows the story of Bi'r Ma'ūna, see above, Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is even said that the *ḳunūt* is a *bid'a*. Abu Mālik al-Ashdja' records a tradition on the authority of his father, that the latter had performed the *ṣalāt* under the direction of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and that none of these uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer. He adds "it is therefore also a *bid'a*, my son" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 33).

Nevertheless, it continued to be known as the name of the prayer (*du'ā'*) at the *ṣalāt*. In the books of tradition a formula is given for the *ḳunūt al-witr* (it occurs often and in different forms, though it is not always called *ḳunūt* but is given names like *du'ā'*, etc.): "O Allāh, lead me amongst those whom Thou guidest, and pardon me among those whom Thou pardonest, and care for me among those for whom Thou carest and bless me with what Thou distributest, and protect me from the evil that Thou has decided upon; for Thou decidest and none decides about Thee. Disgrace will never come upon him for whom Thou carest. Thou art blessed and exalted, O our Lord" (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, *bāb* 10). The same formula is found as an element in the *ṣalāt* in al-Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. van den Berg, i, 83, 455-6; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḳ-n-t*, who gives another formula.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orient. Studien, Theod. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 323-29 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, v, 52-8) and the references given there. (A. J. Wensinck)

KUNYA (A.), patronymic, an onomastic element composed of Abū (m.) "father" or Umm (f.) "mother" plus a name. We have here a metonymic designation corresponding to a general tendency among primitive peoples to consider an individual's name as taboo and not to pronounce it unless exceptionally (see J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*, ch. xxii). The *kunya* was therefore accordingly the name which should be used, but in historical times, the original intention here was forgotten, and al-Djāḥiẓ (see *JA* [1967], 70, 82), far from seeing here any

connection with sympathetic magic, counts the *kunya* amongst the claims to glory of the Arabs and, seeing only one aspect of the reality, stresses the honour attaching to it. Nevertheless, it is certain that the use of the *kunya* was not wholly honorific, since it gave the possibility of citing a person whose name, for various reasons, including certain rather humilating ones (e.g. in regard to an enemy), one did not wish to pronounce. In any case, usage was such that the *kunya* sometimes came to predominate over the *ism* [*q.v.*] or name proper, to such an extent that the *ism* of certain personalities cannot be established with certainty, has been forgotten or may even never have existed (see e.g. Abū Ṭālib, Abū Lahab, etc.)

In principle, Abū or Umm is followed by the eldest son's name, and this usage is based on the value which Semitic peoples placed upon their children, and above all their sons. This again points to the importance placed on the punctilious performance of funeral rites, a duty that was incumbent upon the eldest son in particular. There is negative evidence of the connection between the *kunya* and funeral rites from the facts that slaves, as a rule, had no patronymic and that, unless they had been received into the *familia*, they were buried without ceremonies.

However, the *kunya* can be composed of the name of a younger son or even of a daughter, but again, this does not necessarily correspond to reality, and since it is given to a child, the latter might well have no issue of its own throughout his life. The giving of a *kunya* can in effect act as an expression of the hope that its nearer will have a son and will give him a determined name. Several *kunya*s are traditionally attached to certain names (the *ism* [*q.v.*]) by custom or in order to show respect for a precedent; an Ibrāhīm is often called Abū Isḥāḳ or Abū Yaʿḳūb, and a ʿUmar, Abū Ḥafṣ. Contrariwise, in principle it is forbidden to take Muḥammad's *kunya*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, in conformity with the *ḥadīth*, *tasammaw bi-smī wa-lā taktanū bi-kunyatī* "take my name [sc. Muḥammad], but not my *kunya*"; however, this prohibition was considered null and void at the Prophet's death, and it became regarded as sufficient to avoid the coupling of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad. The one and the same person might have more than one *kunya* (e.g. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān had three, Abū ʿAmr, Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abu Laylā), and cases are cited of warriors who had one for use in times of peace and one for times of war (e.g. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and Ḳaṭarī [*q.vv.*]; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 342). On the other hand, the *kunya* may be purely metaphorical and allude to some desired quality, like Abu 'l-Faḍl "father of merit" or Abu 'l-Khayr "father of goodness", etc. In certain cases, it may be a sobriquet based on some personal feature or characteristic, e.g. Abu 'l-Dawānīḳ "father of farthings", given to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, renowned for his meanness, or Abū Hurayra "father of the little cat, kitten", allegedly given this *kunya* because of his love of cats. The *kunya* not unfrequently may have a pejorative sense, as in Abū Djahl "father of ignorance", or point to some physical pecularity, as in Abū Shāma "the man with a birth-mark". In this way, Abū loses its original sense completely and becomes a synonym for *dhū* "the man with . . .".

The *kunya* is also applied, from an early period, to certain animals, e.g. Abū Fāris "lion", Umm ʿĀmir "hyena", Abū Sulaymān "cock", and to all sorts of things which are in some degree personified, e.g. monuments like Abu 'l-Hawl "the Sphinx", and toponyms, e.g. Abū Ḳubays, a mountain. Furthermore, the ancient usage of the words *abū* or *umm* with the sense of *dhū/dhāt* called forth a proliferation, especially obvious in the dialects, of expressive appellations including some term which usually marks out a peculiarity of the person or animal or thing in question, either in a humorous way (*abū liḥya/bū laḥya* "bearded person"; *bū khemsa*, in North Africa, "colonel" with five rank stripes, etc.) or in an euphemistic one (*abu 'l-baṣīr* "blind person", etc.). Some compound expressions of this kind are particularly applied to some plants and their fruit (*abū zaʿḳa* "nux vomica" because of its bitterness (*zaʿḳa*); *abū farwa* "chestnut", from the husk which resembles a fur; etc.), but mainly to certain animals (*abū misalla* or *abū minḳār* or *umm minḳār* "woodcock", with its long beak; *umm arbaʿ wa-arbaʿīn* "centipede"; *abu 'l-waththāb* "flea", from its habit of jumping; etc.).

The *kunya* became very early an onomastic element charged with expressiveness, in such a way that it had a caritative value and could be employed in special circumstances outside the sphere of private life. The warrior who advanced against enemy armies to challenge an enemy to single combat would call himself by his *kunya*, and it was by this name that the tribe would appeal to its champion for help (see Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm, *Dīwān*, ed. Kowalski, fragment 4, v. 38). In official relationships, the caliph sometimes marked out one of his courtiers for special favour by publicly addressing him by his *kunya* and not by his name or *ism*, but after the 5th/11th century, protocol forbade such familiarity (Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. 136-7). Similarly, in correspondence emanating from the chancery, the *kunya* of the addressee was used when the sender wished to honour him (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 430-7).

At the present day, the usage of the *kunya* has disappeared, and the term is sometimes used, in official contexts, together with the *laḳab* [*q.v.*], to denote a family name; but one should remark that a number of patronymics adopted after the setting-up of a civil government in Arabic-speaking countries stem from former *kunya*s and that the nom-de-guerre of several Palestinian fighters is precisely a *kunya*.

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(A. J. Wensinck*)

KUR, the largest river in the Caucasus (according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, 200 *farsakhs* = nearly 800 miles in length). The Kur, known as Cyrus to the Greeks; Nahr al-Kurr to the Arabs; Kura to the Russians (said to be derived from *a-kuara*, "river", in the Abkhāzī tongue); and Mtkvari to the Georgians (said to be derived from *mdinaré*, "river" in the Kartlian dialect), rises in Georgia south of Ardahani (west of Ḳārṣ in the Poso district), and flows northwards to Akhaltzikhé, where it turns east (see map in V. Minorksy, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958, 174). For the rest of its course it maintains a generally west-east alignment, bisecting the city of Tiflis [*q.v.*]. The Kur, 240 feet wide in places, is navigable only by rafts in its upper course, "but lower, 150 miles before the Caspian, large sailing boats may ply, drawing up to 3 ft. of water" (W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*,

London 1971, 8). The navigation of the Kur has only once played a part in political history, at the time of the destruction of the town of Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*] by the Rūs in 332/943-4. Some 100 miles west of the Caspian Sea [see BAḤR AL-KHAZAR], the Kur is joined by the river Aras [*q.v.*], and the "united waters find a double mouth along the sandy foreshore of the Caspian" (Allen, *loc. sit.*) in the Gushtāsfī district. Just east of the confluence with the Aras, the Kur is crossed by a bridge at Djawād. In Islamic times, the Kur formed the boundary between the province of Ḳarābāgh or Arrān [*q.vv.*], and the regions of Shīrwān [*q.v.*] and Georgia [see AL-KURDJ].

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(W. BARTHOLD - [R. M. SAVORY])

AL-KURA, the sphere.

1. The sphere itself. The Arabs studied the properties of the sphere, following Euclid, Archimedes and Theodosius. They also dealt with certain principles of spherical trigonometry, which form the foundations for astronomical theory, the principle of the transversal (*shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*), the principle of the four magnitudes (*al-shakl al-mughnī*) and the principle of the shadow, i.e. of the tangent (*al-shakl al-ẓillī*) following Menelaus and Ptolemy. (On the translations cf. M. Steinschneider in *ZDMG*, i [1896], 161 ff.; the mathematical principles are discussed by H. Bürger and K. Kohl, *Axel Bjørnbo Thābits Werk über den Transversalensatz*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin* [1924], part 7, pp. 1-91; references are given there to the earlier literature also).

2. *al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* (the globe mounted on a stand) is used in two senses:

(a) The globe of the heavens (instead of *al-kura* we also find *al-bayḍa*, the egg, in this sense, e.g. in *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 235, in al-Battanī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, 1913, i, 138; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. iii*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxvii, [1905], 239 ff.). The constellations are painted on a globe. It is placed in a ring which stands on 3 or 4 legs Such globes have been prepared and described. perhaps as early as by Hipparchus, at any rate by Ptolemy. Ptolemy's description is given in the Arabic translations of the *Almagest* and in separate treatises. One such globe, erroneously ascribed to Ptolemy, was seen in Cairo in 435/1043-4 by Ibn al-Sandbadī (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 440). The globes were made of wood covered with paper or with different metals. Hollow globes could also be made of metal, which were then fastened to wooden spheres. ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar al-Taʿāsīf used a gilt wooden globe (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 497; H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, no. 358). The making of such globes and the errors that occur in them were fully discussed by al-Bīrūnī (*Beitrage zur Gesch. der Mathematik, etc.*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und Medizin*, part 4 [1922], 79-93; cf. also H. Schnell, *ibid.*, in a later part).

The astronomical instrument prepared by al-Idrīsī for King Roger of Sicily was apparently an armillary sphere.

(b) *al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* is also an arrangement by which one follows the movements of the heavens. The horizontal ring is directed to the horizon; it is notched at right angles in two opposite points, a meridian ring is placed in the notches and allowed to go to its lowest position in a groove. The globe itself turns round an axis which is placed in round holes at two opposite points on the meridian ring. Divisions are marked on the horizon and on the meridian ring. By turning the meridian ring in its grooves, the axis of the globe can be inclined at will to the horizon and the instrument can thus be used for all latitudes. A quadrant with divisions which can be placed on the globe enables many kinds of measurements to be taken. With this globe, the magnitudes of importance in astronomy, *al-ṭāliʿ*, *al-maṭāliʿ*, the props of the earth etc., can be obtained.

The oldest Arabic work on the subject is by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*] and exists in Arabic in several editions, e.g. that of al-Marrākushī; it may go back to classical originals, as is probable in view of the author's relation to the Greeks. It was also translated into Latin, and into Spanish by Alfonso of Castile (*Libros del Saber*, i).

If the globe is left out and a series of other rings is added to the horizon and meridian rings, which correspond to circles in the heavens, we get the armillary sphere (*ālat dhāt al-ḥalaḳ*), the instrument with the rings with which the ancients, the Arabs and notably Alfonso of Castile, occupied themselves a great deal.

Bibliography: B. Dorn, *Drei astronomische Instrumente*, in *Mėms. de l'Acad. impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, series 7, vol. ix, no. 1 31; L. Am. Sedillot, *Mém. sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Acad. R. des Inscriptions*, etc., Paris 1844, series 1, vol. i, 1-229; F. Nolte, *Über die Armillarsphäre*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch., etc.*, part 2, 1-50. Nolte also gives the earlier literature.

3. *al-Kura al-muḥarriḳa*, the burning-glass (lit. the strongly-burning globe). Even the ancients knew the property possessed by rock crystal and glass globes of concentrating sunlight falling upon them on one point and setting alight an inflammable material there. But we find no indications that any scholar of antiquity studied the theory of this phenomenon. Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.vv.*] investigated this theory very brilliantly. Ibn al-Haytham starts from the values, given in a table of Ptolemy's and collected by himself also, of the angle of incidence, angle of divergence and angle of refraction of a ray of light falling on a smooth surface of glass, and investigates the path of the rays when they strike the surface of the globe at different distances from the axis drawn between the sun and the centre of the ball. It is proved that after refraction they all meet on the opposite surface of the globe in a little section from which they emerge with their direction altered. They cut the axis at different distances from the ball: the majority, however, meet at a point distant less than half the radius of the ball, and this is the burning point. If drawings are placed in the cone of rays formed by the rays coming from it, for example a red circular surface with a black ring upon, it and this is looked at through the front of the ball, remarkable figures are seen; these were also studied very fully by Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn; they were able even then to reach the same results as Schellbach at a later date.

Bibliography: J. Würschmidt, *Die Brennkugel*, in *Monatshefte für den naturwissenschaftl. Unterricht*, iv (1911), 98-113; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. xix, Über die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln nach Ibn al-Haitam und Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlii (1910), 15-58; cf. also the references in the article ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪRA, a term designating, in the geographers and in official documents, an administrative unit within a province. It was felt as being a loan

word, certain authors giving it an Iranian origin, although a Greek origin (from χώρα) seems more likely. The exact definition of a *kūra* varies according to authors. Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih enumerates, in the same region, that of Ḥimṣ in Syria, *kūras* and *iḳlīms* at the same time, so that in this case, the two terms seem to be equivalent [see IḲLĪM]. But most of the geographers reserve the term *iḳlīm* for a region or province, call the districts *kūras*, and distinguish within these districts cantons called *tassūdjs* or *rustāḳs*; this is distinguished in particular by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*passim*, and tr. Massé, *Abrégé*, index) and al-Muḳaddasī (*passim* and tr. Miquel, index). Usually, the *kūra* has a chef-lieu which is often called a *ḳaṣaba*.

According to Yāḳūt, the *kūra* is the equivalent of the Persian *istān*, with the *istān* comprising several *rustāḳs*, the *rustāḳ* several *tassūdjs*, and the *tassūdj* several villages; thus Nāʾīn is a *tassūdj* belonging to the *rustāḳ* of Yazd, which comes within the *istān* of Iṣṭakhr, in the province of Fārs (W. Juwaideh, *The introductory chapter of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 56-8).

In mediaeval documents relating to Syria, acts of sale or *waḳfs*, the following classification is found: a *kūra* like that forming the Ghūṭa of Damascus comprises cantons (*iḳlīm*) which themselves contain villages (*ḳarya*) (see J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Trois actes de vente damascains du début du IVe/Xe siècle*, in *JESHO*, viii [1965], esp. 169 and n. 4, and also *Biens fonciers constitués waqf en Syrie fāṭimide*, in *JESHO*, xv [1972], 289-91). This usage of the term *iḳlīm* is apparently peculiar to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Yaḳūt (Juwaideh, *op. cit.*, 39-40). It is further used thus in al-Andalus, which is explicable by the influence of Syrian practices in that country.

In al-Andalus, a simple province of the original Islamic empire, there existed, as elsewhere, administrative divisions called *kūras*, of which certain ones were, in origin, "militarised zones", i.e. they held contingents of soldiers who were maintained on the revenues of land grants; these divisions were therefore termed *kūra mudjannada* (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 47-53).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(D. SOURDEL)

ḲURʿA (A.), in a technical sense designates rhapsodomancy. It is an Islamic divinatory procedure, analogous to bibliomancy; but in current usage the term refers to the drawing of lots, whatever form this may take, and this has been used following the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of *istiḳsām* [*q.v.*] and of *maysir* [*q.v.*], the two principal cleromantic techniques of pagan Arabia.

I. In the usual sense of "the drawing of lots", the term *ḳurʿa*, originally applied to "a wineskin with broad base and narrow neck" (*TA*, v, 453, l. 23) which probably served as a receptacle for the shaking of the lots, is still used in the present day in the sense of choosing and electing by lot or by vote. Monks choose among the novices those to whom they propose to give the habit, by *ḳurʿa* (the lots used being grains of wheat for "yes" and grains of barley for "no"). The polling station for legislative elections (*intikhābāt*) is called *maktab al-iḳtirāʿ*. In Ottoman Turkish circles, *ḳurʿa* was practised in the recruitment of conscripts, whence comes the expression *ḳurʿaya girmek* signifying "to reach the age of military service". A. Musil notes that in Arabia Petraea, the term *ḳurʿa* refers to a ball serving the function of a lottery ticket, made out of strips of paper bearing the names of the parties which are rolled in a ball of clay or wax and which are drawn out by persons who were not present during the inscription of the names or the rolling of the balls (*Arabia Petraea*, iii, 294).

The permanence of this usage is attested by the fact that the Prophet used to "draw lots" (*ḳāraʿa*) in order to decide which of his wives could accompany him in his travels (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1519), a procedure that he also used for the distribution of loot taken in raids (Ibn Saʿd, ii/l, 78, 82, 83), and also by the fact that a chieftain chosen by the drawing of lots was called *maḳrūʿ* (*TA*, *loc. cit.*, l, 8).

The legitimacy of recourse to *ḳurʿa* was acknowledged at a very early stage through imitation of the Prophet. *Ḥadīth* describes a number of cases where the latter resorted to *ḳurʿa* for a solution to questions of distribution (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*; al-Kasṭallānī, iv, 416 ff.).

In certain cases, where any decision is liable to appear unjust to one party or the other, the judge may resort to *ḳurʿa* (cf. al-Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Calcutta 1818, 813-14; tr. Hamilton, 2nd ed. London 1870, 565-6). Of the eleven cases of *ḳurʿa* listed in the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (ed. Van den Berg, i, 119-20, 324; ii, 328, 404-5; iii, 99-100, 461-2) only two are considered impermissible.

II. In this list there is confusion between the drawing of lots and rhapsodomancy. On the latter, opinions vary as to its legitimacy. While al-Ḳasṭallānī, in his commentary on al-Bukhārī, concedes its legitimacy, following the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997), other authors like Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148), in *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520-5/1126-31) and Shihāb al-Dīn Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Ḳarafī (d. 684/1405), quoted by al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (ed. Būlāḳ 1284/1867), ii, 119, oppose the use of the Ḳurʾān for *faʾl* [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 737/1336) expands on this prohibition in a chapter entitled *Karāhat akhdh al-faʾl min al-muṣḥaf* (cf. *Madkhal*, i, 878).

Of what does Islamic rhapsodomancy consist? Like bibliomancy, it is a divinatory procedure involving the interpretation of verses or parts of verses or prophetic words encountered by chance on opening the Ḳurʾān or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. This practice is attested as early as the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period (cf. accounts relating to the end of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II, d. 126/744, and to that of Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, d. 158/775, in al-Damīrī, ii, 119; Fahd, *Divination*, 215).

This consulting of the two most venerated books in Islam takes place in various forms, as the rhapsodomantic writings that are available to us bear witness:

(1) *Ḳurʿat al-Imām Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib* or *Djaʿfariyya* (ms. Aya Sofya 1999, fols. 2-18b, 21.2 × 16 cm., a fine illuminated *naskhī* text dating from 907/1501), containing rhapsodomantic interpretations of Ḳurʾānic verses. Patronage of this art, propagated by the Shīʿa, is attributed to Djaʿfar, the Prophet's cousin, killed at the battle of Muʾta, in 8/629, because at the time of departure, one of his companions, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, drew a rhapsodomantic conclusion from a Ḳurʾānic verse relating to Hell (Ḳurʾān, XIX, 71) enunciated by the Prophet, and had a presentiment of the death of Djaʿfar.

(2) *al-Ḳurʿa al-Maʾmūniyya*, attributed to Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (d. after 256/870), containing, in the form of tables, 144 questions, followed by 144 chapters, each comprising 12 answers; cf. ms. Aya Sofya 1999, 3, fols. 59-138a: *al-Ḳurʿa al-mubāraka*

al-Maʾmūniyya, a copy dating from 700/1300-1. The same *madjmūʿa* (fols. 19a-58a) contains an opuscule entitled *al-Ḳurʿa al-Dawazdhhamradj* (= *maʿrifat istikhrādj al-ḍamīr*) by an anonymous author, but an essay bearing an analogous title (*K. al-dawʾir-hamradj*) in the Library of the University of Istanbul (A 6292, 79 fols., 19 × 13 cm., a poor *naskhī* text from 1179/1765), carries the name of al-Kindī.

Two other works of *ḳurʿa* are attributed to al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833): *Ḳurʿa li-ikhrādj al-faʾl wa 'l-ḍamīr* (Cairo ms. 7612, dating from 1058/1648) and *Ḳurʿa li 'l-Maʾmūn* (Cairo ms. 7613). These differ from the above and contain at the end some rhapsodomantic poems attributed to various authors.

(3) *al-Ḳurʿa al-Djawhariyya* (ms. Saray, Ahmet, III 1600, 1, fols. 1a-23b, 36.5 × 18 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.) marks a perceptible evolution in the practice of rhapsodomancy. In fact, the use of Ḳurʾānic verses interpreted according to the method of *taʾwīl* or allegorical exegesis, is supplemented by arithmomantic procedures (*ḥisāb al-djummal* or *ḥisāb al-nīm*), which play a part in *djafr* [*q.v.*] and in *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* [*q.v.*] *wa 'l-asmāʾ*. This consists, in the event, of combining the four consonants of the word *djawhar* *djdjw*, *djdjh*, *djdjr*, *djrh*, etc.). Each paragraph contains a prose interpretation of the combination, followed by another in verse, introduced by the formula *ḳāla al-rādjiz*.

In the *Ḳurʿat ḥurūf al-muʿdjam* (ms. Köprülü Fazil P. 164, fols. 57a-65b, 18 × 14 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.), the letters are arranged according to the *abdjad*, on three horizontal lines:

ʾ b dj d h w z ḥ ṭ y
k l m n s ʿ f ṣ
ḳ r sh t th kh dh ḍ ẓ gh

The inquirer selects one of these letters at random and is referred to the paragraph where the meaning of this letter is explained in verse (cf. the examples in Flügel, *Loosbücher*, 59-70).

In the *Ḳurʿat Dāniyāl*, it is numbers, formulated in two phrases, which serve as the *ḳurʿā*. These phrases are arranged in the following manner:

Ḳāraʿtu anā aḥad	*Ḳāraʿta anta aḥad*
Ḳāraʿtu anā ithnayn	*Ḳāraʿta anta ithnayn*
Ḳāraʿtu anā thalāth	*Ḳāraʿta anta thalāth*
Ḳāraʿtu anā ithnayn	*Ḳāraʿta anta aḥad, etc.*

The meaning of these formulae is explained, as in the essay discussed above, in the form of verses introduced by *ḳāla al-rādjiz* (cf. ms. AS 523, fols. 95a-103a, 26 × 17 cm., *naskhī* from 840/1436-7). In the *Fihrist*, 314, a similar essay is attributed to Daniel, to Iskandar Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn (with arrows), to Pythagoras (cf. P. Tannery, *Notices sur des fragments d'onomatomancie arithmétique*, in *Notices et Extraits*, xxxi/2 [1886], 231-60 = *Mémoires scientifiques*, ix, 17-50), to Ibn al-Murtaḥil and to the Christians.

The greatest degree of complexity attained by this type of *ḳurʿa* appears in three works which al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) claims that he translated (from Hindustani?) bearing the following titles: *al-Ḳurʿa al-muṣarriḥa bi 'l-ʿawāḳib* ("The *ḳurʿa* which gives clear indications of consequences"), *al-Ḳurʿa al-muthammana li'stinbāt al-ḍamāʾir al-mukhammana* ("The eightfold *ḳurʿa* for the discovery of inner thoughts in the mind") and *Sharḥ mazāmīr al-ḳurʿa al-muthammana* ("Commentary of the reeds of the eightfold *ḳurʿa*") (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1976, Introd., p. xlv).

(4) Too complicated for popular usage, these *ḳurʿas* have yielded place to a series of much simpler *ḳurʿas*, based essentially on the drawing of lots, such as *ḳurʿat al-anbiyāʾ*, consisting of looking for the answer to the question that one poses in the name of the Prophet on whom the finger falls; *Ḳurʿat al-ṭuyūr* (*ṭayr* to be taken here in the broad sense of "fortune", good or bad) which draws a conclusion from every omen presenting itself at the moment of consultation, including the flight of birds; *ḳurʿa maymūna* ("The *ḳurʿa* crowned with success"), etc. (cf. refs. in *Divination*, 218, n. 4). Thus the term *ḳurʿa* acquires a generic sense and serves to designate various forms of divination by lot (such as *Ḳurʿat al-raml*, *Ḳurʿat li-ikhrādj al-faʾl wa 'l-ḍāmir*, etc.).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 214-19; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion en Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 376-7; G. Flügel, *Die Loosbücher der Muhammadaner*, in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichsächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil. Kl. xii-xiii (1860-1), 24-74; G. Weil, *Die Königslose J. G. Wetzteins freie Nachdichtung eines arabischen Loosbüches überarbeitet und eingeleitet*, in *MSOS*, xxxi (1928), 1-69; D. C. Phillot, *Bibliomancy, divination, superstitions amongst the Persians*, in *JASB*, N.S., ii (1906), 339-42; Abdul-Kadir-e-Sarfaraz, Khan Bahadur, *Divination by the Diwan of Ḥāfiẓ*, in *M. P. Kharegat Memorial*, i, 1953, 276-94; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 245-6. (T. FAHD)

ḲURAMA, according to Radloff (*Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 924) "a Turkish tribe in Turkistan"; the same authority gives the Kirgiz (i.e. Ḳazaḳ) word *ḳurama* (from *ḳura*, "to sew together pieces of cloth") with the meaning "a blanket made of pieces of cloth sewn together". In another passage (*Aus Sibirien*², Leipzig 1893, i, 225) Radloff himself says that the Kurama are "a mixed people of Özbegs and Kirgiz" and their name comes from the fact, asserted by the Kirgiz, that "they are made up of patches from many tribes" (*kura* to "patch together"). He further says that the Kurama are "a settled tribe" between Tashkent and Khodjand, to be more accurate, on the river Angren (a corruption of Āhengerān) south of Tashkent. In Russian sources we find it stated as early as 1875 that the Kurama first arose in the 18th century. But as early as 1045/1635 in the description of the wars between the Ḳazaḳ and Özbegs on the Angren we find the "leaders of the Kurama" (*sardārān-i Ḳūramā*) mentioned (Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār*, India Office ms. 575, f. 119a).

Under the rule of the Khāns of Khoḳand in the 19th century, the word Kurama is used not only as an ethnographic but also as a geographical term and the name of an administrative division. The road from Khoḳand to Tashkent over the Kendir-Dawan pass was called the Kurama road (*Rāh-i Ḳūrama*, e.g. in the *Taʾrikh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusov, Kazan 1885, 238). The Kurama were ruled by a Beg who lived in the fortress of Kercuči (in the written language Kīrāwčī; on Russian maps also Kelyaučī). This use of the word Kurama was retained for some time under Imperial Russian rule. In the division of the territory (*oblast*) of Sīr-Daryā into districts (*uʾezd*), what later (after 1880) became known as the "district of Tashkent" was called the "district of Kurama" (*Kuraminskiy uʾezd*). The centre of government of the district was intended to be the little town of Toy-Tübe founded in the reign of Madali Khān (1822-42; cf. KHOḲAND); but the district headman (*uʾezniy načal'nik*) actually lived at Küylük on the Čirčik. Under Russian as under Khoḳand rule, the district of Kurama was of considerable economic importance as a centre of rice-growing. Russian

ethnographers put the Kurama in a class by themselves as descendants of nomads (Kirgiz, i.e. Ḳazaḳ) who have become agriculturists (Sarts, *q.v.*). In spite of the adoption of the Sart mode of life, the Kurama never quite lost their particular characteristics inherited from their nomadic ancestors.

This could still be seen in the early 20th century. Unlike the Sarts, the Kurama lived, like the Ḳazaḳ, in yurts; their wives, as with the Ḳazaḳ, were unveiled. In other respects, however, the Kurama had advanced further from their nomadic ancestors than they had at the beginning of Russian rule. At that time, Radloff and other observers could still distinguish among them the division into families. According to Radloff there were five of these Djulayr, Telău (this name is still borne by a village inhabited by the Kurama), Tama, Djagalbayli and Tarakli. This division is now quite lost; where traces of it still exist, marriages between members of one family are no longer—as among the Ḳazaḳ—considered illegal. The fact that the Kurama are a mixed people can still be recognised; besides the mixture of different stocks among them there has been, according to Zarubın, a mixture of different social ranks. The Kurama themselves do not use this name, although they do with the addition of another ethnic (Kirgiz-Kurama, Sart-Kurama). The number of the Kurama in the district of Tashkent (formerly Kurama) was in 1917 52,335; in 1920 49,697. There were further some 9,330 Kurama in the district of Khodjand. The word with the meaning of "mixed people" is also found in the area where Turkoman languages are spoken, but these Kurama have no connection with those on the Angren.

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AL-ḲURʾĀN (A.), the Muslim scripture, containing the revelations recited by Muḥammad and preserved in a fixed, written form.

OUTLINE OF THE ARTICLE

1. ETYMOLOGY AND SYNONYMS

a. Derivation and Ḳurʾānic usage. The earliest attested usage of the term *ḳurʾān* is in the Ḳurʾān itself, where it occurs about 70 times with a variety of meanings. Most Western scholars have now accepted the view developed by F. Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 33 f.) and others that *ḳurʾān* is derived from the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, "scripture reading, lesson", as used in Christian liturgy (see for example the 6th century Syriac mss., Brit. Museum, Add. 14, 432, e.g. *ḳeryānā d-yôm bāʿawātā*, "lection for the Day of Supplications", fol. 43b). See also J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, lxvii (1913), 634; J. Horovitz, *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 67; *Foreign vocab.*, 233 f.; Bell-Watt, 136 f. (for works abbreviated in this article, see *Bibl.*). The majority view among Muslim authorities has been that *ḳurʾān* is simply the verbal noun from *ḳaraʾa*, "he read" or "he recited". Both views find some support in the Ḳurʾān, where the verb *ḳaraʾa* does occur, but not as frequently as the usual term for reading or reciting, *talā*. In early Kûfic manuscripts we find *ḳurān* without the *hamza*, causing some authorities such as Ḳatāda and Abû ʿUbayda to derive it from *ḳarana*, "he put together" or "he bound together" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31 f.). Against this view it should be noted that the omission of the *hamza* was a characteristic of Meccan speech and early Kûfic Ḳurʾānic script, and that the term *ḳurʾān* is closely related to the verb *ḳaraʾa* in Ḳurʾānic usage. The soundest conclusion seems to be that the term *ḳurʾān* originated in the Ḳurʾān itself to represent the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, but was based on an Arabic *maṣdar* form (*fuʿlān*) from *ḳaraʾa*.

The verb *ḳaraʾa* occurs in the Ḳurʾān 17 times, usually meaning "recite", but occasionally "read (aloud?)". Where it clearly means "recite", it is always the Ḳurʾān that is recited, usually by Muḥammad (XVI, 98, XVII, 45, 106, etc.). But in one of the earliest contexts it is God who recited the revelation to Muḥammad: "When we recite it, follow its recitation" (LXXV, 18), and in one of the latest contexts (LXXIII, 20) it is the believers (see below). *Ḳaraʾa* means "read" in four or five verses, always with "book" (*kitāb*). In XVII, 93, Muḥammad is challenged by some unbelievers to ascend to heaven and bring down a book they can read for themselves. Three passages (XVII, 14, 71, and LXIX, 19) refer to the record books to be read at the Last Judgment, and one (X, 94) refers to some of Muḥammad's contemporaries—probably Jews and Christians—as "those who have been reciting [or reading] the Book" before him. Rudi Paret (*Übersetzung, ad locc.*) is no doubt correct in seeing in the Ḳurʾān different nuances in the meaning of *ḳaraʾa*, which he translates as *lesen, verlesen, rezitieren*, and *vortragen*. But there may not be as much variation in the Ḳurʾānic usage of this verb as these terms suggest, since where it

means "recite" it could be interpreted "recite (the Ḳur'ān) from written notes", and where it means "read" it could be interpreted "read aloud".

Most occurrences of the term *ḳur'ān* in the Muslim scripture date from a period of about ten years beginning when Muḥammad began to perform the *ṣalāt* publicly and ending around the time of the battle of Badr in 624. It is impossible to date the contexts precisely or determine their exact chronological order, but the general development of the Ḳur'ānic usage of *ḳur'ān* is fairly clear. (Unless otherwise indicated, all statements on dating in this article are the present writer's own conclusions. In most cases these analyses tend to support the conclusions reached by Richard Bell, who also dated individual pericopes rather than entire *sūras*—see section 5 below.)

(1) Among the earliest meanings of *ḳur'ān* is "act of reciting", seen in two passages where God addresses Muḥammad: "Ours is it to put it together and [Ours is] its *ḳur'ān*. When We recite it follow its *ḳur'ān*" (LXXV, 17 f.), and "Observe the *ṣalāt* at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and [observe] the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn; surely the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn is well attested" (XVII, 78). This last verse provides useful insight into the relationship between the *ṣalāt* and the *ḳur'ān* at the time when both were just being instituted. (2) In some verses *ḳur'ān* means "an individual passage recited [by Muḥammad]". In LXXII, 1 f. the Prophet is informed that "a number of the jinn listened, and said: 'Verily, we have heard a *ḳur'ān*, a wonder, which guides to rectitude, so we have believed in it'." See also X, 61, XIII, 31, and cf. X, 15. (3) In a large majority of contexts, dating mostly from the late Meccan and very early Medinan years, *ḳur'ān*, usually with the definite article, has a complex meaning involving several elements. It is the "revelation" (*tanzīl*) sent down by God upon Muḥammad (XX, 2 ff., LXXVI, 23, etc.). It is sent down at intervals (XVII, 106, XXV, 32), and in some contexts it appears to be something in God's possession that is larger than what has so far been "sent down": "What We send down of *al-ḳur'ān* is a healing and mercy to the believers" (XVII, 82). In other contexts *al-ḳur'ān* refers to a collection of revelations in Muḥammad's possession, which he is commanded to recite (XXVII, 91 f.; cf. XVI, 98, XVII, 45). Its liturgical setting is seen in a number of passages, such as VII, 204: "So when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited [by Muḥammad], listen to it and keep silent" and LXXXIV, 20 f.: "Then what ails them, that they believe not, and when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited to them they do not bow?" Specific references to other Muslims reciting parts of *al-ḳur'ān* occur only in one or two Medinan passages, such as LXXIII, 20, where the believers are told to recite during the night vigil only as much of *al-ḳur'ān* as is convenient or easy (*mā tayassar*) for them. (4) In a number of contexts that appear to be early Medinan, dating from before LXXIII, 20, the *ḳur'ān* (sometimes without the definite article) is said to be an Arabic version of "the Book" (*al-kitāb*): "By the clear Book. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān*" (XLIII, 2 f.; see also XII, 1 f., XLI, 2 f., and other verses quoted below). The closest the Ḳur'ān comes to using the term *al-ḳur'ān* with its present meaning as the name of the Muslim scripture is where it is mentioned with the Torah and the Gospel in IX, 111, in a construction that suggests three parallel scriptures. But it must be remembered that the revelation was not yet complete, and the final scripture was not compiled until after Muḥammad's death.

b. Synonyms in the Ḳur'ān. The meaning of the term *ḳur'ān* and the origin of the Muslim scripture cannot be understood fully without taking into consideration the Ḳur'ānic usage of several other closely related terms, especially *āya*, *kitāb*, and *sūra*, but also *dhikr*, *mathānī*, *ḥikma*, and others. Each of these terms has its own distinct, basic meaning in the Ḳur'ān, but in some contexts their usages converge with that of *ḳur'ān*.

The basic meaning of *āya*, like the related Hebrew *ōth* and the Syriac *āthā*, is "sign", in the sense of a token of some unseen reality or truth. Its derivation is uncertain. It would most naturally come from *'-w-h*, corresponding with the Hebrew *'āwāh*, but such a root does not exist in Arabic, and the Arabic form would be difficult to explain as a borrowing from Hebrew or Syriac (see *Foreign vocab.*, 72 f.). *Āya* and its plural *āyāt* occur in the Ḳur'ān almost 400 times, most frequently in reference to natural phenomena that confirm God's power and bounty and call for gratitude from man. These are the so-called "sign-passages", discussed below in 7.b. In other contexts *āya* refers to some extraordinary event or miracle that confirms the truth of the message of a prophet. Then in late Meccan or possibly very early Medinan passages, probably in response to the continuing demands for a miracle from Muḥammad, *āya* takes on a new meaning—"revealed message". And finally in a number of Medinan passages *āya* comes to be used for the basic unit of revelation. Later Muslim scholars interpreted *āya* in these passages to mean "verse", but the Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation, except that in some contexts they are said to be parts of the *ḳur'ān*, the *kitāb*, and possibly of a *sūra*.

Kitāb, literally "book, writing", occurring 255 times in the singular and six times in the plural (*kutub*), is among the most difficult terms in the Ḳur'ān to interpret. Only rarely does it refer to some everyday type of writing, e.g. a letter sent by Solomon to the Queen of Sheba (XXVII, 28 f.), and a document of manumission (XXIV, 33). Sometimes it refers to a record of men's deeds (XVII, 71, XVIII, 49, XXXIX, 69, etc.), events that have been prescribed (XVII, 58, XXXV, 11, etc.), or God's knowledge (VI, 59, X, 61, XI, 6, etc.). The commentators tend to interpret these passages as referring to actual celestial books, a view also adopted by most Western writers on the topic. A. Jeffery (*The Qur'ān as scripture*, in *MW*, XL [1950], 47-50) saw references to the ancient Near Eastern Record Book, Book of Decrees, and Inventory Book, while G. Widengren (*Muḥammad, the apostle of God, and his ascension*, 1955, 115-22) argued that these passages referred to a single "Heavenly Book". There is no conclusive evidence in the Ḳur'ān for either view, and there are serious problems with any literal interpretation of these verses, all of which could just as well be taken as metaphorical references to God's knowledge and decrees. A similar interpretation is possible for those verses usually regarded as referring to the heavenly original of the Ḳur'ān, e.g., "Indeed it is a noble *ḳur'ān* in a treasured *kitāb* touched only by the purified" (LVI, 77-9), "Nay, it is a glorious *ḳur'ān* in a preserved tablet" (LXXXV, 21 f.), and "By the clear *kitāb*. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān* . . . it is in the *umm al-kitāb* with Us" (XLIII, 1-4; cf. III, 7, and XIII, 39, which are even more ambiguous). There is in fact no clear indication in these verses or anywhere in the Ḳur'ān of a heavenly original or archetype of the Muslim scripture. This concept has been read into the text by the

later commentators. By far the most frequent usage of *kitāb* in the Ḳur'ān is in reference to God's revelation to Muḥammad and to certain religious communities that existed before and during his time, especially the Jews and Christians, who are called "the people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*). This complex series of ideas involving the Ḳur'ān, the Book, Muḥammad, and the People of the Book is discussed in more detail in section 2 below.

The term *sūra*, occurring in the Ḳur'ān nine times in the singular and once in the plural (*suwar*), seems to be derived from the Syriac *ṣūrṭā*, *sūrthā*, "scripture, scripture reading" (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31; *Foreign vocab.*, 180-2). In the Ḳur'ān *sūra* refers to a unit of revelation and could be translated "scripture" or "revelation". Several verses mention a *sūra* being "sent down" (IX, 64, 86, 124, 127, XLVII, 20, etc.), in contexts that are similar to some Ḳur'ānic usages of *āya*, *ḳur'ān*, and *kitāb*. And Muḥammad's opponents, who are dissatisfied with what he has been reciting, are challenged to "produce a *sūra* like it" (II, 23, X, 38) or "ten *suwar* like it" (XI, 13). Cf. XXVIII, 49, where the challenge is to produce a *kitāb* from God. The Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to how long these units of revelation were. They were most likely only parts of the present *sūras*.

The Ḳur'ānic usages of *ḳur'ān*, *āya*, *kitāb*, and *sūra* converge at the following points: (1) *Ḳur'ān*, *āya*, and *sūra* are each used sometimes for the basic unit of revelation, a pericope consisting most likely of several verses (e.g. X, 61, II, 106, and X, 38, respectively), and *kitāb* may have the same meaning in XXVIII, 49, and a few other places. (2) *Ḳur'ān* (e.g. XXXIV, 31) and *kitāb* (e.g. II, 89, VI, 92, 155, VII, 2) sometimes mean "a scripture", and *sūra* may have this meaning in XXIV, 1. (3) Occasionally *ḳur'ān* and *kitāb* are used for the revelation of God as a whole, only part of which has been sent down, e.g. XVII, 82, quoted above, and XXXV, 31: "And what We have revealed to you [Muḥammad] of the *kitāb* is the truth, confirming what was before it". (4) Usually, however, there is a distinction. *Kitāb*, when referring to the revelation, usually means the "Book of God", the revelation as a whole, while *ḳur'ān* usually means that part of the revelation that has been sent down to Muḥammad, e.g. X, 37: "This *ḳur'ān* is . . . a distinct setting forth of the *kitāb* in which there is no doubt" and XII, 1 f.: "These are the *āyāt* of the clear *kitāb*. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic *ḳur'ān*".

Other technical terms used in the Ḳur'ān for the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad include the following. (1) Three nouns from the verb *d̲h̲akara*, "to remember, to mention", are used for the revelation in the sense of a reminder or warning: *tad̲h̲kira* in LXXIII, 19, LXXVI, 29, etc.; *d̲h̲ikrā* in VI, 90, XI, 120, etc.; and *d̲h̲ikr* in the formula, "It is nothing but a *d̲h̲ikr* to the worlds", at the end of the *sūras* XXXVIII, LXVIII, LXXXI, etc., in the introductory formula to XXXVIII where it is connected with *al-ḳur'ān*, and in VII, 63, 69, etc. (2) The term *mat̲h̲ānī* has puzzled Muslim commentators and given rise to several theories among Western interpreters of the Ḳur'ān. Even if it is a derivative of the Hebrew *mis̲h̲nāh* (*Koran. Untersuchungen*, 26-8) or the Syriac or Aramaic *mat̲h̲nit̲h̲ā* (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 114-16), the term *mat̲h̲ānī* must have been influenced by the Arabic *t̲h̲anā*, "to double, repeat"; cf. *mat̲h̲nā*, "by twos", in IV, 3, XXXIV, 46, and XXXV, 1. Thus it is probably best translated as "repetitions" (Bell, *Trans.*, 247; Blachère, *Trad.*, 290). But it refers to the revelation sent down to Muḥammad: "We have given thee seven of the *mat̲h̲ānī* and the wondrous *ḳur'ān*" (XV, 87), and "God has sent down the best of accounts, in agreement with itself, *mat̲h̲ānī* at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep" (XXXIX, 23). The commentators usually take the "seven *mat̲h̲ānī*" to be the seven verses of the Fātiḥa [*q.v.*]. A more likely interpretation is that this term refers to the punishment-stories (see 6.d and 7.d below), which Bell suggested may have once formed a collection separate from the Ḳur'ān (Bell-Watt, 134f., 143f.). For the literature, see *Foreign vocab.*, 257 f., and Paret, *Kommentar*, 279f. (3) *Ḥikma*, "wisdom", probably from the Aramaic *ḥek̲h̲mā*, is used in several Medinan passages for the revelation or part of it. God sends down the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* to Muḥammad (II, 231, IV, 113, etc.). Muḥammad recites the *āyāt*, and teaches the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* (LXII, 2). And the *āyāt* and the *ḥikma* are recited in the Muslims' homes (XXXIII, 34). These verses should probably be interpreted in the light of IV, 105, where it is said that Muḥammad is to judge (*taḥkum*) mankind on the basis of the Book sent down to him. For the literature, see *Foreign vocab.*, 111, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 68. The term *ḳur'ān* as the name of the Muslim scripture acquired connotations of these terms and others used for the revelation "sent down" to Muḥammad; see also Bell-Watt, 145-7, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 19, on *furḳān*.

2. Muḥammad and the Ḳur'ān

The Muslim scripture and Muḥammad's prophetic experience are so closely linked that one cannot be fully understood without the other. The orthodox view of the dramatic form of the Ḳur'ān is that God is the speaker throughout, Muḥammad is the recipient, and Gabriel is the intermediary agent of revelation—regardless of who may appear to be the speaker and addressee. An analysis of the text shows that the situation is considerably more complex than this. In what appear to be the oldest parts of the Ḳur'ān, the speaker and the source of the revelation are not indicated. In some passages (XCI, 1-10, CI, CII, CIII, etc.) there is not even any indication that the message is from a deity (on this, cf. Muir, *Mohammed*, 39 ff.), and in some (LXXXI, 15-21, LXXXIV, 16-19, XCII, 14-21, etc.) Muḥammad seems to be the speaker. In the earliest passages that mention Muḥammad's God, he is not named but is spoken of in the third person, usually as "my Lord", "your Lord", etc. (LI, 1-23, LII, 1-16, LXXIV, 1-10, LXXX, 1-32, LXXXIV, 1-19, LXXXVIII, 1-22, XCVI, 1-8, etc.). From LIII, 10, LXXXI, 23, and other verses it is clear that Muḥammad had visions of God, and at least in the Meccan years it was the voice of God himself, and not some intermediary, that Muḥammad heard. In the earliest passages to indicate the source of the revelation, God is the speaker and the direct source, e.g., "We shall cast upon thee [Muḥammad] a mighty word" (LXXIII, 5) and "We shall cause thee to recite without forgetting" (LXXXVII, 6). And a number of late Meccan and early Medinan passages speak of God reciting the *āyāt*, the *ḳur'ān*, and the *kitāb* to Muḥammad (II, 252, III, 108, XLV, 6, etc.).

But during the same period a series of passages have the effect of elevating God from direct revelation. This is done in two ways: the message is said to be brought down by certain intermediaries, and it is connected in some way with "the Book" (*al-kitāb*). Both of these concepts occur in XLII, 51 ff., where it is explicitly denied that God speaks directly to Muḥammad: "It is not fitting that God should

speak to any mortal except by inspiration (*waḥy*), or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to inspire whatever He wills .... Thus have We inspired you [Muḥammad] with a spirit of Our bidding (*rūḥ^an min amrinā*); you did not know [before] what the Book and faith were". The role of this spirit as the agent of revelation is seen more clearly in XXVI, 192 f.: "Surely it is the revelation of the Lord of all beings, brought down by the faithful spirit (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*)" and XVI, 102: "The spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*) has brought it down from your Lord in truth". Then in the fairly early Medinan passage, II, 97, the agent of revelation for the first and only time in the Ḳur'ān is said to be Gabriel. On the basis of this verse and a number of *ḥadīth* accounts, the commentators have identified the "spirit" in the earlier passages as Gabriel, and have placed Gabriel at the very beginning of Muḥammad's ministry as the agent of revelation. Also, contrary to popular belief, Gabriel is never identified in the Ḳur'ān as one of the angels, and the angels are never said to be agents of revelation (XVI, 2, comes the closest). The angels may be the speakers in a few passages such as XIX, 64 ff. and XXXVII, 161-6, just as Muḥammad or Abraham is sometimes the speaker; but there is no need to interpret the plural "we" as referring to the angels in the numerous passages that also refer to God in the third person. On the "say" passages, in which Muḥammad is sometimes the speaker, see 7.c below.

The Ḳur'ān also speaks of Muḥammad's human informants, at first in contexts involving accusations made against the Prophet by his opponents: "The unbelievers say: 'This is nothing but a fraud [Muḥammad] has devised, and others have helped him with it' ... 'Tales of the ancients he has written down; they are recited to him morning and evening'" (XXV, 4f.). Except for the element of fraud, the Ḳur'ān does not deny what is reported in this passage. The response given in XVI, 103, to a similar charge seems to concede that Muḥammad had a foreign informant: "We know very well that they are saying: 'It is only a mortal who is teaching him'. But the language of him whom they suggest is foreign, and this is clear Arabic speech". Here again the accusation is not denied; there is simply insistence that the actual wording of the Ḳur'ān did not come from the informant. Several Medinan passages give the impression that Muḥammad actively sought information from the scriptures of the Jews, since they are condemned for concealing their Book from him. Some mention written copies that were shown to Muḥammad or his followers, e.g. VI, 91: "the Book Moses brought ... you have put on parchments you show, but you hide much of it". Others such as II, 79, accuse the Jews of writing out passages of their own and then saying "This is from God". See also II, 77, 140, 174, III, 71, and V, 15. In these passages it is not difficult to see Muḥammad receiving stories and other information from various informants, including Jews and Christians, and then in moments of inspiration reworking the material into its Ḳur'ānic form. Such a view, although considered unorthodox today, is not inconsistent with some reports found in the *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources.

This raises the question of the relationship between the Ḳur'ān and the scriptures of the Jews and Christians. Meccan and very early Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān speak of a single revelation or Book, sometimes called the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*), and specify those to whom it had been "given" previously: the prophets (II, 213), the seed of Abraham (XXIX, 27, LVII, 25 f., etc.), the Children of Israel (XL, 53, XLV, 16), Moses (II, 53, 87, VI, 154, etc.), John the Baptist (XIX, 12) and Jesus (XIX, 30, etc.). In II, 101 and III, 23 (cf. III, 93) the *kitāb Allāh* is specifically identified with the scriptures of the *ahl al-kitāb*, "people of the Book". This expression, which occurs over thirty times (II, 105, 109, III, 64 f., IV, 123, 153, etc.—all Medinan), is often interpreted as "the people who have a scripture". But it more likely means "the people who have (previously) been given the Book of God", since it is synonymous with the Ḳur'ānic expressions *alladhīna ūtū 'l-kitāb*, "those who have been given the Book", in II, 101, 144, 145, III, 19 f., IV, 131, etc., and *alladhīna ātaynāhumu 'l-kitāb*, "those to whom We have given the Book", in II, 121, VI, 20, 114, XIII, 36, etc. The often-discussed term *ummiyyūn* (II, 78, III, 20, 75, LXII, 2) seems to be the antithesis of these three expressions, thus meaning "those who have not been given the Book previously". And this is almost certainly the sense of the singular, *ummī*, which is applied to Muḥammad in VII, 157 f. That is, instead of sending to the Arabs and the world a missionary from among those who had already been given the Book (the *ahl al-kitāb*), God chose to send a prophet, Muḥammad, from among those who previously had not been given the Book (*al-nabī al-ummī*). There is no basis in the Ḳur'ān for the traditional view that *ummī* means "illiterate" (see UMMĪ; *Gesch. des Qor.* i, 14-17; Bell-Watt, 33 f.; and Blachère, *Introd.*, 6-12). After the so-called "break with the Jews" in Medina around the time of the battle of Badr, the Book came to be distinguished from the Torah and the Gospel (III, 48, V, 110, etc.) and identified more closely with the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad (see, e.g., the Medinan formulas, XII, 1 f., XLI, 3, XLIII, 2 f., etc.). And the expression "those who have been given the Book" became "those who have been given a portion (*naṣīb*) of the Book" (III, 23, IV, 44, 51, etc.). About the same time the plural "scriptures" (*kutub*) was introduced in two credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136 (cf. LXVI, 12, XCVIII, 3).

In late Meccan and early Medinan passages Muḥammad is said to have been challenged to produce a book the people could read for themselves (e.g. XVII, 93), and his followers complained that they did not have a scripture like those of the Jews and Christians (VI, 155 ff.), The establishment of an independent, Muslim community in Medina, distinct from the *ahl al-kitāb*, was marked by the granting of a separate Islamic scripture that was to serve as a criterion (cf. *furḳān*) for confirming the truth of previous scriptures (III, 3, IV, 105, V, 48, etc.). The evidence seems to indicate that Muḥammad began to compile a written scripture some time in the early Medinan years, but that the responsibilities of leading the rapidly growing Muslim community forced him to leave the task unfinished (see Bell-Watt, 141-4). That Muḥammad participated in and directed the task of preparing a written scripture seems certain. This is to some extent supported by the *ḥadīth*, where we are told that he dictated to scribes and instructed them on how to arrange the revelations, sometimes inserting a new passage into an older one (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 2 f., Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 2, Ibn Sa'd, iii/2, 59). The Prophet most likely did not do the actual writing and editing himself, especially in Medina where he had scribes to perform these menial tasks (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 46f.). But it is not unlikely that Muḥammad did occasionally write out the revelations himself (see e.g. XXV, 4-6, quoted in part above, and Bell-Watt, 36, on this passage). The task

of preparing the written scripture included some revision and alteration of earlier revelations (see Bell-Watt, 89-101). The Ḳur'ān itself acknowledges that changes were made in the revelation: "For whatever *āya* We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muḥammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it" (II, 106), and "When We substitute one *āya* for another—and God knows best what He is sending down—they say: 'You [Muḥammad] are a mere forger'" (XVI, 101). A similar verse, XXII, 52, gives another explanation for changes in the revelation: "We have never sent any messenger or prophet before you [Muḥammad], but Satan cast [something] into his thoughts when he was yearning [for a message from God]. But God abrogates what Satan casts in, and then God adjusts his *āyāt*". These verses seem to be responses to complaints or accusations about changes in the revelation. The Ḳur'ān gives three explanations: that Muḥammad sometimes forgot parts, that Satan inserted something into the revelation, and that God simply replaced some parts with others as good or better. The term *āya* in these passages came to be interpreted as "verse", but the Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation that were withdrawn and replaced by others.

In his commentary on XXII, 52, and in his *Annales* (i, 1192 f.), al-Ṭabarī records several versions of a curious story in which Muḥammad is said to have recited the two short verses, "These are the exalted ones (*al-gharānīḳ* = cranes), Whose intercession is to be hoped for", just after LIII, 19 f., which mention the Arabian goddesses, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt [*q.vv.*]. The Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], who were in the mosque listening to Muḥammad, then prostrated with the Muslims at the *sadjda* at the end of the *sūra*, and some of Muḥammad's followers who immigrated to Abyssinia to avoid persecution returned to Mecca. But before they arrived, Gabriel informed Muḥammad that these two verses had been inserted into the revelation by Satan. God then revealed XXII, 52, to comfort Muḥammad, and then LIII, 21-7, to abrogate the two *gharānīḳ* verses. Hostility between Muḥammad and the Ḳuraysh resumed, and the immigrants had to arrange for protection before re-entering Mecca. This story of the "Satanic verses" has been accepted as historical by most Western writers who mention it, since they find it unthinkable that it could have been invented (e.g. *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 101-3; Watt, *Mecca*, 103; A. Guillaume, *Islam*, 189 f.). Although there could be some historical basis for the story, in its present form it is certainly a later, exegetical fabrication. Sūra LIII, 1-20 and the end of the *sūra* are not a unity, as is claimed by the story; XXII, 52, is later than LIII, 21-7, and is almost certainly Medinan (see Bell, *Trans.*, 316, 322); and several details of the story—the mosque, the *sadjda*, and others not mentioned in the short summary above—do not belong to a Meccan setting. Caetani (*Annali*, i, 279-81) and J. Burton ("*Those are the high-flying cranes*", in *JSS*, xv [1970], 246-65) have argued against the historicity of the story on other grounds, Caetani on the basis of weak *isnāds*. Burton concluded that the story was invented by jurists so that XXII, 52, could serve as a Ḳur'ānic proof-text for their abrogation theories.

3. History of the Ḳur'ān after 632

The history of the text and the recitation of the Ḳur'ān after the death of Muḥammad in 632 is still far from clear. The development of the canon involved three main stages, each of which is difficult to reconstruct and date: the collection and arrangement of the text from oral and written sources, the establishment of the final consonantal text, and the process by which several readings, i.e., different ways of vocalising the text, came to be accepted as canonical or "revealed". According to the orthodox view, the Ḳur'ān was perfectly preserved in oral form from the beginning and was written down during Muḥammad's lifetime or shortly thereafter when it was "collected" and arranged for the first time by his Companions. The complete consonantal text is believed to have been established during the reign of the third caliph, ʿUthmān (644-56), and the final vocalised text in the early 4th/10th century. Most Western scholars have accepted the main points of this traditional view. But there are problems here. In addition to the usual difficulties of evaluating Muslim sources that were regulated by the science of *ḥadīth*, the task of reconstructing the history of the Ḳur'ān is further complicated by the fact that the classical literature records thousands of textual variants, which, however, are not found in any extant manuscripts known to Western scholars. Several valuable works on the history of the Ḳur'ān were written during the 4th/10th century (see below), but later Muslim scholars, with just a few exceptions, have shown little interest in the problem of reconstructing the history of the canon. The basic European works continue to be the second edition of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*, especially Part II, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns* (1919), ed. and revised by F. Schwally, and Part III, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts* (1938), by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, and A. Jeffery's *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān* (1937).

a. The "collection" of the Ḳur'ān. The most widely accepted story of the "first collection" of the Ḳur'ān places an official, written copy of the entire text in the reign of the first caliph, Abū Bakr (632-4), thus within two years of the Prophet's death. According to the dominant version of this story (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 9), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] became concerned that so many Ḳur'ān reciters (*ḳurrā'* [*q.v.*]) had been killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. So he suggested to the caliph that a complete, written text of the Ḳur'ān be prepared so none of the revelation would be lost. Abū Bakr hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?", but ʿUmar convinced him of the need. Abū Bakr then sent for Zayd b. Thābit [*q.v.*], one of the Prophet's secretaries, and said: "You are a wise young man, and we trust you. And you used to write down the revelations for the Prophet, so go and find [all the fragments of] the Ḳur'ān and assemble it together". Zayd also hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?" But Abū Bakr convinced him of the need, and Zayd collected all the fragments of the Ḳur'ān "whether written on palm branches or thin stones or preserved in the hearts of men", and he wrote it out on "sheets" (*ṣuḥuf*) of equal size and gave them to Abū Bakr. When ʿUmar became caliph in 634 he acquired the "sheets", and on his death they passed to his daughter, Ḥafṣa, a widow of the Prophet.

This story makes several key points, either explicitly or by implication, that would be of considerable significance for our understanding of the history of the Ḳur'ān if they could be accepted: that Muḥammad did not leave a complete written text, that nothing of the Ḳur'ān was lost, that it was preserved primarily in oral form and that any written fragments were on crude materials, that the first

official recension, authorised by the first caliph, was also the first complete collection, etc. Muslim tradition came to accept this story as a historical account, and these points as facts. But there are serious problems with this account. For one thing, most of the key points in this story are contradicted by alternative accounts in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 131; *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 15-18; Burton, *Collection*, 120-8). According to one *ḥadīth*, ʿUmar once asked about a verse and was told that it had been in the possession of someone who was killed at Yamāma, so he gave the command and the Ḳur'ān was collected, and "ʿUmar was the first to collect the Ḳur'ān" (*Maṣāḥif*, 10; *Itḳān*, i, 58). Other accounts say that Abū Bakr began the collection and ʿUmar completed it, or that Abū Bakr was the first to collect the Ḳur'ān on sheets (*ṣuḥuf*), while ʿUmar was the first to collect the Ḳur'ān into a single volume (*muṣḥaf*). Others say ʿUmar ordered the compilation, but died before it was completed (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 212). In fact, each of the first four caliphs is reported to have been the first person to collect the Ḳur'ān (*Maṣāḥif*, 10; *Itḳān*, i, 57-9). And several alternative accounts state explicitly that no official collection of the Ḳur'ān existed prior to ʿUthmān's. Caetani (*Annali*, ii/1, 713) and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 20) have questioned the significance of the al-Yamāma battles as an occasion for an official collection of the Ḳur'ān, pointing out that very few men distinguished for their knowledge of the Ḳur'ān are mentioned in the lists of those who died there (Schwally found two). Even more significant is the fact that there is no evidence that the alleged collection under Abū Bakr was ever accepted as authoritative. Finally, this story fails to acknowledge the role of written copies of parts of the Ḳur'ān left by Muḥammad. These important documents for the history of the Ḳur'ān, alluded to in the statement that Zayd "used to write down the revelations for the Prophet", must have played a significant role in the preparation of an official text. There are thus sufficient grounds for rejecting the historicity of this story, the most likely purposes of which were to obscure Muḥammad's role in the preparation of a written Ḳur'ān, to reduce ʿUthmān's role in establishing an official text, and to attempt to establish the priority of the ʿUthmānic text over those of the (pre-ʿUthmānic) Companion codices. All three purposes would be accomplished by establishing the belief that the first official collection of the Ḳur'ān was prepared during the short reign of Abū Bakr and served as the basis for ʿUthmān's rescension. See *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 11-27; Bell-Watt, 40-2; Blachère, *Introd.*, 27-34; also Burton, *Collection*, 117-37 (on Burton's view, see below).

The accounts of the collection of the Ḳur'ān under ʿUthmān assert that the final consonantal text was established during the last half of his reign, or about twenty years after Muḥammad's death. According to the dominant version (al-Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*; *Maṣāḥif*, 18 f.; *Itḳān*, i, 58 f.; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 14 f.; *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 47-50), the occasion for the final collection of the Ḳur'ān was a dispute between Muslim forces from ʿIrāḳ and Syria over the correct way of reciting it during communal prayers while on an expedition to Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. The general, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yaman, reported this problem to the caliph and asked him to establish a unified text. ʿUthmān obtained the "sheets" from Ḥafṣa and appointed a commission consisting of Zayd b. Thābit and three prominent Meccans, and instructed them to copy the sheets into several volumes following the dialect of Ḳuraysh, the main tribe of Mecca. When the task was finished ʿUthmān kept one copy in Medina and sent others to Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, and, according to some accounts, Mecca (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 112 f.), with an order that all other copies of the Ḳur'ān were to be destroyed. This was done everywhere except in Kūfa, where Ibn Masʿūd and his followers refused. The details differ in various versions of this story (*ibid.*, 50-4), mainly on the number and identity of the commissioners and the cities that received official copies.

This second collection story stands up to critical analysis no better than the first. Western scholars now accept the view argued by Schwally (*ibid.*, 57-62) and others that the Ḳur'ān is not in the dialect of the Ḳuraysh (see 6.a below). If this is so, one of the two main points of the story is discredited, and it is difficult to see what role the commission might have played. Schwally also showed (54-7) that those named in the various accounts are unlikely candidates for such a commission appointed by ʿUthmān, and he gave good reasons for doubting that the caliph would have ordered all extant copies of the Ḳur'ān to be destroyed. It also seems unlikely that differences in the way the Ḳur'ān was recited during the daily prayers would have caused serious dissension among Muslim forces involved in the initial conquests. These parts of the story all hint of a later historical setting. The Ḥafṣa element seems to be simply a device for tying the two collection stories together, while establishing an authoritative chain of custody for an official text going back almost to the time of the death of the Prophet, and explaining why this official text was not generally known (see Bell-Watt, 41 f.). For several alternative accounts that give completely different reasons and circumstances for ʿUthmān's order for an authorised text, see Burton, *Collection*, 138-59.

We thus have before us another story whose particulars cannot be accepted. But this does not mean necessarily that the story has no historical basis at all. The unanimity with which an official text is attributed to ʿUthmān, in the face of a lack of convincing evidence to the contrary, leads most Western scholars to accept one central point of this story: that the Ḳur'ān we have today, at least in terms of the number and arrangement of the *sūras* and the basic structure of the consonantal text, goes back to the time of ʿUthmān, under whose authority the official text was produced. This was, however, certainly not a *textus receptus ne varietur*, even in terms of its consonantal form (see below). Most Western scholars also accept one other element of the story: that Zayd played some role in establishing the ʿUthmānic text. Just what that role might have been is difficult to say; alternative accounts give several possibilities (see Burton, *Collection*, 117-26, 141-6, 150, 165-7, etc.). Burton contends that both collection stories are completely fictitious and that Zayd's prominence in the various accounts is due solely to the fact that he had been a young secretary to the Prophet and an early Ḳur'ān specialist who happened also to be one of the latest surviving Companions, dying *ca.* 45/665 (*Collection*, 120-4, 228, etc.). Burton has raised serious doubts about the role of Zayd in establishing the official text, and he has shown that the sciences of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* influenced the proliferation of Ḳur'ān collection stories; but he has not demonstrated the likelihood of his main contention, that the collection stories were fabricated by later jurists to provide support for their abrogation theories by hiding the fact that the final text of the

Ḳur'ān was produced, not by ʿUthmān, but by the Prophet himself.

b. Variant readings and Companion codices. The ʿUthmānic text tradition was only one of several that existed during the first four centuries A.H. The general view is that ʿUthmān canonised the Medinan text tradition and that this one was most likely the closest to the original revelation. Other text traditions, attributed to several Companions of the Prophet, are said to have flourished in Kūfa, Baṣra and Syria. The sources speak sometimes of various "readings" (*ḳirā'āt*, sing. *ḳirā'a*), i.e. different ways of reading or reciting the text, sometimes of "codices" (*maṣāḥif*, sing. *muṣḥaf*). On the usage of these two terms, see ḲIRĀ'A and *Materials*, 13 f. A number of works on the "disagreement of the codices" (*ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif*) are said to have been written by Muslim scholars of the first four centuries. Ibn al-Nadīm lists eleven such works (*Fihrist*, 16; tr. Dodge, 79, which is incomplete), including the *K. Ikhtilāf maṣāḥif al-Shām wa 'l-Ḥidjāz wa 'l-ʿIrāḳ* by Ibn ʿĀmir al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 118/736), *K. Ikhtilāf maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-ahl al-Kūfa wa-ahl al-Baṣra* by al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805), *K. Ikhtilāf ahl al-Kūfa wa 'l-Baṣra wa 'l-Shām fi 'l-maṣāḥif* by Abū Zakariyā al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), *K. Ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif wa-djamʿ al-ḳirā'āt* by al-Madā'inī (d. *ca.* 231/845), and three works each called simply *K. al-Maṣāḥif* by Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/928), Ibn al-Anbarī (d. 328/939), and Ibn Ashta al-Iṣfahānī (d. 360/970). Of these works, most of which have not survived, the last two seem to have been the most complete and the most highly regarded by later scholars. The shorter and somewhat earlier work by Ibn Abī Dāwūd, son of the famous traditionist, was edited by A. Jeffery and published with his *Materials*, which lists several thousand variants taken from over thirty "main sources" (see 17 f.), including the classical commentaries by al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, and al-Rāzī, and various works on *ḳirā'āt*, *shawādhdh*, *gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, grammar, etc., including the *Maʿānī* by al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), the *Mukhtaṣar* by Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/979), and the *Muḥtasab* by Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) (see *Bibl.*). The comments made by al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) on variants (e.g. on XXIII, 106) show that the text of the Ḳur'ān was not fixed *ne varietur* in his day.

Most often mentioned in the sources are the "readings" or "codices" of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy, and Abū Mūsā, said to have been dominant in Kūfa, Syria and Baṣra respectively. All three codices are said to have been begun during Muḥammad's lifetime. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD] (d. *ca.* 33/653), an early convert who became a personal servant to Muḥammad and accompanied him on many major occasions, is reported to have learned some seventy *sūras* directly from the Prophet, who appointed him as one of the first teachers of Ḳur'ān recitation (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 107). Later he was appointed to an administrative post in Kūfa by the caliph ʿUmar, and there he became a leading authority on the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*. Ibn Masʿūd is consistently reported to have refused to destroy his copy of the Ḳur'ān or stop teaching it when the ʿUthmānic recension was made official. Also, there are reports that many Muslims in Kūfa continued to follow his reading for some time after his death, thus dividing the community there. Ubayy b. Kaʿb [*q.v.*] (d. 18/639 or 29/649 or later), a Medinan Muslim who served as a secretary for the Prophet, seems to have been even more prominent as a Ḳur'ān specialist than Ibn Masʿūd during Muḥammad's lifetime. There are reports that he was responsible for retaining verbatim certain important revelations, apparently on legal matters, which from time to time the Prophet asked him to recite. Ubayy appears frequently and in a variety of roles in the various collection stories. For instance, the "sheets" of Ubayy are sometimes mentioned instead of those of Ḥafṣa, and he sometimes appears in place of Zayd, dictating the Ḳur'ān to a corps of scribes (see *Materials*, 114; Burton, *Collection*, 124 ff.). The accounts saying that when the ʿUthmānic text was made official, Ubayy destroyed his codex while Ibn Masʿūd refused to do so may be examples of historical telescoping, meaning that the people of Syria (possibly over a period of many years) gave up their distinctive reading (i.e. that of Ubayy), while the people of Kūfa refused to give up theirs (i.e. that of Ibn Masʿūd). This would explain the later dates sometimes given for Ubayy's death and the conflicting reports regarding his role in compiling the official text. Abū Mūsā ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] (d. 42/662 or later) was a Yemenite famed for his eloquent recitation of the Ḳur'ān. His codex is said to have been accepted in Baṣra, where he served as governor under ʿUmar, and there are reports that his reading continued to be remembered and studied there for some time after ʿUthmān's text was made official. According to one account, when the messenger from ʿUthmān delivered the Baṣra copy of the new standard text, Abū Mūsā said to his followers: "Whatever you find in my codex that is not in his, do not remove it; but whatever you find missing [in mine], write it in" (*Maṣāḥif*, 13). This is consistent with other reports saying Abū Mūsā's codex was large and that it contained the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's codex (see below) and other verses not found in other codices (*Materials*, 209-11).

In addition to these three codices, two of which are discussed in more detail below, Jeffery classified as "primary" the codices attributed to twelve other Companions of the Prophet: the second and fourth caliphs, ʿUmar and ʿAlī; three of Muḥammad's widows, Ḥafṣa bint ʿUmar, ʿĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr, and Umm Salama; four whose readings seem to have been variations of the Medinan text tradition, Zayd b. Thābit, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, Anas b. Mālik, and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; and three others, Sālim the Client of Abū Ḥudhayfa, ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, and Ibn ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] (d. 40/661), cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is often said to have been the first to collect the Ḳur'ān after the Prophet's death (e.g. *Fihrist*, 28; tr. Dodge, 62 f.). He is reported to have arranged the *sūras* in some sort of chronological order, e.g. XCVI, LXXIV, LXVIII, LXXIII, etc., and to have given up his codex to be burned when ʿUthmān's text was made official. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 68/688), also a cousin of Muḥammad, later gained fame as the doyen of early Ḳur'ān exegetes. He is said to have included in his codex the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's text (see below), and several later scholars are said to have taken their readings from him. Sālim b. Muʿḳib (d. 12/633), sometimes called Sālim b. Maʿḳil (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 11, 20, etc.), one of the Ḳur'ān reciters killed in the battle of Yamāma, was one of four to whom Muḥammad is reported to have advised his followers to turn for guidance concerning the Ḳur'ān. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr (d. 74/693) was an early Ḳur'ān reciter in Mecca; his codex may have been the basis for the Meccan text tradition, which seems not to have been as strong as those of Kūfa, Baṣra and Damascus (or Syria). Compared with the large number of variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd

and Ubayy, relatively few are mentioned in the literature for these other codices. Jeffery also collected variants attributed to a number of Muslims of the second generation: al-Aswad b. Yazīd, ʿAlḳama, Ḥaṭṭān, Saʿīd b. Dj̲ubayr, Ṭalḥa, ʿIkrima, Mud̲j̲āhid, ʿAṭāʾ b. Rabāḥ, al-Rabīʿ b. al-K̲h̲ut̲h̲aym, al-Aʿmas̲h̲, Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Ṣāliḥ b. Ḳaysān, and al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Suwayd. More variants are attributed to some of these "secondary codices" than to most of the "primary" ones. In some cases, Jeffery was able to determine the primary codex from which a secondary one was derived.

Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed from the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text in several important respects. The sources are fairly consistent in saying it did not contain the *Fātiḥa* and the two charms that became *sūras* I, CXIII, and CXIV of the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text (see 4.a below). Variants in the *Fātiḥa* are, however, attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (*Materials*, 25), and Ibn al-Nadīm reported in 377/987 that he saw a number of Ibn Masʿūd Ḳurʾān manuscripts and that one that was about 200 years old included the *Fātiḥa* (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 57 f.). Of the many variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 60-83; *Materials*, 25-113), some involve only different vowels with the same consonantal text, and some are purely orthographic, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd is said to have written *kulla mā* as two words rather than one in a number of places. But the vast majority of variants listed by Bergsträsser and Jeffery for Ibn Masʿūd involve differences in the consonantal text that would also show up in recitation. Of these, many may be regarded as explanatory glosses on the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text; but in some cases it is the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text that seems to contain an "expansion" or "improvement", sometimes apparently for theological reasons (see *Materials*, 17). Among the most questionable of the variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd are the "S̲h̲īʿa readings", e.g. in V, 67, XXIV, 35, XXVI, 215, XXXIII, 25, 33, 56, XLII, 23, XLVII, 29, LVI, 10, LIX, 7, LX, 3, LXXV, 17-19 (see *ibid.*, 40, 65, 68, etc.). More difficult to evaluate are the numerous "synonym variants", as for example the following found in Sūra XXV, where, instead of the ʿUt̲h̲mānic terms given in parentheses, Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have read *d̲j̲aʿala*, "makes, brings about", in verse 48: "and He it is Who sends (*arsala*) the winds"; *li-nuns̲h̲ira*, "give life", in 49: "that We may give life (*li-nuḥyiya*) thereby to a dead land"; *ḳuṣūr*, "castles", in 61: "Blessed is He Who has placed in the heavens constellations (*burūd̲j̲*)"; *yatafakkara*, "ponder, consider", in 62: "for him who desires to remember (*yad̲h̲d̲h̲akkara*)"; and *al-d̲j̲anna*, "the Garden, Paradise", in 75: "They will be awarded the high place (*al-g̲h̲urfa*) inasmuch as they were steadfast". Just as frequent are cases where an entire phrase is different, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's reading in III, 39: "Then Gabriel called to him, 'O Zachariah' ", instead of the ʿUt̲h̲mānic reading, "Then the angels called to him as he stood praying in the sanctuary". Some variants may have significance for the early history of Islam or the history of the Ḳurʾān, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's well-known reading *al-ḥanīfiyya*, "the way of the Ḥanīfs" [*q.v.*] instead of *al-islām* in III, 19: "Behold, the [true] religion (*dīn*) of God is Islam", and the fact that he is said to have included the *basmala* at the beginning of Sūra IX (see 4.c below). Also, the order of the *sūras* in Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed considerably from that of the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text. Two slightly different, incomplete lists are recorded, the earlier one by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 53-7) and a later one by al-Suyūṭī (*Itḳān*, i, 64). The missing *sūras* in each list are included in the other, and it is possible to reconstruct a single list. The principle of arranging the *sūras* in order of descending length is followed more closely than in the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text, but there is still considerable variation from this criterion (see Bauer, *Anordnung der Suren*, Table IV). Following the assumption that the longer *sūras* were not put together until the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text was compiled, some scholars have concluded that the Ibn Masʿūd lists are "post-ʿUt̲h̲mānic" and have little validity (e.g. *Materials*, 23 f.). But if most of the *sūras* were written down and put into approximately their final form during Muḥammad's lifetime, then there would be no strong reason for rejecting the validity of these reports outright.

Ubayy's codex seems according to the extant evidence to have been less important than Ibn Masʿūd's. It appears not to have been the source of any secondary codices, and very few unique variants are attributed to it. Most variants attributed to Ubayy are attributed also to either Ibn Masʿūd or Ibn ʿAbbās. Probably the best known feature of Ubayy's codex is that it is said to have included two short *sūras* not in the ʿUt̲h̲mānic and Ibn Masʿūd texts, Sūrat al-K̲h̲alʿ, with three verses, and Sūrat al-Ḥafd, with six (see *Materials*, 180 f.). The order of *sūras* in Ubayy's codex is said to have differed from that of ʿUt̲h̲mān's and Ibn Masʿūd's, and again we have two slightly different lists (*Fihrist*, 27; Dodge tr., 58-61; and *Itḳān*, i, 64). These lists are, however, less complete and less reliable than those given for Ibn Masʿūd, and some *sūras* are difficult to identify. Dodge (60) is probably correct in identifying *al-nabī* as Sūra LXVI, and Jeffery (*Materials*, 115) is no doubt mistaken in saying it is Sūra LXV. But Dodge is certainly wrong in reading *al-dīn* (one of the titles for Sūra CVII—see Paret, *Kommentar*, 554) as *al-tīn* (the title of Sūra XCV), and in failing to recognise Ubayy's two famous extra *sūras* mentioned above. Ibn al-Nadīm states at the end of his list in the *Fihrist* that Ubayy's codex contained 116 *sūras*, and he reports that his source of information, al-Faḍl b. S̲h̲ād̲h̲ān, saw a copy of an Ubayy codex in a village near Baṣra in the middle of the 3rd century A.H.

Western scholarship has not reached a consensus on what value this mass of allegedly pre-ʿUt̲h̲mānic variants has for our knowledge of the history of the Ḳurʾān. Confidence in the variants declined during the 1930s as they were being collected and analysed. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 77-83, 92-6) still gave a fairly positive appraisal, but Jeffery (*Materials*, 16) wrote: "With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value", a view that came to be shared by O. Pretzl. Then after the project to prepare a critical edition of the Ḳurʾān came to a halt, A. Fischer (*Isl.*, xxviii [1948], 5) concluded that most of the allegedly pre-ʿUt̲h̲mānic variants were later attempts by philologers to emend the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text. Recently J. Burton (*Collection*, 199-212, etc.) and J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 44-6, 202-7, etc.) have concluded that, not just some, but all of the accounts about Companion codices, metropolitan codices, and individual variants were fabricated by later Muslim jurists and philologers; but they reach opposite conclusions on the reason for this hoax. Burton argues that the Companion codices were invented in order to provide a setting for the ʿUt̲h̲mān collection story, which in turn was invented to hide the fact that Muḥammad himself had already collected and edited the final edition of the Ḳurʾān (211 f., 239 f.). Wansbrough, on the other

hand, asserts that the collection stories and the accounts of the Companion codices arose in order to give ancient authority for a text that was not even compiled until the 3rd/9th century or later. He claims, without providing any convincing evidence, that the text of the Ḳur'ān was so fluid that the multiple accounts (e.g. of the punishment-stories) represent "variant traditions" of different metropolitan centres (Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina, etc.). Each writer has stressed a valid point, i.e., that Muḥammad played a larger role in compiling and editing the Ḳur'ān than is admitted by the traditional accounts (Burton), and that as late as the 3rd/9th century a consonantal *textus receptus ne varietur* still had not been achieved (Wansbrough). But both writers seem to have overstated their cases. Neither has given convincing reasons for his own hypothesis, or for the shared assertion that the Muslim accounts should be rejected altogether.

c. Establishment of the canonical text and readings. Historically, it is better to speak of the ʿUthmānic text and the oral tradition that accompanied it as evolving gradually over a period of about three centuries. The process by which this text came to prevail over its rivals and then became the foundation for several sets of accepted or "canonical" readings is far from clear, and the issues involved are complex. They include the difficult task of reconstructing the stages in the development of Ḳur'ānic orthography, the relationship between the written text and the oral tradition, and the tension between a critical evaluation of the historical evidence and the orthodox views on the Ḳur'ān.

From the beginning there were variations in the copies of the ʿUthmānic text. Even the official copies of the Medina standard codex (*al-imām*) sent to the main centres are said not to have been identical. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 6-19) lists and discusses a number of variations in the Medina, Damascus, Baṣra, Kūfa and Mecca copies of the ʿUthmānic text, reported in the *Muḳniʿ* of Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) and in other works. E.g. the Damascus copy is said to have had *wa-bi 'l-zubur* and *wa-bi 'l-kitāb* instead of *wa 'l-zubur* and *wa 'l-kitāb* in III, 184, and *minkum* instead of *minhum* in XL, 21; and the Kūfa copy is said to have had *ʿamilat* instead of *ʿamilat-hu* in XXXVI, 35, and *aw an* (which occurs in the Egyptian standard edition) instead of *wa 'an* in XL, 26. These differences are of course minor, but they do involve changes in the consonantal forms. Such variations can best be explained as resulting from carelessness on the part of the scribes or lack of concern for exact uniformity among the authorities.

Deficiencies in the Arabic script used in the earliest copies of the Ḳur'ān led to further differences, in the oral tradition as well as the text tradition. During the first Islamic century, Arabic was written in a so-called *scriptio defectiva* in which only the consonants were given, and in several instances the same form was used for two or more consonants, e.g. *d* and *dh*, *ḥ* and *kh*, and even very different phonemes such as *r* and *z*, and in some positions *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, and *y*. Since no diacritical points or vowel signs were included, the vocalisation was moreover left to the reader. This meant that even when there was agreement on the consonants, some verbs could be read as active or passive, some nouns could be read with different case endings, and some forms could be read as either nouns or verbs. The lists compiled by Jeffery in his *Materials* contain many examples of canonical and non-canonical variants based on forms that are indistinguishable in the *scriptio defectiva* of early Ḳur'ān manuscripts. In most cases the meaning is affected very little, as for example whether *kabīr* or *kathīr* is read in II, 219 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and two of the Seven, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī—see below), or *ḥadab*, "mound", or *djadath*, "tomb", is read in XXI, 96 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and others). In some instances the alteration of a case ending or some other slight change in the vowelling does significantly affect the meaning (see KHAṬṬ and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 122 ff.).

During the Umayyad period (41-132/661-750) the ʿUthmānic text tradition became more and more diverse, and new readings arose combining elements of the ʿUthmānic and Companion oral and text traditions, especially those of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy. By early ʿAbbāsid times there was such a confusion of readings that it became impossible to distinguish ʿUthmānic from non-ʿUthmānic ones, or to recover with confidence the "original" ʿUthmānic text. Some order was brought to this confusion by the establishment of a *scriptio plena*, a fully vowelled and pointed text. Muslim accounts of the introduction of this improved script are unreliable because they vary so much and are not consistent with palaeographical evidence (Blachère, *Introd.*, 78-90). A popular view is that al-Ḥadjdjādj was responsible for introducing vowel signs and dots for the consonants when he was governor of ʿIrāḳ (74-95/694-714). But Ḳur'ān manuscripts from the first three or four Islamic centuries show that a *scriptio plena* came to be accepted very slowly. Dots of different colours or in different positions (above, below, and beside the consonants) were used to indicate the three short vowels in some fairly early manuscripts, and in some, but not all, later ones. Strokes or dots for distinguishing consonants, as well as other signs for doubled consonants, pauses, and even the finer points of recitation, were introduced later (see KHAṬṬ, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 19-57 and N. Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic script*, 17-44; on the difficulty of dating these early manuscripts, see A. Grohmann, *The problem of dating early Qur'āns*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii [1958], 213-31).

By the early 4th/10th century the improved Arabic script was widely, although not universally, accepted by Ḳur'ān scholars. One result of the general use of the more precise script was that the differences in the texts became more pronounced, and this caused heated disputes as to which reading was the correct one. Another result was that it became possible for the authorities to enforce a greater measure of uniformity. The central figure in what became the most important Ḳur'ān reform since the time of ʿUthmān was Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid (d. 324/936). His aim was to restrict the number of acceptable readings, accept only those based on a fairly uniform consonantal text, renounce the attempts of some scholars to achieve absolute uniformity (something which he realised was impossible), and at least ameliorate if not bring to an end the rivalry among scholars, each of whom claimed to possess the one correct reading. With a stroke of genius he chose seven well-known Ḳur'ān teachers of the 2nd/8th century and declared that their readings all had divine authority, which the others lacked. He based this on the popular *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says the Ḳur'ān was revealed to him in "seven *aḥruf*" (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 4; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trads. 270-4, etc.). The meaning of this expression in the *ḥadīth* is uncertain, the term *aḥruf* being the plural of *ḥarf*, "letter" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 48-51, iii, 106 f.). Ibn Mudjāhid interpreted the ex-

pression to mean "seven readings". His view, worked out in a book called *al-Ḳirā'āt al-sab'a*, "The Seven Readings", came at just the right time. It was adopted by the *wazīrs* Ibn Muḳla and 'Alī b. 'Īsā [*q.vv.*] and made official in the year 322/934 when the scholar Ibn Miḳsam was forced to retract his view that the consonantal text could be read in any manner that was grammatically correct. The following year another Ḳur'ān scholar, Ibn Shanabūdh [*q.v.*], was similarly condemned and forced to renounce his view that it was permissible to use the readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy.

Selecting several rival systems and declaring them equally authoritative was of course the same method used elsewhere by Muslims to avert endless disputes, e.g. the four Sunnī legal schools. But Ibn Mudjāhid's system of seven readings was not completely arbitrary. Strong Ḳur'ān traditions existed in Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina and Damascus; and Mecca also had its own tradition. Kūfa stood out above the others as the leading centre for Ḳur'ān studies and the seat of several rival traditions. So Ibn Mudjāhid selected one reading each for Medina, Mecca, Baṣra and Damascus—those of Nāfi' (d. 169/785), Ibn Kathīr (d. 120/737), Abū 'Amr (d. 154/770), and Ibn 'Āmir (d. 118/736), respectively—and three for Kūfa, those of 'Āṣim (d. 127/744), Ḥamza (d. 156/772), and al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804). His attempt to limit the number of canonical readings to seven was not acceptable to all, and there was strong support for alternative readings in most of the five cities. Eventually scholars began to speak of the Ten readings, and even the Fourteen. The most widely accepted of these, the so-called "three after the seven" are the readings of Abū Ja'far (d. 130/747), Ya'ḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/820), and Khalaf (d. 229/843). Among the "four after the ten", two deserve special notice, the readings of the famous al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and al-A'mash (d. 148/765), of Baṣra and Kūfa respectively. For each of the Ten, two slightly different "versions" (sing. *riwāya*) came to be accepted according to scholars of a generation or two later, e.g. the "versions" of Warsh (d. 197/812) and Ḳālūn (d. 220/835) for the reading (*ḳirā'a*) of Nāfi', those of Ḥafṣ (d. 190/805) and Shu'ba (d. 194/809) for 'Āṣim, and those of Khalaf (mentioned above) and Khallād (d. 220/835) for Ḥamza. For complete lists and discussion of this development, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 169-90, and Blachère, *Introd.*, 116-35.

During the 5th/11th century the exclusive authority of the Seven began to prevail, and several works were written on them, e.g., the *K. al-Taysīr* by al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) (see *Bibl.*), which replaced Ibn Mudjāhid's work. The seven came to be followed exclusively in public readings, while the others continued to be used in Ḳur'ān commentaries and works on philology, grammar, etc. The Ḳur'ān readers (*ḳurrā'*), who maintained a lively tradition, continued at least a scholarly interest in the "three after the seven", and further refinements were made in all of the Ten readings. Two "ways" (*ṭuruḳ*, sing. *ṭarīḳ*) of reciting each "version" (*riwāya*) came to be accepted, and then two more "ways" for each *ṭarīḳ*, making altogether eighty "ways" of reciting ten "readings". See Labib as-Said, *The recited Koran*, Princeton 1975, including a complete list of the eighty, 127-30; on the readings, see KIRĀ'A, and on methods of reciting, TADJWĪD.

At the present, only two "versions" are in general use, that of Ḥafṣ *'an* 'Āṣim, which for centuries has been followed in most regions and in 1924 was given a kind of official sanction by being adopted in the Egyptian standard edition of the Ḳur'ān, and that of Warsh *'an* Nāfi', followed in parts of Africa other than Egypt. The latter was used by the Yemenite scholar al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), in the manuscript of his Ḳur'ān commentary (see *Bibl.*), but in the printed edition the Ḥafṣ *'an* 'Āṣim reading was substituted. The Egyptian standard edition is now regarded as the best of the Ḳur'ān so far available, although it was based on oral tradition and late *ḳirā'āt* literature and is not always consistent with the oldest and best sources (see G. Bergsträsser, *Koranlesung in Kairo*, in *Isl.*, xx [1932], and O. Pretzl, "Anmerkungen" to *Orthographie und Punktierung des Korans*, 1932).

The history of the text of the Ḳur'ān is yet to be written. One aspect of this task is a thorough analysis of the relationship between the Seven or the Ten and all the other readings, including the Companion codices. Until such an analysis is undertaken it will not be possible to give a final evaluation of the sources. The variants found in the "four after the ten" often involve a consonantal text that differs from that of the majority among the Ten (i.e., the "'Uthmānic text"), and they sometimes have completely different words—see, e.g., the references to the readings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and al-A'mash in *Materials*, especially in the listings for Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy. A rough survey of Jeffery's lists shows that Ibn Mas'ūd's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two of the Seven from Kūfa, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī, as is to be expected, and even more frequently with those of al-Ḥasan and al-A'mash (the latter was also a Kūfan reader). Ubayy's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two others among the Seven, Ibn Kathīr and Abū 'Amr (from Mecca and Baṣra), and also with those of al-Ḥasan and al-A'mash, but somewhat surprisingly not with those of Ibn 'Āmir, the only reader from Damascus among the Fourteen. This important aspect of the history of the Ḳur'ān deserves a thorough scientific study, preferably with the use of a computer. On the question of the completeness and authenticity of the Ḳur'ān, see Bell-Watt, 50-6; for a clear statement and defence of the modern orthodox position, Labib as-Said, *op. cit.*, 19-41.

4. STRUCTURE

a. The *sūras* and their names. The Ḳur'ān consists of 114 sections of widely varying length and form called *sūras*, which are divided into a number of verses (*āyāt*), ranging from three to 286 or 287. As shown above, the terms *sūra* and *āya* both occur within the text of the Ḳur'ān, but it is not certain that either has its present meaning there, i.e., refers to the present *sūras* and verses. *Sūra* is sometimes translated "chapter", but this is misleading. The first *sūra*, *al-Fātiḥa*, "The Opening" [*q.v.*], is a prayer, and the last two, known as *al-mu'awwidhatān*, "the two [*sūras*] of taking refuge", are charms or incantations. These three serve as a kind of introduction and two-part conclusion to the Ḳur'ān. Except for a few other very short *sūras* near the end (e.g. CIX, CXI, CXII), very few treat a single topic (XII, on the story of Joseph, and LXXI, on Noah, are notable exceptions) or otherwise appear to be structured entities (e.g. XXVI and LV). Most of the *sūras* consist of several segments or pericopes that are only loosely connected, often with little or no apparent connection of thought. Some short *sūras* (e.g. CIII, CVIII) seem to be isolated fragments; and it is not unlikely that some of the present *sūras* or parts of them were once joined with others. For instance,

Ubayy b. Kaʿb and other early authorities are reported to have regarded CV and CVI as a single *sūra* (see *Itḳān*, i, 186 f.; *Materials*, 179; Birkeland, *The Lord guideth*, 100-30).

After the *Fātiḥa*, the *sūra*s are arranged roughly in order of descending length, beginning with "The Cow" (II), with over 700 lines (60 pages) in a modern printed copy of the Egyptian standard edition, and ending with several *sūra*s with just two or three lines. Actually, the *sūra* called "Abundance" (CVIII), mentioned above as a possible fragment, has the distinction of being the shortest, having only ten words. The length of the *sūra*s was only one of several factors affecting the arrangement of the Ḳur'ān. If the *sūra*s were exactly in order of length, the first thirty would be: II, IV, III, VII, VI, V, IX, XI, XVI, X, XII, XVII, XVIII, XXVI, XXVIII, XX, XXIV, XXXIII, XXII, VIII, XXI, XL, XXXIX, XXVII, XXIII, XXXVII, XIX, XXV, XLIII, and XXXIV. Note that Sūra VIII (which is 20th in order of length) and XIII, XIV, and XV (not in this list) are much too short for their positions, while XXXIX, XL, and XLIII are too long. The explanation for these last two groups is clear: XIII, XIV, and XV begin with the "mysterious letters" *al(m)r* and were kept with the other *alr sūras*, X-XII, while XL and XLIII begin with *ḥm* and were kept with the other *ḥm sūras*, a group to which XXXIX also belongs (see 4.d below). Other factors that influenced the order of the *sūra*s include their dates, main topics, and introductions. For instance, LVII-LXVI are a group of Medinan *sūra*s kept together in spite of varying lengths (see also their introductory formulas); X-XV, besides being *alr sūra*s, all feature prophet stories and are named after prophets, except for XIII, which has *almr*; and XXXIV and XXXV begin with the same formula, as do LXV and LXVI, and several groups of *sūra*s with the same mysterious letters (see below); cf. also LXXIII and LXXIV, LXXXV and LXXXVI, and others that begin with oaths. For complete lists of the *sūra*s and their relative lengths, see Bell-Watt, 206-12, and Bauer, *Anordnung der Suren* (see *Bibl.*).

Muslim writers normally refer to the *sūra*s by their names rather than their numbers. Since the names were not established during Muḥammad's lifetime and did not come to be regarded as parts of the text, most *sūra*s came to be known by more than one name. The Egyptian standard edition has had a considerable impact in establishing uniform names, and most of the alternative ones are no longer used. Notable exceptions are the continued use by Indo-Pakistani writers (and also Pickthall's translation of the names *Banī Isrā'īl* for Sūra XVII, *al-malā'ika* for XXXV, *al-mu'min* for XL, *al-taṭfīf* for LXXXIII, *al-ins̲h̲irāḥ* for XCIV, *al-zilzāl* for XCIX, and most also use *ḥā'mīm* for XLI, *al-dahr* for LXXVI, and *al-lahab* for CXI. Flügel and thus Bell and other European writers use *al-malā'ika* for XXXV, *al-mu'min* for XL, *alam nas̲h̲raḥ* for XCIV, and *tabbat* for CXI. A complete list of the *sūra* names and abbreviations found most often in the literature on the Ḳur'ān is given in Paret, *Kommentar*, 551-9. Most of the *sūra* names do not indicate the subject-matter, as would normally be expected of a title. Instead they are taken from a key term or catchword that would identify the *sūra* for those who had them memorised, showing that the names arose within the oral rather than the written tradition.

The *sūra* names used in the Egyptian standard edition can be classified as follows: (1) Just over half of the *sūra*s take their names from key words at or near the beginning of the *sūras*. The method most often used is to name the *sūra* for the first rhyme-word, i.e., the last word of the first verse. This is done in 30 *sūras*: XX**, XXIII, XXX, XXXVI**, LII*, LIV, LVI, LXIX*, LXXIII-V, LXXXIII, LXXXV-VIII, LXXXIX*, XC, XCIII*, XCVII-VIII, CI*, CII, CIII*, CV-VI, CVIII-IX and CXIII-XIV. In the eight marked with asterisks, the first rhyme-word is also the first word of the *sūra*, a method used in 14 other *sūras*: XXXVII, XXXVIII**, L**, LI, LIII, LV, LXVIII, LXXVII, LXXIX, LXXX, XCI-II, XCV and C. The four marked with two asterisks are named for their mysterious letters. A further 18 are named for other key words in the first or second verse: VIII, XXV, XXXV, XLI, XLVII-VIII, LIX, LXIII, LXVII, LXX-LXXII, LXXVI, LXXVIII, XCVI, XCIX, CIX and CX. (2) In about one-third of the *sūra*s the name is a key term or catchword that occurs elsewhere in the *sūra*. In 16 of these this is the only occurrence of the term in the Ḳur'ān (given here without the definite article): Cow in II, 67-71; Table, V, 112-14; Heights, VII, 46-8; Ḥid̲j̲r, XV, 80; Bee, XVI, 68; Cave, XVIII, 9 ff.; Poets, XXVI, 224; Ant, XXVII, 18; Spider, XXIX, 41; Luḳmān, XXXI, 12 f.; Troops, XXXIX, 71-3; Counsel, XLII, 38; Hobbling, XLV, 28; Sand-dunes, XLVI, 21; Apartments, XLIX, 4; and Mutual Fraud, LXIV, 9 (some first-word and first rhyme-word names listed above are also only occurrences). Only two of the narrative *sūras* are named for a key term in the *sūra* that designates the single theme: Joseph (XII) and Noah (LXXI). Twelve are named for a key term that designates one of several themes or stories: Family of ʿImrān (III), Women (IV), Jonah (X), Hūd (XI), Abraham (XIV), Mary (XIX), Pilgrimage (XXII), Confederates (XXXIII), Sheba (XXXIV), and three listed above—Ḥid̲j̲r, Cave, and Luḳmān. Seven are named for other striking terms that occur also in other *sūras*: Cattle (VI), Thunder (XIII), Light (XXIV), Ornaments (XLIII), Smoke (XLIV), Iron (LVII) and Ranks (LXI). (3) The names of 14 *sūras* do not occur in these *sūras*, and most do not occur anywhere in the Ḳur'ān. Most of these names are based on verbs that do occur, usually near the beginning of the *sūra*: Night Journey (XVII), Prostration (XXXII), Disputer (LVIII), Woman Tested (LX), Congregation (LXII), Divorce* (LXV), Prohibition (LXVI), Veiling (LXXXI), Splitting (LXXXII), Rending (LXXXIV), and Expanding (XCIV). The names of the other three were chosen to indicate the function of the *sūra*, The Opening (I), or the main theme, Prophets* (XXI) and Unity (of God) (CXII). Only the two terms with asterisks occur elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān. On the names and abbreviations used for the *sūras*, see Paret, *Kommentar*, 545-50.

b. The verses. Like the *sūras*, the verses vary considerably in length and style. In some *sūras*, which tend to be short and early, the verses are short and often rhythmic. Sometimes there even seems to be an element of metre (LXXIV, 1-7, XCI, 1-10; cf. XCIX, CIV), but this is caused by the repetition of certain grammatical forms and not by an effort to carry through a strict metre of either syllables or stresses. These short, rhythmic verses are often also difficult to translate or interpret because of their use of rare terms, symbolism, metaphor, and other "poetic" features. Most longer *sūras*, and some short Medinan ones (e.g. LX, LXV), have longer, more prosaic verses, often with short statements or formulas attached to the ends in order to provide the rhyme. The one feature that all the verses have in

common is that they end in an irregular rhyme or assonance (discussed in 6.c below). Because of the rhyme the verses form the most natural divisions of the text, and yet we cannot be certain where some verses originally ended. Verse divisions are not indicated in the oldest manuscripts, and they vary somewhat when they are marked, possibly reflecting differences in the early oral tradition that go back to revisions made in the text during the Prophet's lifetime. There is clear evidence that the rhyme and the verse divisions were altered in some *sūras*, where passages originally in one rhyme were inserted into passages in another rhyme (see Bell-Watt, 89 ff.). But the main reason for the variation in the verse divisions is that the rhyme or assonance is usually formed by certain grammatical forms and endings that occur frequently in Arabic, and thus within many of the longer verses.

Several different systems of verse division and numbering arose within the Muslim community. In his English translation M. Pickthall followed an Indian text tradition in which VI, 73 of the Egyptian standard text is divided into two verses, so that 74-165 become 75-166, XVIII, 18 is divided so that 19-110 become 20-111, and XXXVI, 34 and 35 are combined so that 36-83 become 35-82. The editors of the 1976 Festival edition (see *Bibl.*) adopted the Egyptian verse divisions and numbering throughout. Even where the verse divisions are the same, there are variations in the numbering in various Muslim editions of the Arabic text and translations, depending on whether or not the *basmala* and the mysterious letters are counted. The Egyptian standard edition counts the *basmala* (see below) as verse 1 only in the *Fātiḥa*, and is inconsistent in counting the mysterious letters, counting them as a separate verse (verse 1) in *sūras* II, III, VII, XIX, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXVI and XL-XLVI, except that in XLII *ḥm* and *ʿsḳ* are counted as two verses. In all other cases the mysterious letters are regarded as the beginning of verse 1. Pickthall counted these letters as a separate verse in the same *sūras* as in the Egyptian edition and also in X and XXXVIII. Some Indo-Pakistani Arabic texts and translations of the Ḳur'ān, e.g., those of Pir Salahaddin, M. Zafrulla Khan and M. G. Farīd, always count the *basmala* as verse 1.

The Arabic text of the Ḳur'ān most widely used in the West until recently is that of Gustav Flügel (1834), which does not follow any one Oriental text tradition. In an effort to establish an improved text, Flügel made many changes in the verse divisions, altering the numbering in slightly over half the *sūras*. The verse divisions and numbering are the same in the Egyptian and Flügel editions only in *sūras* XV, XLVIII-IX, LI-II, LIV, LIX-LXX, LXXIII, LXXV-VII, LXXIX, LXXXI-VIII, XC-XCVII, XCIX, C, CII-V and CVII-XIV. The Flügel text never counts the *basmala* as a verse, and never counts the mysterious letters as a separate verse, but always as the beginning of verse 1. The English translations by R. Bell and A. J. Arberry follow the Flügel numbering. The Italian translation by A. Bausani and the English by A. H. Siddiqui follow the Egyptian numbering, as does Yusuf Ali, usually but not always. The German translation by R. Paret and the French by R. Blachère give both numberings, Paret giving the Egyptian first, Blachère the Flügel first. For a complete list of the differences in these two numbering systems and a table for converting the Flügel numbers to Egyptian, see Bell-Watt, 202 f. The standard work on the various Islamic numbering systems is A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*, Munich 1935.

c. The *basmala*. At the beginning of each *sūra* except IX stands the *basmala*, the formula, *bismi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmāni 'l-raḥīm*, which can be interpreted or translated at least three ways: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (e.g., Bell, Arberry); "In the name of God, the compassionate Merciful (One)" (cf. Blachère); or "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. Paret). This formula occurs one other time in the Ḳur'ān, in XXVII, 30, as the opening of Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba. The elements of the *basmala* also occur separately: *bismi 'llāh* (without the *alif* in *bismi*, as in the *basmala*) occurs once, in XI, 41, and the twin attributes, *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, occur together four more times, in I, 3, II, 163, XLI, 2 and LIX, 22. It may be significant that whenever these attributes appear together, including in I, 1 and XXVII, 30, *al-raḥīm* always serves as a rhymeword. *Al-raḥmān*, always with the definite article, occurs within the text 57 times altogether—i.e. counting I, 1, but not the other occurrences of the *basmala* at the head of the *sūras*. *Al-raḥīm* occurs 33 times with the definite article, and frequently without. The fact that the last two terms of the *basmala* occur together elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān following the same pattern as many other pairs of divine attributes (see 6.c below) suggests that the first of the three interpretations given above is the best (cf. Jomier, *Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran* [see *Bibl.*]).

On the origin of the *basmala* and its placement at the head of the *sūras* there is difference of opinion. Some Muslims believe that this formula was part of the revelation and was included at the head of the *sūras* from the beginning. Textual evidence within the Ḳur'ān, supported by other early historical evidence, suggests that this is not the case. "Allāh" in the *basmala* is clearly the preferred name for God, and *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm*, according to their Ḳur'ānic usage, are either names or epithets for God. Yet these names are conspicuously absent in earlier parts of the Ḳur'ān, where Muḥammad's Lord is referred to as *rabb*, "Lord", and the Ḳur'ānic formula that occurs during this early period is *bi 'smi rabbika*, "in the name of thy Lord", occuring in LVI, 74, 96, LXIX, 52, and XCVI, 1 (in this formula *bi 'smi* has the *alif*). Then, possibly as much as two years or even more after the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry, the names al-Raḥmān and Allāh were introduced into the revelation. For a while the name al-Raḥmān was preferred; see, e.g., XIII, 30, XXV, 60 and sixteen times in XIX. Ḳur'ānic evidence supports the testimony of early Muslim scholars who report that the Meccans refused to accept al-Raḥmān as the name of God, while they did know Allāh as a type of "High God" (see W. M. Watt, *Belief in a "High God"*, in *JSS*, xvi [1971], 35-40). The next stage in this development is seen in XVII, 110, a key verse that says Muslims may use either name, Allāh or al-Raḥmān; but the effect of this verse was to replace al-Raḥmān with Allāh as the primary or preferred name for God, as is seen in XIII, 16, XXXIV, 24 and many other verses that parallel the earlier al-Raḥmān contexts. After the revelation of XVII, 110 the term *al-raḥmān* seldom if ever occurs in the Ḳur'ān alone, and it loses its significance as a proper name for God, partly by being connected with *al-raḥīm* and the Arabic root *r-ḥ-m*. Further evidence for the conclusions stated here are given in Welch, *Allāh and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*); on the foreign origin of *al-raḥmān* and its

use in Arabia as a proper name for God before and during the time of Muḥammad, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 112 f.; Horovitz, *Jewish proper names*, 57-9; *Foreign vocab.*, 140 f.; and BASMALA.

The evidence seems to indicate that the *basmala* came into use as a result of this controversy over divine names, probably a short time after the revelation of XVII, 110. It is possible that the *basmala* was formed from existing Ḳur'ānic expressions, i.e. *bismi 'llāh* in XI, 41 and *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* in what is now I, 3; but it seems much more likely that the *Fātiḥa* and all Ḳur'ānic occurrences of these twin attributes date from after XVII, 110. It also seems likely that the *basmala* was not originally part of the Fātiḥa; note that the Ḳur'ān scholars of Medina, Baṣra, and Syria did not count it as a verse in the *Fātiḥa*, and that this *sūra* without the *basmala* is often referred to as *al-ḥamd*, which may have been its original title [see BASMALA]. As soon as the *basmala* came into use, Muḥammad no doubt used it to introduce each recitation of a portion of the Ḳur'ān. Since many *sūras* contain passages from different periods (see 5.c below), Muḥammad must have recited the *basmala* before many segments that are now in the middle of the *sūras*. Only when the *sūras* reached their final, written form, in some cases after Muḥammad's death, was the *basmala* placed at the beginning of each *sūra* as we have it today.

d. The mysterious letters. At the beginning of 29 *sūras* just after the *basmala* stands a letter or group of letters called in Arabic *fawātiḥ al-suwar*, "the openers of the *sūras*", *awā'il al-suwar*, "the beginnings of the *sūras*", *al-ḥurūf al-muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, "the disconnected letters", etc., but generally referred to in European languages as "the mysterious letters". They are recited as letters of the alphabet, and for 14 centuries they have intrigued and baffled Muslim scholars. Some saw them as abbreviations, e.g. *alr* for *al-raḥmān*, *alm* for *al-raḥīm*, *ḥm* for *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, *ṣ* for *ṣādi yā muḥammad*, *ys* for *yā sayyid al-mursalīn*, etc. ʿIkrima and others relate from Ibn ʿAbbās the view that *alr*, *ḥm*, and *n* together stand for *al-raḥmān* (*Itḳān*, ii, 9). Others concluded that the letters are not abbreviations, but offered a variety of alternative explanations, that they are sounds meant to arouse the attention of the Prophet or to captivate his audience so they would be more attentive, mystical signs with symbolic meaning based on the numerical value of the Arabic letters, (written) signs of separation (*fawāṣil*) between the *sūras*, simply Arabic letters attesting that the revelation is in the familiar language of the people, etc. Al-Suyūṭī (*ibid.*, 10) mentions, for instance, a tradition related by Ibn Isḥāḳ on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās in which a group of Jews tell Muḥammad that the numerical value of the letters would indicate the number of years his community would last. At first they heard him recite *alm* (1 + 30 + 40 = 71), and said it would last 71 years. Then they heard *almṣ* (1 + 30 + 40 + 60) suggesting 131 years, then *alr* (1 + 30 + 200) or 231 years, and then *almr* or 271 years. In the end they concluded that the matter was ambiguous. Al-Suyūṭī discusses these and many other possibilities (*ibid.*, 8-13) and concludes that the *fawātiḥ* are simply mysterious letters or symbols known fully only to God. Later Muslim scholars have tended to accept this view, although the abbreviation theory has remained popular. A few modern Muslims have put forward new variations of mediaeval suggestions, e.g. Hashim Amir Ali (see *Bibl.*) argues that all of the groups of letters, not just some of them, are vocatives addressed to the Prophet, and ʿAlī Nāṣūḥ al-Ṭāhir (see *Bibl.*) proposes that the numerical value of the letters represents the number of verses in the "original" (in most cases, Meccan) versions of the *sūras* or groups of *sūras* concerned. Citing the same examples as al-Suyūṭī (but not always the same values), al-Ṭāhir says, for instance, that Sūra VII, which has 205 verses and begins with *almṣ* (1 + 30 + 40 + 90 = 161), originally consisted of only the first 161 verses. In other cases he has to combine various groups of *sūras* in order to obtain the required number of verses. Thus, adding the 111 verses of XII and the "120 Meccan verses" of XI gives him 231, the value of the letters *alr* which occur at the beginning of these two *sūras* (and also X, XIV, and XV, which he does not mention). Sūra XIII, with *almr* (1 + 30 + 40 + 200 = 271), he argues has 40 Meccan verse which when added to the 231 of XI and XII gives the required 271. In response, it is sufficient to note that no *sūra* with the letters now has the same number of verses as the value of the letters, and in no case does al-Ṭāhir's suggested number of original or Meccan verses agree with the view given in the Egyptian standard edition, much less a critical view of the chronology of the *sūras* involved. This theory is a prime example of the way arbitrary speculation has been applied to these letters.

A number of Western scholars have taken up the challenge to explain these letters since the publication of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* in 1860. Nöldeke suggested (215 f.) that they are the initials or monograms of the owners of the manuscripts used by Zayd when he first compiled the Ḳur'ān, e.g. *alr*[*z*] for al-Zubayr, *almr* for al-Mughīra and *ḥm* for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. These monograms, he said, got into the text by accident when later Muslims no longer knew their meaning. This view was widely accepted for a while in Europe and was taken up again and defended in 1901 by H. Hirschfeld (*New researches*, 141-3) who however regarded each letter as the initial of a different owner, *r*[*z*] for al-Zubayr, *m* for al-Mughīra, *ḥ* for Ḥudhayfa, etc. Hirschfeld's reason for rejecting the view that the letters went back to Muḥammad was that if they did "he must have had an important share in the arrangement of the *sūras*, and this would contradict all we know of the compilation of the Qorân" (141). But by the time Hirschfeld's book was published, Nöldeke had reversed his position, on the basis of a brief but insightful discussion on the subject by O. Loth (*Tabari's Korancommentar*, in *ZDMG*, xxxv [1881], 603 f.). According to Loth, the letters occur only in "late Meccan and early Medinan *sūras*" when Muḥammad was "drawing near to Judaism", and in some cases the beginning verses contain an allusion to the letters (i.e. "these are the signs (*āyāt*) of the Book"). He concluded that the letters are Cabalistic symbols standing for certain key words and phrases in the *sūras* before which they stand. Loth's arguments were sufficient to cause Nöldeke to abandon his earlier view and conclude that the letters are part of the revelation, having however no special meaning other than as mystical allusions to the heavenly Book (*Orientalische Skizzen*, 1892, 50 f., also stated in *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed., xvi, 597 f.). F. Schwally, in a perceptive survey of the literature up to 1919 (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 68-78), wisely rejected Loth's abbreviation suggestions as being too arbitrary (73), while commending him on his main argument (73-5). Schwally could not, however, accept Nöldeke's later view, calling it "doubtful" and insisting that "the symbols are still somehow connected with the redaction of the *sūras*" (76). Leaving open the

possibility that the letters are part of the revelation, Schwally made the following important statement: "If Muḥammad was indeed the originator of the symbols, then he must also have been the editor of the ciphered *sūras*. This would indeed contradict earlier prevailing views, but would agree with our earlier statements that the Prophet relied on secretaries to whom he dictated his revelations, that already his object was to produce a special book of revelation, and that the manner in which pieces from various periods but of similar content are strung together in certain *sūras* produces the impression that this editing originates from the Prophet himself" (77). Schwally was thus a harbinger of the work of Bell in the 1930s.

In the meanwhile, two more attempts were made to follow up on Loth's version of the abbreviation theory. In 1921 Hans Bauer (*Anordnung der Suren*) provided statistical evidence for Schwally's first point, that the letters are connected with the redaction of the *sūras*, but failed to follow up on the second. Instead, he offered an unconvincing list of catchwords for which the letters are said to be old abbreviations: *ys* for *yasʿā*, "he who runs", in XXXVI, 20; *ṣ* for *ṣāfināt*, "chargers", in XXXVIII, 31; *ḳ* for *ḳarīnuhu*, "he who is at his side", in L, 23 and 27, etc. For the groups of *sūras* with the same letters he sought some "inner or outer connection among the *sūras*", and suggested that *ṭs(m)* in XXVI-VIII stood for *ṭūr sīnīn*, "Mount Sinai", and Moses, and that *alm* stood for *al-mat̲h̲ānī* (see 1.b above). Independently E. Goossens proposed a similar view in a 1923 *Isl.* article (see *Bibl.*), that the letters are abbreviations for discarded *sūra* titles: *ḳ* for *ḳurʾān*, *n* for *al-nūn*, "the fish", or *d̲h̲u 'l-nūn*, one of Jonah's titles, etc. The *alr sūras*, now named after individual messengers, he said once formed a *sūra*-group called *al-rusul*, "the messengers", and the *alm sūras* formed a similar group called *al-mat̲h̲al*, "the parable". His most innovative suggestion was that some letters are remnants of titles that were discarded or abbreviated when some *sūras* were rearranged, e.g. *ys* (XXXVI) is the remnant of *al-yās* or *al-yāsīn* (two names for Elias in XXXVII, 123, 130), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVI + XXXVII, 12-182, and *ṣ* (XXXVIII) is the remnant of *al-ṣāffāt* (the first word and title of what is now XXXVII), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVII, 1-11 + XXXVIII. Bauer and Goossens inspired another abbreviation theory, that of Morris Seale (see *Bibl.*) who suggested that the letters served as mnemonics of the contents of the *sūras* involved. Seale accepted Bauer's Mount Sinai and Moses for *ṭs(m)* and Goossens' *al-rusul* for *alr*, but preferred *al-mawʿiẓa*, "admonition", for *alm* and *Yūnus* (Jonah) for *ys*. The diversity of these proposals and the fact that several alternative suggestions are often equally plausible demonstrate the futility of this approach, which also fails to respond to some of the textual evidence. In the end, what Schwally said of Loth's abbreviation suggestions applies also to those of Bauer, Goossens, and Seale.

James A. Bellamy in a 1973 *JAOS* article (see *Bibl.*) has proposed an abbreviation theory that attempts to avoid the arbitrariness of the others. Starting with the views recorded by the classical commentators that *alr*, *alm*, *almr*, *ḥm*, and *n* (letters that occur at the beginning of all but ten of the affected *sūras*) are abbreviations for *al-raḥmān* or *al-raḥīm* or both, Bellamy proposes that these letters stand for these terms in the *basmala*, and that all the other mysterious letters are also abbreviations for this formula. In order to accomplish this he suggests a number of emendations, so that *ṭ* and *k* > *ba*, *ṣ* and *ḳ* > *m*, *y* > *b*, and *ʿ* > *bs* or *s*. Thus with the change of only one letter, *ṭsm*, *ṭs*, *ṭh*, *ys*, *almṣ*, *ṣ*, and *ḳ*, become *basm*, *bas*, *bah*, *bs*, *almm*, *m*, and *m*, all suitable abbreviations for the *basmala*. This leaves only *ḥmʿsḳ* and *khyʿṣ*, which with two and four changes respectively become *ḥm bsm* and *bah bsm*. Bellamy suggests that when the *basmala* was first introduced (in the "middle and late Meccan" *sūras*) it was abbreviated variously by the Prophet's scribes at the beginning of these 29 *sūras*, and that the later compilers, failing to recognise these abbreviations, gave them a permanent place in the text by writing the *basmala* out in full just before them. Most of Bellamy's suggested emendations are indeed plausible, but his theory as a whole is not consistent with some of the textual evidence (e.g. the letters are almost certainly not Meccan, but Medinan), does not answer some crucial questions (e.g. the relationship of the letters to their immediate contexts), and is based on several very unlikely assumptions (e.g. that a new formula was abbreviated a dozen different ways by unknown scribes in Mecca who died without revealing their meaning, that the well-known scribes in Medina knew nothing about the abbreviations, etc.).

Any solution to the puzzle of the mysterious letters must provide a reasonable theory that is consistent with all of the textual evidence, and the place to begin is the immediate contexts of the letters, which provide some important clues. The following list gives the *sūra* number, the position the *sūra* would have if all the *sūras* (except the Fātiḥa) were arranged exactly according to length (based on Bauer, *op. cit.*, Table II; see also Bell-Watt, 206-12, for the length of each *sūra*), the letters, and the opening formula or phrase:

2 (2)	*alm*	That is the Book, wherein is no doubt
3 (4)	*alm*	... He has sent down on thee the Book
7 (5)	*almṣ*	A Book sent down to thee
10 (11)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Wise Book
11 (10)	*alr*	A Book whose signs are made clear
12 (12)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the clear Book; We have sent it down as an Arabic Ḳurʾān
13 (34)	*almr*	Those are the signs of the Book
14 (33)	*alr*	A Book We have sent down to thee
15 (41)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Book and a clear Ḳurʾān
19 (29)	*khyʿṣ*	Mention of thy Lord's mercy to His servant Zechariah
20 (17)	*ṭh*	We have sent down the Ḳurʾān upon thee
26 (15)	*ṭsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
27 (25)	*ṭs*	Those are the signs of the Ḳurʾān and a clear Book
28 (16)	*ṭsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
29 (27)	*alm*	Do the people reckon that they ... will not be tried?
30 (36)	*alm*	The Romans have been vanquished
31 (46)	*alm*	Those are the signs of the wise Book
32 (54)	*alm*	The sending down of the Book wherein is no doubt
36 (40)	*ys*	By the wise Ḳurʾān ... the sending down of the Almighty
38 (39)	*ṣ*	By the Ḳurʾān, containing the remembrance
40 (23)	*ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God the Almighty
41 (37)	*ḥm*	A sending down from the Merciful, the Compassionate. A Book whose signs

	have been distinguished as an Arabic Ḳur'ān.
42 (35) *ḥmʿsḳ*	So reveals to thee and to those before thee God, the Almighty
43 (31) *ḥm*	By the clear Book. Behold, We have made it an Arabic Ḳur'ān
44 (55) *ḥm*	By the clear Book. We have sent it down in a blessed night
45 (47) *ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
46 (42) *ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
50 (52) *ḳ*	By the glorious Ḳur'ān
68 (62) *n*	By the Pen and what they inscribe

Two points, stressed by Schwally, Bauer, Loth and others but largely disregarded by all the abbreviation theories, stand out in this list: the mysterious letters influenced the final arrangement of the Ḳur'ān, and they are closely related to the introductory formulas and to the Book. Groups of *sūra*s with the same letters but with widely varying lengths have been kept together even though this violates the principle of arranging the *sūra*s according to length. This suggests that separate collections of *sūra*s with the same letters existed at the time of the compilation of the Ḳur'ān and that the redactors were hesitant to break them up. The most likely reason for this hesitancy is that they regarded the letters as part of the revelation, and the groups of *sūra*s as going back to the Prophet. In nearly every case the letters are followed immediately by a reference to some form of the revelation, usually a distinctive revelation formula or oath that mentions the Book or the Ḳur'ān or both (XXIX and XXX being obvious exceptions). In III this formula occurs in verse 2, which Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 75) says was probably the original beginning of the *sūra*. In XIX a Book formula, "Mention in the Book Mary (Abraham, etc.)", introduces five other accounts (verses 16, 41, 51, etc.), but what appears to be an older formula is retained at the beginning of the first (verse 2). The close connection between the mysterious letters and the Book is proved by the fact that, although many *sūra*s begin with formulas or oaths, only one other *sūra* opens with the same type of revelation formula, namely, XXXIX, which belongs with the *ḥm sūras*. It begins exactly the same as three of them (XL, XLV and XLVI), it shares the same themes, and it is placed with them despite its length (see Bauer, Table II). Ubayy and others are in fact said to have read *ḥm* at the beginning of this *sūra* (*Materials*, 160). Revelation is mentioned in a few other *sūra* introductions, but they are different, e.g. XVIII and XXV begin with praise formulas (*al-ḥamdu li 'llāh* and *tabāraka*), XCVII with a *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7a below) and LV mentions *al-ḳur'ān* in verse 2, but is in a completely different style. There is also some correlation between specific formulas and groups of *sūra*s with the same mysterious letters, e.g. the *ṭsm sūra*s have the same formula, three of the *ḥm sūra*s have the same formula, and four with unique letters (*ys*, *ṣ*, *ḳ*, and *n*) begin with oaths.

Whether or not Loth is correct in saying that several of the introductory formulas contain allusions to the mysterious letters, there is other evidence that these letters are part of the revelation and were recited as separate letters from the beginning. For one thing, most of the groups of letters when recited as letters of the alphabet introduce the rhyme of their respective *sūra*s. The 17 *sūra*s with groups of letters ending in *īm*, *īn*, or *ūn* (i.e. six with *alif lām mīm*, six with *ḥā' mīm*, two with *ṭā' sīn mīm*, and one each with *ṭā' sīn*, *yā' sīn*, and *nūn*) all have this rhyme, with one partial exception. Sūra XX, on the other hand, with *ṭā' hā'*, has the *ā* rhyme (in verses 1-24); XXXVIII, with *ṣād*, has the rhyme *āḳ*, *āṣ*, etc.; XI, with *alif lām rā'*, has *īr*, *ūr* in verses 1-5; and XIII, with *alif lām mīm rā'*, and XLII, with *ḥā' mīm*, *ʿayn sīn ḳāf*, both have *īn*, *ūn* in verses 1-5, and then change to *āb*, *ār* and *il*, *ir*, respectively. The correspondence is not exact, and there are exceptions, but this close relationship between the letters and the rhyme or assonance of the *sūra*s must be more than a coincidence.

Another striking fact that must be more than coincidental is that the mysterious letters represent every consonantal form in Arabic, while no form occurs for more than one letter. Thus we have *y* but no *b*, *t*, or *th*; *ḥ* but no *dj* or *kh*; *r* but no *z*; *s* but no *sh*; *ṣ* but no *ḍ*; *ṭ* but no *ẓ*; *ʿ* but no *gh*; *ḳ* but no *f* or *w*; and *k* but no *d* or *dh*—along with each of the forms that represent only one letter, *'*, *l*, *m*, *n*, and *h* (note that in Kūfic Arabic *w* was written like *ḳ* and *f*, and *d* and *dh* were written like *k*, except that letters were not attached to the ends of *w*, *d*, and *dh*). The most reasonable explanation of the fact that these 14 letters, and no others, occur is that they were intended to represent the Arabic alphabet. If this is so, then the statements in the introductory formulas saying that the revelation was being sent down as a "clear Book" (*kitāb mubīn*) in Arabic take on new significance; other passages (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195) speak of the revelation being in "plain Arabic speech" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn*). The fact that the literature on variant readings does not record differences in the way the 14 consonantal forms were recited seems to indicate that there was a strong oral tradition supporting the mysterious letters.

A number of questions still remain, but the evidence seems to support Loth, the later Nöldeke, Schwally, Bell, and Alan Jones (see *Bibl.*) in regarding the mysterious letters as part of the revelation. Moreover, Bell seems to have been correct in seeing the letters and the introductory formulas as part of the early Medinan revisions adapting the *sūra*s for inclusion in the written scripture Muḥammad was preparing. It is not unlikely that the *sūra*s with the letters are the ones Muḥammad prepared for the Book. The letters are significant for understanding the history of the text, and the chronology of the text is important for understanding the letters.

5. Chronology of the Text

The Ḳur'ān responds constantly and often explicitly to Muḥammad's historical situation, giving encouragement in times of persecution, answering questions from his followers and opponents, commenting on current events, etc. Major doctrines and regulations for the Muslim community, which are never stated systematically in the Ḳur'ān, are introduced gradually and in stages that are not always clear. There are apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the presentation of both the beliefs and the regulations, and the latter are sometimes altered to fit new situations. Thus it is essential to know the approximate dates or historical settings of some passages, and at least the chronological order of others, if they are to be understood fully. This problem was recognised by early Muslim scholars who devoted much attention to it in the first few centuries, until a fairly rigid system of dating was established and given the imprimatur of orthodoxy. In modern times the study of the chronology of the Ḳur'ān has been almost exclusively a domain of

Western scholars, who have not however been able to reach a consensus on a dating system, or even on the possibility of establishing one.

a. Historical references and allusions in the Ḳur'ān. The Ḳur'ān mentions specifically or alludes to a number of historical events in the life of Muḥammad and his contemporaries, but it gives no dates or other indications as to exactly when these events occurred. In most cases, the specific occasions alluded to and the dates of the passages involved cannot be determined. This is especially true for the period before the Hid̲j̲ra in 622, for which there are only a few references to dateable historical events, and even if the events could be identified with certainty this would be of little help in dating the passages that refer to them, e.g. XXX, 2-5, mentions a military defeat of the Byzantines, presumably their loss of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614 (cf. also CV, believed to refer to a military expedition against Mecca in the middle years of the 6th century). There are many allusions to Muḥammad's personal situation in Mecca (e.g. the persecution he suffered, accusations made by his opponents, his early life and orphanhood) and to specific practices of the Meccans, but the passages that contain these allusions cannot be dated with any precision. It is only in the Medinan period that we have a number of passages that can be dated fairly precisely on the basis of references or allusions to specific historical events that can be dated from other sources. For instance, the battle of Badr (spring 624) and the battle of Ḥunayn (early 630) are mentioned by name in III, 123, and IX, 25, respectively. The change of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] (direction one faces when performing the ritual prayer) from Jerusalem to Mecca in late 623 or early 624 is discussed in II, 162-50. The adoption of the ancient pilgrimage rituals about the time of the battle of Badr is discussed in II, 158, 198, V, 95 ff., etc., where the Kaʿba, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (two ancient holy places in Mecca), Mount ʿArafāt, and al-Mas̲h̲ʿar al-Ḥarām (the sanctuary in Muzdalifa) are all mentioned by name. Muḥammad's adopted son, Zayd (b. Ḥārit̲h̲a), is mentioned by name in XXXIII, 37 in connection with an episode that occurred in the spring of 627. And many other events are alluded to, although not by name: the battle of Uḥud (625) in III, 155-74; the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of al-Naḍīr (625) in LIX, 2-5; the Day of the Trench (627) in XXXIII, 9-27; the expedition to K̲h̲aybar (628) in XLVIII, 15; the expedition to Tabūk (630) in IX, 29-35, etc. All Ḳur'ānic dating systems, Muslim and non-Muslim, take these historical references and allusions in Medinan contexts as their starting-point.

b. Traditional Muslim dating. During the early Islamic centuries a number of passages in the Ḳur'ān came to be connected with stories that arose in the attempts to reconstruct the life of the Prophet, especially for the period in Mecca before the Hid̲j̲ra: LIII, 1-18, and LXXX, 15-29, came to be interpreted as Muḥammad's call visions, while XCIV came to be associated with a story about the miraculous opening of his breast and purification of his heart, XCVI and LXXIV with his call to public prophethood, XVII, 1, with his Night Journey, etc. (see, e.g., al-Ṭabarī and al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *ad locc.*; for the European literature, Paret, *Kommentar*, 460 f., 513-15, 493 and 295 f.). Other passages came to be connected with certain events in the life of the Muslim community: XIX is said to have been recited to the Negus of Abyssinia by Muḥammad's followers who were forced to emigrate from Mecca to escape persecution around 615; and a written copy of XX is said to have been involved in the conversion of ʿUmar at about the same time. Early Ḳur'ān scholars also attempted to identify and explain vague allusions in the Ḳur'ān, e.g. they explained that the blind man alluded to in LXXX was a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm, and that the man involved in a divorce dispute in LVIII was Aws b. al-Ṣāmit. And episodes related to IX, 40, XXIV, 11-20, XXXIII, 37-40, LXVI, 3-5, CXI, 1-5, and many others were similarly explained. From these stories and explanations there arose a separate genre of Islamic literature called *asbāb al-nuzūl*, "the occasions of the revelation", the prime example being a work of the same title by al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075-6). This literature does not attempt to provide a complete system for dating the various parts of the Ḳur'ān, and only a small proportion of the text is treated. Also, there are a number of inconsistencies, e.g. whether XCVI or LXXIV was the "first revelation" (see *Itḳān*, i, 23 f.). Some of the stories and other explanations found in this literature and in the Ḳur'ān commentaries are obviously legendary, and in some cases the process by which these accounts came to be attached to Ḳur'ānic passages can be reconstructed (see, e.g., H. Birkeland, *The legend of the opening of Muhammad's breast*, Oslo 1955, and *The Lord guideth*, Oslo 1956, 38-55). Others probably have some historical validity, but there is often good reason to suspect elaborate embellishment. These accounts—historical, semi-historical, and legendary—came to be accepted, often without discrimination, as the basis for the traditional Muslim dating of the Ḳur'ān.

The adoption of the Ḳur'ān as a primary source for Islamic law played an important role in the establishment of a chronological order for the text. Rather than attempting to explain away the inconsistencies in passages giving regulations for the Muslim community, Ḳur'ān scholars and jurists came to acknowledge the differences, while arguing that the latest verse on any subject "abrogated" all earlier verses that contradicted it. A classic example involves the Ḳur'ānic teaching or regulation on drinking wine, where V, 90, which has a strong statement against the practice, came to be interpreted as a prohibition, abrogating II, 219, and IV, 43, which appear to allow it. This theory or doctrine of abrogation (*nask̲h̲*) has only limited support in the Ḳur'ān itself, since the verses on which it is based, especially II, 106, involve passages that are no longer in the Ḳur'ān. But a number of treatises on the subject influenced the development of the traditional dating of the Ḳur'ān by establishing a widespread belief in the chronological order of certain groups of isolated verses. Eventually, long lists of "abrogating and abrogated (verses)" (*al-nāsik̲h̲ wa 'l-mansūk̲h̲*) were drawn up, as jurists and others, in efforts to support their own views, sought out all possible inconsistencies and claimed that the "earlier" verses involved had been abrogated. See NASK̲H̲ and TAFSĪR; *Itḳān*, ii, 20-7; Bell-Watt, 86-9; Burton, *Collection*, 46-104.

The task of dating parts of the Ḳur'ān and determining its chronological order was further complicated by the assumption that the present *sūras* were the original units of revelation, i.e. that except for a few verses in some *sūras*, each *sūra* was revealed all at once or during a short period of time before the next *sūra* was begun. This assumption led to the practice of designating each *sūra* as "Meccan" or "Medinan" (i.e. revealed before or after the Hid̲j̲ra) and to attempts to determine the exact chronological order of all the *sūras* as wholes—rather than dealing with

separate parts as in the *asbāb al-nuzūl* and *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* literature. But al-Suyūṭī's lists of *sūras* attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. *ca.* 68/688), Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. *ca.* 112/730), and others show that the schools of these early Ḳur'ān scholars could not agree even on whether some *sūras* were "Meccan" or "Medinan", much less on their exact chronological order (*Itḳān*, i, 10 f.). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) classified the *sūras* as "Meccan", "Medinan", or "disputed", and included 17 in this last category: XIII, XLVII, LV, LVII, LXI, LXIV, LXXXIII, XCV, XCVII-C, CII, CVII and CXII-CXIV. The lists given by al-Suyūṭī show that there was also difference of opinion on six others: XLIX, LXII-LXIII, LXXVII, LXXXIX and XCII. The chronological order attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (*ibid.*) came to be widely accepted, and with a few changes was adopted by the editors of the Egyptian standard edition of the Ḳur'ān (1322/1924), who indicated in the heading to each *sūra* the *sūra* revealed just before it and any verses that belong to a different period. Thus the heading for XIV reads: "Sūra of Abraham, Meccan, except verses 28 and 29 which are Medinan; it has 52 verses; it was revealed after Sūra of Noah".

The Egyptian standard edition gives the following chronological order of the *sūras*, with the verses said to date from a different period given in parentheses: XCVI, LXVIII (17-33, 48-50 Med.), LXXIII (10 f., 20 Med.), LXXIV, I, CXI, LXXXI, LXXXVII, XCII, LXXXIX, XCIII, XCIV, CIII, C, CVIII, CII, CVII, CIX, CV, CXIII, CXIV, CXII, LIII, LXXX, XCVII, XCI, LXXXV, CVI, CI, LXXV, CIV, LXXVII (48 Med.), L (38 Med.), XC, LXXXVI, LIV (54-6 Med.), XXXVIII, VII (163-70 Med.), LXXII, XXXVI (45 Med.), XXV (68-70 Med.), XXXV, XIX (58, 71 Med.), XX (130 f. Med.), LVI (71 f. Med.), XXVI (197, 224-7 Med.), XXVII, XXVIII (52-5 Med., 85 during Hidjra), XVII (26, 32 f., 57, 73-80 Med.), X (40, 94-6 Med.), XI (12, 17, 114 Med.), XII (1-3, 7 Med.), XV, VI (20, 23, 91, 114, 141, 151-3 Med.), XXXVII, XXXI (27-9 Med.), XXXIV (6 Med.), XXXIX (52-4 Med.), XL (56 f. Med.), XLI, XLII (23-5, 27 Med.), XLIII (54 Med.), XLIV, XLV (14 Med.), XLVI (10, 15, 35 Med.), LI, LXXXVIII, XVIII (28, 83-101 Med.), XVI (126-8 Med.), LXXI, XIV (28 f. Med.), XXI, XXIII, XXXII (16-20 Med.), LII, LXVII, LXX, LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXXII, LXXXIV, XXX (17 Med.), XXIX (1-11 Med.), LXXXIII—Hidjra—II (281 later), VIII (30-6 Mec.), III, XXXIII, LX, IV, XCIX, LVII, XLVII (13 during Hidjra), XIII, LV, LXXVI, LXV, XCVIII, LIX, XXIV, XXII, LXIII, LVIII, XLIX, LXVI, LXIV, LXI, LXII, XLVIII, V, IX (128 f. Mec.), CX. Sūra II is the only one said to have an addition later in the same period. Sūras VIII, XLVII, and IX, all Medinan, are the only ones said to have earlier verses inserted into later *sūras*. Of the 86 Meccan *sūras*, 33 are said to have some Medinan verses. The traditional dating seen here is based on three assumptions: (1) that the present *sūras* were the original units of revelation, (2) that it is possible to determine their chronological order, and (3) that Tradition (including the *ḥadīth*, *sīra*, *asbāb al-nuzūl*, *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, and *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr* literature) provides a valid basis for dating the *sūras*.

c. Modern Western dating. Since the mid-19th century, Western scholars have been applying critical methods to the Ḳur'ān in varying degrees, and have proposed a variety of dating systems. The one that has gained the most acceptance is that of what might be called the Four-period School, founded by Gustav Weil in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in der Koran* (1844, 1878). Weil reassessed the dating of the Ḳur'ān and offered his own chronological order of the *sūras* using three criteria: (1) references to historical events known from other sources, (2) the character of the revelation as reflecting Muḥammad's changing situation and roles, and (3) the outward appearance or form of the revelation (1st ed., 54 f.). His most notable contribution was his division of the "Meccan *sūras*" into three groups, thus establishing altogether four periods of revelation, with the dividing points at about the time of the emigration to Abyssinia (*ca.* 615), Muḥammad's return from al-Ṭā'if (*ca.* 620), and the Hidjra (September 622). Weil's four-period dating system and his three criteria were then adopted, with some changes in the order of the *sūras*, by Th. Nöldeke in 1860 and F. Schwally in 1909 in their monumental *Gesch. des Qor.*, and then by R. Blachère in his *Introd.* (1947, 1959) and translation, *Le Coran* (1949-50, 1966). In the 1st ed. of his translation, Blachère arranged the *sūras* in what he took to be their chronological order; in the 2nd ed. the *sūras* were put in the traditional order (this 2nd ed. was meant for a wider public; but Blachère may also have felt, after deeper acquaintanceship with Bell's work, that it was not possible to arrange the *sūras* in an exact chronological order). In order to show the similarities and differences among the three versions of this four-period system, and to facilitate a comparison of this system with the traditional dating, the three European versions are all given below. The few verses in some *sūras* that are said to date from a different period are not indicated here, except where Blachère divided two *sūras* in the first edition of his translation.

The *sūras* of the First or Early Meccan Period tend to be short, with short, rhythmic verses. They often begin with a series of *kāhin*-style oaths, and the language is said to be full of "poetic imagery and power". Assuming a progressive deterioration of style, Weil placed in the First Period the *sūras* he felt have the most exalted poetic style, along with others that share the same themes and general style. The chronological order of the *sūras* of the First Period according to the three versions is as follows:
Weil: 96, 74, 73, 106, 111, 53, 81, 68, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 105, 113, 114, 112, 80, 97, 91, 85, 90, 95, 101, 75, 104, 77, 86, 70, 78, 79, 82, 84, 56, 88, 52, 69, 83, 99.
Nöldeke: 96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1.
Blachère: 96^{1-5}, 74^{1-7}, 106, 93, 94, 103, 91, 107, 86, 95, 99, 101, 100, 92, 82, 87, 80, 81, 84, 79, 88, 52, 56, 69, 77, 78, 75, 55, 97, 53, 102, 96^{6-19}, 70, 73, 76, 83, 74^{8-55}, 111, 108, 104, 90, 105, 89, 112, 109, 1, 113, 114.

The *sūras* of the Second or Middle Meccan Period are longer and "more prosaic", but still with "poetic" qualities. In style they are said to form a transition between the *sūras* of the First and Third periods. The signs of God in nature and the divine attributes such as mercy (*raḥma*) are emphasised, and God is often called the Merciful One (*al-raḥmān*). There are vivid descriptions of paradise and the hellfire, and here too the punishment-stories are introduced. The *sūras* of the Second Period are (italics = Nöldeke only; parentheses = Blachère only):
Weil: 1, 51, 36, 50, 54, 44, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 67, 37, 38, 43, 71, 55, 15, 76.

Nöldeke and Blachère: (51), 54, (68), 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18.

The *sūra*s of the Third or Late Meccan Period are even longer and "more prosaic", and Weil says the "poetic power" has been lost altogether. The revelation often takes the form of sermons or speeches, and the prophet stories and punishment-stories are retold in more and more detail. Nöldeke emphasises changes in vocabulary, but similarity of form, in Late Meccan and Medinan *sūras*. The *sūra*s of the Third Period are:

Weil: 7, 72, 35, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 6, 31, 34, 39, 40, 32, 42, 45, 46, 18, 16, 14, 41, 30, 29, 13, 64.
Nöldeke and Blachère: 32, 41, 45, (17), 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.

The Medinan *sūra*s and their chronological order are determined by the subject matter of these revelations that reflect Muḥammad's growing political power and the general development of events in Medina after the Hid̲j̲ra. New themes and key terms are said to help distinguish these *sūra*s from certain Late Meccan ones. The Medinan *sūra*s are:

Weil: 2, 98, 62, 65, 22, 4, 8, 47, 57, 3, 59, 24, 63, 33, 48, 110, 61, 60, 58, 49, 66, 9, 5.
Nöldeke and Blachère: 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

Here we see a combination of excessive dependence on traditional Muslim dating and on matters of form and style, e.g. in Weil's First Period the first 34 *sūra*s, with just a few exceptions, are in almost exactly the same order as in the traditional Muslim dating (cf. the Egyptian list above). Weil then closed this period with eleven *sūra*s that have the same "poetic style", but are dated considerably later by Muslims (note the exact order of LXX-LXXXIV). Nöldeke then accepted all of Weil's First Period *sūra*s, and added three more (I, LI, LV); and Blachère accepted all of Nöldeke's except for two (LI, LXVIII), and added one (LXXVI)—these differences involve mainly the dividing points between the periods. Also, the traditional stories involving certain *sūra*s—Muḥammad's call (XCVI, LXXIV), an incident involving Muḥammad's uncle, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (CXI), the emigration to Abyssinia (XIX, XX), etc.—seem to have been accepted as historical. But the Tradition, especially on the Meccan period, is not this trustworthy. Weil, Nöldeke, and Blachère have accepted the three assumptions of the traditional Muslim dating stated above; their four-period system is essentially little more than a European variation of the traditional dating. On the question of style, it is true that there were changes through the years; but there is no reason to assume that all *sūra*s with the same style belong to the same period. The Four-period School have not demonstrated the validity of the historical framework or the development of ideas and key terms assumed by their system, which has been widely accepted in the West with much more confidence than is justified. It should be emphasised, however, that this system is often used by others in a rigid way not intended by its founders (Weil and Nöldeke), e.g. giving the exact chronological order of several verses, or the exact number of occurrences of a term in each period. Schwally in particular emphasised that the order proposed by Nöldeke was only approximate.

Three other dating systems were proposed by Europeans within a span of ten years around the turn of the 20th century. That of H. Grimme, presented in his *Mohammed* (1892-5), ii, 25 ff., was basically a variation of Nöldeke's, with more emphasis on stages in the development of doctrinal themes. Grimme's analysis of groups of ideas that occur together in the Ḳur'ān was useful, but his view of the overall sequence of ideas (monotheism, resurrection, the Last Day, etc.) was not widely accepted, and has since been discredited. Sir William Muir, in his *The Coran: its composition and teaching* (1896), 43-7, offered an arrangement of the *sūra*s in six periods (five Meccan and one Medinan). His most significant and innovative suggestion was that the first period in the composition of the Ḳur'ān comprised eighteen short *sūra*s, which he called "rhapsodies", dating from before Muḥammad's call: CIII, C, XCIX, XCI, CVI, I, CI, XCV, CII, CIV, LXXXII, XCII, CV, LXXXIX, XC, XCIII, XCIV and CVIII. Muir pointed out that none of these is in the form of a message from a deity. His second period has four *sūra*s (XCVI, CXIII, LXXIV, CXI) treating "the opening of Muḥammad's ministry", presumably *ca.* 610. The other dividing points are the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry (*ca.* 613), the Abyssinian emigration (*ca.* 615), the Year of Sorrow (*ca.* 619), and the Hid̲j̲ra. Muir is no doubt correct in dating some *sūra*s before XCVI and LXXIV, but I and others he lists are almost certainly later. In general, the criticisms stated above of the four-period system apply also to Muir's. In 1902 H. Hirschfeld, in his *New researches* (see *Bibl.*), proposed a chronological arrangement of the Ḳur'ān based on the character or function of individual passages. After the "first proclamation", XCVI, 1-5, Hirschfeld's arrangement also has six periods, in which the revelations are classified as "confirmatory" (LXXXVII, LXVIII, 1-33, XCII, LXIX, 40-52, etc.), "declamatory" (LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIV, etc.), "narrative" (LXVIII, 34-52, LI, XXVI, 1-220, LIV, etc.), "descriptive" (LXXIX, 27-46, LXXI, LV, etc.), "legislative" (VI, 1-73, XCIII, 9-11, XXV, 63-72, etc.), and Medinan, grouped together but discussed separately as those up to the battle of Badr, political speeches, revelations on Muḥammad's domestic affairs, and preparations for the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This system has a number of obvious flaws, but Hirschfeld's work was valuable for its preliminary analysis of Ḳur'ānic literary types and its recognition of the fact that in dating parts of the Ḳur'ān we must deal with individual pericopes rather than entire *sūra*s.

This insight became a guiding principle in the most elaborate attempt so far to identify and date the original units of revelation, Richard Bell's *The Qur'ān, translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the surahs*, 2 vols. (1937-9). Over a decade earlier he became convinced that Nöldeke's dating was inadequate (*ibid.*, 689 f.). Bell's verse-by-verse analysis of the entire Ḳur'ān led him to conclude that the *sūra*s are far more complex than is assumed by the traditional Muslim and European dating, that the revelations underwent considerable revision, including expansion, replacement of older passages with new material, changes in the rhyme, etc., that this revision involved written documents and was done during Muḥammad's lifetime under his supervision, and that the material for most of the *sūra*s was compiled, but not put into its final form, under Muḥammad's supervision. Bell did not present a rigid dating system, but concluded "provisionally" (vi f.) that the composition of the Ḳur'ān fell into three main periods: an early one from which only some sign-passages and exhortations to worship God survive; a "Ḳur'ān period", covering the latter part of the Meccan period and the first year or two in

Medina, during which Muḥammad's task was to produce a *ḳur'ān*, a collection of lessons for liturgical use; and a "Book period", beginning about the end of the year 2 A.H., during which Muḥammad began to produce a written scripture. According to Bell, the present Ḳur'ān is not to be divided into these three periods, since a number of sign-passages were incorporated into the liturgical *ḳur'ān*, and in Medina this collection of oral materials was revised to form part of the Book. Bell attempted to date some Medinan passages fairly precisely—"early Medinan, revised after Badr", "shortly after Uḥud", "year VII", etc. But for most passages he gave very general and often tentative suggestions, especially for the Meccan material, e.g. "early, revised in Mecca (?), "Meccan, with Medinan additions", and very often "Meccan" and "late Meccan or early Medinan". A survey of Bell's provisional dating of the individual passages shows that he regarded fewer than twenty *sūras* as being probably completely Meccan: L, LIII, LV, LXIX, LXXV, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII-LXXXIX, XCI-XCIII, XCV-XCVI, XCIX, CIV and CXIII, all of which are said to have material from different dates. Of the other short *sūras*, some of which he regarded as possible unities, Bell said CII, CV, CXII and CXIV seem to be Medinan; I, XCIV, CIII and CVI-CVIII could be either Meccan or Medinan; and on C, CI, CIX and CXI he gave no opinion. He regarded as completely Medinan the same 24 *sūras* said to be Medinan by Nöldeke, but saw them as having significant amounts of material from several different dates, thus making it impossible to put the *sūras* as wholes in chronological order. This leaves exactly half of the *sūras* (57) which Bell regarded as having significant amounts of material from both before and after the Hidjra: 33 said to be mostly Meccan, with Medinan revisions and additions—VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV-XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVI-XXXVIII, XLI, XLIV, LI-LII, LIV, LVI, LXVIII, LXX-LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII, LXXXI, LXXXIV, LXXXVII and XC; and 24 said to be mostly Medinan, with some Meccan passages, or based on Meccan material—X, XI, XIV, XVI, XIX, XX, XXIII, XXVII-XXXII, XXXV, XXXIX, XL, XLII-XLIII, XLV-XLVI, LXVII, LXXXIII, LXXXV and XCVII. He thus distinguished between dates of original revelation (or earliest recitation) and dates of later editing and composition during Muḥammad's lifetime. The fact that he indicated breaks in the text and identified older components, e.g. Meccan passages in *sūras* that were completed in Medina, does not mean he failed to recognise that some longer *sūras* (e.g. XII, XIX, XXVI) and many shorter ones (e.g. LXXXVII, CIV) are carefully composed, unified works in their final form.

Bell's analysis of the Ḳur'ān has often been misunderstood or ignored by later writers, partly because the extensive notes to his translation, giving the arguments for his reconstructions, were never published. Nor has any thorough study and critique of Bell's work yet appeared. The review articles by J. E. Merill and W. M. Watt (see *Bibl.*) and Watt's remarks in Bell-Watt (113 f., 101-7, 137-41, etc.) are useful introductions. Watt has expressed reservations about Bell's hypothesis on the disjointedness of the Ḳur'ān. Bell suggested that when some passages were being revised Muḥammad instructed the scribes to write the new versions on the backs of the sheets on which the verses being replaced were written, and that the later editors, not wanting to discard any of the revelation, inserted the old verses just before or after the new ones. E.g. II, 185, was written on the back of 184, 186 (on fasting), II, 196, on the back of 197-9 (on the Pilgrimage), XXIV, 2-9, on the back of 10-18 (on fornication), and XVIII, 6-9 (a new introduction to the story of the Seven Sleepers), on the back of 10-12, which was replaced by a longer version of the story in 13-21a. In other cases the scribes simply used the backs of sheets on which older, discarded material was written, e.g. IV, 11-14, on the back of 2-10, IV, 19-21, on the back of 15-18, and VII, 3-5, on the back of 6 9. This hypothesis provides a feasible explanation and solution to textual problems in some cases, but not in others. It now seems that Bell was sometimes too quick to designate a passage as "discarded" material or a "scrap" that got into the Ḳur'ān by mistake; and he seems to have failed to recognise some literary forms, e.g. the *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7.a below). But it must be remembered that Bell was a pioneer in this field, and that he attempted to locate all possible breaks in the text, acknowledging that many of his suggestions were uncertain or tentative and that some would be proved untenable by later research. On the whole, his dating and reconstructions have been supported by later studies, e.g. K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran* (Leiden 1968), 47-81, on II, 183 ff.; see also Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*) on the emergence of the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, and idem, in W. M. Watt and A. T. Welch, *Der Islam*, i (Stuttgart 1980), 264-71, 300-3, on the origin and early development of the *ṣalāt* and *zakāt*. Careful studies of a number of passages and topics are needed before a final judgment of Bell's work can be made.

There is room for disagreement on specifics, but there can now be little doubt that Schwally was correct in concluding that passages from different dates were put together to form the present *sūras*, that written documents were involved, and that this revision was done under Muḥammad's supervision (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 45 ff., ii, 1 f., 77, etc.). Furthermore, Bell seems to have been right in his main conclusions, which went beyond Schwally's position. Most *sūras* have significant amounts of material from different dates, and nearly all of the longer *sūras* with Meccan material were revised or expanded in Medina, so that we can no longer speak of "middle Meccan" or "late Meccan" *sūras*. We can speak with more confidence of "early Meccan" *sūras*, although we cannot be certain as to which ones belong to this group. And we can speak of "Medinan *sūras*", i.e. those that are made up completely of Medinan material (of various dates). It is not possible to put the *sūras* as wholes in chronological order, or to determine the exact order of the passages on any major teaching—the creation, God and other supernatural beings, the nature and destiny of man, etc. This does not mean that nothing can be said on the development of ideas in the Ḳur'ān. On the major teachings and other subjects on which the Ḳur'ān has much to say, it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of the main stages of development, and sometimes the approximate dates of these stages. It now seems certain that the most important single turning point in the development of the Muslim scripture was not the Hidjra, dividing the Ḳur'ān into "Meccan" and "Medinan" *sūras*, but a series of events surrounding the battle of Badr and Muḥammad's so-called "break with the Jews". Late Meccan and very early Medinan material is difficult to distinguish; there are many passages that could just as well date from Muḥam-

mad's last year in Mecca or his first in Medina.

6. Language and Style

a. Language of the Ḳur'ān. Most mediaeval Muslim scholars believed that the Ḳur'ān was in the spoken language of the Prophet, the dialect of the Ḳuraysh, which was also the language of the "Classical Arabic" poetry of Muḥammad's day. It was assumed that the Ḳuraysh and the classical poets retained the pure language of the Bedouins (*al-aʿrāb*). Support for this view, more a theological doctrine than a linguistic theory, was found in the Ḳur'ān in the statements that the revelation was in "clear Arabic speech" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn*) (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195; cf. XLI, 44), which came to be interpreted as "pure Arabic". This Ḳuraysh dialect theory was attacked by Karl Vollers in a series of well-documented articles beginning in 1894 and culminating in his classic *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (1906), in which he argues that the Ḳur'ān was first recited by Muḥammad in a colloquial Arabic without case-endings (*iʿrāb*) (thus distinguishing it from the Classical Arabic of the poets), that the language of the Ḳur'ān as we now have it was a fabrication of later philologists who attempted to put the revelations into Classical Arabic, and that the original language of the Ḳur'ān survives only in a few orthographic peculiarities (e.g. the omission of the *alif* in some words) and in the non-canonical readings. Voller's theory gave rise to much discussion of the language of the Ḳur'ān, but it found little support outside of Germany, except for several articles by Paul Kahle (e.g. *The Arabic readers of the Koran*, in *JNES*, viii [1949], 65-71), who presented evidence to show that at least during the 2nd century the Ḳur'ān was indeed recited without *iʿrāb*, a characteristic of colloquial Arabic. Kahle's arguments also failed to convince others, and the earlier refutations of Vollers' thesis given in a lengthy review by R. Geyer (*Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, clxxi [1909], 10-56) and by Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge*, 1-5) have been generally accepted (on the views of Vollers, Kahle, Geyer, and Nöldeke, see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 112-30). Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 59) argued that the language of the Ḳur'ān was not the spoken language of any tribe, but was a somewhat artificial *Hochsprache* that was understood throughout the Ḥidjāz. On the other side, it has come to be generally agreed that the Classical Arabic of the poetry of Muḥammad's time was not the spoken language of the poets or the dialect of any one tribe, but a literary language that was understood by all the tribes. This language has come to be called the "poetic *koinē*" or the *ʿarabiyya*. In the late 1940s three European writers, H. Fleisch, R. Blachère, and C. Rabin, reached the conclusion, apparently independently, that the language of the Ḳur'ān, far from being the spoken dialect of the Ḳuraysh or a *Hochsprache* of the entire Ḥidjāz, was simply the "poetic *koinē*" of the Classical Arabic poetry, with some adaptation to the Meccan speech, e.g. the omission of the *hamza* (for references and discussion, see C. Rabin, *The beginnings of Classical Arabic*, in *Stud. Isl.*, iv [1955]. 19-37, and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 130-72). This view has been accepted by most Western Arabists. One notable exception is J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 85-118) who rejects the *koinē* or *ʿarabiyya* concept, without offering any clear alternative. He asserts that very little can be known about the text of the Ḳur'ān or about Classical Arabic prior to the "literary stabilisation" of both in the 3rd/9th century. There is nothing in the Ḳur'ānic usage of *ʿarabī* and its cognate forms to support the suggestion of J. Fück (*ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950, 1-5) that *ʿarabī* in the expression "clear Arabic speech" refers to the *ʿarabiyya*, the literary language of the Bedouins.

b. Foreign vocabulary. The earliest exegetes recognised and discussed freely a large number of non-Arabic words in the Ḳur'ān, and Tradition credits Ibn ʿAbbās and his school with having a special interest in seeking their origin and meaning. Then when the dogma of the eternity and perfection of the Ḳur'ān was elaborated (see 8. below) some jurists and theologians, such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 205/820), came to believe that it was in pure Arabic and thus denied that any of its vocabulary was borrowed from other languages. But prominent philologists such as Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) continued to argue that the Ḳur'ān contained foreign words. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) and others, attempting to reconcile the two views, asserted that the alleged foreign elements in the Ḳur'ān were simply words that Arabic and other languages had in common. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī (d. 873/1468) explained in his *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* (Algiers 1905, i, 17) that these words came into Arabic through the ancient Arabs' contacts with other languages in foreign travel and commercial affairs, but that they had been thoroughly Arabised by the time of the Prophet. Other writers seem to have freed themselves altogether from religious considerations, e.g. al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who gave special attention to foreign loan-words in the Ḳur'ān. In his *Itḳān* he has a chapter on words that are not in the language of the Ḥidjāz (i, 133-5) and another on words that are not in the language of the Arabs (135-41). In a separate treatise, the *Mutawakkilī* (ed. and tr. Wm. Y. Bell, Cairo 1924), he classifies a large number of terms as words borrowed from Ethiopic, Persian, Greek, Indian, Syriac, Hebrew, Nabataean, Coptic, Turkish, Negro, and Berber (for a discussion of these, see *Foreign vocab.*, 12-32). Jeffery indicates surprise that al-Suyūṭī was able to gather from the older authorities so many words "whose Arabic origin to us is obvious, but which they regarded as foreign", and he says that some of these are simply rare Arabic words, while others are variant forms used in the Ḳur'ān to establish the rhyme. He then concludes that the foreign elements in the Ḳur'ānic vocabulary are of three distant types: (1) words that are entirely non-Arabic and cannot possibly be traced to Arabic roots, e.g. *istabraḳ* (silk brocade), *zandjabīl* (ginger), *firdaws* (paradise); (2) Semitic words that, although their triliteral root is found in Arabic, occur in the Ḳur'ān in a sense used in another language but not in Arabic, e.g. *fāṭir* (creator), *ṣawāmiʿ* (cloisters), *darasa* (to study [the scriptures] earnestly); and (3) words that are genuinely Arabic and commonly used, but are used in the Ḳur'ān with technical or theological meanings influenced by other languages, e.g. *nūr*, "light", used in the sense of "religion"; *rūḥ*, "spirit", and especially *rūḥ al-ḳudus*, "the spirit of holiness"; and *kalima*, "a word", when used of Jesus (*ibid.*, 39 f.). Jeffery then discusses about 275 words, other than proper names, that have been regarded as foreign, and he summarises the views of earlier European scholars as to their origin, and sometimes gives his own views. For the Arabic and European literature on this topic, see *ibid.*, xi-xix, to which should be added two studies by L. Kopf, *Religious influences on medieval Arabic philology*, in *Stud. Isl.*, v (1956), esp. 40-5, and *The treatment of foreign words in mediaeval Arabic lexicology*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (1961), 191-205 (both reprinted

in Kopf, *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew lexicography*, Jerusalem 1976) and other works cited by him.

c. Rhymes and refrains. A distinctive feature of Ḳurʾānic style, closely related to its oral nature and liturgical function, is that it is all rhymed or assonanced prose. There is no attempt to produce the strict rhyme of Arabic poetry (see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 103-10). Some short *sūras*, and segments of longer *sūras*, do have a fairly consistent rhyme if the short inflectional vowels at the ends of the verses are disregarded. For instance, the three verses of CVIII end in *-ar*, the four verses of CXII end in *-ad*, CV has *-īl* except for the last verse with *-ūl*, CXI has *-ab* except for the last verse with *-ad*, and the 55 verses of LIV end in *r* (or *rr*) preceded by a short vowel. But in most *sūras* there is a loose rhyme or assonance formed by common grammatical endings and word forms. By far the most frequent assonance in the Ḳurʾān is *-ūn/-īn* (considered interchangeable), which is formed by the plural endings of nouns and verbs. And even this form, which occurs frequently in Arabic, is often varied with words ending with one of these vowels but a different consonant. The feminine singular endings *-at* and *-hā* occur in CIX, XLVII, XCI and XCIX; the dual ending *-ān* occurs in LV; the accusative ending *-an* occurs in XVIII, LXXII, and C; and the form *-ā(l)*, a long *a* followed by a variable consonant, occurs in parts of longer *sūras* such as II, III, XIV, XXXVIII and XL. On the various rhyme forms in the Ḳurʾān (technically known as *faʿīl, fiʿʿāl, fāʿilat, ifʿāl, tafʿīl*, etc.), see *Itḳān*, ii, 96-105, and F. R. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Reimprosa im Koran* (Bonn 1969), who presents a systematic compilation of the evidence that peculiarities in Ḳurʾānic style and vocabulary were brought about by the imposition of rhyme.

The whole of the Ḳurʾān is often said to be in *sad̲j̲ʿ*, the rhythmic, rhymed utterance of the *kāhin* (soothsayer) [*q.v.*], which, like the Ḳurʾān, does not have a fixed metre or proper rhyme and is thus distinct from both poetry and prose. But those who have insisted that the Ḳurʾān is not in *sad̲j̲ʿ* seem on the whole to be on sounder ground (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 36 ff.; Blachère, *Litt.*, 212; Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 157 ff.). Some of the shorter *sūras* do have short, rhythmic, rhymed verses of the *sad̲j̲ʿ* type, often beginning with oaths, e.g. XC to XCIII (see 7.a below); and parts of a few somewhat longer *sūras*, e.g. the beginning of LXXV and LXXXII-LXXXV can be described as being "*sad̲j̲ʿ*-like". But most *sūras* have longer, prosaic verses that are simply made to fit a loose rhyme or assonance pattern. In some a distinctive, fairly consistent rhyme is formed by words that are integral to a context and its meaning, giving the impression of being carefully constructed compositions, e.g. XVIII-XX. But in others, especially some of the *sūras* that are completely Medinan, the rhyme is formed by set formulas that are attached loosely to the ends of the verses, often with little or no connection of thought with the contexts. For instance, in II, the longest *sūra* in the Ḳurʾān, the rhyme in about three-fourths of the 286 verses is formed by divine epithets, aphorisms, and other formulas that often have little relevance for the meaning of the narrative. In verses 127-268 double divine epithets occur over 30 times, e.g. God is *samīʿ ʿalīm* (Hearer, Knower) occurs seven times; *ʿazīz ḥakīm* (Mighty, Wise), six times; *g̲h̲afūr raḥīm* (Forgiving, Compassionate), six times, etc. Theological aphorisms occur even more often, and some are repeated several times: "God is not heedless of the things you do", in verses 74, 140, 144, 149, etc.; "God sees the things you do", in 110, 233, 237, 265, etc.; "God has knowledge of everything", in 29, 231, 282; and "God is powerful over everything", in 20, 106, 259 and 284, etc.

A special type of rhyme-formula that occurs in a number of *sūras* is the refrain, i.e. an entire verse or more repeated verbatim at more or less regular intervals. The most striking example is the rhetorical question, "Then which of the benefits of your Lord will you two deny?", which occurs as LV, 13, 16, 18 and 21 and then almost every other verse to the end of the *sūra* in verse 78. A similar refrain, "Woe is that day to those who deny it!", occurs in LXXVII, 15, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47 and 49. In both of these cases the refrain has little connection with the meaning of the other verses, and it is difficult to tell whether the latter should be read as an introduction (see Bell, *Trans.*, 627 f.) or a conclusion (e.g., Arberry trans., ii, 318 f.) to the ten segments ranging in length from two to five verses. Each of the seven punishment-stories in XXVI ends with the two verses, "Lo, in that is a sign, but most of them have not believed" and "But, lo, thy Lord is the Sublime, the Compassionate", which appear to be separate refrains, the latter being later. Four punishment-stories in LIV end with "We have made the Ḳurʾān as the Reminder (*d̲h̲ikr*), but is there anyone who takes heed?", and the first three also have what appears to be an earlier refrain, "Of what nature, then, was My punishment and My warning?" Similar formulas occur frequently in the Ḳurʾān, but usually not as refrains. On internal rhymes and the possibility that there are strophes within the Ḳurʾān, see Bell-Watt, 70-5.

d. Schematic form and multiple accounts. The last two examples of refrains occur in stories that also share another characteristic of Ḳurʾānic style, schematic form, i.e. the repetition of certain verses, or formulas that are woven into the narrative in a regular pattern in different stories presented together as a group. A good example of one type of schematic form occurs in XXVI, where five punishment-stories have the same five-verse introduction, as well as the refrains mentioned above and other repeated verses. The introduction of the first story reads: "The people of Noah denied the envoys. / When their brother Noah said to them: 'Will you not show piety? / Lo, I am to you a faithful messenger. / So show piety towards God, and obey me. / I ask you for no reward for it; my reward rests only upon the Lord of the worlds' ". The only difference in the five-verse introductions of the other four accounts is the name of the people (the tribes of ʿĀd, T̲h̲amūd, etc.) and the prophet (Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, etc.). Another type of schematic form occurs in the Sūra VII versions of the same five punishment-stories, where about two-thirds of the Noah story is repeated in the Hūd story (a smaller percentage is repeated in the others), but the repeated parts are interspersed with statements, phrases, and individual words that are distinctive to each story. To show the first stage in the development of this group of schematic accounts, the Noah story is given here with the elements that also occur in the Hūd story put in italics: "We sent Noah to his people, and *he said 'O my people, serve God. There is no god for you other than He.* Verily I fear for you the punishment of a mighty day'. *Said the nobility of his people: 'Verily we think you are in* manifest error'. *He said 'O my people, there is no* error *in me; I am but a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and* give you *sincere* advice; I have knowledge from

God which you have not. *Does it astonish you that a reminder from your Lord should come to you upon a man from among yourselves, in order that he may warn* you and that you may show piety? Perhaps mercy will be shown you'. But they denied him; *so We rescued him and those with him* in the ark, and We drowned *those who denied Our signs*. Verily they were a blind people." Part of the Noah story and other parts of the Hūd story are then repeated in the Ṣāliḥ, Lot, and Shuʿayb stories. Other groups of parallel accounts in the Ḳurʿān have one of these two types of schematic form. The extent of the repetition in these parallel accounts has important implications for understanding their nature and purpose, e.g. they are not intended as historical accounts.

These groups of punishment-stories also illustrate another feature of the Ḳur'ān: the complex development of its multiple accounts and their changing relationships with other accounts. Many stories are repeated in different versions in two or more *sūras*, and these multiple accounts of the same story differ not only in length and details, but also in their purpose and their relationship to other stories. For instance, different versions of the punishment-stories or brief references to them occur in 16 different *sūras*. Longer versions of the Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Lot stories occur in LIV, XXVI, VII and XI; the first three also occur in XXV, LI and LIII; they are referred to in IX, XIV and XXIX; and they occur separately in still other *sūras*. There are two different Lot punishment stories: the first occurs in LIV, XXVI and VII (mentioned above) and also in XXVII and XXXVII; the second, involving the visit of celestial messengers, occurs in XI and XV. Then in XXIX both appear together separated by a brief version of an Abraham story, which also occurs in earlier, longer versions in LI, XV and XI. On the punishment-stories, see 7.d below, Bell-Watt, 127-35, and bibliography given there. A similar development can be seen in the creation stories: the story of (the fallen angel?) Iblīs occurs as a complete, independent story in XV and XXXVIII and is repeated in shorter versions in XVII and XVIII; then it occurs with an account of the temptation and fall of Adam in VII, XX, and finally II. In the last two the Iblīs story is reduced to a single verse, and in II these two story segments are preceded by the only Ḳur'ānic version of a third creation story, about God consulting the angels before creating man. A third example, of a somewhat different type, involves the two parallel accounts of the miraculous births and childhood of John (the Baptist) and Jesus in XIX, 2-34 and III, 38-51. In XIX the stories of John and Jesus are the first two in a series of separate accounts; in III they are woven together as part of a longer account that begins with the birth and early life of Mary. Among the significant patterns seen in the development of these and other multiple accounts in the Ḳur'ān is that the earlier groups of stories tend to be ahistorical in their arrangement, e.g. in XXVI we have Moses, Abraham, Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, and then Shuʿayb (who came to be identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses), while the later versions are put in "historical order", e.g. in XI we have Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham, Lot, Shuʿayb, and Moses. The ahistorical groups are typical of what Bell calls the Ḳur'ān period, while the "historical" ones reflect the Book period, where we see stories combined to form longer multi-episodic narratives that constitute the beginning of a Muslim sacred history going back to the creation.

7. Literary forms and Major Themes

The nature and arrangement of the Ḳur'ān make it difficult to classify its literary forms or systematise its main themes. Any attempt to classify the parts of the Ḳur'ān according to the standard literary types—myth, legend, saga, short story, parable, etc.—very soon founders. A few examples can be given for each of these types, but altogether they comprise a very small percentage of the text. Also, they have been adapted so much to conform to the style and message of the Ḳur'ān that they have little significance as distinct types. Bell has argued that since the Ḳur'ān disclaims that Muḥammad was a poet and since his function as a prophet was to convey messages from God to his contemporaries, we should seek "didactic rather than poetic or artistic forms" (Bell-Watt, 75). This is true, except that only parts of the Ḳur'ān can be described as "didactic" in purpose. Other parts are hortatory, rhetorical, legislative, etc., and some parts addressed to Muḥammad and his family can only be described as personal (Bell questioned whether some of these, e.g. CXI and parts of LXVI, were "intended for publication"). Thus it seems best to discuss the literary forms of the Ḳur'ān in terms of its own distinctive types of material. What follows is not a complete, systematic classification, but brief descriptions of the main literary forms found in the Ḳur'ān, which at the same time provide summaries of some of its major themes.

a. Oaths and related forms. An interesting variety of oaths and related forms occur in the shorter *sūras*, usually at the beginning. The assumption that most (but certainly not all) of these oaths are among the earliest parts of the Ḳur'ān seems to be justified. Some oaths that are cryptic and difficult to interpret or translate are generally thought to be typical of the ancient Arabian soothsayer utterances. In other cases, the oath form has simply been used to convey Ḳur'ānic (and sometimes Biblical) themes. The oath form that occurs most often consists of one or more verses beginning with *wa*, "By", followed by a noun in the genitive case, and ending with one or more verses beginning with an asseverative particle, usually *inna* but sometimes *ḳad*, both meaning "verily, surely". A fairly typical example occurs at the beginning of XCII: "By the night when it veils, / By the day when it shines out in splendour, / By what created the male and the female, / Verily your course is diverse" (Bell tr.). Here the first three verses begin with *wa*, and the assertion closing the oath begins with *inna*. Sometimes the intervening verses between the opening *wa* verse and the closing *inna* begin with *fa-* instead of *wa*, as in XXXVII, 1-4: "By those who dress the ranks, / By those who scare by shouting, / By those who recite the warning, / Verily your God is One" (Bell). The *wa* and the *fa-* in the intervening verses can be interpreted as conjunctions (see, e.g., Arberry's tr. of these two passages), but this seems to weaken the impact of the oath. Some *wa*/*inna* oaths have only two elements (e.g. XXXVI, 2 ff., CIII, 1 ff.), while others have several, including additional *inna* assertions, e.g. LI begins with a six-verse oath, the verses beginning with *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna-mā*, *wa-inna*; and C has *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna*, *wa-inna*, *wa-inna* (other variations occur in XLIII, XLIV, LII, LIII, etc.). A fairly typical example of a *wa*/*ḳad* oath occurs at the beginning of XCV: "By the fig and the olive, / By Mount Sinai, / By this land secure, / Surely We have created man most beautifully erect" (Bell)—with *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *la-ḳad*. The ten-verse oath at the beginning

of XCI, the longest in the Ḳur'ān is also of this type, with *wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, fa-, ḳad, wa-ḳad* (the *wa* before the asseverative particles in these examples is the conjunction "and"). Other types of oaths also occur in the Ḳur'ān, e.g. the stronger *lā uḳsimu bi-*, "No! I swear by", oath, at the beginning of LXXV: "No! I swear by the Day of Resurrection", also in LXXV, 2, XC, 1, and within other *sūras*.

Related to the Ḳur'ānic oaths are several other formulaic usages that are typical of soothsayer or prophetic utterances. One is the *idhā*, "When", passage, which has the same force, if not the same meaning, as an oath. A good example occurs at the beginning of LXXXII: "When the heaven shall be rent, / When the stars shall be scattered, / When the seas shall be made to boil up, / When the graves shall be ransacked, / A soul shall know what it has sent forward, and what kept back" (Bell). The longest "when" passage is LXXXI, 1-14, culminating in "A soul shall know what it has presented". See also LVI, 1 ff., LXXXIV, 1 ff., XCIX, etc. Other passages, especially at the beginning of some of the other shorter *sūras*, feature rhetorical questions, such as "Have you seen him who denies the Judgment?" (CVII, 1 ff.; cf. XCIV, CV), or a modified type of curse or threat, such as "Woe to every maligner, scoffer, / Who gathers wealth and counts it over . . ." (CIV, 1 ff.; cf. LXXXIII, 1 ff., 10 ff., CVII, 4 ff., etc. and a different type in CXI). This last example of a "Woe" (*wayl*) passage continues with another distinctive Ḳur'ānic form, consisting of at least three verses the second of which is the rhetorical question *wa-mā adrāka mā* ———?, "And what has let you know what ——— is?"; see XCVII, 1 ff., CI, 1 ff., CIV, 4 ff., and LXXXVI, 1 ff., which begins with an oath.

The fact that the Ḳur'ān itself affirms that Muḥammad was accused of being a soothsayer (*kāhin*) suggests that his contemporaries saw a similarity between what he recited and what they heard from the soothsayers. Bell identified five passages in the Ḳur'ān as having "*kāhin*-form": XXXVII, 1-4, LI, 1-6, and C, 1-6, mentioned above, and also LXXVII, 1-7, and LXXIX, 1-14. But most of the Ḳur'ānic oaths and related forms are more in the nature of prophetic than soothsayer utterances.

b. Sign-passages. Meccan and early Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān often speak of certain phenomena of nature and human life as "signs" (*āyāt*) of God's omnipotence and benevolence towards man, calling for gratitude and worship of Him alone. Most often mentioned are the creation of the heavens and the earth, the creation or procreation of man, the shining of the sun, moon, and stars, the alteration of day and night, the sending of the rain, and the permanence and stability of nature. Thunder, lightning, fire, and other natural phenomena are also mentioned, as are human understanding and relationships, the variety of languages and colours, hearing, sight, etc. The "sign-passages" treating these themes have no distinctive form, but are recognised by their content. An example of an early sign-passage is seen in LXXX, 24-32: "Let man look at his food; / Lo, We have poured out water in showers, / Then have broken up the earth in cracks, / And have caused to sprout up in it grain, / And grapes and green shoots, / And olives and palms, / And orchards luxuriant, / And fruits and herbage ——— / A provision for you and for your flocks" (Bell). See also XXIII, 17-22, 78-80, LXXVIII, 6-16. An example of a late, more structured sign-passage is XXX, 20-5, which begins: "And of His signs is that He created you of dust; then lo, you are mortals, all scattered abroad. / And of His signs is that He created for you of your own species spouses that you may dwell with them, and has set love and mercy between you. Surely in that are signs (*āyāt*) for those who consider. / And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variety of your tongues and hues. Surely in that are signs for all living beings". The next three verses also begin with "And of His signs is . . .", and the first two of these end with "Surely in that are signs for those who ———" ("hear" in verse 23; "understand" in 24). A similar sign-passage in XVI, 10-18, begins: "It is He who sends down to you out of heaven water of which you have to drink, . . . / And thereby He brings forth for you crops, and olives, and palms, and vines, and all manner of fruit. Surely in that is a sign (*āya*) for those who reflect". And a similar formula closes the next two verses. These last two examples are typical of most sign-passages in consisting of separate sign-verses grouped together in no particular order; but they are somewhat unusual in having set introductory phrases and concluding formulas (cf. VI, 97-9, XIII, 2-4, XVI, 65, 67, 69, 79, XXXVI, 33, 37, 41, XLI, 37, 39, XLV, 3-5). The singular, *āya*, is used occasionally in sign-passages, either with one verse treating one sign (as in XVI, 11, quoted above; also XVI, 13, 65, 67, etc.), or with two or more verses treating a single sign (XVI, 10 f., 68 f., etc.). The plural, *āyāt*, occurs much more often, usually with two or more signs mentioned in a single verse (as in XXX, 20-2, quoted above; also X, 6, 67, XIII, 3 f., XXX, 23 f., etc.). This analysis provides no clue as to how *āya* came to mean "verse". In many sign-passages that are otherwise like those cited above the term "sign" does not occur (e.g. VI, 141 f., XIII, 12-15, XVI, 3-8, 80 f., XXX, 48-51, XXXII, 4-9). On the other hand, the term "sign" occurs many times in contexts that are not "sign-passages". See 1.b above and Bell-Watt, 121-7.

c. Say-passages. Scattered throughout the Ḳur'ān are a number of passages in which the main element is a short statement or question introduced by the imperative verb, "Say", usually the singular, *ḳul*, but occasionally the plural, *ḳūlū*. Most say-passages, i.e. the immediate contexts in which the say-statements occur, have two main parts: (1) a statement or question indicating the setting, and (2) the say-statement, which is sometimes followed by a comment or two on 1 or 2. The setting statement occasionally involves Muḥammad's followers, but usually is a report of something said or done by the unbelievers. One frequently occurring form is "They say: . . . Say: . . .", e.g. X, 20: "They say: 'If only a sign had been sent down to him from his Lord'. Say: 'The unseen belongs to God' " (see also II, 80, 91, 93, 111, 135, etc.). Sometimes the setting statement has two or more parts, and the say-statement either has two or more parts or is followed by one or more comments. A good example of this more complex form is seen in X, 18: "They serve apart from God what neither injures them nor profits them, and they say: 'These are our intercessors with God'. Say: 'Will you inform God of what He knows not either in the heavens or in the earth?' Glory be to Him, and exalted be He far from what they associate with Him!" Here the setting statement has two parts, involving something the unbelievers do and something they say; and the say-statement, a rhetorical question, is followed by a praise formula (cf. II, 80-2). In X, 68 f. a praise formula, "Glory be to Him", and

a comment on the setting statement come between the "They say" and "Say" elements. Another common form is "They will ask you [Muḥammad] ... Say: ...", e.g. II, 220: "They will ask you about the orphans. Say: 'To set right their affairs is good'." Sometimes one *ḳul* introduces a question, and a second one gives an answer, e.g. VI, 12: "Say: 'To whom belongs what is in the heavens and the earth?' Say: 'To God ...'" (also VI, 63 f., 71, etc.). Some say-statements are formulas that can be classified as maxims or slogans, e.g. "To God belongs the East and the West" (II, 142), "The guidance of God is the guidance" (II, 120, III, 73, VI, 71), "God guides to the truth" (X, 35), "Those who invent falsehood about God will not prosper" (X, 69), and "Intercession belongs to God alone" (XXXIX, 44), and some of these (e.g. the first two mentioned here) occur elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān. On maxims and slogans, see Bell-Watt, 75-7. Others are credal statements, e.g. II, 136: "Say (*ḳūlū*): "We believe in God and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham ... and what Moses and Jesus received ... and to Him we have surrendered'" (cf. XXIX, 46). Still others are prayers, e.g. III, 26 f.: "Say (*ḳul*): 'O God, owner of sovereignty, Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou wilt, and seizest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt ... Thou bringest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living; Thou providest for whom Thou wilt without reckoning'." This last example is unlike the say-passages described above, since it is not preceded by a setting statement. Thus it is best classified with a second group of say-statements, some of which are in the first person singular and seem to be spoken by Muḥammad, e.g. a group of four in LXXII, 20-8, beginning: "Say: 'I call only upon my Lord, and I do not associate with Him anyone'. / Say: 'Surely I possess no power over you, either for hurt or for rectitude'" (Arberry); see also XXXIV, 36, 39, 46-50, CIX, etc. Other isolated say-statements occur in LXVII, 23 f., 28-30, CXII-XIV, etc., the first of these being two short say-statements in the form of the sign-passages. Say-passages and separate say-statements are often grouped together, e.g. VI, 11-19, 56-8, 63-6, 161-4, and the groups mentioned above.

d. Narratives. If the term "narrative" is taken in the broader sense to include any story or description of actual or fictional events, then many parts of the Ḳur'ān can be classified as narratives. There is virtually no historical narrative, even though as mentioned above (see 5.a) there are many references and allusions to historical events. Most Ḳur'ānic narratives are versions of traditional stories found in other Near Eastern cultures, which have been adapted to conform to the world-view and teachings of the Ḳur'ān. Several versions of ancient Near Eastern myths and many mythic motifs occur. The creation of the world in six days and the Throne from which the universe is controlled are mentioned several times, as in VII, 54: "Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then seated Himself upon the Throne causing the night to cover the day" and the well-known "Throne verse", II, 255: "God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal. Slumber overtakes Him not nor sleep .... His Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them" (cf. X, 3, XXV, 59, XXXII, 4, and on the Throne, IX, 129, XIII, 2, XX, 5, XXI, 22, etc.). But there is no six-day creation story, and no account of what was created on each day (a partial explanation is given in XLI, 9-12; see Paret, *Kommentar*, 433). The seven heavens are mentioned (XVII, 44, XXIII, 86, etc.), as is the Trumpet that signals the Last Day (VI, 73, XVIII, 99, XX, 102, etc.), but there are no stories or complete descriptions. Brief accounts of the fall of Iblīs (Lucifer?), the fall of man, and the naming of the animals (not so specified) do occur (II, 30-9, VII, 11-25, XV, 28-44, XVII, 61-5, XX, 115-26, etc.). There are several versions of the ancient Near Eastern shooting-star myth (XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 6-10, etc.), and several accounts of Noah and the Flood (XI, 36-48, XXV, 37, XXIX, 14 f., LIV, 9-17). which however is not a world-wide deluge.

The prophet stories, some of which are also punishment-stories, make up the largest category of Ḳur'ānic narratives. The longest single story, which could be classified as a "short story", is that of Joseph, taking up nearly all 111 verses of Sūra XII. It follows the Biblical account more closely than do most Ḳur'ānic stories, and it shows evidence of revision, including what appear to be two introductions. There are two parallel accounts of the births of John (the Baptist) and Jesus, III, 33-51 and XIX, 1-36, which have some significant differences in details, reflecting the development of ideas in the Ḳur'ān. Both accounts have elements from apocryphal Christian writings and oral tradition, e.g. Mary's stay in a convent or temple until the time of the conception of Jesus, and his miracles of speaking from the cradle and forming a bird out of clay that became alive when he breathed on it. Abraham, Moses, and Solomon have major roles in Ḳur'ānic narrative in that there are several different stories about each, as well as several versions of some stories. Also, there are non-Biblical stories about each of these three: Abraham destroying the idols of his people (XXI, 51-72, etc.) and building the Kaʿba in Mecca (II, 122-9, etc.), Moses and his servant on a journey (XVIII, 60-82), and Solomon building the Temple with the jinn and demons (XXXIV, 12-14, XXXVIII, 36-40) and dealing with his army of jinn, men, and birds (XXVII, 15-21). There are also stories about Adam and Noah (mentioned above) and Lot, Ishmael, David, Elijah, Jonah, and Job; and several others are mentioned, including Isaac, Jacob, Elisha, Aaron (in some Moses stories), Saul, Ezra, and Haman, who however is an associate of the Pharaoh. The heroes of these stories are generally referred to as "messengers" (*rusul*, sing. *rasūl*), but sometimes as "envoys" (*mursalūn*, sing. *mursal*) or "prophets" (*nabiyyūn*, sing. *nabī*). The latter seems to occur only in Medinan passages and is applied specifically only to Muḥammad and certain "messengers" mentioned above from the Hebrew and Christian traditions, while the other two terms occur earlier and have broader usages. But in later parts of the Ḳur'ān *rasūl* and *nabī* are synonymous, although not exactly interchangeable. Note, for instance, the consistent usage, "God and His Messenger", but "the Prophet", for Muḥammad throughout XXXIII. This no doubt explains why *rusul* occurs in the credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136, which require belief in "His angels, His books, and His messengers (*rusulihi*)", while *al-nabiyyīn* occurs in II, 177, which requires belief in "the angels, the Book, and the prophets". Among the non-Biblical characters, the most prominent are Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and S͟huʿayb (see below), but there are also stories about Luḳmān, an Arabian sage (XXXI, 12-19), and D͟hu 'l-Ḳarnayn, generally regarded as Alexander the Great (XVIII, 83-98), and brief references to D͟hu 'l-Kifl and Idrīs (XIX, 56, XXI, 85, XXXVIII, 48), sometimes said to be Elijah and Enoch. The story of the Men of the Cave (XVIII,

10-26) is usually identified with the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. On these stories, see the commentaries and Paret, *Kommentar*, *ad locc.*

Several forms are used indiscriminately for introducing prophet stories and some of the stories about non-Biblical characters, e.g. "Recite to them the story (*naba'*) of ..." (V, 27, VII, 175, X, 71, XXVI, 69; cf. XVIII, 27, XXIX, 45); "We recite to you [Muḥammad] part of the story (*naba'*) of ..." (XXVIII, 3; cf. III, 58); "Has there come to you the story (*ḥadīth*) of ... ?" (XX, 9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 15, etc.); "Has there come to you the story (*naba'*) of ... ?" (IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXXVIII, 21, etc.); and "Mention in the Book ..." (XIX, 16, 41, 51, 54, 56). All of these are addressed to Muḥammad. Far more frequent are two simple forms, *idh ḳāla*, "(Recall) when ——— said", said of Moses (V, 20, XIV, 6, XVIII, 60, XXVII, 7, etc.), Abraham (VI, 74, XIV, 35, etc.), Joseph (XII, 4), God (V, 110, 116, XV, 28, XVII, 61, XVIII, 50, etc.), and others, and *wa-laḳad arsalnā*, "And We sent", said of Noah (XI, 25, XXIII, 23, XXIX, 14, etc.; cf. VII, 59), Moses (XI, 96, XIV, 5, etc.; cf. XXIII, 45), and others. Cf. *wa-laḳad ātaynā*, "And We gave" (e.g. "And We gave Moses the Book") in XVII, 101, XXI, 48, 51, XXXI, 12, XXXIV, 10, etc.

One special type of Ḳur'ānic narrative that made up a major part of the revelation during the Meccan years is the punishment-story, discussed above for its use of refrains and schematic form in some versions. Five punishment-stories stand out from the others, those of Noah, Hūd and the tribe of ʿĀd, Ṣāliḥ and the tribe of Thamūd, Lot, and Shuʿayb and the people of Midian. And two others are prominent in some *sūras*, the story of Moses and the drowning of Pharaoh's army, and the story of Arabham rejecting the idols of his people. These seven occur together in XXVI, 10-191, and are mentioned together in XXII, 42-4. Fairly complete versions of some of these stories also occur in VII, 59-93 (all but Abraham and Moses), XI, 25-95 (all but Moses), XXXVII, 75-148 (only the Biblical ones), and LIV, 9-42 (all but Abraham and Shuʿayb). Shorter versions of some of these seven and references to these and some others (Jonah, the people of Sheba, the men of al-Rass, and the people of Tubbaʿ) occur in IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXI, 48-77, XXIII, 23-48, XXV, 35-40, XXVII, 7-58, L, 12-14, LI, 24-46, LIII, 50-5, LXIX, 4-10, and LXXXIX, 6-14. The "men of al-Ḥidjr" in XV, 80-4, are probably the tribe of Thamūd; the "men of the Grove" (XV, 78 f., XXVI, 176-91, etc.) seem to be identical with the people of Midian [see MADYAN SHUʿAYB]; and "the subverted (cities)" (*al-mu'tafikāt*) are most likely Sodom and Gomorrah, the cities of Lot. Thus these three are apparently variations of three of the seven. Most Western scholars have accepted the view of A. Sprenger (*Leben*, i, 462) and J. Horovitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, 26-8) that the term *mathānī* in XV, 87 and XXXIX, 23 (see 1.b above) refers to the seven most prominent punishment-stories, since the first verse says "seven of the *mathānī* and the mighty *ḳur'ān*" have been sent down to Muḥammad by God, and the second describes the Book sent down to Muḥammad as having *mathānī* "at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep". See Paret, *Kommentar*, 279 f., and Bell-Watt, 134 f.

The Ḳur'ān also contains some parables, the longest and clearest one being the parable of the Blighted Garden in LXVIII, 17-33. Others include the parable of the man with two gardens (XVIII, 32-44), the good and corrupt trees (XIV, 24-7), and the unbelieving town (XXXVI, 13-32). Several other brief parables are little more than expanded similes, e.g. the fire at night in II, 17, the downpour in II, 19, the slave in XVI, 75, the dumb man in XVI, 76, the water and vegetation in XVIII, 45, the light of God in XXIV, 35, the master and his slaves in XXX, 28, and the slave with several masters in XXXIX, 29 (see Bell-Watt, 81). These parables have no standard form; some are introduced by the statement addressed to Muḥammad: "And coin for them a parable" (*wa 'ḍrib lahum mathalan*), e.g. XVIII, 32, 45, XXXVI, 13, others by the statement: "God has coined a parable" (*ḍaraba 'llāhu mathalan*), e.g. XIV, 24, XVI, 75, 76, 112, XXXIX, 29, LXVI, 10.

e. Regulations. The Ḳur'ān provides detailed regulations on some aspects of the conduct of the Muslim community, and general instructions on others. No complete code of conduct or list of required duties is presented; each issue is treated separately, usually in several different places. The main religious duties are introduced in stages, and there are inconsistencies in some of the requirements. What follows are some examples that illustrate the nature and form of the various Ḳur'ānic regulations, beginning with four that later became Pillars of Islam.

On the prayer ritual (*ṣalāt*): "Observe thou [Muḥammad] the Prayer (*aḳimi 'l-ṣalāt*) at the two ends of the day and the neighbouring parts of the night" (XI, 114; cf. XVII, 78 f.); "Remember the Prayers (*ṣalawāt*), including the middle Prayer, and stand [in worship] to God reverently" (II, 238); "so recite what is convenient of it [the Ḳur'ān], and observe the Prayer (*aḳimū 'l-ṣalāt*), and pay the Zakāt, and lend to God a good loan" (LXXIII, 20); "verily the Prayer has become for the believers a thing prescribed for stated times" (IV, 103). On almsgiving (*zakāt, ṣadaḳa*): "If you give alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) publicly it is well, but if you conceal it and give to the poor it is better for you" (II, 271); "Observe the Prayer, pay the *zakāt* (*ātū 'l-zakāt*), and obey the Messenger" (XXIV, 56); "The alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) are for the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed therein, for those whose hearts are to be won over, for the ransom of slaves, for the relief of debtors, for expenditure in the way of God, and for the follower of the way—an ordinance (*farīḍa*) from God" (IX, 60). On fasting (*ṣiyām, ṣawm*): "O believers, fasting is prescribed for you (*kutiba ʿalaykum*) as it was for those before you ... [during] the month of Ramaḍān ... It is allowable for you on the night of the fast to go in to your wives ... and eat and drink until so much of the dawn appears that a white thread may be distinguished from a black; then keep the fast completely until night" (II, 183-7). On the Pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj, ʿumra*): "Fulfil the pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*) and the visitation (*ʿumra*) unto God. ... If anyone of you is sick or suffering from an injury to the head, then a compensation (*fidya*) by way of fasting or almsgiving (*ṣadaḳa*) or pious observance" (II, 196); "Ṣafā and Marwa are among the manifestations of God. ... It is no fault (*djunāḥ*) if anyone makes the circuit of them" (II, 158).

These four religious duties are required of all Muslims only in Medinan passages dating from around the time of the battle of Badr or later. The *ṣalāt* is mentioned in Meccan or early Medinan passages, but is required only of Muḥammad, with the imperative verb in the singular, *aḳimi 'l-ṣalāt* (XI, 114, XVII, 78, XXIX, 45, XXX, 31, etc.). The term *zakāt* in Meccan passages (XVIII, 81, XIX, 13) means "purity". Passages that are late Meccan or early Medinan say that earlier prophets instituted the

ṣalāt and the *zakāt* (X, 87, XIV, 40, XIX, 30 f., 54 f., XX, 14, XXI, 73, etc.), or recommend them to the Muslims as signs of piety (II, 177, XXVII, 1-4, etc.). Then in passages dating from the year 2 A.H. and later these two practices are required of Muslims, with the imperative verbs in the plural, *aḳīmū 'l-ṣalāt* and *ātū 'l-zakāt* (II, 43, IV, 77, 103, IX, 11, XXII, 78, XXIV, 56, LVIII, 13, LXXIII, 20, etc.). The Muslim fast was introduced in two or probably three stages in the Ḳur'ān (see Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, 41-127), and the pilgrimage was adopted as a Muslim ritual probably before Badr, but was not practised as such until the last years of Muḥammad's life.

The form used most frequently for introducing and stressing regulations for the Muslim community is the plural imperative verb, seen several times in the examples given above and often elsewhere involving a variety of practices, e.g.: "O believers, when you stand up for the Prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet up to the ankles" (V, 6); "O believers, show piety towards God and abandon the usury that remains if you are believers" (II, 278); "O believers, when you contract a debt with another for a stated term, write it down" (II, 282); "Fight in the way of God those who fight you, but do not provoke hostility" (II, 190); "Contribute in the way of God; hand not yourselves over to destruction, but do well" (II, 195). Sometimes negative commands are given, as in VI, 151: "Come, let me repeat what your Lord has forbidden you: do not associate anything with Him . . . do not kill your children because of poverty —do not draw near indecencies . . . do not kill the person whom God has made forbidden except with justification"; cf. XVII, 22-39. The expression *kutiba ʿalaykum*, "prescribed for you is", seen in II, 183, above on fasting, also occurs elsewhere, e.g. "O believers, retaliation in the matter of the slain is prescribed for you, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the female for the female; so if anyone is forgiven anything by his [injured] brother, let him follow it with what is reputable, and pay with kindness" (II, 178), and "Prescribed for you, when death draws nigh to one of you, and he has goods to leave, is the making of a testament in favour of parent and relatives reputable—a duty resting upon those who show piety" (II, 180). And an expression having the opposite meaning, *ḥurrimat ʿalaykum*, "forbidden to you is", also occurs, e.g. in IV, 23, and V, 3. Other forms and many other regulations occur, especially in the *sūras* that are completely Medinan. Some of these passages can be classified as commandments or divine legislation; others are more in the nature of religious instruction or exhortation.

f. Liturgical forms. While all of the Ḳur'ān is recited in liturgical settings, only some parts are distinctly liturgical in form. By far the most important part of the Ḳur'ān for use in worship is the opening *sūra*, the *Fātiḥa*, a seven-verse prayer recited at least twice in each performance of the *ṣalāt*. Whether or not the *Fātiḥa* [*q.v.*] was considered to be part of the Ḳur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime is uncertain. Prayers might seem out of place in a text in which God is the speaker, but others also occur, the best example being the prayer at the end of Sūra II: "O our Lord, take us not to task if we forget, or make a mistake; O our Lord, lay not upon us a task such as Thou didst lay on those before us . . . Pardon us and forgive us, and have mercy upon us; Thou art our patron; so help us against the people of unbelievers" (Bell). Some prayers are also included within narratives, e.g. Abraham's prayer in XIV, 35-41. Exaltations, in which God is praised in the third person, occur more frequently; the best known of these is the "Throne verse", II, 255, mentioned in 7.d above for its mythic motif. The divine epithets mentioned in 6.c above as rhyme phrases are also a type of praise formula, which however do not give the impression of being liturgical. Praise forms that do seem to have a liturgical purpose occur at the beginning of several Medinan *sūras*. A *sabbaḥa li 'llāh* formula, "Magnifies God (*sabbaḥa li 'llāh*) all that is in the heavens and the earth", occurs at the beginning of LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII and LXIV, three of which continue with "He is the Almighty, the All-wise". These five *sūras* date mainly from the middle Medinan years, after the completion of the *sūras* that begin with revelation formulas and the mysterious letters (see 4.d above). The liturgical setting of the *sabbaḥa li 'llāh sūras* is suggested by their introductions and conclusions. One might conjecture that the Friday prayer service was the occasion for the first recitation of these *sūras* (see LXII, 9-11), and possibly also those with the revelation formulas. Other praise formulas, which may or may not have specifically liturgical functions within the Ḳur'ān, include: the *taḥmīd*, i.e. *al-ḥamdu li 'llāh*, "Praise be to God", at the beginning of I, VI, XVIII, XXXIV and XXXV, and in VII, 43, X, 10, XVII, 111, etc.; the *tasbīḥ*, i.e. *subḥāna 'llāh*, "Glory be to God", occurring with variations in XVII, 1, 93, 108, XXVIII, 68, XXXVI, 36, XXXVII, 180-2, XLIII, 82, etc.; and *tabāraka 'llāh*, "Blessed be God", occurring with variations in VII, 54, XXIII, 14, XXV, 1, 10, 61, XL, 64, XLIII, 85, LV, 78 and LXVII, 1.

Others: The Ḳur'ān contains other distinctive literary forms and themes that can be mentioned only briefly here. Especially important in Meccan parts of the Ḳur'ān are a large number of dramatic scenes, usually involving death, the Last Judgment, the pleasures of paradise (*al-d̲j̲anna* = the garden), and the tortures of the hellfire (see the O'Shaughnessy arts. in *Bibl.*). Dramatic scenes constitute the main Ḳur'ānic form for treating these subjects, which are nowhere fully or systematically explained, and they also occur frequently in narratives, reflecting the oral qualities of these Meccan parts of the Ḳur'ān (see Bell-Watt, 80 f.). There are also many addresses on a variety of topics. Most Meccan ones treat theological topics—the signs of God, messages of earlier prophets, etc.—and thus can be classified as sermons. Early Medinan ones are often addressed to the Jews, either as the Children of Israel or the People of the Book. Later Medinan ones, usually addressed "O believers", but sometimes "O children of Adam" or "O people", treat specific legal, political, and military matters as well as general religious, moral, and social themes. Another special type of material found in both Meccan and Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān involves Muḥammad's personal situation. Many Meccan passages addressed to Muḥammad bring comfort and encouragement in times of persecution, instructions on religious practices, etc. Some Medinan ones, addressed "O Prophet", give special marriage and divorce regulations. Others are addressed to Muḥammad's wives or otherwise treat his family problems (see *sūras* XXIV, XXXIII, LXVI).

8. The Ḳur'ān in Muslim Life and Thought

For Muslims the Ḳur'ān is much more than scripture or sacred literature in the usual Western sense. Its primary significance for the vast majority through the centuries has been in its oral form, the form in

which it first appeared, as the "recitation" (*ḳur'ān*) chanted by Muḥammad to his followers over a period of about twenty years (on its liturgical function during Muḥammad's lifetime, see VII, 203-6, LXXIII, 20, LXXXIV, 20 f., etc.). The revelations were memorised by some of Muḥammad's followers during his lifetime, and the oral tradition that was thus established has had a continuous history ever since, in some ways independent of, and superior to, the written Ḳur'ān. During the early centuries when the written Ḳur'ān was limited to the *scriptio defectiva* of the period (see 3.c above), the oral tradition established itself as the standard by which the written text was to be judged. Even when the Egyptian "standard edition" was prepared in the early 1920s, it was the oral tradition and its supporting *ḳirā'āt* literature (rather than early Ḳur'ān mss.) that served as the authority for determining the written text. Through the centuries the oral tradition of the entire Ḳur'ān has been maintained by the professional reciters (*ḳurrā'*) (on Ḳur'ān reciters in Egypt, see M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today*, Cambridge 1970, 11-13, 37-43, and for the oral tradition in general, Labīb al-Said, *The recited Koran*, see *Bibl.*), while all Muslims memorise parts of the Ḳur'ān for use in the daily prayers. Until recently, the significance of the recited Ḳur'ān has seldom been fully appreciated in the West.

The Ḳur'ān also had a central role in the theological debates of the early centuries, and it has continued to be one of the most controversial issues in Islamic theology. Since the Ḳur'ān was held to consist of messages brought from God to Muḥammad by Gabriel, and since God is the "speaker" in these messages, it was natural for Muslims to think of it as God's speech (*kalām*). About the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, theologians began to discuss whether or not the Ḳur'ān was created. Among those who maintained that it was were the Mu'tazila, including some who had positions at the court of al-Ma'mūn. Convinced by their arguments, and also thinking that adoption of the doctrine would be politically beneficial, al-Ma'mūn in 218/833 established the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or "inquisition", in which most leading officials were obliged to profess publicly that the Ḳur'ān was created. Nearly all submitted but a few refused, notably Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) [*q.v.*]. In 234/848, shortly after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, the *miḥna* was abandoned, probably because its political results were disappointing. Up through the time of the *miḥna* the issue seems to have been whether the Ḳur'ān was the actual speech of God or was created. Those who accepted the latter view, arguing that God "has never spoken and does not speak", were called by their opponents the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*—see also Watt, *Formative period*, 143-8]. Then Ibn Ḥanbal argued that the Ḳur'ān is part of God's knowledge (*'ilm*), and after the *miḥna* he accepted the expression "uncreated" (*ghayr makhlūḳ*) as a description of the Ḳur'ān. This led to the formulation of the doctrine that it is eternal (*ḳadīm*), argued for by al-Ash'arī (d. 323/935) [*q.v.*] and others. Although this became the standard Sunnī view (see, e.g. the 4th/10th century Ḥanafī creed called by Wensinck *Fiḳh Akbar II*, art. 3), it has not been accepted by all. The Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) [*q.v.*], for instance, disavowed this view, arguing that the question of the eternity or temporality of the Ḳur'ān was not an issue before the time of Ibn Ḥanbal, and that in affirming the uncreatedness of the Ḳur'ān the "pious ancestors", including Ibn Ḥanbal, never meant to assert its eternity. It should also be noted that even the expression *ghayr makhlūḳ* does not occur in Muslim creeds until after the *miḥna* (see, e.g. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 103 f., 127, 189) and that the early discussions and creeds do not mention the Ḳur'ānic expression "preserved tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*) [see LAWḤ] in LXXXV, 22, and "mother of the Book" (*umm al-kitāb*) in III, 7, which only later came to be interpreted as referring to a heavenly archetype of the Ḳur'ān in support of the doctrine of its eternity. See W. Madelung, *The origins of the controversy concerning the creation of the Koran*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, Leiden 1974, i, 504-25; W. M. Watt, *Early discussions about the Qur'ān*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 27-40, 96-105; idem, *Formative period*, 178 f., 242-5, 280-5, 293; J. Bouman, *The doctrine of 'Abd al-Djabbār on the Qur'ān as the created word of Allāh*, in *Verbum*, the H. W. Obbink *Festschrift*, Utrecht 1964, 67-86; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich 1962, 75-89. For an outline of the views of the various schools on the Ḳur'ān as the *kalām Allāh*, see KALĀM.

Parallel to the development of the doctrine of the eternity of the Ḳur'ān there also arose the dogma of its inimitability (*i'djāz*) [*q.v.*]. From the beginning, the Ḳur'ān had been seen as a "sign" (*āya*) or "proof" (*burhān*) of Muḥammad's prophethood. This belief took a more precise form in the teaching that each prophet was given a verifying miracle (*mu'djiza*), and that the Ḳur'ān was Muḥammad's; the term *i'djāz*, it should be noted, still had not received its technical meaning as late as the time of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (see Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammad in Lehre und Glaube*, Uppsala 1917, 101). Early discussion of the *i'djāz* of the Ḳur'ān centred around the concept of *taḥaddī* or "challenge", based largely on several verses of the Ḳur'ān (II, 23, X, 38, XI, 13, XVII, 88, etc.). The failure of Muḥammad's contemporaries to take up the challenge to produce even one *sūra* like those he recited was taken as proof that it was impossible. This argument was then supplemented by the concept of *ṣarfa* (lit. "turning away"), meaning that God prevented the competent from taking up the challenge. In one of the earliest treatises devoted solely to *i'djāz*, 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/944) mentioned both of these arguments along with several others, involving the eloquence of the Ḳur'ān, its prophecies of future events, its establishment of new literary forms and style that surpass all others, etc. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998) in his *al-Bayān fī i'djāz al-Ḳur'ān* (see *Bibl.*) stressed the rhetorical eloquence of the Ḳur'ān, and al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) in the most famous work on the subject (see *Bibl.*) rejected the *ṣarfa* argument and compiled what he regarded as empirical evidence of the Ḳur'ān's superior style. He also argued that since Muḥammad was illiterate, he could not have read other scriptures or written down stories told by human informants, and thus Ḳur'ānic reports of past events and prophecies of future events are further proof of the miracle of the Ḳur'ān and its divine source. For summaries of the development of these views see *Itḳān*, ii, 116-25; Abdul Aleem, *I'jazu'l-Qur'an*, in *IC*, vii (1933), 64-82, 215-33; J. Bouman, *Le conflit autor du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāqillānī*, Amsterdam 1959; H. Stieglecker, *op. cit.*, 371-408; and art. I'DJĀZ. The standard modern work on the subject is that of Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfi'ī (see *Bibl.*).

The doctrines of the eternity and perfection or inimitability of the Ḳur'ān contributed to its extensive influence throughout Islamic life and culture.

It became the first "source" (*aṣl*) of Islamic law, the *Sharīʿa*, which also came to be regarded as eternal (cf. the Torah in Jewish belief). Its grammar became standard for later Arabic, which replaced other languages across the Near East and North Africa (among Christians and Jews as well as Muslims), and its script came to be adopted in Persian, Turkish, Urdu, and other languages. Verses of the Ḳur'ān became the main subject of Islamic calligraphy and one of the main decorative motifs of Islamic religious art and architecture, as a substitute for statues and pictorial representation. At the same time, these two doctrines have been the strongest factor working against the acceptance of critical studies of the Ḳur'ān within the modern Muslim community. In the early centuries, Muslim scholars studied the Ḳur'ān as literature and as a historical source, analysing its grammar, style, poetic imagery, etc., and attempting to determine its chronology, development of ideas, and historical settings. But the widespread acceptance of belief in the eternity and *iʿdjāz* of the Ḳur'ān has made modern Muslims loath to accept methods of historical and literary criticism that have proved so fruitful in the study of other scriptures. To a certain extent this is understandable to Christians, since the development of the doctrines of the eternity and *iʿdjāz* of the Ḳur'ān is parallel to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the closest analogue in Christian belief to the role of the Ḳur'ān in Muslim belief is not the Bible, but Christ. Thus the difficulty Muslims have in adopting a critical approach to the Ḳur'ān is comparable to the difficulty many Christians have in accepting a critical view of the life of Jesus (e.g. regarding his virgin birth and resurrection). But this should not prevent critical analyses of the Ḳur'ān, which is after all still a literary work of supreme importance and an invaluable historical document.

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(A. T. WELCH)

9. TRANSLATION OF THE ḲUR'ĀN

a. The orthodox doctrine concerning translation. In the time of Muḥammad it is certain that nobody had considered the possibility that the Ḳur'ān might be translated either as a whole or in part into a foreign language. It was revealed expressly as an "Arabic Ḳur'ān" (Sûra XII, 2; XX, 113; XXXIX, 28; XLI, 3; XLII, 7; XLIII, 3), in "clear Arabic language" (XVI, 103; XXVI, 195; cf. XLVI, 12), that the Prophet through it might "warn the capital (i.e., Mecca) and the people in its surroundings" (VI, 92; XLII, 7). It was not originally intended for non-Arabs. It was only as a result of the spread of the Arabic-Islamic conquests that the sphere of influence of the Ḳur'ān was extended to territories outside the Arabic-speaking world. The Persians and other non-Arabs who embraced Islam were obliged, in the same way as their genuinely Arab fellow-believers, to recite in the ritual prayer the Fātiḥa and several other texts from the Ḳur'ān. The question thus arose whether they should be permitted to recite the texts in question in their native language instead of in Arabic. In so far as Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories were interested in getting to know not only the texts used in the prayers, but also other parts of the Ḳur'ān, or the whole of the Ḳur'ān, there arose the further question whether this might be achieved with the help of a translation.

The theologians and jurists who had to decide on this matter in general adopted a rigorous attitude. With regard to the recitation of the Fātiḥa in the ritual prayer, the Mālikis, Shāfi'is and Ḥanbalis insisted that the text must be spoken in Arabic. In a case where the person praying could not recite the Fātiḥa in Arabic, he must substitute for it another passage from the Ḳur'ān, or observe a silent pause, or repeat the name of God for the same length of time. On the other hand it is reported that Abū Ḥanīfa had originally declared that the recital of the Fātiḥa in Persian was permitted without reservation; he later restricted this concession to those worshippers who were unable to speak Arabic. This then became the general rule for the Ḥanafi school. In similar circumstances other non-Arabic languages besides Persian might be employed.

As for the production and use of translations of the whole of the Ḳur'ān, the attitude of the scholars was that a "translation" of the Ḳur'ān in the true sense of the word was not possible. They based their attitude mainly on the argument that the wording of the Ḳur'ān is a miracle (*mu'djiza*) incapable of imitation by man. This characteristic would be invalidated in a translation into a foreign language, since this would be made by man. Furthermore, the scholars maintained that a translation of the Ḳur'ān which was both literal and at the same time true to the meaning was not possible. They conceded, however, that a so-called translation (*tardjama*) in the sense of a commentary (*tafsīr*) might be used, on the assumption that the text of the original was not superseded by this. Thus manuscripts of the Ḳur'ān might be provided with an interlinear (quasi-)translation. In more recent times this was extended to the printing of the translation (as a commentary) beside the Arabic text. This is the practice which remains usual for translations made by Muslims.

The question whether in the ritual prayer texts from the Ḳur'ān may be recited in a non-Arabic language and whether the production and use of translations of the Ḳur'ān should be permitted became once again acute when in Turkey in the nineteen-twenties the authorities proceeded to "nationalise" the ritual prayers and to publish Turkish translations of the Ḳur'ān not accompanied by the Arabic original. Authoritative theologians found themselves induced once again to explain and to justify the orthodox standpoint by reference to earlier authorities.

The first statements were mainly of a polemical and negative nature. In the course of time, however, there prevailed a more eirenical judgement on the matter. Thus the Ḥanafi scholar of al-Azhar, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, in a thorough investigation first published in 1932, adopted the attitude that for a Muslim without a knowledge of Arabic the recital of the Ḳur'ānic texts prescribed for the prayer in an appropriate translation was absolutely obligatory (*wādjib*). The important thing in the prayer is the meaning of the text, not the character of the *i'djāz*. The true sense is, however, transmitted through a translation. Furthermore, it is not realistic to require the great mass of Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories to learn Arabic on account of the Ḳur'ān. It is much more desirable and indispensable (according to Maḥmūd Shaltūt, even obligatory) for them to use translations, quite apart from their use in the prayer. The thesis that the Ḳur'ān in translation ceases to be the Word of God (*kalām Allāh*) is, according to Marāghī, valid only with reservations. The translation does not simply represent human speech (*kalām al-nās*), for although it does not contain the Word of God literally, yet its content consists of the meaning of God's Word.

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b. Translations into specific languages. The Ḳur'ān has been translated into most of the languages of Asia and Europe, and into some African ones. A Persian translation is said to have been made during the time of the Orthodox Caliphs by Salmān al-Fārisī, a Companion of the Prophet; one into Berber in 127/744-5; and a Sindhi one in 270/883-4; but none of these survives.

Bibliography: *Index translationum*, *passim*; the catalogues of the British Library, India Office Library, Cambridge University Library and others; J. C. Lobherz, *Dissertatio historico-philologico-theologica de Alcorani versionibus ...*, Nuremberg 1704; C. F. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle 1811; V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes ...* x. *Le Coran et la tradition*, Liège and Leipzig 1910; M. Hamidullah, *Quran in every language*[3], Hyderabad Deccan 1939 (continued in *Pensée chiite*, iii-xii, 1960-2, revised ed. *France-Islam*, ii, 1967-); S. M. Zwemer, *Translations of the Koran*, in *MW*, v (1915), 244-61; W. S. Woolworth, *A bibliography of Koran texts and translations*, in *MW*, xvii (1927), 279-89.

1. Persian and Turkish. One of the oldest surviving works in the Persian language is the translation of the large Arabic *tafsīr* of Ṭabarī (d. Bag̲h̲dād 310/923), which was made for Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, Sāmānid ruler of Transoxania and K̲h̲urāsān (350-66/961-76). The precise date is not recorded, but the Persian preface explains how it came to be made. Abū Ṣāliḥ, after questioning his *ʿulamā'* about the legality of translation of the Holy Book into Persian, decreed that this should be done by learned men from the cities of this realm. Several MSS. are mentioned by Storey, the earliest, at Rāmpūr, being dated *ca.* 600/1203-4. There is a Persian translation in Roman characters in the Vatican.

Possibly not much later is the Persian text, translation and commentary, copied (and perhaps composed) by one Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Fatḥ in 628/1231, which is preserved at Cambridge and described by E. G. Browne.

Storey lists 48 dated translations and commentaries, and in an appendix, 74 titled or quasi-titled commentaries, as well as a selection of 8 miscellaneous unidentified commentaries and specimens of the numerous anonymous translations to be found in Persian, Indian and other MS. collections, and some lithographs.

The Bregel-Bors̲h̲čevsky Russian translation of Storey (*Persidskaya literatura*, Moscow 1972) records earlier MSS. of the Ṭabarī translation (Bursa 562/1166-7 and end of 6th/12th century), as well as some 250 other translations and commentaries.

The Persian translation of Ṭabarī's commentary was the basis for the first Turkish version, which Togan regards as its contemporary, but which Inan places in the first half of the 5th/11th century.

There are said to be over 70 translations into Turkish made from at least the 4th/11th century onwards, existing in many hundreds of MSS. in public and private collections, and these have frequently been printed. These are in various forms of the Turkic languages, Eastern and Western, and in the Uyg̲h̲ur and Arabic scripts and in Roman characters, with at least four transliterations into Modern Turkish of the Arabic text.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *Description of an old Persian commentary on the Ḳur'ān*, in *JRAS* (1894), 417-524; A. Bodroligeti, *The Persian translation of the Koran in Latin letters*, in *Acta Or. Hung.* xiii (1961), 261-76; Zeki Velidi Togan, *The earliest translation of the Quran into Turkish*, in *Islam Tetkikleri Enst. Dergisi*, iv (1964), 1-19; Abdülkadir Inan, *Ḳur'ân-i Karîm'in türkce tercümeleri üzerinde bir inceleme*, Ankara 1961; J. K. Birge, *Turkish translations of the Koran*, in *MW*, xxviii (1938), 394-9; J. Eckmann, *Eastern Turkic translations of the Koran*, in *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti, 1971, 149-59; idem, *Middle Turkic glosses of the Rylands interlinear Koran translation*, Budapest 1976; Yasaroğlu, in M. Hamidullah, *Kur'an-i Kerîm tarihi ve türkçc tercümeler bibliyografyası*, Istanbul 1965.

2. Indo-Pakistani languages. Of the many Urdu versions, the earliest are said to have been made by S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] and S̲h̲āh Rafīʿ al-Dīn, each of them an uncle of the celebrated preacher and scholar Muḥammad Ismāʿīl S̲h̲ahīd [see ismāʿīl s̲h̲ahīd]. The British Museum Hindustani catalogue lists innumerable examples, including versions made by Christians and printed in Roman characters. Details may also be found in the bibliographies of the And̲j̲uman-i taraḳḳī-yi Urdū Pākistān (i, Karachi 1961) and of ʿAbd al-Sattār Chaudharī (1974).

In the other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, there are versions in Assamese, Bengali (innumerable; a 1908 version by Rev. Wm. Goldsack of 1908 is illustrated in *MW*, v (1915), 254-5), Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi (often combined with a Persian version and the Arabic text), Pashto, Sanskrit (Chauvin, x), Sindhi (surveyed by A. M. Schimmel in *Oriens*, xvi (1963), 224-43), Sinhalese; and in the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Telegu.

3. South-East Asian. There are many translations into Malay and Indonesian mentioned in the catalogues and bibliographies, and into other Indonesian languages (Sundanese, Javanese, Macassarese and Buginese). A Burmese version with the Arabic text, by one Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Nūr al-Dīn known as Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Lū, published in 1938, may be found in the British Library (*BM. Arab. cat.*, 2nd suppl.), while Tinker mentions that a project to translate the Ḳur'ān into

that language was initiated by U Nu while Prime Minister in 1955. Two translations into Thai (one with Arabic text) of 1968 and 1971 are in the Wason Library at Cornell University.

Bibliography: *Catalogus van de Bibl. v. het Kon. Inst. v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.* and suppls.; Ockeloen, *Catalogus van boeken en tijdschriften uitgegeven in Ned. Oost-Indië*, 1870 (-1953); H. Tinker, art. BURMA.

4. Far Eastern (Chinese and Japanese). Several 19th and 20th century works contain selections in Chinese, sometimes with commentary. A MS. believed to date from about 1800 in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, gives "pieces from the Koran and prayers transcribed from the Arabic original in Chinese sounds". Translation into Chinese was recommended by Sakuma, a Japanese businessman and convert to Islam who, in 1925, founded the progressive but short-lived newspaper *Mu kiang*. Another source says that in that same year a complete translation was under consideration by the International Muslim Association. The British Museum has a *Kuo-yü ku-lan ching*, with commentary translated from English versions by Shih Tzu-chou and others (Taipei 1958).

Japanese versions by Toshihiko Izutsu and Tanaka Shiro were published in several editions in the nineteen-fifties, sixties and seventies.

Bibliography: *Un commentaire chinois du Coran*, in *RMM*, iv (1908), 540-7; I. Mason, *Notes on Chinese Mohammadan literature*, in *J. North China Branch RAS*, lvi (1925), 172-215; R. A. Syrdal, *Christ in the Chinese Koran*, in *MW*, xxvii (1937), 72-83.

5. Non-Islamic Near Eastern Languages. Three manuscripts of Hebrew translations exist (in Oxford, Cambridge and the Library of Congress), the first two made from the Italian of Arrivabene, the third from the Dutch of Glazemaker. All of these predate the translation of Hermann (Ḥayyim) Reckendorf, Leipzig 1857, made direct from the Arabic. Two further translations have since appeared: by Joseph Joel Rivlin (Tel Aviv 1936-41, 1963²) and by Aharon Ben-Shemesh (Ramath Gan 1971).

Quotations from the Ḳur'ān, in Syriac, appear in a polemical work against Jews, Nestorians and Muslims by the West Syrian writer Barsalībī (d. 1171), which exists in a manuscript now in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester, and in another in the Harvard University Semitic Museum. It is doubtful if a complete Syriac translation ever existed.

In the Bhopal State Library is to be found a Ḳur'ān in classical Armenian, translated from the Latin by Stephanos of Ilov, a monk of Echmiadzin. This MS., in a "simply perfect calligraphy", lacks title-page and date but is thought to be of the first half of the 17th century. A printed translation, with a life of Muḥammad, by Leron Larēnc', made from the French versions of Savary and Kasimirski, was published in Istanbul (pt. 3 in 1912).

A Georgian version (Tiflis 1906) is in the Wardrop Collection in the Bodleian Library.

Bibliography: M. M. Weinstein, *A Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript*, in *Studies in bibliography and booklore* (Cincinnati), x (1971-2), 19-43; A. Mingana, *An ancient Syriac translation of the Ḳur'ān*, in *Bull. John Rylands Libr.*, ix (1925), 188-235, and repr.; J. Rendel Harris, *The new text of the Ḳur'ān*, *ibid.*, x (1926), 219-22; Mesrob J. Seth, *A manuscript Koran in Classical Armenian*, in *JASB*, N.S. xix (1929), 291-4.

6. African languages. There are three translations of the Ḳur'ān into Swahili: Christian, Aḥmadī and Sunnī Shāfi'ī. The earliest, made by Godfrey Dale, a missionary with the Universities Mission for Central Africa, was published by the S.P.C.K. in London in 1923. It contains over 700 *maelozo* (explanatory comments or notes) by Dale or his colleague, G. W. Broomfield.

The Aḥmadī version (Nairobi 1953, 1971²) was made by Shaykh Mubārak Aḥmadī, chief missionary of the Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission in East Africa, while the Sunnī Shāfi'ī version, by Shaykh 'Abd Allah Ṣāliḥ al-Fārsī, was published in fascicules between 1956 and 1962 at Zanzibar, in a one-volume edition in Bangalore (1949), and by the Islamic Foundation at Nairobi in 1956.

Other African-language versions exist in Yoruba (Rev. M. S. Cole, Lagos 1924), Ganda (Uganda Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1965) and Amharic (Artistic Press, Addis Ababa, 1961). Possible versions in Berber are discussed by Henri Basset, see *Bibl.*

Bibliography: H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 63-4; G. Dale, *A Swahili translation of the Koran*, in *MW*, xiv (1924), 5-9; V. Monteil, *Un Coran ahmadi en Swahili*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxix, B (1967), 479-95; J. D. Holway, *The Qur'ān in Swahili; three translations*, in *MW*, lxi (1971), 102-10.

7. European languages. The Latin paraphrase made by Robert of Ketton at the behest of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, and completed in 1143, exists in the autograph of the translator in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris. Robert is said to have been "always liable to heighten or exaggerate a harmless text to give it a nasty or licentious sting, or to prefer an improbable but unpleasant interpretation of the meaning to a likely but normal and decent one" (N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, see Index, s.v. Ketton). The work of Robert formed the basis for several mediaeval versions, but was apparently unknown to another early translator, Marc of Toledo. It was recopied in the 17th century by Dominicus Germanus, whose work exists in Montpelier, the Escurial and elsewhere, and was published in the Cluniac corpus, together with various other works of Christian propaganda, by Theodor Bibliander (Buchmann) in three editions at Basel in 1543, and one at Zürich in 1550 containing a preface by Martin Luther.

The first translation in a modern European language was the Italian version of Andrea Arrivabene, published in 1547. Though its author claims that it is made directly from the Arabic, it is clearly a translation or paraphrase of Robert of Ketton's text as published by Bibliander. Arrivabene's version was used for the first German translation made by Solomon Schweigger, preacher at the Frauenkirche in Nürnberg, which in turn formed the basis of the first Dutch translation, made anonymously and issued in 1641.

The first French version by André du Ryer, "Sieur de la Garde Malezais", came out in a great many editions between 1647 and 1775. All editions contain a "summary of the religion of the Turks" and other documents. This gave rise to the first Koran in English by Alexander Ross, and also fathered versions in Dutch (by Glazemaker), German (Lange) and Russian (Postnikov and Veryovkin).

The second Latin version was made directly from the Arabic text by Ludovico Marraci (or Marracci), published first in 1698 and secondly, with additions and annotations, by Reineccius in 1721. It was translated into German by Nerreter.

The 18th century brought translations made directly from an Arabic original by Sale into English (first published in 1734), Savary (French, 1751) and Boysen (German, 1773). Sale's version was in vogue in the English-speaking world for nearly two centuries: his renowned preliminary discourse, based, according to Nallino, on Marracci and Edward Pococke senior, was translated into several European languages. It was even translated into Arabic by Protestant missionaries in Egypt.

Savary's version was, according to Chauvin, evidently made from the Latin of Marracci: it bears the distinction of having been published in Mecca in A.H. 1165 (or so the title-page of one edition states!). Kasimirski, whose translation has also had a long run, and indeed like that of Savary, is still being republished in our own time, was requested by Pauthier to revise Savary. He preferred, however, to make a new translation directly from the Arabic while consulting the works of Marracci and Sale.

Throughout the 19th century, the translations were normally made without remove from the Arabic. In the 20th century, the first English versions made by Muslims appear, and the Aḥmadiyya movement began to issue the Ḳur'ān text with translations into European and even African languages. In recent times translations have been made by many of the most prominent Arabists and Islamic scholars into all the main languages of Europe, undeterred by the dictum of A. Fischer that only second or third-grade scholars dared to undertake this task.

Conspectus of European Language Versions:
Afrikaans. Anon. 1950. M. A. Baker, 1961.
Bulgarian. Lica, 1902-5. Tomov and Skulov, *ca.* 1930. (*MW*, xxiii [1933], 189-90.)
Czech. Vesely, 1913-25. Nykl, 1934. Hrbek, 1972. (A. Schimmel, *Die neue tschechische Koranübersetzung*, in *WO* vii [1973-4], 154-62.)
Danish. Madsen, 1967. Selections in chronological order, Buhl, 1921, 1954[2].
Dutch. Anon., 1641. Glazemaker, 1658, 1696, 1698, 1707, 1721, 1734. Tollens, 1859. Keyzer, 1860, 1879. Bas̲h̲ir al-Dīn Aḥmad (Aḥmadiyya), 1953. Kramers, 1956, 1965, 1969.
English. Versions by Christians: Ross, 1649, 1688, 1719, 1806. Sale, 1734-1892; American versions 1833-1923. Rodwell, 1861, 1876, 1909 (often reprinted to 1963). Palmer, 1880, 1900 (often reprinted to 1965). Bell, 1937-9. Arberry, 1955 (repr. 1963, 1964, 1969, 1971). Many versions by orthodox Muslims including Pickthall, 1930 etc., bilingual eds. 1938, 1976. A. Yusuf Ali, 1934, etc.; Dawood, 1956 etc. and by the Aḥmadiyya.
Finnish. Ahsen Böre, 1942. Aro, 1957.
French. Du Ryer, many editions, 1647-1775. Savary, 1751-1960. Kasimirski 1840-1970. Fatma-Zaida, 1861. Montet, 1929. Laïmêche, 1931. Pesle and Tidjani, 1936. Blachère, 1949-50, 1957, 1966. Rajabalee (Mauritius) 1949-. Mercier, 1956. Ghedira, 1957. Hamidullah, 1959, 1966. Masson, 1967. Si Boubakeur Hamza, 1972.
German. Schweigger, 1616, 1623, 1659. Lange, 1688. Nerreter 1703. Arnold, 1746. Megerlin, 1772. Boysen, 1773, 1775. Wahl, 1828. Ullmann, 1840-1959 (10 editions). Grigull, 1901, n.d. Henning, 1901, 1960, 1968. Goldschmidt, 1916. Aubier, 1957. Sadr-ud-Din, 1939. Aḥmadiyya versions, 1954, 1959. Paret, 1966, 1977, paperback ed. 1979, second ed. 1980.
Greek. Pentake, 1878, 1886, etc. Zographou-Meraniou, 1959.
Hungarian. Szdmajer, 1831 (*MW* [1927]). Szokolay, 1854.
Italian. Arrivabene, 1547, 1548, 1912. Calza, 1847. Anon., 1882, 1912, 1913. Fracassi, 1914. Bonelli, 1929, 1940 (repr. 1948, 1956). Bausani, 1955, 1961. Moreno, 1967, 1969. Violante, n.d.
Latin. Robert of Ketton, 1543, 1550. Marracci, 1698, 1721.
Polish. Sobolewski, ? 1828. Buczacki, 1858.
Portuguese. Anon., 1882. Castro, 1964.
Rumanian. Isopescul, 1912.
Russian. Postnikov, 1716. Veryovkin, 1790. Kolmakov, 1792. Nikolaev, 1864-1901 (5 editions). Boguslavski, 1871 (MS. only, *Bull. N.Y. Publ. Library*, xli, 101). Sablukov, 1877-9, 1894-8, 1907. Krïmskiy, 1902, 1905, 1916? Kračkovskiy, 1963.
Serbo-Croat. Ljubibratić, 1895. Pandža and Čaušević, 1936, 1936, 1969. Karabeg, 1937. (A. Popović, *Sur une nouvelle traduction du Coran en serbe-croate*, in *Arabica*, xx [1973], 82-4).
Spanish. Gerber de Robles, 1844. Ortiz de la Puebla, 1872. Murguiondo, 1875. Anon., 1931. Bergua, 1931 (9 editions to 1970). Cansinos Assens, 1951 (5 editions to 1963). Vernet Ginés, 1953, 1963. Anon., 1960. Cardona Castro, 1965. Anon., 1965. Herñandez Catá, n.d. Garcia Bravo, n.d. Anon., n.d.
Swedish. Crusenstolpe, 1843. Tornberg, 1874. Zettersteén, 1917. Ohlmarks, 1961.

There also exist partial translations in Albanian and Norwegian, and the MS. of a Ukranian version by Volodymyr Lezevyc (Hamidullah, *Le Coran*[2], 1966, p. lxv).

Bibliography: J. Kritzeck, *Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an*, in *IQ*, ii (1955), 309-12; M. Th. d'Alverny, *Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age*, in *Archives hist. doctr. litt. Moyen Age*, xxii-xxiv (1947-8), 69-131; W. K[öhler], *Zu Biblianders Koran-Ausgabe*, in *Zwingliana*, iii (1913-20), 349-50; M. Th. d'Alverny, G. Vajda, *Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tumart*, in *And.* xvi (1951), 99-140, 259-307, xvii (1952), 1-56, esp. xvi, 260-8: C. de Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana del Corano . . .*, Naples 1967; Denison Ross, *Ludovico Marraci*, in *BSOS*, ii (1921-3), 117-23; C. Nallino, *Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell' opera di Ludovico Marracci sul Corano*, in *Rend. Accad. Lincei*, Cl. Sci. mor. stor. filol., ser. 6, vii (1931), 303-49; A. Bausani, *On some recent translations of the Qur'ān*, in *Numen*, iv (1957), 75-81; W. A. Bijlefeld, *Some recent contributions to Qur'anic studies*, in *MW*, lxiv (1974), 79-102, 172-9, 259-74; A. Fischer, *Der Wert der vorhandenen Koran-Übersetzungen und Sure* 111, Leipzig 1937; M. Hamidullah, *Le Coran, traduction intégrale, avec une bibliographie de toutes les traductions . . . en langues européennes*, Paris 1966°; J. Vernet, *Traducciones moriscas de* El Corán, in *Der Orient in der Forschung, Festschrift für Otto Spies*, Wiesbaden 1967, 686-705; J. D. Pearson, *Bibliography of translations of the Koran into European languages*, in *Cambridge history of Arabic literature* (forthcoming).

(J. D. Pearson)

AL-KŪRĀNĪ, Ibrāhīm b. al-S̲h̲ahrazūrī al-Ḥasan S̲h̲ahrānī, al-Madanī (1023-1101/1615-90), scholar and mystic, born in S̲h̲ahrazūr in the mountains of Kurdistān on the frontiers of Persia. He studied first in Turkey, then in Persia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt before settling in Medina. In one of his works, *Masālik al-abrār ilā ḥadīt̲h̲ al-nabī al-muk̲h̲tār* (Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Ṭalʿat ff. 55-6), he refers to a period of 3 months at the Azhar in 1061/1650, where he studied with S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-S̲h̲abrāmallisī, *Imām* of the Azhar until 1087/1677, the whole *Taysīr fi 'l-ḳirā'āt al-sabʿ*

attributed to al-Ḳurṭubī, and with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shiḥādha al-Yamanī the *Ṭayyibat al-nashr fi 'l-ḳirā'āt al-ʿashr* of al-Djazarī up to Sūra IV, 41, *fa-kayfa idhā dji'nā min kulli ummatin bi-shahīdin*, after which he travelled to Baghdād where he spent a year and a half. He was a member of several *ṭuruḳ*, the most important among them being the Naḳshbandiyya. In Medina, he was a student of al-Kushāshī and succeeded him as head of his *ṭarīḳa* on the former's death in 1071/1661.

He was a prolific author in various of the Islamic disciplines, and wrote on *fiḳh*, *tawḥīd* and *taṣawwuf*. He was one of the last great exponents of the school of Ibn ʿArabī, and is of particular interest because of his use of the techniques of scholastic theology in his *Itḥāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-tuḥfa al-mursala ilā 'l-nabī* (edition in preparation) in order to explain and defend the monistic tradition of Ibn ʿArabī. Yet despite his commitment to the Ibn ʿArabī tradition, he was by nature a conciliator, arguing that it was preferable to reconcile two opposing points of view than to choose one of them or the other. This did not save him from condemnation by the followers of al-Sanūsī in Fās for his Ḳadariyya learnings on the question of *kasb*, and for Muʿtazilī influence in his views on the material character of non-being as well as for his views on the faith of Pharaoh, and his assertion of the historicity of and explanation of the so-called "Satanic verses" allegedly interpolated into Ḳur'ān, LIII, 21.

Other Moroccans, however, thought highly of him and of his humility and learning. He was esteemed by foreign students in the Ḥidjāz and was well-known among Indian scholars. He had an important influence on the development of Islam in the region now known as Indonesia because of his special relationship with the Achehnese ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel [*q.v.*] and with succeeding generations of Javan students referred to in the *Fawā'id al-irtiḥāl wa-natā'idj al-safar* of Muṣṭafā al-Ḥamwī (Ms. Dār al-Kutub, *Ta'rīkh* 1093, ff. 166-7). His association with ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf was particularly close. They were friends in Medina, they corresponded across the Indian Ocean for thirty years after ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf returned to Acheh in 1071/1661, and ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf made renderings of some of his works in Malay.

The number of works attributed to him ranges from forty-two (Brockelmann, s.v.) to over a hundred, only two of which have been published, sc. *al-Lumʿa al-saniya* and *al-Amam li-īḳāẓ al-himam* (see *Bibl.*). The former is a brief treatise on the "Satanic verses", for which some of the Moroccans condemned him; the latter is a most interesting and important work, setting out in detail his intellectual credentials as a teacher.

Bibliography: Reference works: Brockelmann, II², 514-15; al-Ifrānī al-Marrākushī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣulaḥā'*, lith. [Fās], n.d., 210-11; Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892, ii, 130-7; Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Būlāḳ 1301/1883, i, f. 5; Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Khān al-Ḥusaynī, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, n.p. [India] 1296, 846. Published texts: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam li-īḳāẓ al-himam*, Ḥaydarābād 1328; A. Guillaume, *al-Lumʿat al-saniya fī taḥqīq al-ilqā' fī 'l-umniya by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī*, in *BSOAS*, x (1957), 291-303; General: P. Voorhoeve, *Bayān Tadjallī*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Jakarta), lxxxv/1 (1952), 87-117; A. H. Johns, *Islam in Southeast Asia: problems of perspective*, in C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters (eds.), *Southeast Asian history and historiography*, Ithaca 1976, 304-20. (A. H. Johns)

KURĀNĪ, Gurānī, Shams al-Dīn [see gurānī].

KURAYBIYYA or, more commonly, Karibiyya is the name of a subsect of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] derived from its otherwise unknown leader Abū, more rarely Ibn Karib (or Kurayb, Karnab) al-Ḍarīr.

The heresiographical sources are agreed that Abū Karib denied the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the *Imām* and *Mahdī* of the Kaysāniyya. It is thus evident that he was active immediately after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700 and probably played a major rôle in promoting Messianic ideas about him among the Kaysāniyya. The sources disagree, however, in regard to other points of his teaching. The Muʿtazilī and Sunnī sources attribute to him the belief that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was alive hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā near Medina, guarded by a lion on his right and a leopard on his left and provided with food in the morning and the evening, until the time of his reappearance. Some of Abū Karib's followers held that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was punished by God with confinement in the Djabal Raḍwā because of his voluntary submission to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. In the account of these sources, Abū Karib appears as the founder of what became the mainstream of the Kaysāniyya expecting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and whose views were later expressed in the poetry of Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] and al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*].

According to the Shīʿī sources, on the other hand, Abū Karib and his followers asserted that the place where Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was concealed could not be known and they were distinct from those who believed that he was hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. They maintained that ʿAlī had named him the *Mahdī*. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī adds to this that Abū Karib considered Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya the immediate successor of ʿAlī in the imāmate and opposed those who upheld the imāmate of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn before him. This view was in conflict with the position of the majority of the Kaysāniyya, expressed in verses by Kuthayyir, that the three sons of ʿAlī were consecutively *Imām*s and al-Maḳdisī, representing the Muʿtazilī account, expressly states that Abū Karib (Ibn Karnab) considered al-Ḥasan as the *Imām* after ʿAlī. According to al-Nawbakhtī, the extremist Shīʿī Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra al-Barbarī of Medina was originally a follower of Abū (Ibn) Karib, and among Ḥamza's early supporters in Kūfa were Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*] and Ṣā'id al-Nahdī. The Karibiyya and all its extremist offshoots claimed that they would return to life at the time of the reappearance of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. According to the account of the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, on the other hand, the doctrine of return (*radjʿa*) was first taught by Ḥayyān al-Sarrādj who, in contrast to Abū Karib, believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had died and would return to life. While there is no external evidence supporting either of the two groups of sources, the Shīʿī sources, providing more specific details, appear to be generally better informed.

Bibliography: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 25 f.; Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. Muḥ. Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 27, 34; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, 19; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Zīna*, ms.; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *al-Urdjūza al-mukhtāra*, ed. I. K. Poonawala, Montreal 1970, 227-9; al-Maḳdisī,

al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899-1916, v, 128; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 27 f.; idem, *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. A. N. Nader, Beirut 1970, 50 f.; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, Cairo 1367/1948, 157-9; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Iʿtiḳādāt firaḳ al-muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*, ed. ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nashshār, Cairo 1357/1938, 62; W. Montgomery Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 47-9; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīkh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974, 172 f. (W. MADELUNG)

ḲURAYSH, the tribe inhabiting Mecca in the time of Muḥammad and to which he belonged; the name, which may be a nickname, is mostly (e.g. Ibn Hishām, 61) said to come from *taḳarrush*, "a coming together, association"; but it is also possible (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1104) that it is the diminutive of *ḳirsh*, "shark", and it could then be a totemic name like Kalb, etc. (A man called Ḳuraysh, other than Fihr, is mentioned in *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 12.7-9.) The tribe is taken to consist of the descendants of Fihr, and he himself is sometimes spoken of as Ḳuraysh; but the name is mostly used only of the tribe, which is reckoned among the "northern Arabs" (cf. ʿADNĀN and AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT, vi, p. 544b). The ancestry of Fihr is given as: b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. The following table shows the main subdivisions of Ḳuraysh (for a fuller version, cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 7); an asterisk indicates those commonly spoken of as "clans" in Muḥammad's time.

- Fihr
  - Muḥārib
  - al-Ḥārith*
  - Ghālib
    - Luʾayy
      - ʿĀmir*
        - Muʾays
        - Ḥisl
        - Nizār
      - Kaʿb
        - ʿAdī*
        - Huṣayṣ
          - ʿAmr
            - Sahm*
            - Djumaḥ*
        - Murra
          - Taym*
          - Yaḳaẓa
            - Makhzūm*
          - Kilāb
            - Zuhra*
            - Ḳuṣayy
              - ʿAbd (Ḳuṣayy)
              - ʿAbd al-Dār*
              - ʿAbd Manāf
                - ʿAbd Shams*
                  - Umayya
                  - Rabīʿa
                - Nawfal*
                - Hāshim*
                - al-Muṭṭalib*
              - ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā
                - Asad*
    - al-Adram

Fihr is said to have been the leader of men of Kināna, Khuzayma and other tribes in fighting to defend the Kaʿba against an attack by Yamanī tribes, but the sanctuary and various privileges connected with it remained in the hands of the tribe of Khuzāʿa. There was probably little, if any, permanent settlement at Mecca at this period. The descendants of Fihr lived in scattered groups among their relatives of Kināna. A change came about through Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], in the sixth generation from Fihr. He collected together the scattered groups of his kinsmen of Ḳuraysh (and this may be the occasion of their receiving the name), and, with help from certain men of Kināna and Ḳuḍāʿa (normally resident in Syria), he wrested the possession of the sanctuary from Khuzāʿa and became virtual ruler of Mecca. He is also said to have assigned quarters of Mecca to the various groups of Ḳuraysh; those in the area round the Kaʿba were known as the Ḳuraysh of the Biṭāḥ, and included all the descendants of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy, and perhaps some others, while those on the outskirts were the Ḳuraysh of al-Ẓawāhir. In so far as this assignment of quarters implied permanent settlement, it must have been made possible by the development of trade. Certainly by 600 A.D. the leading men of Ḳuraysh were prosperous merchants who had obtained something like a monopoly of the trade between the Indian Ocean and East Africa on the one hand and the Mediterranean on the other. They organised caravans which went to the Yaman in winter and to Gaza and Damascus in summer, and they were involved in mining and other activities along these routes. Victory in the war of the Fidjār [*q.v.*] against Hawāzin and Thaḳīf brought the routes of the Nadjd under Ḳuraysh. In particular, they gained control of the trade of the town of al-Ṭāʾif, which for a time had been a rival. Since al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] was much higher and cooler than Mecca, many Ḳuraysh acquired estates there. They had also stations in other parts of Arabia. The Ḳuraysh

became renowned for their *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] "steadiness" or "absence of hotheadedness", and in practice this meant that they placed business interests first and maintained a measure of unity despite their rivalries.

On the death of Ḳuṣayy (probably in the first half of the 6th century A.D.), his powers and rights passed to ʿAbd al-Dār, but after a time he was challenged by ʿAbd Manāf, and this led to a division of Ḳuraysh into two rival groups. ʿAbd al-Dār was supported by Makhzūm, Sahm, Djumaḥ and ʿAdī, and these were known as the Aḥlāf or Confederates. The opposing party, known as the Muṭayyabūn, the Perfumed, consisted of ʿAbd Manāf, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. It is impossible to know how long these groups remained effective. There is a reference to Muṭayyabūn in a letter from Muḥammad to some men of Khuzāʿa written in 8 A.H. (al-Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 750). Long before this, however, about 605 A.D. (*Munammaḳ*, 46), the Muṭayyabūn had been replaced by a new confederacy, the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl [*q.v.*] (exact meaning uncertain), which consisted of Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and perhaps al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. The essential change here is that ʿAbd Manāf has split into four parts, of whom two, Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, have remained with their former allies, while the other two, ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, have abandoned them. This may mean that ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal had become strong through commercial succes. It is clear that ʿAbd Shams, though not fully identified with the Aḥlāf, had developed close business relations with them. In all the stories of the pre-Islamic period there is admittedly a legendary element, but the main outline of events appears to be roughly correct, even if most of the dating is uncertain.

A man did not cease to belong to his clan when he became a Muslim, and in many of the events of Muḥammad's career, and of the period up to 132/750, the influence of old rivalries or alliances can be seen. As late as the reign of Muʿāwiya I, an appeal against injustice was made by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (of Hāshim) to the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, and was given a whole-hearted response from men of Taym, Zuhra and Asad (Ibn Hishām, 86 f.). The leaders of the revolt defeated at the Battle of the Camel in 656 were from Taym and Asad. Of course, there were changes in the relative power and wealth of the clans. The clan of ʿAbd Shams rose to pre-eminence through the Umayyad dynasty, since Umayya was a son of ʿAbd Shams; and the early Shīʿis and then the ʿAbbāsids represented their old rivals, Hāshim. Under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads, men of Ḳuraysh played a very important role in the organisation and administration of the empire, and without their skills in these fields the empire would probably not have endured.

On the death of Muḥammad, the Anṣār wanted one of them to be head of the community of Muslims, but they were persuaded by ʿUmar to accept Abū Bakr as *khalīfa*, on the grounds that only a Ḳurashī could hold together the federation. There are indications that the Anṣār continued to feel strongly about this point for some decades (cf. Watt in *MW*, xlii (1952), 161, 164). A *ḥadīth* came to be generally accepted, however, that "the *imāms* are from Ḳuraysh" (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 129, 183; iv, 421; cf. T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 47). The Qurʾānic verse IX, 100/101 was also quoted in support. When the Sunnī theory of the caliphate was formulated, it was generally insisted that the caliph or *imām* should be from Ḳuraysh (e.g. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1952, i, 26, 34; ii, 21; al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 5; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 350-4; Eng. tr., i, 396-401). A few scholars, however (e.g. Ḍirār b. ʿAmr), held otherwise, and most of the Khawāridj considered that a pious and upright man of any origin could be *imām* (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 461 f.; al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 275-7; etc.). This matter caused a little difficulty in more recent times when the caliphate was claimed by Mughal emperors and Ottoman sultans, but most *ʿulamāʾ* found a way of circumventing the difficulty (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 162, 175).

The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) mentions small groups of Ḳuraysh in various parts of Arabia, possibly remnants of trading stations (ed. D. H. Müller, 119, 122, 165, 194, 258); while al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897) reports a group of Ḳuraysh near Ṣaydāʾ in the Lebanon (*Buldān*, Leiden 1892, 327). At the present day there are many Ḳuraysh living as Bedouin in the neighbourhood of Mecca, while in Mecca itself the key of the Kaʿba is held by a clan of Ḳuraysh called Shayba.

The *nisba* is Ḳurashī, but this was not much used in the heartlands of the caliphate in the early centuries; if any *nisba* was used it was mostly that from a clan. After a time, some men seem to have prided themselves in descent from Ḳuraysh. The following are some examples: one in ʿIrāḳ, 7/13th century; six in Egypt and Syria, 8/14th, 9/15th, 11/17th, 12/18th centuries; two in North Africa, 7/13th and 9/15th centuries (*GAL*, ii, 110, 111, 112, 449; *GAL* S, i, 298 foot, 537, No. 20, 609; ii, 58; Ibn Khaldūn, Eng. tr., iii, 126n.). In Pakistan, etc. it is common at the present time in the form Qoreshi.

Bibliography: (for the earlier period): Ibn Hishām, 61-70, 75 f., 79-87, etc.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Hyderabad 1942; idem, *K. al-Munammaḳ fī akhbār Ḳuraysh*, Hyderabad 1964; al-Azraḳī, *K. Akhbār Makka*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1858; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iii, 91-122, etc.; al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 4-16, etc.; H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḲURAYSH B. BADRĀN [see ʿUḲAYL, Banū —]

ḲURAYYĀT AL-MILḤ, a group of villages in the extreme northwest of Saʿūdī Arabia, in the northern section of the NW-SE depression of Wādī al-Sirḥān (approx. long. 37° 40' E. and lat. 31° 25' N.). The largest settlements, (though none are larger than 2,000 inhabitants) are Ithra, al-Ḳarḳar, Manwā, Ghaṭṭī, Kāf, and an-Nabk, which is the administrative centre and residence of the local *Amīr*, who now reports to Mecca, but at the time of Euting's visit (1301/1883) reported to the *Amīr* of Ḥāʾil. Until the consolidation of the House of Ibn Saʿūd's power, the villages were frequently under dispute between the Shammar and Ruwāla Bedouins, to whose leaders the inhabitants of Ḳurayyāt al-Milḥ had to pay tribute. Aside from some meagre oasis agriculture (chiefly dates, alfalfa, and a little grain in good years), the principal income was derived from the caravan trade, particularly during the pilgrimage season, but most importantly from the area's extensive salt pans, which have been intensively mined for several centuries; hence its collective name of "Salt Villages". The salt was traded southeastwards to al-Djawf, Sakāka, and Ḥāʾil, and northwards to Jordan and Syria. By the mid-20th century the drilling of deep water wells and the spread of industrialisation had allowed a greater diversification of agriculture and employment for

cash wages, so that the villages were much less dependent on trade and salt production.

Reputedly Nabataean, but certainly pre-Islamic ruins, pottery, and inscriptions attest to the antiquity of settled life in this area.

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ḲURAYẒA, BANŪ, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Ya<u>th</u>rib (Medina), with lands towards the south-east of the oasis. As in the case of the other Jewish groups, it is not known whether they were descended from refugees of Hebrew stock or from Arabs who had adopted Judaism. They adhered firmly to the Jewish religion, but at the same time had adopted many Arab practices and had intermarried with Arabs. According to a genealogy given by al-Samhūdī, Ḳurayẓa, Hadl and ʿAmr were sons of al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> b. al-Ṣarīḥ, who was descended from Aaron (though only eight intermediate names are given). The related tribe of al-Naḍīr was said to be al-Naḍīr b. al-Naḥḥām b. al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u> b. al-Ṣarīḥ. Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr, with the related groups, after their settlement in Ya<u>th</u>rib developed agriculture (palms and cereals) and dominated politically the previous Arab inhabitants. The Jews lost their dominant position, however, after the coming of al-Aws and al-<u>Kh</u>azra<u>dj</u>, though they appear to have retained a measure of independence. Both Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr supported al-Aws at the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*]. At the time of the Hi<u>dj</u>ra, the two most important men of Ḳurayẓa appear to have been al-Zabīr b. Bāṭā b. Wahb and Kaʿb b. Asad; each of these had an *uṭum* or fort. These and fifteen others are named as hostile to Muḥammad (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 352). Ḳurayẓa are said to have had two assemblies (*ma<u>dj</u>lisān*), those of Banū Kaʿb b. Ḳurayẓa and Banū ʿAmr b. Ḳurayẓa (*ibid.*, 691 foot, 711).

It is reported that at the Hi<u>dj</u>ra, Kaʿb b. Asad, acting on behalf of Ḳurayẓa, made an agreement (*ʿahd*) with Muḥammad, and that later during the siege of Medina (the <u>Kh</u>andaḳ) he was persuaded by Ḥuyayy b. A<u>kh</u>ṭab of al-Naḍīr to break it, and the actual document was torn up by Ḥuyayy (Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, 352, 674; al-Wāḳidī, 456). This report is open to grave doubt, however. Ibn Isḥāḳ does not name his sources. Al-Wāḳidī has two: one is a grandson of Kaʿb b. Mālik of Salima, a clan hostile to the Jews; and the other is Muḥammad b. Kaʿb (d. 117-20/735-8), the son of a boy of Ḳurayẓa, who was sold as a slave when they surrendered and later became a Muslim. Both these sources may be suspected of bias against Ḳurayẓa; and it is therefore probable that there was no special agreement between Muḥammad and Ḳurayẓa. It is virtually certain, however, that Muḥammad had a general agreement with the Jews that they were not to support an enemy against him (al-Wāḳidī, 176); and something like this was probably implicit in his alliance with the Arab clans of Medina, since the Jewish clans were allied to one or other of the Arab clans. The Constitution of Medina as given by Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām (341-4) does not mention Ḳurayẓa or al-Naḍīr or Ḳaynuḳāʿ by name; but its present form almost certainly dates from after the execution of the men of Ḳurayẓa, and these Jewish groups were probably mentioned in an earlier version.

The question of an agreement affects the moral judgement on Muḥammad's treatment of Ḳurayẓa. During the siege of Medina (<u>Dh</u>u 'l-Kaʿda 5/April 627), Muḥammad became anxious about their conduct and sent some of the leading Muslims to talk to them; the result was disquieting. Though Ḳurayẓa does not appear to have committed any overt hostile act, they had probably been involved in negotiations with the enemy. On this ground, as soon as the besiegers withdrew, Muḥammad attacked Ḳurayẓa and besieged them in their forts (*āṭām*) for twenty-five nights. After negotiations they agreed to surrender unconditionally. Saʿd b. Muʿā<u>dh</u>, chief of the clan of ʿAbd al-A<u>sh</u>hal, with whom they had an alliance, was brought to give judgement on them. He decreed that all the men (who numbered between 600 and 900) were to be put to death and all the women and children sold as slaves. This decree was carried out (recently, W. N. Arafat in *JRAS* [1976], 100-7, has maintained that by no means all the adult males were killed, but his argument is not entirely convincing). Three young men of the clan of Hadl, who had been with Ḳurayẓa in the strongholds, slipped out before the surrender and professed Islam. One or two other also escaped. As part of his share of the booty, Muḥammad received one of the women, Rayḥāna, and married her as a concubine, though she is said to have become a Muslim. Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Ḳuraẓī (mentioned above) gained distinction as a scholar.

Bibliography: Ibn Hi<u>sh</u>ām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 372, 389-400, 684-97, 711-13; al-Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, 496-521; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1485-98; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā*, Beirut 1971, i, 159-65, 305-10 (ed. Cairo 109-16, etc.); Caetani, *Annali*, i, 630-2; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 274-7; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 193-7, 213-7, 226 f., etc.; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden, 1928, 38 f., 168-74; (Eng. tr.London 1976); idem, *Handbook*, s.v. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḲURBA [see ḲARĀBA]

ḲURBĀN, sacrifice, sacrificial victim. The word goes back to the Hebrew *ḳorbān*, perhaps through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Mingana, *Syriac influence on the style of the Ḳur'ān*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xi (1927), 85; S. Fränkel, *De vocabulis in . . . corano peregrinis*, 20). The language of the Ḳur'ān, as is well known, shows a preference for religious technical terms ending in *-ān* and some of them are not always used with their original significations. This is true of *ḳurbān*, which occurs three times in the Ḳur'ān. In sūras III, 179 and V, 30 it obviously means sacrifice. In sūra XLVI, 27, however, we read: "Did those help them, whom they had taken for *ḳurbān* as gods to the exclusion of Allāh!" Here the word must be more or less synonymous with "gods". Probably it has a meaning which is connected with the Arabic *ḳ-r-b* (see below); the commentators take the same view and the word is explained as "mediators" [see <u>SH</u>AFĀʿA].

The word hardly seems to occur in classical *ḥadi<u>th</u>*. The *Lisān* mentions two traditions which are striking enough: "The characteristic of the community (i.e. the Muslims) lies in the fact that their *ḳurbān* is their blood", i.e. that instead of sacrifice they have offered the blood of their martyrs. And the other: "The *ṣalāt* is the sacrifice of every pious man". We may suppose there are apologetic tendencies in both traditions.

The term also came to be applied in Muslim ritual

to the killing of an animal on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and the whole celebration on this and the following *tashrīḳ* days is called *ʿĪd al-Ḳurbān* [cf. ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ] in Turkish-speaking countries *Ḳurbān-bayramî* (cf. BAYRAM).

In Christian-Arabic the word means the eucharist; cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirklicher Termini*[2] (= CSCO, 147), Louvain 1954: the consecrated elements, especially the host; *ʿĪd al-Ḳurbān* = feast of Corpus Christi.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that there seems to be a genuine Arabic word *ḳurbān*, plur. *ḳarābīn*, which means the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king; the word probably comes directly from *ḳ-r-b* "to be near".

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KURBUḲA, properly KÜR-BUGHA (T. "stout-hearted bull, stallion") ABŪ SAʿĪD ḲIWĀM AL-DAWLA, Turkish commander of the Saldjūḳ period and lord of al-Mawṣil.

In the war waged by Tutush b. Alp Arslan, Berk-yaruḳ's uncle [*q.v.*], against the two rebellious governors Aḳ Sonḳor and Būzān, which ended with the capture and execution of these two, the *amīr* Kurbuḳa, who had been sent to their help by Berk-yaruḳ, was also taken prisoner. After Tutush had fallen in Ṣafar 488/February 1095 (cf. BARKYĀRŪḲ), Kurbuḳa was released by his son Riḍwān, and with his brother Altūntāsh collected a band of adventurers and occupied Ḥarrān. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Ḳuraysh lord of Naṣībīn then applied to him for help against his brother ʿAlī, who had been appointed governor of al-Mawṣil by Tutush; Kurbuḳa made an alliance with Muḥammad, but had him murdered after he had seized Niṣībīn and set out against al-Mawṣil, which ʿAlī had to surrender after a long siege (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 489/Oct.-Nov. 1096). After the capture of al-Mawṣil he disposed of his troublesome brother Altuntash and occupied al-Raḥba. In 491/1098 Berk-yaruḳ sent him with a large army to retake Anṭākiya [*q.v.*], which had just been conquered by the Christians. Edessa, which had also just been taken from the Muslims, was besieged by Kurbuḳa on the way, but he had to give up the siege and soon afterwards appeared before Anṭākiya. When the Christians made a bold sortie against the besiegers, he inflicted a disastrous defeat on them in spite of their superior numbers; Kurbuḳa's own conduct is said to have contributed towards the disaster, as his arrogance irritated his commanders so that they only awaited a favourable opportunity to abandon him. In the battle between Berk-yaruḳ and his brother Muḥammad in Radjab 492/May-June 1100, which ended in the defeat of the former, Kurbuḳa commanded Berk-yaruḳ's left wing. In the following year he was sent to Ādharbāydjān. Here he conquered the greater part of the country, but when he was nearing the town of Khūy or Khoī [*q.v.*], he fell ill and could not continue the campaign. He died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 492/Aug.-Sept. 1102, after appointing Sonḳordja his successor.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, index; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii, 290, 292, 308, 316, 322, 336; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 140, 151, 152, 154, 164-9; M. F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūqid empire*, Calcutta 1938; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 109-10.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

ḲŪRČI (from the Mongolian *ḳorči*, "an archer", from *ḳor*, "quiver"; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943, 32, n. 2), a military term with a variety of different meanings: "he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman" (Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turc. or.*, 425; "armourer, sword-cutler, troop of cavalry, captain of the watch; leader of a patrol, commandant of a fort, gendarmerie in charge of a city's security" (Sulaymān Bukhārī, *Lughat-i Čaghatāy ve Türkī ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1298/1880-1, 233), "sentry, sentinel, guard, inspector" (Vambery, *Čaghataische Sprachstudien*, 316).

In Ṣafawid usage, *ḳūrčī* denoted a member of the Turcoman tribal cavalry which formed the basis of Ṣafawid military power, and in this sense was therefore synonymous with *ḳizil-bāsh* [*q.v.*]. The *ḳūrčīs* were clearly distinguished from non-*ḳizil-bāsh* units, which were termed *lashkar-i umarāʾ*; *sipāhiyān*; etc. *Ḳūrčīs* with special functions were denoted by special titles (see index to Minorsky, *op. cit.*, under *qūrchī*; for additional titles, see index to Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, Tehran 1335/1956, 1219-20); some of these titles (e.g. *ḳūrčī-yi tarkash*, "*ḳūrčī* of the quiver"; *ḳūrčī-yi shamshīr*, "*ḳūrčī* of the sword"; *ḳūrčī-yi tīr-u-kamān*, "*ḳūrčī* of the bow and arrow"), appear to denote ranks, but their relative importance is not certain. *Ḳūrčīs* constituted the royal bodyguard, in this capacity sometimes being specially designated *ḳūrčīyān-i khāṣṣa-yi shāhī* (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 99), or *ḳūrčiyān-i ʿiẓām-i shāhī* (*ibid.*, i, 47).

The commander of the *ḳūrčīs* was called *ḳūrčībāshī*. This office is first mentioned in the Ṣafawid chronicles in 911/1505-6, and seems from the first to have been distinct from the office of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* (R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ismāʿīl I (907-30/1501-24)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 101). At first overshadowed by the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, the *ḳūrčībāshī* became one of the most important officers of state under Ṭahmāsp, Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh [*q. vv*], wielding great authority in both military and political affairs. It is noteworthy that for a period of forty years (*ca.* 955-95/1548-87), nearly all the *ḳūrčībāshīs* were drawn from the Afshār tribe. With the accession of ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*], the importance of the *ḳūrčībāshī* declined *pari passu* with that of the *ḳūrčīs* themselves, but he still "carried great weight in public affairs" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 117).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-34/1524-76)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 79; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. i. *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1943, 427-32, contains an excellent discussion of the various meanings of *ḳūr* and *ḳūrčī*, with full textual references.

(R. M. SAVORY)

KURD ʿALĪ, MUḤAMMAD FARĪD, Syrian journalist, scholar and man of letters, was born in Damascus in 1876, of a father of Kurdish origin and a Čerkes mother. From an early age, he showed an interest in nature and in books, and it was reading which, combined with his innate curiosity and gifts of observation, made the greatest contribution to his intellectual development. Already bilingual in Turkish and Arabic, he learnt French from the Lazarist Fathers of Damascus, and this enable him to acquire, thanks to assiduous reading of books and periodicals a knowledge, extensive for his time, of Western civilisation, and in particular, of French literature. He perfected his Arabic-Islamic education as a pupil of some distinguished masters: Ṭāhir al-

Djazāʾirī, Muḥammad Mubārak and Salīm al-Bukhārī. In 1897 he joined the staff of the first Arabic newspaper of Damascus, *al-Shām*, and at the same time collaborated in the Egyptian review *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. He also attempted to translate some French novels into Arabic. Four years later he decided to visit Paris, but while passing through Cairo he was detained there by the friends whom he had made by his collaboration in *al-Muḳtaṭaf* and he thus had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the celebrities of the age, most notably with Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended. Obliged to leave Egypt because of an epidemic, Kurd ʿAlī returned to Damascus, but the atmosphere there seemed to him so oppressive that he soon returned to Cairo, where he stayed until 1908; during this second stay, he collaborated in editing *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Musāmarāt*, and *al-Muʾayyad*, and founded the review *al-Muḳtabas*, a periodical which was always very close to his heart; after three years of publication in Cairo, *al-Muḳtabas* was transferred in 1908 to Damascus and continued to appear for a further six years, until the time when the Ottoman authorities, irritated by Kurd ʿAlī's frankness, forbade its publication.

At the end of 1908, Kurd ʿAlī succeeded in realising the dream which he had first cherished eight years before and, passing this time through Lebanon, went to France and spent a year there; in the course of this visit, for which he had been preparing himself for a long time, he observed the people of the country and their way of life, visited the principal libraries, attended, theatrical performances and took a special interest in the Académie Française. Returning to Damascus via Istanbul, he continued to edit his review and then, at the end of the year 1913, undertook a second journey to Europe; he went first to Italy, where he had the good fortune to install himself in the library of prince Leone Caetani, whose *Annali dell'Islam* had revealed to him a method of working to which the Orient was not yet accustomed; it was here that he assembled much of the documentation which he required for the composition of a definitive history of Syria, the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, a monumental work which is still the most complete study of this vast subject. In 1921-2, a third journey took him to the countries of western Europe, and it was on his return that he wrote the *Gharāʾib al-Gharb*, a *riḥla* [*q.v.*], published in 1923, based on notes taken in the course of his three journeys and reflections inspired by his observations. Immediately after the Great War, he had been appointed general secretary of the Committee for Public Education and it was in this capacity that he considered the creation of an organisation responsible for purifying and enriching the Arabic language, publishing texts and encouraging the literary and intellectual activity of his country. On 8 June 1919, he obtained authorisation to transform the *Dīwān al-Maʿārif*, which had been founded a few months earlier, into an Arab Academy [see MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ. 1. Arab countries]; he was thus able to put into effect the project of which he had been inspired, ten years previously, by his visit to the Académie Française. The career of Kurd ʿAlī was henceforward inseparable from the activity of his Academy, to which he devoted the greater part of his time and over which he presided until his death, on 2 April 1953; the only intervals in his work with the Academy were his two terms of office as Minister of Public Education and his third journey to Europe.

Kurd ʿAlī was of a witty and playful nature; a great conversationalist, he loved to joke and play with words, and his style is an accurate reflection of his personality. He left an abundant corpus which included, apart from the thousands of pages of articles published in the review in which he collaborated at the start of his career, in *al-Muḳtabas* and in the *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī* (*MMIA*), editions of texts and original works of a historical or literary nature. He was largely responsible for making known the "epistles" of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, of Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.vv.*]., etc. in his *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1908, 1913, 1946, and he enriched the Arab Academy Publications with the *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* of al-Balawī (1939), the *al-Mustadjād min faʿalat al-adjwād* of al-Tanūkhī (1946), the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām* of al-Bayhaḳī)1946), the *Kitāb al-Ashriba* of Ibn Ḳutayba (1947), and the *al-Bayzara* of Kushādjim (1953).

Among his original works, mention should be made of his contribution to literary history and criticism: *Umarāʾ al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, and *Kunūz al-adjdād*, Damascus 1950. Apart from the *Gharāʾib al-Gharb* of 1923 and the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, Damascus 1925 (6 vols.), his major work, Kurd ʿAlī collected in *al-Ḳadīm wa 'l-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1925, a large number of the articles published in *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Muʾayyad* and *al-Muḳtabas* and added an account of his travels in the Ḥidjāz and Palestine. In addition, he pleaded the cause of Arab-Islamic culture in *al-Islām wa 'l-ḥaḍāra al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1934 (2 vols.), published a critical study of the morals and customs of the Orient in *Aḳwālunā wa-afʿālunā*, in Cairo 1946, devoted a monograph to the oasis of Damascus, *Ghūṭat Dimashḳ*, Cairo 1949, and finally published four volumes of memoirs, *Mudhakkirāt*, Damascus 1948-51.

Bibliography: Apart from the biographical data given at the end of the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* and of his *Memoirs*, see Brockelmann, S III, 430-4; S. Dahhān, in *MMIA*, xxx/2, 211-52; idem, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i, 379-94; idem and H. Laoust, *L'oeuvre de l'Académie arabe de Damas, 1921-1951*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 161-219. (CH. PELLAT)

KURDS, KURDISTĀN.

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i. — General Introduction

The Kurds, an Iranian people of the Near East, live at the junction of more or less laicised Turkey, Shīʿi Iran, Arab and Sunnī ʿIrāḳ and North Syria,- and Soviet Transcaucasia. The economic and strategic importance of this land, Kurdistān, is undeniable. Since the end of the First World War, the Kurdish people, like all the rest of their neighbours, have undergone considerable transformations as much in the political order as in the economic, social and cultural domain. Many works have been published, a few in every country, on these different problems. Some excellent general bibliographies exist: F. B. Rostopčin, *Bibliografiya po kurdskoy probleme*, in *Revol. Vostok*, 1933/3-4 (19-20), 292-326, 5 (21), 159-73; O. Vil'čevskiy, *Bibliografičevskii obzor zarubežnukh kurdskikh pečatnukh izdaniy v XX stolety*, in *Iranskie Yaziki*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1945, 147-81; M. B. Rudenko, *Opisanie Kurdskikh rukopisey Leningradskikh sobraniy*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.*, Moscow 1961; N. A. Aleksanian, *Bibliografiya k'tēbēd k'ördiēye Sovetie*, Erevan 1962, in Kurdish and Russian; J. S. Muaelian, *Bibliografiya po kurdovedeniyu*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.* 1963; C. J. Edmonds, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1920-1936*, in *JRCAS*, xxiv (1937), 487-97; idem, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1937-1944*, in *JRCAS*, xxxii (1945), 185-91; D. N. MacKenzie, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1945-1955*, in *JRCAS*, lxiv (1957), 31-7; E. R. McCarus, *Kurdish language studies*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1960), 325-35; P. Rondot, *Les Kurdes, le Kurdistan, la question kurde, Essai de bibliographie*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1947/2; A. Bennigsen, *Les Kurdes et la Kurdologie en Union soviétique*, in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, ii (April-June 1960), 513-30; M. Mokri, *Kurdologie et enseignement de la langue kurde en U.R.S.S.*, in *L'Ethnographie*, 1963, 71-106; Th. Bois, *Bulletin raisonné d'études kurdes*, in *Machriq*, lvii (1964), 527-70; *ISK*'s *Kurdish bibliography*, ed. Silvio van Rooy and Kees Tamboer, Amsterdam 1968, i, 658 pp. (9350 nos.). cf. review by Th. Bois, in *BiOr*, 1969/3-4, 184-87; Mistefa Ehmed Nerîman, *Kitêbxane kurdî*, Kirkûk 1960.

ii. — The Kurds and their Country: Kurdistān

A. The territorial extent of Kurdistān. If the ethnic term "Kurd" is of ancient usage, for it is known since the Arab conquest if one does not wish to go further back (cf. below, *Origins*), it seems that, historically, the name Kurdistān or "land of the Kurds" dates from the time of Sultan Sandjar (d. 552/1157), the last great Saldjūḳid, who created a province with its capital called Bahār, to the north-east of Hamadān. This province, situated between Ādharbāydjān and Luristān, included the regions of Hamadān, Dīnawar, Kirmānshāh and Senna, to the east of the Zagros and to the west of Shahrazūr and Khuftiyān, on the Zāb. The whole numbered 16 cantons, enumerated by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. 750/1349), in his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 108; ed. Tehran 1957, 127). The nominal extent of Kurdistān varied however throughout the centuries. Sharaf al-Dīn, in his *Sharaf-nāma* (1596), does not hesitate to include the Lurs in Kurdistān, in chs. 3 and 4 of his 1st Book, as do all the Arab historians, who include everything in the province they call al-Djibāl [*q.v.*], cf. V. Barthold, *Istoriko-geografičeskiy obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 138. For his part, the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1093/1682), in his *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iv, 74-5, enumerates the 9 *wilāyet*s which formed Kurdistān in his time: Erzurum, Van, Hakkāri, Diyārbakr, Djazīra, ʿAmādiya, Mawṣil, Shahrazūr and Ardalān, and which required 17 days to traverse.

But the rivalries between the Ottoman sultans and the Shāhs of Persia broke up this unity. In the 17th century the Turkish administration gave no more than 3 *liwā*'s to the *eyālet* of Kurdistān: Darsīm, Mush and Diyārbakr. In the same way, in Iran in the 16th century, Hamadān and Luristān were detached from Kurdistān and the name was reserved for the region of Ardalān with Sinna as its capital. Today, Iran is the only country to recognise a province by the name of Kurdistān. Everywhere else, Kurdistān has been banished from the language of the administration and the geographical atlases. In Turkey one speaks of Eastern Anatolia; in ʿIrāḳ, of the provinces of the north; in Syria, of the province of Djazīra (Ghassemlou, 14).

B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistān. From the above, it is clear that the historical and then political extent of Kurdistān does not coincide with its actual ethnic extent. So the frontiers within each of the countries concerned must be defined more or less approximately.

In Turkey, the Kurds inhabit the whole of the eastern region of the country. According to Trotter (1878), the limit of their extent to the north was the line Divriği—Erzurum—Kars. In the region of Erzurum they are found especially to the east and the south-east. The Kurds also occupy the western slopes of Ararat, the districts of Kağizman and Tuzluca. On the west they extend in a wide belt beyond the course of the Euphrates (Ritter, xi, 144), and, in the region of Sivas, in the districts of Kangāl and Divriği. Equally, the whole region includes areas to the east and south-east of these limits. Some quite important colonies of Kurds are even found in Cilicia, to the south of Ankara, in Heymana and in the large towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In brief, it may be said that if Turkey is at present divided administratively into 67 *ils* or provinces, Turkish Kurdistān numbers at least 17 of them almost totally: in the north-east, the provinces of Erzincan, Erzurum and Kars; in the centre, going from west to east and from north to south, the provinces of Malatya, Tunceli, Elaziğ, Bingöl, Muş, Karaköse (Ağri), then Adiyaman, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis and Van; finally, the southern provinces of Urfa, Mardin and Çölamerik (Hakkāri). The Kurds of Turkey are also linked on the east with their brothers from Iran.

The latter inhabit the north-west of Iran. Firstly in the provinces of Western Ādharbāydjān, to the east of Lake Riḍāʾiyya (Urmiya), the districts of Makū, Kotur, Shahpur, and to the south of the lake, Mahābād (ex-Sabla); in the province of Ardalān, called the province of Kurdistān, whose capital is Senna or Sanandadj, the districts of Bukan, Saḳḳiz, Sardasht, Bana, Bidjar (Garrus), Meriwān and

Hawramān; in the province of Kirmānshāh, Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. There are furthermore isolated groups of Kurds in Khurāsān, at Budjnurd and in Fārs and Kirmān, not to mention the numerous Kurds who live in the cities such as Tabrīz and the outskirts of Tehran (Brugsch, *Reise*, ii, 496). Much further to the east and outside Iran, an important Kurdish tribe is to be found in Balūčistān.

In ʿIrāḳ, the Kurds occupy the north and north-east of the country in the *liwā*ʾs or provinces of Duhok, recently detached from the province of Mawṣil, the *nāḥiya*s or districts of Zakho, Mazuri Djēr, ʿAmādiya and ʿAkra. Left outside their administration are Sindjār and Shaykhān, peopled by the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*]; the *liwā*ʾs of Kirkūk, Arbīl and Sulaymānī (entirely Kurdish) and, in the *liwā*ʾ of Diyālā, the *nāḥiya*s of Khānaḳīn and Mandali, where they are neighbours of the Kurds of Iran to the west of the Zagros. The Kurds are equally numerous in Baghdād and Mawṣil.

In Syria, they constitute three distinct belts, in the north of the country and to the south of the highway which forms a frontier and where they are in direct contact with their compatriots in Turkey. A belt of 40 km. width, in the Kurd Dāgh; a group (60 × 40 km.), to the east of the Euphrates where the river enters Syria near Djarablus; and finally, a belt of 250 km. in length by 30 km. in depth in the Djazīra, between the Khābūr, a tributary of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with Raʾs al-ʿAyn, Darbisiyya, ʿAmūda, Kamishlī, Andivar and Dērik. In this "duck's beak", the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ and those of Turkey are juxtaposed (Rondot, 80). The Syrian towns of Damascus, Ḥamāt and Aleppo count many thousands of Kurds.

Some still exist in Soviet Transcaucasia. In the Republic of Armenia, 35 villages in the *rayons* of Aparan, Basargečar, Huktemberia, Talin and Ečmiadzin; in the Republic of Ādharbāydjān, 25 villages in the *rayons* of Kelbadjan, Latchin and Kubatli (Aristova, 47-8, 64). There are numbers of Kurds living in Erevan, Baku and, in the Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi or Tiflis.

The imprecise limits of the frontiers of Kurdistān hardly allow an exact appreciation of the area. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* estimates the length of Kurdistān at 600 miles and its breadth at 150 miles. The *Ḳāmūs al-ʿālam*, Istanbul 1896, which naturally is only concerned with the Kurdish *wilāyet*s of the Ottoman Empire, sets its length at 900 km. and its breadth between 100 and 200 km. At present, the different provinces of Kurdistān cover around 190,000 km² in Turkey, 125,000 km² in Iran, 65,000 km² in ʿIrāḳ, and 12,000 km² in Syria. The total area of Kurdistān can then be estimated at approximately 392,000 km².

While there are many Kurds who live outside ethnic Kurdistān, there are numerous non-Kurds who live in Kurdistān. In Turkey, there are some Turks everywhere, but also, in the north, some Ossetes and some Tcherkesses, and in the south some predominantly Syriac or Jacobite Christians (Cl. Dauphin, *Situation actuelle des communautés chrétiennes du Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (Turquie orientale)*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xxii/2-3 (1972), 323-7). The Armenians have in fact completely disappeared. In Iran to the west of Lake Riḍāʾiyya and in ʿIrāḳ in the region of Duhok-Zakho and Kirkūk, some Nestorians and Chaldaeans are to be encountered, together with, in the towns, a few rare Armenians. The Jews, at one time relatively numerous, have all emigrated since 1948 (W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Kurdistan a hundred years ago, a traveler's record*, in *Jewish Social Studies*, vi [1944], 195-226; I. Ben-Zvi, *The exiled and the redeemed host in Assyria*, in *The Jewish Publication Society of America*, Philadephia 1957). In Kirkūk one finds some Turcomans (I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 342-3).

C. Numerical extent of the Kurds. As the Kurds are not ordinarily registered as such in the censuses of the population carried out by the different states where the Kurds are resident, it is impossible to have exact statistics of the total population of Kurdistān. Besides, statistics require delicate handling, and they risk being manipulated for political motives. Cf. for ʿIrāḳ, M. Durra, 1st ed. 1963, 210 and 2nd ed. 1966, 225; for Turkey, E. Esenkova, 1967, 29. Here are a few examples, whose divergences, which show the complexity of the question, may undoubtedly be explained by the fact that their authors do not apply the same criteria of ethnic adherence, religion and language. Hence the elimination of the Lurs. Account must also be taken of demographic progression, which works in favour of the Kurds, a fact which is at times equally forgotten. Here are a few figures, in thousands, supplied by: (1) B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1956, 42; (2) S. I. Brouk, *L'ethnographie*, 1958, 30; (3) A. Ghassemlou, *Kurdistan*, 1965, 23; (4) I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 1970, 30; (5) C. J. Edmonds, *Kurdish nationalism*, in *Journal Cont. Hist.* vi/1 (1971), 92:

	1	2	3	4	5
Turkey	4,500	2,500	4,900	6,600	3,200
Iran	1,500	1,800	3,300	4,250	1,800
ʿIrāḳ	500	900	1,550	2,000	1,550
Syria	500	300	250	500	320
Transcaucasia	250	—	160	150	80
Total	7,250	5,500	10,160	13,500	6,950

(cf. Edmonds, 92 n. 1).

D. The geography of Kurdistān

1. *Physical aspect*

Kurdistān is in its entirety a country of high mountains. Its skeleton, in its Turkish part, is constituted by the different chains of the Eastern Taurus. These chains begin to take shape from the shores of the Mediterranean at the latitude of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and radiate at first towards the north-east. To the north of Maraş, they form a fork whose northern line pivots away from the Engirek Dağ and Nuruhak Dağ (3,090 m.), continues by the Akra Dağı, joins the chains of Mounts Munzur (3,088 m.), Mercan and Kargaparazı (3,388 m.), then curves in and crosses the mountainous chain of the Araxes and finally ends in the Ararat system.

From our point of departure a second chain, very clearly a crescent in shape, begins to the south of Malatya, continues by the mountains of Maden, the ridges of Haçres (2,689 m.) and Sasun (2, 590 m.) to the south of Muş, pursues its curve to the south of Lake Van, via Mounts Bitlis and Hakâri (3.630 m.), with the Cilo Dağı which culminates in Mount Reşko (4,170 m.).

Between these two lines is situated what is called the Armenian plateau, whose altitude comes down no lower than 1,500 to 1,000 m. Furthermore, some parallel chains on the northern border maintain quite a high level, such as the Çakmak Mountains and, to the south of Erzurum, the volcanic system of Palendöken Dağı (3,124 m.), to the south of which the combination of Mounts Bingöl, Şerafettin and,

further to the west, the heights of Tunceli, constitute this natural fortress of Dersim. In this mass of crystalline rocks the Euphrates has hollowed out deep canyons, and the mountains with steep slopes clothe these inaccessible sites in fantastic shapes. But beautiful fertile plains extend to the north of Malatya (915 m.) to the south-east of Elaziğ (1,020 m.) and to the north of Muş (1,500 m.). All along this Anatolian scar frequent tremors shake the region and claim numerous victims. We may recall the earthquakes of Erzincan in 1939 which killed 25,000 and those, less murderous meanwhile, of Varto in 1966 and Bingöl and Genc in 1971.

To the south of the curve of the Taurus spread the vast flat regions of Adiyaman, Urfa (550 m.) and Diyarbakir (650 m.) which descend abruptly towards Mesopotamia with contours of 3,000 metres, always allowing for certain land movements, such as the volcanic cone of Karacadağ (1,915 m.) and the chain of Ṭūr ʿĀbidīn, which extends from Mardin (1,130 m.) and meets on the east with the much higher massifs of Herakol (2,943 m.) and Mount Cudi (2,089 m. [see DJŪDĪ]).

To the extreme east and more to the north is the supporting point for the Great Ararat or Ağrı Dağ (5,165 m.) and the Small Ararat (3,925 m.) perhaps considered as the pivot of a new system of mountains. Indeed, from this centre seem to radiate several points which, on one side, encircle Lake Van, with to the north the chain of the immense sulphur-spring which is the Tendurek (3,313 m.) and that of the Ala Dağ (3,255 m.); to the east, the Kuh Dağ (2,850 m.), the Mengene (3,610 m.) and the Ispiriz Dağ (3,537 m.) and to the south the Vaviran Dağ (3,550 m.) and the chain of Satak. Let us note, apart from the two Ararats whose structure is due to very ancient volcanic eruptions, two famous volcanoes on the shores of Lake Van: to the north, the Sipan (about 4,434 m.) and especially Mount Nemrut (Nimrūd), whose highest peak has an altitude of 3,140 m. and whose crater has a diameter of 6,400 m. with an interior lake of fresh water at a height of 2,552 m. All this region to the south of Lake Van, which is itself at an altitude of 1,720 m., is in its entirety the highest part of the Kurdish-inhabited area of Turkey.

Elsewhere, other chains of mountains are connected with Ararat; these are clearly oriented north-south, lying between Lake Van and that of Urmia and also separating Turkish Kurdistān from its Iranian part. After having rejoined the almost inaccessible node of the Harki-Oramar country, they slant towards the south-west and also form this *chaîne magistrale* of the Zagros which, in a set of parallel lines, makes up for a good part, the portions of Kurdistān, the eastern faces being situated in Iran and the western faces in ʿIrāḳ. As C. J. Edmonds remarks, it is not always easy to give a name known by all to designate the different chains, for their names vary with the informants, according to whom they are situated on such-or-such a slope, or close to a better-known peak, pass, village or the tomb of a famous saint.

We have, in Iran, some chains which lie, oriented north-west to south-east, with multiple ramifications and parallel series. Let us note in passing some of the highest summits: the Dalenpar (3,748 m.) at the intersection of the three frontiers: Turkish, ʿIrāḳī and Iranian; the Spiraz, the Ḳandīl or Kogiz (3,782 m.) the Galala (3,364 m.), further to the east the Čehel Če<u>sh</u>me ("at the forty springs") (3,416 m.) a real rampart of water of Iranian Kurdistān, and further to the south, the chain of Hawramān (3,216 m.) and that of Cilo, whose average height is 3,500 m., up to the mountains of Luristān and the Pu<u>sh</u>t-i Kūh.

On the ʿIrāḳī side, to the south of the Turkish frontier, in the extension of the chains of the Cudi Dağ, Seman Dağ and Cilo Dağ, but at the same time in a graduated descent towards the Mesopotamian plains, between the Tigris and the Great Zāb, are the Bē<u>kh</u>ayr, Metina and Gara chains and, approaching the Iranian frontier, beyond the Zāb, Mounts Ser-i Korawa (3,603 m.), Dolare<u>sh</u> (3,449 m.), and <u>Kh</u>u-warabtē (3,168 m.). In this region of Bradost, if the frontier chains are still high, e.g. Mount Halgurd (4,013 m.), they tend to become lower as they approach the plains. Also, Mount Handrīn to the south-east of Rawāndiz [*q.v.*] is no more than 2,793 metres. As soon as one crosses the Little Zāb, the chains stretch out in parallels from the dorsal column of the Zagros. The line Kurakad<u>j</u>aw-Go<u>dj</u>ar-Kurkur-Asis includes further numerous peaks between 2,950 and 1,960 metres high. A second line Azmir-Ḳarasird is yet lower, between 1,870 and 1,608 m. high, with however, to the north-west of Sulaymāniyya, the remarkable ridged upthrust of the Pira Magrun (3,183 m.). A last parallel chain Bingird-Beranan is still several hundreds of metres lower (between 1,739 and 1,477 m.). Further to the west, the long chain of the Kara Dağ, from 1,378 to 2,017 metres, with multiple passes, henceforth separates the high country from the plains which now extend without an obstacle towards Altun Köprü, Kirkūk and Ṭawḳ, to be bordered and limited further to the west by the Ḥamrīn Mts. (1,640 m.) which, oriented transversely south-east to north-west, traverse the Diyāla, the Sirwān and finally the Tigris, quite near to where the Little Zāb flows out.

Let us further note, although the new administrative division of ʿIrāḳ leaves it outside Kurdistān, the <u>Dj</u>abal Sin<u>dj</u>ār, where the Yazīdīs, who are themselves really Kurds, live. This chain, 60 km. in length and 15 km. in width and lying at an altitude of approximately 1,600 m., is situated in Mesopotamia to the west of Mosul and at the same latitude.

If Kurdistān is a country of very uneven relief, it is no less generously watered by numbers of clear springs and many watercourses and actual rivers.

Let us first note the Araxes or Aras whose source is clearly in Kurdistān in the plateau of Bingöl, with a thousand lakes, between the Tigris and Euphrates, but in contrast to these two rivers which are directed towards the south-west, it flows first towards the north, bends towards the east and passes into Soviet Armenia.

The two great Biblical rivers traverse Kurdistān in particular. The Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT] is formed by two principal branches which enclose a vast Kurdish region. The northern branch, the Kara Su (450 km. long) is made up at its source of numerous springs which come from the Dümlü Dağ; then it flows in the plain of Erzurum where it receives the springs which rise in the Çoruh Dağ, directs itself westward in narrow gorges, waters Erzincan, slants towards the south and follows a capricious course which snakes in every sense. It waters Kemah, passes by Kemaliye, and runs into mountains on all sides which block its passage, to rejoin a little to the south of the Eğil the southern branch or Murat Su (659 km. long). This last has its source to the noth of Lake Van, at the foot of the volcanic Mounts Ala Dağ and Tendürek; the Murat Su climbs up again a little to the north, passes by Diyadin and Karaköse, turns off again to the south and waters Tutak and Malazgirt.

Then, always following its sinuous course, it passes to the north of Muş, waters Genc, Palu and Pertek, finally joining the northern branch to the north of Keban. Thereafter the two branches form the Euphrates properly so-called. Although the only important tributary on the right bank of the Kara Su is the Tohma Su (194 km. long), which flows into it to the north of Malatya and then runs outside Kurdistān, the Murat Su has numerous tributaries which, like the Peri Su (235 km. long), with their subtributaries, literally criss-cross Kurdistan; no area is very far from a watercourse.

The Tigris [see DIDJLA], the other great river of the region (1,718 km. long), waters Kurdistān in its upper course. It has its source in the region of Lake Hazar to the north of the Maden Mts., waters for 300 km. of Turkish Kurdistān the towns famous in Kurdish history, sc. Ergani, Diyarbakir, Hasankeyf and Cizre/Djazīra. There are numerous tributaries, all on the left bank: Anbar, Batman, Gurza and especially Botan (226 km.), fertilise the land. It passes the ʿIrāḳī frontier at Pēsh Khābūr, where its tributary the Khābūr [*q.v.*] joins it, and whose sub-tributary the Hazil waters Zakho. There then develops a complete network of beautiful streams, all tributaries of the Tigris and which are actual rivers. First of all the Great Zāb (392 km. long), which rises in Turkey in Mergene Dağı between Lakes Van and Riḍāʾiyya. It waters Culamerik/Djulamarg, then in ʿIrāḳ the regions of Zibar and Barzan and, by one of its offshoots, the highly picturesque town of Rawāndiz. It joins the Tigris 45 km. south of Mawṣil. The Little Zāb (400 km. long) has its source in Iran, near Lāhīdjān, a land of lakes. Its tributaries are numerous in Persia as well as in ʿIrāḳ. After having watered Taktak and Altun Köprü, it joins the Tigris. On its lower course, at Dukan, an enormous dam was completed in 1958 with a capacity of 7 billion m³ of water, which stretches over 50 km.² Its aim is firstly to regulate the flow of the Tigris, subject to catastrophic floods, but also to irrigate about 250,000 hectares. A hydro-electric plant with a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts is of importance in the region of Čamčamāl and will give the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāḳ self-sufficiency in energy. The ʿAdhaym (230 km. long) rising in the locality of Bazyan, with its various ramifications, waters Kirkūk, Daḳūḳ Tuz and Khurmatu, and traverses the Ḥamrīn Mts., hurling itself into the Tigris 30 km. south of Baghdād. Finally, there is the Diyāla (386 km. long) which rises in the mountains of the ʿIrāḳī-Iranian frontier; its principal source in ʿIrāḳ is the Tandjaru which waters the plain of Shahrazūr, and in Iran the Sirwān rising in Luristān. After Derbend-i Khān, where a great dam has been constructed which is intended to serve for irrigation in ʿIrāḳ, these two branches constitute the Diyāla, which flows into the Tigris south of Baghdad.

Iranian Kurdistān is also traversed by numerous streams of which several rise in the Čihil Česhme, a great massif of 2,085 m. height in the Mukri country. Let us note only the Ḳîzîl Uzun, whose various ramifications water all the Ardalān counry, not to mention the Djagatu (240 km.) and the Tatahu which both flow into Lake Riḍāʾiyya.

As with the mountains, the streams which run through Kurdistān may change their names according to the region traversed. Many watercourses, moreover, take their name very simply from the principal locality that they traverse.

There are also several lakes in Kurdistān, of which the largest is Lake Van. Situated at an altitude of 1,700 m., it has an area of 3,700 km.² Its salt waters are due to a volcanic barrier which deposits on its banks carbonate and soda sulphate. Only one kind of fish is caught there, a sort of large bleak with changing colours. To the north of Lake Van is Lake Nazik and to the north-east of Van is Lake Ercek. Further to the north is Lake Balik lying to the east of Karaköse. At the sources of the Tigris to the north-west of Maden is the Hazar Gölü, quite deep and with an area of about 50 km.² Its waters are salt and eels are caught there. In Iran one may cite Lake Urmia with a Kurdish population bordering it. It is larger than Lake Van (5,700 km.²), 130 km. long and 40 km. wide in places; it is more salt than the Dead Sea, and no fish can live there. Not far from there and to the south are two small lakes, the Shor Göl and the Daryāče-i Kopi. At the ʿIrāḳī frontier to the west of Mari Van and south-east of Pendjwin is Lake Zrêbar. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān there are no lakes at all.

Because of its altitude, the climate of Kurdistān is harsh. Snow covers the high summits for many months of the year. Precipitation is variable according to the regions. In the plains, rainfall varies between 200 and 400 mm. a year, although it may reach between 700 and 2,000 and even 3,000 mm. on the plateaux between the different chains of mountains. But in the valleys of central Kurdistān, the climate is continental and even arid, and there are sometimes several months without a drop of water.

The temperature also undergoes quite large variations. At Karaköse in the north it may fall to —30°-35°C. in winter and rise in the south in summer to +35°-40°C. at Kirmānshāh (Ghassemlou, 15). In Iranian Kurdistān, where a dry continental climate rules, the range may vary between —22°C. and +32°C. In general, the eastern slopes of the Zagros are more favoured than the western slopes. At Senna we have —15° in January and +35° in July; at Khāniḳīn, +2° in January and +41.8° in July; at Kirkūk, + 14.5° and +43°C. Further to the west, we find, in January and July respectively, at Malatya —1°, 5° and +26.5°; at Urfa, +4.5° and +32°, at Diyarbakir +2.5° and +31°; and at Van, —3.5° and +22.5°.

2. *The living landscape and habitat*

Harsh as Kurdistān may be, it is far from being a desert; its mountains are covered with pasture and vegetation, and its valleys with forests and meadows which, in spring, are dotted with multicoloured flowers. There are also 10 million hectares of forests in Turkish Kurdistān, 4 million in Iran and 1,720,000 in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, of which 50 km.² are firs. The oak, of which more than 15 kinds can be counted, is the most widespread species up to an altitude of 2,700 m.; then there are the firs and other conifers. Moreover, the forests are not always very dense and often have the appearance of scrub with many stands of junipers. The plane tree, willow and especially the poplar, flourish by the waters.

In the mountains, high mountain-pastures stretch over many kilometres and provide pasturage for herds of goats and sheep. In places, edible wild plants grow, sought after by shepherds and simple folk for their medicinal properties and carefully collected by old women. In spring, flowers cover in abundance the smallest corner of earth, whose richness of colours literally stupefies and whose perfumes intoxicate the passersby. All this flora is familiar to us, for the species of Europe are found there and travellers do not fail to record the names (see e.g. C. J. Rich, i, 284; Bishop, i, 290-1, 343, ii, 12, 14, 115;

Lynch, i, 181, 190-1, ii, 208, 248, 253, 268, 269, 303, 362, 369, 239, 241, 242, 382; Freya Stark, 257, 273, 330; Hamilton, 141-3; Balsan, *passim*, etc.).

Only a part of the arable Kurdish lands is covered by cultivation and crops. If, in Turkey, there are 25 million hectares of cultivable lands, only 30% are cultivated, of which one-third lies fallow each year (Esenkova, 108). In Iranian Kurdistān, out of 5 million hectares of cultivable lands, 24% are cultivated and 16% lie fallow (Ghassemlou, 90). In the various districts of ʿIrāķī Kurdistān, of an arable area of about 8 million hectares, one-quarter is cultivated (Khosbak, 43). Despite this, the cultivation of cerals in Kurdistan plays a good part in the economy of the respective countries: 15% in Turkey; 35% in Iran; in ʿIrāķ, 50% for corn and 15% for barley (Ghassemlou, 89, n. 6). Les us add here the cultivation of rice, which supplies ʿIrāķ with one-third of its production. Apart from this cultivation of foodstuffs, cotton and the newly-introduced sugar-beet give a good yield. The best tobacco of Turkey and ʿIrāķ is cultivated in Kurdistān which, for ʿIrāķ, supplies almost all of its needs (Khosbak, 45; Durra, 1963, 226, 1966, 245). If the vine grows a little everywhere in Turkey, ʿIrāķ and Iran, it only flourishes in Kurdistān on sunny slopes; there are 12 million stands in ʿIrāķ (Vernier, 468) and the kinds of grapes are numerous and varied (see the names in *Hawar*, no. 34, 8; Wahby, *Dictionnaire*, 148). Some are reserved for the preparation of raisins used so much for food. Fruit trees also abound in Kurdistān: pomegranates, peaches, apples, figs, apricots and centenarian walnuts. Market-gardens are developed around the villages and even in the mountains where the Kurd, an ingenious gardener, constructs terraces supported by small walls in order not to lose any parcel of arable land. Of the vegetables in general use in the west, the onion, for example, so much appreciated by all the Kurds, is especially cultivated, and certain vegetables such as watermelons, cucumbers, melons, aubergines, corn on the cob, capsicums, etc., without forgetting the lettuce, held in abhorrence by the Yazīdīs.

Wild animals are far from having disappeared in Kurdistān. There were still lions at the beginning of the 19th century; if they no longer exist, the *piling*, a kind of leopard, survives. Bears are plentiful in Nebirnao to the south of Van, where they have "a table served from June to September" (Balsan, 229); the wild boar also abounds at Bingöl (1,200 shot in 3 months in 1939 (*ibid.*, 90-1), and 55 killed in a single round-up in 1963 at Barzan. Wolves, jackals, foxes and hyenas often approach the villages. But there are other animals called wild which are neither carnivores nor predators, but which are hunted either for their meat, such as the ibexes, or for pleasure, such as hares and rabbits. One also finds porcupines, which are edible according to the Christians of the region, agile squirrels, and martens and sables sought for their fur. So it is not surprising that the Kurd is a born hunter. Birds are also plentiful. The high mountains shelter the majestic eagles; streams and watering places attract ducks, teal and snipe. In 1972, 500,000 spent the winter on Lake Riḍāʾiyya, nourishing themselves there on the small crustaceans which abound there, and at the same time Lake Van housed numerous colonies of pelicans (J. Vieillard, in *Le Monde*, 13 January 1973). Nightingales, storks and cranes are also found in the Kurdish countryside, as much as in the songs of Kurdistān. Doves and pigeons frequent in thousands the innumerable grottoes and caves of the mountains. Partridges and quails are choice game. Fish abound in the streams of fresh and crystalline waters. But it is not always easy to identify them and give them a name. A large fish is caught in the Zāb, called by the Christians "Tobias's fish", which is two metres long and whose flesh is excellent. One may see a photograph of it in Hamilton (between pp. 32-3). Apart from these pleasanter creatures, one must beware of the snakes, small but venomous, such as vipers, and of the yellow or black scorpions whose sting can be deadly, especially for the very young, although the numerous lizards, geckoes or varans and the chameleons are harmless, as are the tortoises. But in spring, flies, mosquitos and fleas are dreadful and constitute a real plague. The bee also stings, but produces a very tasty wild honey.

Apart from these creatures, who live wild, there are in Kurdistān many animals which have been domesticated and have been raised for profit since the earliest antiquity (cf. Ch. A. Reed, *Animal domestication in the Prehistoric Near East*, in R. J. Braidwood, B. Hove, etc. *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Chicago 1960, 119-45). Indeed, Kurdistān is a land of stock-breeding: sheep, goats, cows and buffaloes supply milk, butter, cheese and meat, skins, fleeces, guts, horns etc. of which the leather and wool serve to make clothes, shoes, felts, etc. and provide an obvious economic yield. In 1957, in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, there were 7,662,332 sheep; 4,176,016 goats, one-quarter of all Turkish stock-breeding, and 2,240,825 cows, one-sixth. There are also many buffaloes (Balsan, 128). In the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāķ there are 1,674,912 sheep or two-thirds of the ʿIrāķī breeding stock, 2,234,238 goats (two-thirds), 226,858 cows (one-third) and 4,287 buffaloes (one tenth). Apart from the large-scale breeding of the nomads (half the production in Iran; Stauffer, 291), each household has its small herd of a few animals, sheep or goats, four to eight (*ibid.*, 290). The Kurdish villages of ʿIrāķ studied by Barth (19) are richer. Each house also possesses a few chickens. There are different breeds of sheep with fat tails and goats with long hair, carefully watched by shepherds expert in their craft. Other animals indispensable in everyday life are also reared. Among the Kurds of ʿIrāķ are found 22,289 horses (one-seventh), 52,336 mules, almost the whole production, 130,804 donkeys (one-third; Khosbak, 52). Also, let us not forget the Kurdish sheepdogs, a strong, imposing and redoubtable breed (Balsan, 236). Naturally, no pigs or rabbits [see ARNAB in Suppl.] are reared in Kurdistān.

The interior of the soil in Kurdistān is no less rich in minerals than its surface in vegetation and animals. But until now, its resources have been very little exploited. Quite abundant supplies of coal have been discovered in the region of Maden, Kiği, Kemah and Harput, where it has been exploited (several thousand metric tons in 1970), but not at Zak͟ho in ʿIrāķī Kurdistān. Near Sulaymānī limestone is extracted and, at Sar Çinar, a cement works has been producing since 1958, 350 metric tons of cement a day. Deposits of rock-salt can be exploited at Sind͟jār, S͟hayk͟hān and Tuz-K͟hurmatu. Sulphur is found in the province of Senna, at ʿAmādiyya, and a Polish group plan to extract 250,000 metric tons of it a year at Mis͟hrak in the north of ʿIrāķī Kurdistān. Iron is not lacking in Kurdistān, and is mined (1,600,000 tonnes in 1960 at Maden). But very rich, easily exploitable deposits of iron ore are found in the region of Rawāndiz and Sulaymānī. Copper exploited (32,000 t.) at Erganī,

Diyarbakir and Palu, is also to be encountered in the region of ʿAkra. Chromium is found in the region of Barzan and at Diyarbakir, where it is extracted (270,000 t. annually). There is lead at Keban, Elaziğ and Maku, gold at Yergü and to the south of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh, and also silver at Kemah. At Kirkūk, the reserves of salts allow the manufacture of caustic soda and chloride. But it is petrol which is the chief riches of Kurdistān. The petrol of Kirkūk gushes forth in the midst of Kurdish territory and represents a good part of the ʿIrāḳī production (83 million t. in 1970). The same applies to the petrol of Batman in the Siirt region and the oil-fields of Karaçok in northern Syria. Natural gas is abundant and sulphurless in the region of Čamčamāl.

3. *The human aspect*

This region which the Kurds occupy today has been inhabited since the most ancient antiquity, e.g. Berda Balka, the cave of Hazar Merd of the Mousterian period, not far from Sulaymānī or that of <u>Sh</u>anidar, near Rawāndiz, where the first Palaeolithic human skeleton in ʿIrāḳ was discovered. <u>D</u>jarmo, in the valley of Čamčamāl, may be the most ancient village in the Near East, for it was probably one of the centres where man cultivated for the first time various species of barley and corn, according to excavations of a team of researchers of the University of Chicago (cf. Braidwood, Hove etc., *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*). Today, the Kurd is settled throughout the land and has established numbers of villages there.

Originally, he was content to occupy the innumerable refuges, shelters under rocks and numerous caves, some of which are difficult of access and very picturesque with stalagmites and stalactites (Edmonds, 235), and which sometimes extend deep under the mountain. These caves always serve, on occasion, to shelter the herds, but sometimes peasants are still to be encountered living in them. Numerous legends circulate about some of these caves where treasures are said to be hidden and where the passing of djinn and ifrits is mentioned (Edmonds, 206-7, 246, 332, 368-9; Hamilton, chs. xiv-xv). Certainly, the nomadic Kurds, on the verge of extinction, and the seminomads live under their black tent, which should not be confused with the tent of the Bedouin Arab, the *kibitka* of the Mongols, the *yurt* of the Samoyeds and the *kote* of the Lapps (cf. C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 81-6; Bishop, i, 373; Lescot, 144-5; and <u>KH</u>AYMA). It is formed from a great awning made of woven strips of goats' hair 50 × 60 cm. wide. The poles which hold it up are 2.50 by 3 m. in height; their number varies according to the size of the tent, i.e. according to the importance of its owner. There are no ridge poles. Reed partitions separate the corner of the women and provisions from the part of the tent where the men and visitors stay. All the furniture consists of a few mats, cushions and some carpets in the chiefs' tents. But the Kurdish peasant lives in rough houses. The construction materials are ordinarily unfired bricks in the plains, but fired ones at Sulaymānī, for example, or rough stones, in the mountains joined together with mud. The walls are 2 by 2.50 m. high. In the rough stone walls are sometimes inserted poorly-hewn beams to make them stronger. Inside, niches are arranged in the walls to serve as cupboards.

The walls are roughcast with mud and sometimes whitened with lime. The door is of massive wood. There is no window on the exterior, but these exist looking out on the courtyard, with protective bars. Simple little lanterns light the place, when the door cannot be left open. The floor is of beaten earth. In the centre the hearth (*tendur*) is covered in winter by the *kursī*, a kind of wooden bench with a covering on which all the family warm themselves in the coldest regions. A hole in the roof serves as a chimney. Along the walls runs a broad bank of earth where people sit during the day and where they sleep at night on mats, felts or mattresses. The terrace is made of poplar trunks spaced 50 cm. apart and covered with branches, leaves and dried grass and a thick bed of hard-pressed earth. If the room is too wide (more than 3 m.), poles hold up the beams and roof battens. For the water to run off, the terrace extends beyond the retaining walls or gutters for a metre, e.g. at Sulaymānī, facilitating the running off of rainwater. In any case, a roller is always to be found on the terrace in order to press it down after downpours. One climbs up by a ladder or outside staircase. The house of the plain, where there is space, has a courtyard and a building principally composed of a rectangular living room, lengthened by a corner reserved for the animals. A solid annexe building serves as a kitchen and store for household utensils, tools and work implements. There is no cellar or attic, often not even latrines. In the mountain houses the stable is often in the courtyard, as are the annexes. The living room is situated above with, at the bottom, a small corner for the provisions. Often there is also a small veranda or loggia facing south. The terrace is the favourite place for the women, who perform their many daily occupations there. (For descriptions, plans, photos or drawings of different Kurdish dwellings, see: in <u>D</u>jazīra, R. Montagne, 53-66; at Sin<u>dj</u>ār, R. Lescot, 146-7; at Sulaymānī, Edmonds, 90-3; again at Sulaymānī and at the village of Topzaya and Belkha, H. H. Hansen, 21-43; and in Iranian Kurdistān, Bishop, i, 88, ii, 191, M. Mokri, 89-91. See also Leach, 49; T. F. Aristova, 95, 97, 99 for Transcaucasia.) Naturally, man does not live isolated in his house, but in a group. Villages have grown up, and the Kurd, a man of the earth, lives more in the village than in the towns. Like all villages in the world, and especially those in mountainous countries, the position is chosen in relation to the sun and to water, a stream or spring. So it must be oriented to be at once well-exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, following the axis of the mountain chains. Exposure to the north is avoided. The south, the direction of Mecca (Mokri, 81), is preferred to the east. The importance of the village depends on their proximity to places of passage (mountain passes and bridges) and also on sufficient cultivable lands and pasturages. Many villages are built on a slope, the roof of the higher houses forming a terrace for the houses below, and this occurs in all the regions of Kurdistān, e.g. at ʿAkra, Barzin<u>dj</u>a and <u>Sh</u>ār-i Hawramān. It is not rare to sight on a neighbouring peak some ruins of an old castle, a trace of the past glory of a local magnate vanished for centuries. Such as it is, the Kurdish village has a rather pleasing and sympathetic appearance, precisely because of the water, gardens and trees.

The Kurdish villages are closer to one another or more dispersed, according to whether the region is more or less exposed to hazards. In the whole of the 17 provinces of Turkey with all or a high proportion of Kurdish population, according to the official census of 1960, 8,817 villages were counted, of which 395 had less than 100 inhabitants, 513 from 101 to 500, 1891 from 501 to 1000, 372 from 1,001 to 2,000 and only 39 with more than 2,000 inhabitants.

Three provinces of Muş, Hakâri and Van can be taken as criteria for appreciation:

	Area in km²	Inhabitants	Density in km	Number of cantons	Number of villages
Muş	8,195	167,638	20	15	368
Hakâri	9,532	67,766	7	12	133
Van	18,619	211,034	11	21	557

Thus the villages are more or less dispersed. They are also unequally populated, as the table below shows:

Inhabitants	less than 100	101-500	500-1000	1000-2000	+2000
Muş	9	280	64	14	1
Hakâri	5	84	40	5	0
Van	39	456	51	11	0

This average of small villages from 500 to 300 inhabitants is found in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the region of Rawāndiz (Barth, ii) and in other regions; 300 inhabitants is also the average of the Kurdish villages of Iran.

Altitude is also a very important factor in the establishment of the Kurdish village. By examining the snow contours on Hütteroth's map, e.g. to the south of Lake Van in the region of Hakâri precisely, it may be ascertained that the villages are relatively very numerous between 1,000 m. and 1,500 m., quite numerous between 1,500 and 2,000 m., rare between 2,000 and 2,500 m. and that they disappear altogether above 2,500 m., apart from pasturing camps or *zozān*. Some agreable summer dwellings are found in the middle altitudes. Thus in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the province of Duhok, we have Zawitha, at 1,422 m. in the midst of vast fir woods, Suwaretuka, at 1,675 m. among cypresses and maples, Sersing, at 1,046 m. with gushing springs, Sulav, at 1,150 m., and its waterfalls, Ser ʿAmādiyya, at 1,905 m; in the province of Sulaymāni: Ser Činar, with great plane trees, as its name indicates; in the province of Arbil, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, at 1,090 m., Shaḳlawa, at 565 m. with luxuriant orchards at the foot of Saffin, Gali ʿAlī Bag, at the same altitude with a great waterfall, and especially Ḥādjdjī ʿUmrān, at 1,780 m., very fresh in summer and a ski resort in winter. In the province of Hakâri, the high peaks of Cilo Dağ, which are between 3,500 and 4,000 m., have for some time attracted foreign mountaineers (cf. B. Amy, *La montagne des autres. Alpinisme en pays kurde*, 1972, with maps, photos and bibliographies of the last expeditions).

The smaller the village, the more its comfort is reduced. This is the case also in Turkish Kurdistān, where more than half of the villages do not have drinking water, a mill, a school, a *čāyāna* (or cafe) or a special house for guests. The lighting there is primitive, the hygiene deficient. The wells are near the latrines when these last exist. In winter, in view of the lack of means of communication, hundreds of villages are isolated from the rest of the world (E. Esenkova, 55-7). It is the same in the Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ, where electricity and running water only exist in 22 of them among the hundreds that are to be counted in the provinces of Sulaymānī, Arbil, Kirkūk (Khosbak, 56-7). For a population estimated at 8,766,000 in 1962, in 1970 for the whole of ʿIrāḳ there were only 150 hospitals, 987 dispensaries and 18,256 beds with 2,890 doctors and 1,771 nurses (Ministry of Information, *L'Irak va de l'avant*). The same situation applies in Turkish Kurdistān. In 1967, there were 12,275 doctors in Turkey, but only 2,500 for the whole of Anatolia, with a total of 60,196 beds, of which nearly half were for the towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir alone. Malaria affects especially the Kurdish provinces of Diyarbakir, Siirt, and Hakâri (E. Esenkova, 87-8). In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, malaria, which was the cause of a quarter of the mortality in ʿIrāḳ (Dr. A. Ghalib, *Malaria and malaria in Iraq*, Baghdād 1944) has been practically eliminated since the campaign of the WHO in 1954-6 (cf. J. Manevy, *Il est quatre heures docteur Malaria*, in *Réalités*, no. 122, March 1956, 48-55). In Iranian Kurdistān, there are only 250 to 300 hospital beds = 1 for 10,000 persons (Ghassemlou, 32).

To move from one village to another, to enter into more or less intimate social relations of family, friendship, tribe or commerce, the Kurd follows either the paths or tracks which link the villages or else the larger motor roads of commercial or strategic value which have been constructed by the interested governments. In the mountains, the mule tracks of tenfollow either the stream which runs at the bottom of the valley, passing from one side to the other or the flank of the mountain, often precipitous and hazardous. They rise steeply to reach the mountain passes, at times quite high, e.g. in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, Paykuli, 1,000 m. and Sagirma, 1,700 m. To cross the streams, one fords them or uses trail-bridges or *keleks* [*q.v.*] at a fixed point, where the river is wider and the current less swift, or bridges. The Kurdish bridges are still rudimentary today and sometimes dangerous, being made of ropes and lianas (Layard, 1970, 166; Bishop, ii, 114) or else of tree trunks (Wigram, 288; Hamilton, 96). On the more important roads, the ancient bridges are of stone, hump-backed with one or several arches. Today, some modern iron bridges replace at many points these primitive bridges which are often, in any case, no more than foot bridges (Hamilton, 192). Many legends are attached to these ancient bridges (Edmonds, 201, 212, 247). In the plains, especially in Turkish Kurdistān, there are still many simple earth tracks only usable in the good season. But some modern metalled, tarred and macadamised roads have also been built. The roads through the mountains are often real works of art.

ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān is now furrowed with numbers of fine roads which facilitate human relations. In ʿIrāḳ, some roads or good tracks link Mawṣil to Zakho, ʿAmādiyya, Arbil and ʿAkra. From Arbil one goes to Harīr and Rawāndiz and also to Kirkūk and then Sulaymānī. In Turkey, one road goes from Malatya to Elaziğ, Tunceli, Erzincan, Askala, Erzurum, and Kars. From Elaziğ a branch goes off tor Bingöl, Muş and Tatvan, and another towards Diyarbakir, Mardin and Nüseybin. From Diyarbakir, one may branch off for Silvan and Siirt, or Silvan in the direction of Bitlis, Tatvan and Van, by the road or by steamer on the lake.

Few railways cross Kurdistān. In Turkey one may pick out the line Erzincan-Erzurum-Kars, towards Armenia; the line Malatya-Elaziğ-Genı-Muş-Tatvan-Van by ferry in the direction of Tabriz; and the line Malatya-Sivrece-Maden-Erganı-Diyarbakir-Batman, towards Siirt. The Orient Express from Istanbul goes to Aleppo, skirts the Kurdish populations of the Turko-Syrian frontier, and reaches Mawṣil and Baghdād. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, a single narrow-

gauge railway goes from Baghdād to Kirkūk (320 km.).

Several military routes fan out from the airports situated in Kurdistān. The most important are in Turkey: Erzurum, Kars, Karaköse (Ağrı), Elaziğ, Malatya, Van and Diyarbakir; in ʿIrāḳ: Mawṣil, Kirkūk, Semel, Ser ʿAmādiyya and Bamerni; in north Syria: Kamishlī; in Iran, Sanandadj, Kirmānshāh and Riḍāʾiyya.

E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistān. Situated as it is at the crossroads of populations as different as the Turkish, Persian, Caucasian and Arab peoples and in very intimate relations with most of them, does the Kurdish people possess characteristics such that it may be distinguished very clearly from the others? The question can legitimately be posed, and many scholars have tried to distinguish the anthropological aspects which would allow this process of discrimination. It is evidently not a matter of searching for a Kurdish race, since this notion of race can scarcely be applied to humans, although some important genetic differences are ascertainable between more or less homogenous populations possessing such-or-such characteristic blood-group (Ruffié, 1972). Anthropological researches on the Kurds began more than a century ago with E. Duhousset (1863) and N. V. Khanikoff (1866). They have been carried out in all the regions of Kurdistān.

In Iran, first of all by the authors cited, then by M. Houssay (1887); in Transcaucasia by E. Chantre (1880, 1890) and Pantukhoff (1891); in Turkey in the valleys between the Euphrates and the Tigris (G. Pisson, 1892), to the south of the Black Sea at Karakus, at Nemrut Dağ, to the west of Lake Van, and at Zencirli (von Luschan, 1922); in Syria, at Damascus (Ariëns Kappers, 1931). The Yazīdīs of the Caucasus were studied by Eliseyev in 1887 and in 1900 by Ivanovski; those of Sindjār and Shaykhān by Field (1934), as well as the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ, of Zakho, Rawāndiz, ʿAkra, Kirkūk and Sulaymānī; these latter studies were not published until 1951 and 1952. All these researches are only in fact sample surveys, given the relatively restricted number of individuals examined (some hundreds or more out of several thousands of inhabitants) and of the really scientific measures obtained. Some travellers have in their turn made certain records and added some typical photographs. Despite all this, and because the observations concerning the Kurds are of different regions, the results obtained do not always coincide perfectly. There has been an attempt to make an anthropological classification of them (A. Bashmakoff). The Western Kurds (von Luschan) have been distinguished from the Eastern and Southern Kurds. The former are of a blond, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic type. The others are of a brown, black-eyed, brachycephalic type. The one group consider themselves of the same race as the Turks (Sekban, Inan) or the Iranians (Modi), the others regard themselves as close to the Arabs or Armenians. Certain photographs of Mark Sykes (321, 342, 373, 424-5, 427, 429) of Lynch (ii, 4-5) or of Soubrier (112, 113, 144, 160, 172) reveal at first sight types among the Kurds: Arab, Jew, Biblical, Nestorian and Turkoman. It is this which H. Field confirms and expresses in a more scientific fashion in the photographs of 162 individuals out of 598 examined, where he personally discovers Armenoid types (48), Balkan (12), Modified Mediterranean (36), Eur-Anatolian (38), pure or mixed Iranian (4), Alpinoid (12), Mongoloid (1) and Negroid (1). The proportions are not exactly the same among the 235 Yazīdīs examined, and the comparison with the Assyrians, the Shammar and Ṣulubba Arabs or the Turkomans also studied by the author is interesting. The resemblances encountered are no doubt to be explained by intermarriage. But this does not prevent E. Duhousset (1863) from recognising in the Kurdish people a rare homogeneity with respect to its type and, for his part, Ariëns Kappers (1931) admits that the Kurds, despite their anthropological differences, constitute a truly distinct race. Thus we can, in summarising the studies of H. Field, present as follows the portrait of the Kurd of ʿIrāḳ: "The Kurd is of medium height (1.66 m.) with a relatively long body and short limbs. The forehead is wide and the head wide and round. The brachycephalics predominate. The height of the face is medium. The nose is quite often convex. The Kurd is more hirsute than the Arab. His hair, rather wavy and pliant, is normally dark brown and the eyes black. But blond hair and blue eyes are also to be encountered, especially in the western regions. The colour of the skin is more clear than that of the Arabs, but less fine than that of the Assyrians. The teeth are normal and well-placed. The musculature is good, as is the health, in general, of those who have been observed" (Th. Bois, 18).

Despite everything, these anthropological researches on the Kurds are too fragmentary and uncertain for us to be able to conclude from them what may be the origin of this people. It is indispensable here to combine the study of the language with that of the history.

Bibliography: Maps. No complete scientific map of Kurdistān exists, The *Carte du Kurdistan* 1/4,000,000, Cairo 1943, aims especially "to give a graphic representation of that which the Kurds occupy in the Middle East"; a *Note* of 12 pp. which accompanies it is intended to explain it and to justify the different data. *Die Kurden, Volke ohne Staat*, 1/1,500,000; ed. Die Aktuelle Landkarte, no. 224, Munich 1966, clear and simplified, does not indicate the relief at all. For Turkey, the old maps of H. Kiepert, 1892, or better *Türkiye*, 1/2,000,000 of Faik Sebri, Istanbul 1948, *La carte de l'Asie orientale* 1/2,000,000 of the Troupes du Levant, Beirut 1939, or that of the War Office and Air Ministry, London 1961-2, 1/1,000,000, sheets NJ37 Erzurum, NJ38 Tabriz and NI38 Baghdad, of series 1301, GSGS, cover the whole of Kurdistān. More or less elaborate maps are often to be found in the different accounts of journeys. So much the more to be appreciated are the precise and detailed maps in the book and many articles of C. J. Edmonds.

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iii. — HISTORY

A. Origins and Pre-Islamic history.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnical elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place. It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistān) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistān, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Ḳardū) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Sumerian inscriptions dating from about 2,000 B.C., Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, 99; vi, 67) found a country *Kar-da-ka* mentioned (in which word the initial is *k* and not *ḳ* and the function of the element *ka* is uncertain). This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf. *ZA*, xxxv, 230 n. 3), which G. R. Driver located south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Sūy in the region of Bidlīs (*Sharafnāma*, i, 146). A thousand years later Tiglath Pileser waged war on the people called Ḳur-ṭi-e in the mountains of Azu, which Driver (in *JRAS* [1923], 400) identifies with the modern Ḥazō (Sāsūn). The reading Ḳur-ṭi-e is not certain, however.

Herodotus in the 5th century B.C. mentions no name like this, but, according to him (iii, 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Πακτυική which Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr.*, Leipzig 1868, p. xviii) and Kiepert (*Alt. Geogr.*, § 81) have connected with the name of Bokhtān (= Bohtān).

The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401-400 B.C.) made famous the name of the Karduchoi (Καρδοῦχοι) whose country lay to the east of the Kentritēs (Bohtān). From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Djūdī [*q.v.*]. In classical authors, the country became Corduene (on the numerous forms of this name, probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic *ḳ*, cf. Driver, *op. cit.*). In Aramaic the district was called Beth-Ḳardū and the present town of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Gazartā of Ḳardū. The Armenians had the name Korduḏh, the Arabs (Balādhurī, 176; Ṭabarī, iii, 610) Baḳardā (Ḳardai). According to Yāḳūt (iv, 56), who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Athīr, the canton of Bāḳardā formed part of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, contained two hundred villages (al-Thamānīn,

Djūdī, Fīrūz-Shābūr) and was situated on the left bank of the Tigris opposite Bāzabdā on the right bank (cf. the full analysis of the texts in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 33-5). Later, the name, which was only applied to the district, disappears from Muslim terminology and is replaced by Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Bohtān, etc. To the Armenians and Arabs the territory of Ḳardū in the strict sense had a very limited application. We do not know the exact frontiers of the province of Corduene; its three towns, Sareisa, Satalka and Pinaka (= Finīk) lay on the Tigris, but the statement of Strabo (ix, 12, 4) is remarkable; according to this, the term Γορδυαῖα ὄρη was sometimes applied to the mountains between the modern Diyārbakr and Mūsh.

Now, who were the Καρδοῦχοι whose name undoubtedly survived in the later names (the termination -χοι must represent the Armenian plural in -*kh*, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the Greeks learned this name from an Armenian)? According to Xenophon (iv, 3, 1), the Karduchoi recognised neither the authority of King Artaxerxes nor that of Armenia. When in the 1st century B.C. Corduene was conquered by Tigranes II, he had its king Zarbienus executed. In 115 A.D. the king of Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 239, and *Armenische Grammatik*, i/2, 518-20, the province of Corduene was only superficially Armenicised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the Karduchoi. The name has Semitic analogies (Akkad., Assyr. *ḳardu*, "strong", "hero", *ḳarādu* "to be strong"); on the other hand, there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people Khaldī, better known under the Assyrian form Urarṭu/Urashṭu, in Hebrew Ararat, among the Greeks Αλαρόδιοι, Χάλδοι and sometimes Χαλδαῖοι. This people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and afterwards established a powerful kingdom in the region of Lake Vān which lasted until the beginning of the 6th century. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mater. z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttingen 1907, 123, sees in them Khaldī immigrants from the west; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i/2, Stuttgart 1913, § 474, seeks their original home on the central Araxes. As a result of the arrival of the Armenians, towards the 7th century, the Khaldī were dispersed and driven towards the mountains (*Cyropaedia*, iii, 1-3). But their name survived in the toponymy of the region north of Lake Van (the Byzantine theme Χαλδία near Trebizond, the town of Khilāṭ = Akhlāṭ, etc.; cf. Belck and Lehmann, in *ZA*, ix [1894], 84; de Goeje, in *ibid.*, x [1895], 100; Streck, in *ibid.*, xiv [1899], 112). Parallels for the name *Khaldi* have been sought on the other side of the Caucasus: the Georgians are called *Kharthveli* or *kharth-ul-i* (in Svanian *khyard*; in Mingrelian, *khort-u*); cf. N. Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, 398.

Whether we identify the Ḳardū as Semites or as an indigenous people, it is certain that the land of the ancient Karduchoi is at the present day one of the principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been concluded that the Karduchoi were identical with the Kurds, and this view was still considered axiomatic at the beginning of the 20th century; cf. *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 464. Going a step further, the Kurds were directly connected with the Χάλδοι; Reiske in his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, B. 13 (713, 11) said "Chaldi et Kordi vel Curti, Gordyaei iidem". A similar opinion is expressed in the title of P. Lerch's work, *Recherches sur les Kurdes iraniens et sur leurs ancêtres, les Chaldéens septentrionaux* (St. Petersburg 1856).

A new turn was given to the problem by the researches of M. Hartmann, Nöldeke and Weissbach, who showed the philological necessity of distinguishing between the stems *Kurd* and *Ḳardū*. These scholars at the same time proposed to recognise the Kurds in the Κύρτιοι, Cyrtii, mentioned by classical writers in Media and Persia (Strabo, xi, 13, 3, and xv, 3, 1). This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence in Fārs of numerous Kurdish tribes in the Sāsānid period (cf. *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān*, tr. Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, 37, 48, and the testimony of Arab writers).

The justifiable distinction between the names *Kurd* and *Ḳardū* does not, however, decide the important question, how the Cyrtii (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient Ḳardū, and the mountains of the Anti-Taurus as far as northern Syria. The problem still requires careful research. In the first place, the Median and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the Asagartiya whose original home was in Sīstān. In the Assyrian period we find these Sagartians in Media (*Zikirtu* or *Zakruti*, cf. Streck, in *ZA*, xiv [1899], 146) and in the time of Darius (Bihistūn inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at Arbela, where Darius had their chief Čitrantakhma executed, whose portrait on the rock of Bīsutūn suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, *The sculptures of Behistan*, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B.C. we find Cyrtii mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (Livy, xlii, 58, 13; xxxvii, 40, 9; Polybius, v, 52, 5; cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa², s.v. *Cyrtii*, and A. J. Reinach, *Les mercenaires de Pergame*, in *Revue Archéologique* [1909], 115-19). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian *Geography* of the 7th century, in the case of the province of Korčēkh (according to Adontz, *Armenia*, 418, Korčēkh is from **kortič-aikh* where *kortič* means "Kurd", as *atrpatič* means "inhabitant of Atropatene"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (4th century) Korčēkh was only a canton near Salmās [*q.v.*]. As a province, Korčēkh stretched from Djūlāmerg to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and included the following cantons: Kordukh, the three Kordrikh (Kordikh), Aituankh, Aigaṛkh, Motholaukh (Otholaukh), Orsiraukh (Orisankh), Karathunikh (Saraponikh), Čahuk and Little Albak (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 93; Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 255-9).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, Kordukh, Kordikh and Tmorikh, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, Kordukh had become a mere canton of Korčēkh and Tmorikh disappeared altogether to the advantage of Kordrikh (Kordikh), of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann *op. cit.*, 385), confines himself to distinguishing between the Kordrikh (Kordikh) of the Κόρτιοι, but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nöldeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 92: "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"). Nöldeke even

distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic Ḳartēwāyē (Arabic Ḳartāwiya?), meaning the true Kurds; cf. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880, 207, n. 1639.

We thus find that about the period of the Arab conquest a single ethnic term *Kurd* (plur. *Akrād*) was beginning to be applied to an amalgamation of Iranian or iranicised tribes. Among the latter, some were autochthonous (the Ḳardū; the Tmorikh/Ṭamurāyē in the district of which Alḳī = Elk was the capital; the Χοθαῖται [= al-Khuwaythiyya] in the canton of Khoyt of Sāsūn, the Orṭāyē [= al-Arṭān] in the bend of the Euphrates); some were Semites (cf. the popular genealogies of the Kurd tribes) and some probably Armenian (it is said that the Mamakān tribe is of Mamikonian origin).

In the 20th century, the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds has been definitely established (the Gūrān-Zāzā groupe). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers has been established (at Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*], at Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.v.*] and at Ḳotūr, where we find remnants of the Küresinli [?] in subjection to the Shakāk). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular etymologies. The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 251) already speaks of their descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk. This legend is best known from the version of the *Shāh-nāma* (Macan, i, 27-8; Mohl, i, 71; Vullers, i, 36, verses 29-38). In 1812 Morier (*Second journey*, 357) mentions the celebration at Damāwand (on 31 August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of Daḥḥāḳ, known as the *ʿAyd-i Kurdī*, "The Kurd festival". On the other hand, the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (*Murūdj*, iii, 253) claimed as their ancestor Rabīʿa b. Nizār b. Maʿadd, others Muḍar b. Nizār, both eponyms of the districts of Diyār Rabīʿa (Mawṣil) and Diyār Muḍar (Raḳḳa). They said that the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the Ghassānids, and, having retired to the mountains, intermingled with strangers and forgot their mother tongue. Of more interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find Kurd b. Mard (cf. οἱ Μαρδοί the neighbours of the Kurds) b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Ḥarb b. Ḥawāzin (Masʿūdī, *ibid.*, and *Tanbīh*, 88-91: Kurd b. Isfandiyādh b. Manūshahr; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 185-7: Kurd b. Mard b. ʿAmr). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact (iranicisation of Semites, intermingling of the tribes of the Zagros and of Fārs).

Nor is there any lack of popular etymologies. The attempt has been made (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) to connect the name with the Arabic root *karrada*; the Kurds would thus be the children of young slaves and the demon Djasad ("driven out" by Solomon). Very frequently (cf. Driver, in *JRAS* [1923], 403) the name *Kurd* is connected with the Persian word *gurd* ("hero"), although this root really had a *g* in Pahlavī and goes back to the root *var* "to protect" (Horn, *Neuper. Etymol.*, 200).

In later times, the names of tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 158, makes all the Kurds (the Badjnawī and Bokhtī tribes) come from Badjan and Bokht; the former of these names may be connected with that of Basn-āw, a tributary of the Tigris (Andreas, in Hartmann, 131), while the second recalls the Πακτυϊκή of Herodotus, or the "dragon-king" (Kurd?) Haftān-Bokht killed by Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 11 According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, Milān and Zilān, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the Zilān were regarded as an inferior race (cf. P. M. Sykes, in *Jnal. R. Anthropological Inst.*, xxxviii [1908], 470).

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B. The Islamic period up to 1920.

We have detailed notices of the Kurds from the time of the Arab conquest onwards. During the five first centuries of the Hidjra, the Kurds frequently played a considerable part in events and often took the initiative in them. Several Kurd dynasties arose at this time. Waves of Turk and Mongol invaders seem to have submerged the Kurds from the 6th to the 10th century A.D. But the period of the wars between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Ṣafawid Shāhs produced a state of affairs in Kurdistān favourable for the growth of a feudal system, of which a faithful

picture is given in the *Sharaf-nāma* (1003/1596). The Turco-Persian frontier became gradually stabilised and the Persians fell back behind the wall of the Zagros and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the 19th century the last Kurdish principalities disappeared in Turkish territory (Hakkārī, Bidlīs, Sulaymāniyya) and in Persia (Ardalān). But the great tribes still exist, and their cadres assure the preservation of the Kurdish element with its social and ethical peculiarities. Ḳādjār Persia hardly ever interfered in the domestic affairs of her Kurdish tribes, while in the late Ottoman period Turkey tried to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds were overwhelmed with favours, and sometimes they had to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the 19th century, and towards the beginning of the 20th century a Kurd movement added one more element to the nationalist agitations within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the First World War of 1914-18 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistān was first mooted by the Western Powers, but the plan was only partially and temporarily realised in so far as the part of the old *wilāyet* of Mawṣil attached to the new state of ʿIrāḳ was concerned.

The Kurds after the Arab conquest. We shall find it useful to begin by collecting the information given by Arab authors regarding the distribution of the Kurd tribes.

The term Kurdistān being unknown before the time of the Saldjūḳs, information regarding the Kurds is usually to be found in the Arab authors under such heads as Zawzān, Khilāṭ, Armīniya, Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Fārs, etc. (cf. Driver, *The dispersion of the Kurds in ancient times*, in *JRAS* [1926], 563-72).

Masʿūdī (about 332/943) and Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) are the first to give systematic information about the Kurds. In the *Murūdj al-dhahab* (iii, 253) Masʿūdī enumerates the following tribes: at Dīnawar and Hamadhān: Shuhdjān; at Kangawar: Mādjurdān; in Ādharbāydjān (so the text should be emended): Hadhbānī and Sarāt (probably Shurāt = Khāridjīs [*q.v.*]; cf. the story of Daysam below); in Djibāl: Shādandjān, Lazba (Lurrī?), Mādandjān, Mazdānakān, Bārisān, Khālī (Djalālī), Djābārḳi, Djāwānī and Mustakān; in Syria: Dabābila etc.; at Mawṣil and Djūdī the Christian Kurds: al-Yaʿḳūbiyya ("Jacobites") and the Djurḳān (Djurughān). To this list, the *Tanbīh* of the same author (88-91) only adds Bāzindjān (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 115), Nashawira, Būdhīkān and Kīkān (at the present day found near Marʿash), but he gives a list of the places where there were Kurds: the *rumūm* (*zumūm*?) of Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjistān, Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 282: a Kurd village in the canton of Asadābād), Iṣfāhān (a section of the Bāzandjān tribe and a flourishing town described as Kurd, Yaʿḳūbī, 275; Iṣṭakhrī, 125), Djibāl, notably Māh Kūfa, Māh Baṣra, Māh Sabadhān (Māsabadhān) and the two Īghārs (i.e. Karadj Abī Dulaf and Burdj), Hamadhān, Shahrizūr, with its dependencies Darābād and Ṣamghān (Zimkān), Ādharbāydjān, Armenia (at Dwīn on the Araxes the Kurds lived in houses built of clay and of stone; Muḳaddasī, 277), Arrān (one of the gates of Bardhaʿa was called Bāb al-Akrād and Ibn Miskawayh says that at the invasion of the Rūs in 332/942 the local governor had Kurds under his command), Baylaḳān, Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), al-Djazīra, Syria and al-Thughūr (i.e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

Iṣṭakhrī, 98, particularly mentions five *rumūm* in Fārs, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *ramm-rumūm* [from Persian *ramm*, "flock", "crowd"] for it is improbable that *zoma* could have given a plural *zumūm*). Each *ramm* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *kharādj* and responsible for public safety. These *rumūm* were: 1. Djilūya, or Rāmidjān, bordered by Iṣfahān and Khūzistān; 2. Lawālidjān, between Shīrāz and the Persian Gulf; Dīwān, in the *kūra* of Sābūr; 4. Kāriyān in the direction of Kirmān; 5. Shāhriyār, alongside of Iṣfāhān also called Bāzandjān after the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of Iṣfāhān. As a supplement to the list of *rumūm*, Iṣṭakhrī, 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*ḥayy*, plur. *aḥyāʾ*) of Fārs, based on the records of the *dīwān al-ṣadaḳāt* and reproduced by Ibn Ḥawḳal, 185-7 and Muḳaddasī, 446: Kirmānī, Rāmānī, Mudaththir, Muḥammad b. Bashar, Baḳīlī (Muḳaddasī: Thaʿlabī), Bundādhmahrī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Sabāḥī, Isḥāḳī, Adharkānī, Shahrakī, Ṭahmādahnī, Zabādī, Shahrawī, Bundādakī, Khusrawī, Zandjī, Ṣafarī, Shahyārī, Mihrakī, Mubārakī, Ishtāmharī, Shāhūnī, Furātī, Salmūnī, Ṣīrī, Āzāddokhtī, Barāzdokhtī, Muṭallābī, Mamālī, Shāhkānī, Kadjtī, Djalīlī, in all 500,000 families living in tents.

The *Fārs-nāma* (*ca.* 500/1107) says (168) that the Kurds of the old large *ramm* of Djilūya, Dhīwān, Lawālidjān, Kāriyān and Bāzandjān, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fārs, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islam, with the exception of a single ʿAlak, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from Iṣfahān to Fārs by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 500,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regrouping among the tribes of Fārs and of their denationalisation. The old *ramm* of Djilūya (Kūh-Gilū) is now inhabited by Lurs; we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest, Iṣṭakhrī's list mentions a tribe al-Lurriya (variant: Lazba?) among the Kurds of Fārs. On the other hand the *Fārs-nāma* distinguishes from the Kurds the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] clans, who had become very powerful in Fārs at the time of the last Būyids. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī speaks of the Shabānkāra under a separate heading, and the *Sharaf-nāma* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans, however (Rāmānī), bears the name of one of the "Kurd" tribes of Iṣṭakhrī. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fārs differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistān (cf. SHŪL and LUR).

The term al-Zawzān, which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistān (*zozān* in Kurdish "summer pasturages"), is not well defined. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 250, the king of al-Zawzān was called al-Dayrānī (= Deranikʿ, Armenian king of Vaspurakān). Muḳaddasī, 137, regards Zawzān as a *nāḥiya* of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar. Later this region, which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population, became extended in area. According to Ibn al-Athīr (in Yāḳūt, ii, 257), al-Zawzān began at two days' journey from Mawṣil and stretched to the borders of Khilāṭ; on the Ādharbāydjān side it extended to Salmās. Many strong places belonged to the Bashnawī and Bokhtī Kurds; the former held Barḳā, Bashīr [and Fanak];

to the latter belonged: Djurdhaḳīl (Gurgīl), the residence of their *malik* Atil (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 117: Nash Atil?), ʿAllūs, Bāz al-ḥamrā. To the lords of Mawṣil (the Zangids) belonged Alḳī (= Elk), Arwakh, Bakhawkha (= Bekūkī in Barwārī), Barkho, Kingawar (?), Nīrwa (east of Akr?) and Khawshab. The text of Yāḳūt is not very certain; in any case, the reference here may be to Kurd strongholds gradually annexed by the Ḥamdānids and the Zangids (see below).

The Kurds under the caliphs and Būyids. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) has preserved traditions from the pre-Islamic period of feuds between the Arab princes of Ghassān [*q.v.*] and the Kurds. The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Takrīt and Ḥulwān in 16/637. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ marched on Mawṣil, where the districts with a Kurd population were occupied (al-Mardj Bā-Nuhadhrā, Bā-ʿAdhrā, Ḥibtūn, Dāsin etc.); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii, 408. The conquest of the region was completed by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm and ʿUtba (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 331). The Baṭrīḳ of al-Zawzān in 19/640 obtained confirmation of his authority on payment of *kharādj* (*Futūḥ* 176). In Susiana in 18/639 the Arabs fought against the Kurds, who had taken up the cause of al-Hurmuzān, Persian governor of Ahwāz (*Kāmil*, ii, 425). In Fārs, likewise, the Kurds supported the Persians in 23/642 at the defence of Fasā and Darābdjird (*ibid.*, iii, 32). ʿUmar had to send several expeditions against the Kurds of Ahwāz (*Futūḥ*, 382, 389; *Kāmil*, iii, 37). On the other hand, in the reign of ʿUmar the Kurds invaded the region of the central Karkhā (Ṣaymara, Māsabadhān), the language of which was still Persian in the time of Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 236). The Arabs had reached Shahrizūr before Islam (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 130), but the final occupation of Shahrizūr, Dārabādh and Ṣamghān in 22/643 was only achieved after bloody fighting (*Futūḥ*, 334; *Kāmil*, iii, 29). In the south, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], governor of Baṣra, had to put down risings of the Kurds at Bērūdh and Balasdjān in 25/645, but the Kurds, forcibly converted to Islām, apostatised en masse (*Kāmil*, ii, 66, 76). Under the caliph ʿAlī, the Kurds, along with the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of al-Khirrīt [*q.v.*] near Ahwāz and in Fārs, but the chief was defeated at Rām-Hurmuz (*ibid.*, iii, 309).

Al-Mukhtār, who had seized Armenia and Ādharbāydjān in the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, appointed in 66/685 a governor at Ḥulwān whose task was to fight the Kurds (*Kāmil*, iv, 187), but the death of al-Mukhtār prevented the plan from being carried out. Under the same caliph the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH] made an alliance in 83/702 with the Kurds of Sābūr in Fārs (*ibid.*, iv, 352). In 90/708 the Kurds ravaged Fārs and were punished by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In 129/746 the Kurds of Sābūr resisted the ally of the Khāridjīs, Sulaymān, who had rebelled against the caliph Marwān II and had besieged Sābūr (*ibid.*, iv, 387, 341; v, 283). The caliph Marwān himself was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 51) whose blue eyes and fair complexion he had inherited (Sir William Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, London 1891, 429).

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, the invasion of Armenia by the Khazars in 147/764 resulted in numerous risings. A few years later the Kurds (*intishār al-Akrād*) are again mentioned in connection with the rising at Mawṣil and its repercussions in Hamadān (*Kāmil*, v, 448; vi, 9). Djaʿfar, son of al-Manṣūr, was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 442).

In the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, a Kurd rebellion is mentioned under 225/839; it broke out in the district of Mawṣil, led by Djaʿfar b. Fahardjis, a scion of a noble Kurd family. Defeated at Bābaghēsh, Djaʿfar took refuge in the mountains of Dāsin, where he defeated the troops of the caliph. A new army commanded by the Turk Aytākh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] put an end to the rebellion (*Kāmil*, vi, 360-1). A Kurd rising broke out in 231/845 in the regions of Iṣfahān, Djibāl and Fārs; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general Waṣīf.

The Kurds of Mawṣil in 252/866 joined the Khāridjī Musāwir, who had seized Mawṣil. In 262/875 they played a considerable part in the Zandjī slave-revolt (cf. Nöldeke, *A servile war in the East*, in *Sketches from eastern history*, Edinburgh-London 1892, 146-75) led by an ʿAlid Khāridjī (?) ʿAlī Muḥammad, called al-Khabīth, and in the rising of Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*]. At Ahwāz, Yaʿḳūb appointed a Kurd lieutenant, Muḥammad ʿUbayd Allāh b. Hazārmard, who, cherishing ambitious plans, engaged in secret negotations with al-Khabīth. With reinforcements sent by the latter, Muḥammad marched on Sūs, but was defeated by Aḥmad b. Laythūya; the latter, also a Kurd and commander of the Kurd levies, had been sent by the caliph to put down Yaʿḳūb's rising (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. de Slane, iv, 304-8). When Aḥmad had departed, Muḥammad, after securing from al-Khabīth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shustar where, according to the arrangement he was to have had the *khutba* read in the name of al-Khabīth, but instead he did it in the names of the caliph al-Muʿtamid and his adversary Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār. His Zandjī allies deserted Muḥammad, and Shustar was reoccupied by Ibn Laythūya. Muḥamnad retired to Rām-Hurmuz, but he was dislodged from it by al-Khabīth's generals. As a result of difficulties with the Dārnān Kurds, Muḥammad again sought the help of al-Khabīth. The latter sent him troops, which Muḥammad sent into battle but suddenly left them in the lurch and attacked them. To avoid a breach with al-Khabīth, Muḥammad agreed to proclaim him caliph. The death of Yaʿḳūb (265/879) and of al-Khabīth (270/883) put an end to these exploits (*Kāmil*, vii, 264).

About 281/894 the Kurds were among the partisans of the Arab Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (cf. ḤAMDĀNIDS) when he established himself in Mawṣil. The Kurd rebellion raised in 284/897 by Abū Laylā did not last long (*ibid.*, vii, 325, 337). In 293/906 the Hadhbānī Kurds led by their chief Muḥammad b. Bilāl laid waste the region of Niniveh. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, the new governor of Mawṣil, pursued them, but suffered a reverse at Maʿṭūba. With reinforcements sent by the caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 Hadhbānī families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to Ādharbāydjān. ʿAbd Allāh returned to Mawṣil and with new troops set out once more against the Hadhbānīs, who had entrenched themselves at Djabal al-Salaḳ (probably Lāhīdjān, cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ). The Hadhbānīs were forced to surrender, and their pacification was followed by that of the Ḥumaydī tribe and of the people of Djabal Dāsin (*ibid.*, vii, 371). In the reign of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, the Kurds plundered the environs of Mawṣil but were punished by the Ḥamdānid government; the Djalālī tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (*ibid.*, viii, 118). Under the year 337/943 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, GMS, vi, 105, speaks of the expedition of the Ḥamdānid Ḥusayn against Ādharbāydjān; on this occasion he

had as an ally Djaʿfar b. Shakkūya, chief of the Hadhbānīs who were settled at Salmās.

About this time, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm appeared on the scene, and his adventurous life is closely associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of Daylamīs. Daysam was a Khāridjī. He seized Ādharbāydjān after Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj and in 327/938 used his Kurds to drive out Lashkārī b. Mardī, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Wushmagīr. But the Musāfirid Marzubān, a noted Shīʿī, succeeded in taking Ādharbāydjān from Daisam and the latter took refuge with his friend Ḥādjīk b. al-Dayrānī (the Armenian king of Vaspurakan Khačik or Gaghik, son of Deranikʿ). Then the people of Tabrīz appealed to Daysam, but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Musāfirids fell back to Ṭārum. In 337/948-9, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who sent a representative to Ādharbāydjān. Marzubān's brother Wahsūdān then thought of Daysam, to whom his Kurds had remained faithful, and sent him against Rukn al-Dawla's representative. Daysam was defeated, but held out in Ardabīl and Bardhaʿa. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daysam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdād, where the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Ādharbāydjān, he went to the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daysam returned to Salmās in 344/955-6, where he had the *khuṭba* read in the name of Sayf al-Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daysam sought refuge with his Armenian friends, Ibn al-Dayrānī (Deranikʿ b. Khačik) had to hand him over to Marzubān, much against his will. Daysam was blinded and died in prison in 345/956-7 (*Tadjārib*, ed. Amedroz, i, 345; ii, 148-51; *Kāmil*, viii, 289, 361, 375-7).

During Marzubān's captivity, in Rayy, several independent governors set themselves up in the northwest of Persia. One of them (about 340/951) was Muḥammad Shaddād b. Ḳarṭū of the Rawwādī tribe, out of which later sprang the great dynasty of the Ayyūbids. The principal fiefs of the Shaddādids were Dabīl and Gandja. The Shaddādids were allies of the Byzantines and of the Saldjūḳs. In 465/1072 Abū Suwār bought Ānī for his young son Manūče. From this time onwards, the dynasty was divided into two branches: that of Gandja and that of Ānī. In 1124, Ānī was taken by the Georgians but between 520/1126 and 557/1161 and again from 1165 to 1174, Ānī was again held by the Shaddādids. The Shaddādids were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles ARRĀN, DWĪN, GANDJA and SHADDĀD; the Armenian bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, i, 363-7; cf. also Barthold in the appendix to his Russian translation of Lane Poole's *Muhammadan dynasties*, St. Petersburg 1899, 294; Barthold, *Pers. nadpis' na ... mečeti Manūče*, Aniyskaya Seriya, No. 5; N. Y. Marr, *Eshče o slove "čelebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120; E. D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan dynasties*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215.

In 349/960 a pretender appeared in Ādharbāydjān He was called Isḥāḳ b. ʿĪsā, and was supported by Faḍl, chief of the Ḳaḥṭānī (?) Kurds, while his asversary, the Musāfirid Djastān b. Marzubān relied on Hadhbānī support. Isḥāḳ was soon disposed of (*Tadjārib*, ii, 179). The Kurds and the Daylamīs also played a considerable part in the quarrels between Djastān and his brother Nāṣir al-Dawla and between Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān and his cousin Ismāʿīl b. Wahsūdān (*Tadjārib*, ii, 219, 229; Kāmil, viii, 420-3).

About 348/959, the second Kurd dynasty arose in al-Djibāl (Zambaur, Manuel, 211) founded by Ḥasanwayh (Ḥasanūya) b. Ḥasan [*q.v.*; cf. also the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 20-3], chief of the Barzīkānī (Barzīnī) tribe, who had assisted the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla on his expedition to Khurasān. Rukn al-Dawla showed great tolerance to the Kurds, and when someone complained to him of their excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (*Tadjārib*, ii, 281). Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 519) praises the noble character of Ḥasanwayh, his prudent policy and the purity of his morals. When Ḥasanwayh died in 369/979, in his capital Sarmādj (south of Bīsutūn), ʿAḍud al-Dawla overran his possessions (Hamadān, Dīnawar, Nihāwand) to bring them under his authority, but in the end he granted investiture to Badr b. Ḥasanwayh (369-405/979-1014), who remained loyal to ʿAḍud al-Dawla and even fought against his own brothers who had taken the side of the rebel Fakhr al-Dawla. The caliph gave Badr the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla*. The historians give an extremely favourable verdict on Badr; he had his tribe educated, distributed taxation fairly and protected the peasants (Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 287-99, 327; Hilāl b. Muḥassin, in *ibid.*, iii, 429, 449-54; ʿUtbī, *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, tr. Reynolds, 424). Badr's successor Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir?) only reigned a year and in 406/1015 was driven out by the Būyid Shams al-Dawla. Ḥasanwayh's uncle Wandād, chief of the ʿAyshiyya section, died in 349/960, his brother Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim died in 350/961, and a little later his son Abū Sālim Daysam, the last of this collateral branch, was dispossessed of his castles (Ḳasān or Ḳasnān [Ḳaslān? near Bābā Yādigār on the Zohāb], Ghānimābād, etc.).

ʿAḍud al-Dawla had to deal with the Kurds on several occasions, but he was much more severe with them than his father Rukn al-Dawla. In 368/978 the Kurd Ibn Bādūya with the help of the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib [*q.v.* in Suppl.] became an independent ruler at Ardamusht (= Kawāshī near Djabal-Djūdī, Yāḳūt, i, 199), but soon allowed himself to be seduced by the promises of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (*Tadjārib*, ii, 392). In 369/979 the latter sent an expedition against the Kurds of Shahrizūr whom he wished to separate from the Banū Shaybān Bedouins, who had business and matrimonial ties with them. The town of Shahrizūr was occupied, and the Arabs went back to the desert (*Tadjārib*, ii, 398; *Kāmil*, viii, 516).

Another expedition was sent in 370/980 against the Hakkārī Kurds, who were besieged and surrendered, relying on a promise that their lives would be spared. But the leader of the expedition crucified them along the side of the road for five *farsakhs* between Maʿalthāyā and Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, viii, 521).

Even in the lifetime of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the Ḥumaydī chief, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Dushandj (or Abū Shudjāʿ Bādh b. Dustāk), known as Bādh, had attained considerable notoriety. At first a shepherd, he gradually rose to be lord of Ardjīsh, Āmid and Mayyāfāriḳīn. A rising in Niṣībīn brought him into conflict with Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. Bādh defeated the latter's forces at Bā-Djulāʾiya (on the Khābūr al-Ḥusayniyya in the canton of Kawāshī = Ardamusht), seized Mawṣil and was planning a march on Baghdād to end Būyid rule when he was defeated by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. He fell back on Mayyāfāriḳīn and, by an arrangement with the captain of the army sent against him, secured possession of Diyārbakr and the western part of Ṭūr

ʿĀbidīn (374/984). Bādh did not relinquish his designs on Mawṣil and in 379/990, having collected a large number of Bashnawī Kurds, encamped under the walls of this town and engaged in negotiations with its inhabitants. But the Ḥamdānid princes, who had just regained possession of their hereditary fief, secured the help of the Banū ʿUḳayl Arabs and attacked the invader. An accident put Bādh *hors de combat* and he was slain. His body was crucified, but the people of Mawṣil obtained his burial with the usual rites because he had fought against the unbelievers (*Kāmil*, ix, 25, 27, 38, 49; Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 83-4, 176-8; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Pococke, 321-3).

In 380-90/990-1000, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla made an attempt to improve his position and with this object, made an alliance with Fūlād b. Mundhir, who was supported by the Kurd cavalry mobilised at Shīrāz. After the failure of the enterprise he sought refuge with the Kurds, but the latter betrayed him and he took refuge with Fakhr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 184; on Ibn Fūlād, see ʿUtbī, *op. cit.*, 424-5).

The Kurd dynasty of the Marwānids (Zambaur, 136; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 53-4) is closely connected with Bādh. After the defeat at Mawṣil, Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, the son of Bādh's sister and his ally, withdrew to Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*q.v.*] where Bādh's Daylamī wife lived. He married her and took one of the strongholds that had belonged to Bādh. He twice took prisoner Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamdānī who had defeated Bādh, but treated him generously. Ibn Marwān established himself in Diyārbakr and by his conciliatory attitude won the sympathy of the inhabitants. The Marwānids reigned from 380/990 to 489/1096. Their power extended not only over Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzān, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā) but also to Khilāṭ, Malāzgird, Ardjīsh and the canton to the northeast of Lake Vān. In the west they held Urfa for a time. Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan in 381/991 invaded Syria and took it from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. He was killed in 387/997 by the people of Diyārbakr, who had rebelled. His brother Abū Manṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawla, who after the death of Bādh had seized Mayyāfāriḳīn, reigned there till 402/1011 (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske, ii, 569). His brother Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (Ibn Khallikān, i, 157-8) succeeded him and reigned from 402/1011-12 to 453/1061. In 416/1025 he seized Urfa, but the Byzantines re-established their power in 422/1031 (Abu 'l-Faradj, 342). He earned the reputation of being a just and enlightened ruler, and able, though given to pleasure. In 442/1050 Abū Naṣr had to pay homage to the Saldjūḳ Ṭughril Beg. His son and successor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr, called Niẓām al-Dawla (453-72/1061-79), shared the power with his brother Saʿīd (d. in 257/1065. He added to his possessions Ḥarrān, Suwaydā, etc. His successor was Manṣūr b. Saʿīd, who nominally reigned from 472-89/1079-96, but by 478/1085 the Saldjūḳ general Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ] had taken almost the whole of his lands, which were placed under the authority of the Atābeg of Mawṣil (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iii, 77-9, 87, 121, 125, 249). On the Marwānids, cf. the special study by H. F. Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1903), 123-54.

On the eve of the Turkish invasions, we find frequent reference to exploits and expeditions of the Kurds. In the reign of the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), the historians record the exploit of the Kurd Aḥmad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who killed the Emperor Basil II's general and thus stopped the Byzantine advance (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 247). Between 366/976-7 and 388/998 the Kurds took part in the struggle between the Būyids and the Ziyārids for the possession of Djurdjān (ʿUtbī, tr. Reynolds, 298-302; Ibn Isfandiyār, abridged tr. E. G. Browne, 226-8). A few years later we find Maḥmūd of Ghazna using Kurds against the Ḳarakhānids (ʿUtbī, 336).

The Kurds took part in the civil wars of the Būyids, in the struggle of the Banū ʿUḳayl for the possession of Mawṣil, etc. In 411/1020 they fought against the Turkish troops who mutinied in Ḥamadān. In 415-20/1024-9 we find them fighting in Fārs and Khūzistān against the last Būyid, Abū Kālidjār (*Kāmil*, ix, 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249, 265; Hilāl b. Muḥassin, iii, 348, 376, 381). Thus the Kurdish element was exhausting itself in continual fighting when the Turkish hordes arrived who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish conquest. When in 420/1029 the Ghuzz precursors of the Saldjūḳs reached Rayy, Tāsh Farrāsh, the Turkish general of the Ghaznawids, went to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds. The leader of the Kurds, being captured by the Ghuzz, sent a message to his men to cease fighting. This caused a tumult and Tāsh was killed (*Kāmil*, ix, 268). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hadhbānī Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Ādharbāydjān (Wahsūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz, after a raid into Armenia, returned to Urmia and the lands of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ Hadhbānī; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat. In 432/1041 the Musāfirid Wahsūdān II b. Mamlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tabrīz; the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Hakkārī, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the mountains the Kurds attacked them, killed 1,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (*Kāmil*, ix, 270-2).

On the approach of Ṭughril Beg's troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al-Zawzān to the Djazīra. One section of the Ghuzz under Manṣūr b. Ghuzoghlī remained to the east of the Djazīra, while the other under Būḳā marched on Diyārbakr, and going on pillaged the districts of Ḳardū, Bāzabdā, Ḥusayniyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 270: a town between Mawṣil and Djazīra) and Fēshābūr. The Marwānid Sulaymān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Djazīra, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Manṣūr, and with the help of the Bashnawī Kurds of Finīk, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations; they ravaged the district of Diyārbakr and seized Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, ix, 272-3).

Meanwhile, the dynasty of the Ḥasanwayhids had perished and the power in Djibāl had passed to a new family the Banū ʿAnnāz (see Zambaur, 212, and ʿANNĀZIDS. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 22, has ʿAyyār), which is often called that of Abu 'l-Shawk. Previously in 340/951 during a Turkish rising in Hamadān, the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abi 'l-Shawk, chief of Ḥulwān (*Tadjārib*, ii, 2). The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAnnāz (*Kāmil*, ix, 158) who ruled 380-401/990-1011. His son Abū 'l-Shawk slew the last of the Ḥasanwayhids, Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir) in 406/1015-16. The possessions of the Banū ʿAnnāz included Shahrizūr, Kirmānshāh (occupied in 431/1039-40; *Kāmil*, ix, 300, 316),

Bīlawār, Ṣamghān, Daḳūḳa and Khuftidhakān. In 437, Ṭughril sent his brother Ibrāhīm Yināl to pacify Djibāl. Ibrāhīm drove the Kākūyid Garshāsp out of Hamadān and he sought refuge with the Djūzkān Kurds. At Kirmānshāh there was a garrison of Abu 'l-Shawk's composed of Daylamīs and Shādjandjān Kurds. Kirmānshāh was occupied and Abū Shawk died in 438/1046 at Sirwān. Ibrāhīm took Ṣamīrān (Shamirān? Ṣaymara?) and subjugated the Djuzkān. Saʿdī, son of Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to the Saldjūḳs. The dynasty lasted till 520/1116 (Münedjdjim-bashī).

The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Malāzgird (463/1071) delivered all Armenia into the hands of Alp Arslān. Under the Great Saldjūḳs there arose in Fārs the turbulent dynasty of the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*], but it is very doubtful if this dynasty, the fortunes of which can be traced from 421/1030 to 756/1355, was strictly Kurdish (cf. above). On the other hand, the small Kurd dynasties were ruthlessly wiped out in favour of Turks. In 493/1100 the last Marwānid disappeared in the region of Khilāṭ, where the Turk Suḳmān Ḳuṭbī founded the dynasty of the Shāh Armans which lasted a century until the coming of the Ayyūbids. Under the date 495/1101 Ibn al-Athīr (x, 238) mentions the killing of two thousand Kurds of Surkhāb b. Badr, a scion of the Banū ʿAnnāz, by the Turkomans of Salghūr Ḳarabulī. Other Turkomans later took all the lands of Surkhāb except Shahrizūr, Daḳūḳa and Khuftidhakān. In spite of these crushing blows, the Kurds are often mentioned in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. In his struggle with Ḳāwurd of Kirmān, Malik Shāh employed Kurdish and Arab forces, whom he later rewarded with fiefs at Kirmān (*Kāmil*, x, 53), where there were already colonies of Kurds (cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 88; Ibn Khallikān, i, 516). Raids of Kurds took place at Dudjayl, Mārdīn etc. in 496/1103, 498/1105 and 503/1109-10. In Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's campaign against Syria (504/1110) there took part the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadīl b. Wahsūdhān, a Kurd of the tribe of Rawwādī (cf. *Kāmil*, x, 391) and the "Shāh of Armenia" Suḳmān. The campaign was a fiasco, and the Kurds left to lay siege to the Turk Suḳmān (*Recueil des hist. des Croisades, docum. orientaux*, iii, 542, 599).

During this period we often find the Kurds mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. Derenbourg, *Ousāma b. Munḳidh*). Under Sandjar the province of Kurdistān was formed out of the western part of Djibāl. Sulaymān, the nephew of Sandjar, became its ruler with Bahār (to the north-east of Hamadān) as its capital. The province was in a flourishing state. In the reign of Sandjar also the Kurds took part in the troubles of 513/1119. In 516/1122 a punitive expedition passed through the Hakkārī, Zawzān and Bashnawī districts (*Kāmil*, x, 374, 377, 426), but shortly afterwards the Kurds seized the stronghold of the Christian patriarch at Ṭūr ʿĀbidīn (Assemani, *Bibl. or.*, ii, 221).

The Atābaks of Mawṣil. The Atābaks, the immediate neighbours of central Kurdistān, played an important part there. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Zangī several times invaded Kurd territory. In 528/1134 he took Ṭanza (on the left bank of the Bokhtān) and to punish the Ḥumaydīs, who had supported the caliph Mustarshid when he was besieging Mawṣil, seized their fortresses, al-ʿAḳr, Shūsh, etc. (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 666-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya*, in *ibid.*, ii, 87). Abu 'l-Haydjā', lord of Arbīl, Āshib, etc., submitted to Zangī (was he perhaps a Hakkārī? At this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 203). After the death of Abi 'l-Haydjā', Zangī intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized Āshib and dismantled its defences; the fort of Djalāb received the name of ʿAmādiya (= ʿImādiya, in honour of ʿImād al-Dīn). In 534/1139 Zangī took Shahrizūr from Ḳifdjāḳ b. Arslān Tāsh the Turkoman. In 537/1142 he sent a new expedition against the Hakkārī and took the fortress of al-Shaʿbānī (= Āshib?), which he rebuilt. In 538/1143-4 Īrūn and Khīzān were taken (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 685). ʿAlī, lord of al-Rābiya (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 284, Rābiya-bulāk?), Faraḥ and Alḳa (Elk?) joined Zangī of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangī was against the Bashnawī of Fanak (Finīk), but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the Atābak in 541/1146: (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 86, 114, 129, 188). Karādja Tādjna, *muḳṭaʿ* (?) of Hakkārī, who was sent in 547/1152-3 by the Atābak of Mawṣil against the Atābak of Ādharbāydjān, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

Later, after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589/1193), the Zangids consolidated their position in central Kurdistān. In 607/1211 ʿImād al-Dīn, a younger son of Arslān Shāh Zangī, received as a fief the strongholds of the Ḥumaydīs (ʿAḳr and Shūsh). In 615/1218 the same prince seized ʿAmādiya and "the remainder of the fortresses of the Hakkārī and Zawzān" which were ceded to him by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī of Arbīl (Abu 'l-Faradj, 433, 438). It must have been these events that caused the Hakkārī to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great Zāb.

The Artuḳids [*q.v.*], Atābaks of Diyārbakır, several times came into conflict with the Kurds (Abu 'l-Fidā', iii, 583; Usāma, i, 321). The ʿAbbāsid caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors, negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of ʿĪsā Ḥumaydī in 528/1134, and *Kāmil*, xi, 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks. In 581/1185 under the caliph al-Nāṣir, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (*Kāmil*, iii, 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, Diyārbakır, Djazīra, Mawṣil, Shahrizūr, Khilāṭ and Ādharbāydjān). Two years later the rivals stopped fighting in order to join against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles, the Kurds fought their way back into Cilicia. The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours, and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at Thelmuzen(?) and Arabthil (= Arabgir?) (Michael the Syrian, in *Recueil, doc. armen.*, 395).

The Ayyūbids. The Kurdish origins of this remarkable dynasty are well-established (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 55-82). The Armenian historian Hayton (Hethum) says on this point: "Postea vero Sarraceni amiserunt dominium Egipti et Medi, qui Cordins vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt", *Recueil, docs. arm.*, ii, 225, 343). The grandfather of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Shādhī b. Marwān was a Rawādī Kurd (Rāwadī, Rawanda, a clan of the Hadhbānī) of Dwīn [*q.v.*]; see Minorsky, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 107-57.

The important fact is that it was from Dwīn that the Shaddādī dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of Shādhī Ayyūb [see AYYŪBIDS] and Shīrkūh [*q.v.*], son

of Shādhī, were born in the old home (the village of Adjdanakān). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q.v.] was born at Takrīt, but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Ayyūbid family is significant. Nevertheless, the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old Saldjūḳ Atābaks, even when they became vassals of the Ayyūbids, continued to rule in Diyārbakr (Artuḳids), Mawṣil (Zangids) and Arbīl (the Begteginids, at first deputies of the Zangids). By the treaty of 585/1187 with ʿIzz al-Dīn Zangī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn annexed only Aleppo and Shahrizūr (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 334; *Kāmil*, xi, 340; Bahāʾ al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 85). In 585/1189 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave Shahrizūr to his *mamlūk* Keshtoghdī (?), a relative of Yaʿḳūb b. Ḳifdjāḳ. The only independent way by which the Ayyūbids penetrated into Kurdistān was that of Khilāṭ. This district was at first conquered by Taḳī al-Dīn in 587/1191 (*Kāmil*, xii, 40), but it was only after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that his nephew al-Malik al-Awḥad Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb installed himself there in 604/1207. Later, Khilāṭ passed to his brother Ashraf, who assumed the title "Shāh Arman", and finally to the third brother Muẓaffar who ruled there till 642/1244. The peace of this fief was several times broken by invasions of Georgians, of the Khʷārazm-Shāh and of the Mongols. The Georgian troops who were operating round Khilāṭ at this time were commanded by the Armenian princes Zakaré and Iwané, whose genealogies make them descendants of the *Khel Babirakān*, i.e. of the Kurd tribe of Bāpīrakān; cf. Marr in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120.

The Ayyūbid forces were composed mainly of Turks, but the Kurdish element was by no means negligible. In 583/1187 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn addressed an appeal for a holy war to the Kurds on the upper Tigris. The Djazīra forces were disbanded in 584/1188, but the Diyārbakr detachments and particular tribes are often mentioned. These Kurds were sometimes on bad terms with the Turkomans (Bahāʾ al-Dīn, in *Recueill*, iii, 86, 313, 381).

Kurds were numerous in the civil and military service of the Ayyūbids, but very often they acted against the dynasty's interests. When Shīrkūh died, there were Kurds who opposed the appointment of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his successor (Ibn Khallikān, iv, 494).

An important part was played by the family of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ [Hadhbānī], hereditary chief of Arbīl (?). He directed the defence of ʿAkkā against the Crusaders and was appointed *isfahsālār* of the army and governor of Jerusalem. In 592/1196 he was transferred to Baghdād: he conducted an expedition against Hamadān and died at Daḳūḳa. His nephew Ḳuṭb al-Dīn built the Ḳuṭbiyya *madrasa* in Cairo. Another Kurd, of the tribe of Hakkārī, Sayf al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb, succeeded Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ at ʿAkkā. His descendants had exciting careers; his son Aḥmad ended his days in the prison of Ḥarrān; his grandson, the Ḳāḍī ʿImād al-Dīn plotted against al-Kāmil and had to go into exile.

The Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. In 614/1217 the Kurds of Zagros inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Khʷārazm-Shāh sent from Hamadān to Baghdād. Djalāl al-Dīn's operation against Khilāṭ (623-6/1226-9) disorganised the life of the country, and the Kurds were decimated by famine (*Kāmil*, xii, 207, 308). Defeated and pursued by the Mongols, Djalāl al-Dīn took refuge among the Kurds of Diyārbakr and in 628/1231 was killed, probably by one of them (Djuwaynī, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, ii, 190; *Kāmil*, xii, 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 62). In 634/1237 again the remnants of the Khʷārazm hordes traversed and plundered the region of Kharpūt (Abu 'l-Faradj, 477). After the death of Djalāl al-Dīn, the Mongols laid waste the region of Diyārbakr and Khilāṭ. Another horde had descended from Marāgha on Arbīl; this latter region was three times invaded. In 645/1245, Shahrizūr was laid waste and in 650/1252 Diyārbakr.

The Mongol Īlkhāns. The Kurds are rarely mentioned under the Īlkhāns. As these rulers—at first pagans and later Muslims—were on good terms with the Christians, and the latter had sufficient causes of complaint against their Muslim neighbours, the Kurds so recently involved in the wars of the Ayyūbids had to remain confined to their mountains and to hope for success for the enemies of the Mongols.

The province of "Kurdistān" formed in the time of the Saldjūḳs, the capital of which was Bahār (near Hamadān), was conquered by Malik b. Tūdān, father of the celebrated Amīr Čoban. Leaving Hamadān in 655/1257, Hūlāgū marched on Baghdād. At Kirmānshāh the Mongols began to murder and plunder (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 225, 255, 267). Before the capture of Baghdād, Hūlāgū sent troops to take Arbīl. The governor of this stronghold, Tādj al-Dīn Ṣalāba (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 261), submitted to the Mongols, but the Kurd garrison refused to follow his example. Arbīl was taken with the help of the Atābak of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ (d'Ohsson, iii, 256). The taking of Baghdād resulted in the depopulation of Shahrizūr [q.v.], and its Kurd inhabitants, according to Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii, 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawēn and Babīn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 461, iii, 413).

Returning to Ādharbāydjān, Hūlāgū set out for Syria in 657/1259. In the Hakkārī country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 328). Djazīra, Diyārbakr, Mayyāfāriḳīn (held by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn) and Mārdīn were taken in succession. After the death of the Atābak Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, who had remained faithful to Hūlāgū, his son Ṣāliḥ went over to the side of Baybars, Sulṭān of Egypt, and received confirmation of his investiture from him. The Kurds around Mawṣil at once fell upon the Christians. The garrison of Mawṣil consisting of Kurds, Turkomans and Shūls, courageously resisted the Mongols.

In Syria also the Kurds threw in their lot with the Mamlūks. In his letter to the Khān Berke, Baybars boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs (d'Ohsson, iii, 385). In the time of Abaḳa, the Armenian Hayton tells how after an invasion of Egyptian troops (before 677/1278) the Kurds took 5,000 houses of Kurds (Gordins) living in northern Syria (*Recueil, docs. armén.*, ii, 179). But after the defeat of the Mongols in 680/1281, a body of Muslim troops, made up of Turkomans and Kurds, laid waste Cilicia. The rare cases in which Kurds are found allied to the Mongols were generally in distant Fārs. Under Öldjeytü there were Kurds in the troops that invaded Gīlān in 706/1306-7. A little later a Kurd, Mūsā, who had proclaimed himself the *mahdī* of the Shīʿīs, was executed by Öldjeytü. In 712/1312-13 Badr al-Dīn, the Kurd lord of Raḥba, resisted the Mongols.

The Kurd provinces were governed by the Mongol *amīrs*. The fighting in Arbīl never ceased. The

"Ḳayači", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol army and stationed in Arbīl, brought a charge against their chief Zayn al-Dīn Bālū and came into conflict with the Kurds, whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 696/1297 but the situation came to a height in 710/1310. With great difficulty, the Mongols drove the Christians out of the citadel. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege, but their *amīrs*, who were friendly with the Christians, wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place, but the Kurds had no share in it (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, tr. J. B. Chabot, Paris 1895, 152-77).

The country between Marāgha and Arbīl was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies; at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ).

The capital of the province of "Kurdistān" under Öldjeytü was moved from Bahār to Sulṭānābād (of Čamčamāl). The extent to which the province had suffered may be judged from the statement of the Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 107), according to which its revenues were reduced to one-tenth of what they were under the Saldjūḳs.

When the Īlkhāns had disappeared, two families of Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Sulduz [*q.v.*] and Djalāyir [*q.v.*] became rivals for power. By virtue of the division of the fiefs between "the two Ḥasans" (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdistān and Khūzistān returned to the children of the *amīr* Akrandj or Akrash (?). In 784-5/1382-3 the Djalāyir Bāyazīd carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistān and ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 253, and d'Ohsson, iv, 747).

Table of the Kurd tribes in the time of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. The Mongol conquest had completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes, but in Egypt, where the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were cherishing secret plans against the Īlkhāns, much interest was taken in the fate of this Muslim element. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-ʿUmarī, there were Kurds near al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Diyār al-ʿArab and in Syria and Yemen. The mountain country (al-Djibāl) inhabited by the Kurds began near Hamadān and ended in Cilicia (*bilād al-Takfūr*); to the west of the Tigris the Kurds of al-Djazīra and Mārdīn were at the mercy of all their neighbours. At Mārdīn, however, a certain Ibrāhīm al-ʿArs Bālū (?) had shortly before then proclaimed himself independent and had attained considerable power. The author then gives a list of twenty tribes living between Hamadān and the part of al-Djazīra that lies between Mawṣil and Kawār (cf. Kēwar in the *Sharaf-nāma*):

1. The Gūrānī, who were warriors and agriculturists (*djund wa-raʿiyya*).

2. The Gilālī (cf. the mountain called Galāla among the Sohrān; *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 286, and Rich, *Narrative*, i, 123: *Ghellali*). A portion of this tribe migrated to Syria. Their prince Sharaf al-Dīn was governor of Arbīl under the Mongols, but was killed by a Mongol.

3. The Zangalī (Zangana?).

4. The Kūsa and the Mabir (??) of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] migrated to Syria and Egypt.

5. The Sabūlī (Sutūnī?), lived in Shahrizūr and Ushnū. Near them lived the Ḳartāwī (? cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 207).

6. The Ḥasnānī (Khushnāwī?), several thousand in number, divided into three branches, one of which living at Karkār alongside of the Ḳartāwi (?) levied tolls on the pass Darband-i Karabolī (the defile of the Little Zāb; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 263).

7. Near Karḥīn (= Kirkūk?) and Daḳūḳ lived a tribe of 700 men.

8. A tribe living "between two mountains" (*bayn al-djabalayn*) on the territory of Arbīl in winter sought the good graces of the Mongols, and in summer assisted the invasions of Egyptian troops.

9. The Māzandjān [?] to the number of 500 lived near Arbīl and Māzandjān, Nērwa and Bēkhma (these two latter cantons are situated on the Great Zāb east of ʿAḳr). The chiefs of Māzandjān also ruled the related tribe of the Ḥumaydī (of which there were 1,000 men). The chief of the Māzandjān called Kak had received the title Mubāriz al-Dīn from the ʿAbbāsids. The Mongols divided his lands into two and Kak remained *nāʾib* of Arbīl. He was dispossessed for a time under Arghūn, but according to the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* of al-Ḳalḳashandī, his sons and his grandsons retained their fief (ʿAḳr and Shūsh).

10. Near Tell Ḥaftūn was the land of the numerous Sohrī tribe (Sohrān).

11. Their neighbours were the Zarzārī ("children of gold"). They also possessed Malāzgird (= Rūbār-i Barāzgird) and Rustāḳ (the southern part of Shamdīnān).

12. The Djūlāmerg, of Umayyad origin, numbered 3,000 men.

13. The Kurds of the district of Markawān (read Margawar) were allies of their Djūlāmergī and Zarzārī neighbours.

14. Near Djūlāmerg was the canton of Gawār.

15. Near Djūlāmerg beside ʿAḳr and ʿAmādiya was the canton of Zibārī inhabited by 500 men.

16. The Hakkārī lived at ʿAmādiya and numbered 4,000 men.

17. Near the Hakkārī beside Mardj were the Djabal al-ʿAmrānī and the cave of Kahf Dāwūd where lived the Besītkī (??).

18. Near Djūlāmerg towards Mawṣil lived the Bokhtī, rivals of the Ḥumaydī.

19. The Dāsinī had been very numerous, but their chief Badr al-Dīn came down to more accessible country and there were no more than 1,000 Dāsini in the province of Mawṣil; 500 Dāsini lived at ʿAḳr.

20. The Dumbūlī (?) inhabited the high mountains.

To this information given by the *Masālik*, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, basing itself on *al-Tathḳīf* composed by Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh about 748/1347, adds a list of 25 Kurd chiefs with whom the chancelleries of Cairo were in correspondence.

Tīmūr and the Turkoman dynasties. After the Mongols, the rival Turkoman dynasties extended their power over Kurdistān. This period, of which little is yet accurately known, was of considerable importance for the Kurds. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu dynasties penetrated into the heart of Kurdistān, involved the Kurd tribes in political and religious quarrels (cf. the extremist Shīʿa of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu) and provoked considerable movements of the population: it was at this period that the Mukrī Kurds seized the country south of the Lake of Urmia [cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ]. In contrast to this, the conquest by Tīmūr which temporarily swept aside the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu had only a transitory character.

Many incidents in the history of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Djazīra between 796-897/1393-1491 are recorded in the Syriac Chronicle (written at Haytam) published

by Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838.

Tīmūr had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796/1394 and 803/1400-1. After overrunning Baghdād and Diyārbakr, Tīmūr attacked Djazīra, which was destroyed. The dependencies of Djazīra were likewise conquered. Tīmūr next crossed the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and gave a favourable reception to Sharaf al-Dīn of Bidlīs "renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistān". In 803/1400-1 Tīmūr returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāydjān and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Tīmūr, Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Koyunlu [see ḲARĀ ḲOYUNLU] returned to Kurdistān and sought refuge at first with Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 820/1417 Ḳara Yūsuf by a *nishān* confirmed the princes of Bidlīs in their possessions. When in 824/1421, Shāhrukh, son of Tīmūr, arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs, Malik Muḥammad Hakkārī, Malik Khalīl of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the *amīrs* of Khīzān, etc. The Kurds of Khoy also remained loyal to Shāhrukh's governor (*Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, in, *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 153).

The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] (the Bayandur dynasty) whose principal centre was in Diyārbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 164: *istiṣāl-i khānawādahā-yi Kurdistān*), and in general they persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, like the great tribe of Čamishgezek. Uzun Ḥasan's generals Ṣūfī Khalīl and 'Arab Shāh conquered Hakkārī, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbulī tribe from Boltān. In 875/1470 (cf. Behnsch, *op. cit.*, 14) Djazīra passed entirely into the power of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, who appointed their own governor Čalabī Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 123. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu general Sulaymān b. Bīzan drove out of Bidlīs the Ibrāhīm Khān who was later put to death by Ya'ḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan.

The Ṣafawid Shāhs and the Ottoman Sulṭāns. Shāh Ismā'īl had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. After the battle of Sharūr (907/1502) he won all the country between Baghdād and Mar'ash. Ismā'īl I's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Like the latter, the Shāh relied on the Turkoman tribes, but being a zealous extreme Shī'ī (cf. KHAṬĀ'ĪĪ in *EI*[1]) he was still more predisposed against the Sunnī Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at Khoy to pay homage, Ismā'īl imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the Ḳïzïl-bash tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistān became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Shāhs of Persia. The defeat of Čāldirān [*q.v.*] (920/1514) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shāh Ismā'īl, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismā'īl's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Ḥakīm Idrīs, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistān a feudal organisation securing the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Čāldirān deeply affected Kurdistān. Malik Khalīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 155), the dispossessed prince of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, had regained possession of Si'ird and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muḥammad Beg of Ṣāṣūn was fighting against the Persians. Aḥmad Beg of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḳāsim Beg of Agīl, Djamshīd Beg of Pālū, had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of Djazīra had succeeded in repulsing the Persians from Mawṣil. Sa'īd Beg Sohrān had taken Arbīl and Kirkūk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idrīs to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sulṭān.

Whem Selīm had left Tabrīz, Ismā'īl sent reinforcements to Diyārbakır and Ḥiṣn Kayfā. Idrīs summoned to his flag the Kurd levies and defeated Kurd Beg, a former Persian governor of Kurdistān. The Kurds of Diyārbakır resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha. Bïyïḳlï and Idrīs met at Ḥiṣn Kayfā and defeated the Persians. Then, reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from 'Amādiya?), the Turks relieved Diyārbakır and took Mārdīn, except for the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdād and Kirkūk and the people of Mārdīn drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Niṣībīn-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated, and Bïyïḳlï forced Sulaymān Khān, who was still at Mārdīn, to surrender. The occupation of Niṣībīn, Dārā, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Diyārbakır and Sindjār followed and Idrīs completed the administrative organisation of the *sandjaḳ*. In the province of Diyārbakır eleven *sandjaḳs* were put under Turkish officials and eight under Kurds (*Akrād beyligi*). The *wālīs* confirmed the investitures of the new begs, but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary *ḥukūmats* (*Kurd ḥukūmeti*) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, chs. ii and iv, quoting 'Ayn-i 'Alī Mü'edhdhin-zāde who wrote at the beginning of the 11th/17th century). A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistān from Malāṭiya to Bāyazīd and Shahrizūr (cf. below the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the very interesting remarks of Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 176-80, 271-316, on the 37 *sandjaḳs* joined to Vān by the law of Sulaymān I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmānshāh remained to the Persians. Idrīs was liberally rewarded and the *firmāns* of investiture were sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *GOR*[2], i, 749).

In 936/1530 Shāh Ṭahmāsp recovered Baghdād from Dhu 'l-Faḳār, a Kurd of the tribe of Mūṣlū (Moṣullu?). A long series of wars began again. Sulṭān Sulaymān led armies against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 and 1554. In this last year the Baghdād troops conquered the Kurds of Belḳās and Shahrizūr while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii, 236).

By the peace of 999/1590 'Abbās I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces, including Ādharbāydjān, Shahrizūr and Luristān (*ibid.*, ii, 559) but in 1010/1061 fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1021/1612 Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shahrizūr (*ibid.*, ii, 745). Shāh 'Abbās transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khurāsān to serve as a bulwark against the Turkomans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdād.

During Ḥāfiẓ Pas͟ha's first campaign (1012/1623) his army included the Kurdistān troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians, having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Mārdīn. After the death of S͟hāh ʿAbbās, the grand vizier K͟hosrew Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] advanced on Bag͟hdād in 1039/1629. Sayyid K͟hān of ʿAmādiya, Mīra Beg Sohrān and the mixed Kurdi-Arab tribe of Bād͟jilān took the side of K͟hosrew Pas͟ha, while Aḥmad K͟hān Ardalān threatened the Turkish flank. K͟hosrew Pas͟ha advanced as far as Sinna [*q.v.*] and Hamadān. On their way back, the Turks defeated at Čamčamāl and Dartang a Persian force. Bag͟hdād still held out, and when K͟hosrew Pas͟ha had retired, Aḥmad K͟hān Ardalān reoccupied S͟hahrizūr (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, iii, 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Not till 1048/1638 did Murād IV finally take Bag͟hdād, and in the next year the treaty was signed with Persia which *grosso modo* fixed the Turco-Persian frontier down to the 19th century (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Naʿīmā*, i, 686). Persia was now completely behind the Zagros chain.

The great struggle between the Ṣafawīs and Ottomans made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The *S͟haraf-nāma* has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the Kurd tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005/1596.

S͟haraf-nāma. This book by the chief of Bidlīs, S͟haraf al-Dīn [see BIDLĪSĪ], finished in 1005/1596, occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Véliaminof-Zernof's edition) is divided into four parts (*ṣaḥīfa*): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (*salṭanat*); the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the *k͟huṭba* recited in their name; the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (*ḥukkām*) and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bidlīs. Part i. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [*q.v.*] of Diyārbakr and D͟jazīra, the Ḥasanwayhids [*q.v.*] of Dinawar and S͟hahrizūr; the Faḍlūyids of the Great Lur [see LUR-I BUZURG], the princes of little Lur [see LUR-I KŪČIK] and the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*].

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which S͟haraf al-Dīn enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary, it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the fiefs, taking D͟jazīrat ibn ʿUmar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The fiefs of the second class (including Bidlīs) will be marked with an asterisk (*).

S͟haraf al-Dīn distinguished as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs, and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistān. Chiefs of varied origins rule the Kurdish, Kurdicised and Christian tribes, with the help of warlike Kurd tribes (*ʿas͟hīrat*), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomad or rather semi-nomad.

Group A. Between D͟jazīra and Darsim:

1. The chiefs of D͟jazīra* claimed Umayyad origin, but gave as their ancestor K͟hālid b. al-Walīd. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurd alliances of the Umayyads with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general K͟hālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v*], whose tombs are shown near Siʿird (Hartmann, *Bohtān*, 19, 124). These chiefs were at first Yazīdīs and only later became converted to be orthodox Sunnīs. After the death of Sulaymān b. K͟hālid his three sons divided his possessions: D͟jazīra fell to Mīr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Gurgīl to Mīr Ḥād͟jd͟jī Beg and Finīk to Mīr Abdāl. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The *S͟haraf-nāma* refers to the possessions of this family as *wilāyet-i Bok͟htī* (i, 320), and enumerates in detail but without system the 14 *nāḥiyas* forming this important fief: Gurgīl, Arwak͟h, Pirūz, Bādān and Ṭanzē (Kalhūk) occupied by the tribe Kārsī; Finīk; Tūr, Haytam (Hethum) and S͟hāk͟h inhabited by the Christians; Nīs͟h Atil; Arams͟hāt the tribe of which (Brāspī) is the chief among those of Bok͟ht; Kēwar or Ḳamīz (?); Dayr-dih which belongs to Ṭanzē.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, in *Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* (1896), No. 2, and (1897), No. 1, 1-163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of D͟jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar lay between the right bank of the Bohtān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bok͟htī were the Sindiyān (cf. under ʿAmādiya) settled on the K͟hābūr.

2. The ancestors of the rulers of K͟hīzān, Isbāyerd (Sparhet, Ispert; in Ewliyā Čelebi: Isbaʿird) and Muks (Mukus) were three brothers who came from Balīd͟jān (K͟hnis) in the time of the Sald͟jūḳs *S͟haraf-nāma*, i, 217). The tribe of the principal fief was Namīran; this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohtān and stretched as far as Marwānān.

3. S͟hīrwān (on the right bank of the Bohtān below K͟hizān and north-east of Siʿird). The ancestors of the "S͟hīrawī" chiefs were in the services of the Ayyūbids and came to S͟hīrwān at the same time as the "Malikān" to Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The S͟hīrawī played even the rôle of viziers by the Malikān (*op. cit.*, i 155). The capital of S͟hīrwān was Kufrā. The other dependencies were Āwīl, S͟habistān (also called, Garni = Kirnik?) and Īrūn.

Bidlīs. The Rozagī (Rozagī) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (*rūzī*) in the village of Ṭāb in the canton of K͟hoyt (now the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Modkī west of Bidlīs), and formed a confederation which later became divided into two sections: Bilbāsī and Ḳawālīsī. S͟haraf al-Dīn (i, 361) enumerates the 24 (read 25) clans of Rūzagī, of which five were old settlers and the others newcomers: Bilbāsī (10 clans) and Ḳawālīsī (10 clans).

The Rūzagī took Bidlīs and Ḥāzo (Ṣāṣūn) from the Georgian king Tāvīt (David the Curopalatus, 984-1001?). Later they brought from Ak͟hlāṭ two brothers of Sāsānid origin. One became chief at Bidlīs and the other at Ṣāṣūn. 18 chiefs of the line of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn had ruled at Bidlīs before 1005/1596. The only interruptions took place under the Sald͟jūḳs (534-76/1139-80) under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (871-900/1467-95), under S͟hāh Ismāʿīl (913-20?/1507-14?) and between 941/1534-5 and 986/1578. In this last year Sulṭān Sulaymān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Amīr S͟hams al-Dīn for that of Malāṭiya. S͟hams al-Dīn had to leave Bidlīs, but fearing new intrigues, went to the court of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp, who treated him with generosity. S͟hams al-Dīn died in Persia in 965/1558. His son S͟haraf al-Dīn, born in exile in 940/1533-4, was carefully educated at the court (the S͟hāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismāʿīl II, S͟haraf al-Dīn fell under suspicion

and was sent to Nakhčuwān. From there he succeeded in reaching Vān and received from Murād I investiture for Bidlīs, to which Mūsh was added in 991/1583. For the year 1065/1655 Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 81-121) gives us a detailed description of Bidlīs. The last prince of Bidlīs, Sharaf Beg, was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 149).

The rulers of Ṣāṣūn (Ḥāzo) were called ʿIzzīn from their ancestor ʿIzz al-Dīn, brother of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn of Bidlīs. The *ʿashīrats* of Ṣāṣūn were at first Shīrawī, Bābūsī, Sūsānī and Ṭamūkī. The Rūzakī [see BIDLĪS] arrived afterwards; later, after the annexation of Arzan the clans of that district Khālidī, Dayr Mughānī, ʿAzīzān, who had at first belonged to Ḥiṣn Kayfā, came to join those of Ṣāṣūn.

6. The Suwaydī chiefs claimed a Barmakī origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Suwaydī tribe. The hereditary fief of the Suwaydī was Gandj (this should be read for *Kīkh* in Véliaminof-Zernof, i, 260).

7. The Pāzūkī tribe, which Sharaf al-Dīn places among the tribes of Persia (i, 328), is said to have been of Suwaydī origin. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 328, it had no definite religion and showed signs of heresy (*rafḍ wa-ilḥād*). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khālid-beglu and Sheker-beglu, and one was under the Amīrs of Bidlīs. Khālid received as fiefs Khnis, Malāzgird and the canton of Uhkān (?) of Mūsh. They grew so pround that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Čāldirān, the Suwaydī dispossessed the Pāzūkī from many of their fiefs (*ibid.*, i, 257). In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, Ḳilīdj Beg, appointed chief of the Pāzūkī, received Zagam (near Tiflis). Later, Pāzūkī were transferred to Alashkert, where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdāsī chiefs (*Mirdesī* in the *Selīm-nāma*) claimed to be descended from the ʿAbbāsids. Their ancestor was a religious leader who came from Hakkārī to Agīl and whose disciples the Mirdāsī became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banū Kilāb from around Aleppo, who migrated about 420/1029 as a result of troubles with the Fāṭimids [see KILĀB B. RABĪʿA and MIRDĀSIDS]. The main one of the three branches, the Bulduḳānī, lived at Agīl; it maintained good relations with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, but under Shāh Ismāʿīl, Agīl was occupied by the Persians. Of the two other branches of the Mirdāsī, one ruled at Pālū, at Bāghin (below Kighī) and at Kharpūt, and the other first at Bardandj and later at Djarmūk (south of Arghanamaʿdan).

9. The rulers of Čamishgezek claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Saldjūḳ). Their *ʿashīrat* was called Malkīshī (Malik-Shāhī?). There were about 1,000 hearths of Malkīshī in the Persian service (in Persia?). The lands of the Malkīshī were so numerous that the name *Kurdistān* had become synonymous with Čamishzezek (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 163). They kept them in the Mongol period, under Tīmūr and Ḳara Yūsuf, but the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu did all they could to weaken the tribes faithful to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and sent the Turkish tribe to Kharbandalu against Čamishgezek. Shaykh Ḥasan drove out the Kharbandalu and submitted to Shāh Ismāʿīl. The latter put a Persian governor in his place. Selīm I restored the hereditary *amīr* Pīr Ḥusayn.

Group B. Between Djazīra and Kilis:

10. Ḥasan-kayf* [cf. ḤIṢN KAYFĀ]. The local chiefs (*malikān*) claimed to be of Ayyūbid descent, which seems very probable. Their ancestor was alleged to have received the fief of Ḥiṣn Kayfā from the ruler of Mardīn. The first chief mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma* is Malik Sulaymān who died in 736/1335. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu seized Ḥiṣn Kayfā, but Malik Khalīl, who had taken refuge in Ḥamā, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottomans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khalīl. Among the dependencies of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions Siʿird, Bishēri, Ṭūr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Djazīra, cf. *ibid.*, 117, 127, 157) and Arzan.

11. Sulaymānī, rulers of Marwānid origin (i.e. from the later branch of the Umayyads) established themselves at first at Khūkh in the canton of Ghazālī (between the Ḳulp and the Baṭmān Ṣu before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory as far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Banūkī, but the more enterprising was Basiyān, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bāyazīd under their chief Shāhsawār. A number of these tribes professed Yazīdī doctrines. The Sulaymānī lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Ṣāṣūn. They were divided into two branches, that of Ḳulp and Baṭmān and that of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

12. Zraḳī (the modern pronunciation attested by Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], 119-39); according to Sharaf-al-Dīn, Zraḳī is a contraction of the Arabic Azraḳī. The ancestor of the family, who was an Arab holy man from Syria of ʿAlid origin, arrived in Mārdīn in the time of Artuḳ (d. 516/1122; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar*, 379). The family formed connections by marriage with the Artuḳids and later with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. There were four branches of Zraḳī, the principal branches being those of Tardjīl (west of the Baṭmān Ṣu) and ʿAtāḳ. The two other branches were that of Darzīnī (an old Christian convent Dayr Zīr?) and that of Kurdikān (between Diyārbakr and Mayyāfāriḳīn), the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zraḳī chief and a gipsy woman (*dukhtar-i kābulī*).

13. Kilīs. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkārī and ʿAmādiya. Their ancestor Mand (Mantashā) had rendered services to the Ayyūbids, who gave him the canton of Ḳuṣayr (near Antioch). He united under his rule the Yazīdīs of Ḳusayr and those living between Ḥamā and Marʿash, as well as the Kurds of Djōm and Kilīs. Under the Mamlūk Sulṭāns and under Selīm I, disputes broke out between the Yazīdīs (Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter; but the hereditary rights of this north Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group C. Between Djazīra and Khoy:

14. Hakkārī* [see HAKKĀRĪ and SHAMDĪNĀN]. Sharaf al-Dīn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around ʿAmādiya from which the Zangid Atābegs had driven them northwards. The *amīrs* claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent.

The first *amīr* mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* is ʿIzz al-Dīn Shīr (probably simply an arabicisation of the name Yazdān-Shir) who held out against Tīmūr in 789/1387 in the fortress of Vān. Under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the tribe of Dambulī (of Djazīra) took possessions of Hakkarī, but the Christians of Diz (*Āsūrī* = Nestorians) went to Egypt to bring back the scion of the ancient family Asad al-Dīn Zarrīn Čang ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of Shambō (M. Garzoni, *Grammatica della*

lingua kurda, Rome 1787, 4: *Sciambò*). In the time of Ismāʿīl I, the Shambo chiefs lived in the castle of Bāy (in Shamdīnān); a member of the family ruled at Vostān (southwest of Vān), but the possession of the *nāḥiya* of Kawāsh west of Vostān was disputed with the Hakkārī by the Rūzakī. Hakkārī rule extended to Albāḳ in the north. The last representative of the Hakkārī house, Nūr Allāh Beg, was dispossessed by the Ottomans after the rebellion of Badr Khān Beg of Bokhtān, and in 1845, Ḥalīme Khānim surrendered Bash-ḳalʿa to the Turks. The tribe of Pinyānish (*ibid.*, i, 97, 100) which still exists is mentioned as living near the Hakkārī.

15. The Maḥmūdī fief lies north of Hakkārī on the rivers which feed the lakes of Vān and Arčak. The rulers (Marwānids or ʿAbbāsids of Bokhtan), who originally professed the Yazīdī faith (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 307) settled there in the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu period and soon came into conflict with the Hakkārī and Dumbulī.

16. The Dumbulī are a tribe of Bokhtān (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 118, 310: *Dumbul-i Bokht*, which for long remained Yazīdī). The Dumbulī later came into Ādharbāydjān where they received as a fief Sukmanābād (Sögmānābād) north-west of Khoy (now Zūrawā). Under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the Dumbulī had seized the castle of Bāy (in Shamdīnān) and a part of, Hakkārī (*ibid.*, i, 193). To their *odjaḳ* of Sukmanābād Shāh Ṭahmāsp added Khoy. Under Sulṭān Sulaymān, the Dumbulī received Ḳoṭur and Bārgīrī; later they annexed Abaghā, Sulaymān-Sarāy (the modern Sarāy) and Čāldirān. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī in his *Bustān al-siyāḥa* (beginning of the 19th century) says that all the Dumbulī are Shīʿīs (cf. the allusion in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 312) and speak Turkish (!).

17. Brādost. The ruling family was of Gūrān [*q.v.*] or Ḥasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of Urmia. One branch ruled at Ṣomāy [*q.v.*]; another at Tergewer and at Ḳalʿa Dāwūd. The remnants of the Brādost tribe now live south of Shamdinān on the Rūbār-i Brādost (a tributary of the Great Zāb, the sources of which lie west of Ushnū).

18. Ustūnī. The chapter, which is wanting in the manuscripts, must certainly refer to the first dynasty of Shamdīnān, whose headquarters were Sutūnī in the *nāḥiya* of Harkīk [see SHAMDĪNĀN].

19. The history of the Zarzā (cf. the Zar-zarī of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī) announced in the preface to the Sharaf-nāma is lacking in the text.

20. Tarzā. The paragraph is lacking in the manuscripts and we know nothing of the tribe.

Group D. South of Hakkārī:

21. ʿAmādiya* [*q.v.*]. We have seen that the town of ʿAmādiya was built on the site of an ancient castle under ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (521-41/1127-46). The local dynasty of Bahdīnān mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangids (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries). The chiefs of ʿAmādiya were known for their fervour in religious studies. The *Sharaf-nāma* gives their names for the Tīmūrid period. Later (under Ismāʿīl I), the Bahdīnān annexed the Zakho district inhabited by the Sindī and Sulaymānī which had at one time formed a separate fief (*wilāyat-i Sindiyān*). In this way the fief of Bahdīnān incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawṣil (Mount Gāra, etc.).

22. Ṭasinī (Dāsinī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazīdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts, but in the text we find a reference which shows that the *amīr* s of ʿAmādiya took Dohūk from the *sandjaḳ-i Tāsinī* (i, 109) and that in 941/1534 Sulṭān Selīm I gave the *sandjaḳ* of Arbīl and the whole *wilāyat* of Sohrān to Ḥusayn Beg Dāsenī, a Yazīdī chief which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i, 274-7). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony and Ḥusayn Beg was executed at Istanbul. On the region called Dāsen, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 202-7.

23. Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Kalūs, an Arab shepherd of Baghdād who had fled to the village of Hūdiyān in the *nāḥiya* of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory). His son was proclaimed Amīr of Balakān (east of Rawāndiz) and seized the castle of Āwān. The capital of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, *Narrative*, i, 157) was Ḥarīr (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawāndiz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1005/1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (*Narrative*, i, 157) benefited by their decline.

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties. Their principal fief lay south of the little Zāb and had as its capital Shāri-Bāzēr, but in 1199/1784 the Bābān built a new capital Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.* for details].

25. Mukrī, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmia [for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ] had broken off from the tribe of Bābān.

26. Bāna. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn chiefs bore this name because they had adopted Islām of their own free will (*ikhtiyār*) (for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ].

27. Ardalān: see the articles, ARDALĀN, SHAHRAZŪR,, SINNA, SĪSAR.

28. Gāl-Bāghī (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 36-45; the addition is dated 1092/1681. Their chief ʿAbbās Agha of the Turkish tribe of Ustādjalu received a "spring of water" in Marīwān [cf. SINNA] from Bīgebeg Ardalān (900-42/1495-1535]. ʿAbbās Āghā later settled at Bilāwar, a former fief of the Kalhur. His followers were recruited from different tribes. Shāh Ṭahmāsp confirmed him in his rule over Bilāwar and the "Twelve Oymāḳ".

Later, the Porte gave ʿAlī Khān Gālbāghī the *sandjaḳ* consisting of Kirind, Shaykhān, Čakarān (?), Khorkhora, Zend, etc., while Yār Allāh received the *timar* of Erekle (?), Rangrazān and Sahbānān (?).

29. Kalhur (Kalhurr). The chiefs claimed to be descended from Gūdarz, son of Gīw, in the Persian epic. The *ʿashīrat* of the Kalhur is called Gūrān (i, 317) but some manuscripts talk of "Kalhur and Gūrān" (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 6). There were three branches of the Kalhur; those of Palangān [cf. SINNA], Dartang and Māhī-dasht [cf. KIRMĀNSHĀH].

The possessions of the chiefs of Darna and Dartang (now Ridjāb in the district of Zohāb) according to Sharaf al-Dīn, i, 319, corresponded to the older Ḥulwān [*q.v.*]. About 1005/1596-7, the power of Ḳubād Beg stretched from Dīnawar and Bilāwar to Baghdād. Māhīdasht and Bīlāwar (south of the Murwārī pass) formed the patrimony (*odjaḳ*) of the third branch of the Kalhurs. The Māhīdasht branch was nomadic. All this perhaps explains the scantiness of the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn. The Gūrān now keep their old patrimony, but the Kalhur tribe occupies the region south of the great Baghdād-Kirmānshāh road.

Group E. The Persian Kurds:

The plan of the section (*firḳa*) of the *Sharaf-nāma* devoted to the *Akrād-i Īrān* is not very clear. The author was writing at a time when the Perso-Turkish frontier was not settled.

The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Siyāh Manṣūr, Čiganī and Zangana. Their eponyms were three brothers who came from Luristān or "Gūrān and Ardalān". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn, there were 24 tribes (*yirmi dört*) of Ḳarābāgh [*q.v.*] (in Transcaucasia), about 3,000 men under one ruler, and the Gīl tribe in Khurāsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Siyāh Manṣūr. In the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp its chief had become *Amīr al-umarā'* of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Čiganī emigrated to Gharčistān.

The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān.

From 1650 to 1730. "Great Kurdistān", as it has been described by Sharaf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chieftainships, had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the *sandjaḳs* of Diyārbakr and Vān. Not only did the treaty of 1049/1639 put an end to the Persian expansion westwards, but Turkey during the reign of the Ṣafawid epigoni succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia (von Hammer, *GOR*², iv, 235). Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Aḥmad Pasha, appointed governor-general of Diyārbakr in 1048/1638, making an expedition against the Yazīdīs of Sindjār. Later (1065/1655), the same Pasha after his transfer to Vān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1076/1666 a Kurd, the son of a *shaykh*, declared himself the *Mahdī*, but was captured by the rulers of Mawṣil and ʿAmādiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sulṭān Meḥemmed IV taking the *soi-disant Mahdī* into his personal service (von Hammer, iii, 589).

In the reign of the feeble Shāh Ḥusayn, the Kurds of al-ʿIrāḳ in 1131/1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1134/1722 by order of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II an attempt to retake Iṣfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghāns, was made by the Kurd chief Fandun (Feridūn ?), but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghāns drove off Fandun who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks (J. Hanway, *A Historical account of the British trade*, London 1753, iii). Fortune deserted the Ṣafawids. Even ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān Ardalān submitted to Ḥasan Pashā (von Hammer, iv, 211; cf. however, *RMM*, xlix, 87). His example was followed by the chiefs of Djawānrūd, Darna, Djāf, Harsīn and finally by the *sipahsālār* ʿAlī Mardān Bakhtiyārī [Faylī ?] (von Hammer, iv, 227).

The Afghāns. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghān rule in Iṣfahān, Ashraf defeated the Turks (battle of Andjīdān in 1138/1726), who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Bebek Sulaymān-oghlu (Sulaymān Bābān ?). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Ashraf had lavished promises; indeed, shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghāns. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140/1727 Ashraf had to repurchase his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia, including the Kurd and Lur cantons.

Nādir Shāh. Towards the end of the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad III, affairs began to change. By the treaty of 1144/1732 the Persians regained their western provinces, and soon Nādir invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdād. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1146/1733 Topal ʿOthmān Pasha appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements which he had raised in Mawṣil. Nādir was defeated. In 1147/1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflīs, which had a garrison of 6,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149/1736 the old frontiers of 1049/1639 were restored. In 1743, Nādir again invaded Turkish territory, but in spite of Kurd and Arab help was driven back to Sinna where he was finally defeated (von Hammer, iv, 317, 398-9).

Nādir was not popular with the Kurds, although there is an epic poem in the Gūrānī dialect on his struggle with Topal ʿOthmān Pāshā. Among the Ardalān, Nādir replaced Subḥān Verdī Khān by his brother, which provoked a popular rising (*RMM*, xlix, 88). In 1137/1727 during a revolt of the Turkomans, the Kurds of Khurāsān (Čamishgezek and Ḳaračorlu) refused their help to Nādir, who punished them and transported them to Mashhad. Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747, while on his way to punish once more the Kurd rebels of Khurāsān (Jones, *Histoire de Nādir*, London 1770, 118-20). The Kurds (Dumbulī, etc.) played their part in the anarchy which followed the death of Nādir, but the Porte refrained from intervention.

The Zand dynasty. After the death of Nādir Shāh, Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], one of the best rulers Persia has ever had, ruled the greater part of the country. The Zand were a Kurdish tribe of secondary importance (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 323) living between Hamadān and Malāyir in the district formerly called Īghār. Under Nādir they had been transported to Khurāsān, but after his death they went back to their old homes (*Ta'rīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. Beer, pp. xi, xviii). With the death of Luṭf ʿAlī Khān in 1209/1794, the dynasty came to an end. The Zand tribe was certainly too weak to be a serious support to the dynasty, but Karīm Khān, like his predecessors, had brought several Kurd tribes from Kurdistān to Shīrāz (Aḥmadāwand, *RMM*, xxxviii; Kōrūnī, who live in a particular quarter in Shīrāz, O. Mann, *Die Tājik Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxix).

The Ḳādjārs. On the death of Agha Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār (1211/1797), Ṣādiḳ Khān Shaḳāḳī seized the crown jewels and for some time tried to gain the throne (*The dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, 20, 27, 32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 107, 115, 125). In 1221/1805 the Persians had intervened on behalf of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha of Sulaymāniyya (cf. Rich, *Narrative*, i, 384; Watson, *op. cit.*, 155, and the Mukrī Kurd song in the collection made by O. Mann, No. xvi). In 1236/1821, as a result of troubles caused by the Kurd tribes of Ḥaydarānlu and Sipkān, the Persians invaded Turkish territory as far as Bidlīs and Mūsh; at the same time they advanced as far as Sherābān near Baghdād by the Kirmānshāh road. The peace of 1238/1823 signed at Erzerūn restored the frontier of 1049/1639, but the Persians refused to evacuate the district of Zohāb peopled by Kurds. The fate of Sulaymāniyya remained in suspense. A new war was about to break out in 1842 when Great Britain and Russia intervened to mediate, and in 1246/1847 a new treaty was signed at Erzerūm by which Zohāb was to be divided into two parts, while Persia gave up all claim to Sulaymā-

niyya in favour of Turkey. During 1848-52, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwīsh Pasha prevented an agreement being reached. Darwīsh Pasha not only had the canton of Ḳotūr occupied by soldiers, but in a secret memoir (published at Istanbul in 1286/1869 and 1321/1903) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged to Turkey.

Turkey in the 19th century. In 1826, the governor of Sīwās, Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha, was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistān. About 1830 a great Kurd rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr Khān and Saʿīd Beg, Ismāʿīl Beg and Muḥammad Pasha of Rawāndiz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of Khushnāw; in 1831 he seized Arbīl, Altun Köprü, Koy-Sandjaḳ and Rāniya. The following year he extended his power towards Mawṣil; at Alḳosh 172 Christians were put to death. ʿAkra, Zībar and ʿAmādiya were next taken. In 1833 the troops of Rawāndiz penetrated as far as Zakho and Djazīra to re-establish Badr Khān in power there. The Yazīdīs were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief ʿAlī, who refused to become a convert to Islām, was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, *JA* [1910] 134-6), and a whole body of Yazīdīs were massacred on the hill of Ḳoyundjiḳ. In 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha from Baghdād, Mawṣil and Sīwās, and in 1836 the Mīr of Rawāndiz was captured by a ruse. Risings and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf. Poujoulat, *Voyages*, i, 373; Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, 259-84).

The defeat at Nizīb (1839) inflicted on the Ottomans by the Egyptians released new troubles in Kurdistān. In 1843 began the rising of Nūr Allāh Beg of Hakkārī and of Badr Khān of Djazīra. The Nestorians of Hakkārī had lodged a complaint in Mawṣil against the oppressions of Nūr Allāh Beg. In reply, the latter laid waste the Nestorian canton of Barwārī. The massacres went on for several years and the number of victims is said to have reached 10,000. The powers made representations at Constantinople, and in 1847 a large army under ʿOthmān Pasha attacked the Kurds. Badr Khān and Nūr Allāh, defeated in several battles, surrendered and were deported from Kurdistān (cf. Sir H. Layard, *Nineveh*, vii; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* [1900] v, 649-53; Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], *loc. cit.*; on Kurd-Nestorian affairs in general see: A. Grant, *The Nestorians*, New York 1841; G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; J. Perkins, *A residence of 8 years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, New York 1852; C. Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan und Urumia*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *The Contemporary Review* [Sept. 1889]; F. N. Heazell and J. Margoliouth, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; W. A. and E. T. A. W. Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; W. W. Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan*, New York 1916; H. C. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925).

The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804-5, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828-9, 1853-8, 1877-8, each had far-reaching effects in Kurdistān (the question has been specially studied by Averianov, *Kurdī v voinakh Rossii*, Tiflis 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expatriation of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably farther north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand, when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bohtān by the popular Yazdān Shīr, nephew and a former rival of Badr Khān.

The war of 1877-8 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkārī Kurds of Bahdīnān and Bohtān directed by the sons of Badr Khān and later by the rebellion under Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh of the Naḳshbandī order. The Kurd invaders in 1880 ravaged the Persian districts of Urmia, Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, Miyāndoāb and Marāgha and threatened Tabrīz itself. The chief victims were Shīʿīs. Russia sent a detachment of troops to protect the Araxes frontier. Persia mobilised considerable forces including the Mākū [*q.v.*] cavalry. Turkey, which had barely finished the war with Russia, endeavoured to avoid complications. Finally, the Shaykh returned to Shamdīnān, whence he was sent to Istanbul. He soon escaped from the capital, and via the Caucasus returned to Shamdīnān, but he was again captured and in 1883 died in Mecca.

The *Ḥamīdiyya* troops. The weakening of Turkey after 1878, art. 61 of the treaty of Berlin securing for the Armenians reforms and security against the Kurds and Circassians, the stubborn reaction of the Ottoman government against reforms, and from 1885 the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement with branches in Russia, Switzerland and London, brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceable relations of Kurds and Armenians, in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 Shākir Pasha, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory, for later the *Ḥamīdiyya* levies were transformed into regulars (*Khafīf suwārī*). The creation of the *Ḥamīdiyya* in any case, by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir. There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armeno-Kurd relations. At the same time, relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Ṣāṣūn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talori (Dalvorikh) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Ṣāṣūn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their sanguinary suppressions, in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt at a rising had been made among the Hakkārī Kurds, but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the 20th century to the World War, the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general, see Abovian, *Kurdī*, in the *Kavkaz* newspaper, Tiflis 1848, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 (where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character); Creagh, *Armenians, Koords and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte raspredeleniya armiansk.*

naseleniya, in *Zapis. Kavkaz. Otd. Geogr. Obshč.* (Tiflis 1895), xviii; A. Vambéry, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Deutsche Rundschau* (1890), lxxxvi, 216-31; Rohrbach, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Verhand. d. Gesell. Erdkunde* (Berlin 1900), 128-33; Baron L. de Contenson, *Chrétiens et musulmans, voyages et études*, Paris 1901; H. B. Lynch, *Armenia, passim*; Mayevski, *Opisaniye Vanskago i Bitlis vilayetov*, Tiflis 1904 (the authoritative work); N. Y. Marr, *Yeshče o slove "čelebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1910); Zarzecki (consul of France at Vān), *La question kurdo-arménienne*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 April 1914, and the diplomatic correspondence, publ. in the "Livres jaunes", the "Blue books" and the Russian "Orange book" of 1914.

The 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century a new figure appeared on the Kurd horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurd movements: Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Maḥmūd b. Timawī b. Ayyūb, chief of the Millī (Milān) tribe in the canton of Shariwērān (between Diyārbakr and Aleppo). Ibrāhīm Pasha had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed, he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende*, in *Asien*, viii, 1909, 34-7, 52-4, and Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 317-27).

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East (Russo-Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmia and Sāwdj-Bulāḳ inhabited by the Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game. Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912), but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Khoy and Urmia. Scions of noble Kurd families travelled in Russia. On 17 November 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Istanbul and just before the World War, a Four-Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, Britain and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re-establishing generally the *status quo* of the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Minorsky, *Turetsko-perisdsk. razgraničeniye*, in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obshč.*, Petrograd, lii [1916], 351-92).

The War of 1914-18. In the course of the war from 1914 to 1918, the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismāʿīl Agha Simko, see SHAKĀK. On the inter-allied plans (March 1916) regarding Kurdistān, cf the documents in *Razdel Aziatskoi Turtsii*, Moscow 1924, 185-7, 225.

After 1917-18, the situation was radically changed. Kurd committees were formed everywhere (cf. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; this publication is in the British Museum). Sharīf Pasha assumed the role of Kurd representative in Paris and on 22 March 1919 and 1 March 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurd claims with a map of "Kurdistan intégral" (cf. *L'Asie francaise*, No. 175, 1919, 192-3). At the same time, on 20 December 1919, an arrangement was reached between Sharīf Pasha and the Armenian representatives, and the two parties made conjointly declarations to the conference (cf. the text of the agreement in the newspaper *Peyām-i Ṣabāḥ*, Istanbul, 24 Feb. 1920; cf. also *Le Temps*, Paris, 10 March 1920). The Treaty of Sèvres of 10 August 1920 having created Armenia (Arts. 88-93) out of the four *wilāyets* (of Trebizond, Erzerūm, Vān and Bidlīs), provided in articles 62-4 for "a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". If the Kurd population within the limits mentioned showed to the Council of the League of Nations "that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence", Turkey agreed to conform to the recommendation, and in this case the Allied Powers would raise no objection to the voluntary adhesion to this "independent Kurd state" of the Kurds living in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil. As a result of later events, the Kurd question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil. The Turkish representatives held that "the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs" (Conference at Lausanne, speech of ʿIṣmet Pasha at the meeting of 23 Jan. 1923). By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on 16 December 1925, the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil was allotted to ʿIrāḳ, buth with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fulfilment of their desires, notably that "officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government of their country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services".

During the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil, serious troubles broke out in the region of Kharpūt and Diyārbakr as a result of the insurrection of Shaykh Saʿīd Naḳshbandī. Shaykh Saʿīd was captured on 16 April 1925 and executed at Diyārbakr. After the settlement of the Mawṣil question, the Turkish government in Ankara enforced a policy, the tendency of which was to eliminate from Kurdistān feudal and tribal influences; cf. Gentizon, *L'insurrection kurde*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 Oct. 1925.

Bibliography: A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic and Georgian sources. A systematic ransacking of sources like the *Selīm-nāma* of Ḥakīm Idrīs and his son Abu 'l-Faḍl and the *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* would yield a rich reward. The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the *Sharaf-nāma* (down to 1005/1596). The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Veliaminof-Zernof, *Scheref-nameh*, i (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1860; ii (variants of volume i, and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005/1596), St. Petersburg 1862. New editions of it exist by M. ʿA. ʿAwnī, Cairo 1931, and by M. A. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1343/1965; Arabic translations by M. J. Bendi Rojbayani, with copious notes and comments, Baghdād 1372/1953; M. ʿA. ʿAwnī and Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, Cairo 1958-62, 2 vols.; a Russian translation by E. I. Vasil'eva, i, Moscow 1967; the French translation by F.-B. Charmoy, *Cheref-nâmah ou fastes de la nation kurde*, in 2 volumes and four parts, St. Petersburg 1868-75, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the *Djihān-numā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), but is now in many respects out-of-date and lacks an index. Cf. also the works of H. Barb, *Über die Kurden-*

Chronik von Scheref; *Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter*; *Geschichte v. 5 Kurden-Dynastien*; *Gesch. v. weiteren Kurden-Dynastien*; *Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstenherrschaft in Bidlis*, which appeared respectively in *SB Ak. Wien*, x (1853), 258-76; xxii (1857), 3-28; xxviii (1858), 3-54; xxxi (1859); xxxii (1859), 145-50. The lost history of Kurdistān by Muḥammad Efendi Shahrazūrī (d. 1073/1662 at Medina, cf. *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *Kurd*), had not come to light by 1927. For the histories of the house of Ardalān, cf. SINNA, where should be added the history (to 1254/1834) of Khusraw b. Muḥammad b. Minūčihr, cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, i, 305, No. 498. On the *Risālat Ansāb al-Akrād*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of Petrograd, cf. Romaskevič in *Mélanges Asiatique*, new ser., Petrograd 1918, 392. The newspaper *Zār-i Kurmāndjī* (of Rawāndiz) published in Kurdish a short history *Ghunča-yi Bahāristān* (1926) and announced the early publication of the *Taʾrīkh-i Kurdān* of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Beg. General information on Kurd history will be found in G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette di religione ivi existenti*, Naples 1818; E. Quatremère, *Notice sur le Masālik al-abṣār*, in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 1838; C. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836 (cf. SULAYMĀNIYYA); Charmony, in the preface to his translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*; P. Lerch, *Izsledovaniya ob iranskikh Kurdakh*, St. Petersburg 1856, i, 20-33; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880; W. Tomaschek, *Sasun*, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1895), 133-4; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnuje*, in *ibid.*, 133; H. Rawlinson and A. Wilson in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 1911, xv, 949-51; Addai Scher, *Episodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, in *JA*, xv (1910), 119-40 = the events of 1202, 1508, 1510-12 (Djazīra), 1523, 1689, 1712 (ʿAmādiya), 1820-36 (Rawāndiz); E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia . . . in disguise*, London 1912, ch. xvi; V. Minorsky, *Kurdī*, St. Petersburg 1915; G. R. Driver, *Studies in Kurdish history*, in *BSOS*, ii (1922), 491-513; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, in Publ. Soc. Ét. Ir. et Arts persans, Paris 1932 (also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 12-30); idem, *La Perse au XVe s. entre la Turquie et Venise*, in *ibid.*, No. 3, Paris 1933; A. Sakisian, *Abdel Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVIIe s. et ses trésors*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1937), 253-70; A. Safrastian, *Kurds and Kurdistan*, London 1948; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951; M. A. Zakī, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa 'l-imārāt al-kurdiyya fi 'l-ʿahd al-islāmī*, Ar. tr. M. ʿA. ʿAwnī, Cairo 1364/1945; Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, Damas, xii (1947-8), 1-163; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history. I. New light on the Shaddādids of Ganja. II. The Shaddādids of Ani. III. Prehistory of Saladin*, London 1953; idem, *Thomas of Metsopʿ on the Timurid-Turkman wars*, in *Prof. Muhammad Shafi volume*, Lahore 1955, 145-70; *Mongol place-names in Mukri Kurdistan*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 58-81; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār-Bakr au quatorzième siècle*, in *JA* (1955), 65-100; H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1966, 74-90; idem, *The achievement of Saladin*, in *ibid.*, 91-107; M. S. Lazarev, *Kurdistan i Kurdskaya problema*, Moscow 1964; A. Khalfin, *Bor'ba za Kurdistan, Kurdskiy vopros v meždunarodnikh otnosheniyakh XIX veka*, Moscow 1963; Džalile Džalil, *Vosstanie Kurdov 1880 goda*, Moscow 1966; N. Kh. Mahmudov, *The Kurdish people* [in Armenian], Erivan 1959; M. M. ʿUmar al-ʿAbbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān al-ʿabbāsiyya fi Kurdistān al-wusṭā*, Baghdād 1972; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925.

(V. MINORSKY)

C. From 1920 to the present day.

The First World War (1914-18) led to many political upheavals in the Near and Middle East. The Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ) were detached from the Ottoman Empire. The sultanate was abolished in 1922, the republic proclaimed in Turkey on 23 October and the caliphate suppressed on 3 March 1924. Finally, the Council of the League of Nations assigned to ʿIrāḳ the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Riḍā Khān overthrew in Persia the Ḳādjār dynasty and founded the Pahlavī dynasty on 23 October 1925. These rectifications of frontiers resulted in rendering still more complicated the situation of the Kurds who, instead of living under only two governments, the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire, were henceforth to find themselves divided between five different countries: Turkey, Iran, ʿIrāḳ, with some quite important minorities in Syria and several colonies in the lands of Soviet Transcaucasia, sc. Armenia, Georgia and Ādharbaydjān. From now on, their destiny would evolve differently, according to the different states which sheltered them.

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In TURKEY, from after the First World War and during the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil, some Kurdish nationalists, disillusioned at seeing their hopes of an independent Kurdistān vanish, a Kurdistān foreseen by the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) but suppressed by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 June 1923), provoked troubles. Shaykh Saʿīd Naḳshbandī of Piran led a rebellion in the regions of Urfa, Severek and Diyarbakir, either through religious fanaticism and respect for the caliphate (Gentizon) or at the alleged instigation of Britain (Muṣṭafā Kemāl). The Shaykh was soon made a prisoner, judged by the Tribunals of Independence (April-June 1925) and hanged at Diyarbakir with 53 other insurgents. The whole trial was followed by the Turkish newspaper *Vaḳit*, from 20 April 1341/1925 to the 28 June, insisting upon the nationalist character of the movement. The failure of the attempt forced the leaders who had escaped to seek refuge abroad.

On 3 October 1927, the Kurdish National League

Hoyboun ("Independence") was constituted by the fusion of all the old committees or associations. Iḥsān Nūrī Pasha of Bitlis was nominated commander-in-chief and a civil administration was established. Some conversations even took place with the representatives of the Turkish government in September 1928 at Shaykh-i Köprü with the promise of a general amnesty for those who had been compromised. The few Kurds who came forward were massacred. After that, the revolt of Ağri Dağ (Ararat) (1930-2) broke out in the spring. Well-organised militarily, the Kurdish troops, who were supported by the tribes in the region of Diyarbakir, achieved some spectacular successes, but ended by succumbing under the blows of a Turkish army, 45,000 men strong and supplied with modern equipment in artillery and aircraft. The Second International, in its session at Zurich, published a resolution of its executive in favour of the Kurdish people (Vol. vii, no. 60, 30 August 1930). The attitude of the Soviets at the time has been interpreted differently by Agabekoff, in his *Mémoires*, published in French in 1930, and by M. A. Kondkarian in the Russian newspaper of Paris, *Dni*, of 31 August 1930, the former speaking of a Soviet activity among the Kurds themselves and led from Tauris by a certain Minossian who represented the G.P.U. there, and the latter asserting to the contrary that the Turks found an aid and complete assistance from the Russian Bolsheviks outside. From 1931 to 1934, some periodic convulsions were felt at Menemen, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, and, in a series of articles of the *Hakimiyet-i Milli*, Burhan Assaf Bey denounces Armeno-Kurdish intrigues. Soon a Turkish law was promulgated on 5 May 1932 which established a plan destined to organise an actual deportation of Kurds to the interior of Turkey. This law, however, was only to be applied after the visit of the Shah of Iran to Ankara in the summer of 1934. But henceforth, officially there were no longer Kurds in Turkey. All the inhabitants of the eastern provinces were from now on regarded as "mountain Turks".

This psychological error and the assimilation of the Kurds by force were to trigger off in 1937-8 a new revolt, as its centre, the mountainous region of Darsim, inhabited by the Zaza Kurds. It was Sayyid Riḍā, *shaykh* of the Nakshbandī brotherhood, who headed it. This revolt was the most terrible for the Kurds, for it was suppressed with the utmost harshness by the Turks. After having hanged the *shaykh* and ten of his companions at al-ʿAzīz on 15 November 1937, the Turks erased Darsim from the map and replaced this ill-fated name with that of Tunceli. The Kurds disappeared from the official vocabulary, and the region remained under martial law until 1946.

After this, there was no more armed uprising in Turkey. Kurdistān stayed calm throughout the Second World War, during which Turkey moreover remained neutral. There followed a certain softening of the régime for the Kurdish regions. Meanwhile, intellectuals were always strictly watched; 49 of them were even arrested in December 1959 and accused of separatism. The military coup d'état of the 27 May 1960 was followed by a new more liberal constitution. Despite some declarations by official personages (cited in the Swedish journal *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 November 1960; cf. *C.E.K.* Paris, no. 12, 8), some articles on Kurdistān and the Kurds were able to appear in the Turkish press and, between 1965 and 1968, some bilingual, Turko-Kurdish journals: *Dicle Ferat* and *Deng*, a Kurdish grammar, a Kurdo-Turkish dictionary, a play *Birîna reş* "The black wound", and the long classical poem *Mem-o-Zin* saw the light of day. But soon everywhere the journals were forbidden, published works confiscated and their authors prosecuted. In addition, to avoid all possible contamination by events in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, which had been in revolt for several years, a presidential decree of 25 January 1967 and published in the official journal no. 12,527 of 14 February 1967 declared: "It is illegal and forbidden to introduce the country and to distribute, under whatsoever form, every publication, record or tape registered of foreign origin and in the Kurdish language". Some virulent articles against the Kurds appeared in the Turkish nationalist review *Ötüken* (no. 40, April 1967, no. 42, June 1967; cited in Vanly, *Kurdistan irakien*, 298-300). It was this which led to a retort by the associations of Kurdish students of 19 Kurdish towns, protesting that such an attitude was contrary to art. 12 of the Constitution and art. 37 and 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). In April 1970, brutal police operations in the town of Silvan, in the province of Diyarbakir, provoked the condemnation of the Kurdish students and of liberal Turks (cf. *Milliyet*, June-July 1970), as well as the question, on 24 July 1970, in the House, of a Kurdish deputy, Mehmet Ali Aybar, an old president of the Labour Party of Turkey (TIP). The Fourth Congress of the TIP (29-31 October 1970), in a resolution, recognised the right of existence of the Kurdish people in Turkey (Vanly, *Survey*, 51-4). More than the ethnic and political side, it seems that from now on the economic and social question must play a role in the solution of the Kurdish problem in Turkey (Rambout, 23-44; Nikitine, 196-8; J. Blau, 35-40; Ghassemlou, 50-62; Arfa, 33-46).

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In IRAN, the situation of the Kurds has always been different from that which they experienced in Turkey. Indeed, the Iranian government often insists on the affinities, as much racial as historic, which unite the two peoples. But this does not prevent political and social malaises appearing from time to time, and conflicts, often latent, sometimes bloody, must be recorded. Already during the Great War, the province of Ādharbaydjān in northern Persia had been troubled by the movements of the Turkish or Russian armies on this territory. The chief of the Shakāk, Ismāʿīl Agha Simko, profited from it to attempt to carve out for himself a small Kurdish state of which he intended to assume the leadership. He also succeeded in uniting under his command the Kurdish tribes of the north of the country, achieving several victories over the Turks, the Assyrians and the Iranian troops, changing camp according to the circumstances. He also became the only authority of the region, to the west of Lake Urmiya, finally to be assassinated at Ushnu by the Iranians on the 21 June 1930 (Arfa, 48-54), in the same manner in which he had murdered the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimun Benjamin, on the 3 March 1918 (Joseph, 140-1).

For his part, further to the south, in the province of Kurdistān, Sālār al-Dawla Ḳādjār, related by marriage to the great Kurdish families of Sanandadji, rose in revolt, but was defeated. Some Kurdish chiefs refused to be disarmed, and it was not until 1930 that Djaʿfar Sulṭān surrendered (Arfa, 64-7; Ghassemlou, 73-5).

But the Second World War was also bound to have a great influence on Kurdish nationalism in Iran. Indeed, the occupation of the provinces of the north and west of the country by the Soviet and British troops (25 August 1941), followed by the abdication of Riḍā Shāh (16 September 1941) favoured, by the enfeeblement of the central power, the movements of emancipation, and, for several months, the Iranian army had to confront harshly Hama Rashīd Khān of Bāneh who, aided by numerous neighbouring tribes, had made himself master of the Sardasht-Bāneh-Marivān region in the summer of 1942 (Arfa, 67-70). But this was only the prelude to a real independence movement. First of all, the Kurds profited from the situation to form (September 1942) in the no-man's-land where central authority had disappeared an organisation *Komelat jiyanī Kurdistan* "Committee for the Life (Resurrection) of Kurdistan" (Eagleton, 34). This nationalist but quite conservative committee was composed of city intellectuals and of petits bourgeois from Mahābād, the ancient Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.vv.*], but to which the religious *shaykhs* and chiefs of tribes soon rallied. Soon Ḳāḍī (Kazi) Muḥammad, from a family of rich notables and a jurist himself, adhered to it in his turn (October 1944) and after the end of the war, all these judged the occasion favourable and proclaimed on the 22 January 1946 the Kurdish Republic of Mahābād, in the heart of the autonomous Republic of Ādharbaydjān, which had been established at Tabrīz. In fact, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad wished rather for internal autonomy within the framework of the Iranian empire. This small state, with its limited area, to the west and south of Lake Urmia, was well-organised; schools and hospitals were opened, classical books and reviews in the Kurdish language were published, attempts were made to promote the development of agriculture, commerce, industry and hygiene. A small army was constituted of tribal elements with four generals, among them Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, who came from ʿIrāḳ with his well-equipped contingent of armed men. But on the departure from the Iranian territories of the Russian army (May 1946), who had helped the autonomous republic of Ādharbaydjān, the government of Tehran was to recover the dissident provinces of the north of the country. Ḳāḍī Muḥammad surrendered, but was hanged at dawn on 31 March 1947 together with several other chiefs. The Kurdish Republic of Mahābād had lasted eleven months. But this event had a great repercussion among all the Kurds (Arfa, 70-102; Ghassemlou, 76-82; Rambout, 94-108 and especially Eagleton, *passim*). Then, in September 1950 and February 1956, for economic reasons, the tribe of Djavānrūdī was taken to task by the troops of the Shāh and harshly repressed, on the pretext that it refused to pay its taxes, give up its arms and devote itself to the cultivation of *ḥashīsh*. According to Rondot (*Vie intel.*, 1956, 107-9), the efficacy of the intervention of the Iranian troops was the first positive result of the Baghdād Pact (1955). Since these last backwashes, the Iranian government, by constructive social reforms, attempted to gain the sympathy and even the help of its numerous Kurdish population. It published at Tehran, from May 1959 to May 1963, the weekly *Kurdistān*, in which literature, religion, sciences, history and even politics were competently treated. Later on the ʿIrāḳī government accused that of Tehran of having aided, materially and morally, the insurrection movement of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. But this political attitude has in no way changed the distrustful position of the Iranian authorities with regard to its own Kurds.

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In ʿIRĀḲ, the period from the end of the First World War to the revolution of 1958 saw the foundation of the new ʿIrāḳī state and the establishment of the Hāshimite monarchy. The British who, at San Remo (1 May 1920) were to receive from the League of Nations a mandate over ʿIrāḳ and Palestine, were charged with organising the land which they had already occupied militarily. Few among them knew the Kurds and their problems, which rendered their task difficult. In December 1918, Major Noel installed at Sulaymānī Maḥmūd Barzandjī (1880-1956) as governor, *ḥukmdār*, with authority over the Kurdish tribes situated between the Great Zāb and the Diyālā. At the end of six months, Shaykh Maḥmūd proclaimed the independence of Kurdistān (end of May 1919), and the British army had to intervene to

overcome him. Wounded at the battle of Bazyan (17 June 1919), Maḥmūd was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but, with his sentence commuted, was sent into exile to India. Meanwhile, several British officers had been assassinated at Zak͟ho, ʿAmādiyya and ʿAkra. Major Soane governed instead of the *s͟hayk͟h*, and calm soon returned. Difficulties arose with the installation as king in Bag͟hdād (23 August 1921) of the Amīr Fayṣal of Arabia, who had been chased from Damascus by the French, and the intention of attaching to the ʿIrāḳī crown the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, which the Turks continued to claim and which the Kurds wanted to organise for their own profit. The recent Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) recognised in effect the right of the Kurds to independence. Since agitation did not cease to spread over the whole of Kurdistān, S͟hayk͟h Maḥmūd was recalled to Sulaymāniyya (September 1922) and was no longer content with the title of *ḥukmdār*, but proclaimed himself king of the whole of Kurdistān (November). He set up a government of eight members, issued postage and fiscal stamps, levied taxes on tobacco and published a newspaper *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The sun of Kurdistan" which gives many details of all these events (Edmonds, *A Kurdish newspaper: Rhozh-i Kurdistan*, in *JRCAS*, xii [1925]). On 24 December 1922, His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of ʿIrāḳ recognised "the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish government within these frontiers, in the hope that the different Kurdish elements would reach agreement as soon as possible on the form to give to this government and the extent of its frontiers, and that they would send to Baghdad some responsible delegates to discuss their economic and political relations with His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of Iraq" (Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 312; Rambout, 58-9). But there were soon frictions between King Maḥmūd and his British protectors, as well as with some Kurds who envied his authority. His intrigues with the Turks also triggered off raids by the R.A.F., who forced him to take refuge at Sardas͟h (3 March 1923), where he published a newspaper, *Bangē haqq* "The call of truth". He stayed there until 1930, the year which saw the end of the British mandate.

This new political régime did not help the situation of the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ much, for the ʿIrāḳī government wanted immediately to withdraw from the Kurdish regions the local Kurdish officials in order to install Arabs and to suppress the teaching of the Kurdish language in the administrations of the north. Whence a malaise which degenerated into open revolt when ʿIrāḳī soldiers opened fire on the civil population of Sulaymāniyya (6 September 1930). S͟hayk͟h Maḥmūd once more headed the movement. The ʿIrāḳī army was incapable of bringing it to an end (September 1930-April 1931), and asked for the intervention of the R.A.F. This was very severely criticised by a number of Britons, and especially in a Note of General H. C. Dobbs, former High Commissioner at Bag͟hdād; Maḥmūd was sent into house arrest in Bag͟hdād. In 1931, S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad of Barzān, a less balanced personage, as Longrigg says (86, 103), quarrelled with a neighbouring Kurdish chief. In order to restore calm, the government undertook a winter campaign which also necessitated the intervention of the R.A.F. (cf. Mumford and Wilson, *The Crisis* ...). There was a new uprising in 1933-4, and S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad and his young brother Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had helped him militarily, were forced to reside at Kirkūk and then at Sulaymāniyya. In 1941, during the abortive insurrectional adventure of Ras͟hīd ʿAlī Gaylānī and the "Golden cadre", S͟hayk͟h Maḥmūd, who had profited from it to escape from Bag͟hdād, had tried to raise a levy of Kurdish troops to help the British (Longrigg, 295). In 1943, Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, in residence at Sulaymāniyya, unhappy with the food supplies and the social conditions of his supporters, succeeded in escaping as far as his territory of Barzān, accompanied by S͟hayk͟h Laṭīf, son of S͟hayk͟h Maḥmūd, and raised the standard of the revolt. A Kurd, Mad͟jīd Muṣṭafā, named as Minister of State, intervened to settle the affair. Barzānī surrendered on condition that the Kurdish districts would be better provisioned, that Kurdish and non-Arab officials would be sent there, and finally that schools and hospitals would be opened in Kurdistān. These conditions, accepted by Nūrī Saʿīd, the Prime Minister, who even foresaw the establishment of an entirely Kurdish *liwāʾ* (Longrigg, 325), were not agreed by the regent ʿAbd al-Ilāh and, in the spring of 1945, the revolt broke out more fiercely. This time it was more serious. The Kurds achieved several spectacular victories, while the army underwent heavy losses. Once again the R.A.F. came to play its role of saviour of ʿIrāḳ and the Hās͟himite monarchy. At the end of August, the operation was completed. Mollā Muṣṭafā withdrew to Iran with a party of his troops and his plunder (Rambout, 74-80). Four of his officers who had had faith in governmental promises of amnesty, Muṣṭafā K͟hushnavē, ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muḥammad Maḥmūd and K͟hayr Allāh ʿAbd al-Karīm, were tried and executed on 19 June 1947.

After these events determined by force, all that remained for the Kurdish nationalists of ʿIrāḳ was to go underground, and this is what they did. They founded the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (D.P.K.) with leftist tendencies, and published two bulletins *Azadi* "Liberty" and *Rizgari* "Liberation". In its second issue (October 1946), the latter extolled an Armeno-Kurdish Union. At the same period, Colonel Elphinston, chief of the Intelligence Service in the Levant, asked himself if these efforts were not going to lead to the constituting of a Republic of the Soviet Union with an Armeno-Kurdish character. In any case, the calm returned, the Kurds profited from the liberty which had been left them to work with more ardour in the cultural domain. Literary reviews saw the light of day. Collections of poetry and articles on the history of Kurdistan and famous Kurds of the past were published. Sulaymāniyya became a very active cultural centre and a lively seat of Kurdish nationalism.

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ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān since the proclamation of the ʿIrāḳī Republic (14 July 1958) until 1970 underwent many vicissitudes. This Republic aroused the enthusiasm of the Kurds who, with the other political parties, had participated in the overthrow of the Hāshimite monarchy. For the first time in history, the (provisional) Constitution of the state proclaimed in effect, "the Arabs and Kurds are associated in this nation". The Constitution guaranteed their national rights within the heart of the ʿIrāḳī entity (art. 3) (cf. *Orient*, no. 7 (3rd quarter 1958), 191-9). For his part, General ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] reinstated the Kurdish officials suspended in 1947 and authorised (2 September 1958) Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union since this date, to return to ʿIrāḳ. He received him there with joy on the 7 October 1958, while his companions in exile returned in April 1959. Ḳāsim gave him a personal guard and a house in Baghdād and, for some time, made him his counsellor to whom he paid attention. The Kurdish Democratic Party, which had prepared itself in secret for the great day and, from April 1959 published its weekly newspaper *Xebat* "Struggle", was authorised to appear. The Kurdish reviews and newspapers prospered, and from now on had a political aspect no longer simply a literary one. But this state of euphoria was not to last much longer, and the struggle of the Kurds for liberty broke out again and lasted ten years, interrupted by arrests and by more and more terrible reprisals. Four periods may be distinguished here:

Difficulties—as much external as internal—were not lacking for the "Faithful Leader". His see-saw politics ended by his setting everyone against him. The Kurds themselves, impatient to see him fulfil the promises which were late in coming, ended up by taking up arms against his dictatorial régime. Naturally, Mollā Muṣṭafā headed the movement (9 September 1961). This uprising was in no way tribal, for it was truly all the ʿIrāḳī Kurds, peasants and townsfolk, intellectuals and feudalists, who formed a bloc against Ḳāsim. The riposte was terrible: a strict economic blockade to starve the north of the country; massive bombardments with napalm, burning villages and harvests and shooting women, old men and children as well as combatants, but which only electrified the courage of the Kurds who, in March 1962, were the uncontested masters of all the ʿIrāḳī north, with the exception of the cities where the government troops were garrisoned. The losses of the army quickly rendered this war in the finest colonialist style unpopular. The soldiers deserted or went over to the enemy; business and commerce were reduced to nothing. A coup d'état was afoot, and the Kurds—without whom nothing could be done—were kept well-informed. At dawn of 8 February 1963, Ḳāsim disappeared tragically from the political scene and, from the next day, the Kurds declared the ceasefire. The Baath (Baʿth) took power in Baghdād. But when the Kurds reminded the new government of their neutrality, they were met with excuses. However, negotiations were embarked on and, on the 24 April 1963, the Kurds even presented a detailed *Memorandum* in which they expressed their desiderata (*Orient*, no. 26 (2nd quarter 1963), 207-11). Meanwhile, once it considered itself quite strong, the Baʿthist government imprisoned the Kurdish deputies, issued an ultimatum (10 June 1963) and the same day resumed hostilities with an increased violence. As in the interval, the Baʿth had also assumed power in Damascus, the Syrians lent assistance to their ʿIrāḳī friends by sending aircraft and the Yarmūk Brigade. The Kurds had soon eliminated the latter. They multiplied their ambushes, seized military posts and convoys of munitions and took prisoners by hundreds. The ʿIrāḳī army, beaten and humiliated, then brought in the "National Guard", aid of the Baʿthist government, whose atrocities against the communists and all the opponents of the régime aroused universal reprobation. By a new coup d'état, aided by the army, General ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif ousted the Baʿth and took all power into his own hands (18 November 1963). Military actions did not continue any the less. Barzānī launched an appeal to the International Red Cross (September 1963; Vanly, 319-21), and the Kurds addressed themselves to the Pope on the occasion of his journey to the Holy Land (2 January 1964; *L'Orient*, Beirut, no. 5240 (4 January 1964); complete text in *C.E.K.* no. 30, 82-8; cf. Mauries, 95, 96).

With a view to finally settling the Kurdish problem, Field-Marshal ʿĀrif negociated a ceasefire (10 February 1964) which Mollā Muṣṭafā accepted without even consulting the political bureau of the D.P.K. The Kurds who, as much as the ʿIrāḳīs, needed a breathing space, profited from it to make known to the outside world the true situation, thanks to foreign journalists who came to visit them; they renewed their provisions in livestock and munitions. The ʿIrāḳī government, occupied with still-born projects of Arab unity, left things to settle down, persuaded that in the end everything would be settled through weariness. Nothing came of it and the Kurds, disillusioned at seeing that no-one was seriously occupied with their demands, after October 1964 resolved to organise in effect their internal autonomy. They nominated administrative officials at all levels, levied dues and taxes, meted out justice in their tribunals. Naturally too, their troops were better-and-better equipped and trained. For the Sixth Congress of the D.P.K. (1-7 July 1964), the general state of the revolution (9-10 October 1964) as well as the new organisation of the Party and Constitution (17 October), cf. Vanly, 227-44 and texts: Constitution, 375-6, Administrative Law, 376-7. On the military organisation, *ibid.*, 244-8; Pradier, 210-23.

But the ceasefire of February was bound to provoke a serious crisis in the heart of the Kurdish insurrectional movement between Barzānī and the political bureau of the D.P.K., which in a brochure published on the 19 April, *L'accord ʿĀrif-Barzānī, une paix ou une capitulation?* accused him of having by this accord betrayed the objectives of the revolution. There was even a bloody engagement at Mawat, on 17 July, between antagonistic groups. At the Sixth Congress, 14 out of the 17 members of the political bureau were excluded from the party, among them Ibrāhīm Aḥmad and Djalāl Talabānī, and took refuge in Iran. This crisis due to differences of view between theoreticians and realists, despite its miseries, did not have any repercussions on the later military

events (cf. Vanly, 218-25; Pradier, 203-9, Viennot, 95-111; Arfa, 149-52).

But the ambiguity of the situation between Kurds and ʿIrāḳīs was bound soon to be dissipated. On 10 May 1964, the ʿIrāḳī government promulgated a new provisional Constitution which passed over in silence the rights of the Kurds explicitly recognised in the 3rd art. of the Constitution of 1958. This would not do for the Kurds who, for their part, had not disarmed their troops. The spring offensive was launched on the 4th March 1965 by almost the entire ʿIrāḳī army (infantry, armour, aircraft) with at its head General ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀrif, brother of the President. It began by achieving some local successes (March-May), but in summer (June-September) some murderous combats developed in the chain of Safīn. The small town of Pend̲j̲wīn, which had been destroyed, was occupied by the ʿIrāḳīs. Throughout this period, while the Kurds used artillery for the first time, the ʿIrāḳīs used toxic gases, but suffered heavy losses (4,194 killed, 2,201 wounded, 12 tanks destroyed and 5 aircraft shot down). Egypt helped ʿIrāḳ (*Le Monde*, 23 October). The winter campaign (22 December 1965-end February 1966) was resumed with intensity. On 1st January 1966, Barzānī sent a Memorandum to the U.N.O. (text in Vanly, 378-9). On 13 April 1966, Marshal ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif was killed in a helicopter accident. His brother, the general, was chosen to replace him as head of state. The same day as this death a new offensive began to liquidate definitively the rebellion. This campaign, which lasted from 12 April to 15 June, was particularly notable in May for the battle of Rawāndiz or Hendrin, the "Kurdish Verdun", as an eye-witness called it, R. Mauriès (171-213), and was transformed into a rout for the ʿIrāḳīs who, despite intensive use of napalm, lost 1,056 killed, 476 wounded, 600 mercenaries, the "cavaliers of Saladin" were put out of action and an enormous booty taken. The Kurds for their part only had to lament 38 killed and 85 wounded. Despite proclamations of victory, after a new ceasefire demanded from the 15 June by the government, an accord negociated by the Prime Minister Bazzāz (d. 28/6/73) was signed on 29 June 1966 (Vanly, 379; Viennot, thesis, ii, 189-92). Some secret clauses recognised in effect a certain autonomy for the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ; ʿĀrif made a visit to Barzānī (28 October) to try to reach agreement with him, for the ʿIrāḳī General Staff, unhappy with the "Bazzāz plan" did everything to torpedo it. Again, things dragged on for a long time. But the war of 5-11 June 1967 was bound to have its counter-effect in several Arab lands, as also in ʿIrāḳ, where a new coup d'état (17 July 1967) saw General Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr install himself as President of the Republic, followed by a second coup d'état (30 July 1968) in which al-Bakr took over all power and re-established the Baʿt̲h̲ist dictatorship, whose "National Guard" in 1963 had hardly left behind good memories. While the Kurds maintained their material and moral potential and made a great effort in the field of primary instruction by opening 300 schools in 1968, the government flirted with the Kurdish dissidents, created an (Arabic language) University at Sulaymāniyya and the new administrative division (*liwāʾ*) of Duhok among the Kurds, but nevertheless prepared to resume hostilities. These, preceded by several skirmishes, began in April around Koy-Sand̲j̲aḳ. The ʿIrāḳī troops had to abandon the towns of Kala-Diza, Pend̲j̲wīn and Čwarta, and then attacked in June the peasant population of Arbīl, Ḥalabd̲j̲a and Badīnān, spraying the harvests with napalm and sulphuric acid. In July, cholera broke out at Kala-Diza. In August there was the massacre of Dakan, at S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ān. In January (5 January 1970, *L'Express* mentioned that between September and December 1969, the Kurds had stopped the ʿIrāḳī offensive outright; 151 aircraft had been shot down during the last six months. Also in January 1970, the Baʿt̲h̲ist régime opened negociations with Barzānī and the executive bureau. A Kurdish delegation, headed by Dr. Maḥmūd ʿUt̲h̲mān, went to Baghdad and, on the 11 March, an accord on 15 points was signed at Nawperdan, in Kurdistān, between the two parties, which put an end to a war of nine years (text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970). The Kurds obtained their internal autonomy and the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The Kurdish language became the second official language of ʿIrāḳ (Arabic text in *al-D̲j̲umhūriyya*, Baghdad no. 704, of 12 March 1970; English text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970; German text, Nebez, *Kurdistan*, 232-5). Five Kurds were named as ministers, the amnesty was declared on both sides. Great festivities celebrated the event. However, all the problems were not solved. There was an attempt against Mollā Muṣṭafā (29 September 1971), troubles at Sind̲j̲ār (summer 1972) and controversies over the attribution of the territories of Kirkūk after the nationalisation of the I.P.C. (1st June 1972). In June 1973, an *Appel en faveur du Kurdistan irakien* for the application of the accord of 11 March 1970, emanated from combined groups and from Black Africa (*Le Monde*, 15 June 1973).

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The Kurds of Syria and Lebanon, apart from some great families and their entirely arabised dependants, such as the Barazī of Ḥamāt, the beys of ʿAkkār, the D̲j̲umblāṭ Druze chiefs (D̲j̲ān Bulād "soul of steel"), have preserved their original characters, although some may often have been settled for several centuries and, in every case, well before the establishment of the French mandate. They posed practically no political problem to the mandatory

power and were able to develop freely a very lively cultural movement. They had a large share in the economic prosperity of the Djazīra (Rondot, *Les Kurdes de Syrie*, 94, 99 and passim; A. Muʿawwad, *al-Akrād fī Lubnān wa-Sūriyā*, Beirut 1945). But difficulties of a political order arose under the various régimes after 1957 and the plan for the "Arab Belt" (1963). Then, on the pretext of agrarian reform, the lands of the peasants were confiscated, and 120,000 Kurds forfeited their Syrian nationality, also loosing the right to become civil servants, to send their children to state schools and to be admitted to the public hospitals. All Kurdish books and music were forbidden. The names of villages were changed to give them Arab names and to settle Arabs there instead and expel Kurds (I. C. Vanly, *Le problème kurde en Syrie*, 1968 (cf. Muḥammad Ṭālib Hilāl, *Dirāsa ʿan muḥāfaẓat al-Djazīra min al-nawāḥī al-ḳawmiyya al-idjtimāʿiyya al-siyāsiyya*, 1963, ed. I. C. Vanly, and 1968); idem, *La persécution du peuple kurde par la dictature du Baas en Syrie*, Amsterdam, October 1968.

(Th. Bois)

iv. — Kurdish Society

The social and economic life of Kurdistan is strongly structured. If a small part of the Kurdish people still leads a nomadic life, its great majority is now sedentarised in numerous villages, but "it survives as well today, and in the countryside Kurdish society is essentially tribal" (Edmonds, 12), as always among nomads. But in the detribalised villages the organisation of the group comes under the influence of the government administration, landlords and religious leaders. This leads to a certain number of transformations of fundamental structures at present clearly evolving in Kurdish society, family, tribe and landlord, which we are going to examine first before considering the religious impact, then drawing attention to the social customs which are attached to them.

A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society.

1. *The Kurdish family.*

The normal Kurdish family consists of a cell or household composed of the father, mother and children. This household, founded on marriage, is ordinarily monogamous and not patriarchal. Marriage is essential. In Kurdistān there are no old bachelors or spinsters, and also no celibacy nor free love at all. Prostitution does not exist in the small Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ or Iran. Adultery is practically unknown because too dangerous. People marry young, the boys at 20, the girls at 12. But in the towns, and since the young Kurds prolong their studies, marriage is delayed. Cousins frequently marry one another. The agnatic cousin is preferred and has rights over his cousin. This way of doing things has many advantages, for the father of the bride knows his nephew better; who, himself, is more in a position to protect the girl. Moreover, in the case of tribal conflicts, especially in the past, this would make one rifle more. At the same time, the marriage portion is diminished. To renounce his cousin, the agnatic cousin will exact the price of his renunciation. If not, he will be able to abduct the girl or even to shoot her as well as her parents (Daghestani, 22-3). So abduction is not therefore unknown, with all its risks (ʿAḳrāwī, 130; Daghestani, 17). Marriage can also be conducted by the exchange of sisters, *berdêlî* (Avdal, 222; Daghestani, 3). In this case, the marriage portion is not exacted and only the costs of the wedding feast remain. Marriage can also be conducted between people who are not related, but there is a preference for the same village or the same tribe, more than for a stranger, so that marriage is always endogamous in the broad sense. Barth (61) was able to ascertain a much greater frequency of marriage between cousins in the tribal populations (57%) than in the non-tribal populations (17%). Hence the importance of knowing lineage and names well (cf. genealogical table: Leach, 63; Barth, 31; Hansen, 116). Among the Yazīdīs and the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ strict endogamy is obligatory between some families (Avdal; Mokri, 44). The marriage portion, except in the cases cited, is exacted everywhere (Daghestani, 28; Leach, 44-5; Hansen, 123-4) and is not necessarily considered by the interested parties as being a sale, as it is often seen in the West. On the contrary, they like it as an appreciation of their value. This marriage portion, which varies according to the regions and especially the social situation of the family, is paid in kind, livestock, lands, a mill, etc., or in cash, of which the sum varies enormously, and its high sum may at times cause the aspirant to despair. Despite the critics, even among the Soviet Kurds, it has not completely disappeared. Cf. on this subject some poems translated in *Machriq*, 1958. The virginity of the girl before marriage must not be in doubt and proof must be given on the night of the wedding and kept for a year at least (Nikitine, 109, 115; Hansen, 13-4; Mokri, 68).

Polygamy exists legally as much among the Muslim Kurds as among the Yazīdīs. Horizontal or simultaneous polygamy was very frequent in the past, and was still so in the 19th century. The chiefs of tribes did not always keep to the four legitimate wives authorised by the Ḳurʾān. Ibrāhīm Pasha, founder of Sulaymāniyya, had 40 wives (Campanile, 107); the great Bedir Khān had 14 and 99 children. At his death, 21 boys and 21 girls remained to him. These customs are now ended. In the past, polygamy was a luxury and a sign of power; today it is sometimes an economic need. It can still be encountered in the urban poorly-educated milieu (Hansen, 138), but also in the peasant milieu (Barth, 25). In any case, where it is found, it does not exceed 2% in the Kurd Dagh (Daghestani, 79), 4% in ʿIrāḳ (Barth, 24), and there are never more than two wives. Among themselves, they are called *hewî*. In Turkey and among the Soviet Kurds, polygamy is forbidden by the civil law. But vertical or successive polygamy always exists, thanks to divorce or repudiation, for three *ṭalāḳ*s suffice for a husband to be able to repudiate a wife who no longer pleases him in order to marry another. Also, the *shaykh* of Shadala at 70 had been married 19 times (Hansen, 138), and similarly old Ibrāhīm, *agha* of the Dizai (Hay, 43). The wife can also be repudiated because of sterility or the impossibility of bringing male infants into the world. In this case, she may remain with her husband. If she is repudiated for other reasons, she returns to her father and has few chances of remarrying. A woman guilty or even simply suspected of adultery will not only be repudiated, but will run a high risk of death, which her own father or brother or one of his parents will be entitled to inflict on her. The children of the repudiated wife remain with their father. The widow remains in the house of the father or brother of her husband (Barth, 29). The levirate is practised at times, and a little everywhere (Daghestani, 99; Avdal, 221; Barth, 29; Edmonds, 348; Hansen, 136), not as a rule of law, but for convenience. In the Kurdish family, the husband has great authority,

but the wife also has her word to say. Speaking of the situation of the two spouses, Mrs. Hansen (117) finds that of the woman inferior to that of the man in the humble villages, equal in the village aristocracy and the educated urban milieu, but superior in the uneducated urban milieu.

The birth of a child is always desired, even if a son is not necessarily preferred to a daughter. Also, the children are numerous but decimated by a fairly severe infant mortality. The children are always welltreated, but without excessive refinement, for life is harsh. The name is given at birth and ordinarily by the women (Nikitine, 106), but at times by the mollah (Barth, 112; Hansen, 108). This name is often that of an Islamic personage or a hero of history or national legend, or it may well be one of the virtues which one wishes to see possessed by the newborn, or the name of a flower, fruit, animal with qualities appreciated by everyone. Hypocoristic forms of the name are very widespread. Some names possess at the same time the desinence *o* of the masculine and the desinence *e* of the feminine. But curiously, the masculine forms are used to address individuals who are not noble, while the feminine forms are reserved for personages of distinguished birth (Celadet Bedir Khan, *Grammaire* 98). On names, diminutives, surnames, see Edmonds, 42.

Circumcision, *sinet*, is practised a few days after the birth, either by a specialist *sinetker* or by a simple barber (Barth, 112; Nikitine, 106). In some places, the ceremony may be carried out later, when the child is 5 or 7 years old and often with several children at the same time. The chief or notable whose son has to be circumcised organises a small festivity, and offers a meal to the families concerned (Barth, 112).

2. *Tribal organisation.*

(a) *Listings of the Kurdish tribes.*

A fundamental element of Kurdish society is without dispute the tribe. We possess at present the nomenclature of all the Kurdish tribes. In 1826 Lerch already made a good summary of the Kurds of Turkey (63-87), the Russian territories (88-9) and the Persian territories (92-121). Jaba (1860) specified some numbers of them (1-8 of the Kurdish text). A map of their habitat in Transcaucasia was published at Tiflis by E. Kondratenko (1896) and Col. Kartsov (1897). In 1908 Sir Mark Sykes recorded 305 names of Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, and G. R. Driver (1919) drew up Sykes' list differently and added the Kurdish tribes of southern Kurdistān (ʿIrāḳ) and those which remain outside the Kurdistān foreseen after the Great War (19-74). But the different political events which have occurred since then have led to many changes in the distribution and situation of the Kurdish tribes. In the Kurdish edition of his *History of Kurdistan* (1931), M. A. Zakī draws up a complete table of all the tribes (319-98, Arabic tr. [1939], 373-468 with map). The Kurdish tribes of Syria were counted by the French services of the Levant in 1930 (5th part, 137-90), and with more care and exactitude by P. Rondot in 1939. The lists published in Kurdish in *Roja nû* of the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (No. 66,14—January 1946) and those of Iran (No. 68,4 of February 1946) are not of much use, given the few precise figures, in particular. M. Mokri in Persian gives information on the Sandjābī tribes of Iran (1946), and A. ʿAzzāwī presented in Arabic (1947) an excellent study on the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (27-222). A good account of the tribes and sub-tribes of ʿIrāḳ, northern Kurdistān (18-27), and southern Kurdistān (45-51), is supplied for us by H. Field in his *Anthropology of Iraq* (1953), with their numerical importance, the names of the chiefs and the habitat. But in fact, his information is earlier than that supplied by ʿAzzāwī. In Persian, the name of 490 tribes are to be found in Mardūkh (1953), i, 75-119, and a long study on the tribes of Sanandadj, ii, 10-48. Finally, in B. Karabudat there are eight sketches of the position of the Kurdish tribes and clans of Turkey in the *vilayets* of Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis, Muş, Van and Hakkâri, and similarly in the border districts of Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Iran. As for the Yazīdī tribes, they were in their turn enumerated and placed by A. ʿAzzāwī in 1935 (90-110), and those of Sindjār and Djabal Akrād especially by R. Lescot (1938), 251-61). The interest of this vast table and listing is particularly to show the universality of the tribal phenomenon in the history and life of the Kurdish people. Clearly, it is not our concern to write at length on these different tribes. The fundamental work remains the *Sharaf-nāma* (1596). Much historical and ethnographical information is to be found in the different works of Soane (1912-26). Longrigg (1925), Leach (1940), Nikitine (1950), Barth (1953) and Edmonds (1957). An exhaustive study of the Yazīdī tribes, clans and villages with statistics is given us by S. Damlūdjī (1949) in his work on the Yazīdīs in Arabic (224-60).

(b) *The Kurdish tribe and its components.*

"The Kurdish tribe is a community or a collection of communities which exists for the protection of its members against an external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and way of life" (Hay, 65). It is evident that a land of mountains, such as Kurdistān, favours the birth and development of groups more or less closed and shut in on themselves, as perhaps was the tribe in its origin. Although constituted like every human grouping which is formed from a kernel like the family, it would be wrong to believe that the Kurdish tribe is an enlarged family, a little in the manner of which the Bible speaks of the Twelve Tribes of Israel (F. Millingen, 284). Indeed, some contemporary Kurdish sociologists are opposed to this way of seeing things. If the vertebral column of the Arab tribe (*ḳabīla*) is a kinship line (*nasab*), among the Kurds it is the soil (*arḍ*), i.e. the region inhabited by all and submissive to the chief of the group (Khesbak, 68; ʿAkrāwī, 18).

However, the western sociologists who have studied tribal organisation among the Kurds (Leach, 1940; Barth, 1953; W. L. E., 1956) seem to have remarked some differences among the nomads on the one hand and the sedentaries on the other. Barth also examined the political organisation of the Djaff, a powerful federation of tribes, almost entirely nomadic until very recently (34-44 and diagr. no. 3); political organisation among the Hamawend (45-9 and diagr. no. 4 and 5), where the economy is based on agricultural exploitation and where non-tribal elements are mixed with the population; and finally, the organisation and political structure of the Baban, a princely family (60-6 and diagr. no. 6). For his part, the anonymous W.L.E. (432) was able to distinguish in the rural population various types of social and economic organisation, e.g. the classical tribe under an *agha* claiming a common origin and divided into *tira* or fractions, such as the Girdī and the tribe under a "feudal" chief of different lineage, such as the Dizaī and Djaff. The influence and the social role of the landlords and religious *shaykhs*, who are not chiefs of a tribe, are another aspect of the problem (cf. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 39-47).

Furthermore, real social classes are recognisable in Kurdish society. The most evident distinction exists between the villagers of tribal origin, *eşīr* (*ʿas̲h̲īra*) and those who are not and are named after the regions and dialects, either *kurdmanč* (Kurdmandj), *goran* or *miskīn*, some of them being sometimes almost the serfs of the landlords of the village (Nikitine, 124). The last name *miskīn* should be preferred, says Edmonds (123), for the two others denote different meanings (dialect or tribe). Perhaps they are to be seen as the descendants of the autochthonous populations conquered by the warlike tribes? But even within the same tribe, there is no uniformity of rights and duties. There are the noble families, one might say, *torin*, such as the Begzādas; and the commoners who comprise firstly a military caste, the *xulam* (*g̲h̲ulām*) (Nikitine, 125) or *piştmala* (Barth, 42), a kind of praetorian guard of the chiefs who are recruited in all the *tira* of the tribe (Barth, 46) and who, in the past, had almost the status of slave (Nikitine, 125), and finally the class of peasants.

Perhaps one may now give the classical scheme of the organisation of a Kurdish tribe according to Rondot (*Tribus*, 18 ff.) with regard to the Omeran. At the base is the house or household or family in the strict sense of father, mother and children. A group of houses form a *bavik* or *mal*, an extended family. The union of many *baviks* constitutes the clan or *ber*. The collection of all these clans gives us the tribe or *eşīr* (*ʿas̲h̲īra*). The terminology is different in Barth, who divided e.g. the Djaff *ʿas̲h̲īra* into a certain number of tribes or *tira*, a political group not to be confused with the *hoz*, a group of the same lineage. The *tira* is subdivided into many *k̲h̲el*, each *k̲h̲el* composed of 20 to 30 tents or households united by economic links as well as by family links. At the head of the *ʿas̲h̲īra* there is, or used to be, a *pas̲h̲a* of the family of Begzāda; each *tira* has at its head a *raiz* (*raʾīs*); and at the head of each *k̲h̲el* an elected chief of a village, the *kik̲h̲a*. Among the Hamawend, the chief of a *tira* is called *ag̲h̲a*. For his part, Leach (13-14), distinguished the *ʿas̲h̲īra* whose "name describes at the same time the people and the territory which occupies it". It is essentially descriptive of a political grouping. It is formed of one or several clans or *ṭāʾifa*, descriptive of a kinship grouping and divided into several subsections or *tira*. He also finds, he says, the normal anthropological classification: *ʿas̲h̲īra*, *ṭāʾifa* and *tira*, i.e. tribe, clan and lineage. This divergence in vocabulary where Arabic and Kurdish words of different dialects are mixed together hardly favours clarity of exposition.

Let us draw attention to the system of the *oba* (cf. the *k̲h̲el*), which is particular to the semi-nomadic tribes and which makes its appearance towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It is a temporary association of stock-breeders from different villages, formed in the spring to lead the herds to the pastures and to return at the end of the autumn. Neither kinship nor tribal relations are necessary to be a member of the *oba*. The *ser-oba* or *oba başī* organises the transhumance on condition that he has dues appropriated in kind. There are still to be remarked the differentiations in the groups: the chief *ser-oba* and his family, the different more or less important landlords and the simple shepherds. On this organisation of the *oba*, see Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd* (ed. Beirut 1947, 29), Nikitine, 149-52; Ghassemlou, 158-60. According to O. L. Vilčevsky, *Economie de la communauté agricole chez les Kurdes*, 1936, it is around the *oba* that the "class struggle" is concentrated in Kurdistān.

(c) *The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations.*

The chief of the tribe, whatever its importance, is ordinarily called *ag̲h̲a*, a relatively recent title, at the earliest after the conquest of Bag̲h̲dād by Sultan Murād IV in 1637 (Edmonds, 223). He always comes from the family of the chiefs. He normally acquires this rank by heredity, but not always. The eldest son generally takes the place of his deceased father, but not necessarily, for a younger brother, judged more able, because more competent or better-liked, can supplant his elder brother. But the choice can also be made after the election of other chiefs or clans, or even, if necessary, by violence. In some cases even, the central government can intervene and nominate the chief directly.

In the feudal age, the chief, almost autonomous in his tribe, had to supply the suzerain, sultan or s̲h̲āh, with levies in the form of troops or tributes which, naturally, he levied on his dependents, whom he had besides to aid protect in time of war and danger. But this is ancient history. Today the chief has other obligations, and especially it is to him or his representative, the chief of the village, that there falls the duty of sheltering guest travellers, Kurds or foreigners, more or less numerous according to the seasons or circumstances. To collect his expenses, the chief imposes on the people of his tribe certain dues, which bear the general name of the *ag̲h̲a*'s right, *ağatī*, either taxes on all the revenues of the shepherd or peasant, or corvées, *herewez*, days of obligatory work, not to mention some obligatory presents, *êdanî*, in certain circumstances (marriages, feasts) and the rights of justice or fines in cash which he can exact for theft, abduction or murder, if recourse is had to his good offices and to his intervention to regulate the litigation (details of all levies due to the chief will be found in Th. Bois, *Connaissance . . .*, 36-8 or *La vie sociale*, 610-11 and notes 46 and 47 with the references). These tribal rights should not be confused with the other rights to which the Kurdish shepherds or peasants are obligated by the landlords.

3. *The economic structures.*

(a) *Kurdish nomadism.*

The nomads are essentially organised around the tribe and are devoted almost exclusively to stock-breeding in a fairly closed economy. The life of a nomad is harsh and is submissive to the heavy authority of the chief. But this way of life, both for social and economic reasons, is tending to be transformed and to disappear. On nomadism and its repercussions on the economy of Kurdistan, see J. Frölin, *Les formes de la vie pastorale en Turquie*, in *Geografiska Stockholm Annalen* (1944), 219-72; H. Christoff, *Kurden und Armenier*, Hamburg 1935; O. L. Vilčevsky, *Economie de la communauté agraire nomade kurde de la Transcaucasie et des districts environnants dans la 2e moitié du xixe s.*, in *SE* (1936), No. 4-5, 135-61; N. Bogdanova, *L'exploitation féodale des nomades*, in *Arch. Hist. Acad. Sc. URSS*, ii (1939); I. P. Petrus̲h̲evsky, *Essai sur l'histoire des relations féodales en Azerbaidjan et en Arménie, du xvie au debut du xixe s.*, Leningrad 1949, 389; W. D. Hütteroth, *Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus*, Marburg 1959, 190; T. R. Stauffer, *The economics of nomadism in Iran*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1965), 284-302; V. Monteil, *Les tribus du Fars et la sedentarisation des nomades*, Paris-The Hague 1966. Also, X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, 442; H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Aperçu sur le problème du*

nomadisme au Moyen-Orient, in Documentation française, *Notes et Études*, doc. No. 2095 (3 November 1955).

Some efforts at sedentarisation were undertaken between the two World Wars, in the different states where nomadic tribes, Kurds or others, were living; but both in Turkey as well as in Iran, with Mustafa Kemal or Riḍā Shāh Pahlavi, the methods used were not always well received by the interested parties. This is the reverse of Russian policy with the tribes of the Caucasus, according to R. J. M. Goold-Adams (*Middle East journey*, London 1947, 95), who says that the Russians succeeded better than anywhere else in the Middle East. "In fact, their way of approaching the problem was economic as much as political and military ... For they offered the nomads lands, water and the advice of agricultural experts to make them capable of augmenting the harvests necessary for their subsistance." Elsewhere, sedentarisation has been effected without violence and in stages, as for the Djaff, for example (Edmonds, 146).

(b) *The Kurdish peasantry.*

The Kurdish population is essentially rural. The Kurd is thus a peasant in a rough proportion of 65 to 80%, although industrialisation is beginning to take place. If such are the facts, it is understandable that the land must play a fundamental role in the life of the peasant. The land system in force among the Kurds poses more of a problem. Until the First World War, the major part of Kurdistan was contained in the Ottoman Empire, and the land system came under the Ottoman Land Code (1858), for military fiefs had been abolished in 1839. This system existed until around 1930, in the lands (Syria, ʿIrāḳ) which were inheritors of the Ottoman Empire (Warriner, 66). This Code recognised various kinds of properties: *mulk* property, in the absolute form *raḳaba*, recognised by a title deed or *senet tapo*, or in the form of usufruct, *taṣarruf*; property of the state, *mīrī*, absolute for the state, with usufruct possible for some private individuals; properties of *waḳf* or mainmorte, either *khayrī* if the beneficiaries are works of charity, such as mosques, schools or students, hospitals, or *ahlī* if the beneficiaries are minors; public properties for the use of all, *matrūka*, e.g. roads, rivers, village commons etc.; and finally dead properties, *mawāt*, desert and empty lands which all belong to the state. In Iran the *khāliṣa* crown properties must be added here (Lambton, 238-58).

The extent of these different types of property varies between the countries, and in general leaves little room for the small landowner ($^{2}/_{3}$ of the rural population in Turkey, $^{1}/_{4}$ in ʿIrâḳ). Everywhere large landownership is the rule. In ʿIrāḳ, out of 10 million hectares of arable land, 4 millions belong to the state and 6 million to private landowners. In Iran 10% of the peasants possess 8% of the land, from 1 to 3 hectares or a *cot* per household. The *cot* is both the pair of oxen used for labour and the work carried out by the peasant in one day (Ghassemlou, 128). The great landowners, i.e. the state, the chiefs of tribes, the religious *shaykh*s and the great bourgeois businessmen, lease out on short lets their immense lands at a price which renders the situation of the peasant highly precarious. Indeed, the dues are heavy. If, in Iran, the annual revenue of the great landowners reaches 5,600 dollars a head, that of the average peasant only reaches 60 dollars (Ghassemlou, 168). In ʿIrāḳ, before the Second World War, the income of the Kurdish peasant came to £ 10 a year (Khosbak). There are the dues in kind or in corvée labour (80%), in kind (15%) and for the rest (5%), which fall so heavily on the peasant. In Turkey, several systems are distinguishable: *yarıcılık*, where the peasant uses his own tools, plough and livestock and gives half of the harvest; *resimcilik*, where the amount of the rent depends on the situation and fertility of the soil, the manpower, the rentability of the cultivation and the degree of dependance of the peasant; and *murabbacılık*, where, in exchange for his work the farmer only touches $^{1}/_{4}$ of the harvest (Moiselev, 13). In Kurdish Iran, the same servitudes under different names and rather similar systems are to be found: *nimekare*, in which the landowner leases out the irrigated lands and supplies the seed, and the peasant supplies the work, with the landowner taking $^{3}/_{5}$ of the harvest and the peasant $^{2}/_{5}$; *sēykbar*, in which the landowner supplies the land, the water, the seed and the beasts of labour, and takes $^{1}/$ of the harvests; *sèqut*, in which the landowner supplies soil and water and receives $^{2}/_{3}$ of the harvest; and *dawudu*, in which the landowner, in return for supplying earth and seed, takes $^{2}/_{10}$ of the harvest (Ghassemlou, 132-8). In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān the same problems are encountered. Thus for the summer harvests, tobacco or cotton, the landowner takes $^{1}/_{2}$ and $^{1}/_{3}$ in the case of the rice; for the winter harvests, wheat or barley, $^{1}/_{10}$ or $^{1}/_{5}$. In addition, there is that which is owned or levied: 7.5% for the *serkal*, the agent of the landowner, 10% for the government, and in addition, all that there is set aside for the *qahwaçi* or coffeemaker of the master, the *mudhif* or guest house, etc. (Khosbak, 48). Also, for the detribalised villages under landlords, the revenues of the soil are distributed roughly as follows: $^{3}/_{6}$ for the landowner, $^{1}/_{6}$ for his representative in the case of the landowners who do not always live on the spot but are settled in the towns, $^{1}/_{6}$ for the share-cropper or farmer, and $^{1}/_{6}$ for the agricultural worker who has neither land nor beast, but only his labour. If account is made at the end of the year, the poor Kurdish peasant is left with empty hands and overwhelmed by debts (Rossi, 86), for he is often forced to take on usurious loans in order to survive until the next harvest.

If such are the conditions of life of the Kurdish peasant, one can understand the rebellions which break out from time to time, e.g. that of the *mouroud* of the Kurd-Dagh (Syria) directed by Ibrâhîm Khalīl between 1930 and 1940 (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Kurdes*, 15-115), and the revolt of 20,000 families of Dizai, in 1954, who demanded the reduction of the tax to $^{9}/_{20}$th of the harvest, the suppression of forced labour, and the suppression of gifts on the occasion of feasts or marriages (Gavan, 19).

To remedy this feudalism of the land which makes the Kurdish peasant a taxable serf, subject to forced labour at pleasure, some projects of agrarian reform have been envisaged by the governments of the regions inhabited by the Kurds. In all these lands however, the feudalists, chiefs of tribes or religious *shaykh*s, privileged in the past, have been the stubborn enemies of these attempts at reform.

In Iran, since 1955, a law provides for the distribution of the lands belonging to the crown and state (Muḥammad Shāh, 205). In 1960, an agrarian law aimed at regulating the property of private lands by fixing the maximum at 400 hectares for irrigated lands and 800 hectares for non-irrigated lands. Provision was also made for rural co-operatives which, from 500 in the beginning, rose to 4,500 in 1965 and 8,000 in 1969. But above all, the Shāh proclaimed the "White Revolution" (26 January 1963), approved by referendum and which, in its

twelve points, was among other things to lead to the abolition of feudalism and the liberation of the peasant. In Turkey, since 1938, provision has been made for the purchase of the lands of the great landowners to distribute them to the peasants, but few have benefited from it. A legal project regarding agrarian reform was promulgated on the 21 June 1945, which envisaged the distribution of the lands of the state and of landowners whose area exceeded 500 hectares, but this art. 17 was abrogated in 1950. The price had to be paid within 20 years (Mouseiev, 14). A new agrarian project began in 1961. The deplorable situation of the peasants was acknowledged, hence it was concerned with the distribution of the lands belonging to the Treasury, 8 million *dönums* (in Turkey 1 *dönum* = 1,000 m² approx.); those managed and cultivated by the state, quite extensive in the provinces of the east and south-east; those of *wakfs*, of which there still remained 1 million *dönums* to distribute; and finally the private estates, whose total area exceeded 38 million *dönums* (Vatan, 14-15). In 1965, out of 13,591,622 members of the active population, nearly ³/₄, i.e. 9,764,652 lived by agriculture (Esenkova, 116). They were also the most unprovided for (cf. M. Makal, *Bizim köy*, Fr. tr. *Un village anatolien, récit d'un instituteur paysan*, Paris 1963, Eng. tr., *A village in Anatolia*, London 1954).

In ʿIrāḳ, the agrarian policy of the royal government was originally rather favourable to the chiefs of tribes, Arabs or Kurds. In 1932, law No. 50 (Dowson) assigned landed property, pasture or arable, to the tribes, then law no. 51 (called *lazma*) assigned to the chiefs the ownership of the properties of the tribe. In 1933, Law No. 28 forbade the peasant "in debt" to leave the land of his master, unless his house was destroyed. Finally, in 1954, Decree No. 11 allowed the Minister of Justice to assign the national properties. Furthermore, e.g. in 1952-4, 1,794,560 *dönums* (in ʿIrāḳ a *dönum* = ¹/₄ hectare) were distributed to 6,863 peasant families from the region of Sindjār, but the major part was assigned to Aḥmad al-Adjil, *shaykh* of the Shammar (Warriner, 160).

Such a situation could not continue. After 30 August 1958, the new Republic published an agrarian law which was aimed at putting an end to feudalism, to raise the social level of the peasant and develop agriculture. According to this law, the area of properties should not exceed 250 hectares in irrigated lands and 500 hectares in non-irrigated lands. The benefits of cultivation were strictly regulated. The lands thus freed had within five years to be distributed to the peasants, from 30 to 60 *dönums* of irrigated lands or from 60 to 120 *dönums* of non-irrigated lands. The landowners had to be compensated in goods from the Treasury at 3%, reimbursable in 20 years (Vernier, 398). There was euphoria among the peasants, who did not wait to help themselves, and a general outcry on the part of the landlords, and many rebellions had to be faced.

In these different lands, the Kurdish peasant was bound to benefit from these agrarian reforms. But it is not sufficient to have the land; he still had to have the means to cultivate it. The means are lacking or insufficient: seed is expensive, the agricultural equipment rudimentary and primitive, everywhere mediaeval ploughing methods are still in use, the indispensable irrigation works are expensive and the co-operatives cannot answer all needs. The Kurds of ʿIrāḳ, as Kurds, are the only ones to have their word today. Thus the D.P.K. at the time of its Seventh Congress, in November 1968, published its programme whose long article 14 presents its views on the group of projects which take account of the special needs of their region (Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 365-6). A witness records a partition of lands at which she was present in Kurdistān in 1964, Joyce Lussu, *Anche i Kurdi conquistano il loro socialismo*, in *Rinascità Sarda*, an. ii, No. 9, 10 March 1964, 19.

These problems of the land are not posed in the same manner for the Kurds of Soviet Armenia. Indeed, the First World War was still not finished when the peasants of the Alagöz rebelled with the cry of: "We want the land. How long are we to remain slaves?" They were excited by their young compatriot who relates it himself (Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd*, Beirut 1947, 62). After many struggles against the *kulaks*, the dream was realised, but perhaps not in the fashion originally envisaged. From then onwards, property has been collective and the peasants enrolled in the *kolkhoz* (cf. Aristova, *Kurdî Zakavkaz'ya*, 1966, 64). Instead of the plough and cart of the past, it is the tractor and the combine-harvester which serve to cultivate the lands of the *kolkhoz*. Hence the standard of living of the Kurdish peasant has been noticably raised. But perhaps this new life is somewhat idealised in the work (in Armenian) of Emine Evdal on the *Manners and customs of the Kurds of Transcaucasia*, 1957 (cf. Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes*, 605-9; P. P. Mouseiev, *Le problème agraire en Turquie*, in *Sovietskoie Vostokovedenie*, 1956, No. 1 (Fr. tr. in *Doc. Franc.*, *Articles et Documents*, No. 0.369, 14 June 1954, 8-15); Warriner, *Land reform and development in the Middle East, a study of Egypt, Syria and Iraq*, 1957, 1962; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia, a study of land tenure and land revenue administration*, London 1953, 1969; P. Rossi, *L'Irak devant la reforme agraire*, in *Orient*, vii/3 (1958), 81-93; *La réforme agraire en Irak*, in *al-Bilād*, Baghdād, 12 September 1960, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franc., *Articles et Documents*, No. 01027, 29 November 1960; *Un projet (turc) de réforme agraire*, in *Vatan*, Istanbul, of the 9 and 12 October 1960, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franc., *Articles et Documents*, No. 0.1174, 9-10; Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961; B. Vernier, *L'Irak aujourd'hui*, 1963, ch. 19, *Structure du secteur rural*, 371-7, ch. 22, 1, *La réforme agraire*, 397-406; H. Mandras and Y. Tavernier, *Terre, paysans et politique*, Paris 196; Jaafar Khayyat, *The Iraqi village, a study in its condition and reform*, Beirut 1950 [in Arabic]; anon., *Notre question de l'Est aux yeux d'un sociologue*, in *Yön*, 3rd yr., No. 90, 18 December 1964 (in Turkish); Ismail Besikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'da geri bırakılmışlığı oluşumu* ("*The under-development of Eastern Anatolia*"), in *Ant*, No. 10, February 1971, 46-73; idem, *Doğu Anadolu'nun duzeni*: *sosyo-ekonomik ve etnik temeller*, ("*The situation of Eastern Anatolia: its socio-economic and ethnic causes*"); *Iran-Shahr, a survey of Iran's land, people, culture, government, economy*, Tehran Univ. Press 1963, published with the assistance of UNESCO, i, 117 pp.).

B. The religious impact.

Kurdish society, based on the land (tribe and village) and blood (family), is coloured by a religious aspect which appears often in daily life (cf. Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 47-8). The central kernel of the present Kurdish habitat, to the east of the Tigris, around Lakes Van and Urmiya, as well as in the north and east of ʿIrāḳ, was contained before Islam within the Sāsānid empire (224-642) where Zoroastrianism became the state religion. But already before that, in the time of the Parthians, Christian evangelisation had encountered there some Jewish groups against pagan populations who worshipped trees, had

a solar cult and sacrificed to the devil. Some of them were converted. The *Acts of the martyrs of Persia* (Syriac ed. Bedjan, Leipzig 1892) report that these autochthonous Christians suffered under Sapor II (309-63). But at the beginning of the 5th century the church was reorganised, bishops were installed in all the Kurdish lands (cf. P. Labourd, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide (224-632)*, Paris 1904, *passim*) and a number of monasteries were built, some of which were maintained until the invasions of Tīmūr (1336-1405); cf. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne, passim*. But the mass of the people followed the official cult, and the Kurds recognise that their ancestors could have been *madjūs* [*q.v.*] or followers of Zoroaster (Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 424).

The fall of the Sāsānid dynasty (642) favoured the Islamisation of the country that the Arabs had begun to invade a decade or so previously. This happened neither without a blow nor without regret. But after many combats in which they allied themselves sometimes with the Sunnīs, sometimes with the heretical Khāridjīs, the Kurds ended by rallying collectively to the new religion. Having become Muslims faithful to the *Sunna*, the Kurds follow almost in their entirety the juridical school of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), as the *Sharaf-nāma* already recognised (i, 14) and also Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 75).

In the course of history, the Kurdish chiefs of the community have shown a fine religious zeal without the national factor intervening, beginning with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn or Saladin (1137-93). They immortalised their passing by building mosques, schools, hospitals or simple fountains (*Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Cairo, 96-7). Alongside these builders, an intellectual élite, *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, devoted itself to the study of theology and law. Also to be noted are the famous *madrasas* of Bitlis (*Sharaf-nāma*, 455, 495), of Djazīra (*ibid.*, 171) and of Zakho (*ibid.*, 147). At Akhlāṭ, one of these scholars worked on the construction of the Observatory of Marāgha in the 7th/13th century (*ibid.*, 409). ʿAmādiyya is also a centre renowned for its masters (cf. Damloodji, *Imārat Bahdīnān*, 59-61; al-ʿAbbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān*). The famous university of al-Azhar in Cairo counts numerous Kurds as teachers of theology (cf. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 210). The cemetery of Eyyūb in Istanbul and that of Scutari contain the tombs of numerous Kurds who, in the Ottoman period, held the post of *Shaykh al-Islām* (cf. Th. Bois, *La religion*, 7).

But over against this official and institutionalised Islam, there has sprung up a popular Islam, often on the fringe of the authorities, civil as well as religious, and which leads a very active life. It is the world of the small folk, peasants or artisans, illiterate for the most part, a kind of secular tertiaries attached to a mystical *ṭarīḳa* and linked directly to a *shaykh* who serves them as spiritual guide, *murshid*. From the 6th/12th century onwards Ṣūfīs entered Kurdistān and prospered there (cf. Lescot, *Enquête*, 23-4). Today, the principal brotherhoods strongly implanted among the Kurds are the Ḳādiriyya, who trace their origin to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī (1078-1166), who died at Baghdād and was a Kurd himself, and the Naḳshbandiyya, who claim attachment to Bahāʾ al-Dīn of Bukhārā (1317-89) and are quite widespread in the Islamic world, especially in India and as far as China. This *ṭarīḳa* was introduced into ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān at the end of the 19th century by Mawlānā Khālid after a journey to Dihlī. He was of the Djaff tribe, born at Kara Dağ in 1779 and dying at Damascus in 1826 (cf. Rich, *Residence*, i, 140-1, 320-1; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 212-15; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 77-8). He was to encounter strong opposition on the part of the Ḳādirī *shaykhs*, but ended by supplanting some of them. In south Kurdistān, the disciples of the Ḳādirī order are ordinarily called *darwish* and those of the Naḳshbandīs are termed Ṣūfī (Edmonds, 63). The meetings of the brotherhood are held with the *shaykh* in his residence, *khānḳāh* or *takiyya* or simply *tekke*, a kind of monastery-hospice where the *shaykh* who keeps open table there dispenses his teaching to his *murīds*. But in every place where a mystical *tekke* is established, in a tribe or in a village, some tensions are going to be produced almost automatically. For the *shaykh* is rich, he is the owner of numerous villages, and because of that he is opposed to the *agha* of the tribe who sees there competition with his authority; he is endowed, it is believed, with supernatural and miraculous powers and also is regarded askance by the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* who have almost no faith in him and distrust him; finally, and above all, he often has the ambition to play a political role; whence the suspicion which he meets with from the government authorities. On the other hand, the credulity of the *murīds* is well imaginable, and their fanaticism can lead to many excesses and eccentricities. Hence from time to time some individuals with an inner light arise who claim to be their *mahdī*, or who are reformers without a mandate but preaching social revolution. Examples abound (Campanile, *Storia*, 91-3; Nikitine, *op. cit.*, 221; Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 43; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 52-3; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 74-6). A recent group of Naḳshbandīs, the Nurcular, was founded by the Kurd Saʿīd Nūrsī (1870-1960) in Turkish Kurdistān (cf. *MW* [1960], 232-3, 338-41, [1961], 71-4). The hand of the *shaykhs* and their adepts, especially Naḳshbandīs, is to be found in many uprisings in Turkey and in ʿIrāḳ, with the bloody government reactions which follow, as e.g. the movement of Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh of Nehrī (1880) and that of Shaykh Saʿīd of Pīran (1925), which brought about the closure of all the mystical *tekkes* in Turkey, and also the insurrections of Shaykh Maḥmūd of Barzindja (1919 and 1922).

The teaching of certain *shaykhs*, in order not to be revolutionary, must be heard and followed with prudence. Such is the mystical doctrine and procedures for contemplation of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Shāfiʿī al-Naḳshbandī of Arbīl (d. 1904) in his *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb*, in numerous editions (7th in 1961), cited by A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, and the French translation of his mystical technique of *dhikr* by J. Gouillard, *Petite philocalie de la prière du coeur*, Paris 1953, 234-48.

But these different brotherhoods, despite all their excesses and political involvements, are always considered as integral parts of orthodox and official Islam. It is not the same with some sects who, pushing their theories to the extreme, have left Sunnī Islam, such as the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*] who, born of the ʿAdawiyya of Shaykh ʿAdī b. Musāfir (*ca.* 1073-1162), have diverted their spirituality completely from it to the point of having forgotten their origins (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Yazidis, essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Mashriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 191-242). Similarly, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] are really Shīʿī extremists. Dr. Mohammad Mokrī has published numerous Gurani and Persian texts concerning them, e.g. *L'ésotérisme kurde*, Paris 1966. Edmonds studies the members of the sect of the ʿIrāḳ-Iranian frontier, known by the name of Kakai, *op. cit.*, 182-201; idem, *The beliefs and practices of the Ahl-i Haqq of Iraq*, in *Iran, Journ. Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, vii (1969),

80-101. Also to be encountered among the Kurds are some aberrant small groups in ʿIrāḳ, such as the Sarlī who are connected with them and, around Mawṣil, the Shabāk who are Kurdish Ḳizilbāsh, not without contact with the Bektāshīs, formerly so powerful in Turkey (Edmonds, 268-9).

Bibliography: In Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 228-33, is to be found an excellent account of the theories of N. Marr, *Eshče o slove Čelebi*, in *ZAP*, xx (1912), 99-151; G. R. Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, in *BSOS* (1922), 197-215; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, in *RHR* (1922), 147-56; idem, *Une apologie kurde du sunnisme*, in *RO*, viii (1923), ii, 116-60; idem, *Les thèmes religieux dans les textes kurdes de ma collection*, in *Actes du Cong. intern. d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1925, ii, 415-34; idem, *Les Kurdes racontées par eux-mêmes*, in *Asie française* (1925), No. 231, 148-57; P. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes de l'Asie antérieure, Quelques aspects sociaux des populations kurdes et assyriennes*, in *BEO*, Damascus, vi (1936), 1-50; Th. Bois, *La religion des Kurdes*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xi (1961), 105-38; J.-M. Fiey, *A la recherche des anciens monastères du nord de l'Irak*, in *POC*, ix (1959); idem, *Assyrie chrétienne. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclesiastiques et monastiques du Nord de l'Irak*, Beirut, i, ii, 1965, iii, 1969; Bois, *Monastères chrétiens et temples yezidis dans le Kurdistan irakien*, in *Mashriq*, lxi (1967), 75-102; D. N. MacKenzie, *Pseudoproto-kurtica*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1967), 170-3; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar*, Beirut 1938; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967.

Religious texts in Kurdish: Cl. Huart, *La prière canonique musulmane*, in *JA* (1895), 86-109; K. A. Bedir Khan, *Dersên şerîete*, in *Kitêbxana Hawarê*, 12, Damascus 1938; idem, *Tefsîra Quranê*, sûra i-iv, v. 48, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27-57 (15 April 1941 to 15 March 1943); idem, *Hedîsên Cenabê Pêxember*, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27-47 (27 July 1942); D. N. MacKenzie, *A Kurdish creed*, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 162-70.

C. Customs and social traditions.

1. *Dress.*

Clothing is characteristic of man. The style of clothing changes from one country to another and varies with the social rank [see LIBĀS]. It also evolves with the times. So it is among the Kurds. Today, the costume of the Kurds tends to fall into line with Western costume, in order to conform with the law (September 1925) in Turkey, and to follow the fashions, especially the masculine ones, for the other Kurds of the towns. But all the Kurdish women and the men in the villages keep to the traditional national costume. The evolution of Kurdish clothing can be followed through the accounts of travellers and the sketches that they give us, e.g. Campanile (1810), 135-40; Rich (1820), i, 180-1, 287-9; Frazer (1834), i, 71, 85-7; or in addition Binder (1885), 172 n. 1; Soane (1912), 399-402 and Nikitine (1956), take up the descriptions of their predecessors. One must wait for the women to have detailed information on the modern dress of the Kurds. Mrs. Aristova (1965), 108-26, speaks of the Kurds of Transcaucasia and gives some photographs of the women's jewels, and Mrs. Hansen (1961) has a very long chapter (65-98) to explain to us in detail the materials and colours of different parts of the clothing, with what is specifically Kurdish, what is the consequence of Islamic customs, and what derives from Western influence, together with measurements, diagrams and numerous photographs, so that one may have an exact idea of the present national Kurdish costume, for men as well as for women. While jewels of every kind and in every material, gold, silver, precious stones, necklaces, bracelets and pendants, sparkle on the costumes of the women, the pride of the men is to be noted in their arms, cartridge pouches and damascened belts, chased daggers and lethal revolvers. The pipe and the tobacco pouch also form part of the Kurd's accoutrement.

2. *Marriage and burial customs.*

From the cradle to the grave, man is everywhere accompanied by customs or traditional rites, which vary with civilisations. Among the Kurds are to be found some customs very much alive which have been preserved from time immemorial. The choice of a fiancée, her toilette before the wedding, the price of prenuptial virginity, whose linen bloodied by the ruptured hymen will bear clear proof, the crossing of the threshold and introduction into her new household, the joys at the birth of the first baby, after a confinement which has nothing of a story about it (cf. A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946, 109-11), are the occasion of usages respected by all. It does not concern us to give a systematic and exhaustive account, but to indicate some examples, according to the various Kurdish regions. Kurds in general: Campanile, 103-5; K. A. Bedir Khan, *La femme kurde*, in *Hawar*, 19 (1933), 6-8/294-6; Tawûsparêz, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *ibid.*, 52 (1943), 12-16/764-8. Kurds of ʿIrāḳ: Barth, in *op. cit.*, 24-9/29-37; Edmonds, 225-6; Hansen, 115-38. Kurds of Iran and the Urmiya region: *ibid.*, 113-15. Kurds of Syria and the Kurd Dagh: K. Daghestani, *La famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1932, *passim*. Kurds of Azerbaidjan: Nikitine, 108-11. Kurds of Transcaucasia: E. Avdal, *op. cit.*, 22-83 (cf. Nikitine, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlix [1960], 61-6). Kurds of the Alagöz: Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd, The Kurdish shepherd*, ed. Beirut, 44-7, 114-8. Kurds of Alamut: Freya Stark, *The Valley of the Assassins*, 1946, 270-1. Yazīdī Kurds: Giamil, *Monte Singar. Storia di un popolo ignoto*, Rome 1900, 45-9, Isya Joseph, *Devil worship*, Boston 1919, 186-91; E. S. Drower, *Peacock angel*, London 1941, 17-25, 86; S. Damlūdjī, *al-Yazīdiyya*, Mawṣil 1949, 276-88. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ Kurds: M. Mokri, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1962), 42-68.

The funerary rites are no less varied, whether in regard to the toilette of the dead, the funeral cortège or *kotel*, the ceremonies of mourning and the tree of the deceased, *dara şîn*, or the collective meal of condolences. Descriptions of them are found for the Kurds in general: Campanile, 81-6, with a fine elegy; Nikitine, 115-8; Mukri Kurds: O. Vilčevsky, *Mukriskie Kurdi*, in *Peredneaziatskiy etnografičeskiy Sbornik*, i (1958), 214-18. Kurds of Turkey: Ahmed Mêrazî, *Bîranîyêd min* ("My memoirs"), Erivan 1966, 89-91. Yazīdī Kurds: Lescot, *op. cit.*, 154-6; Drower, 97-8, 185-6; I. Joseph, 192-3; Damlūdjī, 70-2. Children's funerals: Hansen, 139-43.

3. *Festivals and seasonal rites.*

Among the numerous festivities which punctuate periodically the life of the Kurdish people, the Islamic religious festivals are famous everywhere and so do

not merit special mention, with perhaps an exception for the *mawlid* or festival of the birth of the Prophet. Indeed, the brother-in-law of Saladin, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbüri, governor of Arbil, is perhaps at the origin of this festival which he had celebrated with much solemnity and gaiety in 604/1207. An account of it has been given by a native of Arbil, Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), French tr. J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 118-25. On the occasion of the festival, a panegyric is read, of which numerous specimens are to be found in Kurdish. Let us cite simply the *Mewlûdnâme* of Mela Aḥmad of Batê (1425-95?) edited in Cairo in 905 and re-edited in Istanbul in 1919 and always used; Bîyisa Pêxember, *Life of the Prophet*, edited in Damascus, in *Kitêbxana Hawarê*, 4 (1933); Shaykh Mohammad Khâl, *Mewlûdnâme-i new-eser* ("The new account of the birth of the Prophet"), Sulaymânî 1937; idem, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *Kurdistan* (Tehran) Nos. 166 ff.; Mela Ḥasan Hartûşi, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *ibid.*, Nos. 43-134 (1960-2).

A very popular festival among the Kurds, and now official in ʿIrāḳ since the establishment of the Republic (1958), is *Novruz* (see NAWRŪZ), or the festival of the new year, i.e. in spring (21 May). It is a sort of national festival of the Kurds. Moreover, it has always been celebrated by the Yazidīs, who are supposed to have preserved many ancient traditions and who call it *Sertsal*. There is also the Festival of the New Year (cf. Lescot, *op. cit.*, 71). The festival is in any case earlier than Islam, as "myth of the eternal spring" which was always celebrated in the Iranian world (cf. G. Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris 1968, 58-67). It is said to have been instituted by the mythical King Djamshīd (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 145). Today, the official festival is accompanied by speeches, poems, dances and theatrical scenes, where the myth and struggle of the smith Kāwe against the dragon Zahhāk or Aži Dahaka is mimed, a prefiguration of the struggle of the Kurdish people for its independence. In Sulaymānī, the festivities are associated with all kinds of entertainment and masquerades with a false *amīr*. It is a real carnival (Edmonds, 84-5; Taufiq Wahbi, *The rock sculptures of Gunduk caves*, in *Sumer*, iv/2 [1948], Fr. tr. in *BCEK*, vii (1949), 1-13. Ereb Şemo cites another form of carnival: *Kose geldi*, *Berbang*, in *Berevok*, Erivan 1969, 61-2. It is in connection with this festival that a special cake, *samani pazan*, is baked, which, by night, ʿĀʾisha or Fāṭima will come to bless by touching it with their hands. It is eaten in the family and with friends, with the aim of having offspring (Wahbi, 11-12). In Iran, on the eve of the New Year, magical rites are mixed with the rejoicings (M. Mokri, *Les rites magiques dans les fêtes du "Dernier Mercredi de l'Année" en Iran*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963, 288 ff.). The girls make vows then: Thirteen at the door, New Year. Husband in the house, baby in the lap (Massé, *op. cit.*, 159). Abroad, the Kurdish students celebrate this national festival with gaiety (Deichi Delair, *Nawroz and the legend of Kawa*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, U.S.A., ii/1 [March 1965], 3-5). Let us note further in *Kurdistan*, London, organ of the K.S.S.E., Nos. 7/8 (1961), the poem *The festival of Newroz* of Salih Karadaghi, 32.

Other seasonal festivals are celebrated above all by the shepherds on the occasion which concerns them particularly: the first lambing, *serapez*; the departure for the *zozan* or summer pasturage, *berodan*; the shearing of the sheep, *berxbir*; and above all the releasing of the rams, *beran berdan*. Ereb Şemo, *ibid.*, 58, has described these entertainments with many picturesque and lively details. Stig Wikander believed that he had discovered in this last festival reminiscences of ancient myths (*Ein Fest bei der Kurden und im Avesta*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, ix [1960], Uppsala 1961, 7-10. The peasants also have their traditions. At the time of the harvest, the first sheaf reaped is offered to the stranger who passes by (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 51), and the gathering of the mulberries is the occasion of a festival with a special dance, *gzîdan*, the sweeping, which consists of sweeping the soil under the trees before the children climb them to shake them so as to allow the women to gather the berries (Edmonds, 170, n. 1).

Although it does not really concern us here as a festival properly so-called, let us indicate some more or less superstitious practices which relate to the cycle of nature and whose origins stretch back without doubt into remote antiquity. If activities to make the rain stop are mentioned only rarely (cf. Nikitine, *Une apologie kurde*, 16), by contrast T. Wahby, *op. cit.*, 7-9, counts no less than nine different rites, more or less laughable and doubtless efficacious, to combat drought and obtain rain. If the prayer *noja berana* does not suffice, a dervish is to be thrown into a water tank or women are to harness themselves to a plough and till the river. Still other singular acts are to be performed in order to have one's prayers finally answered (cf. S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie (en Kurdistan)*, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii [1906], 633).

4. *Dances and music.*

The Kurd sings always and everywhere. All the family festivals, birth, circumcision, and especially marriage, are accompanied by dances and songs, and equally the tribal or peasant gatherings and some religious ceremonies. The name of the dances varies according to whether it designates the region or the tribe where it is danced, e.g. Botanî, Serhedî, Şêxanî, or according to the different figures which distinguish them, *sêgavî*, *giranî*, *royne*, or the rounds *govend* and *çopî*. The students have a special dance *bêlîte* or *bêlûte*, of which Tawûsparêz has given us some examples and has described the rhythm (*La vie universitaire au Kurdistan*, in *Hawar*, No. 53 [15 March 1943], 772-6). The old or more recent travellers admired the particularities of these Kurdish dances (e.g. F. Millingen, *Wild life*, 378-9, or Edmonds, *Kurds*, 84; Drower, *Peacock angel*, 130-4; Bois, *Connaissance*, 61-2, cites the name of twenty dances). Let us note that these folkloric dances are mixed, which distinguished the Kurds from the other neighbouring Muslim peoples.

Kurdish music, inseparable from the dances and songs, is part of what it is convenient to call oriental music, but it cannot be confused either with Arabic music or with Armenian or Turkish music at all, although it has had an influence at times on the songs of the neighbouring countries, such as Iran or Mesopotamia (cf. S. Jargy, *Chant populaire et musique savante au Proche Orient arabe*, in *Orient*, vi/2 [1958], 108-9). Kurdish music today is not learned, but popular, and knows neither harmony nor polyphony. Its melodies, as numerous as varied, preserve a serious, pathetic, quite often melancholy character, as a consequence quite astounding among this warlike people (cf. Dulaurier, *Chants opulaires de l'Arménie*, in *Rev. des deux Mondes*, 10 April 1852, 224-55). Western travellers have not failed to draw attention to the originality of this music. Some have felt the attraction and very palpable charm of these chants; others, on the contrary, e.g. Mrs. Hansen, 129-9, have found this music "flat and false" with its 17 tones. It was an Armenian priest, Vartabed Comitas (1869-

1935) who was the first to gather and note down some popular Kurdish songs (*Quelques spécimens des mélodies kurdes*, in *Recueil d'Emine*, Moscow 1904, and re-edited in Erivan in 1959). In Erivan precisely, the Malikian School of Music is formed of young Kurds who study the traditional songs with the old *dengbêj* or troubadours. Thus Nura Cewarî noted 33 *Chansons de danse kurdes*, 1960, gathered at Tiflis. For her part, Cemîla Celîl has published two annotated collections of *Chants populaires kurdes*. The first, at Erivan (1964), gives the Kurdish text and the musical annotation of 75 pieces; the second, at Moscow in 1965, apart from the Kurdish text, gives the musical notation and Russian translation of 100 varied songs. In ʿIrāḳ, since 1958, a society of Kurdish music has been organised with a view to preserving, standardising and developing in Kurdish music (cf. B. A. Ali, *An approach to Kurdish music*, in *Kurdistan*, K.S.S.E., 1 March 1958), 3-6; S. S. Gavan, *Divided nation*, London 1958, 15). But Europeans too are interested in Kurdish music (cf. Dr. D. Christensen, *Tanzlieder der Hakkari-Kurden. Eine materialkritisch Studie*, in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völker-Künde*, Berlin i [1963], 11-47). This is a very serious study of the dance, instrumental and vocal music of Hakkâri, whose melodies the author analyses and whose style and rhythms he studies scientifically. See also Edith Gerson-Kiwi, *The Music of Kurdistan Jews. A synopsis of their musical styles*, in *Yuval, Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, ii, Jerusalem 1971.

The Islamic religion does not authorise music at all in its liturgy, and music has taken refuge in the rites of the different *ṭarīḳa*s where its use probably dates from the foundation of these groups (cf. Trimingham, *op. cit.*, 195, 196 and *passim*; M. Mokri, *Le Soufisme et la musique*, in *Encycl. de la Musique*, Paris 1961, 1014-15). From there, music has passed without any problems into the aberrant sects of the Yazīdīs, into their processions and their gatherings for *samāʿ* or religious recital. Three religious songs of the Yazīdīs had already been noted by H. Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, 1853, 507, Nos. 667-9. Similarly, E. S. Drower (*op. cit.*, 118-19), recorded the rhythm of the drums in the course of a ceremony. As for the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, Mohammed Mokri enlightens us on their musical customs in his article on *La musique sacrée des Kurdes "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran*, in *Encycl. des musiques sacrées*, Paris 1968, 444-55.

Musical instruments among the Kurds are often manufactured by artisans. The most usual are, among wind instruments, the pipe, *bilûr*, which every shepherd carries in his bag, the *zorna*, a kind of clarinet or oboe which has a place in all the dances, and the *duzale*, a flute with two pipes of reed or bird bone, pierced with holes and whose mouthpiece has a kind of vibratory tongue. The sound resembles that of the Scottish bagpipes. The percussion instruments include the *dahol* or bass drum which is beaten on both sides, the *tepil*, a narrow drum, a kind of kettledrum in pottery covered with a skin which is beaten with the fingers; and the cymbals, *zelîle*, are sometimes used by the Yazīdīs in their religious ceremonies. Among the stringed instruments, there are the *ribāb* or monochord viol, the *keman* or *kemanca*, violin, and especially the *tenbûr*, the lute, whose player plucks the strings in the sacred and heroic songs. The nomenclature of all these instruments varies with the regions. A description of some clumsy impressions of musical instruments is found in *Serincîk le derwaze-i folklor-i kurdiwe*, Notes for an introduction to Kurdish folklore, Hewlêl/Erbil n.d., 36-7.

5. *Games, sports and hunting.*

On the occasion of seasonal or other festivals, travellers have remarked among the Kurds the practice of certain popular games or sports, always in use. It is not possible to recount them all. Among the indoor games, cards, *iskenbil*, can be cited among the most frequent, especially among the townspeople; backgammon, *nard*; and above all chess, *şetrenc*, the noble game par excellence. Among the outdoor games are the *cerîd* or horseback fantasia; the ball game *çowgan*; a kind of hockey; and many games of pursuit or throwing, not to mention some modern sports like football and basketball and some games reserved for children. Worth noting are the fights of rams, buffaloes or partridges. Much information is to be found in Tawûsparêz, *Les jeux kurdes*, in *Hawar*, 42 (15 April 1942), 654-6; Kurdî we Mêrîwanî, *Kitâb-i Yarî*, Baghdād 1932, 32; M. Mokri, *Bazîhâ-ye Kordî*: *Khurmâyla*, in *Yaghmā*, 2nd year, Tehran 1331/1951; *Bazîha-ye Kordestân*, in *Tamaddon*, 2nd ser. 7, 317-20, Tehran 1332/1952. In his *Kurdish dialect studies*, i, Oxford 1961, 147, 218, D. N. MacKenzie gives the name of several Kurdish games; Bois, *La vie sociale*, 32-3/628-9 and notes 136-41.

The abundance of game in Kurdistān, furred and feathered, already mentioned above, is at the origin of the Kurd's passion for hunting. The best way of learning about this national sport is to read the two articles of Osman Sabrî, who explains in them the methods employed with the art of an experienced hunter. *Nêçîr* ("Hunting") in *Ronahî*, 17 (1 August 1943, 317-23, 18 (1 Sept. 1943), 347-50. The bear is hunted in three ways (317), also the hyena (317), the ibex (318), the fox (319) and the hare (319). There are five ways of hunting the partridge, with the spear, the decoy, the rifle or the running noose, depending on whether one wishes to capture it alive or to kill it (320). Game can also be hunted with the help of birds, sparrow-hawks or falcons of three different kinds and at a more or less expensive cost (321-2). The way in which these birds are trained is also indicated (347-8). O. Sabrî very much appreciates hunting the hare with the help of a hound, of which there are several kinds (348-9). The author does not forget fishing (319), which may be done with the net, hook or harpoon. Hamilton devotes a whole chapter to the hunting of the ibex, so picturesque and so difficult (*op. cit.*, 165-73). There are also to be found patterns of different bird-calls or whistles, traps, nets, running nooses or snares used for certain forms of hunting, in *Serincîk*, *op. cit.*, 99-102.

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(Th. Bois)

V. — Language

The many forms of speech known to outsiders as Kurdish do not constitute a single, unified language. Instead it can be said that the various Kurdish dialects, which are clearly interrelated and at the same time distinguishable from neighbouring but more distantly related Western Iranian languages, fall into three main groups. The differences between dialects are generally proportional to their distance apart and beyond a certain distance certainly make them mutually unintelligible. The Northern group of dialects comprises all those spoken in the Turkish republic, the Armenian and Azerbaidjan S.S.Rs, the Mawṣil *liwā'* of ʿIrāḳ (Bahdīnān [*q.v.*]), and some areas bordering on these, together with those of Kurdish colonies in Khurāsān and the Turkmen S.S.R. All these dialects are known as *Kurmāndjī* (*Kirmāndjī*), as the speakers all call themselves Kurmāndj. Within the group a sub-division into Eastern and Western Kurmāndjī can be made, from each of which a literary language has emerged. The Central group is made up of the dialects spoken in the Arbīl, Sulaymāniyya and Kirkūk *liwā*'s of ʿIrāḳ and the neighbouring districts of Persian Kurdistān, Mahābād (Sāwdj Bulāḳ) and Sanadadj (Sinna), These dialects are generally called *Kurdī*, but are also now known collectively as *Sōrānī*, from the name of the former principality of Sōrān. The dialects of Sulaymāniyya and Sanandadj, especially, have gained pre-eminence as literary languages. The remaining Kurdish dialects, a heterogeneous group spoken in the areas south and east of Sōrānī, of which Kirmānshāhī is probably the most important, may be classed together as a Southern group. Some of these dialects, e.g. Lakkī, appear to merge with the neighbouring non-Kurdish dialects of Lurī. Between the Central and Southern groups of Kurdish an island of non-Kurdish speech, with mixed dialects on its shores, is formed by the area occupied by the Gūrān [*q.v.*]. Other Kurdish dialects are spoken by isolated colonies of Kurds scattered throughout Iran.

Northern Kurdish is more archaic than the other dialects in both its phonetic and morphological structure, and it may be inferred that the greater development of the Central and Southern dialects has been caused by their closer contact with other (Iranian) languages, or, indeed, their absorption of such a substrate. On the other hand, Northern Kurdish appears to have been somewhat more open to the penetration of Arabic and especially Turkish loanwords. Traditionally Kurdish has been written in various modifications of the Arabic script and still is so written in ʿIrāḳ and Iran. The Armenian script has also been used on occasion, and in recent years alphabets based on both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been devised, especially for Northern Kurdish.

The common "Iranian" phonemic inventory of Northern Kurdish is: *aiu*, *āēīōū*, *ptčk*, *bdj* (dj)*g*, *fsš* (sh)*x* (kh), *vzž* (zh)*γ* (gh), *mn lr* (flapped) *ř* (rolled), *hwy*, to which most dialects add the "Arabic" phonemes *q* (*ḳ*), *ḥ*, ʿ, and emphatic *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *ẓ*. In the north-east, probably under Caucasian (Armenian) influence, a further distinction between aspirated phonemes *p*ʿ, *t*ʿ, (*č*ʿ), *k*ʿ and unaspirated *p*, *t*, (*č*), *k* is found. In a large part of the Kurmāndjī area *ō*, *ū* are replaced by *ü*, *ǖ* respectively. In Central and Southern Kurdish the distinction between *v* and *w* is lost, in favour of *w*. A new distinction is made, however, between palatal *l* and velarised *ł* (though this coincides with *r* in Arbīl), and *ŋ* has acquired phonemic status in Sulaymāniyya and other more southerly dialects. In general, Kurdish is marked by a greater degree of phonetic development than Persian, notably of postvocalic stops to fricatives, e.g. *āv/w* "water", P(ersian) *āb*; *šav/w* "night", P *šab*. Many post-vocalic consonants, especially dentals, have been lost, e.g. *birā* "brother", P *birādar*; *dān*, *dāīn* "to give", P *dādan*; *sipī* "white", P *safīd*; *sa* "dog", P *sag*; *čiyā* "mountain", P *čakād*. The development of the ending of the past participles of verbs is noteworthy, e.g. North. *mirī*, Cent. *mirdū*, South. *mirdig* "dead", cf. Cent. *zīndū*, *zīŋū*, South. *zīnig* "alive", P. *zinda*.

There is no single early historical sound change which characterises Kurdish, but a combination of two later changes and one conservative feature serves to identify a dialect as Kurdish, viz. (i) *-m-*, *-šm-*, *-xm-* > *-v-* (*-w-*), e.g. *nāv/w* "name", P *nām*; *čāv/w* "eye", P *čašm*; *tov/w* "seed", P *tuxm*; (ii) Iranian initial *x-* > *k-*, e.g. *kar* "donkey", P *xar*; *kānī* "spring, source", P *xānī*; *kiřīn* "to buy", P *xarīdan*; (iii) Ir *čy-* > *č-* (other West. Ir. > *s-*), e.g. *čūn* "to go", P *šudan*. Kurdish shares many phonetic developments with non-Persian dialects, e.g. *z:d*, *zān-* "know": P *dān-*; *s:h*, *āsik* "deer": P *āhū*; *ž:z*, *žin* "woman": P *zan*; *řož* "day": P *rūz*, but others with Persian, *e.g.*, *y-* > *j-*, *jo*, P *jaw* "barley"; *hw-* > *xw-*, *xwa*, *xo*, P *xwad*, *xud* "self"; *-rd-* > *-l-* (*-ł-*), *pālew-*, P *pālāy-* "to filter". Taken in conjunction with a number of characteristic lexical items, these isoglosses show proto-Kurdish to have been a close, if not the closest, neighbour of Persian. There is no sound evidence to suggest a Median origin for Kurdish, though it has been suggested that the name Kur-

mānd̲j̲ may combine Kurd with a form from *Māda* "Median".

Old morphological features preserved in North. Kurd. are a distinction of case (nominative and oblique) and gender (masculine and feminine) in nouns and pronouns and the "agential" construction of the past tenses of transitive verbs, e.g. *az hātim* "I came", but *min xawnak dīt* "I saw a dream (lit., of me ... seen)". Both case and gender have been lost in South. Kurd. and in the literary forms of Central Kurdish. In these dialects the pronominal suffixes, absent from North. Kurd., have largely taken over the functions of the cases, cf. *min hātim* "I came", *xawēk-im dī* "I saw a dream". In some Central dialects, at least, the agential construction has developed in a remarkable way, with the verbal stem sometimes taking two personal endings, one representing a person only indirectly affected, e.g. *xaw-im pēwa dīw-īt* "I have seen a dream about thee (-*īt*, lit. "art")", and even the agential suffix as well, *dā-m-ī-n-ē* "he (-*ī*)" gave me (-*m*, lit. "am") to (-*ē*) you (-*n*, lit. "are"). Note the 3rd person pronominal -*ī*, plural -*yān*, in contrast to Persian -*š*. All dialects have an indefinite suffix, North. -*ak*, Cent., South -*ēk*, but only Central and Southern share (with Gūrānī) the definite suffix -*akā*. In all dialects the *iḍāfa* [*q.v.*, ii], appearing in various forms, plays a considerable rôle both as relative pronoun and simple connective particle, e.g. North. *xawnak-a xwaš*, Cent. *xawēk-ī xōš* "a pleasant dream", North. *xawn-ā min dīt*, Cent. *xawaka-y dī-m* "the dream which I saw". In the north-east, the *iḍāfa* construction of both Northern and Central dialects has been contaminated, especially in the plural, by a particle *da*, -*d*, -*t*, probably of Aramaic origin, e.g. Cent. (Mukrī) *pyāw-ī da pāšā* "the king's men", North. *kuř-et xwa* (= *kuřē di xwa*) "his sons". (This is not, however, a "*t*-plural" comparable with those of Eastern Iranian, Ossetic, Sogdian, etc.). Central and Southern Kurdish, unlike Northern dialects, have developed a secondary passive conjugation of the verb, formed from the active present stem, e.g. *kuštin, kuž-* "to kill", Cent. *kužrān, kužre-*, South. *kužyān, kužye-* "be killed".

Bibliography: A comprehensive list of all studies and monographs on Kurdish to 1926 is given in Minorsky's (otherwise outdated) article on "Kurdish Language", in *EI*[1], ii, 1153 f. This is supplemented by a select bibliography in D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies I*, London 1961. Fuller, but uncritical, lists of relevant publications appear in Ž. S. Musaélyan, *Bibliografiy̲a̲ po Kurdovedeniy̲a̲*, Moscow 1963, and S. van Rooy and K. Tamboer, *ISK's Kurdish bibliography*, Amsterdam 1968 ff. The following are most readily available: (1) *History*. D. N. MacKenzie, *The origins of Kurdish*, in *TPhS* (1961), 68-86. (2) *Grammars, dialect studies*. D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*. i; K. Kurdoev, *Grammatika kurdskogo yazïka* (*Kurmandži*), Moscow-Leningrad 1957; Dj. Bedir Khan and R. Lescot, *Grammaire kurde* (*dialecte kurmandji*), Paris 1970; Č. K̲h̲. Bakaev, *Govor Kurdov Turkmenii*, Moscow 1962; idem, *Yazïk Azerbaydžanskik̲h̲ Kurdov*, Moscow 1965. (3) *Dictionaries*. A. Jaba and F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879; Č. K̲h̲. Bakaev, *Kurdsko-Russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1957; T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish-English dictionary*, Oxford 1966.

(D. N. MacKenzie)

vi. — Folklore and Literature

A. Popular and folk literature.

As among all peoples whose scholarly instruction is little developed, the oral literature of the Kurds is superabundant and very rich; Prof. O. Vilčevsky was able to speak of the "hypertrophy" of their folklore. A mass of documents has also been collected and published by foreign orientalists: A. Jaba, *Recueil et notices et récits kurdes*, St. Petersburg 1860; E. Prym and A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890; O. Mann, *Kurdische u. Persische Forschungen. iv. Die Mundart der Mukri*, Berlin, i, 1906, ii, 1909; H. Makas, *Kurdische Texte* (Mardin), Leningrad 1926; B. Nikitine, *Kurdish stories from my collection*, in *BSOS*, iv (1926), 121-38; idem, *Quelques fables kurdes d'animaux*, in *Folklore*, xl, (1929), 228-44; E. Lescot, *Textes kurdes*, i, Paris 1940, ii, Beirut 1942; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes à la lumière de leur folklore*, in *Cahiers de l'Est*, Beirut, Nos. 5 and 6 (1946); S. Wikander, *Recueil de textes kurmandji*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1959; D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*, London 1961-2. Kurds themselves, since the end of the First World War, have gone about collecting their treasures of folklore from the old folk or the decreasingly numerous professional storytellers and singers. Firstly, the Bedir K̲h̲ān *amīrs* from 1932 to 1946 in their reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahî*, and *Roja nû*; H. Cindî and E. Evdal, *Folklora kurmança*, Erivan 1936; Cindî, *Folklora körmanciê*, Erivan 1957; and there is a comprehensive survey in I. M. Resul, *Edeb-i folklor-i kurdî*. Lêkolînewe, Bag̲h̲dād 1970 (cf. Th. Bois, *Connaissance*, 117-25).

This folkloric richness is found, firstly, in the proverbs, popular sayings, enigmas or riddles. The Kurd likes to embroider his conversation with rhymed and rhythmic sentences which denote a real sense of observation. Proverbs also supply a racy summary of practical wisdom. Thousands of them have been published: E. Noel, *The character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs and popular sayings*, in *BSOS*, iv (1921), 79-80; D. P. Margueritte and Emir K. Bedir K̲h̲an, *Proverbes kurdes*, Paris 1938; Lescot, *Proverbes et énigmes kurdes*, in *REI*, iv (1937), 307-50, reprinted and added to in *Textes kurdes*, i, 189-237; Prampolini, *Proverbi kurdi*, Milan 1963; MacKenzie, *Some Kurdish proverbs*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, viii (1970), 105-13; Ismail Heqî Şaweys, *Oise-i pêşînan*, Bag̲h̲dād 1933; Marûf Çiyawok, *Hezar bêj û pend*, Bag̲h̲dād 1930; Cegerxwîn, *Gotina pêşîna*, Damascus 1957; M. Xal, *Pend-i pêşînan*, Bag̲h̲dād 1957; D̲j̲amīl Kenna, *Amt̲h̲āl kurdiyya*, Aleppo 1957; O. Celîl, *Mesela û met'elokê cima'ta k'ördа*, Erivan 1969-71, 2 vols.; O. Celîl and C. Celîl, *Kurdskie poslovici i pogovorki*, Moscow 1972; J. Nebez, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Kurdistan*, Munich 1970. There are numerous proverbs and sayings cited in Cindî, *Folklor*, 1957, 249-81, and in the grammars of Jardine and Beidar, as well as in the dictionary of Mardukh, ii, 1-86.

The songs are infinite in number and variety: dance songs, *dîlok*, songs of love, *lawik*, or war, *şer* or *delal*; songs which accompany the transhumance in the spring, *serêle*, or in the autumn, *pahîzok*; lullabies, *lorî*; epithalamia, *hevalê* or *serêzavano*; also songs of mourning, *şîn* or *qewil*, punctuate the daily life of the Kurds from the cradle to the grave and throughout their days of hard labour. The reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahî* and *Roja nû* have published hundreds of them, as have Cindî and Evdal, *Folklor*, 342-474; Cindî, *Folklora kölrmanciê*, 189-248; see also Rondot, *Trois*

chansons kurdes, in *Cahiers du Sud*, No. 274 (1945), 817-24; Nikitine, *La poésie lyrique kurde*, in *Ethnographie*, xlv (1945-50), 39-53; Mokri, *Gūrānī yā taranahā-yi kurdī*, Tehran 1951; G. Chaliand, *Poésie populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes*, Paris 1961; Cindî, *K'lamêd cmae'ta K'ördaye lîrîkîe*, Erivan 1972. Furthermore, see the collections with musical notation mentioned earlier.

Stories and anecdotes (*çîrok*) abound and are full of imagination. The stories of marvels allow one to forget the worries of life; the anecdotes are replete with humour; the satirical stories do not hesitate to criticise the faults of individuals, rival tribes, religious leaders, in the spirit of the fables of the Middle Ages. Above all, the Kurds are fond of animal stories which always contain a spiritual moral. M. Duiresne, in *Un conte kurde de la région de Sö'ört*, in *JA* (1910), 107-17; Nikitine and Soane, *The tale of Suto and Tato*, in *BSOS*, iii (1923), 69-106; Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, in *ibid.* (1926), 121-38; Lescot, *Textes*, i, 2-185; Cindî and Evdal, *Folklor*, 1936, 579-651; Cindî, *Folklor*, 1957, 161-88; M. Khaznadar, *Aleman kurdi and other Kurdish short stories*, Baghdād 1969; A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946; Joyce Blau, *Trois textes de folklore kurde*, in *Études*, Brussels, vii (1965), 29-50; J. Nebez, *Kurdische Märchen und Volkerzählungen*, NUKSE, 1972.

Alongside these minor genres, the numerous much longer legends constitute choice morsels of Kurdish folklore. They can be classified in different categories which, however, are often combined. Some legends basically concern the supernatural, such as *Mamê Alan* (Lescot, *Textes*, ii, 2-369) or Sêvahacê or Hozbek; others are a purely idyllic form, such as *Zelixa û Fatûl, Layla û Mejnûn, Siyabend û Xacê, Zambilfiroş*, "the basket-seller", *Xurşid û Xawer, Şîrîn û Xoşnew, Şîrîn û Ferhad, Faxîr û Sitiye, Manica û Bîjan*; finally, the epics with an historical plot, such as *Dimdim, Julindî*, the adventures of Rustem with Zoraw, Cihangir or Zendeheng and more recently the exploits of Nadir and Topal, the Twelve Cavaliers of Meriwan, Abdul Rehman Baban or Ezdînşêr Bedir-Xan. These accounts were the glory of the *dengbêj* or professional troubadours, whose class is on the point of disappearing. All these texts can be read in the collection of Mann, Socin, Cindî etc., and also Bois, *Poètes et troubadours au pays des Soviets*, in *al-Machriq*, liii (1959), 266-99; various authors, *Kurdskie èpičeskie pesni skazi*, texts and trs. Moscow 1962; V. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943), 75-103; O. Dž. Džalilov, *Kurdskiy geroičeskiy èpos "Zlatorukiykhan..*, Moscow 1967; O. F. Qazi, *Mehr-o-Vafa*, Tabrīz 1966; A. Ayyubian, *Çirike kurde*, Tabrīz 1961; idem, *Çirike Xec û Siyamend*, Tabrīz 1956; Piremerd, *Diwanzde siwarê Meriwan*, Sulaymānī 1935; Gew Mukriani, *Zembîlfiroş*, Hewlêr 1967; Mokri, *La légende de Bîzan-û Manîja*, Paris 1966; idem, *Le chasseur de Dieu et le mythe du Roi-Aigle*, Wiesbaden 1967; K. A. Bedir-Khan and A. de Falgairolle, *Le Roi du Kurdistan. Roman épique kurde*, Gap, n.d.; K. A. Bedir-Khan and Herbert Oertel, *Der Adler von Kurdistan*, Potsdam 1937; Cegerxwîn, *Serpêhatiya Resiwê Darî*, Damascus 1956; J. Blau, *Le kurde de ʿAmādiya et du Djabal Sindjār*, thèse de doctorat du 3ᵉ cycle, Paris 1973.

B. Written and learned literature.

Alongside the mass of illiterate people, there has always been among the Kurds a highly cultivated intellectual élite. The fact was already mentioned by the Kurd Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) in his *Kāmil* (ix, 7-8) and taken up many times in the *Sharaf-nāma* and also by other witnesses, such as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1658) (cf. Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 92, 106), or the traveller Ewliyā Čelebi in his travel account (1682), who was justly ecstatic when confronted with the so well-stocked library of Abdāl Khān, the lord of Bitlis, cf. A. Sakisian, *Abdal Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVIIᵉ siècle et ses trésors*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1957), 253-76. Unfortunately, these men of letters preferred to write their scientific works either in Arabic, the language of the Ḳurʾān, if the works were concerned to deal with law, theology or history, as did Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), author of biographical notices of famous men, or Abu 'l-Fidā (672-732/1273-1331), historian and geographer; or else in Persian, as did Sharīf Khān Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] himself in his *History of the Kurds* or *Sharaf-nāma* (1005/1596-7), as also Idrīs Ḥakīm of Bitlis (d. 926/1520), who wrote the first history of the Ottoman Empire, *Hasht bihisht*, "The eight paradises" [see BIDLĪSĪ, IDRĪS]. The great poet in the Turkish language Fuḍūlī (d. 963/1556) [*q.v.*] was a Kurd, as was the modern sociologist Ḍiyāʾ Gök Alp (cf. J. Deny, in *RMM*, lxi [1925], 3). Even today, many poets in the Arabic language—al-Zahāwī (1863-1936), Aḥmad Shawḳī, the prince of poets (1868-1932), al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945), the sociologist Ḳāsim Amīn (1865-1908), the novelists al-ʿAḳḳād (1889-1964), Muḥammad Taymūr (1892-1921) and his brother Maḥmūd (born in 1894)—are all of Kurdish origin. The following historians who write in Persian, such as Muḥammad Mardūkh Kurdistānī, Rashīd Yāsimī and Iḥsān Nūrī, or those who write in Turkish, such as M. N. Dersimli and A. Yamulki, are all Kurds. If the old writers knew and composed in all the great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, rather than their mother tongue Kurdish, the young authors of today use the European languages, English, French, German and even Russian, especially in Armenia, where they further add Armenian. Indeed, the Kurds have been at all times polyglots as they have been polygraphs, the same authors exercising their talents as much in poetry as in history, in the physical and human sciences and in journalism.

In 1860, A. Jaba, in his *Recueil de notices et de récits kourdes*, 3-11, gave a brief notice on eight poets, who used the Kurmanci dialect, and almost all originating from Hakâri. Less than a century later, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sidjādī published in Baghdād a *History of Kurdish literature* (1952), a large volume of 634 pages in which, after an introduction on Kurdistān and the Kurds (3-66), he recounted the stages and forms of Kurdish literature (69-146), then gave substantial notices on twenty-four poets (147-534), followed by a rather dry list of 212 other authors (535-58). Even so, he confines himself to the no longer living poets of ʿIrāḳ and Iran. Since then, there have been two more recent works of Maʿrūf Xiznedār, *Essay on the history of contemporary Kurdish literature* [in Russian, 1967, 232 pp.] and of ʿIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl, *Realism in Kurdish literature* [in Arabic, 1968, 236 pp.], not to mention other studies which show the progress of Kurdology since Jaba's time and felicitously complete our information on this oriental literature still so little known in the West.

1. *Origins and the classical period.*

Jaba's informant gave the 15th century as the period in which the first poets flourished: Elî Herîrî (1425-95), Şêx Ehmed Nîşanî, better-known under the name of Melayê Cizrî (1407-81) and Mela Ehmed of Batê (1414-95), who were therefore contemporaries. Mîr Mihemed of Mükis, surnamed Feqiyê Teyran, was

supposed to be even earlier than them (1307-75). All these dates are to be corrected and placed later. In fact, D. N. MacKenzie in his article *Melâ-ê Jizrî and Faqî Ṭayrân*, in *Yād-nāma-yi Īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, showed pertinently, thanks to the method of the *abdjad*, that Melayê Cizrî lived between 1570 and 1640 and his disciple, Feqiyê Teyran, between 1590 and 1660. The most famous is Melayê Cizrî, later than Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389 or 792/1390) and Djāmī (817-98/1414-92), whose *Dīwān* of more than 2,000 verses has remained very popular among the *shaykhs* and mollahs, much more than among the masses. It has always been read and commented on in the Ḳur'ān schools of Kurdistān, but its text is difficult. His ideas are those of Persian Ṣūfism. His *Dīwān* was published by M. Hartmann, *Das kurdische Diwan des Schêch Ahmed*, Berlin 1904, in photocopy; by Mohammed Şefîq Anwasî Heseniye, Istanbul 1340/1922; Qedrî Cemîl Paşa, *Diwana Melê*, in Latin characters, in *Hawar*, Nos. 35-57 (1941-3), incomplete text; and above all, the fine edition of Shaykh Aḥmad b. al-Mella Muḥammad al-Buhtī al-Zivingī, *al-ʿAḳd al-djawharī fī sharḥ Dīwān al-Shaykh al-Djizrī*, 2 vols., 943 pp., Kamishlī, 1377/1958. Under the vocalised Kurdish text, at a lower level, are given, every two verses, an Arabic word-for-word translation, a more elegant total translation and finally a mystical commentary. Melayê Batê is especially known for his *Mewlûd*, published by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1903. Feqiyê Teyran, who composed an elegy on the death of his master Cizrî, is the author of numerous works, in particular of the *History of Shaykh San'an*, published and translated into Russian by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1965, and in Persian by Q. F. Qazi, Tabrīz 1967.

The succeeding generation of poets cited by Jaba is dominated by Ehmedê Xanî (1650-1706), who settled at Bayazid. He is the author of the famous Kurdish national epic, *Memozîn*. In this work, which has been frequently re-published, the poet adapted the popular epic *Mamê Alan*, publ. by R. Lescot, Beirut 1942, and by N. Zaza, Damascus 1957, which he recomposed according to classical literary rules, and also Islamising it more. This poem of 2,655 couplets is the real breviary of Kurdish nationalism. If the text of the popular epic *Mamê Alan* has multiple variants which have been translated into German, French, Russian, Romanian, English, Armenian and Arabic, the classical poem *Memozîn* has also had numerous editions: Istanbul 1338/1920, Aleppo 1947, Hewlêr (Erbil) 1954; translated into Mukri by Hejar, Baghdād 1960; with Russian translation by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1962; with Turkish translation by M. E. Bozarslan, Istanbul 1968. Many authors often confuse these two epics. Apart from numerous pieces of verse written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Ehmedê Xanî is also the author of a rhymed Arabo-Kurdish vocabulary *Nûbuhar* "First fruits" edited by Yūsuf Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, *al-Hadiyya al-Ḥamīdiyya fi 'l-lugha al-Kurdiyya*, Istanbul 1310/1892, 279-97. and also in facsimile by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, i, 1-47. His disciple and successor in his school of Bayazid, Ismaîlê Bayazidî (1654-1709), also left behind many Kurdish poems and a Kurmanci-Arabic-Persian glossary, *Gulzar* "The rose garden".

In the 18th century, mention should be made of Şerif Xan (1682-1748), of Culamerg, of the family of the *amîrs* of Hakâri, author of numerous verses in Kurmanci and Persian, and Mûrad Xan of Bayazid (1736-78), author of numerous lyrical poems.

In the same period, but at the court of the *wālīs* of Ardalān or the sultans of Hewraman, appeared a whole pleiade of poets whose lyrical or religious works are in the Gūrānī dialect. One may cite Ehmedê Textî (*ca.* 1640) and Şêx Mistefa Besaranî (1641-1702), whom Minorsky believes to be more recent (d. 1760). In this case, he would be contemporary with a whole group of poets, with Xânay Qubâdî (1700-59), author of a *Ṣalawāt-nāma*, and with Mahzûnî (*ca.* 1783).

It is impossible to cite all the poets who lived in the 19th century and whose works have been printed between the two World Wars. Their names and the list of their works will be found cited in the literature of Xiznedar (218-20) and Resûl (228-32). On the poets in Gūrānī, cf. Minorsky's article, *The Gūrān*. Some have been studied at greater length by Sidjādī in his *History of Kurdish literature*, e.g. (247-76), Mewlewî (1806-82). It will be noted that the dates advanced by the different authors do not always coincide, and the taste of the Kurdish poets for choosing a *takhalluṣ* or pseudonym will also be remarked.

Among the poets of the 19th century whose formation was purely religious, one may mention above all Nalî (1797-1855), who travelled extensively, wrote verses in Kurdish, Persian and Arabic, and whose Kurdish *Dīwān* was published in Baghdād in 1931 and in Erbil in 1962; Salim (1800-66), and Kurdî (1803-49) (ed. Hewlêr 1961), whose lyricism blossoms into patriotism; the Naḳshbandī Mehwî (1830-1909) explains Ṣūfī theories (ed. Sulaymānī 1922), likewise, too, Mirza Rehîm Wefa'î (1836-92) ed. Hewlêr, 1951-61, 2 vols.). The greatest poets of the end of the century are Hacî Qadir Koyî (1815-92), whose patriotic poems still arouse enthusiasm in many young people (ed. Hewler 1953, Baghdād 1960); Şêx Riza Talebanî (1842-1910), agnostic and satirist, very popular still today and who composed verses in Kurdish, Persian and Turkish (ed. Baghdād 1935, 1946; cf. C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaikh Riza Talebani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii [Jan. 1935]); Salih Heriq (1851-1907), writing in traditional forms and on Ṣūfī themes (ed. Baghdād 1938); Edeb, Evdelah Beg Misbah al-Diwan (1862-1917, *Dīwān* ed. H. H. Mukriani, Rawāndiz 1936, ed. Gêw Mukriani, Hewlêr 1960, and unpublished poems ed. M. Xiznedar, Baghdād 1970), a delicate and romantic poet.

Let us also mention some women who have played a role in literature: Mah Şeref Xanim of Ardelan (1800-47), Sira Xanim of Diyarbakir (1814-65) and Mihreban of Berwarî (1858-1905).

2. *The modern age.*

The end of the First World War gave Kurdish literature an impetus which still continues, thanks to the numerous newspapers and journals which have allowed young talents to publish their poems and express their national and social ideas (see section 3. below).

It is extremely difficult to make a choice among the poets of this revival which extends from 1920 to our own days.

In the intellectual radiance of Sulaymānī, the real capital in ʿIrāḳ of Kurdistān, let us cite before all Pîremêrd "The old man" (1863-1950), pseudonym of Hacî Tewfîq, an original spirit, indefatigable traveller, journalist, who devoted the last years of his life to making known to the young Kurds, who adored him, the beauties of their land, their language, their history and their literature. The tortured Bâkes, Faîq Abdallah (1905-48), did not cease to encourage the youth and to exhort them to work and study and to exalt in them love of their homeland and of goodness. Zîwer,

Abdallah Mihemed (1875-1948), is full of lyricism and sensibility in singing of nature and the national soil.

Gora, Abdallah Suleyman (1904-63), one of the greatest contemporary Kurdish poets, has abandoned stereotyped forms and classical metre, for he is the partisan and practitioner of free verse, as he has been of liberty of ideas and of life; a poet with advanced ideas, who is not lacking in lyricism to criticise social abuses. Qani', Mihemed Sêx Abdul Kerim (born in 1900), published from 1951 to 1955 numerous small books which each evoke an aspect of the Kurdistān which he celebrates with love. Let us further mention among the Kurdish poets of ʿIrāḳ, Ehmed Muxtar Caf (1897-1935; ed. Sulaymānī, 1960); Hamdī (1878-1936, ed. Baghdād, 1958) and the younger Abdul Wahīd Nùrī (1903-44), Dīldar (1918-48, *Diwan*, ed. Hewlêr 1962) and Dilzar, born in 1920, who edited in 1957 the *Quatrains* of Bābā Ṭāhir, the 5th/11th century writer, whom some Kurds claim as their own.

In Iran, at the time of the Republic of Mahābād, two young patriotic poets came to the front: M. Hêmin and especially ʿAbd al-Rahman Hejar (born in 1920), who was the official poet and who published thousands of verses to exalt love of the homeland and liberty, such as *Alekok* (Tabrīz 1945); in 1958, he published a collection of verse narratives and the comedy of the Dog and the Moon, *Beiti seremer û lasayî sag û mangesew*; he presented a summary of his autobiography (142-85) and several poems (185-222), in the *Kurdskiy dialekt Mukri* of K. R. Ayyubī and I. A. Smirnova, Leningrad 1968, and published a translation of the *Quatrains* of Khayyām (Beirut 1968).

In Kurmancî, one may note Kamiran A. Bedir Xan, writer of romantic free verse, and above all Cegerxwîn, Sêxmus Hesen (born in 1903), author of two collections; *Diwanê Cegerxwîn* (Damascus 1945) and *Sewra azadî* "The revolt of liberty" (Damascus 1954); an extremely vibrant and patriotic poet, preaching the instruction of youth and the union of all the Kurds, and going beyond pure nationalist élan to hope for radical social reforms; his many verses, varied in their workmanship, often preserve a classical form, but also he knows how to use more modern techniques. His rhymes are very rich. He is well-known and loved by the Kurds of Syria and Turkey (cf. Ordixanê Celîl, *Poèsia Cegerxwîn bajarvanié*, ["Civic poetry of Cegerxwin"], Erivan 1966).

But the great novelty is the vitality of Kurdish letters in Soviet Armenia, including Kurmancî. Those who were the pioneers in this field were mostly from the old Yazīdīs, illiterate by definition, immigrants from Turkey, who were to profit from their new social situation. Without the least Islamic culture and without any contact with the educated élite of the rest of the Kurdish world, their works are often ideologically oriented, but of a much more natural workmanship. They ignore classical prosody and their versification gains from simplicity. Lyricism is far from absent. They sing of love of the family and the beauties of nature, such as Casimê Celîl (born in 1908) and especially Mikailê Reşîd (born in 1925), who is rich in sensibility. Some of their strongly committed poems have social inspirations. Woman must be liberated, says Etarê Şero (born in 1906) in numerous quatrains. Usivê Beko (born in 1909) criticises feudal exploitation; Qaçaxê Murad (born in 1914), Wezîrê Nadiri (1911-47) and Emînê Evdal (1906-64) are pleased to recall the heroic times of the war of liberation. Let us further cite Haciyê Cindî (born in 1908) and Sement Siyabend (born in 1908), hero of the Soviet Union, who clothed in a new form the fine popular lyric epic *Siyabend û Xecê*, 1959. The teacher Karlênê Çaçanî, a younger man, has published in particular animal fables which are not lacking in freshness. The paper *Riya taze* of Erivan and various anthologies, not to mention numerous small booklets, make known these Kurdish poets of Soviet Armenia, all nourished by their rich folklore.

In fact, it is only since 1920 that prose has made its appearance in Kurdish letters. In order to enlarge the intellectual horizon and to enrich the vocabulary by allowing its progress and modernisation, the Kurdish men of letters have translated, at least in the shape of fragments, the works of foreign authors. In Syria and Lebanon they have translated from French; in ʿIrāḳ, from English and Arabic; in Iran, from Persian; in Soviet Armenia, from Russian and especially from Armenian. There have also been placed at the disposal of the potential Kurdish reader out of the plays of Shakespeare, *The tempest*, by Jamal Nebez (Baghdād 1957); of the stories of Voltaire, *Zadig*, by Mohammad Elī Kurdī (Baghdād 1954); of the pages of Victor Hugo, *Gavroche* and Daudet, *Les étoiles*, translated by Zaza, or of Anatole France. J. Nebez has also translated *The cloak* of Gogol (Baghdād 1958). But it is especially the Soviet Kurds who are the translators of Russian authors, Pushkin, Gorki, Tolstoy or Lermontov, not forgetting Lenin and Stalin, or Armenians, Abovian,Toumanian, Isahakian, etc. The principal names of the translators to be encountered are: C. Celîl, H. Cindî, E. Evdal, Q. Murad, N. Esed and T. Murad. Some even write several of their works directly in Armenian, such as C. Celîl, E. Evdal, Nadoyê Xido Mehmûdov and many others.

In ʿIrāḳ, many articles of scientific popularisation have been translated, e.g. Dr. Haşim Dixirmacî, and Naci Ebas have specialised in the translation of accounts of early British travellers in Kurdistān.

In the purely literary domain, the novel is the genre which seemed the best adapted to the mentality and art of the Kurds. In the review *Hawar*, one may read the stories of Nuredîn Zaza (born in 1919), and the fables in prose of Mistefa Ehmed Botî. In these stories, Qadri Can (born in 1918) is concerned with religious fatalism and the feudal ascendancy. But one should note very especially Osman Sebrî (born in 1909) who, whilst a poet when in the mood, is particularly a born storyteller, with a lively, simple and direct style.

In ʿIrāḳ, where the intelligentsia is more numerous, history is a privileged field, with the fecund Husayn Huznī Mukrianī (1886-1947) as the author of varied studies: *The history of the Kurdish emirates*, 1929-31, *Famous Kurds*, 1931, *The Soran emirs*, 1935, *The Kurds and Nadir Shah*, 1934, *The Zend Kurds*, 1934, *Mukriani Kurdistan or Atropatene*, 1938, etc. General Mihemed Emîn Zekî (1880-1948), published a *Summary of the history of the Kurds and Kurdistan*, 1931, a *History of the Kurdish states and emirates in the Islamic period*, 1948, a *History of Sulaimani and its district*, 1939, and two volumes of *Kurdish celebrities and Kurdistan*, 1945-7. All these works have been translated into Arabic. Refiq Hilmî (d. 1961), began the publication of his *Memoirs*, in fascicules of a hundred pages, beginning in 1956 and entitled them *A recollection, Southern Kurdistan, the revolutions of Shaykh Mahmud* (a work still uncompleted). Tewfîq Wehbî, pioneer of Kurdish grammar, 1929, 1956, is also a historian who has studied the Yazīdīs, 1962, and the origins of the Kurds and their language, 1965.

Literary criticism began with Yûnis Reûf and Dildar, Kamuran and especially Marûf Xiznedar, who

in review articles and prefaces of anthologies presented many ancient and modern poets. Xiznedar, apart from his *History of Kurdish literature*, also composed *Ḳeş û qafiyet le şi'irî kurdî da* ("Rhyme and rhythm in Kurdish poetry", Baghdād 1962). Cemîl Bendî Rojbeyanî, Arabic translator of the *Sharaf-nāma* in 1957, is especially interested in the poets and writers of the Zengene, Kelhûr and neighbouring tribes. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sidjādī published not only his *History of Kurdish literature* (in 1952), *Researchs on Kurdish literature* (1968) and also the *Value of knowledge* (1970), but also five volumes of *Necklace of pearls* (1957-72), a collection of literary narratives, stories and anecdotes, in which philosophy, beliefs and history are mixed, and his *Journey in Kurdistan* (1958). Let us finally cite ʿIzz al-Dīn Rasūl (born in 1935), for his works on literature and folklore (1968).

In ʿIrāḳ also, numerous authors, writers, journalists and militants, have published, in verse and prose, collections and articles in which they have pleaded the most urgent social causes of the disinherited, such as Şekir Fetah in *The companion of the children* (1948), *The Kurdish woman* (1958), *The new life* (1960); Ibrahîm Ehmed (born in 1912), in *Misery* (1959) and many articles in newspapers; Miherem Mihemed Emîn (born in 1921), in *Uncle Omar* (1954), *The tranquil lake* (1957) and *The path of liberty* (1954).

In Soviet Armenia, one also finds young literary critics who give in *Riya taze* their often severe appreciations of poetic works which appear. Among them are Mikaîlê Reşîd, and especially Emêrikê Serdar, and Ordixanê Celîl is an excellent critic. His books on Cegerxwîn, Dimdim, on proverbs and his articles on folklore are the proof of that, and he has also published *Poems* (1954) and *Telî Hamza*, a kind of epic (1963). But the prose writers there are less numerous than the poets. They do not enter into the domain of the dream, nor even into history properly speaking, but most of their writings set forth the wretched life that they led in the past in the time of the Turks and the revival of their present social situation. At their head is their veteran Ereb Şemo (born in 1898), who is also the most fecund. His latest compilation, *Berevok* (Erivan 1969), takes up the text of *Berbang* "Dawn" (1958), a rehash, revised and corrected, of *Şivanê kurd* "The Kurdish shepherd" (1935), retranslated and republished in Beirut (1946), in which he narrated with much freshness and simplicity the life of his childhood as a small herdsman, the picturesque events of the life of the tribes and the implantation of communism among them; there are also his *Jîna bextewar* "The happy life" (1959) and the unpublished *Hopo*, which is its complement, in which is described the existence of the Kurds under the Soviet régime. Şemo has also published *Dimdim* (1966), which is the romanticised history of this famous epic. He is furthermore the author of numerous articles in many Russian language newspapers on all the social and historical subjects which interest the Kurds. Elî Evdal-Rehman published in this same vein of social preoccupations, *Xatê Xanim* "Lady Xatê" (1959) and *Gundê Merxasan* "The village of heroes" (1968), and Rehîm Gazî, *Hişyarbûn* "Awakening" (1960), which speaks of the resistance of the Kurds of Iran against their Turkish or Iranian oppressors.

Thus one sees the true novel, as it is understood in the West, does not yet really exist in Kurdish literature. It is rather the new genres which Kurdish writers prefer, even in ʿIrāḳ. The same remark may be made with reference to the theatre. In Armenia, from the beginnings, there were attempts with W. Nadirî, *Reva jinê*, "The abduction" (1935) and A. Mîrazî, *Zemanê çuyî* "Time past" (1945), and recently Ismaîle Duko, *Zewaca bê dil* "Marriage without love" (1964). In all these cases, the theme is the struggle against the customs of the past age. Similarly in Irak with Burkan, *Kiç û qutebxane* "The girl and the school" (1956), and Jiri, *Afret û niwişte* "The woman and the talisman" (1956), plays performed in the schools. There are also critical themes in the comic scenes of Emîn Mirza Kerîm. In 1953-4, Goran published in his newspaper *Jîn* several verse plays, including *The poor man's dream, The voice of death*, etc., which aim at waging a vendetta against the faults of the present society. But the *Four martyrs* (1959) is a patriotic play of Xalid Delair. Cemal Abdul Qadir Baban published *Nôrûz* (1960), a play in five acts in verse, and Zakî Ehmed Henarî, *The fate of the oppressor Dahak* (1960). Let us mention especially, because it was published in Istanbul (1965), *Birîna reş* "The black wound" of Musa Anter (born in 1920), in which the author calls attention to the misery and ignorance of the Kurdish peasant in Turkey. On Kurdish theatre, cf. Azad Kardo, *The Kurdish stage*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, ii/3-4 (1965), 13-5.

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C. The Kurdish press.

The influence of the press is basic in the national and cultural life of a people. With regard to this, the development and transformations of the Kurdish press are characteristic of the political evolution of the Kurds. Of the 119 recorded newspapers and reviews, whose periodicity is all relative, some have only had ephemeral life. The publishing centres have been moved from Istanbul to the different towns of ʿIrāḳ, Baghdād, Sulaymānī, Hewlêr and Kirkûk; of Iran, Tehran, Mahābād and Tabrîz; or even to Damascus and Beirut. Often these newspapers are bilingual. Most of the journals consist of a precious

and inexhaustible mine of information on language, folklore and the customs of the Kurdish land, and also on its history and geography. Furthermore to be found in them are numerous texts of poets, ancient or modern, as well as fine ideas of literary criticism. Young talents are also exercised there.

The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, was founded in Cairo in 1898 by Midhet Paşa Bedir Xan and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and moved from Cairo to Geneva and Folkestone (31 nos.); republished in Baghdād, 197?, by Kamāl Fuʾād. In Istanbul, there was the monthly *Roja kurd* "Kurdish day", which became "The Kurdish sun", in 1912 (3 nos.). In 1916, Sureya Bedir Xan published in Turkish the weekly *Jîn* "Life" which proclaimed "Kurdistān for the Kurds". He also published there in 1917-18 the weekly *Kurdistan* (37 nos.).

Between the two wars (1920-45), the Kurdish press really began to flourish and develope. There appeared in Sulaymānī in 1920-2, *Pêskewtin* "Progress" (118 nos.); in 1922-3, *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The Sun of Kurdistan" (15 nos.), re-published in Baghdād in 1973 by Djamāl Khaznadār; the weeklies *Bangê Kurdistan* "The call of Kurdistān" 1922 (14 nos.) in 1923, *Bangê haqq* "The call of truth", the official newspaper of Şêx Mehmûd (3 nos.) and *Umîdî istiqlal* "Hope of independence", edited by Refîq Hilmî (25 nos.). In 1925-6, *Diyarî Kurdistan* "The gift of Kurdistān" of Salih Zeki Sahîbqran, in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, had 16 nos. In 1924-6, the weekly *Jiyanewe* "The resurrection" an official newspaper (56 nos.) which took the name *Jiyan* "Life" 1926-38 (556 nos.), and that of *Jîn*, 1939-63, under the direction of Piremerd until his death (1950), exceeded a thousand nos. In 1938 there appeared the scientific review *Zanistî* "Science" of Salih Quftan, who published in it historical and literary articles, but which only had a few issues, while the weekly *Ziban* "Language" 1937-9, published by the municipality, had 70 nos. In Rawāndiz, Huseyn Huzni Mukriani published 1926-32 *Zari kurmancî* "The Kurdish language" which had 30 nos. Baghdād was to become an important Kurdish cultural centre through the publication of the very numerous monthlies, *Gelawêj* "Sirius", 1939-49, directed by Ibrahîm Ehmed and *Dengê Gêti-e Taza* "The voice of the New World" edited by the British Embassy and edited by Tewfîq Wehbî. Outside ʿIrāḳ, it is important to mention the major reviews, in Latin characters, *Hawar* "The alarm cry", 1932-5 and 1941-3, 57 nos., and its illustrated supplement, *Ronahî* "The lamp" 1941-5, 28 nos., both published in Damascus by Emir Celadet Bedir Xan, and the weekly *Roja nû* "The new day" 1943-6, 73 nos. and its supplement *Stêr* "The star" which only had 3 issues, published by Emir Kamiran Bedir Xan in Beirut. These journals provide an enormous mass of folkloric documents. Let us mention, in Erivan, the bi-weekly newspaper *Riya taze* "The new view", the organ of the Kurdish section of the Communist Party of Armenia, which appeared, in Latin characters from 1930 to 1938 (612 nos.), then in Cyrillic characters from 1955. It has now exceeded its 2,500th number. It is along with *Jîn* of Sulaymānī the best example of longevity of the Kurdish press.

The equivocal political situation in Iran between the years 1941 and 1946, especially after the proclamation of the independent Kurdish Republic (1945-6), brought about the blossoming of a whole Kurdish press in Mahābād: *Kurdistan*, 1945-6, the official newspaper (113 nos.) and a literary review of the same name (16 nos.) *Hawarê nîştiman, Awar, Gir û gali mindalanî kurd, Helale* "The red poppy" only survived a spring. For his part, in Lāhīdjān, Şêx Latif, son of Şêx Mehmûd, published the journal *Niştiman* "Homeland" which had 3 issues.

After the War and until the proclamation of the Republic in ʿIrāḳ (14 July 1958), the journals normally appeared in both Kurdish and Arabic. In 1948-9, in Baghdād, Eladîn Sêcadî published *Nizar* "The rock" (22 nos.), and in 1957-63, Hafiz Mistefa Qazî published there *Hêwa* "Hope" (36 nos.). In Erbil, from 1954 to 1960, Gew Mukriani published the bi-monthly *Hetaw* "The sun", which had 188 nos. Under the Republic, in Kirkûk, 1959-62, *Ray gel* "Popular opinion" (34 nos.); 1959-61, *Azadî* "Liberty", organ of the ʿIrāḳī C.P. (56 nos.). In Sulaymānī, the Teachers' Union published the monthly *Bilêsê* "The flame", 1959-60, with 10 nos. In 1960, appeared *Roj-i nuwe* "The new sun" with 18 nos. and the communist political and literary daily, *Birwa* "Belief", from July 1960 to January 1963 brought out 95 nos., while Baghdād, the bilingual daily *Xebat* "Effort", organ of the D.P.K. brought out 462 nos. in 1959-61. The Ministry of Agriculture published from 1959 to 1956, in Arabic and Kurdish, *Çareser kirdinî kişt û kal* (21 nos.), and the Ministry of Orientation *Iraqê nuwe* (24 nos.). In the course of the year 1960, the lawyer Omer Celal Huwaizi published 69 nos. of the democratic political daily *Dengê kurd*. One cannot pass over in silence *Kurdistan*, a weekly, published in Tehran under the auspices of the Iranian Government from May 1959 to May 1963 with 205 nos., political, scientific, literary and social; this very interesting weekly was only circulated abroad.

The internecine Kurdi-ʿIrāḳī war from 9 September 1961 to 13 March 1970, diminished the activity of the Kurdish press. Nevertheless, in Erbil the municipality published (1962-3) its newspaper *Hewlêr*, with 76 nos. In Baghdād there appeared in 1964 the first Kurdish issue of the seasonal journal *Tutin*, published by the tobacco administration, and, in 1967, *Biyaretî* "Fraternity", a political newspaper of Ṣāliḥ Yūsufī. It is this period which saw the appearance in Turkey, in Turkish and in Kurdish, several ephemeral reviews: *Dicle û Firat* (1962-3) in Istanbul with 8 nos.; *Deng*, in 1963 and in 1966 *Dengê taze* "The new voice" which only had 4 nos. before it was immediately stopped and the directors prosecuted.

The end of hostilities in Kurdistān saw the birth, from 1970 to 1973, of 29 periodicals, of which 2 were in Kirkûk, 6 in Hewlêr, only 4 in Sulaymānī, but 16 in Baghdād, which seems to indicate that the ʿIrāḳī capital has now become the intellectual and cultural centre of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. In Sulaymānī, there is *Birayetî* (1971-2, 18 nos.); *Deng-i mamosta* (7 nos.); *Jîn*, since 1971, presented as the continuation of the newspaper founded by Piremerd; and since 1972, the monthly *Êstêre* "The star", intended for children. In Baghdād, there is *Birayetî*, supplement of the daily *Taʾākhī* (1970-1, 18 nos.). Since 1970, the Philatelist Club has published *Gêti-i pûl* "The world of stamps", in Arabic, Kurdish and English. The General confederation of trade unions has as its official organ *Hişyar-i kirêkaran* "The awakening of the workers" which, since its no. 189 of December 1972, has a Kurdish section. One should mention as an annual publication *The Journal of the Kurdish Academy*, i/1 (1973), a great volume of 800 pages whose editor-in-chief is Iḥsān Shīrzād, Minister of Municipalities, and of which one section is in Arabic. In Iran, one should note the name *Rêga-i yekîtî* "The path of unity", a monthly publication of the Iranian Govern-

ment, whose no. 1 came out in April 1971 and which continues to appear regularly (in 1978).

The different Kurdish groups abroad publish ephemeral bulletins, at times simply typed. In 1949, there appeared in French *Dengê Kurdistan* "la Voix du Kurdistan", organ of the D.P.K. in Europe. Since 1958, the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe has published in English each year *Kurdistan*, in Kurdish and in Latin characters, some annual issues of *Hîviya welêt* "Hope of the homeland" in 1963-5, and similarly *Çiya* "The mountain" in 1965-7. The Commission for the Advancement of Kurdistan (CAK) of the United Kingdom published in English a single issue of *Kurdica*. In English also there exists one of the best publications of this genre, *The Kurdish Journal*, from December 1963 to September 1969, published by the Association of the Kurdish Students in U.S.A. Finally, in Kurdish and Turkish, *Ronahî*, "The lamp", organ of the Kurds of Turkey in Europe, since August 1971; this is now (1978) at its 8th issue.

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AL-**KURDĪ**, MUḤAMMAD AMĪN (d. 1332/1914), one of the leading figures in the recent history of the Naḳshbandī order, and author of several influential works.

Born in Irbīl, he made early acquaintance with Ṣūfism, for his father, Fatḥ Allāh-zāda, was a Ḳādirī *shaykh*. His own initiation was at the hands of a Naḳshbandī *shaykh* of the city, Shaykh ʿUmar, who was separated by only one link in the initiational chain from the great renewer of the Naḳshbandiya in the western Islamic lands, Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1242/1826). After several years spent in the company of Shaykh ʿUmar, Muḥammad Amīn received a licence himself to initiate disciples into the Naḳshbandī path, and he left his homeland, never to return. He retained, however, a certain mode of reverential awareness of Shaykh ʿUmar's spiritual presence through the distinctive Naḳshbandī technique known as *rābiṭa*. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, enjoying numerous mystical and visionary experiences; he compared his state while in Mecca to that of Ibn ʿArabī when he began the composition of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. Inspired by a desire to visit the tombs of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in Cairo, he left the Ḥidjāz for Egypt, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1323/1905. He lived first in the *rawāḳ* of the Kurdish students at the Azhar, later moving to the village of Ambāba outside of Cairo, and finally to Būlāḳ. Initially he concealed his Naḳshbandī affiliations and Ṣūfī interests, concentrating on the study of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* at the Azhar. Later he began to proclaim the path, and to accept each year a small number of disciples. Upon an indication from Shaykh ʿUmar contained in a dream, he then decided to accept all who came to him, and indeed vigorously to propagate the Naḳshbandī order throughout Egypt, travelling widely to numerous towns and villages. He encountered opposition from the followers of other orders and from adherents of the Salafī movement, but soon came to gather a large following. In his instruction, he placed emphasis on two particular elements of Naḳshbandī practice; silent *dhikr* and the recitation of a litany known as the *khatm-i khʷādjagān*. He died in Būlāḳ in 1332/1914 and was buried in the Ḳarāfa cemetery of Cairo.

He left behind him numerous *khalīfa*s, the most prominent of whom was Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Saḳḳā; many contemporary Naḳshbandīs of Egypt are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb fī muʿāmalat ʿallām al-ghuyūb*, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Ṣūfism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1368/1949. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of Naḳshbandī saints (*al-Mawāhib al-sarmadiyya fī manāḳib al-Naḳshbandiyya*, published in Cairo in 1329/1911, as well as manuals of Shāfiʿī and Mālikī *fiḳh*.

Bibliography: A comprehensive account of Muḥammad Amīn's life is given in a 55-page preface by Shaykh Salāma ʿAzzāmī to *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* (8th ed., Cairo 1368/1949). Some mention is made of him by A. J. Arberry in his *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, where Muḥammad Amīn's description of Naḳshbandī practices of *dhikr* is summarised. The same passage from *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* is also to be found in French translation as an appendix to Jean Gouillard's version of *La petite philocalie*. (HAMID ALGAR)

AL-**KURDJ**, GURDJ, GURDJISTĀN, the names in Islamic sources for the province of Georgia in western Caucasia. Georgia comprises four distinct regions: Mingrelia and Imereti in the north-west; Samtaskhe in the south-west (adjoining the Black Sea coastal region of Lazistān [see LAZ], inhabited by a people closely related to the Georgians); Kartli in the north, with the capital Tiflis [*q.v.*], Georgian Tbilisi; and Kakheti in the east. Topographically, much of Georgia comprises mountains, hills and plateaux, with lowland only on the Black Sea coastal plain and in the valleys of the River Rioni and its tributaries, draining westwards into the Black Sea, and of the River Kura (Georgian Mtkvari, Islamic Kur [*q.v.*]) and its tributaries, draining eastwards into the Caspian.

The Georgian people (who refer to themselves as Kartvel-ebi and their homeland as Sa-kartvel-o, after a mythical, semi-divine ancestor Kartlos) are linked with the Svans of northern Mingrelia and the Mingrelo-Laz in the so-called "Ponto-Zagros" group of Caucasian peoples, although over the millennia their blood must have been much mingled with that of other peoples who have invaded or have passed through their country. Linguistically, the Georgian language forms with Svanetian and Mingrelo-Laz the southern or Ibero-Caucasian group of Caucasian languages; for details, see AL-ḲABḲ, languages. It is written in an alphabet of considerable phonetic exactness, which is traditionally considered to be the creation of St. Mesrop, inventor of the Armenian alphabet, but which apparently had two forms originally; these must at all events have been derived in the first place from Aramaic-Pahlavi scripts (see D. Diringer, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*[3], New York 1968, 252-4).

Early history. From earliest times, Georgia has been a meetingpoint for the cultures of East and West and a place where the products of European

and Asian commerce were exchanged. In Homeric times, the western Georgian coastal region, Imereti and Mingrelia, formed the famed Colchis, land of the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts, whilst the lands to the east, Kartli, Kakheti and Samtskhe, formed the Caucasian Iberia, with its capital at Mtskheta-Armazi, on the River Kur just upstream from modern Tiflis. The campaigns of Pompey in the 1st century BC brought Georgia into the sphere of Roman political and cultural influence, and to classical geographers like Strabo we owe a description of Iberia, and the fourfold class-division of its society, a division not dissimilar from that of ancient Iran. The Iberians did indeed have close cultural links with the Parthians, and we find Iberian kings and nobles with Iranian names like Parnavaz and Asparukh, together with a certain spread of the Zoroastrian religion within Iberia, a process only arrested by the adoption of Christianity within Georgia *ca.* 330 AD, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and through the missionary efforts of a Cappadocian slave woman, St. Nino. The consequences for the future history of Georgia and its people of this conversion to Christianity were incalculable. Georgia, and Armenia [see ARMĪNIYA] to the south of it, henceforth became bastions of the new faith against the pagan regions of the eastern Caucasus and against the Sāsānids of Persia, the enemies of Byzantium. At first dependent on the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Georgian Church, like that of the Armenians, espoused Monophysitism and rejected the formulae of the Council of Chalcedon, and at the Council of Dvin of the Armenian and Georgian Churches in 506, the Georgians seceded from Orthodoxy and set up their own national church of St. George, with its Catholicos-Patriarch resident at Tiflis.

The period of Byzantine-Persian rivalry. The old capital of Georgia Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5.10 Μεστλῆτα = Μεσχῆτα) was sometimes called by the Arab geographers by a popular etymology Masdjid Dhi 'l-Ḳarnayn (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 56; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle, the Persian *eristav* ("ethnarch") sent against Varaz-bakar (379-93?), king of Georgia (of the Khosroid dynasty, descended from the Sāsānids), built Tiflis "between the Gates of the Caucasus" (i.e. between Darial and Darband) "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 140).

During the wars of king Wakhtang Gurgasal (446-99?) with the Persians, the fortress (*kala*) and the village (*sopʿeli*) of Tiflis were destroyed. Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Dači (499-514) completed its walls (*op. cit.*, 180, 196-201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian *marzbān* in Tiflis, beside whom representatives of the Georgian nobility had a nominal share in the administration of the country (Brosset, i, 226; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 397, 431-2; Djavakhov, *Khrist. Vostok*, i [1912], 110). The governor of Mtskheta was under the *marzbān*. Theophanes of Byzantium (6th century) is the first Byzantine author to mention ἡ Τίφιλις (Τιφλίς) μητρόπολις under the year 571 (Theophanes apud Photium, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, ciii, 139; cf. Muralt, *Essai de chronologie byzantine*, St. Petersburg 1855, i, 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having distracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give them a king and the Bagratid Guaram (575-600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restitution of the foundations of the church of Sion in Tiflis" (i, 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by Khusraw Parwīz (after 606), the son of Guaram, Stephanos I (who was content with the title of *eristʿavi* = "ethnarch"), joined the Persians. Later, when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as *mtʿavar* ("chief") Adarnases of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the *eristʿavi* Djibghu (Theophanes: Ζιέβηλ; according to Marquart: Tʿong Yabghu Khaḳan). The citadel (*kala*) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 194; and Yāḳūt, ii, 58, where Djurzān is a *nāḥiya* of the country of Armīniya). According to the Georgian chronicle (*Kʿartʿlis tskhovreba*), the Agarians invaded Somkhetia ("Armenia", a rather ambiguous term, for "Somkhetia of Karti" began to the south of the river Khram, about 20 miles south of Tiflis) in the reign of Stephanos II (639-63?), son of Adarnases, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Arčil withdrew to Egris in Mingrelia. In the period of their joint reign (663-8) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Ḳru ("Marwān the Deaf") sent by the *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* Eshim (= Hishām whose dates are actually 105-25/724-43!). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period, the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Čʿorokh (Klardjetia). The thread of events may, however, be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements [see ARMĪNIYA].

In reality, Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Ṭabarī, i, 2666, in 22/643 Surāḳa, having made peace with Shahr-Barāz (king of Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*]), sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Ṭabarī, i, 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town, but it was actually made in 25/645 in the reign of ʿUthmān (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, 194; Balādhurī, 198). When Habīb b. Maslama had conquered Armenia, he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nkly = Nicolas? Tfly = Theophilus?) appeared before him to testify that the *baṭrīk* of Djurzān and his people were well-disposed. Habīb's answer (cf. the versions in Balādhurī, 201 and Ṭabarī, i, 2764; Yāḳūt, i, 857, rather follows Balādhurī) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in [the *rustāḳ* of] Mandjalīs (now Manglis) in al-Djurzān (= Georgia) in the land of Hurmuz".

Habīb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djazʾ to expound the law of Islam, and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islam.

After reducing Tiflis, Habīb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādhurī, 202-3; cf. the attempts to analyse them in Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, in *Zeitschr. f. armen. Philologie*, ii (Marburg 1903), 149-225). Among these, the Ṣanāriya play a prominent part Ptolemy, 5.8.13: Σαναραῖοι; in Armenian: Tsanarkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakheti and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N.Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Tʿush, whose language is related to that of the Čečens (cf. *Izv. Akad. Nauk.*, x/12 [1916], 1379-1408).

From the time of Habīb's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) the Djurzān (eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz (*q.v.*, here in the wide sense of "western Georgians of the valley of the Rion", i.e. of Imereti) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Murūdj*, ii, 65; Yāķūt, ii, 583). From the time of Yazīd II (101-5/720-4) we have a letter in which Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh confirmed to the Djurzān the guarantees given by Ḥabīb b. Maslama (Balādhurī, 202; there is a reference there also to the *rustāķ* of Mandjalīs, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Ķru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personnages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muḥammad b. Marwān, of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muḥammad who in the reign of Hishām was fighting mainly in Dāghistān, but whose expedition against the "Gate" of the Alān [*q.v.*] must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kisāl(?), 20 *farsakhs* from Tiflis and 40 *farsakhs* from Bardhaʿa (probably Kesala below Tāwūs, which satisfies the description; see below). A *dirham* is known of ʿAbd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85/704.

The ʿAbbāsids. In 141/758 the Khazars [*q.v.*] under Raʾs Ṭarkhān invaded Armenia (Yaʿķūbī, ii, 446). Ṭabarī (iii, 328), speaking of the same event under 147/764, says that during the invasion of Astār Khān al-Khwārazmī (*sic*), many Muslims and *dhimmīs* were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. Yaʿķūbī immediately after 141/758 mentions a rising of the Ṣanāriya. The latter were defeated by ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl, who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another Khazar invasion took place in 183/799. Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country, but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (Yaʿķūbī, ii, 518; Ṭabarī, iii, 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and Djuansher (718-86?) the Khāķān's general Blučan (in Armenian Bulčʿan) took Tiflis and conquered Kartli.

Of the governors whom Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) sent to Armenia, the harshest was Khuzayma b. Khāzim (Balādhurī, 210). The Georgians called him Cʿičʿum-Asim. Yaʿķūbī, ii, 210, confirms the cruelty of his second governorship. The Djurdjān (read Djurzān) and the Ṣanāriya rebelled. Khuzayma's general Saʿīd b. Haytham defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis.

Under al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb established himself in Armenia. In 214/829 he conquered the land of the Djurzān and the Ṣanāriya joined him (Yaʿķūbī, ii, 540, 565-6). Khālid b. Yazīd gave *amān* to Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb and defeated his allies, the Ṣanāriya, but the disturbances in Armīniya went on (Yāʿķūt, ii, 566; Balādhurī, 210-11). In 215-39/830-53, Isḥāķ b. Ismāʿīl carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Isḥāķ b. Ismāʿīl. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 65, he was of Ķuraysh origin. His father Ismāʿīl was the son of Shuʿayb, a client of Marwān II (126-32/744-50); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph al-Amīn (193-8/809-13) and had had skirmishes with the governor Asad b. Yazīd (Yaʿķūbī, ii, 528). The uncle of Isḥāķ, ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb, mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i, 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from Khālid, probably after Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb. But already in the governorship of Ḥasan Bādhghīsī, the second successor of Khālid, we find the name of Isḥāķ. When the Byzantine troops of Theophilus (829-42) reached Wanand (near Ķars), they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii, ch. 5., tr. Dulaurier, 171). As a result of such exploits, the caliph al-Wāthiķ (227-32/842-7) recognised Isḥāķ as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of Khālid, defeated Isḥāķ and drove out the Ṣanāriya. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against Isḥāķ and his allies, the people of Kakheti and the Ṣanāriya.

Finally, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the Turkish commander Bughā al-Kabīr al-Sharābī [*q.v.*] was sent to Armenia. In Rabīʿ I 238 (August-September 852), he left Dabīl for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughdabīl (the reference is to the heights of Makhatha to the north of Isani = Sughdabīl).

Isḥāķ made a sortie, but Bughā's *naffāṭūn* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. Isḥāķ's palace was burned. He and his son ʿAmr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Maghāriba. Isḥāķ was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The Maghāriba took the survivors prisoners and mutilated the dead. Isḥāķ's wife, daughter of the lord of Sarīr (= the principality of the Avars in northern Dāghistān), was at Sughdabīl, which was defended by the Khuwaythiya (people of Sasun; cf. MAYYĀFĀRIĶĪN). Bughā granted them *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and he continued his operations in the direction of Djardmān and Baylaķān (Ṭabarī, iii, 1114-16; cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii, chs. 9-10, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, 140-50. A Georgian inscription on the church of Ateni gives the Islamic date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā; cf. Djavakhov, *Khrist. Vostok*, i [1912], 284). The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Umayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Masʿūdī, ii, 67; Yāķūt, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bughā was soon recalled; cf. Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 266-8, and Thomas Artsuni, *ibid.*

There was an ʿAbbāsid mint for *dirhams* at Tiflis till 331/942 (pieces are known of 210, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 331); cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khalifs orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873; Pakhomov, *Moneti Gruzii. i. Domongolskiy period*, in *Zap. Num. Otd. IRAO*, i/4 (1910); E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 89-90.

The aid which Bagrat (826-76) had lent to the caliph against Isḥāķ did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty, called of Abkhazia (cf. the explanation of this term above), seized Kartli. Thus Masʿūdī (writing in 332/942), *Murūdj*, ii, 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdjīn (Bagratid of the lateral line, d. 941; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 176) crossed the land of Abkhāz (*sic*) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which, although surrounded by infidels on all sides, still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885-90?) also intervened in the affairs of Kartli (Brosset, i, 270, n. 12). Masʿūdī gives Masdjid Dhi 'l-Ķarnayn (= Mtskheta) as the residence of the king of Djurzān (*al-ṭanbaghī*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 186, to the Armenian **mambaghi* > *mamphali*, a Georgian title).

The Sādjids, the Sālārids and the Shaddādids. In the meanwhile, there arose in Ādhar-

bāydjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the suzerainty of Baghdād, the Sādjids (276/889 or 279-893 to 317/929; see SĀDJIDS and R. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidov*, in *Izvestia Obshč. izuč. Azerb.* (Baku 1927), No. 5, 22-51). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north. In 299/912 (?) he came to Tiflis, the *amīr* of which was then called Dja'far b. 'Alī (cf. below), and seized the fortresses of Udjarmo and Boč'orma (on the upper Iora) (cf. Brosset, i, 275, *n.* 2). The chronicle also mentions another expedition (between 305/918 and 311/923) of the "Saracens called Sadj", in the course of which Mtskheta was taken. The Muslim sources are silent about these expeditions. Immediately afterwards the chronicle mentions the appearance of the Musāfirids [*q.v.*] or Sālārids at Bardha'a and in Ādharbāydjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The series of reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brosset), until the king Bagrat III (980-1014 ?) reunited Kartli, Abkhazia, Tao (on the Č'orokh) and Ardanudj. In his time, the Shaddādid [*q.v.*] Faḍlūn invaded Armenia, but was defeated by the Georgians, and Mtskheta was always regarded as the royal city, although the rulers resided in Kutais (K'ut'at'isi). In 421/1030 the Georgian and Kakhetian notables, with the help of the *amīr* Dja'far of Tiflis, undertook an expedition against the Shaddādid P'adlon (Faḍlūn of Gandja). But when the latter died, Liparit Orbeliani, the powerful lord of T'rialet' (on the upper Khram), captured Dja'far by a ruse and only released him on the appeal of the young king Bagrat IV (1027-72), who evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexed by the turbulent Liparit. Dja'far was re-established at Tiflis, but a few years later the king himself laid siege to Tiflis. The siege had lasted for two years when suddenly the king at the suggestion of Liparit made peace with Dja'far. After the death of the latter, the elders (*ber*) of Tiflis offered the keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied the citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Ts'ḳalkin and T'abor. The inhabitants of the Isan quarter on the left bank of the Kur, however, destroyed the bridge, and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon them.

The Saldjūḳs. In 439/1048 the troops of Ibrāhīm Yināl (in Georgian Bahram-Lam) appeared for the first time in Basian (Pasin on the upper waters of the Araxes). In 445/1053 (?) the Saldjūḳs undertook an expedition against Gandja, but a countermovement by the Byzantines, who were allies of Bagrat IV, saved the town. Thereupon the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat, but as a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines kept Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three years. Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of his fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslan (455-65/1063-72) invaded Georgia (Brosset, i, 326). On 10 December 1068, Alp Arslan, accompanied by the kings of Armenia and Kakheti (Aghsar'an, son of Gagik, of the dynasty of Korikoz (Chorepiscopi), which ruled from 787 to 1105), as well as the *amīr* of Tiflis, marched against Bagrat. All Kartli was occupied and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. The Shaddādids were given compensation. Tiflis and Rustaw were given to Faḍlūn of Gandja, and Ānī to Manučihr b. Abi 'l-Aswār. In the spring of 461/1069, Bagrat returned to Kartli. Faḍlūn encamped at Isan (a suburb on the left bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the country. Bagrat defeated Faḍlūn, who took the road through Kakheti, but was taken prisoner by Aghsart'an. At the price of conceding several fortresses on the Iora, Bagrat ransomed Faḍlūn and received from him the surrender of Tiflis, where in the meanwhile a certain Sithlaraba (Sayyid al-'Arab ?) was proclaimed *amīr*. This plan failed, for Alp Arslan obtained the liberation of Faḍlūn. Giorgi II, son of Bagrat (reigned 1072-89, lived to 1125), lived in Kutais. In Kakhet Aghsart'an retained his possessions on condition that he adopted Islam.

Dawid II. The revival took place under Dawid II Aghmashenebeli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kartli and Abkhazia" (1089-1125 ?). Dawid brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Ḳīpčaḳs (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity. In spite of their unruliness (Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 379), these warlike elements enabled Dawid to throw off Saldjūḳ domination. He ceased the payment of the *kharādj* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter T'amar in marriage to the Shīrwān-Shāh [*q.v.*] Akhsitān (in Georgian, Aghsart'an) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515/1121. On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis, the Saldjūḳ Maḥmud b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Artuḳid Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Mazyādid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa (Durbez of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sulṭān Tughrīl (lord of Arran and Nakhičewan) with his atābeg Kūn-toghdī, all took part. On 18 August 1121 this army entered T'rialet' and Manglis, but was destroyed by Dawid and his Ḳīpčaḳs, after which in 515/1121-2), Dawid stormed Tiflis, so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons"; Brosset, i, 365-7, and *Additions*, i, 230, 236-41; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 398-9 (= Defrémery, *Fragments*, 26); Kamāl al-Dīn, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, in *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, iii, 628; Yāḳūt, i, 857 (s.v. art. Taflīs). The Arab historian al-'Aynī (761-854/1360-1451), who utilises sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i, 241), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasise the atrocities committed by Dawid (Matthew of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, i, 230), says that the king respected the feelings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done. Dawid is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends; the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomov, *Moneti*, etc., 77-81) bear the image of the Virgin. Great caution in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because, as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i, 380).

The Banū Dja'far. Dawid succeeded in Tiflis to the Banū Dja'far, of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin. While the Georgian Chronicle (i, 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-'Aynī gives the Banū Dja'far alone a period of 200 years. Indeed, we have seen that in *ca.* 300/912 the *amīr* of Tiflis was already called Dja'far [b. 'Alī] (Brosset, i, 275). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; *dirhams* are known of Manṣūr b. Dja'far, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Muṭī' li 'llāh), and of Dja'far b. Manṣūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Ṭā'i' li 'llāh). In the time of Bagrat IV (1027-72) the *amīr* of Tiflis was called Dja'far (his father 'Alī had carried off the property of the Sveti-Tskhoveli church of Mtskheta). The Chronicle calls him Mukhat' Gwerd Djap'ar (Mukhat' Gwerd is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū Dja'far family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-'Aynī).

The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri (1125-54) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Ādharbāydjān, the *atābeg* Ildeñiz or Eldigüz [*q.v.*] (in Georgian Ildiguz); at Ānī, the scions of the Shaddādids; at Khilāt, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Shāh-i Arman (523-79/1128-83); at Erzerum, the *amīr* Saltuḳ b. ʿAlī, whom the Georgians defeated near Ānī in 548/1153; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 126, year 548/1157; Münedjdjim-bashī, ii, 577; Defrémery, *Fragments*, 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelatʿi (cf. Fraehn, *Mém. Ac. St. Pétersbourg*, ser. 6, *Sc. morales*, iii, 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azraḳ, the historian of Māyyāfāriḳīn, who visited Tiflis in 548/1153. He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dakka*) opposite the *khaṭīb*; cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic manuscripts* . . . , in *JRAS* (1902), 791 (al-Azraḳ may have been the source used by al-ʿAynī).

Under Giorgi III (1156-84), the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same, and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Ānī, Dwīn, Nakhičewān, Gandja, Bardhaʿa and Baylaḳān. To assist his cousin the Shīrwān-Shāh Akhsitān, son of Tamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, i, 383-403, and *Add.* i, 253-7, 266; Ibn al-Athīr, years 556, 557, 559, 561, 569).

The reign of Tamar (1184-1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kartli", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Saldjūḳs to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Tamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond (Kunik, *Osnov. Trapez. imperii v 1204*, in *Učen. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, ii [1853], 705-33). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzindjān inflicted defeats on the Ildeñizids of Ādharbāydjān. The sack of Ardabīl by the Georgians (Brosset, i, 469-73) finds confirmation in the *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawiyya*, Berlin 1843, 43; cf. Khanykov, *Mél. Asiatiques*, i (1852), 580-3. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210-12 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Romguaro (= Ramdjār near Nishāpūr!), but beyond Tabrīz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i, 469-73). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakharé and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzel family (Armenian of Kurdish origin; cf. Brosset, *Add.*, i, 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Tamar could only retain Ḳars (Brosset, i, 467). At home also (Djavakhov), the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia; the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Sulṭāns"; Brosset, i, 474). In the reign of Tamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu 'l-Hasan, "*amīr* of Tiflis and Kartli" (is this a scion of the Banū Djaʿfar?).

The Mongols. The son of Tamar, Giorgi III Lasha ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212-23, levied the *kharādj* of Gandja, Nakhičewān, Erzerum (Karnukalak) and Khilāṭ, but in 617/1220 the Mongol troops of Subutay and Djebe (in Georgian: Suba and Iama or Čʿeba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 493) considers the defeat at Berdudj (on the Borčala) as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223-47) (*Kiz-malik*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims), a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i, 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūḳ of Erzerum, Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrīl (in Georgian Orʿul) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270: *hādithat*[un] *gharībat*[un] *lam yūdjad mithluhā*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224), the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate.

The Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn defeated the Georgians at Garni in Shaʿbān 622/August 1225; (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 283; Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 112; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 309). The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwaynī, ii, 159: he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on 9 March 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djuwaynī, Djalāl al-Dīn spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Abkhazia, but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*ʿanwat*[an] *wa-ḳahr*[an] *min ghayr*[i] *amān*[in]) and all those who did not accept Islam were massacred. Nasawī (122) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 504-7). The vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winterquarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawī, 125). Djalāl al-Dīn, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 625/1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Loré, he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwané, made up of very diverse elements: Georgians, Alāns, Armenians, people of Sarīr (= the Avar of Daghistān), Lakz, Ḳipčaḳ, Svan, Abkhāz, Djanīt (= Čʿan-etyi; cf. LAZ), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djuwaynī, ii, 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 510) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor?), Djalāl al-Dīn committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.

Second coming of the Mongols. Djalāl al-Dīn disappeared from the scene in Shawwāl 628/August 1231), but the remnants of the Khwārazmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis, however, was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djurmaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1236 (Brosset, i, 333; according to d'Ohsson, iii, 75: *ca.* 632/1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutais, and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *noʾins*, of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Čarmaghan, Čaghtar, Ioser and Bičuy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rion.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country: the Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, against the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt, against Baghdād etc.). The country was divided into six *tumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*mtʿawar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *noʾins*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years. In this way the heir to the throne, Dawid (called in Mongol Narin "splendid"),

was removed from the country. A certain Egarslan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king"; Brosset, i, 542), but the Mongols set up against him Dawid, son of Georgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Karakorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among these present at the *kuriltay* of Güyük-Khān in 643/1245 (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 205, 212; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Möngke (1248-59), they ruled together at first.

As Hülegü did not like Dawid Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains: on the one side, Batu-Khān, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side, the Il-Khāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawid, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khōdja ʿAzīz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *noʾin* Oyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hülegü against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shīrwān in 2162 (d'Ohsson, iii, 182). In the reign of Abagha or Abaka, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf. *ibid.*, 418).

The successor to Dawid, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273-89), who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Aḥmad, but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu*. The Georgians call him Tʿav-Dadebuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols. In vain Dawid VI (1292-1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Otakha = Tokhtoghu); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the Orthodox Catholicos and the *ḳāḍī* of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 615; this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islam as a result of the accession of Ghazan!). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *noʾin* Nawrūz in the reign of Ghazan: Brosset, i, 617) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gīlān expedition of 1307).

Giorgi V. After the death of Öldjeytü (717/1317), Giorgi V (Brtskinwale, the Splendid"") was placed on the throne (1316-46) under the patronage of the *amīr* Čoban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Il-Khāns to drive out the Mongols. He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imereti, and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from "Nikophsia (15 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Tīmūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360-95) that Tīmūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *djihād*. Tīmūr set out from Kars in the winter of 788/1386 (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsopʿ (Nève, *Exposé*, 37) mention the apostasy of the King, but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Tīmūr's soldiers and regain his lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 705, 720, does not give these details. In 796/1394 it only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akhaltsikhe (Akhiskha [*q.v.*]) in order to apply the law of *ghazā*ʾ. Tīmūr in person finally chastised the Georgians called Kara-Kalkanlïk ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the Pshaws and Khewsurs) and returned via Tiflis to Shakkī [*q.v.*].

In 798/1395 the Georgians, allied with Sīdī ʿAlī of Shakkī, inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Tīmūrid Mīrān-Shāh who was besieging Alindjak (near Nakhičewān) and delivered Sulṭān Ṭāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid.*, ii, 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802/1399 when Tīmūr took Shakkī and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?), probably in northern Kakheti, where a Khimshia family held a fief at Mareli, to the east of Tʿionetʿi (Brosset, ii/2, 464). In the spring of 802/1400 Tīmūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgīn) should hand over Sulṭān Ṭāhir. On receiving an evasive answer, Tīmūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii, 214). Tiflis received a Khurāsānian garrison, but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djānī-Beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarīt (?), Tīmūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Svanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Ṭāhir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Ismāʿīl (Brosset, i, 668) he offered to Tīmūr to pay the *kharādj*. Tīmūr accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Ivané (the *atābeg* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islam and that of the Kara-Kalkanlïk plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-göl ("1,000 Lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasgird (Pʿanaskert, on the upper Čʿorokh); *ibid.*, ii, 250.

In 804/end of 1401 Tīmūr returned to Transcaucasia via Sīvās-Baghdād-Tabrīz. His delegates (*muḥaṣṣil*) went to collect the tribute (*sāw wa-kharādj wa-djizya*) from Giorgi, who sent his brother with the contributions. Tīmūr gave Giorgi *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii, 379). In the summer of 804/1402 Tīmūr went from Karabāgh [*q.v.*] to Min-göl and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdjïk, lieutenant of a certain Tadji (?).

When, in 805/1403, Tīmūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bāyazīd. At Min-göl, Ivané, son of Ak-budjā, arrived with gifts as did Kustāndīl (Constantine), brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii, 512). Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii, 521). Giorgi sent new presents, but Tīmūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In Muḥarram 806/August 1403 he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kūrtīn defended by Nazāl or Nazwāl (the Chronicle calls it Birthwis on Alget) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii, 524-32). The troops then laid waste the country round (*aṭrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*ḥudūd*) of Abkhazia: "which is the end of this country". Seven hundred towns and villages were destroyed, and the historian of Tīmūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii, 536). Tīmūr only stopped them when the *ʿulamā*ʾ The Georgians sent 1,000 *tan*possible to grant *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tangas* of gold struck in the

name of Tīmūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 18 *mithkals*, etc.

Tīmūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Baylaķān (winter of 806/1403-4). All the country from Baylaķān to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khalīl Mīrzā (ii, 545).

Post-Tīmūrid period. The general disorder, after the havoc wrought by Tīmūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, in *Notices and extraits*, xiv, 235 and Mīrkhʷānd; cf. Defrémery, *Fragments*, 245) mention an expedition of Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyirids against the Ķara-Ķoyunlu Ķara Yūsuf in which Kustāndīl, king of Gurdjistān, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes, and Ķara Yūsuf slew Kustāndīl with his own hand. This happened in 815/1412-13. Also, 300 *aznāʾūrs* (Georgian nobles; cf. Armenian *azn* "race") were massacred. Vakhusht (Brosset, i, 689) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1413 (1416?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhaltsikhe, Ķara Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsopʿ; cf. Nève, *loc. cit.*, 96; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413-43) "no consoler arose from anywhere". The king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sveti Tskhoveli (at Mtskheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāh-Rukh in 823/1420 at Ķara-bāgh (cf. Mīrkhʷānd, in Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841/1437 Shāh-Rukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf. above), Alexander sent him rich gifts, after which the son of Tīmūr left Georgia. In 1444/848 the Ķara-Ķoyunlu Djihān-shāh made a raid to Akhal-tsikhe (cf. Brosset, i, 683; according to Thomas of Metsopʿ, Djihān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Nève, 149).

The partition of Georgia. At this period, Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i, 679-89). The history of Vakhusht, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1469-1505), during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, ii/1, 11-18, 147, 208, 249): Kartli, with capital Tiflis; Imereti, with capital Kutais; and Kakheti, with capital at Gremi (Persian Girīm) and later at Tʿelav. In addition, the *atābeg* of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-tsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Santabago (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klardjetʿia on the Čʿorokh), the princes of which from Manučar III = Ṣafar-pasha (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii, 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imereti (the Guriels of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelovani of the Svans; cf. ABKHĀZ). In Kartli also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imereti.

The Aķ-Ķoyunlu. In this period Uzun Ḥasan comes on the stage. According to Münedjdjim-bashī, iii, 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871/1466, when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Čemākār (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-tsikhe, but he returned to the attack in 877/1472. King Bakzātī (read: Bagrat II of Imereti) was dethroned (*ķahr*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Vakhusht's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun Ḥasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Ḥasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii, 13, 25). The *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, however, calls the governor (*iyālat*) left by Uzun Ḥasan, Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Ḥasan in 882/1478, when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sulṭān Yaʿķūb Aķ-Ķoyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891/1486 to chastise the *Atābeg* Ķvarķvare. In the next year, Yaʿķūb sent Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-ķalʿa and Kaozani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Borčala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the *Geography of Vakhusht*). Kustāndīl (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis, Ṣūfī Khalīl began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kudjīr (Kodjori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis, the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Walī aghā eshikči-aghasī took the town (3 Rabīʿ I 894/4 February 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Yaʿķūb, *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 101, fols. 101a-5a and 155a-9a). The Chronicle (Brosset, ii, 326-7), which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Sabaratʿiano (called Barāt-ili by the Muslims) on the Alget inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans.

The Ṣafawids. In 907/1501 a detachment of Ismāʿīl's forces under the command of Khādim-Beg invaded Georgia (*Shāhinshāh-nāma*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Dīw Sulṭān in 926/1520 was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Ismāʿīl I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, iii, *djuzʾ* 4, 92). In 929/1522-3 the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty seized Aghdja-ķalʿa and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge"; cf. Vakhusht, in Brosset, ii/1, 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskandar Munshī mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp against Georgia. In 947/1540 Ṭahmāsp seized Tiflis, the governor of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next, the fortress of Bartīs (? Birtvis) was taken (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, Tehran 1314, 63). The second time was in 193/1546 when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Ṭahmāsp at Shūragel (near Gümri = Alexandropol = Leninakan). The third expedition in 958/1551 was sent from Shakkī on the appeal of the *atābeg* Kay Khusraw, son of Ķurķura (Ķwarķware) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Iskandar Munshī writes Lawārṣāb, but the name is Iranian: Luhrāsp; cf. *Mirʾāt al-buldān*).

According to Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 65, by the Turco-Persian peace of 961/1553 the territories of Masķ (Meskhi = Samtskhe), of Kārtīl (Kartli) and of Kākhit were allotted to Shāh Ṭamhāsp, while Sulṭān Sulaymān received those of Bashī-ačuk ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imereti), of Dādiyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trablus (Tire-boli). Luarsab I, however, continued to worry Tiflis. This provoked the fourth expedition. Barāt-ili (Sabaratʿiano), Gori and Ateni were occupied and the king himself fel in battle. Vakhasht dates the four expeditions to 1536, 1548, 1553 and 1558 respectively. Brosset, ii/1, 452, considers these very probable as they coincide very well

with the visissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558-1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by this brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān), who purchased the throne at the price of apostasy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamūt, from where he was released by Ismāʿīl II (984/1576-7) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman domination 986-1011/1578-1603. In 986/1578, during the reign of the weak Shāh Khudābanda, the Ottomans under Muṣṭafā Lala Pasha penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe, and in August seized Tiflis, from which Dāwūd Khān had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muḥammad, son of Ferhād-Pasha, was given the *sandjak* (*pashalik*?) of Tiflis (von Hammer, *GOR*², ii, 483). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a *sandjak* to Swimon. When Muṣṭafā Pāshā returned to Erzerum, Imām Ḳulī Khān, son of the Shamkhal slain by Özdemir-Pasha, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Ḥasan Pasha (*ibid*., 489), but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new *serʿasker* Sinān Pasha arrived in Tiflis and appointed as *Beglerbeg* a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islam under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In Radjab 990/August 1582 Muḥammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis, but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pasha put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 990/December 1582) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 992/1584, Riḍwān Pasha left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Riḍwān but without success. Ferhād Pasha's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal-kalaki, which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 993/1585 against Tabrīz [*q.v.*], the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Ādjarbāydjān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of 25 Djumādā I 999/March 21, 1590); cf. the *Chronicle of the Psalter of Meshki* (1559-87) in Takaishvili, *op. cit.*, 183-214; von Hammer, ii, 481-97 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, ii/1, 411-19). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Nuṣret-nāma* of ʿAlī (Jan. 1578-Jan. 1580). On the other Turkish sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 117, 181. Soon after the accession of Muḥammad III (1003/1595), Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Istanbul, where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 999/1591 till 15 Djumādā I 1012/21 October 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh ʿAbbās I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1021/1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sulṭān Selīm (918-26/1512-20).

Shāh ʿAbbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakheti) in the region of this monarch. Although Giorgi of Kartli and Alexander of Kakheti had fought under his banner at the siege of Eriwān in 1602, ʿAbbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605-16) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulāb-ḳalʿa. In 1025/1616 ʿAbbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kartli to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616-19). He then punished Kakheti. According to the official history of the reign, *ʿĀlamārā*, 635, the number of those put to death was 60-70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-130,000: "since the beginning of Islam no such events have taken place under any king". In 1033/1623 Karčiḳa-Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakheti and instead of leading them against Imereti had them massacred "as if at a battue" (*shikārī-wār*; *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 719). Exasperated by such treachery, the *mourav* ("governor of lower rank"; Brosset, ii/1, 148; the Persians write *mihraw*) Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kartli which the Persians did not overcome till 1035/1626 (Iosselian, *Žizn mourawa G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, ii/1, 53-9, 489-97). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important, and Shāh Ṣafī, successor to ʿAbbās I, owed his throne to the support of Khusraw Mīrzā, brother of the King Bagrat who was *darugha* of Iṣfahān.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), Tʿeimuraz I of Kakheti (1605-64, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khetʿewan was put to death at Shīrāz in 1624; Brosset, ii/1, 167) came to Kartli, where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kay Khusraw already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634-58). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of *ḳullar-aghasi* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian prisoners who had become converts to Islam returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta, etc.

In 1045/1636 Murād IV took Erīwān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 Persia renounced her claims to Ḳars and Akhal-tsikhe (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, 686); according to Vakhusht (Brosset, ii/1, 68), the Sulṭān received Imereti and Saatbago and the Shāh kept Kartli and Kakheti.

Vakhtang (to Muslims, Shāh Nawāz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-76). The Persophile policy continued. Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) married the daughter of Shāh Nawāz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid*., 79). In order to give more support to Shāh Nawāz, the Muslim tribes of Ādharbāydjān and Ḳarabāgh (15,000 Djawānshīrī and Bayats) were settled in Kakheti (cf. the *History of Shāh ʿAbbās II* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd, in Dorn, 109, 111 = Brosset, ii/1, 503-4). Shāh Nawāz fought in Imereti, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1049/1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawāz II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaymān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakheti and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688-91, 1695-1703). This King, who had been brought up in Russia, became a convert to Islam under the name of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān.

The Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Balūč and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia, King Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Ḥusayn. He restored order in Ḳandahār, but in 1121/1709 was treacherously slain by Mīr Ways [cf. AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. History (2)], who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kay Khusraw (1709-11). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Vakhtang (governor of Kartli 1703-11; king,

1711-24 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading. Vakhtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, ii/1, 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1714 and 1716 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Iese (= ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islam.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gūnābād, near Iṣfahān (1134/1722), Shāh Ḥusayn sought help from Vakhtang, but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, ii/1, 117). Peter the Great, who reached Darband on 23 August 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand, the King of Kakheti Muḥammad-Ḳulī Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Vakhtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

The second Ottoman occupation (1135-47/1723-34). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shīʿīs was declared permitted. In Ramaḍān 1135/June 1723 the *serʿasker* Ibrāhīm Pasha, who had been negotiating with Vakhtang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawāz and now given in Turkish the name Ibrāhīm Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel. Bakar soon rebelled, but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of ʿAbd Allāh). In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of 12 September 1723, was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise, through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on 12 June 1724: Russia kept Dāghistān and the narrow strip of litoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamākha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 206-14. The Ottoman historian of these events is Čelebi-zāde; on the other sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 289; Nāmī, *Feth-nāme der ḥaḳḳ-i Gürdjistān*).

The deposed King Vakhtang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (August 1724). The Turks, having taken possession of Kartli, took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble ʿOthmān Topal Pasha alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, ii/1, 129). Iese did not bear the title of king, and the real power passed to Isḥāḳ Pasha, a hereditary ruler of Akhaltsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727), Isḥāḳ Pasha was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, ii/1, 236). In 1728 he divided Kartli among the feudal lords (*mtʿavar*) whose dissensions made it easy for him to control them. The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf. Brosset, *l.c.*; von Hammer, iv, 223, 231, 235, 280, 313).

Nādir Shāh. In 1143/1730-1 after a war in which he won little glory, Shāh Ṭahmāsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, 90 = tr. Jones, i, 141; von Hammer, iv, 227 dates the peace to 6 February 1732). Nādir dissatisfied, dethroned Ṭahmāsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia. While he was operating against Dāghistān (1147/autumn of 1734) Isḥāḳ Pasha of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. Tʿeimuraz, son of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān (= Erekle I), and his nephew ʿAlī Mīrzā = Alexander (son of Imām Ḳulī = Dawid III) attacked Isḥāḳ Pasha and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. Nādir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid.*, 114 = Jones, i, 200). At the siege of Gandja, Nādir ordered Ṣafī Khān Bughārʾirī to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*mawrāvān wa-aznāwurān*; *ibid.*, 116 = Jones, 205).

When ʿAbd Allāh Pasha was defeated at Baghaward near Erīwān, Isḥāḳ Pasha surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on 22 Rabīʿ I, 1147 = 17 Sept. 1734 (*ibid.*, 123). Nādir summoned the nobles (*tāwādān wa-aznāwurān*) of Kartli and Kakheti among whom Ṭahmūrath (= Tʿeimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nādir however appointed as *wālī* of Kartli and Kakheti, ʿAlī Mīrzā, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muḥammad Mīrzā (= Leon) had fallen in battle against ʿOthmān Pasha. Ṭahmūrath was allowed to go to Kakheti to bring his family (*kūč*) to Tiflis. Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision"; he fled to the mountoins of "Ḳarakalkhān (Pshaw), Rūs (Ruʾis, west of Gori?) and Čerkes". Nādir sent his troops in pursuit of him, and arrived himself at Tiflis on 29 Djumādā I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Ḳayḳul (Abots) were transported to Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 124 = Jones, 219). In 1149/1736 Ṣafī Khān captured Tʿeimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning fo the Indian campaign, Nādir released Tʿeimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156/end of 1743, Ṭahmūrath Khān captured the pretender Sām Mīrzā and later (1157/1744) along with ʿAlī Khān Ḳilidja (? the Georgian sources call him Khandjal, Ḳizilidjali), new *beglerbegi* of Tiflis, defeated near Ruʾis on the Aragwi Yūsuf Pasha of Akhaltsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghistān to work for another pretender Ṣafī Mīrzā. Arriving at Gori, Nādir, as a reward for Ṭahmūrath's services, transferred him to Karli and gave Kakheti to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, 202 = Jones, ii, 164; cf. Brosset, ii/1, 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and ii/2, 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1158/1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. Tʿeimuraz went to obtain a reduction, but on reaching Tabrīz he heard of the death of Nādir. The latter's successor was ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, husband of Khetʿevan, daughter of Tʿeimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakhetʿi. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1162/1749) and the reign of Karīm Khān, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skilfully exploited by Tʿeimuraz (king of Kartli 1744-61) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakheti 1744-61; king of Kartli and Kakheti 1761-90). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1752 the Afghān Āzād-Khān, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Erīwān and in 1760 captured at Ḳazakh and sent to Karīm-Khān. The Kurds of Erīwān were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1780, and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bāyazīd. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Dāghistān (the most dangerous leader of whom was ʿUmar Khān Awar). Only the Khāns of Shakkī, Ḥādjdjī Čelebi and Agha Kishi (in 1752-3), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these success, the situation of Georgia was precarious, and in 1760 Tʿeimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 8th/20th January 1762.

Erekle, becoming king of the united kingdoms, continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Totleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of 4 December 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imereti, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küčük-Ḳaynardja (1774 [q.v.]) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty, Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Istanbul. On the other hand, he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prisovokupleno*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramoti*, No. 144). Russia gave an evasive answer, and it was not till 24 July 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy, but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Ḳādjārs. During this period the Ḳādjārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Agha Muḥammad Ḳādjār laid siege to Shūsha in Karabāgh and then turned against Tiflis, which was taken on 11 September 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, ii/2, 260; Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, iii, 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Dāghistānis. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But on Nov. 6/18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Agha Muḥammad set out again for Transcaucasia, but was assassinated near Shūsha (15 June 1797). The aged King Erekle died on 12/23 January 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fatḥ ʿAlī Ḳādjār was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Ḳars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgis under the command of his two sons; dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg, the object of which was as follows: Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate, but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand, the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On 18 December 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisoyedineniye*) of Georgia, which was proclaimed on 18 January 1801 after the death of Giorgi on 28 December 1800. On 11 March, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On 12 September 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I and affirmed that Kartli-Kakheti were henceforth to be an integral part of the Imperial Russian dominions. The remaining members of the old Georgian ruling house were exiled forcibly to Russia.

Georgia under Russian rule. Russian possession of Georgia facilitated the extension of Russian power in Transcaucasia. The Commander of the Caucasus, Prince Tsitsianov (himself the scion of the noble Georgian family of Tsitsishvili and governor 1802-6), had to preserve Russia's latest acquisition against several open enemies, including the Lesghian tribesmen of Muslim Dāghistān and the Muslim khāns of Bakū, Shakkī and Gandja in Ādharbāydjān, nominal vassals of Persia. He now carried the war into the enemy's camp and in January 1804 captured Gandja, killing its ruler Djawād Khān, who had helped the Ḳādjār Agha Muḥammad to invade Georgia and sack Tiflis in 1795 (see above); Gandja [q.v.] was now renamed Elizavetapol in honour of the Tsar Alexander I's wife Elizabeth. But when Tsitsianov marched on Bakū in January 1806, he was killed in battle by local Persian troops, although a further expedition later in that year lead to the capture of both Bakū and Darband. Pressure was also exerted on the Ottomans, and the Black Sea port of Poti captured in 1809, Sukhum-Ḳalʿa in Abkhāzia in 1810 and the strategic centre of Akhalkalaki in south-western Georgia in 1811; it was only now, in 1810, that the local ruler of Imereti submitted to the Russians after strenuous fighting.

Meanwhile, Russian rule in Georgia had speedily become hated, and a mass revolt of the Georgians came in 1812, when a Bagratid prince was proclaimed King of Georgia, before the outbreak was suppressed. However, a general peace in Transcaucasia was now made between the exhausted warring parties. The Treaty of Bucharest of 1812 restored Poti and Akhalkalaki to the Ottomans. The Treaty of Finkenstein of 1807, by which the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had recognised Persia's rights over Georgia, had never had any practical effect, and in the Gulistān Treaty of 1813 Russia was now confirmed in possession of Georgia, together with Daghistān and the Muslim khānates of Ḳarabāgh, Gandja, Shakkī, Shirwān, Darband, Bakū and Ḳuba [q.vv.]. Naturally, the Persians were unreconciled to these serious losses of ancestrally-controlled territories in the eastern Caucasus, and in 1826, taking advantage of the death of Alexander I and the Decembrist conspiracy in St. Petersburg, Persia invaded Georgia and Ḳarabāgh. The attack was nevertheless repulsed by General Paskevich, and by the Treaty of Turkmānčay in 1828, the Russian frontier was firmly fixed at the Araxes and Persian influences in the Caucasus finally eliminated. An important consequence of this was that Persia was now cut off from direct contact with the Muslims of Dāghistān. Paskevich now turned to deal with Turkey in the west, aiming at the reconquest of the former Georgian province of Samtskhe, and Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzerum; the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 handed Samtskhe over to Russia and also the Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa, thereby cutting the Ottomans off from direct access to Circassia and the north-western Caucasus.

Muslim alarm at Russian aggrandisement in the Caucasus showed itself in the outbreak in 1829 in the eastern Caucasus of the *Murīd* movement under the *Imāms* Ḳāḍī Mollā and then Shamil [q.v.], who for a quarter of a century kept large numbers of Russian troops tied down in the region. Rebellions against the Russians also broke out in the western Caucasus, in Circassia and Abkhāzia, with Turkish and British encouragement. During the Crimean War (1854-6), Georgia was the base for Russian attacks on Turkey, leading to the capture of Ḳārṣ in 1855; meanwhile, a Turkish army under ʿÖmer Pasha landed in Abkhāzia and invaded Mingrelia.

Internally, Georgia stagnated in the first decades

of Russian rule, an especial cause of resentment being the suppresion in 1811 of the independent Georgian Church, as a focus for national Georgian loyalties, in defiance of the guarantees of the 1783 Russo-Georgian Treaty, and its forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church, with the Catholicos-Patriarch Antoni II exiled to St. Petersburg. The Russian administration cut down the feudal rights of the Georgian nobility, and taxation for the numerous wars impoverished the land. In 1830-2 Georgian conspirators, grouped round such figures as Prince Alexander Bagration, an exile in Persia, made at last attempt to throw off Russian rule in Georgia; but when this failed, all hopes of a Bagratid restoration ended, and Georgia sank into what D. M. Lang has called "a mood of torpid acquiescence" for two or three decades. Only during the viceroyalty in Georgia of Count Michael Vorontsov (1845-54) did Georgia at last enjoy a measure of prosperity, educational and cultural encouragement and commercial development, with the beginnings of industrialisation in the Tiflis district as part of the distinct industrial revolution in Russia as a whole during Nicholas I's reign (1825-55). It was during Vorontsov's time that the doyen of modern Georgian studies in the west, Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-80), visited Georgia and worked there under his encouragement. The old Georgian nobility suffered a general decline in this period of transition, accompanied by an increased disinclination on the part of the peasantry to endure their former subjugation. Outlying parts of Georgia, which had retained some autonomy, were now brought under direct Imperial rule. In 1857, the Regent of Mingrelia, Catherine Dadiani, was deposed, and in 1867 the youthful heir, Nicholas Dadiani, was compelled to cede his sovereign rights to Russia. The mountain region of Upper Svanetia was annexed by military force to the viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In Abkhāzia, a region half-Christian and half-Muslim, with the Muslims looking to the Ottomans for support, the ruling prince Michael Sharvashidze was deposed by force of arms in 1864, leading speedily to the final subjugation of the hitherto indomitable Circassians and the consequent emigration of some 600,000 Muslim Circassians to Ottoman territory in preference to living under Russian rule [see ČERKES]. In 1864 the serfs were liberated in Georgia, and those of Mingrelia, Abkhāzia and Svaneti in the following years, although the burden of redemption payments imposed on the former serfs meant that their emancipation was formal rather than real.

There was another period of enlightened rule under the Grand Duke Michael, Alexander II's brother, Viceroy of the Caucasus 1862-82, during whose tenure of power Russia recovered during the war with Turkey of 1877-8 substantial areas of ancient Georgian territory which had been under Ottoman control since the 16th century. By the abortive Treaty of San Stefano and then the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russia acquired the port of Batum and retained her conquests of the important fortresses of Ḳārṣ and Ardahān [*q.vv.*], commanding the routes into eastern Anatolia (these last two districts were not recovered by Turkey till 1920 and 1921 respectively). The latter years of the Grand Duke's governorship were however marked by the intensification of Pan-Slavist feeling which characterised Imperial policy at this time and which was ominous for the non-Russian minorities of the empire, seen e.g. in the banning of 1872 of the use of Georgian for instruction at the Tiflis Theological Seminary, the main centre for the training of the Georgian priesthood and a focus for Georgian nationalist and anti-Russian feeling (one of its future students was to be Joseph Djugashvili, the later Stalin). One aspect of the Georgian cultural reaction and re-awakening in these years was the appearance of anarchism and the Populist or Narodnik movement in Georgia from the 1870s onwards, together with the Marxist so-called "Third Group", one of whose leaders was Noe Zhordania, the future Menshevik and president of independent Georgia (1918-21). The ending of serfdom and the break-up of feudal estates in Georgia, and the growth of railway and oil-producing industries in Transcaucasia at places like Baku, Batum, Tiflis and Kutaisi, created propitious conditions for the spread of these movements, aimed in the first place at the Russian Imperial government (which was in fact by far the largest landowner in Georgia). The 1905 revolutionary period was preceded in 1902 by peasant unrest in Guria in southwestern Georgia, where holdings were especially fragmented, and in 1905 itself, the Georgian (Marxist) Social Democratic Party organised strikes and communes. Subsequent repression by Russian and Cossack troops drew the attention of the West to Georgia's claims as a nation, seen for instance in Britain by the formation through the efforts of the Georgian scholars Oliver and Marjory Wardrop of the Friends of Georgia Committee, which worked on lines parallel to those of E. G. Browne for the Persian Constitutionalists.

During the First World War, Georgian émigrés organised themselves in Central Europe, under German patronage, and in 1915 a Georgian Legion was formed to fight on the Black Sea coastal front. In the Russo-Turkish fighting in the western Caucasus, the Muslim Georgian Laz [*q.v.*] and Ačars supported the Ottomans, and Armenian irregulars the Russians. With the fall of the Tsarist government in April 1917, the Georgian Mensheviks assumed power, but the crumbling of the Imperial Army allowed Turkey to recover her occupied territory in eastern Anatolia and to advance on Transcaucasia, wreaking vengeance on the local Armenians in requital for Armenian slaughter of Muslims. The Muslims of Ādharbāydjān refused to continue fighting against Turkey, and now, cut off from Russia itself, Transcaucasia on 12 April 1918 declared itself an independent federative republic, comprising Christian Georgia and Armenia and Muslim Ādharbāydjān. The Ottomans still pressed for the retrocession of territory in Georgia lost to Russia in the 19th century, and had taken the offensive and occupied Batum. Centrifugal forces thus soon made the Transcaucasian Republic dissolve into its three component parts, and on 26 May 1918 an independent Georgian Republic, under German protection, was set up; peace was made between Georgia and Turkey in June, with Turkey regaining Batum, Ḳārṣ, Ardahan, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki. Hence from 1918 to 1921 a Menshevik or Social Democratic régime governed Georgia, headed by Zhordania, with a great upsurge of Georgian nationalism (Georgia's first university being opened at Tiflis in 1918) and hopes of the following of a peaceful policy of democratic socialism. After the Armistice of November 1918, British troops replaced the German ones in Georgia, with Oliver Wardrop as Chief British Commissioner to the three Transcaucasian republics, with his headquarters in Tiflis. On 27 January 1921 France and Britain recognised Georgia diplomatically as a sovereign state. However, the new state was under pressure, having to fight off Armenian claims to Georgian territory, the Kemālist Turkish forces to the south, and above all, the Bolsheviks. In February 1921 the Bolsheviks were

threatening Tiflis itself, and it fell after a heroic resistance on 25 February to a fearful sacking by the Red Army, Zhordania fleeing with his government by sea to Istanbul.

Georgia under the Soviets inevitably suffered from the recrudescence of Great Russian chauvinism and imperialism, the excesses of Russian troops provoking a guerilla resistance movement in Georgia akin to the Basmači movement [*q.v.*] in Central Asia, culminating in a general uprising in 1924, ruthlessly suppressed. For the next two decades or more, up to 1953, Georgia groaned under the repression of Stalin and his henchman Beria, himself a Mingrelian and who excercised dictatorial powers in Transcaucasia 1932-8. Until 1936, Georgia was deprived of its autonomy and became part of a Transcaucasian Federated SSR, of which Tiflis was the capital, but in that year it became the Georgian SSR, and now forms one of the constituent republics of the USSR and includes the Abkhaz and Adzhar Autonomous SSRs and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, with a total area of 27,000 sq. miles/70,000 km².

According to figures from January 1970, the total population of the republic is 4,686,000, 48% of these being town dwellers and 52% rural, the main towns being Tiflis (pop. 907,000) and the much smaller centres of Kutaisi, Rustavi, Sukhum and Batum. Ethnically, the population is returned as being 67% Georgian, but with considerable minorities of Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Abkhazians (see *BSE*³, vii, 360-92). What proportion of all these may still be described as Muslim is unclear, but in 1921 the capital Tiflis had a fair number of Turks in its population, and in 1922, under Soviet rule, there was still being produced a local Turkish newspaper, *Yeñi fikir*, and a journal, *Dan yïldïzï* (see Mīrzā Bālā, *Ādharbāydjān türk maṭbūʿātï*, Baku 1922); but the 1922 census enumerated only 3,255 Azerbaijani Turks and 3,984 Persians, presumably all Muslims. The Azerbayjani Turks in Georgia are naturally to be found mainly in the extension of the Ādharbāydjān plain to the east and south-east of Tiflis, in such districts as Borčalï and Ḳarayazï, and they formed part of the Kazak-Shams al-Dīn tribal group (see Bala, *İA* art. *Gürcistan*).

Bibliography: The older bibliography is given at length in Minorsky's *EI*¹ art. TIFLIS. The basic standard work still remains M.-F. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1849-57. On general bibliography, see D. M. Lang, *Catalogue of Georgian and other Caucasian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1962; D. Barrett, *Catalogue of the Wardrop collection and of other Georgian books and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1973; and the *Bibl.* given in Mirza Bala's *İA* art. *Gürcistan*. Specific works include W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people from the beginning down to the Russian conquest in the nineteenth century*, London 1932; Zurab Avalishvili, *The independence of Georgia in international politics 1918-1921*, London 1940; S. S. Jikʿia, *Gurjistanis vilaietʿis didi davtʿari*, Tiflis 1947 (= Turkish text and Georgian translation of a 16th century Ottoman *mufaṣṣal tapu defteri*); Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921*, Oxford 1951; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie*, Paris 1951; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields*, Cambridge 1953; D. M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs, No. 130, New York 1955; idem, *The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832*, New York 1957; idem, *A modern history of Georgia*, London 1962; M. Canard, *Les reines de Géorgie dans l'histoire et la légende musulmanes*, in *REI*, xxxvii (1969), 3-20; Allen, ed. and A. Mayo, tr., *Russian embassies to the Georgian kings, 1589-1605*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge 1970; J. M. Rogers, *The Mxargrdzelis between East and West*, in *Atti del Primo Simposio Internazionale sull'arte georgiana, Bergamo 1974*, Milan 1977, 257-72. (V. MINORSKY - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

ḲURḤ, AL-ḲURḤ, a town and district of mediaeval Islamic times in the northern Ḥidjāz, mentioned in early Islamic sources as of prime importance, but not now known under this name.

It seems very likely that the place had a role in the pre-Islamic history of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā [*q.v.*], where the settlement of later Ḳurḥ was situated, although the principal towns then were Dēdān (modern al-Khurayba) and al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] or Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ (modern al-ʿUlā). According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, iv, 320-1, and al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut 1393/1971, iv, 1288, there was a well-known fair at Ḳurḥ in the Djāhiliyya, and popular tradition located there the destruction of the people of Hūd, sc. ʿĀd [*q.v.*] As the culture of Dēdān and Liḥyān decayed in the northern Ḥidjāz, Ḳurḥ seems to have become the main settlement of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā around the time of the coming of Islam, and *mukhaḍram* poets like Ibn al-Muḳbil [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt mention it. The tribe of ʿUdhra [*q.v.*] lived in the district; the Prophet prayed in Ḳurḥ, and a mosque was built there (see Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, ed. M. M. al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, iv, 36, and H. Lammens, *L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Ḥiǧāz, notes de géographie historique*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 304-5).

Following a well-known process in Islamic geographical nomenclature, the name Ḳurḥ was applied both to the town, the administrative and commercial centre of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, and to the surrounding district, in effect, the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā itself. Hence al-Muḳaddasī, 69, says that Ḳurḥ is one of the four regions (*nawāḥī*) of Arabia and also one of the towns of the Ḥidjāz; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, iii, 1056, describes it as the *ḳaṣaba* of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, with a variant form of the name as al-Ḳurāḥ (*loc. cit.* and i, 247). It obviously flourished highly at this time. Al-Muḳaddasī, 83-4, says that it was populous and much frequented by traders, and had many amenities; it had a strong citadel, a defensive ditch and walls; and Jews were a decisive element (*al-ghālib*) there (cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 307), though elsewhere (96) he states that Ḳurḥ (here meaning the district) was essentially Sunnī in faith.

Where exactly, then, was the town of Ḳurḥ located, since the toponym is not in use today, although that of al-Ḥidjr (*pace* Vidal, in *EI*² s.v.) does in fact survive? C. M. Doughty (1876-7) enquired among the local people, but could find no memory of it, although he was shown a ruined site "el-Mubbiát" six miles south of al-ʿUlā; he nevertheless thought that the mediaeval Ḳurḥ lay much further south towards Medina (*Travels in Arabia deserta*, London 1926, i, 161-2). Subsequently, A. Musil definitely identified Ḳurḥ with al-ʿUlā (*The northern Heǧâz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 295; but elsewhere, 217-18, n. 52, he placed it, more correctly, to the south of al-ʿUlā). It has now been convincingly argued by ʿAbd Allāh al-Naṣīf, himself a native of the region, that the site of mediaeval Ḳurḥ should indeed be located at the present-day ruins known

locally as al-Mabyāt/al-Mābyāt (cf. *mabīt* "place where one halts for the night") along the main route down the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā to Medina, in an extensive plain, a spot well-fitted to be a flourishing commercial centre and market and a convenient staging-post, 12 miles/18 km. south of al-ʿUlā (al-Naṣīf, *The identification of the wādi 'l-Qurā and the ancient Islamic site of al-Mibyāt*, in *Arabian studies*, v [1979], 1-19). Jaussen and Savignac saw ruins there, and in 1968 the expedition of P. J. Parr, G. Lankester Harding and J. E. Dayton made a surface survey of the site (see *Preliminary survey in N.W. Arabia*, 1968, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Archaeology*, London, viii-ix [1970], 199-204, section on "Maʿabiyat"). Excavation of the site may well settle the question finally.

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800-1150*, Beirut 1973, 220-1. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲURHUB b. Djābir al-Khuzāʿī, the ardent eulogist of the Zīrid princes of al-Ḳayrawān and of their governors, the Banū Abi 'l-ʿArab, and a virulent and shameless satirist. He dominated with great verve the poetic contests stirred up by his strong personality and his biting aggressiveness in the literary sessions of al-Ḳayrawān, owing his success as much to his lack of scruple as to the swiftness of his replies and his improvisations.

However, Ḳurhub remains a poet with a ready talent able to adapt himself to the thematic and formal exigencies of the genres employed by him. Variety of usage of verse-forms, suppleness of verses and purity of language combined in due course to place him in the élite of the poets of Ifrīḳiya during the Zīrid period. He died at al-Ḳayrawān in 420/1029.

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ms. Paris 2327, xvii, ff. 96a-98a, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ms. Tunis 4850, xxii, 65-6, who both use Ibn Rashīḳ's *al-Unmūdhadj*. See also ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 100, 214-15; H.-R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, 791; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972. (Ch. Bouyahia)

ḲŪRILTĀY, Arabic orthography of Mongol *ḳurilta* from *ḳuri-* "to collect, gather together", an assembly of the Mongol princes summoned to discuss and deal with some important question such as the election of a new khān. Djuwaynī describes the *ḳūriltāy*s that preceded the accession of Ögedey, Güyük and Möngke. John de Plano Carpini was present in person at the *ḳūriltāy* held in the Khangay mountains at which Güyük was elected and enthroned. The institution still survived in the time of Tīmūr, when however it seems to have become little more than a parade. The very word has disappeared from the modern Mongolian language; it has been resuscitated by the Turks in the form *kurultay* and used in the sense of "assembly, congress".

Bibliography: Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 178-91, 248-58, ii, 555-602; J. A. Boyle, *The seasonal residence of the Great Khan Ögedei*, in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altäischen Völker*, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, 145-51 (147); V. V. Barthold, *Four studies in the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1958, 27; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 435-7 (No. 305). (J. A. Boyle)

KÜRIN, designation used by the Ottomans in the 10th/16th century and by the Russians in the 18th-19th centuries for the Lezghins [*q.v.*]. Kürin (Russian: Kürinskiy yazïk) is also the former designation for the Lezghin language, and appears as such in the 1926 Soviet census. (R. Wixman)

KÜRIN KHĀNATE [see lezghin].

ḲŪRIYA, Ḳawriya, the Arabic name for the modern town of Coria in Spain, *municipio* of the province of Cáceres on the banks of the Alagón River. It was the Caurium of the Romans, who built its walls, as was noted by al-Ḥimyarī ("strong walls of ancient construction"). Al-Idrīsī states that Coria belonged to the *iḳlīm* of al-Ḳaṣr, and was then "an attractive, well-built and spacious town, whose surrounding countryside was fertile and highly productive of fruit". Al-Iṣṭakhrī's itinerary (43-7) places it at 12 days' journey from Cordova.

When the Muslims withdrew to the line of Coria, after the famines of the post-136/753 period (*Akhbār madjmūʿa*, 62/67), the town was thus left in the frontier zone, and must have been one of the main centres of the Berber settlement of the north-west of the peninsula. There were frequent rebellions there. In 170/786 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I attacked there the rebel Abu 'l-Aswad Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (*ibid.*, 116/106). Muḥammad b. Tādjīt al-Maṣmūdī rebelled there during the amīrate of Muḥammad I, and in alliance with Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī made Coria one of his main centres (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 466; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane, iv, 289). It is in this region and around this same period that the Christian sources place the revolt of Zeith/Zeiti (*Cron. Alfonso III*, Valencia 1961, 62-3). The town became much fought over; it was taken by Ordoño I in 860, but recaptured by the Muslims in 862. Alfonso III besieged it without success in 868, but ended by taking it some years later. Yaḥyā al-Tudjībī, sent by al-Ḥakam II, attacked the King of Navarre and the Count of Castile near Coria (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 248). Al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] passed by Coria on his route into the Christian territories during his campaign of 387/997. The town was taken by Alfonso VI (472/1079), and he fled there after the defeat of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas mourned the loss of Coria in a letter to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (*al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Allouche, 23). It was occupied by the Almoravids in 513/1119-20, but definitively taken by Alfonso VII in 1142.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. M. ʿA. Makkī, Beirut 1973, 642-4, ns. 594-6; F. Hernández Jiménez, *La kūra de Mérida en el siglo X*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxv (1960), 313-71; idem, *Los caminos de Córdoba hacia el NO*, in *ibid.*, xxxii (1967), 37-123, 277-358; M. Terron Albarrán, *El solar de los Aftásidas ...*, Badajoz 1971, 396-8, 561-3; *El fuero de Coria*, ed. J. Maldonado, Madrid 1949 (see *Indice Histórico Español*, not. no. 94.545 on the "Fueros de Cáceres"); A. de Torres y Tapia, *Crónica de la Orden de Alcántara*, Madrid 1973. (M. J. Viguera)

ḲURḲŪB, a town in Khūzistān, on the road from Wāsiṭ to Sūs (Susa). The statments regarding distances given by the Arab geographers were collected and arranged in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, 1921, iv, 396 ff.; cf. also 431. The town was noted for its carpets; there was also a state *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] manufacture there. A material called *sūsandjird* was made there, cf. de Goeje's glossary in *BGA* iv, s.v. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal say that the *sūsandjird* of Fasā [*q.v.*] was better than that of Ḳurḳūb; the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton, while in the former wool was used; cf. on the textiles of Ḳurḳūb, R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol con-*

quest, Beirut 1972, 45, and J. Karabaček, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susanschird*, Leipzig 1881.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 241, 246; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, ii, 98, where all the important quotations from the Arab geographers are given, to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 131, 382.

(M. Plessner)

ḲURRĀʾ. Political organisation. The term *ḳurrāʾ*, sing. *ḳāriʾ* (A.), occurs in Arabic historiography referring to a group of ʿIrāḳians rising against ʿUthmān and later on against ʿAlī, after he had accepted the arbitration. In European research, *ḳurrāʾ* has been usually rendered as "reciters of the Ḳurʾān" (*ḳurrāʾ* < *ḳ-r-ʾ* "to recite").

Brünnow was the first historian to try to assess the role of the *ḳurrāʾ* as an independent group acting within a heterogeneous Khāridjite [*q.v.*] movement. Brünnow's results were partly rejected by Wellhausen, who held that the *ḳurrāʾ* were not an autonomous movement which was merged in Khāridjism at a certain date. He claimed that the *ḳurrāʾ* had been in close connection with the learned *fuḳahāʾ*, forming a wider circle of pious men around those *fuḳahāʾ*, the supposed nucleus of men of religious learning. It was the *ḳurrāʾ*'s religious zeal, unhampered by scrupulous deliberation, which according to Wellhausen led them to act against an Islamic authority which in their opinion had failed to carry through the commandments of the Holy Book. Their ardour for the sake of Islam became obvious for the first time, when they took part in fighting against the Ridda [*q.v.*] rebels (Battle of the Yamāma or of ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*]). During ʿAlī's war against Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, they threw in their lots with him, and they supported ʿAlī in his abortive warfare against Muʿāwiya. When the Syrians proposed to resort to the judgement of the Ḳurʾān, they at first approved of ʿAlī's compliance with this proposal, but later on, when the disastrous consequences of the arbitration had become obvious, they turned against ʿAlī, blaming him ruthlessly for having preferred human decision to God's judgement. In the Khāridjite rebellions against ʿAlī, and later on against the Umayyads, the *ḳurrāʾ* are said to have been the most fanatical instigators. Wellhausen's account of the *ḳurrāʾ* shows his general view of the early Muslim parties as resulting from a politico-religious conflict. This view, which aimed at studying the development of political and religious thought in Islam, has proved very fruitful, but it impedes us in realising the social conflicts concomitant to religious strife. Therefore, until recently the character of the *ḳurrāʾ* was described vaguely or even misleadingly. If the *ḳurrāʾ* actually had been a group of people applying themselves to a peculiar form of reciting the Ḳurʾān, or holding a certain view concerning the validity of the Ḳurʾānic commandments, why do we not find any trace of such a group in treatises on heresiography or on recitation of the Ḳurʾān? Besides this *argumentum e silentio*, one doubts whether Wellhausen's almost generally-accepted assumption was right that only after ʿAlī's political defeat did the *ḳurrāʾ*, repenting of their imaginary failure, become the fanatical partisans of the Ḳurʾān. For according to the sources, they had never been wholehearted followers of ʿAlī's cause; hence they had no reason to consider themselves as traitors because they had urged ʿAlī to accept the appointment of the two arbiters.

Recent research into the matter has tended to take the social groups into consideration, resuming in principle Brünnow's idea. In a detailed study on Kūfan political aligunments, G. M. Hinds has drawn an entirely new picture of the *ḳurrāʾ*. He states that a group of people called *ḳurrāʾ* first acted jointly against Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, ʿUthmān's governor in Kūfa until 33/653. The evidence adduced by Hinds proves that most of them were people who had settled in southern ʿIrāḳ at the very beginning of the conquests and thus had acquired some privileges. But under ʿUthmān, the political situation in southern ʿIrāḳ was changing rapidly: those early-comers who could not stabilise their position by amalgamating with an influx of population belonging to their respective tribal entities gradually lost their influence. Al-Ashtar and Yazīd b. Ḳays, who were to play a prominent part in the subsequent troubles, were among these early-comers who feared lest they be ousted from their position. Their situation was even aggravated when ʿUthmān allowed the fighters of al-Ḳādisiyya now resident at Medina to exchange their shares of ʿIrāḳian land for landed property in the Arabian Peninsula. To carry through this measure meant first of all a careful distinguishing between the *ṣawāfī* estates and *dhimma*-land. The early-comers suspected that they would be the losers by these administrative measures. Fearing a blow to their pretended rights, they succeeded in removing Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ from his post. They then elected Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī governor of Kūfa. During the events which led to the murder of ʿUthmān, the *ḳurrāʾ* played only a secondary part, though al-Ashtar figures in the list of the assassins. When ʿAlī arrived in the neighbourhood of Kūfa, the powerful tribal leaders did not join him. They seem to have favoured a neutral position, which would have served their interests best. ʿAlī, pursuing an egalitarian Islamic policy, did not even want to attempt a compromise with them. A coalition between him and the disappointed early-comers therefore came into being. Al-Ashtar, Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī, and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim are said to have been *ḳurrāʾ*; now they were Shīʿī leaders. During the fighting at Ṣiffīn, the *ḳurrāʾ* are mentioned as separate para-tribal entities supporting ʿAlī. When Muʿāwiya suggested settling the points at issue by means of arbitration, the *ḳurrāʾ* urged ʿAlī to accept the proposal, because they envisaged a peace in which ʿAlī would be able to accomplish an Islamic policy checking an ascendancy of the new-comers. When they felt that their dreams would not be realised, they turned against ʿAlī, who refused to withdraw from the agreement. ʿAlī tried to placate this dangerous internal opposition by giving high appointments to the most prominent *ḳurrāʾ*, but the majority of the *ḳurrāʾ* became his irreconcilable enemies. In the Khāridjite movement of the first century they are often mentioned as one of the most active groups.

In the light of these new results, it seems rather absurd to refer to the *ḳurrāʾ* as "Ḳurʾān-readers". Shaban was the first to suggest a new interpretation. He holds that *ḳurrāʾ* means "villagers" (*ahl al-ḳurā*), denoting those participants in the early wars (*ahl al-ayyām*) against the Sāsānid Empire who had occupied the vacated estates of southern Irāḳ and whose *de facto* privileges had been threatened since ʿUthmān's reign. Shaban and G. H. A. Juynboll have adduced evidence corroborating this thesis, but it still remains speculative. The rendering of *ḳurrāʾ* as "Ḳurʾān-readers" seems to be a result of the well-known fact that Muḥammad used to appoint reciters for stimulating the zeal of the Muslim fighters (see Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Baṣra*, Beirut 1969, 56 ff.); further-

more, the ʿIrāḳian *ḳurrāʾ* had appealed to the Ḳurʾān. But they did so, not because they held some special doctrine concerning it, but because they wanted to enforce the judgement of the Ḳurʾān in that actual issue, where the reference made in the Ṣiffīn agreement to an ill-defined "practice" (*sunna*) seemed dangerous for their interests.

Bibliography: R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901; G. M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, in *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; idem, *The murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 450-69; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750*, Cambridge 1971, 50-11; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The Qurrāʾ in early Islamic history*, in *JESHO*, xvi (1973), 113-129; idem, *The Qurʾān Reciters on the battlefield and concomitant issues*, in *ZDMG*, cxxv (1975), 11-27.

(T. Nagel)

ḲURRA b. SHARĪK b. Marthad b. Ḥāzim al-ʿAbsī al-Ghaṭafānī, governor of Egypt 90-6/709-14 for the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Ḳurra came from the group of North Arab tribes which had settled extensively in northern Syria and the Djazīra and which were in the forefront of the warfare along the Taurus Mountains with Byzantium. He himself came from the region of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] to the south of Aleppo, and was thus a member of the experienced and capable cadre of Syrian Arabs whom the Umayyads liked to appoint to high civil and military office; the fact that al-Walīd's mother Wallāda bint al-ʿAbbās was also from the tribe of ʿAbs may well have helped further Ḳurra's career.

The early part of this last is very obscure. From indications in Michael the Syrian's chronicle, Lammens inferred that he may have served as governor of Ḳinnasrīn or possibly of Armenia; it is obvious that he would not have been appointed to such an elevated post as the governorship of Egypt without considerable administrative experience previously.

Ḳurra was appointed governor of Egypt *ʿalā 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-kharādj*, i.e. as *amīr* and as *ʿāmil* or financial director, in place of the caliph's own brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik, whose governorship had been rendered difficult by economic hardship through failure of the Nile to rise sufficiently. Ḳurra accordingly reached the capital of Egypt, Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*], on 3 or 13 Rabīʿ I 90/10 or 20 January 709 or shortly afterwards, and took up his duties there. The Arabic general chroniclers give woefully little information about Ḳurra's governorship, if indeed they mention it at all; Ṭabarī merely records the dates of his appointment and of his continued tenure of the office, and then records his death (ii, 1200, 1208, 1266, 1305; repeated in Ibn al-Athīr).

Our best sources of historical information are naturally the local Egyptian ones, above all Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 63-6, more briefly in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 302, also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 217-20, resuming several earlier authorities, but the information given here is fairly exiguous too. However, contemporary records, as embodied in the papyri discovered in Egypt over the last 80 years or so, round out the later chronicles and give a much better picture of the administrative and financial condition of Egypt during Ḳurra's governorship. They also supply a corrective to the unfavourable image of Ḳurra as a typically tyrannical Umayyad governor of the stamp of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], which grew up in the ʿAbbāsid and post-ʿAbbāsid periods, a condemnatory view which is expressed in both the Muslim and the Coptic Christian sources. Thus one oft-repeated saying attributed to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz runs "al-Walīd in Syria, al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, ʿUthmān al-Muzanī in Medina, Khālid al-Ḳasrī in Mecca and Ḳurra in Egypt! By God, the earth has become filled with iniquity!" (cf. the biography of Ḳurra in Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 36-7). Another libellous story is that after the completion of the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ (see below), he called for wine and music-making and held an orgy there.

Amongst the occurrences of Ḳurra's governorship is mentioned a plot against his life staged at Alexandria by a group of Ibāḍī Khāridjīs under al-Muhādjir b. Abi 'l-Muthannā al-Tudjībī, which failed, and the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr. At the beginning of 92/autumn 710, the caliph ordered Ḳurra to demolish some additions made by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik and to rebuild the mosque entirely. Yaḥyā b. Ḥanẓala al-ʿĀmirī was appointed supervisor of work; the mosque was enlarged at the north-east end and in the *ḳibla* direction, which Ḳurra caused to be corrected from ʿAmr's slightly inaccurate alignment. Whilst the work of rebuilding was in progress, the Friday prayers were held in the Ḳaysāriyyat al-ʿAsal, and the mosque was completed in Ramaḍān 93/June-July 712 (see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1932-40, i, 99-100, with extensive bibliography). Yet much of Ḳurra's governorship was necessarily taken up with the financial administration of Egypt and the economic and agricultural regeneration of the province, and it is here that the papyri give valuable information. The serious famine of 86-7/705-6 in the preceeding governorship of ʿAbd Allāh (see above) had left a legacy of hardship in the land. Ḳurra was therefore concerned to increase agricultural production and to bring disused land (*arḍ mawāt*) into cultivation once more. The chronicles mention his restoration of the Birkat al-Ḥabash as an instance of this work of *iḥyāʾ*, this being planted with sugar cane [see ḳaṣab al-sukkar] and subsequently known as "Ḳurra's stable".

A further, controvertial problem was that of the imposition of the poll-tax or *djizya* [*q.v.*] on new Muslim converts from the Coptic community. The papyri show Ḳurra as keen to exact the full *djizya* from these *mawālī*, to collect arrears of taxation and generally to safeguard the caliph's financial rights. Egypt suffered, like ʿIrāḳ and other of the conquered provinces, from the flight of peasants to the towns in order to escape taxation, a process which had already been discernible in Byzantine Egypt; these fugitives were now rigorously pursued and brought back to their villages wherever possible. However, Ḳurra was equally concerned to punish tyrannical local officials, and he maintained control over the provinces by means of an efficient intelligence system or *barīd* [*q.v.*]. The bilingual (Greek and Arabic) papyri also mention the levying of special taxes (*liturgia*) for the building of ships for *koursos* or *ghazw*, presumably against the Byzantines in the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, Kindī notes that Ḳurra re-organised the *dīwān*s of Egypt in 95/713-14, being the third person (after ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān) to do this. As Becker observed (*Beiträge*, ii, 124-5), this doubtless increased the Arab element in these departments; the official language there had already been changed from Greek and Coptic to Arabic just before Ḳurra's time [see dīwān].

Ḳurra died of the plague whilst still in office in

Ṣafar 96/October-November 714 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1305) or on 23 Rabīʿ I 96/6 December 714 (Maḳrīzī, i, 302), and was succeeded (as *amīr al-ṣalāt* only) by his trusted deputy ʿAbd al-Malik b. Rifāʿ al-Fahmī, who had been *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* or police chief under Ḳurra; Usāma b. Zayd became head of finances in Egypt.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, ed. C. F. Seybold, *Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte*, Hamburg 1912, 140, 142; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*. i, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xx (1875), 39-40; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strasburg 1902-3, ii, 100-2; idem, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, Heidelberg 1906, iii, 15-19; A. Grohmann, ed., *Corpus papyrorum Raineri*. iii. *Series arabica*, Vienna 1924, i/3, 46; H. J. Bell, *The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschr.*, xxviii (1928), 284-6; H. Lammens, *Un gouverneur omayyade d'Égypt, Qorra ibn Šarīk, d'après les papyrus arabes*, in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 305-23; A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, i. *Protocols and legal texts*, Cairo 1934; idem, *From the world of Arabic papyri*, Cairo 1952, 123-32; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, in G. Hanotaux, ed., *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv, Paris 1937, 46, 49-51; N. Abbott, *The Ḳurrah papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 15, Chicago 1938; H. Cadell, in *Recherches de Papyrologie*, iv (1967), 107-60.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KURRAM, Kuram, the name of a river which flows down from the western end of the Safīd Kūh or Spīn Ghar range of the Hindū Kush-Koh-i Bābā massif of eastern Afghānistān and which joins the Indus River in modern Pakistan just below ʿIsā Khēl. The lower course of the river flows through Bannū [*q.v.*], and the middle reaches through the northernmost part of Wazīristān [*q.v.*]. The upper valley, beyond the railhead of Thāl, forms what in British India and now in Pakistan is the administrative region of the Kurram Agency, a thin wedge of territory some 70 miles long and covering 1,305 sq. miles. From the headwaters of the river, the fairly easy Shutargardān Pass leads towards Khōst and Kābul [*q.vv.*], with the village of Paiwar Kotal marking the present frontier between Afghānistān and Pakistan; this has always been one of the historic routes by means of which migratory peoples and armies from Central Asia and Afghānistān have descended to the Indian plains.

Little is known of the early history of the region of Kurram, though the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien was there in the early 5th century A.D. Kurram is certainly mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89, as the place (here spelt Kurramān) to which the Ghaznavid sultan Bahrām Shāh fled ignominiously in 543/1148 when the Ghūrid chief Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī temporarily occupied his capital. Djūzdjānī (7th/13th century) further records that Kurramān was granted as an *iḳṭāʿ*, together with S.n.k.rān (? Shalōzān, the name of a modern left-bank affluent of the Kurram River, in the surmise of Raverty), by the Ghūrid ruler Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad in 572/1176-7 to his slave commander Tādj al-Dīn Yīldiz; Muʿizz al-Dīn used regularly the Kurram valley route for descending from Ghazna to the Indus valley (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī², Kabul 1341-3/1962-4, i, 411-12, tr. Raverty, London 1881-99, i, 498-500). The original Pathan inhabitants of Kurram were Sunnī Bangash, but *ca.* 1500 nomads of the Tūrī tribe of the Karlānrī group of Pathans appeared as vassals (*hamsāya*) of the Bangash and gradually came to control all the villages of the upper Kurram valley. The Tūrī are Shīʿī in faith, and claim popularly to be of Persian origin; in the early 11th/17th century they participated, with other Pathan tribes, in the general movement of the Rōshaniyya sect [*q.v.*] against the attempted domination of the Mughal Emperors of Dihlī.

In the early 19th century, Kurram never formed part of the Sikh empire of the Pandjāb, but the Durrānī and Bārakzay rulers of Kābul claimed a vague suzerainty over the region. In 1845 they affirmed their claims by appointing a resident governor in Kurram, the later *amīr* in Kābul Muḥammad Aʿẓam Khān. In 1856 a British expedition was sent into the valley after Tūrī raids on the people of Kōhāt [*q.v.*]. In autumn 1878 Lord Roberts entered the valley and temporarily occupied the region as an advance base during the Second Afghān War, pushing on from there to capture Khōst. The Shīʿī Tūrī began to complain of oppression by Afghān officials, and this created a sentiment in Kurram in favour of a British presence there or at least of some degree of British protection, especially as the Treaty of Gandamak made with Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Khān in 1879 declared Kurram to be an assigned district, to be administered by the Government of India, together with the Khyber and the Pathan districts of northern Balūčistān. Hence in 1892 British forces moved up from Thāl at the request of the Tūrī, and in the next year the border with Afghānistān was delimited along the Durand Line at the head of the valley. In 1894 it became a political agency, and then at the time of Lord Curzon's creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901, Kurram became one of the five tribal agencies. British garrisons were withdrawn, and replaced by two battalions of the Kurram Militia, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles [see khaybar pass]. It was down the upper Kurram valley that Nādir Shāh briefly penetrated with an Afghān force during the Third Afghan War of 1919.

Kurram now comes within Pakistan, and has its administrative centre in the town of Pāračinār. The Pakistan government gives the Kurram Agency the same degree of autonomy as the other tribal areas, except that it enforces certain regulations identical with those prevailing in the directly-administered areas along the Indus, including the collection of land-tax; in fact, a negligible amount of taxation is collected from this economically poorly-endowed region, and the Agency receives back far more from the central government by way of subsidies and salaries of local militiamen and officials. It nevertheless forms the only tribal area along the Frontier where the central government's authority goes right up to the Afghānistān border. Administratively, Kurram is divided into two *taḥṣīls*, an Upper Valley and a Lower Valley. The 1961 census estimated the population of the whole Agency at 200,512, with the population of Pāračinār as 22,953.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲURRAT al-ʿAYN, Fāṭima Umm Salmā, also known as Dhakiya, Zarrīn-tādj, Ṭāhira (see below), Persian poetess and Bābī martyr, was born in Ḳazwīn in 1231/1814, the eldest daughter of a famous *mudjtahid*, Ḥādjdj Mullā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Baraghānī.

She was educated in Ḳazwīn, and became proficient in the Islamic sciences. She was married to Mullā Muḥammad, the son of her uncle Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, by whom she had three sons, Shaykh Ismāʿīl, Shaykh Ibrāhīm and Shaykh Isḥāḳ, and one daughter. While staying with him in Karbalā, she joined the Shaykhī sect, together with her sister Marḍiya and brother-in-law, Ḥādjdj Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī, an action that earned her the fierce hostility of her husband and father-in-law, though her own father remained neutral. She studied with Sayyid Ḳāẓim Rashtī, then living in Karbalāʾ, who was so impressed by a *risāla* she wrote on Shaykhī doctrine, that he gave her the *laḳab* of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn. Her sectarian activities led finally to her divorce, by which time she had returned to Ḳazwīn. It was here that she first heard of the Bāb, and when Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūya left for Shīrāz to seek out the Bāb in Rabīʿ I 1260/April 1844, he took with him a letter from Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn which so impressed the Bāb that he nominated her among the eighteen *Ḥurūf al-Ḥayy* ("Letters of the Living"). Later, in a letter addressed to certain Bābīs who had expressed doubt about the propriety of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn's activities, he described her as *Djanāb-i Ṭāhira*, whence the name by which she came commonly to be known amongst the Bābīs and Bahāʾīs. By this time she was back in Karbalā, where she is reputed to have preached without a veil, to have claimed to be the incarnation of Fāṭima, and to have proclaimed the abrogation of the Sharīʿa. Her preaching of Bābī doctrines eventually alarmed the Ottoman authorities, and in 1263/1846 she was arrested and exiled to Iran. She travelled by way of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān, preaching openly on the way, and in due course arrived in Ḳazwīn, where she found herself subjected to the same family hostility as before. Matters came to a head when her uncle, Ḥādjdj Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, a strenuous opponent of Babism, was found murdered (15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1263/25 October 1847). Widely suspected of complicity, it was no longer possible for her to remain in Ḳazwīn, and she left for Tehran, and thence for Māzandarān, where she joined the great gathering of Bābī leaders at Badasht. Here she preached constantly (sometimes unveiled, though this has been denied), and took an active part in the decisions taken there. After the break-up of the gathering by local villagers, she went to Māzandarān with some of the other leaders of the community, and stayed for some time in Nūr. In 1266/1850 she was arrested and taken to Tehran, where she was detained as a prisoner in the house of Maḥmūd Khān Nūrī, the Kalāntar [*q.v.*] of Tehran, for the next four years. After the attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1268/1852 by three Bābīs, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn, together with at least twenty-seven other Bābīs, was cruelly put to death by means that have been variously reported but are still unknown, the only eyewitness account—by Dr. Polak—merely stating that "she endured her slow death with superhuman fortitude".

By a strange twist of fate, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn was the only one of the eighteen "Letters of the Living" never to meet the Bāb. She was famous both inside and outside the Bābī movement for her beauty, eloquence, and devotion to the cause. Her poetry, a fair amount of which has survived, is said to have been widely read by the Bābīs long after her death. Though doubts have been cast on the stories of her discarding of the veil, it cannot be denied that her way of life was extremely emancipated for her time, and she has remained a symbol of women's liberation in Iran ever since.

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton and D. M. MacEoin)

ḲURṢĀN (A.), pl. *ḳarāṣina* and also *ḳarāṣin*/*ḳarāṣīn*, "corsair, pirate", stems from Italian *corsale*, which has further given forms closer to the original but less commonly-found, such as *ḳurṣāl*, pl. *ḳarāṣil*/*ḳarāṣīl*, and *kursālī*, pl. *kursāliyya*. In turn, Arabic has formed the abstract noun *ḳarṣana* "privateering, piracy", still in use today, as is also *ḳurṣān*, sometimes conceived of as a plural. In the colloquial there is further the verb *ḳarṣan* "to raid, act as a pirate", and the dialects also given to *ḳurṣān* the double sense of "corsair" and "boat". This latter term was an Andalusian one (cf. Pedro de Alcala, ... *De lingua arabica libri duo*, Göttingen 1883, 158), and it is uncertain whether one should link with the Spanish *corsario* the adjective *ḳurṣariyyāt* used by al-Saḳaṭī, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, Paris 1931, 50, to denote women who are supposed to have recovered their virginity (the two editors prudently suggest the translation "carried off by the corsairs?", and P. Chalmeta, in *al-And.* (1971 ff.), § 111, translates this term as *corsarias*).

The necessity felt by the Arabic language, probably in the course of the 3rd/9th century, to use a loanword shows that, even if piracy had long existed in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the Arabs (who called a pirate *liṣṣ al-baḥr* "sea-robber") had a distinct feeling that privateering had a different character. They

nevertheless adopted the same term to denote two distinct forms of activity, which are indeed often enough confused, even by Europeans; in fact, privateering consists of attacking enemy ships with the more or less explicit connivance of the authorities, whilst piracy proper is a purely private enterprise involving the capture and pillaging any vessels encountered.

i. The Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic

It was in the Mediterranean, "the sea of adventures" (Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII*e *et XVI*e *siècles*, Paris 1965, 574), that the Muslims most continuously practised *ḳarṣana* from the moment onwards when they established themselves along its shores and had to face attacks from the Christian powers there. In reality, the Arabs—and very soon, as will be seen, adventurers of European origin, renegades and captives—were merely participating in a traditional practice of the Mediterranean basin since the most early antiquity, whilst at the same time giving it, more or less consciously, a religious aura, since it was often in the name of Islam that the corsairs of the southern shores of the Sea acted, just as those of the northern shores acted at times in the name of Christianity. It was for this reason that privateering, if not piracy, soon came to be considered as an integral part of the holy war, *dj̲ihād* [*q.v.*], and it is as part of this that the question is treated in the works on law.

Given the fact that it is impossible, in an encyclopaedia article, to go into detail and to trace the entire history of privateering and piracy as they were practised by men based on the coasts of the Muslim lands, what follows is a sketch oi the broad features of the topic. Reference should be made to those sources which are in general well-documented and which have been utilised for this present article, and also to the articles MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA, especially for technical details; the article FIDĀʾ in the Supplement should also be consulted for the topic of the ransoming of captives.

From the 1st/7th century onwards, there were added to the attacks against the islands and the shores of the western Mediterranean by corsairs coming from the Near East, raids undertaken by the people of Ifrīḳiya, whose regularly-organised fleets succeeded in gaining control, in the first decades of the 3rd/9th century, of Malta, Sicily and Pantellaria [see ḲAWṢARA], whilst the Balearic Islands were definitively taken over by the Spanish Umayyads in 290/903.

However, from the 2nd/8th century onwards, what one may properly call organised pirate activity began to take shape both in North Africa and in Muslim Spain. One notable action is that in which, after the suppression of the "Revolt of the Suburb" in Cordova [see AL-ANDALUS and ḲURṬUBA] in 202/818, a group of émigrés who practised piracy in the central and eastern Mediterranean gained control of Alexandria and in 212/827 seized the island of Crete, which they made into a Muslim possession and a centre for their further activities [see IKRĪṬIS̲H̲]. It was likewise from Spain that there set out the Muslims who, between 278/891 and 281/894, established themselves at Fraxinetum [*q.v.*], where they founded a pirate state which lasted for 80 years. As early as 227/842, other corsairs sailed up the Rhône to Arles, and they renewed their incursions in 235/850 and 255/869; under the Umayyads of al-Andalus, the sailors of Péchina acquired a great notoriety in this respect (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 244, 349, 352, 355, ii, 154-60). Some centuries later, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, text, i, 619, tr. de Slane, iii, 117, summarised the two essential forms which the activities of the *ḳarāṣina* took. "A more or less numerous group of corsairs gets together. They build a ship and choose as its crew men of proven valour. These warriors go off and descend on the coasts and islands where the Franks dwell, arriving there suddenly and carrying off everything they can find. They also attack the infidels' ships, frequently capturing them, and then return home, laden with plunder and prisoners". This text is one of the ones rarely encountered on this subject in the Arabic sources, which dwell at much greater length on the Christians' naval enterprise against the Muslim lands, or on the spectacular attacks from the Atlantic made on al-Andalus by the "Northmen" from 230/844 to 355/966 [see AL-MADJ̲ŪS]. In the Mediterranean, violent attacks by the Christians were more difficult, for a defence system had been established along the coasts, whether in Spain (see R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, Paris 1973, 273-6) or from Alexandria to Tangier (see M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 395).

Concerning the situation obtaining on the high seas, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's remark (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 35, tr. de Slane, ii, 42, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 41) alleging that "the Christians could not even launch a plank on the Mediterranean" is probably correct for the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, when the Muslims did have command of the seas. Economic necessity accordingly compelled the states to try and assure the safety of navigation along the various commercial routes (see Chr. Courtois, in *Mélanges G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 51-9), but the international agreements made with this end in mind were not always respected by the pirates. The activities of these last were however controlled, and there are extant some interesting *fatwā*s on these. M. Talbi has published one of them (in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1956), pronounced by Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]) and concerning three associates who had organised a pirate enterprise but had then fallen out over the division of their booty. More interesting still is a *fatwā* of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) analysed also by Talbi (*Émirat aghlabide*, 534-5); it emerges from this that seizure was legal in the case of a Christian merchant ship making for a non-Muslim country, but illegal when it was a case of a building utilised for commercial exchanges between Christendom and Islam. Thus, whilst hindering freedom of navigation, pirate activity tended to divert traffic into a pattern favourable to the Muslim lands.

After the beginning of the 6th/12th century and during all the Crusades period, privateering may be regarded as more often than not assimilable to the *dj̲ihād*. The Zīrids (see H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index) organised it on a grand scale and sowed terror in the western Mediterranean, whilst the island of D̲j̲arba [*q.v.*], already an important base, became a real haunt of pirates, who were not content with attacking Christian ships but also infested the coasts of Ifrīḳiya. D̲j̲arba was conquered in 510/1116 by ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, but soon resumed its traditional rôle, until it was captured in 529/1135 by the Normans of Sicily; it was to remain the plaything of Christian and Muslim rivalries until the end of the 8th/14th century, and then was to play a leading part in the events of the 10th/16th century.

Various dockyards built along the coasts of the Mag̲h̲rib and al-Andalus [see DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA], especially at La Calle (Marsā 'l-K̲h̲araz), Bône and Bougie,

provided local pirates with galleys which skimmed the coasts of the Mediterranean islands and swept the seas in search of prey. As well as the cargoes and crews seized on the open seas, the raids on the Sardinian and Corsican coasts secured slaves of both sexes which were much in demand.

Dufourcq (*op. laud.*, index) has gathered together considerable material on the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. From this, it appears that, despite the rulers' desires to make maritime commerce safe, the occasional prohibition of privateering warfare and concluding of international treaties, the Mediterranean remained for adventurers of all varieties a special field of activity. After having died down somewhat, from the Muslim side, in the 7th/13th century, *ḳarṣana* revived with fresh force, and the islands and shores of the Christian world were often ravaged. On the Christian side, their exploits yielded nothing in scope or violence to the Muslims; Sicily was a fine jumping-off base and arsenal, and D̲j̲arba was neutralised for a while by Roger de Lauria and Ramon Montaner.

The other bases in the Mag̲h̲rib remained active, but the situation hardly changed in the course of the next century. On the other hand, it took a completely new turn in the 10th/16th century, when there began the so-called "Barbary corsairs", whose activity was to last until the 19th century. This is the period in which such figures as the Barbarossa brothers [see ʿARŪD̲J̲ and K̲H̲AYR AL-DĪN], Dragut [see ṬŪRG̲H̲ŪD], Sinān Pas̲h̲a, Aydin, and many others for whom there is not space here to recount the prowess, distinguished themselves. The articles devoted to the most famous of them should be consulted, and one should merely note that ʿArūd̲j̲ chose Tunis as his base and from there, was able to defy the power of Charles V and to seize Algiers. After his death in 924/1518, his brother K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn (d. 953/1546), who had offered the province of Algiers to the Ottoman sultan, resumed his pirate activities against Mediterranean shipping and his attacks on the Christian towns. For his part, Dragut (d. 972/1565) set up his base in D̲j̲arba, and then succeeded Murād Ag̲h̲a, whom he had helped, together with Sinān Pas̲h̲a, in seizing Tripoli from the Knights of Malta; he may be considered as the founder of the new regency.

It is, it is true, difficult to distinguish between naval warfare, privateering and piracy in the activities of these corsairs, whose common feature is that they succeeded in founding "Barbary" states in more or less nominal dependence on the Sublime Porte and that they established pirate organisations which necessitated numerous interventions by the Europeans. The battle of Lepanto in 979/1571 [see AYNA-BAK̲H̲TĪ] put an end to privateering, but made no difference to pirate activity, which continued to rage until the conquest of Algiers.

Amongst these pirates, Murād Raʾīs was especially notable. He was the first, in 993/1585, to venture into the Atlantic (if one excepts the expedition of K̲h̲as̲h̲-k̲h̲ās̲h̲ [see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 258-9 = § 274] and his companions from Cordova in the 3rd/9th century, see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 354, iii, 342). Murād went on to plunder the Canary Islands, and en route, put in at Salé, which was not as yet the nest of corsairs of which later history was to have a burning memory.

It should also be noted that, at the moment when these Barbary states mentioned above came into existence, there was an event of highest importance happening in Spain, sc. the reconquest of Granada, followed by the exodus of the Andalusians and then, in 1610, by the expulsion of the Moriscoes [*q.v.*]. Like their predecessors, these last groups settled in various parts of North Africa where, without always openly proclaiming *d̲j̲ihād*, they constituted a fresh impetus and a new pretext for the Barbary pirate activity, seeing in this a means of mounting a revanche. Algeria and Tunisia remained very active centres (see M. de Epalza and R. Petit (eds.), *Études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, Madrid 1973, index), but it is from this point onwards that piracy based on the port of Salé comes into prominence, and the history of this is well-documented for us (see H. de Castries, *Les corsaires de Salé*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, xv/2 (1903); L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 152-72; and R. Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé*, Paris 1948). During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Salé [see SALĀ] had been a centre for privateering on a relatively modest scale only, like other ports of the Moroccan littoral like Tetuan [see TIṬṬĀWĪN], whose corsair fleet had however been destroyed by the Spaniards in *ca.* 803/1400, or al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], which on occasion gave refuge to pirates, whose captured booty was sold to the sultans. In the 17th century, however, the twin town of Rabat became, under the influence of Andalusian emigrants, a real corsair republic, in which certain strong personalities stand out, these being used for diplomatic missions (e.g. the Bénache and vars. = Sīdī ʿAlī b. ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, who was charged by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl with a mission to Louis XIV for the hand of the Princess de Conti). These Salé corsairs, called "Turks" by the Europeans, were generally no more Turkish in origin than were the "Barbary" pirates; they included in their ranks Andalusians and Moroccans, to be sure, but also Greeks, Russians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, etc., renegades and even Christians. The diverseness of the polyglot crews allowed them to hoist false colours and to reassure ships under attack by addressing the enemies in the tongue of their own nation. One notable feature of the Salé pirates was that, being right on the spot for combing the North Atlantic seas, they were bold enough to sail as far as Iceland, to reach the fishing-grounds of the coasts of the New World and Nova Scotia, or to enter the Channel and reprovision themselves in the Netherlands, where they had accomplices. For almost a century, from 1668 to 1757, privateering was organised by the sultans, and may be considered as taking the place of a national fleet.

There is no need here to dilate upon the various types of vessel employed by the corsairs and pirates, nor upon their arms, for these questions will be studied under MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA. It should merely be noted that until the end of the 16th century, the pirates in the Mediterranean used galleys propelled by a large number of oarsmen (sometimes more than 200) and that the lateen sails of these ships were only auxiliaries; on the other hand, in order to secure a speed superior to that of the merchant ships, these galleys were slender in shape (the proportion of length to breadth reaching up to 9 times) and hence instable. In 1606, a Dutch renegade called Simon of Danser taught the Algerians to construct and to operate sailing ships, and Salé, which, because of the bar and shallow waters, could only used light vessels, benefitted particularly by this innovation, and built so-called "round" (i.e. with a proportion of only 3 or 4) ships, which were much more stable.

Finally, thanks to the anonymous author of *La connaissance des Pavillons ou Bannières que la plupart des Nations arborent en mer*, The Hague 1737 (cf.

Coindreau, *op. laud.*, 211-22), we have information about several of the flags of the Muslim corsairs.

Bibliography: The above account, inevitably brief, can only give a slight sketch of *ḳarṣana* in the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Outside the archives, some of which have been used by the authors cited above, and the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, reference should be made to the works cited in the text, which usually have detailed bibliographies, and to the following basic works: F. Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1649; J. Morgan, *Histoire des États barbaresques qui exercent la piraterie*, Paris 1757; L. de Mas-Latrie, *Relations et commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale avec les nations chrétiennes au moyen age*, Paris 1886; S. Lane Poole, *The Barbary corsairs*, London 1890; P. Gossee, *The history of piracy*, London 1932 (Fr. tr. P. Teillac, *Histoire de la piraterie*, Paris 1933, 2nd edn., 1952); Ch. Penz, *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVII^e siècle*, Rabat 1944; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge*, Paris 1946, 225-8; I. de las Cagigas, *La cuestión del corso y de la piratería berberisca en el Mediterraneo*, in *Curso de conferencias sobre la politica africana de los reyes catolicos*, i, Madrid 1951, 127-49. (CH. PELLAT)

ii. In Turkish waters

Within a decade of the Saldjūḳ victory at Manzikert (Malāzgird [*q.v.*]) in 463/1071, the Turkish invaders had extended their raids to the Aegean. In 474/1081, or shortly afterwards, the Turks of Nicaea (Iznik [*q.v.*]) constructed a fleet at Kios (Gemlik [*q.v.*]), possibly for the transport of troops. However, the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I Comnenos, burned it before it could put to sea. A more formidable Turkish maritime force appeared in 481-2/1088-9, when a Turkish chieftain called Tzachas (this name is probably a Greek form of Čaka), with the aid of a Smyrniot Greek, built a fleet at Smyrna (Izmir [*q.v.*]), which harried the Aegean coast of Asia Minor from Smyrna to Adramyttion (Edremit [*q.v.*]) and captured the neighbouring islands of Chios (Saḳîz), Lesbos (Mytilene), Samos (Susam), and possibly some other islands. The unexpected appearance of Tzachas, so soon after the Byzantine destruction of Arab pirate bases in Cilicia, led to the construction of a new fleet at Constantinople in 484/1091, and the expulsion of Tzachas from the islands. His rival, the Saldjūḳ Ḳîlîč Arslan, poisoned him in 489/1096.

After the defeat of Tzachas, Alexios I was able to recapture the coastlands lost to the Turkish invaders and built a number of coastal fortresses between Abydos (near Čanaḳ ḳala [*q.v.*]) and Syria. Muslim corsairs did not disturb Byzantine waters again until the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, when Arab pirates reappeared in the eastern Mediterranean. This does not mean that piracy in general diminished. In fact, it increased with the growth of commerce in the Levant following the Crusades. A pattern arose of professional pirates in the Aegean and Mediterranean finding employment in the Byzantine and other fleets. The same phenomenon was to occur with the growth of Turkish fleets.

The Latin occupation of Constantinople in 601/1204 did nothing to prevent piracy, despite the presence of Venetian fleets in the Aegean. In 633/1236, the Despot Manuel of Epiros could claim that pirates made the sea too dangerous for his bishops to cross from Greece to the Laskarid capital at Nicaea. The Latin conquest seems merely to have increased the number of Latin pirates, such as the Lombard Licario, who was to serve Michael VIII Palaiologos as Admiral after the Byzantine recapture of Constantinople in 659/1261. Muslims, however, were not in evidence. The Laskarid administration effectively fortified the boundaries with the Saldjūḳs in Asia Minor, preventing the Muslim access to the Aegean coast. Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] refers to an *amīr-i sawāḥil*, possibly commanding Saldjūḳ vessels in the Mediterranean, but there are no further references to Muslim maritime activity.

Despite Michael VIII's construction of a powerful Byzantine fleet after 659/1261, his reign saw the foundation of Turkish naval power in the Aegean. Pre-occupied with regaining Byzantine territories in the west and warding off the threat of an Angevin invasion, Michael neglected his eastern frontier. Turkish raids and settlements followed and, as in the 5th/11th century, the invaders soon took to the sea. Already in 676-7/1278, there are records of pirates, including the obviously Muslim "Saladinus" at Ania to to south of Ephesus. In 681-3/1284, Michael VIII's successor, Andronikos II Palaiologos, disbanded his father's fleet, which he evidently regarded as an unnecessary expense after the removal of the Angevin threat. The results were disastrous. Not only were the seas unprotected against burgeoning Turkish piracy, but unemployed Greek sailors now defected to the Turks. After 682-3/1284, Turkish sea-raids extended to the Cyclades and even into the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. By 700/1300, the Turks had occupied the Aegean coast and, according to the Catalan Muntaner, were pillaging Chios and the surrounding islands.

It was these years in the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries that saw the establishment of the Turkish emirates on the Aegean coast. Since these states sheltered corsairs and used their own vessels simply to collect booty by harrying foreign settlements or commerce, rather than to protect trade or acquire new lands, they may be described as "pirate-states". The most notorious was Aydîn [see Aydînoghlî], especially in the days of Umūr Pasha [*q.v.*] but ships from other maritime emirates of Menteshe, Sarukhān and Ḳarasî [*q.vv.*] also engaged in sea-borne raids. In the Black Sea, Ghāzī Čelebi (d. *ca.* 724/1324?) established an emirate around Sinop [*q.v.*], whence he made raids on Genoese and Trapezuntine commerce and settlements. The Ottomans do not seem immediately to have taken to the sea as corsairs. When Orkhan [*q.v.*] gave lands to Ḳara Mürsel after the conquest of Nicomaedia (Iznikmid, Izmit [*q.v.*]) in 1737/1337, his purpose appears to have been to protect the shores of the Gulf of Izmit against Byzantine raids.

During the 8th/14th century, Turkish raids became a feature of life in the Aegean. In 718/1318, corsairs from the mainland of Anatolia ravaged Santorin, and in 726/1326 Marino Sanudo reported how the Turks infested the Cyclades, their attacks made easier by the disunity among the Latin Lords of the islands. In 739/1328-9, Umūr of Aydîn occupied the harbour of Smyrna and began his attacks on Christian ships and on islands and territories in the Aegean and mainland Greece. In 736/1335, however, he signed an agreement with Andronikos III Palaiologos not to attack Byzantine shipping. It was possibly in part to compensate them for loss of booty that Andronikos employed Umūr's troops as mercenaries in Albania. With the death of Andronikos III in 742/1341, Umūr again began to raid throughout the Aegean and, between 742/1341 and 745/1344, intervened in the Byzantine civil war on behalf of his friend and ally John Cantacuzene.

Piracy particularly affected Venetian and other Latin commerce. In 731/1331, Venice had imposed a treaty on the Catalans of Athens, forbidding them to help or employ Turkish corsairs, although this did not prevent the Catalans calling on Umūr to defend the Duchy of Athens against the claims of Gautier de Brienne. The activities of Umūr and other Muslim corsairs eventually led Pope John XXII to assemble a fleet under the command of the Venetian Pietro Zen to which Venice, the Papacy, France and the Knights of St. John contributed vessels. This force did much damage to the Turkish corsairs and defeated the fleet of Ya<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>i Beg of Ḳarasī in the Gulf of Edremit in 735/1334. However, it disbanded after the death of Pope John in the same year, and piracy continued as before. More effective was the Latin occupation of the port of Smyrna in 745/1344, and the death of Umūr in 749/1348, after which <u>Kh</u>iḍr of Aydïn signed a treaty with the Latins, according to which he undertook to burn all the ships in the emirate, forbid all acts of piracy and offer no help to corsairs. Large-scale raids may have ceased, but in a letter dated 751/1350 the Dodge Andrea Dandolo indicated that Turks from Aydïn continued to attack Christian shipping. Piracy based on other emirates seems also to have flourished. After 671-2/1360, Aḥmed <u>Gh</u>āzī of Mente<u>sh</u>e preyed on shipping between Cyprus and Rhodes.

Ottoman raiders began to appear on the Aegean in the 1390s. They seem to have infested the Sea of Marmara considerably earlier, leading the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene to clear the old harbour of Heptaskalon in Constantinople some time after 750/1349, as a base against Turkish pirates. The annexation by Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] of Saru<u>kh</u>ān, Aydïn and Mente<u>sh</u>e brought the western Aegean shoreline under Ottoman control by the 1390s. With Bāyezīd's construction of an arsenal at Gallipoli, the Ottomans were able to build sizeable fleets. In 793/1391 an Ottoman fleet of 60 vessels ravaged Chios, the Cyclades and the coasts of Euboea (Negroponte, I<u>gh</u>riboz) and Attica. To meet this new threat, Venice allotted a fleet to Francesco I Crispo of Naxos.

The defeat of Bāyezīd by Tīmūr in 804/1402 and the subsequent restoration of the emirates put an end to the depredations of an Ottoman fleet under the Sultan's auspices, but did not otherwise prevent piracy. In 806/1403, the restored ruler of Mente<u>sh</u>e, Ilyās Beg, signed a treaty with Venice in which he undertook to prevent acts of piracy. He was evidently unsuccessful, since in 813/1410 a Venetian fleet appeared off the ports of the emirate as a forceful reminder of the *beg* to adhere to the terms of the treaty. It made no difference. In 819/1416 vessels from Ottoman territory raided the Cyclades and, at about this time, the Florentine Buondelmonti reported Turkish raids on all the Aegean islands except Patmos. Perhaps the shared reverence for the shrines of certain saints, such as St. George of Levitha, called Ḳoč Papas or Ḳoč Baba in Turkish, led the Turks to leave the monks of Patmos in peace. Piracy remained endemic throughout the 9th/15th century, and measures such as the imposition of direct rule on the Venetian Duchy of Naxos in 899/1494 only temporarily deterred the corsair fleets of Ḳarā Ḥasan and others.

There were, however, significant changes in the Aegean in the late 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. Under Meḥemmed II and his successors, the Ottoman fleet became an instrument of conquest and a weapon of imperial policy rather than simply a pirate fleet of the Sultan. Meḥemmed II's fleet, for example, played an important part in the conquests of Constantinople in 857/1453, Sinop, Trebizond (Ṭrabzon [*q.v.*]), and Lesbos (Midilli) in 865-7/1461-2 and Euboea in 875/1470. Under his successor Bāyezīd II, Ottoman fleets appeared in the Ionian Sea during the war with Venice between 904/1499 and 908/1503. As the frontiers of naval warfare moved south and westwards from the Aegean, Turkish pirates such as the famous Kemāl Reʾīs [*q.v.*] extended their activities to North Africa and the western Mediterranean. By 947/1540 most of the Aegean coasts and islands were Ottoman possessions, and the odd exceptions such as the Venetian Tinos (Istindīn) and the Genoese Chios, which in any case fell to the Ottomans in 974/1566, did not threaten Turkish hegemony in the area.

The Aegean was now an Ottoman sea and the Sultan had no wish to encourage piracy in his own waters. The Ottoman government attempted to control the activities of corsairs, forbidding the construction of privateer vessels without special permission. In 967/1560, the *ḳāḍī* of Iznikmid received instructions to seize an illegally-constructed ship; whereas in 972/1565, the *levends* [*q.v.*] of Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]) and Mente<u>sh</u>e were encouraged to build ships and serve in the Imperial Fleet. The squadrons permanently based in the Aegean at Kavalla, Lesbos and Rhodes presumably guarded the seas against pirates as much as against enemy action. In the 990s/1580s Muṣṭafā ʿAlī of Gallipoli or Gelibolu [*q.v.*] looked back with nostalgia to the mid-century when the Imperial Fleets kept the sea free of corsairs.

It is, however, most unlikely that Muslim pirates ever disappeared from the Aegean. The western shores of Anatolia seem, in fact, in the 10th/16th century to have been a forcing ground for pirates who, after acquiring sufficient ships and booty in their native waters emigrated to Algiers (al-<u>Dj</u>azāʾir [*q.v.*]), or later to Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-<u>Gh</u>arb [*q.v.*]) or Tunis [*q.v.*], where their raids on non-Ottoman Christian shipping changed them, in Ottoman eyes, from pirates to warriors of the faith. The famous <u>Kh</u>ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] and Ṣāliḥ Reʾīs of Algiers, for example, originated from the west coast of Anatolia, found fame in North Africa and, like many lesser known corsairs, later served in the Ottoman Imperial Fleet. Muṣṭafā ʿAlī specifies Ḳazda<u>gh</u>ī in particular as an area from which many North African pirates originated.

In the late 10th/16th century, piracy seems to have increased throughout the Mediterranean, and the Aegean too was affected. It is most likely that the disorders in Anatolia in this period found their counterpart on the sea.

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iii. In the Persian Gulf

Piracy has been endemic in the Persian Gulf since ancient times, which is hardly to be wondered at in view of the poverty, until very recently, of the peoples dwelling around its shores and the richness of the commerce which has at various periods passed through its waters. Piracy has flourished most in time of war or in its wake, when authority has broken down and the predatory instincts of the maritime tribes have been given full rein. Thus, for example, the Ḳarmaṭian revolt, the Mongol invasions and the collapse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate were all accompanied or followed by maritime depredations on an extensive scale.

To all intents and purposes, piracy in the Gulf was indistinguishable from maritime warfare, which in turn originated in political, dynastic, sectarian or racial conflict among the littoral principalities. Hostilities at sea were apt to degenerate swiftly into the indiscriminate plunder of any and all shipping, not only in the Gulf but in the adjacent seas also. Such was the case with the first great piratical campaign of modern times, that waged by the seafaring tribes of ʿUmān against the trade and shipping of the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the western Indian Ocean in the late 11th/17th century. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Masḳaṭ, Ṣuḥār and their other footholds on the ʿUmāni coast by the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān b. Sayf (1059-90/1649-79), the ʿUmānīs pursued their vendetta against the Portuguese by attacking and plundering their shipping and their settlements on the coasts of India, Persia and East Africa. Under Sulṭān b. Sayf's successors, and especially the fourth Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sayf b. Sulṭān (*ca.* 1103-23/1692-1711), ʿUmān became a formidable maritime power; and commensurate with the increase in her naval strength the scope of her marauding activities widened to embrace vessels under any flag wherever they might be encountered. The depredations of the Masḳaṭ and ʿUmānī pirates only ceased when civil strife broke out in ʿUmān over the succession to the Ibadi imāmate following the death of the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān II b. Sayf, in 1131/1718-19.

A wave of piracy followed the Afghān incursions into Persia in the 1130s/1720s and again after the death of Nadīr Shāh in 1160/1747. On both occasions, as during the height of the ʿUmānī piratical campaigns, some of the chief sufferers were the European trading establishments on the Persian coast. The most notorious pirate of the 12th/18th century was Mīr Muḥannā b. Naṣir of Bandar Rīg, whose family, an off-shoot of the Zaʿāb tribe dwelling on the southern shore of the Gulf, had migrated to the Persian coast earlier in the century, intermarried with Persians, espoused Shīʿism and settled at Bandar Rīg. While still a youth Mīr Muḥannā had helped contrive the murder of his father, and when his mother reproached him with his crime he slew her in a fit of rage. He likewise put to death his two sisters for receiving offers of marriage, and exposed his first-born child, a daughter, to die on the seashore. The greatest triumph of Mīr Muḥannā's career was the capture and destruction of the Dutch trading settlement on Khārg or Khārk I island [see KHĀRAG] in Radjab 1179/December 1765-January 1766. Eighteen months later he despoiled the Masḳaṭ coffee fleet on its way to Baṣra in the summer of 1181/1767. It was his final *coup*. Driven from Bandar Rīg by his own people, who had finally sickened of his monstrous cruelties, he sought refuge in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1182/March 1769 at Baṣra, where he was unceremoniously put to death by the Ottoman *mütesellim*.

An outbreak of piracy by the Kaʿb of the lower Kārūn followed the siege and capture of Baṣra by the Persians in 1189-90/1775-6. A far more serious upsurge, however, was that which occurred after the death of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] in 1193/1779. The coastal tribes of Fārs, most of whom were of Arab descent, threw off the authority of Shīrāz and became a law unto themselves, plundering any vessels that came within their reach. Their depredations were shortly to be overshadowed by those of the Ḳāsimī tribal confederacy [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM] of Shārdja (al-Shāriḳa) and Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.vv.*], who took advantage of the disturbed state of Persia to re-establish themselves at Linga [*q.v.*] (which they had first seized after the death of Nadīr Shāh and from which they had been expelled by Karīm Khān in 1179/1765) and to prey upon shipping—European and Indian as well as Arab and Persian—off the Persian coast and in the Straits of Hurmuz.

Part of the impulse for the Ḳawāsim's marauding derived from their persistent quarrel with the Āl Bū Saʿīd rulers of ʿUmān, a quarrel which in the last two decades of the 18th century came to focus upon control of the stretch of coast to the north of Ṣuḥār, which the Ḳawāsim endeavoured—with some success—to wrest from the Āl Bū Saʿīd with the object of commanding the approaches to the Gulf and waylaying vessels passing through the Straits of Hurmuz. It was largely the exploits of the Ḳawāsim that were responsible for the southern shore of the Gulf, from Rams to Dubayy, becoming known to European mariners in these years as "the Pirate Coast". A new twist, and added strength, was given to the Ḳawāsim's piratical activities, and to their feud with the Āl Bū Saʿīd, by the assertion by the Wahhābīs of Nadjd of an ascendancy over the Pirate Coast in the first decade of the 19th century. The conversion of the Ḳawāsim and other maritime tribes to the Wahhābi practice of Islam injected an element of fanaticism into their piratical forays, so that the campaign of depredation that ensued took on the character of a seaborne *djihād*.

The Ḳāsimī war fleet, operating with Wahhābī encouragement, if not under actual Wahhābī direction, was reckoned in 1223/1808 to number some 70-80 large dhows; if fishing and pearling vessels were included, the Ḳāsimī confederacy's total strength was said to exceed 800 vessels manned by 18,000-25,000 fighting men. (Another estimate, made in 1233/1818, put the resources of the Arabian maritime tribes at 89 large dhows and 161 smaller craft, manned by 10,000 fighting men.) Controlling Linga and part of

Ḳishm Island, and with bases at Khawr Fakkān, Dibba and Khawr Kalba, facing the Gulf of ʿUmān, the Ḳawāsim were able to strike at will at any ships entering or leaving the Straits of Hurmuz. Often they would lie concealed, waiting for their prey, in the deep winding inlets of Khawr al-Shaʿm (Elphinstone's Inlet) and Ghubbat ʿAlī (Malcom's Inlet) on the western and eastern sides respectively of the Musandam peninsula (Raʾs al-Djibāl), the existence of which was not known to European seamen until the first survey of the Gulf was undertaken by the Bombay Marine (the armed maritime service of the English East India Company) after 1235-6/1820. Hence the Ḳawāsim were able on a number of occasions to elude pursuit by the cruisers of the Bombay Marine by slipping into these hidden anchorages.

With the passage of time the Ḳawāsim grew bolder, ranging as far afield as the coasts of Kutch and Kathiawar, the ports of the Ḥaḍramawt and the lower reaches of the Red Sea. They sailed in squadrons of up to twenty dhows, taking their prizes by closing alongside, grappling and boarding. As often as not they would put the entire crew of a captured vessel to the sword—generally amid clamorous avowals of religious fervour. Women, children and slaves taken captive were afterwards either distributed among their captors or, in the case of the first two, held for later ransom. A fifth of all booty taken was reserved for eventual consignment to the Saʿūdī *imām* at Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the Wahhābī capital. A good portion of the remainder was customarily disposed of at Baḥrayn, which served as the principal clearing-house for the proceeds of Ḳāsimī piracy.

After the capture of a number of European and Indian ships by the Ḳawāsim the British authorities in India dispatched an expedition to attack Raʾs al-Khayma, Linga and the Ḳāsimī outposts on Ḳishm I. and at Shinas, on the ʿUmānī coast, in the autumn and winter of 1809-10 (Shaʿbān-Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdjah 1224). The expedition had only partial success in crippling the Ḳawasīm's naval capabilities. Many Ḳāsimī dhows were absent from their home ports on piratical or trading voyages, while others had been hidden, after word of the expedition's objectives had leaked out ahead of its sailing, in the inlets of the Raʾs al-Djibāl. The expedition's commanders were also inhibited by the orders given them not to cross swords with the Wahhābi ruler. A second expedition, dispatched in the winter of 1819-20 (Muḥarram-Djumādā I, 1235), after the defeat of the Wahhābis and the destruction of Dirʿiyya by Ibrāhīm Pasha the previous year, was far more effective in subduing the Ḳawāsim. Raʾs al-Khayma and the other piratical ports were reduced, the Ḳāsimī war fleet was burned or prized, and the Ḳāsimī chieftains, along with the other principal *shaykh*s of the Pirate Coast, were made to subscribe to a treaty (the General Treaty of Peace of Rabīʿ I, 1235/January 1820) outlawing piracy for ever.

Neither the expedition of 1809-10 nor that of 1819-20 had attempted to bring to book the man who was undoubtedly the most reckless and ferocious free-booter in the Gulf in the entire 19th century—Raḥma b. Djābir, head of the Āl Djalāhima branch of the ʿUtūb, whose base for more than thirty years was located at Khawr Ḥasan in north-western Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*]. Raḥma's blood-stained career had its origins in his falling out with the Āl Khalīfa of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] over the division of the spoils from their joint conquest of the island in 1197/1783. From that time until the end of his life he conducted an unrelenting war of attrition, marked as much by fierce daring as by atrocious cruelty, against the trade and shipping of the Āl Khalīfa and their kinsmen, the Āl Ṣabāḥ of Kuwayt. His most remarkable single feat was his capture in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1224/December 1809 of twenty large Kuwaytī dhows, whose crews he massacred to a man. He escaped the attentions of the British expeditionary force at that time in the lower Gulf, partly because of confusion over his status (he was a Wahhābī protégé) but mainly because his stronghold at Khawr Ḥasan was deemed too difficult of access to attack from the sea. Some time later (in 1227/1812 or 1231/1818—the accounts vary) he fell out with the Wahhābis and was forced to abandon Khawr Ḥasan. He established a new lair in 1234/late 1818, after the Wahhābī collapse, at Dammām, on the Ḥasā coast, from which he continued to harry the seaborne commerce of Baḥrayn.

Raḥma b. Djābir was again spared retribution at the hands of the British expedition of 1819-20, less because he had now assumed the guise of a Persian dependant than because his vendetta against the Āl Khalīfa, however, brutally it might be conducted, was reluctantly conceded to come within the category of legitimate warfare and not that of piracy. As a consequence of the improved security established by the British expedition and the subsequent system of "watch and cruise" operated by the Bombay Marine, Raḥma b. Djābir's fortunes steadily declined, until by 1241-2/1826 his fleet has been reduced to a single dhow. Now seventy years of age and totally blind, he had his last fight with the Āl Khalīfa war fleet off Dammām in Djumāda II, 1242/December 1826-January 1827. Surrounded and outnumbered, he calmly set fire to the magazine of his ship and blew her, himself and everyone aboard to the gates of Paradise.

The last serious piratical outbreak in the Gulf occurred in Shawwāl-Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1250/February-April 1835, when the Banū Yās of Abū Dhabī (Abū Ẓabī), hitherto little given to piracy, made a wholesale attempt upon the trade of the Gulf in a desperate bid to recoup their economic fortunes, which had been severely depressed by prolonged warfare with the Ḳawāsim and the loss of the annual pearl fishery for several years running. Brought to action off the Tūnbs by the Bombay Marine sloop ***Elphinstone*** on 18 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1250/16 April 1835, the Banū Yās war fleet was outfought and scattered. The following month the British political resident in the Gulf, Captain Samuel Hennell, persuaded the rulers of Abū Dhabī, Shārdja, Raʾs al-Khayma, Dubayy and ʿAdjmān to agree to a suspension of hostilities at sea among themselves for the duration of the coming pearling season. The maritime truce signed on 22 Muḥarram 1251/21 May 1835 ran for a period of six months, to 29 Radjab 1251/21 November 1835. It was renewed every spring for the next seven years, being gradually extended in length to cover the full twelve months of the year. In 1259/1843 it was renewed for a ten-year period, at the expiry of which it was made permanent, in a treaty signed by the principal Trucial Shaykhs on 25 Radjab 1269/4 May 1853. Though isolated outbreaks of piracy were to occur at intervals up to this century, notably in the narrow waters between Baḥrayn and the Ḥasā coast, the institution and consolidation of the trucial system brought to an end the great age of piracy in the history of the Gulf.

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account of the Arabs who inhabit the coast between Ras el Kheimah and Abothubee in the Gulf of Persia, generally called the Pirate Coast, in *Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, i (1836-8); J. R. Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London 1840; *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, new series no. xxiv, Bombay 1856; C. R. Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, London 1877; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and Central Arabia*, i, Calcutta 1915; H. Moyse-Bartlett, *The Pirates of Trucial Oman*, London 1966; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf*, 1795-1880, Oxford 1968; R. D. Bathurst, *Maritime trade and Imamate government: two principal themes in the history of Oman to 1728*, in *The Arabian Peninsula: society and politics*, London 1972. (J. B. Kelly)

KURSĪ, an Arabic word borrowed from Aramaic (Syriac form *kurseyāʾ*, in Hebrew: *kissē*; see Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 128; Fraenkel, *De vocabulis peregrinis*, 22; L. Koehler, W. Baumgarten, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 446) which can signify seat, in a very general sense (chair, couch, throne, stool, even bench). In the daily life of mediaeval Muslims it refers more specifically to a stool (i.e. seat without back or arm-rests), and there are a number of other terms which are applied to a throne (*sarīr* and *takht*, for example).

Kursī is found on two occasions in the Ḳurʾān (II, 256, XXXVIII, 33), and the commentators (al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1323, iii, 7; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Calcutta 1856, i, 170; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Zād*, Cairo 1964, i, 304; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, Leipzig 1846, i, 139; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1952, i, 309-310; al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, Beirut 1969, 56; al-Ḳāsimī, *Maḥāsin*, Cairo 1957, iii, 659-67) tend to accord it the sense of throne, since its function (in the first verse, the throne of God which encompasses both Heaven and Earth, in the second, the throne of King Solomon) is to bestow a particular majesty on the one who sits there. In opposition to an apparently anthropomorphic concept of God "sitting" on a seat, another explanation has been put forward according to which, of the seven heavens encircling the universe, the two furthest from the globe will be *ʿarsh* (see below) and *kursī* (the commentators and the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1929, ii, 22; Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-ʿArsh*, Ms. Nuruosmaniye 4894, fol. 494 b -495 b). *Kursī* (in the Ḳurʾān) need not therefore indicate a seat in the usual sense of the word. There are other interpretations of the term, some allegorical (*kursī* = the absolute knowledge of God, or his kingdom), some literal, for example: *ʿarsh* (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 44; XL, 15; XLIII, 82; LXXXI, 20;) = throne of God, while *kursī* = footstool, a bench set before the throne. This throne of God has been an object of debate among theologians (A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 67, 90, 93, 115 and especially 148, concerning *ʿarsh* and *kursī*). The rite of a certain Shīʿī sect, at an early period in Muslim history, attributed a particular sanctity to an empty *kursī* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. S. D. Goitein, vi, 242; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, 85).

The distinction between throne (*ʿarsh*) and footstool (*kursī*) probably reflects the tendency of mediaeval Muslims to indicate by means of the term *kursī* all kinds of supports: the word *mirfaʿ*, which, among other usages (including that of footstool!) indicates an ink-stand and the base of the small oriental table, may be replaced, in certain texts, by *kursī* (J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, 91-4). To this meaning of "support", that of "lectern" should also be added. Many examples, designed to support copies of the Ḳurʾān (with straight or crossed legs) adorn mosques and are to be found in various museums (*ibid.*, 124-5, n. 470; J. A. Jaussen, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 19-23 and especially O. Kurz, in *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, 299-314). The term tends thus to become loaded (especially in colloquial speech) with senses which, in richer and more exact terminology, are covered by distinct terms. Among the other objects designated by *kursī* the following are examples: a support (stool) on which the turban is deposited during the night (Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 455-6); a chair of particular design used by women in childbirth (*ibid.*); a stool for daily ablutions (al-Tanūkhī, *al-Mustadjād*, 108); in mediaeval Egypt, a seat for flour sellers (Maimonides, *Ṭeharōt*, ed. Derenbourg, i, 137); an astrolabe-stand (Dozy, *loc. cit.*); a slab into which a pointed instrument is implanted, through the base (*ibid.*); in Mecca, a kind of moving ladder (or staircase) near the Kaʿba (*ibid.*); among the Persians, a kind of stove (a low "table", under which a fire is lit; blankets are laid on this table and then wrapped round the knees to provide warmth, *ibid.*); the base of a column, pedestal (Beaussier, s.v.); a plate supporting the powder compartment and percussion mechanism of the flint-lock rifle (*ibid.*); in Spain, small pieces of silver or gold worn by women in their collars and known in Spanish as *corci* (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, 93); *kursī* is the seat of a bishop, his see, diocese etc. (Dozy, *Suppl.*, *loc. cit.*); in orthography, each of the characters (*alif*, *wāw*, *yāʾ*) on (or under) which the *hamza* is placed; in calligraphy, a kind of embellishment in square form (Huart, *Calligraphes*, 352).

In certain miniatures illustrating an Arabic astronomical work, which represent *dhat al-kursī* (Cassiopeia) in the form of a woman seated on a chair with back and arm-rests, we find the shape of a genuinely "classical" chair (E. Wellesz, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii, 8-9 and figs. 6, 44, 47, 51), which, copied from one manuscript to another, tends to become modified to the point where it is adapted to the mediaeval Muslim concept (Sadan, *op. cit.*, 125-6). In general, the *kursī* is nothing more than a stool. But, surrounded by other lower seats (cushions for example), such a stool can draw attention to the person who is seated there (see the dimensions indicated by M. D. Lutfi in *Sumer*, xvi, 129-30, in the Arabic section, unless it is lecterns that are in question). These *kursī*-stools were of various heights. Some had straight legs, others crossed legs (they are illustrated by a rich iconography, as well as by texts: O. Kurz, *loc. cit.*; Sadan, *op. cit.*, 123-33). In the modern period, *kursī* is also applied to various chairs of "western-style" form.

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(Cl. Huart - [J. Sadan])

ḲURṬUBA, Spanish Córdoba, French Cordoue, English, Italian and German Cordova (Kordova), Latin Corduba, a town of southern Spain situated at 370 feet above sea-level on the right (north) bank of the central course of the Guadalquivir (from the Arabic al-Wādī al-Kabīr "the great river"), the ancient Baetis, with 1,234,000 inhabitants, is at the present day the capital of the province of the same name which lies on both sides of the river in the heart of Andalusia.

The southern and smaller half of the province, practically the famous La Campiña [see ḳanbāniya], rising in the south-east to a height of over 1,200 feet, is more level, hot and fertile, being especially devoted

to viniculture, while the northern, larger half which begins in the Sierra de Córdoba immediately to the north of the town, rises to heights over 2,900 feet high in the central Sierra Morena (Mariani Montes) with the plateau of los Pedroches which inclines in a northerly direction to the Zújar valley in the west and the Guadalmez valley in the east; this plateau is called *Iḳlīm al-Balāliṭa* by al-Idrīsī and by others *Faḥs al-Ballūṭ* "Field of Oaks", and in it lies the little town of Pedroche, known to the Arabs as Biṭrawdj or Bitrūsh (whence al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*]). The north has a more temperate climate and includes great stretches of hill country, suited for sheep and horse breeding (*caballos cordobeses*) and rich deposits of coal and minerals. The name Córdoba has frequently been explained as from the Phoenician-Punic קרת טובה, "good town" since Conde first suggested this etymology in his *Descripcion de España de Xerif Aledris*, Madrid 1799, 161 (for even rasher etymologies, see Madoz, vi, 646 and al-Maḳḳarī, i, 355). The name is certainly not Semitic but Old Iberian (cf. Salduba, the Old Iberian name for Caesar-Augusta, whence Saragossa, Zaragoza; there is a Salduba = Marbella in the south between Málaga and Gibraltar). After the Second Punic war it became known as an important and wealthy commercial city (*aes Cordubense*) under the name Κορδύβη or Κορδυβά or Corduba. It was finally taken for Rome by C. Marcellus in 152 B.C., colonised with Roman citizens and as Colonia Patricia raised to be the capital of the Provincia of Hispania Ulterior. As Cordoba had taken the side of Pompey, it was severely punished by Caesar after the battle of Munda in 49 B.C., but in Imperial times it remained the capital of the province (it was the home of the two Senecas and Lucan) alternately with Hispalis (Seville) and Italica (later the Arabic Ṭāliḳa).

Towards the second decade of the 5th century A.D., Cordova was devastated when the Vandals conquered Baetica en route for North Africa. In 554 it passed to the Byzantines, who had come into the Iberian peninsula to help King Athanagild of the Visigoths, and the Greeks spread all through southern Spain. They probably took upon themselves the rebuilding of the old protective wall of the Roman *urbs quadrata* and the enlargement of this enceinte in a southwards direction, as far as the northern bank of the river. In 571, King Leovigild, Athanagild's successor, recovered it from the Byzantines; but although it was an episcopal see, it remained a place of no importance under the Visigothic domination.

At the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain, Cordova was leading a precarious existence; its protective enceinte was partially ruinous on the west side, and a heavy surge in the river's height had destroyed its bridge. The freedman Mughīth al-Rūmī, lieutenant of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, occupied the town without resistance in Shawwāl 92/July-August 711, and three months later, in Muḥarram 93/October-November 711, the fortified church of San Acislo to the south-west of Cordova, where 400 knights of the Cordovan nobility had held out against the invaders, surrendered to al-Mughīth; he treated the Cordovan citizens with clemency and entrusted the guarding of the town to the Jews. The governor al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī transferred the capital of al-Andalus from Seville to Cordova (97-100/716-19). His successor, the governor al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī (100-2/719-21) restored the old Roman bridge and the ruinous part of the protective enceinte, and he founded the first Muslim cemetery of the town, sc. the Maḳbarat al-Rabaḍ or "Cemetery of the Suburb" on the northern bank of the river. In *ca.* 133/750, the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī expropriated the church of San Vicente, where he established the first cathedral mosque (*al-Djāmiʿ*) in Cordova. This governor (129-38/747-56) was overthrown by the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], the only Umayyad who had escaped from the massacre of his house in Syria; the great period of prosperity of the city now began, and lasted throughout the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*] of Cordova, which was independent of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād (138-403 or 422/756-1013 or 1031).

This incomparable period of splendour of the western rival of Baghdād, the city of the caliphs, is uniquely perpetuated in the great mosque lying just in front of the lofty ancient Moorish bridgehead, the Christian fortress-tower of La Calahorra (Arabicised from the Iberian Calagurris), the Kaʿba of the west; although, at the reconquest in 1236, it became a Christian cathedral and was disfigured by alterations, it has on the whole faithfully retained its Arabic character with its forest of pillars, its outer court (Patio de los Naranjos), the wall which encircles it as if it were a fortress or monastery, and the bell-tower, which is a work of the 16th century constructed from the remains of the 4th/10th century Arab minaret. Also, the name of La Mezquita or "The Mosque" has remained the popular one for this building. However, all the other splendid buildings and monuments of this world-famed period of splendour in the early middle ages have disappeared except for a few wretched fragments. When the shrewd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had laid the foundations for the supremacy of his dynasty in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, by attaining some success in putting a stop to the rivalries and quarrels of not only the Arabs of North and South but also between them and the Berbers of North Africa, the Spanish renegades and the Mozarabs who remained a constant weakness to Arab rule in Spain and brought about its ultimate fall, he began the building of the great mosque in the last two years of his life 171-2/787-8. His son and successor Hishām I (172-80/788-96) completed it, and built the minaret (often called in Spain *ṣawmaʿa* and *manār* = *manāra*), but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), son and successor of the *Amīr* al-Ḥakam I (180-206/796-822), found himself forced to enlarge the building; by extending the 11 naves southwards he added 7 transepts with 10 rows of pillars and built the second *miḥrāb* into the south wall, where was later constructed the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Villaviciosa (833-48), while his son and successor Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86) had in 852-6 thoroughly to overhaul the older building, which had been too hurriedly put up; he devoted particular attention to the decoration of the doors and walls, railed off the *maḳṣūra* reserved for the *Amīr* and the court in front of the *miḥrāb* by a wooden screen and built a covered passage (*sābāṭ*) from Alcázar, the palace to the west of the mosque, to provide a direct and private entrance to the *maḳṣūra* at the daily prayers. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) [*q.v.*] who marks the zenith of the Arab epoch in Spain, rebuilt the minaret, which had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 880, in splendid fashion. He enlarged the *ṣaḥn* or courtyard in a northerly direction, demolished the ancient *ṣawmaʿa* and built another one, the forerunner of the great Hispano-Moorish minarets of the 6th/12th century, which support an actual bell hidden behind a stone revetment. It was this same prince who was the builder of the celebrated country estate Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (now called Cordoba la Vieja) for his beloved al-Zahrāʾ, one-and-a-half

hours' journey north-west of Cordova at the foot of the Sierra (cf. al-Maḳḳarī, i, 344 ff.). In 1853, Pedro de Madrazo identified the remains of this town, and in 1923 the whole of its enceinte was declared a national monument; since then, excavations have restored some of the splendours of the great caliph al-Nāṣir's creation, and especially, the great hall called the "Salon Rico", which is at present to a considerable extent restored. The most beautiful extension of the mosque proper (almost doubling it) was carried out by the learned and scholarly caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir billāh (350-66/961-76), son and successor of the great ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who ordered his Prime Minister or Grand Vizier (called *ḥādjib* in Spain) Djaʿfar al-Ṣaḳlabi to extend the colonnades in the mosque to the south by the addition of 14 transepts, and built a splendid new *maḳṣūra*, a new *sābāṭ* and the third noble *miḥrāb*, which alone has survived in its entirety. The last great extension was made by Hishām II al-Muʾayyad's (366-99/976-1009) powerful vizier, the regent al-Manṣūr (Almanzor, d. 392/1002), who added seven colonnades to the whole length of the building in the east and thereby raised the total number of naves (previously 11) to 19, but threw the *miḥrāb* out of its proper place at the end of the central axis of the sanctuary (on account of the precipitious slope down to the Guadalquivir it was found impossible to extend the building further to the south). Like al-Zahrāʾ in the north-west, al-Madīna al-Zāhira ("the flourishing city"), founded to the east of Cordova by al-Manṣūr to be the seat of the government and its offices, was destroyed in the period of revolution in the beginning of the 5th/11th century and has now quite disappeared.

After the complete extinction of the Umayyads with Hishām III al-Muʿtadd (418-22/1027-31), Cordova became a republic under the presidency of three Djahwarids: Abu 'l-Ḥazm Djahwar b. Muḥammad b. Djahwar (1031-43), Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad (1043-64) and ʿAbd al-Malik (1064-70). In the latter year it passed to the ʿAbbādids of Seville; in 1091 to the Almoravids, who in 517/1123 built the protective enceinte of the eastern part of the town; and in 1148 to the Almohads. With its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile in 1236, it was doomed to inevitable decline.

Of the countless Arab scholars who belonged to Cordova, we will only mention here Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]), Averroës (Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]) (d. 595/1198) and Maimonides (d. 601/1204 [see IBN MAYMŪN]).

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(C. F. Seybold - [M. Ocaña Jimenez])

AL-ĶURṬUBĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Faradj al-Anṣārī al-Khazradjī al-Andalusī, Muslim scholar of the Mālik, law school, an expert on *ḥadīth* and well-known for his commentary on the Ķurʾān. He is the subject of an article in the *Dībādj* of Ibn Farḥūn, which is devoted to biography of the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ* of Spain and the Maghrib up till the 8th/14th century. He also features in an article in *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī. Very little information is known concerning his life. Born in Spain, he was one of those who travelled outside this country (al-Maḳḳarī). Al-Dhahabī is said to have written of him: "He travelled, he wrote and he took lessons from the masters." In fact, he made his way to the Orient and settled at Munyat Abi 'l-Khuṣayb in Upper Egypt (Mīnat Banī Khaṣīb in the version of Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, v, 335); he died and was buried there in 671/1272.

Al-Dhahabī says of him, in his *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, that he was an *imām* versed in numerous branches of scholarship, an ocean of learning whose works testify to the wealth of his knowledge, the width of his intelligence and his superior worth. Al-Kutubī, in his *ʿUyun al-tawārīkh*, refers to him in approximately the same terms. But in addition to being a conscientious scholar, he was remembered as a pious man, inclined towards asceticism and towards meditation on the life after death. He appeared in public attired in a single garment and wore a small cap (*ṭaḳiyya*) on his head.

Among his masters, the best known is Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Ķurṭubī whose commentary on Muslim, *al-Mufhim fī sharḥ Muslim*, he studied. This man was an eminent Mālikī *faḳīh*, born in Cordova in 578/1173, and died in Alexandria in 656/1259. (He was a teacher of traditions and a foremost expert on the Arabic language. He travelled in the Orient where his reputation became widespread. Al-Nawawī quotes his *Mufhim* in a number of places in his own work.) There is mention of two other masters from whom he learned *ḥadīth*: the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥafṣ al-Yaḥṣubī.

Among his works, his biographers first mention his commentary on the Ķurʾān intitled *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ķurʾān wa 'l-mubayyin li-mā taḍammana min al-sunna wa-āyāt al-furḳān*. Then they refer to the following titles: *al-Asnā*, on the interpretation of the most beautiful names of God; *al-Tadhkār fī afḍal al-adhkār*, where "he followed the pattern of the *Tibyān* of al-Nawawī, while producing a more complete work and making use of greater learning"; *Kitāb al-Tadhkira bi-umūr al-ākhira* [see AL-MAHDĪ]; *Sharḥ al-Taḳaṣṣī*; *Kitāb Ḳamʿ al-ḥirṣ bi 'l-zuhd wa 'l-ḳanāʿa wa-radd dhill al-suʾāl bi 'l-kutūb wa 'l-shafāʿa*, which Ibn Farḥūn considers the best example of writing in this genre; and an *Urdjūza*, where the names of the Prophet were brought together. All these titles testify eloquently to the religious preoccupations of al-Ķurṭubī.

His commentary is of great richness and of great utility. All the authors who have spoken of al-Ķurṭubī acknowledge it and insist on the benefit which may be derived from it. From the introduction onwards, he puts emphasis on the worth of the Ķurʾān, on the elevated rank of those who are its "bearers", on the eminence in the eyes of God of those who make an effort (*idjtihād*) to derive from it by *istinbāṭ* teaching which conforms to the *maʿānī*, that is to say, to that which God wishes to signify: "what is known with certainty by the man who

knows the Book of God, is that he is to reject that which He forbids and to remember that which has been explained to him in this Book, to fear God and stand in awe of Him, to hold himself under His protection, and to abstain from disobeying Him through shame in respect to Him; then he is charged with the burdens of the prophets (*fa-innahu ḥummila aʿbāʾa 'l-rusul*) and he must become a witness to the Resurrection before adepts of religions of a different persuasion (*milal*)." Such is the high estimation placed by al-Ḳurṭubī on the role of the commentator.

The entire Introduction is divided into chapters which constitute a sort of ethic, methodology and theology of the commentary. Attention is drawn to the superior qualities of the Ḳurʾān (*faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*) which comes from the light of the essence of God (*fa-huwa min nūr dhātihi*); God gives his servants the strength to bear it (4 ff.). Then (10), al-Ḳurṭubī turns to the manner of reading the Book of God (*kayfiyyat al-tilāwa li-Kitāb Allāh*) in a chapter which may be compared with that of al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyāʾ*, intitled *Ādāb ḳirāʾat al-Ḳurʾān*; he discusses at length the problem of knowing whether the Ḳurʾānic text may be chanted or set to music: he maintains that it is impious to believe that the Ḳurʾān requires embellishment by the human voice. An important chapter (17) concerns the inward dispositions of men who pursue knowledge of the Ḳurʾān: they must rid themselves of all hypocritical consideration of the self (*taḥdhīr min al-riyāʾ*) and, turning towards God through *tawba* and *ināba*, attain with self-purification to perfect sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*). This could be interpreted, on account of the opposition of the two terms *riyāʾ* and *ikhlāṣ*, well-known in Ṣūfism, as a sign of deep mystical piety, and this is confirmed by the passage which follows (20) dealing with that which the soul must observe and not neglect. Then comes a technical chapter (23) on the *iʿrāb* of the Ḳurʾān and the effort which must be made to read and recite it correctly. A few more headings may be noted: Value of commentary and commentators (26): That respect for the Book and its sacred character is an obligatory requirement of the reader and of the "bearer" of the Ḳurʾān (27); Against a commentary based on personal point of view (*raʾy*) (31); On interpretation (*tabyīn*) of the Book through the *sunna* of the Prophet (37); How to study and understand the Book and the *sunna* (39); and On the meaning of the saying of the Prophet: "This Ḳurʾān has been revealed according to seven letters" (or readings:) *nuzzila ʿalā sabʿat aḥruf*); "therefore read according to that which is the easiest for you" (41). Particularly interesting is the chapter (49) on the unity (*djamʿ*) of the parts of the Ḳurʾān; it comprises a precise and concise history of the text, as far as the recension of ʿUthmān, with a study of the arrangement (*tartīb*) of the sūras and verses (59). After which, al-Ḳurṭubī defines the meaning of the words *sūra*, *āya*, *kalima*, *ḥarf* (65), and he replies to the question as to whether there are in the Book words foreign to the Arabic language (68), which leads him to speak of the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (*iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*) (59), of which he examines ten aspects: 1. the extraordinary stylistic arrangement (*al-naẓm al-badīʿ*); 2. the method (*uslūb*), different to all those followed by the Arabs; 3. the penetrating eloquence (*djazāla*) which cannot be that of any created being; 4. the information regarding events of the past since the beginning of the world until the revelation given to Muḥammad; 5. the power to handle the Arabic language in a way that no Arab has been able to do, which has led to the unanimous consensus on the fact that God "has placed every word and every letter in its correct place"; here al-Ḳurṭubī refutes the Muʿtazilī concept of *iʿdjāz*; 6. the fulfilment of promises, whether absolute, or accompanied by a condition; 7. information concerning the future; 8. the teaching of *aḥkām*, the permitted and the forbidden constituting the sustenance of all men (*ḳiwām djamiʿ al-anām*); the sonorous phrases (*al-ḥikam al-bāligha*) of which the number and the nobility are beyond the abilities of a human being; and 10. the coherence (*tanāsub*) between all that is contained in the Book whether of manifest or arcane nature, without any contradiction. The introduction ends with reflections on the *istiʿādha* and the *basmala*.

The commentary of al-Ḳurṭubī is principally distinguished by the recourse to a very great number of *ḥadīths*. Many are found here which are not mentioned by al-Ṭabarī and, unlike his eminent predecessor, al-Ḳurṭubī is more interested in the content (*matn*) than in the process of transmission. The *ḥadīths* are therefore assembled for the purpose of the reply that they offer to the question raised by the verse under discussion. Above all, the work consists of exegeses designed to clarify the meaning and implication of the Law. On this point, his work approximates to the composition of a treatise of *uṣūl* and of *furūʿ*, and it can be understood how Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Bardūnī, in the preface to the second edition of the *Tafsīr*, should write: "This work is such that the reader can almost dispense with the study of works of *fiḳh*."

Al-Ḳurṭubī also devotes considerable space to philological and stylistic commentary, founded on the vast knowledge that he had of the work of grammarians, of works of rhetoric, as well as of books of *adab*. In addition, there are brief references to the theological ideas of *kalām*, accompanied by discussion of doctrines. For example, with regard to the verse (II, 7) "God has set a seal on their heart", he gives the Sunnī interpretation and rejects that of the Ḳadariyya. But, unlike Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Ḳurṭubī does not attempt to derive philosophical notions and conceptions from Ḳurʾānic verses. Thus, when explaining the word *ḳayyūm* (II, 255) in the verse of the Throne, al-Rāzī interprets it at once as denoting *ḳāʾim li-dhātihi* (existing through Himself) as Ibn Sīnā defined it in the *Ishārāt*, and he draws from this all the metaphysical consequences: al-Ḳurṭubī simply gives it the sense, according to Ḳatāda, of *al-ḳāʾim bi-tadbīr mā khalaḳa* (He who concerns Himself with the government of His creation), or, according to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the sense of *al-ḳāʾim ʿalā kulli nafs bi-mā kasabat*, He who exercises His surveillance over every soul and that which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it according to its actions.

Finally, al-Ḳurṭubī reduces considerably, but not entirely, the dependence on interpretations and especially elucidations based on accounts furnished by rabbinical legends, apocryphal gospels and other equally unreliable sources. Thus he makes very little use of the *isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*], unlike al-Ṭabarī and even al-Rāzī.

Bibliography: Given in the article. The *Tafsīr* is quoted according to the 3rd Cairo edition (*Dār al-Kutub*), 1387/1967. (R. Arnaldez)

AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Saʿdūn al-Azdī, poet and Mālikī jurist, born in Cordova in 486/1093. He travelled extensively in the east, visiting Cairo, Baghdād and Damascus for the purpose of study. He died in Mawṣil on the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr in 567/1172. His chief surviving literary works are

Dalāʾil al-aḥkām, *ʿAḳīdat al-Imām ʿAlī*, and the poem on Muslim religious observances, the *Urdjūzat al-wildān*, also known as *al-Muḳaddima al-Ḳurṭubiyya*, for which he is best known. The *Urdjūza* sets out in summary form the basic observances of the five "Pillars of Islam" in rhyming couplets designed to be easy for children to memorise, but the contents of the poem are in no way simplified for the juvenile reader. The eighteen *abwāb* into which the *Urdjūza* is divided deal both with the obligatory rul (*farāʾiḍ*) connected with each observance, and with rules which are recommended but not obligatory (*sunan*).

The *Urdjūza* has been the subject of two commentaries, those of Aḥmad b. Zarrūḳ al-Fāsī (died 898/1493) and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khālid al-Tatāʾī (died 941/1535).

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(R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young)

ḲŪṢ, a town of Upper Egypt situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, some 30 km. to the north of the ruins of Thebes (al-Aḳsur/Luxor) where the course of the river is at its closest point to the Red Sea, or about 200 km. from Ḳusayr [*q.v.*].

This large village with a Coptic name, first called Ksa or Ksi (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, v, Cairo 1928, 178) seems to have become a more important place with the name Apollinopolis Parva in the Ptolemaic age, when the Greek sovereigns of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. undertook to develop commercial contacts between Egypt and Arabia Felix and the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, and favoured the building-up in this region of various centres to the detriment of what was left of Thebes. The remains of the small Ptolemaic temple are still visible in the town. Under the Roman domination, Apollinopolis Parva was, like Coptos/Ḳifṭ [*q.v.*], although to a lesser degree, the terminus of the caravan route from Berenice; it took the name Diocletianopolis towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. A bishop of the town is mentioned among those present at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Greek residents would appear to have been in a minority, and when the pressure exerted by nomadic peoples between the Nile and the Red Sea brought to an end contacts with the east and caused a decline of urban life, the town reverted to its Egyptian name (in Coptic form, Kôs) more than a century before the Arab conquest; this name was retained, transcribed into Arabic as Ḳūṣ. In the organisation of Arab Egypt, it belonged first to the *kūra* of Ḳifṭ and al-Aḳsur. A rampart was constructed in about 212/827 to protect the urban area against the attacks of the Bedja [*q.v.*].

Subsequently the town developed: al-Yaʿḳūbī noted towards the end of this century that it had taken the place of al-Aḳsur (*Buldān*, BGA, vii, 334, tr. Wiet, 188) and according to al-Masʿūdī, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, it had taken the place of Ḳifṭ (*Murūdj*, iii, 50 = § 893). The reason for this prosperity must doubtless be attributed to the trading of its merchants with Nubia; its administrative status, however, did not change, because the population of the town was basically Christian, and the Muslim community was comparatively small. Under the Fāṭimids, the restoration of contacts with the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, especially ʿAydhab [*q.v.*] brought advantages, at first most notably to Uswān [*q.v.*], where goods unloaded at ʿAydhab joined the Nile. But at the time of the serious crisis experienced by the Fāṭimid caliphate in the mid-5th/11th century, the occupation of the region of Uswān by the negro troops who took refuge there after being expelled from the capital, after 459/1067, and the revolt of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, disrupted commercial traffic until the restoration of order by the vizier Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] in 469/1077; the traders then adopted the practice of joining the Nile at Ḳūṣ, thus avoiding the extreme south of Upper Egypt, where Uswān began to decline. The governor of the Upper Ṣaʿīd, given the task of maintaining order in the region, installed himself in the town which became the new capital of the south and a point of surveillance on the situation in the Red Sea. Ḳūṣ was henceforward an important market on the major trade-route with the Far East, frequently mentioned in the documents of the Geniza of Cairo on account of the presence of a Jewish community providing a staging-post for these exchanges.

The establishment in Palestine of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which cut the normal route of the Pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz, deflected towards Ḳūṣ a large proportion of the pilgrims (who used to embark at ʿAydhāb, which lies opposite Mecca) and added still further to the increase of traffic. A mint was established there in 516/1122 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 93) and no doubt continued to function there until the arrival of the Ayyūbids. In the troubled times that marked the decline of the Fāṭimid caliphate, the role of the governor of the Upper Ṣaʿīd was seen as "the most important post after the vizierate" (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 191) and an ante-room of power, to which the careers of the viziers Riḍwān and Shāwar also bear witness.

In 550/1155, Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzayḳ ordered the construction of the mosque and gave to the town one of the finest *minbars* of the Fāṭimid epoch; the Muslim community grew, apparently through the installation of families from Uswān and Isnā; but the town continued to have a Christian majority.

The abolition of the Shīʿī Fāṭimid caliphate seems to have been strongly felt; from 562/1167, Ḳūṣ was besieged by the Sunnī troops of Shīrkūh, who did not succeed in capturing the town, and it seems to have been affected by the revolts in Upper Egypt that followed Saladin's accession to power in Cairo. However, when the Ayyūbids reverted to the policies of the Fāṭimids in the area of the Red Sea, the growth of Ḳūṣ continued. It served as a point of arrival for Yemenī traders in Egypt and it was a staging-post for the merchants of the "Alexandrian Kārim" (al-Nuwayrī [see KĀRIMĪ]). This flow of wealth into the town was reflected in the agricultural prosperity of the surrounding countryside, where the growing of sugar-cane was developed, and Ḳūṣ became a centre for sugar production. The urban area outgrew its fortifications, and in the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt considered it the third city of Egypt, after Cairo and Alexandria (*Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 362). Cultural life developed; the poets Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr spent part of their lives in Ḳūṣ. The town was nevertheless unable to play the part of a regional capital because the minds of the growing Muslim community of Ḳūṣ were not reconciled to Sunnī

Islam: the influence of the Sunnī counter-reformation promoted by the pietist school in the neighbouring town of Ḳinā [*q.v.*] led to the founding of the first *madrasa* of Ḳūṣ in 607/1210. Henceforward Ḳūṣ became in its turn a centre for the propagation of Sunnī Islam in Upper Egypt.

It is under the Baḥrī Mamlūks that the town seems to have reached its zenith, even though the inclusion of Egypt in a political unity embracing the Syrian states had long ago deprived the governors of Ḳūṣ of the power that they had enjoyed in the last days of the Fāṭimid caliphate. The expeditions mounted against the Christian kingdom of Nubia in the last quarter of the 7th/13th century and at the beginning of the 8th/14th one contributed to the maintenance of a strategic role for the town, its main function being to control the highways of the South.

Doubtless following the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and especially since the start of the Mamlūk period, the pilgrims to the Ḥidjāz for the most part reverted to the route via the Gulf of Suez, but a certain number continued to use the ʿAydhāb route, and traders still frequented it. Ḳūṣ was then known to Europeans as a staging-post in the transporting of spices. The profits from large-scale commerce, but also from urban craftsmanship (textiles in particular), created the wealth of its markets. The Christian community continued to be important and perfectly integrated into the Mamlūk state (they were employed in the administration of the funds of the sultans and *amīrs*); it was during this period that Athanasius of Ḳūṣ drafted in Arabic his grammar of the Coptic language. But the Muslim community now played a dominant role. Nothing, however, of an architectural nature remains of the Muslim city which seems to have developed around the ancient town, never penetrating the Christian enclave with its churches, grouped round the Pharaonic temple; this is because the severe post-mediaeval decline affected this peripheral zone first. The names are known, however, of some fifteen places of education, *madrasas* or mosques, including a *dār al-ḥadīth*, whose Sunnī Muslim teaching was felt throughout Upper Egypt, eliminating the last traces of Shīʿism which in the Mamlūk period continued to hold out only in Udfū, creating a movement of people from the minor centres of the province to Ḳūṣ, and from Ḳūṣ to Cairo, and ultimately spreading Islamic culture in Upper Egypt to an unprecedented extent. The Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd al-Ḳushayrī, al-Nuwayrī and al-Udfuwī were the products of this social and cultural phenomenon.

The factors which had assisted the expansion of the town disappeared altogether towards the end of the Baḥrī period and at the beginning of the Circassian era. The fight against the Arab tribes, constantly growing in strength since the disappearance of Christian Nubia permitted them useful access towards the upper Nile valley and Sudanese Africa, necessitated the dispatching and then the maintenance of military units at other points of the valley, especially at Asyūṭ [*q.v.*], from the middle of the 8th/14th century. On account of changes affecting the equilibrum between the Arab tribes controlling the highways, the use of the route from ʿAydhāb to Ḳūṣ came to be endangered following the disorders of 767/1365-6; goods still had to be transported to Ḳūṣ via Ḳuṣayr until, faced with the instability prevailing over Mamlūk territory as a result of the decline of the administration of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, the traders decided to avoid Upper Egypt, unloading their wares at Ṭūr in the Sinai peninsula, closer to the Mediterranean. This occurred perhaps from 776/1374-5 onwards, the date at which a serious drought affected Ḳūṣ and the surrounding region. (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 300).

Henceforward, the major commerce of the spice trade only occasionally passed through Ḳūṣ. The town, living on its assets, nevertheless remained probably the most important urban centre of Upper Egypt until the catastrophic crisis at the start of the 9th/15th century: famine, epidemic and political upheaval. According to al-Maḳrīzī, the plague of 808/1405-6 killed 17,000 people at Ḳūṣ (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 124), or a large section of the population. In the unfavourable demographic context of the 9th/15th century, and in view of the total transformation of the regional framework which had formerly promoted the prosperity of the town, this destruction of the fabric of the town proved irreparable. When the Mamlūk state had succeeded in surmounting the problems of the early decades of the century, at least from the time of the sultanate of Barsbāy [*q.v.*] onwards, the governor of Ḳūṣ was nothing more than a secondary figure under the authority of the *kāshif* of Asyūṭ. A section of the Muslim élite apparently left this declining city, and the proportion of the population formed by Christians began to rise once more, in an Upper Egypt no longer invigorated by commerce of any kind and henceforward less Islamised then the rest of the country. Commercial relations, on a reduced scale, with the Red Sea through the Ḳuṣayr highway, now tended to be directed from Ḳinā, and not from Ḳūṣ; it was to Ḳinā that the *ḳāḍī* was transferred after the Ottoman conquest. The major regional centre was henceforward Girga [*q.v.*], where the Hawwāri Bedouins [*q.v.*] settled; their hegemony was gradually established over the region in the course of the 9th/15th century and was to be maintained until the end of the 18th century. The material ruin of the mediaeval Muslim urban cadre seems to have been essentially brought about during the 17th century, a period when the city, although the seat of a *kāshif*, appears to have sunk to its lowest depths of degradation and dilapidation. It only recovered a certain degree of vitality in the second half of the 18th century, although the population numbered only 5,000 at the time of the French expedition.

The renewal of the town dates from the end of the 19th century. The swelling of the population following the rural exodus to towns, the opening-up of the town towards the outside world by means of education dispensed by foreign missions and the Egyptian state, and the installation of a modern sugar-producing industry, have brought about the rebirth of a expansive urban area, where, apart from a few isolated remains, nothing bears witness to the ancient mediaeval centre.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

KŪS OWASİ [see ḳoṣowa].

ḲUSANṬĪNA [see ḳusṭanṭīna].

al-**ḲUSANṬĪNĪ** (in dialect Ḳsentīnī, in French Ksentini) Rashīd, Algerian dramatist, comic actor and song-writer. Under his real name Ibn al-Akhḍar (pronounced Bel-Lakhḍar) he was born on 11 November 1887 at Bouzarea (a surburb of Algiers). His father, a shoemaker, was a native of Constantine. As a child he attended a Ḳurʾānic school, where his

progress was mediocre, and he learned French in the street. Some years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker. In 1909 he married one of his cousins by whom he had two daughters, both dying in infancy. Having grown up in a class of petty Algerian artisans, nostalgic for the past and constantly on the verge of poverty, al-Ḳusanṭīnī inherited a dual legacy of bitterness and failure. He felt ill at ease in his milieu, from which he brusquely broke away in 1914, abandoning his wife and setting out to travel the world. During the first months of the war he worked as a merchant seaman; Marseilles, Malta, Salonica, India, China and America were all to be visited in turn by this son of the Mediterranean, this bit of a "card", insatiably curious, interested in everything but attached to nothing.

Four years later he returned to France, where he worked for a while in a factory in Normandy and married a Frenchwoman. In 1920 he moved to Paris and obtained employment as a cabinetmaker in the workshop of a large store. It was at this time that he began attending theatres and he even played a number of walk-on parts, in particular at the Alhambra, the Châtelet and the Odéon.

Returning to Algiers in 1926, he rapidly became friendly with some amateur comic actors (ʿAllalū, Daḥmūn, Bash Djarrāḥ), and, a few months later, he appeared in public for the first time in a play by ʿAllalū, *Bou Akline* (*Bū ʿAklīn*), a play which owed its success to his flair for energetic bufoonery. From the very start he made a powerful impression, with his innate acting talent and his unusual gift for improvisation, expressing himself not only with his face but with his whole body, from head to foot; he was all movement. His silhouette, his mime, the twinkle of his eye, the unexpected laugh gave a sharp edge to each response emphasising the word, with an incomparable shaft of humour. To call him a comedian would be an understatement; he was a spectacle.

In fact, he was still not sure at this time how to make his own entry into the threatre, and his first attempt—*al-ʿAhd al-wāfī*, "The promise kept", a drama in three acts performed in Algiers in March 1927, was far from being a masterpiece. After this failure, he was luckier the following year with a comedy (*Bū Bōṛma*), which was warmly received by the Algerian public.

Over the next ten years, al-Ḳusanṭīnī was to compose, stage and act in twenty-five plays, as well as a number of farces, most of which have been lost. In this brief space of time he chalked up a number of important dates in the history of the young Algerian theatre. In fact, his successes were as varied as were the responses of the public and the critics, and the conditions under which the plays were staged. Even the settings varied: sometimes the municipal theatre of Algiers, Constantine or Oran, sometimes a cinema auditorium, sometimes, in a rural district, a hastily-adapted barn. Furthermore, these performances generally gave only a meagre profit to the author and his colleagues, actors, singers, dancers and musicians.

During this same period, al-Ḳusanṭīnī played minor roles in French films like *Sarati le Terrible* and *Pépé le Moko*, alongside Harry Baur and Jean Gabin.

After 1938 he practically stopped writing for the stage, but, deeply attached to his profession, he was acting in the plays of his successor, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Bāsh Ṭarzī, almost to his last day. He died in Algiers on 2 July 1944, having lived for close on twenty years the somewhat austere existence of the milieu to which he belonged; he was however, a straightforward man, generous and sincere, an enemy of all forced pretence and all hypocrisy.

Written in Algerian dialect and almost entirely unpublished, al-Ḳusanṭīnī's work covers a wide variety of genres. But in spite of the diversity of form, the central core is one of powerful originality. His work comprises:

(a) Approximately two hundred satirical songs, for the most part on moral and social themes, often written as parodies of well-known Arabic and French songs. About a hundred have been recorded on disc. The most successful of these are: *Mən taḥt l-oʿdjār*, "Under the veil"; *Wlīd l-blād*, "The father's son"; *Ḳālā ḳulnā* "The gossips"; *Bīh grello* "That gives him the itch"; *Djārī Sīd-Aḥməd* "My cousin Sid Ahmad"; *Z-zmān tbəddəl* "Times have changed";

(b) About thirty sketches, composed of series of humorous and entertaining scenes with two or three characters, accompanied by songs, in a realistic setting, that of the Algerian petit-bourgeoisie, whose foibles and vices are energetically satirised. Half of these have been recorded on disc: the peasant before the judge, the rustic and the man-about-town, the drunkard, the old man and the old woman, the old woman and the ghost, the mysterious table, the unwilling sportsman Bachir, etc.

(c) Twenty-five stage-plays, listed below in chronological order: 1. *al-ʿAhd al-wāfī* (see above); 2. *Bū Bōṛma*, comedy in three acts, Algiers, 22 March 1928; 3. *Zeghirebbane ou les deux mangeurs de haschisch et le fils du roi* (*Zrirabbān*), comedy in three acts, Algiers, 15 February 1929; 4. *Tūnəs w-əl-Djazāʾir*, "Tunis-Algiers", revue in two acts, Algiers, 11 March 1929; 5. *Khūdh ktābī* "Take my book", comedy in three acts, Blida, 13 November 1929; 6. *Bābā Ḳaddūr əṭ-ṭəmmāʿ* "Bābā Kaddour the Envious", or "My cousin from Istanbul", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 20 December 1929; 7. *Lundja 'l-Andalusiyya*, comedy in five acts, Algiers, 28 February 1930; 8. *Shədd rūḥək* "Take care!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 January 1931; 9. *Thukba f-əl-arḍ* "A hole in the ground", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 18 February 1931; 10. *Čənəč* "Carry on talking!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 11 January 1932; 11. *Bū Səbsī* "The man with the pipe", comedy in three acts. Algiers, 18 January 1932; 12. *ʿAysha w-Bēndū*, comedy in four acts, Algiers, 22 January 1932; 13. *al-Murṣṭān*, "The lunatic asylum", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 January 1932; 14. *Fāḳū* "They woke up!", revue in two acts and twelve tableaux, Algiers, 5 February 1932; 15. *Yā rāsi yā rāshā* "It's her or it's me!", comedy in two acts, Algiers, 7 February 1932; 16. *Zīd aʿlīh* "Outdo him!", melodrama in three acts, Algiers, 2 January 1933; 17. *Aḷḷāh yəstərnā*, "Allah protect us!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 23 January 1933; 18. *Bābā Shīkh*, comedy in three acts, April 1933; 19. *Təkhīr əz-zmān*, "The time is ripe", comedy in three acts, Mascara, 1933; 20. *Khūdnī b-əs-sīf*, "Take me by force!" comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934; 21. *Sbābī djārī* "It's my neighbour's fault!", comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934; 22. *Shədd mlīḥ* "Hold tight!", comedy in two acts, Orléansville, May 1935; 23. *Ḳaṣba Ūtīl*, comedy in two acts, Fez, 1936; 24. *Yā ḥasra ʿlīk*, "All this trouble you're causing me!", melodrama in three acts, Bougie, 3 July 1936 (inspired by Marcel Pagnol's film *Angèle*); 25. *Ash ḳālū* "What are they saying?", comedy in three acts, Blida, 19 February 1938.

The theatrical work of al-Ḳusanṭīnī thus presents a rich variety. It is in fact possible to classify his plays as: drama (1); melodramas (2); revues (2);

farces (8), which were performed at public festivals and whose essential object was to entertain the spectators; moral comedies (7), where the author satirises Algerian society; and finally, comedies of character (5), which describe the failings and vices of humanity. But it is clear that such a classification cannot be absolute, since all these elements, or at least the majority of them, combine, to varying degrees, in each play: there is a plot, simple to the point of being negligible, a depicting of morals and a description of human nature in general, set in motion with the full panoply of sarcasm, with man as a prey to a quasi-tragic contradiction, represented by the blunt and malicious rustic, or one of his rivals, the vagabond, the insecure, the unfortunate, condemned to do battle in the jungle of society and struggling there in his own way, clumsily, nervously, sometimes craftily, his conscience never easy, but at the same time anxious for respectability, secretly longing to integrate himself in the world which rejects him, always ready to accept the situation that presents itself, and even more than this, to be excited by outward appearances, as a means of approaching reality; in short, a Charlie Chaplin figure, drinking anisette and munching Barbary figs.

The comedy of al-Ḳusanṭīnī depends to some extent on the characters, but more frequently on the situations, and also on the wit of the dialogue, which in most cases is not included simply for its own sake, but with the object of throwing light on a character.

However, without being totally pessimistic, the themes tackled by al-Ḳusanṭīnī are not primarily light-hearted—a fact not uncharacteristic of a humorist. We find here the naïve provincial cheated by flatterers and mischievous servants, vain bourgeois merchants exploited by swindlers, egotistical parents sacrificing the well-being of their children for their own interests or for social traditions, etc. But this gloom, which should not be exaggerated and which al-Ḳusanṭīnī, a keen observer, has drawn from his own experience of life, is always concealed beneath his comic sense. At the moment where comedy is in danger of turning into tragedy, farce intervenes, with its sometimes rather crude elements, and brings back the laughter. Predictably, under these circumstances, the dénouements tend to be happy. Al-Ḳusanṭīnī is no more concerned than was Molière in making his endings plausible. Often, in fact, the dénouement should logically be an unhappy one; but then it would no longer be a comedy.

Al-Ḳusanṭīnī is a comic author and not a philosopher. It is vain to attempt the discovery of a coordinated doctrine in his works. However, it is not impossible to draw from his plays a group of ideas which make up what might be called a system of morality.

Everything which is contrary to nature and hostile to reason is anathema to al-Ḳusanṭīnī: the prejudices which trap Algerian society in a stifling traditionalism, the superstitions which divert the faithful from true piety, the hypocritical distortion of religion to favour the machinations of corrupt individuals and profiteers, and the greed which transforms man into a kind of moral monster. Conversely, he is eager to spring to the defence of the young, even when they are not totally irreproachable.

It is clear that such a philosophy might appear to be a somewhat superficial approach to the problems; nevertheless, the fact remains that it is a philosophy closely linked to the life experienced by the mass of Algerians between the First and Second World Wars, concerned with the images that people saw around them every day, in the street as well as within their families, and this is fairly remarkable.

Al-Ḳusanṭīnī confined himself in general to making rough drafts, sketching out his ideas, laying down the simple foundations of what was to become a play on the stage. His style also reflects this improvisation: it is a comedy style, meaning that it commends itself better to performance than to reading. It is admirably suited to its purpose, natural, alive, full of ingenious features and significant images, always pleasing and witty, often provocative.

In his satirical verses, which by contrast were written before being sung, the phrases are short and staccato, punctuated by exclamations and rhetorical appeals; it could be said that they represent an almost breathless approach to the pursuit of emotion.

In conclusion, it is thanks to al-Ḳusanṭīnī that Arabic comedy rose for the first time in Algeria to heights similar to those attained, for example, in Athens with Aristophanes, in Rome with Plautus and Terence, and in France with Georges Courteline.

For his high qualities of theme and of form, in drama as well as in his satirical songs, al-Ḳusanṭīnī deserves to be long remembered.

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KUSAYLA b. Lamzam, or Kasīla was, in the tradition of the Massinissa and of Jugurtha, one of the most eminent figures in the struggle of the Berbers to preserve their independence. In 55/674, at the time when the *mawlā* Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār came from Egypt to replace ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ as governor of the recently-conquered province of the Maghrib, Kusayla was certainly "king" of the Awraba, a broad alliance of tribes of the Barānis group, for the most part sedentary. The territory of the Awraba was centred at that time on the region of Tlemcen, called Pomaria in antiquity, and it probably stretched from west of the Aurès range to Walīla (= Volubilis) to the north of Fez. It may be recalled that Idrīs [*q.v.*] was brought to power by the Awraba of Walīla. At the time of the conquest, the majority of the latter were no doubt Christianised. In fact, according to al-Bakrī their

capital Tlemcen maintained, along with the features of its ancient civilisation, a large Christian population until the 5th/11th century. It was at Tlemcen that Abu 'l-Muhādjir was confronted by Kusayla. The new governor, preferring a policy of conciliation to one of force, took the opportunity of making an ally of the "king" of the Awraba. Kusayla became converted to Islam and henceforward lived with Abu 'l-Muhādjir at Takerwān which had replaced the capital founded by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, and the name of which, by its prefix, symbolised a full scheme of Arab-Berber agreement.

The death of the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muʿāwiya, led to a change of policy. In 62/681 ʿUḳba set out once again for Ifrīḳiya, dreaming only of vengeance and a great *djihād*. With him, the policy of subjugating the Berbers by force took on a new lease of life. His first act was to put Abu 'l-Muhādjir in irons, to take Kusayla prisoner, and to re-instate as the capital, with its former name, the place which he had initially selected for the purpose during his first term of authority. Subsequently, forcing Abu 'l-Muhādjir and Kusayla to accompany him, he embarked on the major expedition which was supposed to take him—there is no serious reason to doubt it—as far as the Atlantic. On the way, in spite of the warning of Abu 'l-Muhādjir, he went out of his way to humiliate the Berber "king". We are familiar with the typical scene, described in all the sources, where ʿUḳba, as a means of humiliating Kusayla, forces him to skin a sheep in his presence.

In the early stages, the lightning campaign that he initiated, the more unexpected in that it followed the policy of peace and conciliation of his predecessor, seems to have had the advantage of surprise, which explains, in part at least, his initial decisive success. But resistance soon became organised. In fact, ʿUḳba made no major conquest. The Barānis, the most romanised of the Berbers, allied themselves with the Byzantines. The Awraba secretly made contact with Kusayla, their chief. He—it is not known from where—escaped from detention under ʿUḳba, and assumed leadership of the resistance. Over-confident in his successes, did ʿUḳba for his part, as all the sources assert, commit the foolish error of sending the bulk of his troops towards al-Ḳayrawān, keeping with him only a handful of men, some of three hundred horsemen? Was there an over-riding need to relieve the capital threatened by the Byzantines? Or was this more simply a question of an act of indiscipline on the part of soldiers exhausted by a long and tedious campaign? Whatever the case may have been, to the south of Biskra, at Tahūda (= Thabudeos), ʿUḳba found himself confronted by Kusayla at the head of powerful Barānis and Byzantine contingents. Here he found, along with all his men, including Abu 'l-Muhādjir, the epic and spectacular death of which he dreamed and which perpetuated his legend. A mausoleum, that of Sīdī ʿUḳba, was erected on the site of the battlefield and became a centre for pilgrimage which is still revered today.

At al-Ḳayrawān, there was panic, which illustrates the importance of Kusayla's victory and especially the strength of his forces. The idea of evacuating the country, proposed by Ḥanash al-Ṣanʿānī, finally prevailed over that of resistance, supported by Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī. So the army withdrew. But al-Ḳayrawān did not lose the whole of its Arab and Muslim population. It had already advanced beyond the status of a simple military camp, a fact which deserves underlining. Between the years 64-9/683-8, it became the capital of a huge Berber kingdom ruled by Kusayla. Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, i, 31) notes that: "Kusayla granted *amān* to the Muslims who had stayed in al-Ḳayrawān. He established himself there as sovereign (*amīr*) of all the inhabitants of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib, including the Muslims present in that area." Hence no xenophobia, no persecution, no religious fanaticism. We may underline this fact, reported by witnesses who had no cause to flatter their adversaries. Kusayla himself, we are assured, took care not to renounce Islam after his victory. These measures are sure evidence of a political programme designed to deprive the Arabs of any religious pretext for invading the Maghrib once again.

But the wave of conquest was not yet exhausted. When the crisis which arose in the East with the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr had abated, Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī set out for Ifrīḳiya with a strong army. Kusayla, who was not sure of the conditions prevailing at his rear in al-Ḳayrawān, chose to go and wait for his enemy at Mams, 50 km. to the west of the capital, thus in a region where mountains could offer refuge in the event of defeat. The battle, in which he lost his life, went against him. But it should not be believed that it was as decisive as our sources claim. In fact, although victorious, Zuhayr preferred to evacuate the region again, so as not to succumb to the good things of this world, so we are told. In turn, he met his death on the return journey, at Barḳa where the Byzantines had effected a landing. Was this supposed to be a combined operation, designed to catch the Arabs in the Ifrīḳiyan trap, a plan which failed because of poor co-ordination? If Kusayla's attempt to found a great empire governed from the city founded by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ had succeeded, the history of the Maghrib would certainly have taken a different turn. But were the Berbers ripe then for such a scheme? With al-Kāhina [*q.v.*], the torch of resistance passed subsequently to the Buṭr, but with no more lasting success.

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(M. Talbi)

ḲUṢAYR, a port situated on the African

shore of the Red Sea, a little to the north of lat. 26°. A gap in the madreporic barrier which runs along the coast (A. Prompt, *La vallée du Nil*, in *Bull. de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd ser., 1891) has allowed at various periods of history the utilisation of this anchorage which, by virtue of the sweep described by the Nile towards the east at the level of Ḳifṭ, Ḳūṣ and Ḳinā [*q.vv.*], is in fact the nearest access from the sea to the Nile (about 200 km.).

Remains of works from the period of the Middle Kingdom and from Ptolemaic times (P. Jouguet, in *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iii, 94-5) show that the site was used from ancient times onwards, although it lost its importance in the Roman period when, because of difficulties in navigation through the Red Sea to Suez, landing was preferred on the coast further to the south, at the port of Berenice, in the neighbourhood of the future ʿAyd̲h̲āb, despite the increased distance along the track between the sea and the Nile thereby required (G. W. Murray, *The Roman roads and stations and the Eastern Desert of Egypt*, in *Jnal. of Egyptian archaeology*, xi [1925]). Towards the end of the Romano-Byzantine period, inadequate control of the regions through which this more southerly road passed probably brought Ḳuṣayr an increased importance, and at the opening of the Islamic period it served as a port of embarkation for pilgrims travelling to the Ḥid̲j̲āz.

However, when the Fāṭimid caliphate in Cairo revived the ancient traffic of Greco-Roman times with the Yemen and the Indian Ocean shore lands, the security which was re-established in the mountainous desert between the Nile and the Red Sea favoured the use once more of the southerly route to ʿAyd̲h̲āb, a port which was moreover more or less opposite the holy places of the Ḥid̲j̲āz. From the end of the 5th/11th century, the installation of the capital of Upper Egypt at Ḳūṣ nevertheless brought a certain amount of traffic to Ḳuṣayr, even if it was still much less important than that of ʿAyd̲h̲āb. Whilst ʿAyd̲h̲āb was over two weeks' journey from Ḳūṣ, Ḳuṣayr is given as only three days' journey from it, and is described as "the port of Ḳūṣ". In the Mamlūk period, naval units intended to maintain Mamlūk control over the Red Sea were stationed there, and some commercial operations were conducted through Ḳuṣayr. The western portolans of the 14th century mix up, however, Ḳūṣ and Ḳuṣayr (which last they pinpoint correctly but call "Chôs"). The revival of Ḳuṣayr increased in tempo after 767/1365-6 when the abandoning of the ʿAyd̲h̲āb road, by now increasingly unsure, brought about the decline of the latter port, from which large-scale commerce now turned away; but after some fifty years, it was Ṭūr, on the Sinai peninsula, which inherited the role of ʿAyd̲h̲āb as the main spices port on the Red Sea.

The local importance of Ḳuṣayr continued to grow in the 9th/15th century. Apart from the fact that the spice merchants sometimes still used it as a port of disembarkation, Ḳuṣayr became the main outlet for Upper Egypt on to the Red Sea. Corn exported to the Ḥid̲j̲āz travelled via Ḳuṣayr, which had become the departure port for the Pilgrimage and whence one could also travel to the ports of Ethiopia. The inconspicuous Christian missions which tried to establish relations with the Negus of Ethiopia set off from Ḳuṣayr, and Fra Mauro's map of 1460 gives it the name of "Cuser" (the site of ʿAyd̲h̲āb further to the south symptomatically received that of "Chaser"). Ḳuṣayr's primacy was all the more firmly established because the economic centre of gravity of the Upper Ṣaʿīd was from this time onwards fixed in the northern part of the province. The beginning of the Ottoman occupation saw the rise of Ḳinā, which replaced Ḳūṣ as the regional centre and also, it seems, as the main departure point for Ḳuṣayr. The greater part of commercial traffic continued to consist of corn, continuously despatched to the Ḥid̲j̲āz, and of coffee imported from the Yemen. In the 18th century, Hawwāra control over Upper Egypt did not harm the port's traffic, in fact the reverse, since Ḳuṣayr's situation along the route to the Indies attracted the attention of the French and British as much as that of the Beys of Cairo. Bonaparte's soldiers found at Ḳuṣayr an agglomeration essentially made up of stalls open to the sky, with a very scanty permanent population (this being also the case with ʿAyd̲h̲āb in his time), and with Ḥid̲j̲āzī influence very strong (*Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, i, 193-202). Under Muḥammad ʿAlī, buildings for the Egyptian government were again set up at Ḳuṣayr. The small town became one of the district centres of the province of Ḳinā. The pilgrim traffic remained each year the main source of activity for the port, but after 1859 the Pilgrimage traffic was deflected to Suez. At the time of the 1897 census, Ḳuṣayr had *ca.* 1,802 inhabitants.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

ḲUṢAYR ʿAMRA [see ARCHITECTURE].

ḲUṢAYY, an ancestor of Muḥammad in the fifth generation and restorer of the pre-Islamic cult of the Kaʿba in Mecca.

His genealogy is unanimously given in all sources as Ḳuṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Fihr or Ḳurays̲h̲ b. G̲h̲ālib (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, Tab. 4), and his life and exploits are recorded by our sources in three recensions which only differ from each other in trifling details; these go back to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146/763-4), Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. D̲j̲urayd̲j̲ al-Makkī (d. 150/767). Ḳuṣayy is represented, like the usual legendary type of hero who founds a city, as having passed his childhood and youth far from his native land and in obscurity: a younger son of Kilāb b. Murra, a descendant of the Ḳurays̲h̲ whose supremacy in Mecca had been replaced by that of the Banū K̲h̲uzāʿa, he loses his father soon after his birth and is taken by his mother Fāṭima bint Saʿd b. Sayāl who had married again, her second husband being a member of the tribe of Banū ʿUd̲h̲ra, to that new husband's tribe in the north of the Arabian Peninsula (in the neighbourhood of Sarg̲h̲, according to Ibn al-Kalbī [in Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 36, 26] a place on the Syrian frontier of the Ḥid̲j̲āz, near Tabūk [Yāḳūt, iii, 77], or right into Syrian territory near Yarmūk [al-Bakrī, 773]); here his original name of Zayd was changed to Ḳuṣayy from the root *ḳ-ṣ-y*, "to go far away". Having learned his true origin from his mother, he returned to Mecca where as a result of his marriage with Ḥubbā, the daughter of the K̲h̲uzāʿī chief Ḥulayl b. Ḥubs̲h̲iyya, who controlled all the arrangements for the worship of the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage, he soon acquired an important position in the city. On the death of his father-in-law, Ḳuṣayy managed to succeed him in his offices, either after a long struggle with the K̲h̲uzāʿa, or as a less reliable tradition has it by means of a tricky bargain which he made with (Abū) G̲h̲ubs̲h̲ān, with the son or only some more distant

relative of Ḥulayl (cf. Ibn Durayd, *al-Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, 277, 7 with 282, 2). The detailed narrative of the events which brought Ḳuṣayy to fame is given in the article K̲h̲uzāʿa.

Becoming master of Mecca and guardian of the Kaʿba, Ḳuṣayy rebuilt the latter and organised its worship; he united the clans of the Ḳurays̲h̲, who were previously scattered, into a solid body which assured them the mastery of the town for the future; indeed it is even said that it was on this account that the name Ḳurays̲h̲ (from *taḳarras̲h̲a*, "to combine") replaced the old name Banu 'l-Naḍr; Ḳuṣayy is said to have been called *al-Mud̲j̲ammiʿ* "the re-uniter". On his death, the sacred offices that had become his perquisites, were inherited by his four sons ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and ʿAbd Ḳuṣayy, the second of whom through his son Hās̲h̲im was the direct ancestor of the Prophet. The house which Ḳuṣayy had built himself quite close to the Kaʿba was henceforth the centre of the civil and religious functions of the Ḳurays̲h̲ under the name *Dār al-Nadwa*. To Ḳuṣayy is also attributed the discovery and digging of the well of al-ʿAd̲j̲ūl (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn = *Chron. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 107, below; Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 48; Yāḳūt, iii, 19-20; al-Bakrī, 646, cf. 766).

From what has been said above, it is evident that the Ḳurays̲h̲ regarded Ḳuṣayy as their true founder and the founder of the Kaʿba. The antiquity of this tradition is attested by a verse of al-Aʿs̲h̲ā (al-Bakrī, 489) and by several of Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit. Later historiography has tried to harmonise this old native tradition with the genealogical system which later became established and according to which Ḳurays̲h̲ = Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, N.) as well as with the tradition quite different in origin and character of the Abrahamic cult of the Kaʿba and its vicissitudes under the D̲j̲urhum and the K̲h̲uzāʿa. Ḳuṣayy is therefore to Mecca "what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome" (Caetani). In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say whether he should be regarded as a historical personage transformed into a hero or the mythological transfiguration of a hero. His name is found, although by no means commonly, in the Arab onomasticon: a Nahīk b. Ḳuṣayy al-Salūlī, a contemporary of Muḥammad, is mentioned by Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Usd*, vi, 14-15; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. Cairo vi, 257; the *D̲j̲amhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel, Tab. 114) mentions a Ḳuṣayy b. ʿAwf and (Tab. 125) a Ḳuṣayy b. Mālik. The fact that this name is to be recognised in the קציו of the Nabataean inscriptions and probably also in the Κουσας of a parchment from Dura on the Euphrates (cf. Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, 320) does not justify us in concluding that it is of northern origin, since as we have seen, it is found among different tribes. The tradition which makes Ḳuṣayy pass his childhood in Syria is in favour of the hypothesis which makes the worship of the Kaʿba introduced, or at least renewed, as a result of influences from the north; perhaps in some statements of tradition (e.g. al-Kalbī, quoted by Ibn Saʿd i/1, 39, 1-11) we have an echo of an actual fact, namely that on the old cult of Hubal [*q.v.*], "the idol of the K̲h̲uzāʿa" there was super-imposed that of al-ʿUzzā and Manāf-Manāt, for which we have definite evidence in Northern Arabia in particular.

In any case, the figure of Ḳuṣayy soon became legendary; his story, as we have seen, has the characteristic features of the legends of eponymous heroes; his alleged sons are only symbols of the part played by Ḳuṣayy in the religion of Mecca. If it is not quite true that he was the object of regular divine worship (the name ʿAbd al-Ḳuṣayy borne by one of his sons does not necessarily imply the divine character of the father), he was undoubtedly venerated according to the ancestor worship, which certainly existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, although we know very little about it. The eponymous hero of the people of al-Ṭāʾif, T̲h̲aḳīf, is analogous in character to Ḳuṣayy. The latter's memory remained particularly associated with the Dār al-Nadwa [*q.v.*].

Whatever the origins may be, it is certain that at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. the control of the Kaʿba and of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* was in the hands of a clan claiming descent from Ḳuṣayy and that the Ḳurays̲h̲ were agreed that he was the founder of their tribal unity. It is to be noted on the other hand that even if this clan included among its members some of the recognised chiefs of the Ḳurays̲h̲, among others the Banū Umayya, it was far from having complete political and financial control in its hands; the Banū Mak̲h̲zūm, for example, one of the most powerful families in Mecca, were not descended from Ḳuṣayy. It seems probable then that the Meccan "republic" was constituted on the initiative and under the direction of the Banū Ḳuṣayy, but that the latter were forced to admit into their social organism other clans having the same rights and privileges as themselves, although the prestige of noble blood and supremacy in religious matters always remained the exclusive prerogative of the Banū Ḳuṣayy.

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

ĶUṢDĀR, Ḳuzdār, the name of a town in mediaeval Islamic Balūčistān [*q.v.*], modern town and district of K̲h̲uzdār in the former Kalāt state [see kilāt] in Pakistan. It lies in lat. 27° 48′ N. and long 66° 37′ E. at an altitude of 4,050 feet, some 85 miles south of Kalāt; the long, narrow valley of the Kolachi River in which it is situated is strategically important as a nodal point of communications, from Karāčī and Las Bēla [*q.vv.*] in the south, from Kaččhī in the east, from Kalāt in the north, and from Makrān and K̲h̲ārān [*q.vv.*] in the west.

Ḳuṣdār was first raided by the Arabs under Sinān b. Salma al-Hud̲h̲alī, who was appointed governor over the Indian marches early in Muʿāwiya's caliphate by Ziyād b. Abīhi, and then by al-Mund̲h̲ir b. al-D̲j̲ārūd al-ʿAbdī (Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 433-4). The 4th/10th century geographers mention it, together with Kīzkānān or Ḳīḳān [see kilāt] as one of the towns of the region of Ṭūrān or Ṭuwārān, which must have lain in the east-central part of Balūčistān (see Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. *Ṭūrān*), and as being 80 *farsak̲h̲s* from al-Manṣūra in Sind. Kīzkānān is mentioned in he middle years of this century as being the residence

of the local ruler, but Ḳuṣdār is described as the chief town, with a citadel and a flourishing mercantile quarter, to which traders from Khurāsān, Kirmān and India resorted, and with fertile agricultural lands around it (Ibn Ḥawḳal², 324-6, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 317-20; Muḳaddasī, 476, 478, 486; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 123, 373; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, iv, 353; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331-2). Ḳuṣdār was certainly the seat of the local ruler by the later years of the century, the time of the rise of the early Ghaznawids, for in 367/977-8 Sebüktigin reduced the ruler of Ḳuṣdār to obedience. However, his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna had to come once more and attack Ḳuṣdār in 402/1011 and make its ruler tributary (ʿUtbī, in Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 74), and his son Masʿūd in 420-1/1030-1 also sent his uncle Yūsuf b. Sebüktigin to Ḳuṣdār and Makrān on a punitive expedition (Bayhaḳī, in R. Gelpke, *Sulṭān Masʿūd I. von Ġazna. Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft (421/1030-424/1033)*, Munich 1957, 87 ff.).

Thereafter we hear little about Ḳuṣdār. In recent times it fell within the Khānate of Kalāt. H. Pottinger visited it in 1810 and found it a small town of *ca.* 500 houses, it being the summer residence of Mīr Murād ʿAlī of the Brahūī Kambarānī tribe, brother-in-law of Maḥmud Khān of Kalāt (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 35-7). C. Masson noted a large tepe north of the town of Khuzdār, with the remains of mud walls, presumably relics of the mediaeval Ḳuṣdār (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 41-4). In 1870 a fort was constructed there and a garrison placed in it by Mīr Khudādād b. Miḥrāb Khān of Kalāt in the course of his warfare with the Djām or local ruler of Las Bēla [*q.v.*]. Khuzdār town and district now form a *taḥsīl* of the Djahlawān Subdivision of the Kalāt District of Pakistan, with a population in 1961 of 26,476.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪSH, a Biblical personage whose name appears in ch. x of Genesis in the genealogical lists of the posterity of Noaḥ (Nūḥ). According to the information in verses 6-7, Kūsh, the eldest son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Pūṭ and Kenaʿan (Kanʿān), the father of Sebāʾ, Ḥawīlāh, Sabtāʾ, Raʿmāh and Sabteka' and, by Raʿmāh, the grandfather of Shebāʾ and Dedān. Miṣrayim is Egypt, Pūṭ doubtless Libya, Kenaʿan, the land of Canaan (Palestine and Phoenicia). Most of the names of the descendants of Kūsh are to be attached to the maritime regions of the Red Sea. Sebāʾ has been identified hypothetically with the port of Saba in the Bay of Adulis on the south-west of the Red Sea, which is mentioned in Strabo (xvi, 4, 8, 10); Ḥawīlāh, which is given in Genesis xxv, 18, for the western border of the Ishmaelites' territory, has been associated with the name of the South Arabian tribe of Khwln; is Sabtah the Σαβατα of Strabo (xvi, 42), the Sabota of Pliny (vi, 155, xii, 63), the Σαββαθα of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (27)? Whatever may be the case, it is to be located in the Arabian peninsula, as Raʿmāh is placed by various authors in Ḥaḍramawt. Shebāʾ, which is not the Kingdom of Saba, is situated in the north-west of Arabia. As for Dedān, this is the oasis of al-ʿUlā, near Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, in the north-east of the Ḥidjāz.

Thus Kūsh appears to be linked by this genealogy with Arabia and the Red Sea. But in verse 8 of the same ch. x of Genesis, which seems to reflect another tradition, he is presented as the father of Nimrōd (Arabic Namrūd) with whom Mesopotamia is associated.

Indeed, in the whole text, Kūsh, as an ethnic term, in the ordinary way designates neither Arabia nor Mesopotamia, but the neighbouring populations of Egypt, on the south-west borders of the land, i.e. precisely the region which the Egyptians called Kʾsh (see also Babylonian *kūshu*, Assyrian *kūsu*, Old Persian *kūsha*). An oracle of Ezekiel (xxix, 10) also announces the destruction of the land of Egypt "from Migdol to Syene (from the extreme north to the extreme south) and as far as the frontier of Kūsh". In 2 Kings xix, 9, the Pharaoh Tirhāqāh, of the so-called Ethiopian dynasty, is called King of Kūsh. Everything leads us to suppose that Kūsh is the name of ancient Nubia, i.e. of the region which extends as a whole from the first to the fourth cataract of the Nile. The Septuagint translates it in general as Ethiopia, which, because of the value placed on the word "Ethiopian" in antiquity, is at the source of the erroneous interpretation of *kūshī* as "black" or "African".

In the Ḳurʾān, Kūsh is named no more than the sons of Nūḥ. Islamic tradition, which knew his name, however, supplies pieces of evidence which do not agree totally with one another or with the evidence of the Bible. They are all reported by al-Ṭabarī. According to some, Kūsh, son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Ḳūṭ (Biblical Pūṭ) and Kanʿān (*Annales*, i, 212, 217). But elsewhere Kūsh appears as the son, and not the brother, of Kanʿān, himself presented as a fourth son of Ḥām (i, 219, 220; see also i, 192; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 50). He is given finally as the predecessor of Kanʿān as king of the universe after the disappearance of the sons of Afrīdūn (*Chronique*, French tr. H. Zotenberg, i, 120). In all the traditions, he is the father of Namrūd, tyrant (*mutadjabbir*) of Bābil, conforming with Genesis, x, 8. But if, in the general way, the paternity of the Ḥabasha as well as those of the peoples of Sind and Hind are attributed to him, the Nubians on the other hand are never explicitly associated with him. In the genealogy supplied by al-Ṭabarī (i, 223) on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, it is from Kanʿān, brother of Kūsh, and his wife Ḳrnbyl, great-granddaughter of Yāfith, that the Nubians are descended, together with the populations of Fezzān, the Zandj, the Zaghāwa and all the Blacks (or, according to another passage, the blacks with fuzzy hair). Elsewhere (i, 216), it is Ḥām who is the only one named as the ancestor of these peoples.

The Kushitic languages.—It is from the name Kūsh that the word Kushitic is derived, under which are grouped a body of Hamito-Semitic (but not Semitic) languages spoken by about fifteen million people, the majority of them Muslims, scattered over a vast territory of almost 2 million km², within which are included the populations speaking the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. The area is constituted basically by the Horn of Africa and spreads in the north into Sudanese and Egyptian territory to around the first cataract of the Nile and in the south into Tanzania, as far as the 4th degree of latitude.

Bedja (Tu-Beḍawiye) is spoken by Muslims in the north of the area, in the northern part of Eritrea, and stretches between the Nile on the west (where it is in contact with Nubian and Arabic) and the Red Sea (where it is in contact with Semitic Tigré) as far as the environs of Ḳuṣayr. It is true that in the northern-

most part, the Muslim ʿAbābde tribes are today almost entirely Arabised. At the same time, in the south, a part of the Beni Amer (Banū ʿĀmir) nomads have abandoned Bedja for Tigré. Between these two groups are to be distinguished, with their particular dialects, in the centre the Bishari and Hadendowa, and in the south the Halenga and Arteiga.

Still further to the south, on the shores of the Red Sea, there is the area of Saho and ʿAfar, other Kushitic languages.

Saho is the language of an almost entirely Islamised population leading a pastoral existence in the south of the Massawa region in Eritrea. The Irob-Shao Christians, who constitute an enclave on the Abyssinian plateau, have partially abandoned Saho in favour of Semitic Tigrinya.

The language of the ʿAfar (Arabic Danākil) is spoken in the south of Eritrea, in the north of the region of Djibouti, and extends towards the west as far as the Awash River.

The Somali-speaking tribes who inhabit the extreme shore of the Horn at the mouth of the Tana River are also almost entirely Islamised. The most important dialects are those of the Isāk who inhabit the shore of the Gulf of Aden and the Darōd tribes at the edge of the Indian Ocean as far as the north of Kenya and who also inhabit the province of Ogaden in Ethiopia. In the north, in the territory of Djibouti and as far as Diré-Dawa in Ethiopia, it is the dialect of the ʿĪsā which is widespread.

In the valley of the Wēbi Shebelle as far as Khamar (ancient Mogadishu), it is Hawiya which dominates, while in the south, in the province of Benadir, Digil is spoken, a dialect of the Sab, also widespread in Aden among the emigrant foreigners called *Djabartis* [see DJABART].

The Oromo (whom the Europeans, adopting an Abyssinian word resented as pejorative by the natives, call Galla) at present occupy a vast territory from the centre of the Abyssinian plateau as far as the centre of Kenya (to the north of Mombasa and along the Tana River). These are on the whole pagans. Islam, however, has conquered a part of the northernmost populations. Of the dialects of the Oromo, Mača in the west, Tulamā in the north-east and Boranā in the south-east, are very close to each other. They are opposed to a southern dialect group, sc. that which constitutes the speech of the Bararetta and Kofira in Kenya.

Agaw, in the north of Ethiopia, occupies no more than a limited and fragmented territory, having for the most part given place to Semitic, sc. Tigrinya and especially Amharic. A northern Agaw dialect, Bilin, is spoken by a small Muslim population. Other dialects still in use are Khamir, Khamta, Ḳwara, Kamant and Awngy or Awiya.

To the west, a group of languages relatively close to one another covers the region of the lakes (from Zway to Shamo and Lake Rudolf) and extends into the adjacent mountainous zone (the province of Sidamo). These are Gudella or Hadiya and Kambatta in the north-west of the region in question, Alaba, Sidamo, Darasa, Burdji and Konso in the east. Generally connected with them, but without any totally compelling reason, are Gidole or Gardulla, Arbore, Galaba etc. On the other hand, there is a tendency today to consider Rendille in the north-east of Kenya, on the edge of Lake Rudolf, and Bayso in an island to the north of Lake Abaya, as projections of Somali.

In the region of Omo, one can distinguish Ometo, Dawro or Kullo, Goba, Walamo, Maruro or Gatsamba, Badittu, Zaysse, Basketto, Doko, Čara, Djandjero, Kaffečo, Anfillo, Shinasha or Gonga, etc.

In the same region, some languages, which are probably Kushitic, are spoken by Nilotic peoples, sc. Gimira, Madji and Gunza.

A Kushitic extension in Tanzania is possibly represented by Iraḳw and less probably by Mbugu.

There may be seen from this simple inventory, although it remains incomplete, the immense linguistic variety of the vast area generally considered as Kushitic. It is still very inadequately explored, and numerous tongues are known to us only by a rare and insignificant documentation. There result from this problems of classification which lead at times to calling into question the very membership in the group of some of the most anciently recognised languages. There has also been a proposal to detach from the Kushitic ensemble an Omotic group consisting essentially of the languages of the region of the Omo, and from this some authors have come to consider Bedja as a particular division of Hamito-Semitic without any special connection with Kushitic.

In so far as the existing documentation allows one to judge, such questionings appear excessive. The existence of common traits peculiar to a body which can be called Kushitic do not appear capable of being explained by simple phenomena of diffusion. But it is no longer as possible today to admit the traditional division into two groups: Lower Kushitic with Bedja, ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo, Upper Kushitic consisting of Agaw, Burdji, Sidamo and the western languages. Without attempting here to propose a real classification, for which the state of studies still gives no authority, one may to some extent rely on the characteristics of these languages to discern some particular affinities. The linguistic information which is to be supplied below can justify the following table:

A. *Northern Kushitic*: Bedja;

B. I. *Eastern and southern Kushitic*: ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo;

II. *Central Kushitic*: Agaw and languages of the region of the lakes;

C. *Western Kushitic*: languages of the region of the Omo.

The group of Eastern and Southern dialects and that of the Central dialects are closer to one another than each of the two others.

Linguistic characteristics.—These are the principal common traits in the Kushitic languages or in the majority of them.

(i) *On the phonetic plane*.—The predominant syllabic type is of the consonant + vowel form, at the beginning of a word; closed syllables of the consonant + vowel + consonant type are present especially as final syllables. In the intervocalic position, the best-tolerated consonant groups have a first liquid element or are constituted by a nasal — an oral homorganic consonant (*mb*, *nt*, etc.).

The consonant system includes in general "emphatics", most often glottalised in effect, which complete, at the same point of articulation, the orders formed by an unvoiced stop and a voiced stop, without always participating themselves in correlation of voicing. The majority of the languages also present a post-palatal order: *k*, *g*, *ḳ*, but none opposes a *g* to a *ḳ*. However, one must take account of the very frequent present of a voiced cerebral *ḍ* which can adjoin the "emphatic", unvoiced dental.

Except in some Agaw dialects which are innovative on this point, there is no distinction in the labial zone between the spirants and occlusives. Where there is

an *f*, it is not opposed to *p*, and the voiced equivalent is in general *b*, never *v*. The following table, in which the phonemes are put in parentheses, being frequently, but not in all cases, represented, will give an idea of the Kushitic consonant system:

labials: *p/f, b, m, w*;
dentals: *t, d, (ṭ), ḍ, n*;
sibilants: *s, (z)*;
palatals: *k, g, ḳ, y*;
laryngals: *h*, ʾ;
liquids: *l, r*;

The pharyngals *ḥ*, ʿ, the labio-velars *kʷ*, *gʷ*, at times *ḳʷ*, the prepalatals *č*, *dj*, at times *c*, the emphatics *ṣ* and *ṭ*, are only attested in certain languages. The minimal vowel system is triangular, with five vowels: *i, e, a, o, u*, with most often an opposition of quantity.

The majority of languages are familiar with tonal opposition, in various degrees of development. In a language like Be<u>dj</u>a, only a small number of lexemes of the CVC-form seem to bear a characteristic descending tone, capable of constituting a distinctive morphological mark, cf. *dêt* "mother": *det* "mothers", *kʷât* "sister": *kʷāt* "sisters"; but in Awiya and in Moča for example, tones play as important a role in the morphological plan as in the lexical one: (Moča) *búno* "ashes": *bùno* "coffee"; (Awiya) *ədjé* "I give": *ədjè* "he gives". Unlike the tonal schemes, the accentual schemes are not generally distinctive, except possibly in some forms where phonetic evolutions have accidentally conferred on them a differentiating role: (Bedja) *ha'ḍāb adir* "I killed a lion", *'haḍāb adir* "I killed lions".

(ii) *On the morphological plane.*—Lexemes are constituted in Kushitic by constant radicals with variable morphemes, generally suffixed: (Sidamo) *min-*: *min-ino* "he built", *min-é* "house", (Ometo) *meḍ-*: *meḍ-és* "he forms", *meḍ-a* "form"; (Somali) *ḍeḥ-*: *ḍeḥ-da* "environment", *ḍeḥ-ē* "to be between, among", *ḍeḥ-dōdi* "between". Despite some phenomena of apophony in some languages (Bedja *dir* "to kill": *dar* "to massacre", *rimid* "to avenge": *rimad* "to be revenged", the radical vowel may be considered stable in every series of derivation, as may be seen from the preceding examples.

By far the most frequent form of radical is CVC: 90% of the verbal radicals in Kaffečo, 67% in Somali. In Bedja, however, and uniquely in Bedja, it yields predominance to radicals of type CVCC or CVCVC. But analysis reveals that these roots are often derived from Semitic, and particularly from Arabic. The verbal system is based in general on the fundamental opposition of two aspects: the incompleted and completed. Conjugation is of two types. In some languages, a certain number of verbs are conjugated by means of prefixed signs. This is the case with ʿAfar, where this type of conjugation represents more than a third of all verbs, and especially with Bedja, where it represents nearly two-thirds; but Somali and Agaw have only four verbs with prefixal conjugation. For all the other verbs and in all the other languages, conjugation is suffixal. Thus the verbal forms are constituted in principle according to one of the following two schemes:

A. *Prefixal conjugation*: sign of the person + sign of the aspect/mode + verbal root + desinence of the gender and/or number. Example ʿAfar: *t-a-ḟigd* "you know" incompleted indicative); *t-i-ḟigd* "you knew" completed or perfective indicative).

B. *Suffixal conjugation*: root + sign of the aspect/mode + desinence of the gender and/or number. For example Bedja: *tám-t-én-i* "you (fem.) eat" (incompleted indicative) *tám-ta-i* "you (fem.) ate" (completed or perfective; *tam-ti-i* "(if) you were eating" (modal).

These schemes are capable of minor modifications in various languages. In particular, attention is drawn to newly-developed forms by means of suffixed morphemes. The most frequently used variable morphemes are:

— for the gender and number: *i* for the feminine singular and *n* for the plural;

— for the aspect: *a* as the sign of the incomplete is often opposed to an antecedent vowel (*ä, e, i*) for the completed or perfective, while the modal form is characterised by *u*; certain languages however, such as Bedja or Agaw, present some slightly different situations from this point of view;

— for the expression of the persons, the paradigm is the following: Sing. 1. (ʾ-) 2. *t-*, 3. masc. (*y-*), fem. *t-*; Plur. 1. *n-*, 2. *t-*, 3. (*y-*). (The forms between parentheses are often represented by *ø*). The identity of this system of signs with that of Semitic and Berber conjugation, whose very characteristics it presents (the same form in the singular for the 2nd pers. and the 3rd fem., distinct forms for the 1st pers. sing. and plur., the 1st pers. plur. being in addition deprived of the sign of number) has led to the positing of the probable hypothesis that the morphemes of aspect/mode which in the scheme follow these marks, are no more etymologically than short auxiliary verbs conjugated by means of prefixes.

The completed: incompleted opposition, with possibly a modal form, does not exhaust the complexity of the Kushitic verbal systems. Periphrastic forms, constituted by means of auxiliaries, often serve to add the expression of different aspectivo-temporal nuances such as the near past, the pluperfect and especially the "continuous-progressive" or "concomitant". Examples: ʿAfar: *tábelä tinä* (incomplete + complete of *nä* "to be") "you were engaged in looking, you were looking"; Somali: *ʿún-a* "he eats (will eat)", *ʿún-ay-a* "he is engaged in eating".

As regards their conjugation, the languages of the Omo have a separate place in the Kushitic group. The scheme there is also suffixal, but the morphemes used and their modes of combination are peculiar to them. For example, Ometo: 2nd sing. incomplete *er-ása* "you know", complete *er-ád-asa* "you knew".

The Kushitic languages distinguish various secondary verbal themes by added signs. A first method of derivation is partial or total duplication of the radical which gives the roots intensive or frequentative value: Agaw (Bilin): *dāb-* "to cover": *dābdāb* "to cover completely"; Sidamo; *ḳub* "to shake": *ḳubḳub* "to shake strongly"; Bedja: *beʾas* "to turn": *babeʾas* "to turn and turn again"; Oromo: *bēk-* "to know": *bebbēk* "to know well".

The second method is the fixing of signs to express the orientation of the process in relation to the subject: *s* (*č*, <u>sh</u>) for the causative, *t* (*ḍ*), *m*, n for the internal reflexive, the passive and the reciprocal. Hence in Bedja: *hi<u>sh</u>am* "to extend" (intrans.), *hi<u>sh</u>am-i<u>sh</u>* "to extend" (trans.); *dir* "to kill", *so-dir* "to have [someone] killed"; *tam* "to eat", *tam-am* "to be eaten"; *min* "to shave", *(a)to-man* "to be shaved". In Oromo: *čab* "to break" (intrans.), *čab-s* "to break" (trans.), *bēk-a* "he knew", *bēk-at-a* "he understood"; *arg* "to see", *arg-am* "to be seen". In Ometo: *ke* "to go out", *ke-s* "to cause to go out"; *beʾ* "to see", *beʾet* "to be seen".

One should also mention a type of verbal composition widespread in the majority of the Kushitic languages and which consists in the juxtaposition of

an invariable element (plain verbal radical, noun, interjection, onomatopoeia, etc.) and of a verb meaning "to say": ʿAfar: *hō y* "to say *ho*" = "to roar", Sidamo: *suta y* "slowly + to say" = to act slowly"; Agaw: *yik y* "down + to say" = "to lower"; Oromo: *ol gečč* "to say + up = to raise"; Ometo: *shiʾi ga* "hush + to say = to be silent".

The Kushitic languages of the centre and east have various series of pronominal forms. One of them, called "emphatic", is used especially to act as a subject. Other forms generally suffixal serve to express the complements of the verb and noun. The following tables will show both the common bases and the developments peculiar to the various languages:

"Emphatic" pronouns

	Somali (Benadir)	ʿAfar	Oromo	Awiya	Sidamo
Sing. 1	*ani*	*anū*	*áni*	*án*	*áni, ané*
2	*adi*	*atū*	*áti*	*ənt*	*áti, até*
3 mas.	*ussu*	*ússuk*	*inni*	*ŋi*	*isi, isó*
fem.	*iyyo*	*issi*	*ishin*	*ŋi*	*ise*
Plur. 1	*anu*	*nanū*	*nū(i)*	*ənnódji*	*ninke*
2	*idin*	*issīn*	*isīn(i)*	*əntódji*	*kinʾe*
3	*iyyu*	*ussún*	*isān(i)*	*ŋádji*	*inse, insa*

Attached pronouns

	Somali	ʿAfar	Oromo	Sidamo
Sing. 1	*-key*	*-yi*	*-ko, -kīya*	*-ʾya*
2 mas.	*-kā*	*-ku*	*-kē*	*-ki*
2 fem.	*-kā*	*-kā(y)*	*-kē*	*-ki*
3 mas.	*-kīs*	*-tā*	*-sa*	*-si*
fem.	*-kēd*	*-tā*	*-shi, -she*	*-si*
Plur. 1	*-keyn*	*-na*	*-kēna*	*-nke*
2	*-kīn*	*-sīn*	*-kēsan(i)*	*-nʾe*
3	*-kōd*	*-kān*	*-kēsan(i)*	*-nsa*

In Northern Kushitic (Bedja) the "emphatic" forms, apart from the first persons, appear to be clearly constituted by an invariable base with personal suffixal signs added: Sing. 1. *ani* 2. mas. *bar-i-ūk*, fem. *bat-i-ūk*, 3. mas. *bar-i-ūs*, fem. *bat-i-ūs*; plur. 1. *āni*, 2. mas. *bar-i-āk*, fem. *bat-i-āk*, 3. mas. *bar-i-ās*, fem. *bat-i-ās*.

The languages of the west have a system of their own which is well illustrated by Ometo: Sing. 1. *tā*, 2. *nē*, 3. *i*; plur. 1. *nu*, 2. *inte*, 3. *enta*.

All the Kushitic languages recognise a distinction of gender between masculine and feminine, at times in a vestigial state, as in certain languages of the west, for example. Among the varied signs which are used, the frequency of the suffixal morpheme *-t-* for the feminine should be noted. On the syntactical plane, the essential fact is the agreement of the majority of the languages on the order determinant-determined. The only exceptions are Somali and Oromo which regularly present the inverse order; in Bedja, the qualifying adjective follows the qualified noun when the latter has a definite article. But in all the languages, the dependent proposition precedes that on which it depends (except, in certain particular cases, in Bedja and Somali) and the verb is placed at the end of the phrase after the subject and the various complements.

On the lexical plane, the certain cognate forms are still relatively few in number, above all because of inadequacy of the theory of phonetic correspondences. Nevertheless, the existence of a common vocabulary can be established in several forms. Here are some examples. Bedja: *sim*, Agaw: *shun*, Sidamo: *shumʾe*, Ometo: *sun-ta*, Djandjero: *sun* "name"; Somali: *wadne*, ʿAfar: *wodana*, Oromo: *onne*, Sidamo: *wodana*, Ometo: *wozana* "heart"; Somali: *daw*, Oromo: *dandi*, Sidamo: *doga*, Burdji: *dawa*, Agaw: *dokʷ*, Ometo: *age*, Kaffa: *dag* "way". For some words, the languages of the west present forms which distinguish them from the rest of the Kushitic group: Bedja: *lili*, Somali: *il*, ʿAfar: *il*, Oromo: *ig-ia*, Sidamo: *ille*, Agaw: *yil*, but Ometo: *ayfe*, Djandjero: *afa*, Kaffa: *afo* "eye"; Bedja: *yaf*, Somali: *af*, Sidamo: *afo*, but Djandjero, Kaffa: *nōnō* "mouth".

Bibliography: In Ernest Renan's ***Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*** (1st part only appeared, 1855; other editions revised with additions 1858, 1863, 1878), the term "couschite" is already used in relation to the East-African languages: "One may believe that, among the non-Semitic languages (of Ethiopia), the remains of the ancient language of the Kushites have been preserved" (2nd ed. 1863, 339). But it was R. Lepsius who first recognised the linguistic group and definitively gave it its name in his *Nubische Grammatik mit einer Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrika's*, 1880. Kushitic appeared there to be constituted by Bedja, Shoho (or Saho), Falasha (an Agaw dialect), Agaw, Galla (or Oromo), Dankali (or ʿAfar), Somali to which is added Hottentot. In an earlier work, *Standard alphabet*, 2nd ed. 1863, he had grouped under the name of Ethiopian, the majority of these languages with Semitic Harari, but without Hottentot. For the recognition of their membership in the Hamito-Semitic family, see the information supplied by M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 3 ff. For Kushitic in general: A general overview of the distribution of the languages and their linguistic structures is to be found in M. A. Bryan, *The distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic languages*, London 1947, completed by A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, *The non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa*, London 1966; J. Greenberg, *Studies in African linguistic classification*, New Haven 1955; idem, *The languages of Africa*, The Hague 1966. For recent perspectives, see F. R. Palmer, "Cushitic", in *Current trends in linguistics* (vol. vi, under the direction of T. A. Sebeok), The Hague 1970, and D. Cohen, *Les langues chamito-sémitiques. 4. Le couchitique*, in *Les langues dans le monde*, under the direction of M. Cohen and J. Perrot, Paris, in the press. Comparative studies. A. B. Dolgopol'skiy, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaya fonetika kishitskikh yazïkov* "Historical and comparative phonology of the Kushitic languages", Moscow 1972. On the root, see E. Cerulli, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, i (1934), 44-5, ii (1937), 25-6, 85-7, iii (1938), 33-6; A. B. Dolgopol'skiy, in *Voprosï Yazïkoznaniya* 1967, 278-82; A. Zaborski, in *Folia Orientalia*, xvi (1975), 263-6. On the verbal system, see B. W. Andrzejewski in *Hamito-semitica*, ed. J. and Th. Bynon, The Hague 1975, 361-74; G. R. Castellino, *The Akkadian personal pronouns and verbal system in the light of Semitic and Hamitic*, Leiden 1962; E. Cerulli, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, ii (1937), 613, v (1948), 1-2; D. Cohen in *REI*, xl, 43-68; idem, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, xiv (1969-70), 69-74; idem, *Langues et techniques, nature et société*, ed. J. M. C. Thomas and L. Bernot, i, Paris 1973, 57-63; idem, *Actes du 1er Congrès International de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*, ed. A. Caquot and D. Cohen, The Hague 1974, 40-8; M. Cohen, in *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo, 704-19; B. Ferrario, in *Archivio di Glottologia e filologia africana*, i (1923),

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(D. COHEN)

KUSHĀDJIM, MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-SINDĪ B. SHĀHAK, ABU 'L-FATḤ, poet of the 4th/10th century whose death is variously given in the sources between 330/941 and 360/971, but which must have taken place *ca.* 350/961. Originally from a family of Sind [see IBRĀHĪM B. AL-SINDĪ], he was born at al-Ramla and lived at al-Mawṣil at the court of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān [see ḤAMDĀNIDS], and then at Aleppo, in the entourage of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; he also made several journeys to Egypt, Baghdād, Damascus and Jerusalem. His verses are described by R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 134, as "excessively florid and enjoying a contemporary vogue", which is confirmed by al-Masʿūdī, who in his own lifetime, devoted long passages to him in his *Murūdj* (see index). He was closely associated with his son-in-law al-Ṣanawbarī [*q.v.*], and he is one of the creators of nature poetry in Arabic, in which he evokes visual pleasure by his descriptions of gardens, flowers and trees. But he was also a *kātib*, an astrologer and master-cook to Sayf al-Dawla; he excelled in so many branches of knowledge and activity that his surname Kushādjim is said to be an acrostic formed out of the initial letters of the subjects in which he excelled, or out of various adjectives—a *kāf* for *kitāba/kātib*, *shīn* for *shiʿr/shaʿir*, *alif* for *adab/adīb* or for *inshāʾ*, *djīm* for *djadal/djawād*, *mīm* for *manṭiḳ/munadjdjim*. It is even said that, after having studied medicine, he added a *ṭāʾ* (for *ṭibb*) to his name, which became Ṭakushādjim, but had hardly any success.

He has left behind a *Dīwān*, first published at Beirut in 1313/1895-6, then at Baghdād in 1970 (by T. Kh. M. Maḥfūẓ); a collection of *Rasāʾil* (*Fihrist*, 200), an *Adab al-nadīm/al-nudamāʾ*, ed. Būlāḳ 1298, Alexandria 1329; a *K. Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ṭarab*; a *K. al-Ṭabīkh*; a *Kanz al-kuttāb* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 154, 162-3; a *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* (partial ed., carelessly done, Baghdād 1954) comprising some 20 poems on hunting, some of which are reproduced in the *K. al-Bayzara* (cf. F. Viré, *Le traité de l'art de volerie*, Leiden 1967, 2), in the *Dīwān* and in vol. x of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*.

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-ḲUSHASHĪ, ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪNUS, AL-MADANĪ AL-DADJĀNĪ, Ṣūfī mystic and scholar, b. Medina 991/1583. Little is known of his life. His family on his father's side migrated from the village of Dadjān near Jerusalem and settled in Medina. He spent part of his life as a soldier. In 1011/1602-3 he travelled with his father to the Yemen, where he studied with various of the religious teachers, especially those with whom his father, Muhammad b. Yūnus had studied. An incident not specified in the sources disturbed him deeply, causing him to return hurriedly first to Mecca, and then to Medina, where he continued to study from some of the great mystics of Indian origin, especially al-Shinnawī and Ṣibghat Allāh, and through them, the works of al-Ghawth al-Hindī. He was affiliated to several mystical orders, including the Naḳshbandī, the Ḳādirī and the Shaṭṭārī. He attracted numerous students, and enjoyed a reputation for extraordinary humility. He is of particular importance because of the character of his transmission of the doctrines of the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], particularly as reformulated by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [*q.v.*] to various parts of the Muslim world, including Sumatra and Java. Among his students for almost twenty years (1051-70/6141-60) was the Sumatran ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel, and numerous Djāwī associates of whom we do not know the names. His pupil and successor as *shaykh* of the Shaṭṭāriyya order, al-Kūrānī [*q.v.*], maintained his wide circle of students, and gives much information about him in his *al-Amam* (see *Bibl.*). It is worthy of note that Ṭāhir, the son of his greatest student al-Kūrānī, was a teacher of Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*].

His works include Ṣūfī interpretations of *ḥadīth*, rare among Ṣūfī authors, who devote most of their exegetical skill to the Ḳurʾān. He was noted for the extent to which he associated Ḳurʾānic and *ḥadīth* quotations with his views, and his skill in presenting the *isnād* of every *ḥadīth* that he cited. A commentary on his rhymed credal statement *al-ʿAḳīda al-manẓūma* by his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī entitled *Ḳaṣd al-sabīl* was rendered into Malay, possibly by his student ʿAbd al-Raʾūf.

His books on *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl* and *taṣawwuf* number more than fifty. One has been published (*al-Simṭ al-madjīd fī talḳīn al-dhikr*, Ḥaydarābād 1327). Other works, listed by al-Baghdādī, include *Hāshiya ʿala 'l-Insān al-kāmil li-ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī*, *al-Kalima al-wusṭā fī sharḥ ḥikam Ibn al-ʿAṭāʾ*, and *al-Kamālāt al-ilāhiyya*. He died at Medina in 1071/1660-1, and was buried in the Baḳīʿ cemetery.

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ḲUSHAYR, an Arab tribe forming part of the great group of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] whose fortunes we find them almost continuously sharing in the period before as well as after Islam.

They had particularly close associations with the tribes of ʿUḳayl and Djaʿda, whose genealogical table makes them brothers. Their genealogy is Ḳushayr b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Tradition makes the mother of Ḳushayr Rayṭa bint Ḳunfudh b. Mālik of the tribe of the Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*]. During the pre-Islamic period, the Banū Ḳushayr settled in al-Yamāma were involved in all the wars of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, especially in those against the Tamīm, the Shaybān, whose chief Ḥādjib b. Zurāra was made prisoner by Mālik b. Salama al-Khayr b. Ḳushayr, called Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba, at the battle of Djabala, and against the kings of al-Ḥīra (cf. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 70, 404-5). After Muḥammad's successes in central Arabia, the Ḳushayr joined with the other tribes of the ʿĀmir in sending him envoys and coming to an arrangement with him; it is to this time that tradition dates their conversion to Islam (cf. the texts in Caetani, *Annali*, i/1, 297 [9 A.H., § 78]). Later they took part, without particularly distinguishing themselves, in the wars of conquest in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and settled particularly in the eastern parts of the Arab empire. In the Umayyad period they were very numerous and powerful in Khurāsān, of which several Ḳushayris were governors (among others Zurāra b. ʿUḳba, whose family possessed a very highly esteemed breed of horses). This Ḳushayrī colony has as its founder and common ancestor Hayda b. Muʿāwiya b. Ḳushayr, a half-mythical personage who is said to have lived to a fabulous age and to have had a thousand descendants (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, ii, 56, No. 1890; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, in Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Phil.*, ii, 97). On the other hand, we find in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 273, a similar longevity attributed to Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba, the Ḳushayrī chief mentioned above, and indeed almost all the Ḳushayrīs of note settled in Khurāsān recorded by history, belonged to the clan of Salama al-Khayr to which Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba belonged, and which seems to have been the aristocracy of the tribe.

The Ḳushayr did not number many poets of note among them; the best known is Yazīd Ibn al-Ṭathriyya who lived between the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

The genealogical sources, and in particular Ibn al-Kalbī, also mention other ethnic groups bearing the name Banū Ḳushayr, two of which belonged to the southern tribes of the Aslam and the Aws (Anṣār).

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AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, the *nisba* of two noted Khurāsānian scholars.

1. ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. HAWĀZIN, theologian and mystic. He was born in 376/986 in Ustuwā (the region of actual Ḳūčān [*q.v.*] on the upper Atrak), the son of a man of Arab descent (from B. Ḳushayr) and a woman from an Arab (from B. Sulaym) *dihḳān* family. He got the education of a country squire of the time: *adab*, the Arabic language, chivalry (*furūsiyya*) and weaponry (*istiʿmāl al-silāḥ*). When as a young man he came to Naysābūr with the intention to get the taxes on one of his villages reduced, he became acquainted with the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ, who became his master on the mystical path. Later on he married Abū ʿAlī's daughter Fāṭima (born 391/1001).

Besides his mystical exercises, he studied *fiḳh* with the Shāfiʿī jurist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Ṭūsī (d. 420/1029) in nearby Ṭūs; he seems also to have visited the city of Marw *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* (Subkī, v, 158). In Naysābūr he studied *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with the Ashʿarī scholars Abū Bakr b. Fūrak (d. 406/1015-16) and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418/1027).

After the death of Abū ʿAlī in 405/1015, he seems to have become the successor of his master and father-in-law as leader of the mystic sessions (*madjālis al-tadhkīr*) in the *madrasa* of Abū ʿAlī (built in 391/1001), which henceforth was known as *al-madrasa al-Ḳushayriyya* (later on as *madrasat al-Ḳushayriyya*, "the *madrasa* of the Ḳushayrī family").

At an indeterminable date, al-Ḳushayrī performed the Pilgrimage in company with Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī (d. 438/1047), the father of the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn*, and other Shāfiʿī scholars; during these travels he heard *ḥadīth* in Baghdād and the Ḥidjāz. Probably after his return to Naysābūr he held his first *madjlis al-imlāʾ*, i.e. session for the teaching of *ḥadīth*, in 437/1046.

After Naysābūr had passed under the control of the Saldjūḳs in 429/1038, al-Ḳushayrī was involved in the struggles between the Ḥanafī and Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī factions in the city. In 436/1045 he issued a manifesto defending the orthodoxy of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī; the document (preserved by Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 112-14; cf. Subkī, iii, 374 f.; Halm, *Der Wesir al-Kundurī*, 214 ff.) was signed by the most renowned Shāfiʿī scholars of the city. When in 446/1054 the Ḥanafī-Shāfiʿī conflict broke out into a violent *fitna*, al-Ḳushayrī was imprisoned by his adversaries, but was rescued some weeks later by his partisans by force of arms. As a reaction to these events, he wrote his famous "Complaint", *Shikāyat ahl al-sunna bimā nālahum min al-miḥna* (preserved by Subkī, iii, 399-423; separately ed. by Muḥammad Ḥasan, see below), by which he defended al-Ashʿarī against the slanderous accusations of his adversaries (analysed in Halm, *Der Wesir al-Kundurī*, 224 ff.).

In 448/1056 al-Ḳushayrī went to Baghdād, where the caliph al-Ḳāʾim commissioned him to teach *ḥadīth* in his palace. After his return to Khurāsān he left Naysābūr, now dominated by the Ḥanafī faction, and emigrated with his family to Ṭūs, where he stayed until the accession to the throne of sultan Alp Arslan in 455/1063. When the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk re-established the balance of power between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs, he returned to Naysābūr where he lived until his death. He died on 16 Rabīʿ II 465/30 December 1072 and was buried in his *madrasa* besides his father-in-law Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ. He left six sons and several daughters; some of his numerous descendants (cf. the pedigrees in Bulliet, *Patricians*, 180-4; Halm, *Ausbreitung*, 61) officiated as *khaṭīb* of the Shāfiʿī Manīʿī mosque in Naysābū

Even if al-Ḳushayrī's studies covered the whole scale of the traditional Islamic sciences, his writings

mostly deal with mystical topics. His great mystical *tafsīr*, the *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, was composed before 410/1019; the *Tartīb al-sulūk* is an introduction to the practice of *taṣawwuf*, and the famous *Risāla* (composed in 438/1045) is a most important compendium of the principles and terminology of Ṣūfism (analysed by R. Hartmann). In all his works (cf. Subkī, v, 159; Brockelmann, I, 556 f.) al-Ḳushayrī tried to reconcile mystical practices, suspected by so many scholars, with the principles of the *Sharīʿa*.

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2. ABU 'L-NAṢR ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. HAWĀZIN, son of the former; Shāfiʿī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian. Born in Naysābūr before 434/1043, he studied *tafsīr* and *uṣūl* with his father and with the *Imām* al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī. When in 469/1077 he publicly taught Ashʿarī *kalām* in the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād, he provoked the wrath of the local traditionalist Ḥanbalī faction supported by the masses, and caused a violent *fitna*. The vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who protected the young scholar, had to summon him to Iṣfahān, from where he sent him back to Naysābūr. There Abu 'l-Naṣr died, after a peaceful life, in 514/1120, in his eighties.

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ḲUSHBEGI [see ḲOSH BEGI].

AL-**ḲUSHDJĪ** [see ʿALĪ AL-ḲUSHDJĪ].

KUSHIYĀR B. **LABĀN** B. BASHAHRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-DJĪLĪ, Persian astronomer and mathematician. He was born in Gīlān, to the south of the Caspian sea, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, probably between 322/934 and 332/944. The date of his death is equally obscure, but was probably in the first quarter of the 5th/11th century. Very little is known of his life; most of it was spent in Baghdād, with the peak of his career in *ca.* 990/1000.

His principal works comprise two *zīdjs*, the *z. al-djāmiʿ* and the *z. al-bāligh*, as well as an arithmetical treatise, the *Uṣūl ḥisāb al-Hind*. His astronomical tables mark an advance on those of Abu 'l-Wafā' and al-Battānī. Whereas the latter only indicate the values of sines and the cotangent, Kushiyār also gives those of the tangent, and the values of these functions are given by him to the third sexagesimal.

His other great work, the *Uṣul ḥisāb al-Hind*, contains the first description of the "Indian system of calculation", i.e. of the system of numeration by position (the value of the figures depending on their place in a number), which brought about a revolution in the ways of calculating used in the Near East. The work is divided into two parts. In the first, the author works out logarithms for the four basic arithmetical operations and for finding the square root. Whole numbers are treated within the decimal system, and fractions in the sexagesimal one. The second part deals with this latter system, already used by the astronomers, but set forth by Kushiyār in a way of numeration by position. He shows how whole numbers can be converted from the decimal into the sexagesimal system, and then sets forth logarithms for the basic arithmetical operations, for finding the square root and for finding the cube root. Finally, he gives a famous multiplication table, called "the table of sixty", for multiplying within the sexagesimal system. In these various calculations, he already makes use of the elementary rules for multiplying and dividing both positive and negative whole powers. As for the figures which he uses, for calculations made in the sexagesimal system he uses the Arabic alphabetical characters, the *ḥurūf al-djumal*; but for those in the decimal system, the so-called "Indian" figures, the origin of what were later called "Arabic numerals". Kushiyār's system of logarithms for finding the square root forms the basis for the theory of decimal fractions which was subsequently to be elaborated by al-Karadjī and al-Samaw'al.

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(K. JAOUICHE)

KUSKUSŪ (A.), a word probably of Berber origin meaning couscous, a culinary preparation containing semolina which is the national dish of the peoples of North Africa. It appears with the article and with a final *nūn* in an anecdote depicting an Oriental being advised by the Prophet, in a dream, to treat with *al-kuskusūn* a sick Maghribī; this anecdote, related by Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.) is very well known and is probably responsible for leading Moroccan scholars to adopt the form attributed to the Prophet. L. Bauer (*Wörterbuch der arabischen Umgangsprache*[2], Wiesbaden 1957, 402), heard *kusukson/kuskusān* in Palestine, describing it as "Teigkügelchen in Fleischdampf gekocht". Couscous was known in Spain, and the word *kuskusū* is provided with the article in the *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* published by A. Huici Miranda (Madrid 1965, 181), but this is a case

of an arabisation which is not found in vernacular Arabic, where the word never takes the article; *sekso, ksēkso, kuskus, kusksi*, etc., which betrays its non-Arabic origin. The equivalent term among the majority of the Bedouin tribes of Algeria and at Tlemcen is *ṭʿām* used alone, elsewhere it is *ʿaysh, mʿāsh*, or *noʿma*, all of which illustrate the importance of couscous in the minds of the people, especially those in rural areas, who make it the invariable staple of their evening meal.

The quality and the weight of the grains as well as the presentation of the dishes offer a considerable diversity, which is covered by the generic terms cited above but which is expressed by means of a detailed and extremely varied vocabulary according to regions. We confine ourselves here to a description of the general processes.

Couscous may be prepared at any time, but it is exclusively the work of women: some chose out of preference the nights of Monday and of Friday to take advantage of the *baraka* [*q.v.*] which is attached to them. The housewife makes an invocation and she must not see or hear anything that might constitute a bad omen; on the contrary, it is the custom to speak in her company only of saints, of the prosperity of the land, etc.

To make her couscous, the woman sits on the ground, places in front of her a wooden plate called *djəfna, gəṣʿa, ḳəṣriyya*, etc. and, to one side, a receptacle containing lightly salted water and a sack of semolina; in some regions, a little flour is also used and to the salted water are added a few drops of *nīsān* water (rain of early May preserved in a flask). The housewife takes a handful of semolina, puts it in the plate, sprinkles it with salted water applied with the hand or with a spoon and proceeds to roll it (verb *ftəl*) with the flat of her hand, until small grains are formed with the size of small buckshot. When the stock of semolina provided is exhausted, the grains are passed through a sieve, and the bigger ones are rolled again until they acquire the desired dimensions or set aside to make a coarse couscous called *mḥammṣa, bərkūks, bərkukesh, mardūd*, etc. The grains are then cooked in steam and may be kept for some time.

When they are to be eaten, the housewife cooks them for a second time. In a cooking-pot (*ḳədra*), she boils water to which she adds vegetables (chick-peas, turnips, wild teasels, etc.) and/or mutton or beef sometimes browned in a little oil; she puts the couscous grains in a special receptacle (*kəskās*), a conical vessel made of earthenware or plaited alfalfa, the perforated, smaller base of which is placed over the cooking-pot and sealed by means of a twist of straw. Escaping, the steam passes through the holes and cooks the couscous. The housewife takes care that no curds are formed, and when the grain is cooked, she tips it into a bowl, garnishes it with a little butter and covers it with gravy. The vegetables and the meat are most often laid out on the grain. The diners make pellets with their thumb, index and second fingers, and flick them dexterously into their mouths.

In the preparation of couscous with sugar (*səffa, məsfūf*), the cooking-pot contains only water; once cooked, the grains, which are generally finer, are garnished with rather more butter, and the cone which they form in the dish is decorated with ground sugar and cinnamon.

Among the other varieties, we mention *bərbūkh*, with fine grain, eaten cold, without butter, and moistened with a little milk; *barbūsha*, made with barley semolina; this is called *ṣīkūk* in Morocco. The *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* gives the recipe of *fityānī* which is prepared by cooking grain in gravy and which is sprinkled with cinnamon; it also mentions couscous with chicken.

Couscous is quite widely known at the present time, especially in France where it is found commercially produced in food factories and sold "pre-cooked"; conical utensils ("couscoussiers") made of metal are also produced. Restaurants serve several varieties of this Maghribī dish accompanied by a sauce strongly seasoned with pepper (*marga ḥārra; harīsa*).

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ḲUSS b. **SĀʿIDA** al-Iyādī, a semi-legendary character of Arab antiquity pictured as the greatest orator of all the tribes (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 52) and whose eloquence has become proverbial (*ablagh min Ḳuss*: al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ*, i, 117-18; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] even formed an adjective rhyming with *ḳudsī* in the title of his history of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī* "of Ḳussian inspiration"). He is also an heroic figure, described as being also the poet, sage, judge, etc. par excellence of the Arabs of his time. His genealogy cannot be established with certainty, but the nearest to reality seems to be: Ḳuss b. Sāʿida b. ʿAmr b. Shamir b. ʿAdī b. Mālik b. Aydaʿān b. al-Namir b. Wāʾila b. al-Ṭamathān b. ʿAwdh Manāt b. Yaḳdum b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Iyād (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 473). Moreover, his very name poses a problem, since it is unique (cf. however the toponym Ḳuss al-Nāṭif, in Yāḳūt, iv, 97-8); although it is given without the definite article, it could well be connected with *ḳass* and *ḳissīs* and point therefore to a relationship more or less close to the Christian clergy. It is not impossible that Ḳuss had relations with the Christians of Nadjrān, but it is wrong to take him, as has sometimes been done, as the bishop of that town, perhaps on account of an assimilation brought about by the phrase "eloquent as the bishop of Nadjrān" (see e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 88). Legend, which also credits him with a number of miracles, has it that he presented himself at the court of the Emperor of Byzantium, but he seems to have delivered his orations in the regions between ʿIrāḳ (where the Iyād [*q.v.*] had been established, but had lost however their independent existence by the end of the Djāhiliyya), the Ḥidjāz and Syria. Nothing is known of the date of his death, which Cheikho (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 211) fixes arbitrarily in 600 A.D., and it is at Rūḥin, one of the dependencies of Aleppo, that his tomb was fixed, becoming the goal of a still much-followed pilgrimage in the 7th/13th century (al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 5/10; Yāḳūt, ii, 829; D. Sourdel, in *Syria*, xxxi [1953], 89-107). Interred beside him were supposedly the two friends to whom he is said to have devoted an elegy (in *ṭawīl* metre, and the rhyme-*ākumā*) which is often

mentioned but attributed to various poets (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 261-8 = ed. Cairo ii, 66-79, of which *shāhid* 92 is taken from this piece of verse, lists the possible authors in his long commentary; see also D. Sourdel, *op. laud.*, 100-1).

In fact, as well as his eloquence—the specimens which are extant of this, in rhymed prose, being of very doubtful authenticity—tradition further ascribes to him a poetic talent and attributes to him an extensive œuvre whose remnants are equally suspect (they have been gathered together, with extracts from his homilies, by L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 211-18).

He is counted amongst those who enjoyed longevity, having allegedly lived between 180 and 700 years, so that in the view of certain people he had even known the Apostles; but we have here the manifestation of a tendency of the traditionists to prolong considerably the lives of certain personalities of the past [see MUʿAMMARŪN]. Although al-Suyūṭī (*al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa fi ʾl-aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿa*, i, 95-100) criticises the legend of Ḳuss, no-one doubts his historical existence, which seems to be attested by an *ḥadīth* often given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās. When receiving a delegation from the Bakr b. Wāʾil (whom the Iyād had joined), the Prophet is said to have enquired about Ḳuss, and learning that he was dead, to have recited a passage from a speech which he had heard delivered at ʿUkāẓ and to have had someone (Abū Bakr or another person) remind him of some lines of the orator-poet's which he had forgotten. He is even said to have exclaimed, "I hope that on the Day of Resurrection, he will return to life and form a people of his own". Al-Djāḥiẓ, who is usually fairly prudent, remarks (*Bayān*, i, 52) that if the Prophet repeated his words, it was because Ḳuss upheld the concept of monotheism and believed in the resurrection. This is why he was quickly included in the list of the *ḥanīf*s [*q.v.*] and of the "people of the interval" [see FATRA], and even considered as an ascetic (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 365). Ibn al-Athīr (*Usd*, iv, 204) and Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba*, No. 7340) cite him in their biographies of Companions, and although Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn Hishām do not mention him, ʿAlī b. Burhān pays some attention to him in his *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* (i, 210-12, 216-18).

Finally, tradition attributes to him the merit of being not only the first to believe in the resurrection, but also to have been the first to preach mounted on a camel or leaning on a sword or staff [see ʿANAZA] and to use the formula *ammā baʿdu* and write at the beginning of a letter (!) *min Fulān ilā Fulān* (cf. Goldziher, in *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, 56). He is even said to have formulated the juridical rule that "proof is incumbent on the plaintiff and the defendant who denies his guilt must speak on oath". All these legendary details are evidently aimed at exalting the prestige of a personage considered to be a precursor of Islam.

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ḲUṢṢĀṢ [see ḲĀṢṢ].

ḲUSṬĀ B. LŪḲĀ AL-BAʿLABAKKĪ, mediaeval scientist and translator. He was of Christian origin, from the town of Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*]. In Baghdād, where he worked for some time as a doctor, scientist and translator, his reputation was as high as that of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. He was fluent in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, being particularly noted for his excellent style in Arabic. The last part of his life was spent in Armenia, where he was induced to take up residence by the prince Sanḥarīb. According to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrāʾīl, he came into contact with a certain Abu ʾl-Ghiṭrīf al-Baṭrīḳ, for whom he composed a number of scholarly works. Ḳusṭā died in Armenia *ca.* 300/912-13; a shrine was erected over his grave, which was accorded the same honours as the graves of kings and other eminent personages.

It was, of course, usual for Arabic scholars to be well versed in a wide range of subjects, and Ḳusṭā was no exception. He is said to have been skilled in medicine, philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music—all these subjects are included in the lists of his works given by the biographers. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 410-11), having first stated specifically that he has excluded translations, lists over thirty of Ḳusṭā's original works, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa adds a further thirty works to this list (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 244-5). Medical works, which preponderate, include the following treatises: on gout; infectious diseases; insomnia; knowledge of fevers, types of crises in illnesses, the pulse; paralysis-types, causes and treatment; the four "humours"; and phlebotomy. Non-medical works include several treatises on philosophy and logic; on astronomy, on the celestial sphere; two commentaries on Euclid's *Elements*, a treatise on algebra, a commentary on the book of Diaphantos on algebra; on the steelyard (*ḳarasṭūn* [*q.v.*]); on weights and measures; and on burning mirrors. Some of Ḳusṭā's translations are extant, e.g. those of Diaphantos, Theodosios, Autolykos, Hypsikles, Aristarchos, and Hero. For a list of his works, both originals and translations see Suter, 40-2 and Index, and Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 270-4, v, 285-6, and Indexes). Both writers give locations of extant manuscripts.

No comprehensive study of Ḳusṭā's works has yet been undertaken, nor has there been made any detailed evaluation of his contribution, certainly a significant one, to the progress of science. His services as a translator must surely rank at least equally with his original works. The biographers are unanimous in praising his skill as a translator of Greek works into Arabic, and in the light of the surviving translations their esteem seems to be fully justified. For example, although the original of Hero's *Mechanics* is lost, an examination of Ḳusṭā's Arabic version (Carra de Vaux in *JA*, 9e Série [1893], Tome i, 386-472, Tome ii, 152-269, 420-514 = Arabic text and French translation) leaves us with little doubt that this is a faithful and sensitive rendering.

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ĶUSṬANṬĪNA, Ķusanṭīna, Constantine, a town in Algeria and the chief town of the *wilāya* (department) of the same name. It lies 330 miles east of Algiers and 50 miles south-east of Skidda (former Philippeville), which is the port for Constantine, with which it is connected by railway, in lat. 36° 22′ N. and long. 18° 56′. The population in 1965 was 235,000.

The situation of Constantine makes the town a natural fortress. It is built on a rocky plateau in the form of a trapezoid, bounded on the south-east, north-east and north-west, by deep ravines and connected with the surrounding country on the south-east only by a narrow isthmus. The plateau itself declines rapidly from north to south. The Ķaṣba on its highest point is 2,500 feet above sea-level, while the Marabout of Sīdī Rās͟hid not a mile away is only 2,170 feet high. Of the ravines which represent the moats of this natural fortress, the most remarkable is that which runs along the south-east and north-east faces of the plateau, at the bottom of which the Rummel (Wādī 'l-Raml) flows. This river runs along a narrow gully, a real cañon, the walls of which rise sheer upright to a height of 500 to 600 feet, disappears for 1½ miles under three subterranean passages which the water has hollowed out, makes its exit in waterfalls and descends to the verdant plain of al-Ḥamma. Across this gorge, above which on the right bank rises the plateau of Manṣūra (2,340 feet), the Romans threw a bridge which existed for several centuries after the Arab conquest. Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Ar. text 63, tr. 131-2) mentions it, and al-Idrīsī (ed. de Goeje, 111, ed. Naples-Rome, iii, 265) describes it as one of the most remarkable works which it had ever been granted him to see. Consisting of two rows of arches, one above the other, 217 feet high, a road and an aqueduct bringing the water necessary for the town ran across it. It collapsed in the 7th/13th century, was rebuilt in the 18th by order of Ṣāliḥ Bey under the supervision of a Spanish engineer, and on finally breaking down in 1947, it was replaced by an iron bridge 423 feet long crossing the Rummel at a height of 528 feet. Another bridge is, farther up the river, to connect the plateau of Manṣūra with the quarters previously in existence to the southwest of the town.

This last preserves an originality of aspect which is in striking contrast to that of other Algerian towns. It resembles a great Kabyle village rather than a oriental city. It is an agglomeration of houses with clay roofs, penetrated by an irregular system of narrow, tortuous streets, which sometimes descend like stairways to the edge of the ravine, the heights of which are crowned by houses. A few monuments recall the past history of Constantine. The great mosque dates from the time of the first Ḥafṣid sovereigns (7th/13th century). The mosques of Sūķ al-G͟hazāl, of Sīdī Lak͟hḍar and of Sīdī al-Kattānī, all of which were built in the 18th century, belong to the Turkish period, as does the palace built by Aḥmad, the last Turkish Bey, just before the French conquest.

The origins of Constantine are obscure. But in all probability, the site must have been occupied at a very early period by autochtonous peoples. The classical texts mention the existence of a town named Cirta at this place. The origin of the name (*ķart* "town" [see ķarya]) would lead one to suppose that the Carthaginians had established a colony there. In any case, Cirta appears in the period of the Punic Wars as the capital of the kings of Numidia; Syphax had a palace there. Masinissa and his successors erected important buildings in it and invited Greek and Roman merchants thither. During the civil wars of the 1st century B.C., P. Sittius Nucerianus, an adventurer, seized Cirta and on the latter's ultimate triumph received the town and territory. Cirta then became a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Cirta Julia or Cirta Sittianorum. Juba II made it his capital after the restoration of the kingdom of Numidia by Augustus and lived there for seven years (24-17 B.C.), till he was forced to exchange Numidia for Mauritania. Cirta still remained the capital of the republic of the "four colonies", then in the 3rd century A.D. it became that of the province of Numidia Civilis or Numidia Cirtensis established by Maximianus Herculus in 297. In the course of the civil wars which followed the abdication of Diocletian, the inhabitants recognised the authority of the usurper Alexander and gave him asylum after he had been driven from Carthage and thus brought upon their heads the wrath of Maxentius. The latter took Cirta and razed the town to the ground in 311. It was rebuilt in 313 by Constantine, the conqueror of Maxentius, and received the name of Constantine which it has retained to the present day. At the Vandal invasion, Constantine was occupied by the barbarians, but given back in 442 by Gaiseric to the Emperor. After the destruction of the Western Empire, Constantine remained independent, till the Byzantines, victorious over the Vandals, brought Northern Africa under their sway in 533. It remained subject to them till the invasion of North Africa by the Arabs.

The chroniclers are silent as to the date at which it fell into the hands of the Muslims. It is probable, however, that it was not affected by the first Arab incursions but was only occupied at the end of the 1st/7th century at the same time as Carthage and the other Byzantine strongholds which were the last to surrender. Included in the province of Ifrīķiya, Constantine owned the rule successively of the governors of Ķayrawān, the Ag͟hlabids, the Fāṭimids, then the Zīrids. The latter retained it even after the Ḥammādids had deprived them of a portion of the eastern Mag͟hrib. They lost it entirely at the Hilālī invasion. The Ḥammādid al-Muʿizz took advantage of their troubles to seize the town and include it among his own possessions. The successors of al-Muʿizz retained the town for a century in spite of a revolt instigated by the uncle of the *amīr* al-Nāṣir. After the capture of Bougie by the Almohads, Yaḥyā, the last king of Bougie, sought refuge in Constantine, then giving up any idea of further resistance, surrendered to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose troops took possession of the town. Attacked unsuccessfully by ʿAlī b. G͟hāniya in 581/1185, Constantine remained faithful to the Almohads till the final collpase of the empire founded by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

At this period, Constantine was a very prosperous city: "Ķusanṭīna", says al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*, 63, tr. 131-2), "[is a] large and ancient town with a numerous population; . . . it is inhabited by various families who were originally part of the [Berber] tribes established at Mila, in the land of Nafzāwa in that of Ķasṭīliyā, but it belongs to certain Kutāmī tribes. It has rich bazaars and a prosperous trade". Al-Idrīsī describes Constantine (Ķusanṭīnat al-hawāʾ, "of the air", because of its position) as a populous and commercial town. "The inhabitants, he continues, "are rich; they have agreements with the rural population (*al-ʿArab*) and co-operate with them for the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of the harvests.

Their silos are so good that corn may be kept in them for a century without suffering any deterioration. They collect large quantities of honey and butter, which they export to the outside . . ." (*loc. cit.*).

When the Almohad Empire broke up, Constantine recognised the authority of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā', who was proclaimed at Tunis in 628/1230 [see ḤAFṢIDS]. The history of the town under the Ḥafṣids (7th-10th/13th-16th centuries) is very confused and disjointed. The rulers of Tunis attached great importance to the possession of Constantine; they frequently lived there and delighted in improving it; they usually entrusted its government to princes of their own family. Nevertheless, in spite of their precautions and trouble they lost it on several occasions; in 681/1282 for example, in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ, the governor Ibn al-Wazīr rose against the sovereign of Tunis, who had to send his son, Abū Fāris, to retake the town by force. In 683/1284, its inhabitants opened their gates to the pretender Abū Zakariyyā' of Bougie; in 704/1305 at the suggestion of the governor Ibn al-Amīr, they submitted to the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis, whom they cast off almost immediately afterwards, however, to place themselves again under the authority of the king of Bougie, Abu 'l-Baḳā'. The latter succeeded in restoring to his own advantage the unity of the Ḥafṣid kingdom in 709/1309 and for some years maintained peace in the eastern Maghrib. But new troubles were not long in arising. From 712/1312 to 719/1319, Constantine was almost independent under the authority of the vizier Ibn Ghamr, who succeeded in placing on the throne of Tunis a prince of his own choosing, Abū Yaḥyā. In 725/1325, the revolt of another vizier, Ibn al-Ḳātūn, exposed the inhabitants to an attack, which proved unsuccesful, from the ʿAbd al-Wādids. The wars which then broke out in the eastern Maghrib between the Marīnids and the ʿAbd al-Wādids, as well as the good government of the governors Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Zayd, son and grandson of Abū Yaḥyā, king of Tunis, gained Constantine a few years of respite. But peace, which had only been established with difficulty, was again broken in the middle of the 8th/14th century by Marīnid expeditions. Abu 'l-Ḥasan entered Constantine without striking a blow and supplanted Ḥafṣid authority by his own in 748/1347. The defeat of Abu 'l-Ḥasan at Ḳayrawān brought about a revival in favour of the Ḥafṣids and one of them, al-Faḍl, took advantage of the occasion to seize the town. He held it for only a short time. The former Ḥafṣid governor, Abū Zayd, set at liberty by Abū ʿInān, retook Constantine, then abandoning his protector, proclaimed as Sulṭān a son of al-Ḥasan named Tāshfīn. Soon afterwards, Abū Zayd's brother, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, overthrew him and dethroned Tāshfīn. He in his turn took the title of Sulṭān, repulsed the Dawāwida and Sadwīkash Arabs, who had laid siege to Constantine in 756/1355, but could not prevent the town being taken by Abū ʿInān, who came in person against it. He regained it from the Marīnids in 761/1360. Becoming Sulṭān of Tunis in 772/1370, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās maintained peace in the province of Constantine till his death. His successor Abū Fāris had on the other hand twice to reconquer the town from his brother Abū Bakr, who had seized it with the help of the Arab tribes.

We have no exact details on the history of Constantine in the 9th/15th century. Rebellions against Ḥafṣid rule were, it seems, less frequent than in the preceding century, but its authority was more nominal than real. During this period, the real masters of Constantine were the chiefs of the Awlād Sala, a section of the Arab tribe of Dawāwida. In the town itself the exercise of authority was in the hands of a few families, clients of the Awlād Sala. Such, for example, were the family of ʿAbd al-Mu'min of Marabout origin, whose chiefs exercised by hereditary right the functions of *shaykh al-Islām* and *Amīr al-Rakab* (leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca); the family of the Banū Bādis, whose members had arrogated to themselves the duties of *ḳāḍī*; and that of the Banu 'l-Faggān (or Lafgūn), famous as legal authorities.

The arrival of the Turks in Northern Africa reopened an era of troubles for Constantine. There were two parties in the field. The one, led by the ʿAbd al-Mu'min, was favourable to the maintenance of Ḥafṣid suzerainty; the other, led by the Lafgūn, invited the Turks thither. According to Vaysettes, a first attempt by the Turks to occupy the town was made as early as 923/1517. According to Mercier, Ḥasan, one of Khayr al-Dīn's lieutenants, forced the people of Constantine to recognise his master's authority in 925/1519 or 926/1520. The submission of the town was only an ephemeral one, however, for in 932/1526 a representative of the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis was residing in the town. It is not till 940/1534 that the establishment of a garrison definitely marks the occupation of Constantine by the Turks. Their authority was not firmly established without difficulty. The belated partisans of the Ḥafṣids did not bow at once to the Turkish yoke, but sought to rid themselves of their new masters. In 975/1567-8 they massacred the Turkish garrison and expelled their supporters. To restore order, the Pasha Muḥammad had to lead an expedition against Constantine, the inhabitants of which did not dare resist but opened the gates without showing fight. Another rebellion broke out in 1572 and was suppressed with the greatest rigour. The ʿAbd al-Mu'mins who had instigated it, were deprived of their privileges, and from that date ceased to play a predominant part in the affairs of the town. They resigned themselves to their fall with a very bad grace. We find them again in 1052/1642 taking advantage of the difficulties caused to the Turks by the revolt of the Kabyles and the insubordination of the great Arab chiefs to stir up risings again which were, however, speedily put down. After being selected as the capital of the *beylik* of the East in the 10th/16th century, Constantine enjoyed complete tranquility for the half century following the period of government of the Bey Farḥat (1046/1637). But the intervention of the Algerians in the affairs of Tunisia ended in exposing Constantine to the reprisals of its neighbours. In 1112/1700, Murād Bey of Tunis, victorious in two battles against ʿAlī Khōdja Bey of Constantine, laid siege to the town and blockaded it for three months. The Dey of Algiers at length received warning of the precarious situation of the town by a messenger, who had succeeded in escaping from Constantine after being let down the cliff by a rope, and sent an army to its help, the arrival of which the Tunisian general did not dare await.

The 18th century marks the zenith of Turkish domination at Constantine. The *beylik* was held during this period by men of energy and intellect, ruling like independent sovereigns rather than as docile representatives of the Dey of Algiers. Such were Kalyān Ḥasan Bey, called Bū Kamya (1713-36), Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn called Bū Ḥanak (1736-54), Aḥmad al-Ḳullī (1756-71) and above all Ṣāliḥ Bey (1771-92). Constantine owes to them many public works and buildings of general interest. Bū Kamya built the

mosque of Sūḳ al-Ghazāl; Bū Ḥanak made new streets and built the Mosque of Sīdī Lakhḍar. Ṣāliḥ Bey rebuilt the bridge over the Rummel and the Roman aqueduct bringing the waters of the Djabal Waḥsh to the city; he also built the mosque and *madrasa* of Sīdī al-Kattānī and commissioned Italian artificers to built him a palace adorned with faiences and marble columns purchased in Italy.

A period of anarchy and disorder succeeded this brilliant epoch. Ṣāliḥ Bey himself, deposed by the Dey of Algiers, to whom he had given offence, tried to stir up a rebellion but perished miserably. Seventeen Beys ruled Constantine in the period 1792-1826. Some of them only held office a few months or even a few days; almost all were distinguished by their cruelty and rapine. Constantine suffered much from this state of affairs. To the internal disorder were soon added attacks by the surrounding peoples. The Kabyle hordes of the Marabout (Ibn al-Aʿrash Sulaymān Kāhya) rose against the Turks and advanced up to the walls of Constantine in 1804. A Tunisian army commanded by Sulaymān Kāhya besieged the town three years later. It was blockaded for two months (April-May 1807) and was once bombarded. The approach of a relieving army from Algiers caused the Tunisians to raise the siege, and in their retreat they lost 1,167 prisoners and all their artillery.

Aḥmad, the last Bey of Constantine, possessed those qualities which were lacking in his predecessors, Intellectual, active, ambitious and energetic, he unfortunately made himself hated by his acts of cruelty and by the exactions levied by him to raise funds to built a palace in Constantine to replace the old Dār al-Bey. After the French occupation of Algiers, he sought to profit by the disappearance of the *odjaḳ* to create an independent principality in the east, and had the title of Pasha given to him by the Ottoman Porte. Deposed by a decree from General Clauzel on 15 December 1830, he nevertheless retained possession of Constantine. The hesitation on the part of the French government, which tried to come to terms with him for his voluntary submission and after the failure of these negotiations did not wish to enter on a dangerous campaign, delayed his fall. But in 1836, Marshall Clauzel, then governor-general of Algeria, obtained permission to undertake an expedition against Constantine. Leaving Bone on 2 November, the French troops arrived without difficulty in sight of the town and took up a position on the heights of the Manṣūra and of the Kudya. Two sorties by the besieged, led by Ibn ʿĪsā, *khalīfa* of the Bey, were repulsed; on the other hand, two attacks by the French in the night of the 22-3 December also failed. Clauzel decided to raise the seige and returned to Bone after a retreat which was rendered very difficult by bad weather. This check was made good the following year. An army under General Damrémont laid siege to Constantine on 6 October 1837. He was killed on 12 October; but his successor, General Valée, ordered an assault on the 13th. The town was taken after fierce fighting by columns led by Colonels Combe and Lamoricière. Aḥmad Bey, who had left Constantine on the approach of the French troops, retired to the south where he held the country against the French for eleven years longer. It is said that the siege of 1837 was the ninetieth that Constantine had to endure.

After the French occupation, Constantine, the administration of which had been entrusted to a *ḥākim* under the supervision of the military authorities, became the headquarters of a *commandement supérieur* and the base of French operations in the eastern province. At first under military law, it was not given a municipal government till 1848 and became the capital of the *département* in 1849. Since then the town has developed considerably. It has in fact remained a market and centre of supplies for the tribes of the east; its native industries have survived and supply the population of the surrounding country with cotton stuffs and articles of leather.

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(G. YVER*)

(AL-)ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA, Constantinople.

1. TO THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST (1453).

The city, which Constantine the Great on 11 May 330 raised to be the capital of the Eastern Empire and which was called after him, was known to the Arabs as *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya* (in poetry also *Ḳusṭanṭīna*, with or without the article); the older name *Byzantion* (*Buzanṭiyā* and various spellings) was also known to them, as well as the fact that the later Greeks, as at the present day, used to call Constantinople simply ἡ πόλις as "the city" par excellence (Masʿūdī, iii, 406 = § 1291 n.; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 235; Abu 'l-Fidā, ii/1, 39; Dimashḳī, 241, 259; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 431). From εἰς τὴν πόλιν arose the Turkish name "Istanbul" [*q.v.*]. *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya*, with the variant *Ḳusṭanṭiniyya*, remained the official designation on coins and firmans under the Ottomans.

The campaigns of the Arabs against Constantinople. It is said that the Prophet himself had foretold the conquest of Constantinople by the faithful. The Ottoman historians adduce the following *ḥadīth* "You shall conquer Constantinople; peace be upon the prince and the army to whom this shall be granted!" (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 252; Ṣolaḳzāde, 194; Ewliyā, 1, 32, 73; ʿAlī Sāṭiʿ, *Ḥadīḳat al-djewāmiʿ*, i, 2); Suyūṭī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* is given as authority; older references are wanting. As a matter of fact, the Umayyads set about this enterprise with the energy and valour that inspired the early warriors of Islam. In the year of the world 6146 (beginning 1 September 653), according to Theophanes, 345, a fleet was equipped in Tripolis "against Constantinople", which under the leadership of Αβουλαθάρ (i.e. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt) defeated the Greek fleet at Phoenix (Finika) on the Lycian coast [see DHĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl.], but did not reach Constantinople; at the same time, Muʿāwiya had invaded Byzantine territory by land.

In the year 44/644 took place the campaign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, who advanced as far as Pergamon; the admiral Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, according to Arabic sources, is said to have reached Constantinople (Ṭabarī, ii, 86).

In the course of the next years, Faḍāla b. ʿUbayd advanced as far as Chalcedon, and Yazīd, son of Muʿāwiya, was sent after him (according to Theophanes, in the year 6159 of the world, beginning 1 September 666; according to Elias of Nisibis, Yazīd

appeared before Constantinople in 51/672); a fleet commanded by Busr b. Abī Arṭāt supported this enterprise. In 672 a strong fleet cast anchor off the European coast of the Sea of Marmora under the walls of the city. The Arabs attacked the town from April to September; they spent the winter in Cyzicus and renewed their attacks in the following spring until they finally retired "after seven years' fighting". A great part of the fleet was destroyed by Greek fire; many ships were wrecked on the return journey (Theoph., 353 ff.). There are difficulties in the chronological arrangement in Theophanes of the various phases of this seven years' blockade. The land army seems to have appeared before Constantinople in 47/667 and the fleet to have finally retired in 53 673. The Arab historians vary between the years 48 49, 50 and 52 and place the death of Abū Ayyūb in the year 50, 51, 52 or even 55. As the fighting around Constantinople was spread over several years, the difference in the estimates is not so unaccountable.

This siege has acquired particular renown in the Arab world, as the Anṣārī Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd fell in it and was buried before the walls of Constantinople; the finding of his tomb during the final siege by Meḥemmed II was an event only comparable to the discovery of the holy lance by the early Crusaders at the siege of Antioch. (The grave of Abū Ayyūb is first mentioned by Ibn Ḳutayba, 140; according to Ṭabarī, iii, 2324, Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 381, Ibn al-Djawzī and Ḳazwīnī, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimages to it in times of drought to pray there for rain (*istisḳā'*); the Turkish legend is given very fully in Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, 41 ff. and in the painstaking monograph by Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Āthār al-madjīdiyya fi 'l-manāḳib al-khālidiyya*, Istanbul 1257.)

There was a truce for over 40 years between Byzantines and Arabs until in 97/715-16 Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik came to the throne. A *ḥadīth* was at this time current according to which a caliph who should bear the name of a prophet was to conquer Constantinople. Sulaymān took the prophecy to refer to himself and equipped a great expedition against Constantinople. His brother Maslama led the army which was equipped with siege artillery through Asia Minor, crossed the Dardanelles at Abydos and surrounded Constantinople. The Arab armada anchored partly near the walls on the coast of the Sea of Marmora and partly in the Bosporus; the Golden Horn was barred by a chain. The siege began on 25 August 716 and lasted a whole year; Maslama then found himself forced to retire owing to the attacks of the Bulghars and the scarcity of provisions (Theophanes, 386-99; full details in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. de Goeje, 24-33; cf. also Ṭabarī, ii, 1314 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 17 ff.; cf. the vivid account in Gelzer, *Pergamon unter Byzantinern und Osmanen*, 49-64). There are many references to Maslama's hazardous march among the later Arabs. Even several centuries later they knew of "Maslama's Well" at Abydos, where he had encamped (Masʿūdī, ii, 317 = § 738; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 104), and the mosque built by him there (Yāḳūt, i, 374). ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭayyib, the first Muslim to lead an attack on the "Gate of Ḳusṭanṭīniyya" was one of Maslama's comrades (Ibn Ḳutayba, 275). Maslama is said to have made the building of a house near the Imperial palace for the Arab prisoners of war one of the conditions of the treaty of peace and to have built the first mosque in Constantinople (Muḳaddasī, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 18; Dimashḳī, 227); finally, he is credited with building the Tower of Galata (Dimashḳī, 228) and the ʿArab Djāmiʿ in Galata (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, year 97 A.H.). Ewliyā and his sources have made two sieges out of Maslama's campaign and embellished their narrative with incredible stories. Nerkesī (d. 1044/1634) discusses Maslama's campaigns in the fourth section of his Pentas, following, so he says, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-ʿArabī's *Musāmarāt*.

Only on one other occasion did an Arab host appear within sight of Constantinople, namely in 165/782. Hārūn, the son of the caliph al-Mahdī, had marched through Asia Minor unopposed and encamped at Chrysopolis (Scutari). The Empress Irene, who was acting as Regent for her son Constantine, hastened to make peace and agreed to pay tribute (Theophanes, 455 ff. under the year 6274 of the world [781-2]; Balādhurī, 168; Ṭabarī, iii, 504 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 44: year 165/781-2). Ewliyā and his authority (Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Djamālī, died 957/1550 according to Rieu, *Catalogue*, 46 ff.) have made no less then four regular sieges of Constantinople out of the campaigns of the Arabs under al-Mahdī and Hārūn against the Greeks. After the second, Hārūn gained a quarter in the city by a trick similar to that by which Dido gained the site of Carthage (Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, 54; Ewliyā, i, 81 = *Travels, etc.*, i/1, 25); the same story is given by Clavijo, 23, of the settlement of the Genoese in Galata, and Ewliyā, *Travels*, i/2, 66, of the building of Rumeli Ḥiṣār by Meḥemmed II.

The Arab accounts of Constantinople date from the 3rd/9th century. They considered the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosporus as a single "canal" (*khalīdj*), connecting the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. Iṣṭakhrī and others mention the great chain which prevented the entrance of Arab ships; this is probably the chain, which was stretched between Galata and Constantinople in time of war, that is referred to. The high double walls of the city with their towers and gateways, including the Golden Gate, the Aya Sofya, the Hippodrome with its monuments (notably the Egyptian obelisk), the four brazen horses at the entrance to the palace, and the great equestrian statue in bronze of "Constantine" (really of Justinian, the so-called Augusteus) are described by them in greater or less detail. Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī devote particular attention to the Praetorium where their countrymen, prisoners of war, were kept under a mild custody and to the mosque attributed to Maslama (Yāḳūt, i, 709, s.v. *Balāṭ*, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, i, 592, 767). The most detailed account is that of Ibn al-Wardī (8th/14th century); he mentions the bronze Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus, the Pillar of Arcadius and the Aqueduct of Valens and also knew that the Golden Gate was closed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 431-44) described from his own observation the monastic life of his time; the latest notices are given by Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) in his dictionary the *Ḳāmūs*.

Apart from prisoners of war, numerous Muslim merchants and envoys from the caliphs and other Muslim rulers sojourned in Byzantium; the Mamlūk Sulṭāns occasionally banished thither troublesome persons with their families; Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns and pretenders (Ḳilidj Arslān II, Kaykhusraw I, Kaykāwūs II) repeatedly spent long periods in Constantinople; remarkable details of their life in the capital are given by Byzantine writer and in the Saldjūḳ historians.

No definite traces have as yet been discovered of the two sieges by the Arabs and the residence of Arabs and other Muslims in Constantinople; in particular, the mosque of Maslama has not come to

light; it is first mentioned by Const. Porphyr., *De adm.*, ch. xxii (Bonn *Corpus*, 101, l. 22); it was destroyed in a popular rising in 1200 and pillaged by the Crusaders in 1203 (Nicetas Choniates, 696, 731, ed. Bonn). According to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 381, cf. x, 18 (whence Abu 'l-Fidā derives his information), it was restored in 441/1049-50 by Constantine Monomachos at the request of the Saldjūķ Ṭoghrīl Beg. According to Maķrīzī (i, 177, ed. Quatremère), Michael VIII Palaeologus built a mosque about 660/1261-2 which the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baybars equipped in splendid style. The accounts of the ʿArab Djāmiʿ and other buildings by the Arabs in Constantinople belong to the domain of fable.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN)

2. AFTER THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST [see ISTANBUL].

KÜSTENDIL, KÖSTENDIL (in Serbian: Ćustendil), a town of some 35,000 inhabitants in Western Bulgaria. It was in the Serbo-Bulgarian Middle Ages a small fortified stronghold on a hill above the wide plain of Küstendil, serving as a princely residence, and was known as Velbuzhd. In Ottoman times it was capital of the *sandjāķ* of Küstendil, and was an Islamic cultural and administrative centre of some importance. The town is the indirect successor of the Roman Pautalia, of which substantial remains have been unearthed.

The Ottoman chroniclers Saʿd al-Dīn and Münedjdjimbashī mention that the ruler of the land of Konstantin (the son of the Serbian nobleman Dejan) accepted Ottoman overlordship in 773/1371-2, after the latter had captured the strategic fortresses of Ikhtiman and Samokov. Neshrī mentions Konstantin among Murād's vasals during the Ķaramān Campaign. ʿAshīķpashazāde, Oruč Beg and the Anonymus Giese do not however mention the acquisition of the land of Konstantin. This prince married Helena, the daughter of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (their daughter married Manuel Palaeologus, emperor of Byzantium), and died as a loyal Ottoman vassal in the Battle of Rovine in 1395 assisting Bāyezīd I against the Walachians (797/1395). He left no suitable heir behind. The memory of the princely couple is perpetuated by the monastery of Poganovo in the ravine of the Erme north of Küstendil, today just across the Yugoslav border. Konstantin's lands, including the towns and castles of Štip, Radomir, Petrič, Melnik, Vranje and the rich silver mines of Kratovo (places today partly in Yugoslavian, partly in Bulgarian territory), were transformed into an Ottoman *sandjāķ* known as Ķostadin-ili, the land of Ķostadin. There are some traditions that the Bulgarian population rose in revolt in the difficult years of the Fetret Dewri and around the time of the ascession of Murād II. The fortified town had allegedly to be retaken, after which it was dismantled. The unreliable population was transferred to the neighbouring villages. Whether true or not, it is at least certain that in the time of Murād II a new open town was founded below the "Castle Hill", grouped around a mosque, a caravanserai and a school. The new settlement became known as Ilīdja-yī Küstendil, or Ilīdja in Turkish, Konstantinova Banja or Velbužka Banja in Slavic. The Turkish form Küstendil appears to be a corruption of Ķostadin-ili.

At the end of the 8th/14th century and the beginning of the 9th/15th century, important groups of Turkish colonists from Asia Minor were settled in the *sandjaķ* of Küstendil. According to an Ottoman census from the beginning of the 10th/16th century, these groups numbered 6,640 families. The Christian section of the population then comprised 56,988 families. According to the census of 925/1519, the city itself counted a Muslim population of 293 families and 60 bachelors, as well as 47 Christian families, six bachelors and eight widows, perhaps altogether 1,800 civil, non-administrative inhabitants. In spite of this relatively small size, Küstendil appeared in 1499 to the widely-travelled Rhenish knight Arnold van Harff as "eyn gar grosse schone Stadt". This source also remarks that "Wruskabalna" (Velbužka Banja) had a palace where the sultan kept a number of his wives. At the beginning of the 20th century, Jordan Ivanov still saw a "Seray Kulesi", situated next to a fine basin (*ḥawḍ*) built and paved with large slabs of marble. Tower and basin were situated in the "Seray Mahallesi".

In the 10th/16th century, Küstendil witnessed a rapid expansion. In 966/1559 an anonymous Italian traveller described it as a town with "about a thousand houses, built in the Turkish manner, many mosques and quite a number of baths. The town is inhabited by Turks and some Jews . . ." We passed the night in a Khan, called Imaret, which in our language is an inn. A Sandjakbeg ordered the construction of this very convenient building for the traveller and stranger, for the salvation of his soul." During this century, a number of military commanders and members of the administration erected a considerable number of mosques and caravanserais, and opened up mineral baths. Meḥmed-i ʿĀshīķ in his *Menāẓirü'l-ʿawālim* (Halet Efendi, No. 616, I, fol. 212a) noted in 997/1589 twelve mineral baths, many with stone-built domes over the disrobing section and over the bathroom proper, others even with separate rooms. The most beautiful was the so-called Beg Ilīdjasī. In 894/1489 the *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, Khādīm Süleymān Pasha, had erected a large domed mosque and a double bath in the city, and had laid out a water supply system which brought good drinking water from the village of Bogoslov, some 15 km. away, to the town. The villagers of Bogoslov received a privileged status as *ṣu-yoldjī*. The *taḥrir defteri* of 925/1519 also attributes an *ʿimāret* and a number of shops to this governor. (The mosque, very similar to that built by Khādīm Süleymān Pasha on the banks of the Tundja in Edirne, was demolished shortly before the Second World War.) Other important buildings were the ʿImāret Djāmiʿi, with

caravanserai, *madrasa* and bath, erected in 937/1531 by Meḥmed Beg (the building was often confused with the mosque of Murād II; see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, iv, Istanbul 1974, 806, which enumerates and continues the old mistakes). The mosque was demolished in 1949. Other 10th/16th century buildings, happily preserved, are the Dervīsh Banya from 973/1566 and the large mosque of Aḥmed Beg from 983/1575-6, this last now serving as a local museum.

According to the Ottoman census register of 981/1573, the town then numbered 623 Muslim households, 90 Muslim bachelors, 84 Christian households, 28 Christian bachelors, 14 widows and a Jewish community of four families. The whole population, including the members of the administration and their families, amounted perhaps to 4,000 souls. By then the number of Muslim *maḥalle*s had risen from six (in 925/1519) to 21, the number of *imām*s of mosques from seven to seventeen. An Ottoman Djeleb register (*Turksi Izvori za Bălgarskata Istorija*, iii, Sofia 1972, 129-50) from 981/1573 gives a fair cross-section of the composition of the town's population. A total of 57 Muslim *djeleb*s are registered against six Christians, all given by name, patronymic and profession. Both groups were almost all craftsmen, leatherworkers, smiths, *mütāf*s, *ḥelvādjī*s, goldsmiths, shoemakers, soapmakers, cartwrights, etc. Out of the number of *djeleb*s in the villages of the *ḳaḍā'* of Küstendil, 558 were Christian against 20 Muslims, from which may be concluded that the Bulgarian Christian element continued to be the bulk of the rural population.

In the 11th/17th century, the development of Küstendil apparently stagnated. The city had suffered badly from earthquakes in 993/1585 and 1051/1641. Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi), who visited it in 1071/1660-1 and left his signature on the front wall of the Aḥmed Beg Mosque, counted eleven small *maḥalle*s with 1,100 houses, and he further made some important notes on the Islamic buildings of the city, among which he mentions a number of mosques, three *madrasa*s, five *tekke*s, six schools and twelve mineral baths "with lofty vaults and many basins".

In March 1690 Küstendil was occupied by an Austrian force under Antonio Valerio Žić, which led to a considerable diminishing of the Muslim population. In about or after that year, the entire settlement was surrounded by a wall with towers and gates, and the Castle Hill was again fortified. A picture of these works, made at the end of the 17th century by the Dutch artist Harrewyn, is preserved in the "Prenten Kabinet" of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.

In the early 19th century, Küstendil recovered slowly. St. Denis gives the number of inhabitants in 1807 as 7,000. J. Hütz (*Beschreibung der europäischen Türkei*, Munich 1828, 250-1) gives the same number. Ami Boué (*Recueil d'itinéraires*, i, Paris 1836) counted 9,000 inhabitants, Bulgarians and Muslims. The *Sāl-nāme* of the Ṭūna Wilāyeti of 1285/1868-9 mentions 16 mosques in Küstendil, three *madrasa*s and 16 *tekke*s. When in 1878 Küstendil came within the frontiers of the newly-established Bulgarian state, most of the Muslim inhabitants emigrated. In 1890 Jireček (*Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891) counted in 1890 10,689 inhabitants, of which only 581 were Turks. Jireček still saw nine lead-covered mosques. Jordan Ivanov noted in 1908 ten mineral baths. Today (1979) only two mosques and one of the baths remain preserved, and the Muslim element is reduced to a handful of families.

Küstendil produced some Ottoman scholars and men of letters, such as Sanūberzāde Ḥāletī (d. 973/1566); Shem'ī Meḥmed Efendi Küstendil, scholar, poet, and calligrapher who was for a long time *muftī* of the town (d. 1272/1855-6); and especially, Küstendilī Mollāzāde Süleymān Sheykhī Efendi, for a long time *shaykh* of the Naḳshbandī convent of Küstendil, who left behind some 26 works including a *History of Küstendil*. The Naḳshī Dergāh, built by Süleymān himself, and in the yard of which he was buried, was demolished shortly after Bulgaria became independent.

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(M. Kiel)

KUSŪF, Khusūf, eclipse of the sun or of the moon. As regards linguistic usage, it may be noted that *al-kusūf* is used alike for the eclipse of the moon (*kusūf al-ḳamar*) and for that of the sun (*kusūf al-shams*), e.g. in al-Farghānī, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī; but they are often distinguished as *al-khusūf*, eclipse of the moon, and *al-kusūf*, of the sun, e.g. by al-Ḳazwīnī (on the linguistic usage, it should be noted that according to the *Mafātīḥ al-ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 222-3 the viith form, as in *inkasafat al-shams*, should not be used, although this is very often done; e.g. by al-Ḳazwīnī and others).

The eclipse of the sun and of the moon have from the earliest times attracted the liveliest attention. Ptolemy, following Hipparchus, studied the theory of eclipses, and following him the Arabs and Syrians, etc. We shall deal first with the eclipse of the moon. It must be premised that the apparent path of the moon—we must adhere to the geocentric view—cuts the ecliptic in two opposite points, which however in course of time come to move on to the

ecliptic. These points are called *al-djawzahar* (Persian *djawz čihr*, nut-shape, or less correctly *gūy čihr*, globe-shape); they are also called *al-tinnīn*, "dragon" (see below). All the planets have of course such *djawzahar*; without an addition the word always refers to the moon. Their positions are given in the Ephemerides. The massive ball into which, according to Ibn al-Haytham, the moon is inserted, and which carries it along as it moves, is called *falak al-djawzahar*.

The eclipse of the moon is caused, as was early recognised, by a dark body coming between the sun and the moon. It was at one time thought that this was a dragon, which ended at two opposite points on the globe of the heavens and had the same motion as the nodes of the moon. Eclipses occur when we cannot see the moon, because the head or tail of the dragon comes between us and the moon. From this idea comes the name for the crescent and waning nodes, i.e. the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, *al-ra'*s" and "tail, *al-dhanab*", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared. The sign Ω for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horoscope. But Severus Sebukht (*ca.* 650) (F. Nau, *Notes d'astronomie syrienne*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, xvi [1910], 15) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the modes. But we still find in al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm*, etc. the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates increase (of property etc.). The tail is cold, brings misfortune, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. Eclipses of the sun or of the moon are really caused by the earth coming between the sun and moon or the moon coming between the earth and the sun. Instead of *djawzahar* we often have the word "node" *ʿaḳd* and *ʿuḳda* used, also in combination with *ra's* and *dhanab*.

The shadow of the earth arising in the first instance, because the sun is considerably larger than the earth, consists of a cone-shaped convergent shadow (the shadow) on one side and a divergent shadow (penumbra) on the other side. Only in the shadow is there absolute darkness. As the diameter of the shadow at the place of the moon's path is considerably greater than that of the moon at the same point, under certain conditions, the moon may remain some time in the shadow and therefore be perfectly eclipsed for the period. Ibn al-Haytham, for example, investigated these conditions very fully (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.* xiii, *Über eine Schrift von Ibn al-Haitham, "Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten"*, in *SBPMS Erl.* [1907], xxxix, 226).

If earth, sun and moon were very small bodies, mere points, eclipses would only take place when the sun and moon were exactly in the nodes. But as they are large, eclipses also occur when these bodies have passed beyond the nodes, i.e. have experienced an alteration in latitude and longitude. A total eclipse occurs when the breadth is smaller than the difference between the diameter of the shadow and that of the moon, a partial eclipse when it is larger than the latter but smaller than the sun of the diameters; if it is however equal to the latter, there is only a contact but no eclipse.

Taking into consideration the shadow alone, the *makhrūṭ* (cone) or *ṣanawbar* (pine-cone)—its cross-section is called *dā'irat al-ẓill*—we have the following: the entrance into the shadow is called *bad' al-kusūf*, beginning of the eclipse; the phase from the beginning of the eclipse, to the beginning of totality, is called *suḳūṭ* (falling, the ἔμπτωσις of Ptolemy), the middle of the path covered in shadow is called *wasṭ* (middle). The phase which corresponds to complete emergence is called *tamām al-indjilā'* ("the completion of disappearance"); *al-makth* ("stop, stay") means the phase in which the moon is eclipsed; in a partial eclipse there is no such stop. A *kusūf kull al-ḳamar bilā makth*, a total eclipse without a stop, is said to occur when the moon's path is such that the darkened moon touches the cone of the shadow at only one point; then a total eclipse exists at this point only. For the case of total eclipse, the place where it begins is called *awwal al-makth* and where the moon begins to emerge from the shadow, *ākhir al-makth*.

A diminution of light but no complete extinction also occurs when the moon moves through the half-shadow. In his classical work on the shadows Ibn al-Haytham (see above) discussed the theory of this question and checked it by observation. In very rare cases, however, the whole of the eclipsed moon does not appear quite black but shows different colours, especially a dark red; this was observed by various early astronomers and minutely described by Ibn al-Haytham (his statements agree with modern observation, e.g. Joh. Müller, *Lehrbuch der kosmischen Physik*[3], § 9, p. 196). Al-Bīrūnī further studied these colours (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī, maḳāla* vii, *bāb* vii, *faṣl* iii); he also examines critically earlier views and particularly Indian ideas on the astrological significance of the colours (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Bīrūnī*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie, etc.*, 1914). This light on the completely eclipsed moon is explained by the fact that the sun's rays are diverted in passing through the earth's atmosphere and thus enter the shadow and illuminate the moon. According to the amount of moisture in the atmosphere, these diverted rays are more or less coloured. For the possibility of a solar eclipse, the conditions are the same as for a lunar one.

Solar Eclipse: As the angle at which the moon appears to us is smaller, although only slightly, than that at which the sun appears, the moon can never completely cover the sun. Therefore even at a so-called total eclipse of the sun, even if the centres of sun and moon and earth all lie on a straight line, a narrow rim of light still remains. Bright formations, the corona and the protuberances radiate from this. They are described by al-Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī, maḳāla* viii, *bāb* xi (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und Sonnenfinsternis*, in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, xv [1923], 43).

The local times at which the same lunar or solar eclipse appears at different places are obtained from the difference of their geographical longitudes. The calculations are made difficult by the fact that these bodies show a considerable parallax. This partly explains the great differences between the calculated and true values.

It would take us too far to go into the details of the theoretical considerations, for example when each eclipse begins, how long it lasts, its periodicity, etc. In the works of al-Farghānī, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Djaghmīnī, al-Khiraḳī, and particularly in that of Abu 'l-Faradj, *Le Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit*, ed. F. Nau, Paris 1899, also in the *Kitāb al-Tafhīm* etc. of al-Bīrūnī, we find more or less full general descriptions, while the works on astronomical theory like the *Zīdj* (tables) of al-Khwārazmī, of al-Battānī, the *Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* of al-Bīrūnī, the *Zīdj* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, etc., give information about

mathematical considerations and the particular observations to be made (on the above scholars, cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, x [1900]).

To obtain a standard for measuring the amount of the eclipse, the diameter of the sun or of the moon, was divided into twelve equal parts, called "fingers" (*iṣbaʿ* or *iṣbaʿ al-kusūf*) and the number of these that were eclipsed was calculated. In the West one spoke of "digits". In the same way, the surface is imagined to be divided into 12 equal parts and it is calculated how many of these are eclipsed. The latter may be calculated from the former which refer only to length. Al-Battānī, for example, gives tables in connection with this. The diopter of Hipparchus was used to measure the magnitude of a lunar eclipse. Two rods are fixed at right angles to a rod. The one with a small round hole is fixed and the other with a larger round hole can be moved towards the other. The second hole is so placed that at an appropriate distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second hole. The amount a of the shifting of its edge from one side of the hole, which bounds the dark side of the moon, to the edge of its bright part, is measured, and the magnitude b of the shifting over the whole surface of the moon and their relation expressed as $a:b$. The amount g in fingers of the eclipse is $g = \frac{a}{b}\,12$.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For details of eclipse computations, see now E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., xlvi/2 (1956), 123-77, esp. 143-4.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA, a place in al-ʿIrāḳ (lat. 32° 30′ N., long 45° 50′ E.), on the left bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and ʿAmāra, 100 miles south-east of Baghdād as the crow flies. *Kūt* is the Hindustānī word *kōt* meaning "fortress" [see KŌTWĀL] found in other place-names in al-ʿIrāḳ, like Kūt al-Muʿammir; Kūt al-ʿAmāra is often simply called Kūt. Kūt lies opposite the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy, also called al-Gharrāf, the old canal connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, which has several junctions with the Euphrates, e.g. at Nāṣiriyya and Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh. The plains to the north of Kūt are inhabited by the Banū Rabīʿa, a division of the great tribe of Banū Lām [*q.v.*]. Kūt is not an old town; it has been proposed to identify it with al-Madhār mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 275; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 38, and H. H. Schaeder in *Islam*, xiv, 17). In the beginning of the century and down to 1860 it was a miserable little village surrounded by walls of terre pisée (Keppel in 1824, according to Ritter; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1860, ii, 150). But after Messrs. Lynch obtained a concession for a line of steamers between Baghdād and Baṣra, Kūt became an important station on the river and the result was a considerable increase in its population. In the last period of Turkish administration (beginning 1861), Kūt was the capital of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name in the *sandjaḳ* of Baghdād. About 1890 the population was estimated at 4,115 (Cuinet), almost all Shīʿīs (but including about 100 Sunnīs and 100 Jews). The *ḳaḍāʾ* extends northwards as far as the mountains of Luristān [*q.v.*]. The plain at the foot of the mountains is watered by the river Kallāl and contains several villages, the Turkish ownership of which was disputed by the Persian authorities. The population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* likewise grew after 1861, and about 1890 numbered 30,000, all Sunnīs (except the population of Kūt itself).

It was at Kūt al-ʿAmāra during the course of the First World War that several thousand British and Indian troops were cut off by Turkish forces and compelled to surrender on 26 Djumāda II 1334/29 April 1916, after a siege lasting five months.

Ḳūt was first taken by the Sixth British-Indian division under Major-General Charles Townshend in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1333/late September 1915. Continuing his advance northwards, in an ill-judged attempt to occupy Baghdād, Townshend was repulsed at Ctesiphon in late November by the Turkish Sixth army under Yūsuf Nūr ad-Dīn Bey and forced to retire on Ḳūt. Here he decided to stand, for the ostensible purpose of blocking a Turkish advance down the Tigris to ʿAmāra, or by way of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy to Nāṣiriyya. In fact, however, his troops were exhausted, he was burdened with many wounded, and the Turks, under their new commander, Khalīl Bey (later Pasha), were hard on his heels. If he had not halted at Ḳūt, his division would almost certainly have been caught in the open and destroyed.

Ḳūt was invested by the Turks on 27 Muḥarram 1334/5 December 1915. Townshend's force consisted of just under 13,000 infantry and artillerymen (he had sent his cavalry south before Ḳūt was encircled) and over 3,000 Indian non-combatants (cooks, drivers, etc.). A quarter or more of the fighting troops were sick or wounded. The Arab population of the town, which Townshend allowed to remain, numbered about 6,000. The besieging force was made up of one-and-a-half divisions (about 7,500 men) of the Turkish Sixth Army, whose total effective strength of something under 30,000 men was mainly disposed between Ḳūt and Shaykh Saʿd, 30 miles to the east. Its tactical direction lay with Field-Marshal von der Goltz, head of the German military mission in ʿIrāḳ.

Desperate endeavours were made by the main body of the British expeditionary force between January and April 1916 to relieve the garrison at Ḳūt. In a series of severely fought actions, notably at Shaykh Saʿd, Ḥanna and Dudjayla, the British and Indian troops suffered 23,000 casualties, while Turkish losses were estimated at 10,000. The British efforts were in vain, and in the last week of April Townshend asked Khalīl Pasha for terms. When the Turkish commander indicated that he would not be content with anything less than unconditional surrender, Townshend suggested, with the concurrence of the Cabinet in London, that the Ḳūt garrison be freed on parole in exchange for its guns, stores and one million pounds sterling. On the orders of Enver Pasha [*q.v.*], the Turkish Minister of War, the offer was rejected, and the fact of its having been made was afterwards used to good effect by the Turkish government to discredit Britain's reputation in the Middle East. A last-minute attempt to persuade Khalīl Pasha to change his mind was made by Colonel W. H. Beach, head of military intelligence in ʿIrāḳ, and Captains Aubrey Herbert and T. E. Lawrence of Military Intelligence, Cairo, who were authorised to double the ransom offered. The attempt failed, and twenty-four hours later, after destroying his guns and stores, Townshend surrendered, under a solemn guarantee from Khalīl Pasha, which was afterwards reaffirmed by Enver Pasha that his troops would be treated as "the honoured guests of the Turkish nation".

During the siege, the garrison at Ḳūt had suffered

casualties of 1,818 men killed or died of wounds (278 of them Indian non-combatants) and 2,500 wounded. Nearly 250 of the Arab inhabitants had been killed and over 600 wounded, though more were to die after Turkish forces had re-occupied the town. The Turks allowed the worst cases among the British and Indian wounded, 1,475 in all, to be sent down to Baṣra in exchange for Turkish prisoners of war. Nearly 12,000 British and Indian troops, along with their Indian camp followers, went into captivity in Anatolia and elsewhere. By the end of the war more than 4,000 of them, including 70% of the British rank and file, had died from disease, starvation and inhuman treatment at the hands of their Turkish captors.

Ḳūt was retaken by the Mesopotamian expeditionary force in Djumādā I 1335/late February 1917, opening the way for the occupation of Baghdād a fortnight later. After the war, in the administrative reorganisation that accompanied the institution of the mandate, Ḳūt was made the principal town of a new *liwāʾ*.

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(J. H. Kramers - [J. B. Kelly])

ḲUTADGHU BILIG ("Knowledge that brings happiness"), the first long narrative poem in Turkic literature as well as the oldest monument of Turkic Islamic literature. A relatively long (6,645 distichs) didactic work, it is in Ḳarakhānid, the earliest variety of Eastern Middle Turkic and the first literary language of the Muslim Turks. Its author, Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], a Muslim Turk educated in the Arabic and Persian languages and in the classical Islamic sciences, completed his work in 462/1069-70 in Kāshghar and dedicated it to Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Tabghač Bughra Khān (d. 495/1102), ruler of the eastern Ḳarakhānids [see ilek-khāns].

The *Ḳutadghu bilig* has come down to us in three manuscripts: the Harāt ms., dated 842/1439, which is in the Uyghur script and was made from an unknown version in the Arabic script; and the Farghāna and Cairo mss., both undated and in the Arabic script.

It is essentially a political essay which, in an Islamic setting, describes an ideal monarchy of the Sāsānid type. The main goal of this monarchy is the public good, which is conceived of as the strength of the king and the happiness of his subjects. This ideal kingdom is based on dedicated service rendered by highly-qualified state officials and servants to a wise and noble ruler of royal descent, who properly rewards those who serve him. Islam, of an Avicennan and Fārābian hue, has a vital role in it. Every individual must possess the faith and act in accord with it. He should not renounce this world: services rendered by ascetics in seclusion are of little value, since they produce no public good. Through his services to God and men, he should rather aspire to obtain both this world and the hereafter.

The author presents his views in a series of dialogues, in which the chief participants are a king, Kün Toghdï; his ministers, first Ay Toldï and, after his death, his son Ögdülmish; and the ascetic Odghurmïsh, a relative of Ögdülmish. The author uses these characters symbolically: Kün Toghdï represents the true path; Ay Toldï, happiness; Ögdülmish, reason; and Odghurmïsh, destiny.

No one source or model for the *Ḳutadghu bilig* has been discovered. Frequent references in it, however, indicate a broad spectrum of still-unidentified sources: poetic works (*shāʿir sözi*); sayings of elders (*örüng bashligh är, kökčin, avučgha*), the learned (*biliglig, bögü, bilgä*), the wise (*uḳushluḳ*), and notables (*sartlar bashï, ötükän begi*); as well as proverbs (*türkčä mathal*). Some of these references appear to be direct quotations, especially those in the form of quatrains.

The *Ḳutadghu bilig* follows the rules of Arabic-Persian prosody, but also includes a few elements of the traditional Turkic syllabic versification. It is in the *mathnawī* form and in the *mutaḳārib* metre (◡−−/◡−−/◡−−/◡−). The quatrains (*rubāʿ*is or *tuyugh*s) embedded in the poem are all in the same metre, and all have the rhyme pattern *aaba*. Alliteration and rhythmico-syntactic parallelism, features of pre-Islamic Turkic prosody, occur quite frequently. The author's style is concise and expressive. He favours such stylistic devices as epithets, apostrophes and rhetorical questions, and he often indulges in word-play and folk-etymology.

The language is very closely related to Late Uyghur, although the Persian language—colloquial and classical—has left an imprint in the form of loan-translations and direct borrowings, both on its grammar and vocabulary.

Philological research on the *Ḳutadghu bilig* is at a fairly advanced stage. The three extant mss. have been published in facsimile. There is also a good critical edition, translation into Modern Turkish and thorough philological analysis by R. R. Arat (*Kutadgu bilig. I. Metin.* Istanbul 1947, II. *Tercüme*, Ankara 1958). Its language has been described, very sketchily, by M. Mansuroğlu (*Das Karakhanidische*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, 87-112). Most of the lexical material of the *Ḳutadghu bilig*, with illustrations, has been included in the Old Turkic dictionary, prepared by Nadelaev and his team (*Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969). The best content-analysis of the work to date is that given by A. Bombaci in his book on the history of Turkish literature (*La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 83-96).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see H. Vámbéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik*, Innsbruck 1870; W. Radloff, *Kudatku-Bilik, Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift der K.K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, St. Petersbourg 1890; idem, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-hadschib aus Bälasaghun*, i, St. Petersburg 1891; O. Alberts, *Zur Textkritik des*

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(A. J. E. Bodrogligeti)

KUTĀHIYA, modern Kütahya, a town of north-western Anatolia, lying at an altitude of 3,251 feet/991 m. in lat. 39° 25′ north and long. 29° 59′ east. It is in the south-western corner of the well-cultivated plain of the Porsuk Çay, which eventually runs into the Sakarya river; the old town nestles on the slopes of the hill called 'Adjem Dagh, which is crowned by the ruined citadel. In classical times it was Cotyaeum, the city of Cotys, and the largest city of Phrygia Salutaris, an early centre of Christianity and then in Byzantine times the seat of an archbishopric.

Kutāhiya was taken by the Turkmen Sulaymān b. Kutulmush in *ca.* 472/1080, in the aftermath of the battle of Mantzikert or Malāzgird [*q.v.*], and until the battle of Dorylaeum remained under Saldjūk control. It then reverted to the Greeks for a brief while as a frontier fortress subject to Turkmen attacks, and was retaken in 579/1183 by the Saldjūks under Kılıdj Arslan II [*q.v.*]. It later passed once again to the Byzantines but was finally regained by the Saldjūks in 631/1233-4. In the 8th/14th century it formed the centre of the *beylik* of the Germiyān-oghullarī [*q.v.*]. Süleymān Shāh Čelebi (*ca.* 765-90/1363-98) transferred Kutāhiya, with others of his towns, to the Ottoman prince Bāyezīd Yıldırım when the latter married his daughter Dewlet Khātūn. Süleyman's son Ya'kūb Čelebi tried to recover it on the death of Murād I (791/1389), but it was regained by Bāyezīd in the following year. After the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (804/1402), Kutāhiya was taken over by Tīmūr, who installed his son Shāh Rukh as governor whilst he himself went on towards Ephesus. In the subsequent period of succession squabbles in the Ottoman ruling house, Kutāhiya fell briefly into the hands of the Karamānid Meḥmed I [see karamān-oghullarī] (814/1411), but was recaptured by Ya'kūb Germiyānī with Ottoman help. When Ya'kūb died at Kutāhiya in 832/1429, the principality of the Germiyān-oghullarī passed, according to his bequest, to the Ottoman Murād II.

Under the Ottomans, Kutāhiya was the capital of a *sandjak* of Anadolu, and then in 1841 a *sandjak* of the province of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*]; in 1902 it comprised the *kaḍā*'s of Kutāhiya, Eski Shehir [*q.v.*], 'Ushāk [*q.v.*], Kedus or Gediz and Sīmāw. Kutāhiya was the farthest point reached by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Muḥammad Pasha [*q.v.*] in its advance on Istanbul (1833), and his camp at the nearby hot springs of Yenidje was the scene of diplomatic negotiations which followed the intervention of the European powers. In *ca.* 1890, Cuinet numbered the population of the town at 22,266, including 4,000 Greeks and 3,000 Armenians; there were 24 mosques, 21 *madrasas*, 16 dervish *tekkes*, 4 churches, 9 caravanserais, 11 baths and 12 potteries. Kutāhiya was indeed formerly an important centre for the production of glazed, polychrome pottery with floral decorations, the so-called Rhodian ware, and this is still produced today in a somewhat cruder form; carpet weaving has also been an important family craft. A standard-gauge railway runs from Balikesir to Kutāhiya and joins the Eski-Şehir-Afyon Karahisar line a few miles further on. Kutāhiya is today the capital of an *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of the same name; in 1975 the town's population was 82,442 and that of the *il* 470,423.

The monuments of Kutāhiya, from the Germiyān and early Ottoman periods, are significant, and include the Kurshunlu Djāmi' (777/1375-6), the Ulu Djāmi' (814/1411), the Ya'kūb Čelebi Djāmi' (837/1433-4) and the Karagöz Aḥmed Djāmi' (915/1509); notable is the use of tiles for roofing rather than lead. There are also some interesting old houses remaining.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KUTAI, now a *kabupaten* (regency) in the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur (East K.) [see borneo in Suppl.] which stretches along the Mahakam river .It covers 40,000 km.² and has 250,492 inhabitants, among them 137,229 Muslims (1971). It is rich in oilfields (near Balik Papan), gold, and timber.

The population consists of: Kutainese, probably originally Malays who immigrated as pagans, and whose Malay language now bears the influence of Javanese, Buguinese and Banjarese; Buginese, from South Sulawesi, and especially from the old kingdom of Wajo, who appeared as sailors, shipbuilders and traders since the first half of the 17th century; Banjarese, who may have participated already in the colonisation of Kutai by Hindu-Javanese from Banjarmasin, which later on kept close contacts with Kutai; Bajau, who originate from the Sulu Islands and who came first as sea-

nomads until they finally settled on the coasts; several Dayak tribes, living mainly in the interior and up-river areas; and some 245 Chinese and 246 Indian traders (1971).

In the hillside area of Muara Kaman, some plates with votive inscriptions in Sanskrit from the 4th century A.D., which belong to the oldest known Hindu relics in the archipelago, have been discovered. The Hindu kingdom of that area, which in the course of time moved more to the interior, obviously developed independently from the Hindu and Buddhist empires in Java, and was only conquered and consequently Islamised by Kutai around 1630 A.D.

Kutai itself appears in history as a dependency of Majapahit at the time when Gajah Mada was *patih* of that kingdom (1331-64), as is stated in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (14, I).

According to the *Salasila raja-raja di dalam negeri Kutai Kerta Negara*, or Chronicle of Kutai, Islam was first introduced during the reign of Raja Makota by Tuan di Bandang (in Buginese sources known as Dato' ri Bandang), who only stayed for a short while, and Tuan Tunggang Parangan, both of whom arrived from Makassar, most probably in the first years of the 17th century. In his efforts to spread Islam, Tuan Tunggang Parangan extensively used magical means, as the *Salasila*, composed under the reign of Raja Makota's grandson Pangeran Adipati Sinum Panji Mendapa ing Martapura before 1635, eloquently narrates.

This *Salasila* reveals a still-existing attachment to the animistic and magical mentality which is stronger here than in other Malay chronicles. It tries to avoid anachronism, such as the mentioning of Islamic terms or customs in its narratives about pre-Islamic events, and although it shows a remarkable familiarity with the moral and legal prescriptions of the *Tādj al-salāṭīn*, or *Makota segala raja-raja*, and the Javanese *Panji* narratives as well as the *wayang*, it gives the impression that the *adat* law [see ʿĀDA, iv. Indonesia] which remained in use even at the sultan's court at Tenggarong, was to a large extent the old, indigenous one.

An important role in the history of Kutai was played by the Buginese settlers, most of whom originated from Wajo, and who were centred on Samarinda, forming the strongest "foreign" colony and enjoying some kind of internal autonomy under the *Pua Adu* or *Matoa* elected from among their own nobility, but reconfirmed by the sultan (until 1860). In 1726-7, prince Aru Singkang from Wajo conquered for a short time Pasir and Kutai, but usually the Buginese supported the sultan, especially in his fights against the pagan Dayaks and the pirates. The relations with the Dutch, who first appeared in 1635, were, generally speaking, smooth, and these preserved to the sultan a considerable degree of internal jurisdiction based on Islamic and *adat* law.

Bibliography: C. A. Mees, *De Kroniek van Koetai*, Tekstuitgave met toelichting, Santpoort 1935 (diss.); W. Kern, *Commentaar op de Salasilah van Koetai*, The Hague 1956 (= *VKI*, 19).

(O. SCHUMANN)

KUTĀMA or KETAMA, one of the great Berber families; when Islam was introduced into North Africa, they occupied all the northern part of the region of the Constantincis, between the Awrās [*q.v.*] and the sea, that is the region containing the towns of Īkdjān, Setīf, Bāghāya, Ngaus (Niḳāwus), Tiguist (Tikist), Mīla, Constantine, Skīkda, Djidjellī, Bellezma, and also Lesser Kabylia. One legend flattering the national pride makes them to have been descended from the Ḥimyarites brought there by Ifrīḳus. Katām, the eponymous ancestor of their race, was said be the son of Bernes. He had two sons, Gharsen and Issūda, from whom are descended all the tribes of the Kutāma. They do not seem to have played a part in the civil and religious wars which desolated North Africa from the time of ʿUḳba to the days of the Aghlabids; we do not find them among the Khāridjīs. When ʿUbayd Allāh gave himself out to be the Mahdī, his emissaries met some Kutāma pilgrims in Arabia and converted them to Ismāʿīlī doctrines. The principal convert was Mūsā-chief of the Sakyān, a branch of the Djamīla whose name survives in the town of this name. The missionary (*dāʿī*) Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] settled in Īkdjān and succeeded in maintaining his position there in spite of the efforts of the Aghlabids. From there he was able to extend his conquests and to deliver the *Mahdī*, who was a prisoner at Sidjilmāsa.

The empire of the Fāṭimids was thus founded with the help of the Kutāma. It was they who furnished its main strength and supplied the means of conquering Egypt. But these continual efforts exhausted them. Those who remained in the Maghrib after the departure of al-Muʿizz were forced to submit to local rulers, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us. In our day the principal representatives of the Kutāma are the Zuwāwa of the Djurdjura and the population around Djidjellī and in Lesser Kabylia. We do not know at what date Ismāʿīlī doctrines disappeared from among them, but long afterwards their attachment to this teaching was regarded as a subject of obloquy, and for this reason the powerful tribe of Sedwīkish, of Kutāma origin, renounced all connection with this family. At the present day, all the Berbers of this region are Sunnīs.

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(R. BASSET)

AL-**ĶUṬĀMĪ** ("the falcon"), the name of several poets (including one from Ḍubayʿa b. Rabīʿa and another from Kalb; see al-Āmidī, *Mukhtalif*, 166); the best-known of these was ʿUMAYR B. SHUYAYM B. ʿAMR, who probably came from the Djusham b. Bakr of Taghlib (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Register*, 474). On account of one of his verses, he was also given the name of Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī "the one felled by beautiful maidens". Like his fellow-tribesman and maternal uncle (?) al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], he was involved in the quarrels of the second half of the 1st/7th century between the Taghlib and Ḳays ʿAylān in the region of the Khābūr [*q.v.*].

In opposition to late sources which depict him as a convert to Islam, it seems correct to follow the author of the *Aghānī*, who states that he remained a Christian. The verses favourable to Islam figuring in piece No. 20 of the *Dīwān* could have been added later or could have resulted from an attitude dictated by gratitude; the eulogies of the Umayyads, and especially of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (No. 29), prove nothing about his adhesion to Islam. This point has been discussed by Father L. Cheikho, with strong arguments (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 191-203).

Al-Ḳuṭāmī's Dīwān was published, with notes, by J. Barth (*Dīwān des ʿUmeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī*, Leiden 1902), together with an anonymous com-

mentary, and has also been the subject of a somewhat enlarged edition by I. Sāmarrāʾī and A. Maṭlūb (Beirut 1960). The first edition contains 35 pieces of varying length (the longest of 100, 71, 66 and 58 verses) and 9 isolated verses, making a total of 764 verses, to which should be added 52 hemistiches of *radjaz*.

Al-Ḳuṭāmī was a Bedouin poet who detested the townspeople, and who hymned his own military exploits and those of his tribe, together with the virtues of *sayyids* like Zufar b. al-Ḥārith. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, No. 5619), he died in 101/719-20.

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(H. H. Bräu - [Ch. Pellat])

ḲUTAYBA B. MUSLIM, Abū Ḥafṣ Ḳutayba b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī, Arab commander under the Umayyad caliphs. He was born in 49/669 into a family influential at the court and with extensive possessions in Baṣra. His father Muslim was the boon-companion of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, and during the revolt of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*], he was in charge of the prison at Baṣra; but he later sided with Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and was killed in 72/691-2 when Muṣʿab's dominion in ʿIrāḳ was ended, after having failed to secure a pardon from ʿAbd al-Malik. The family nevertheless continued to be important in Baṣra, and a tribal mosque of their branch of Bāhila, the *masdjid Banī Ḳutayba*, is mentioned (see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 11, 87, 91-2, v, 341-2).

Ḳutayba himself attracted the attention of the governor of ʿIrāḳ and the east, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, after participating in the warfare against the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH]. He was given the governorship of Rayy in 83/701 after he had expelled from there the rebel ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (see G. C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 9). Then at the end of 85/704 or beginning of 86/705 he was appointed by ʿAbd al-Malik to succeed al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥadjdjādj, thus reversing the position in Khurāsān, where the Yamanī Muhallabīs had previously been dominant, for the Bāhila tribe [*q.v.*] generally allied itself to the Ḳaysī or North Arab interest in the Marwānid period.

There thus begins the ten years' governorship of Ḳutayba, which contributed much to the extension of Islam in what is now Afghānistān and Central Asia, and which forms one aspect of the wave of Arab expansionism which characterised al-Walīd's caliphate. Ḳutayba's administrative talents, backed by the authority of al-Ḥadjdjādj, had full play in the consolidation of Arab rule in Khurāsān, although the momentum was not maintained after his death. An appreciable factor in his success here seems to have been some recognition of the position of the indigenous Iranian population, and some care to use their administrative talents. There were in his time perhaps as many as 7,000 *mawālī* troops registered in the *dīwān* and receiving regular pay, and in addition to these regular forces, Ḳutayba required *ad hoc* levies of soldiers from the towns of Khurāsān for his spring and summer campaigns into Central Asia; in Ṭabarī, ii, 1245, the contingents from Bukhārā and Khwārazm besieging Samarḳand in 93/712 are described as "the slaves" (*al-ʿabīd*). Also, he left the local Persian *dihḳāns* in power on payment of tribute, apart from the planting of Arab garrisons in Bukhārā, Samarḳand and probably Kāth in Khwārazm. With regard to the Arab tribesmen in Khurāsān, Ḳutayba organised these, on the Baṣra model, into the five groups of the Azd, Tamīm, Ahl al-ʿĀliya, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays; at least, it is in his time that such a division is first mentioned. (See for general reviews of Ḳutayba's political and social policies, Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-31, and Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 63 ff.)

The military campaigns of Ḳutayba's governorship have been divided by Gibb, *op. cit.*, 31 ff., into four periods: firstly, the recovery of Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān in 86/705; secondly, the conquest of Baykand and Bukhārā from the local Soghdians, 87-90/706-9; thirdly, the consolidation of Arab authority in the Oxus valley and the securing of Khwārazm and Samarḳand, 91-3/71-12; and fourthly, expeditions into the Jaxartes valley from Shāsh against Isfīdjāb and Farghāna, 94-6/713-15. Many of these undoubtedly remarkable successes were achieved through Ḳutayba's own blend of military skill and ruthlessness, combined with a willingness to use treachery, if need arose, and to exploit local divisions, as amongst the princes of Ṭukhāristān and Soghdia and amongst the rival claimants to the throne of Khwārazm.

In 86/705 Ḳutayba moved against the princes of the upper Oxus valleys of Shūmān, Akhrūn and Čaghāniyān, and he also persuaded Ṭarkhān Nīzak, ruler of the northern Hephthalite principality in Bādghīs [see HAYĀṬILA], to submit to the Arabs and accompany Ḳutayba on the ensuing campaign against Bukhārā. The campaigns of 87-90/706-9 against Baykand and Bukhārā were long and arduous. Ḳutayba's savage sacking of Baykand stiffened the resistance of the Soghdians under Wardān Khudāh, but Bukhārā was in the end stormed against fierce local resistance, apparently backed up by Turkish help. A tribute of 200,000 dirhams was imposed on the city and an Arab garrison placed in it; in 94/712-13 Ḳutayba built a mosque inside the citadel, but had at the outset to pay the local people to attend the worship. In 91/709-10 Ḳutayba and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim were occupied with suppressing the last rebellion of Nīzak, now in collusion with the *Yabghu* (Arabic form *Djabbūya*) or local ruler of Ṭukhāristān. On capturing Nīzak, Ḳutayba had him killed, despite his earlier promise of *amān* or quarter; and although in the poetry quoted by Ṭabarī, ii, 1225-6, we find Nahār b. Tawsiʿa praising Ḳutayba's behaviour as salutary for the interests of Islām, like that of the Prophet towards the Jews of Medina, we also find a verse by Thābit Ḳuṭna warning against calling perfidy "resolute action". However, for the first time, Arab rule became reasonably secure in lower Ṭukhāristān, and Balkh now developes as a centre of Arab power and Islamic culture; a subsequent governor of Khurāsān, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, was to move temporarily the provincial capital from Marw to Balkh (118/736).

In 92/711 Ḳutayba was in Sīstān, which was at that time under the subordinate governorship of his brother ʿAmr. Here, the Arabs in their strongpoints of Zarang and Bust faced the powerful ruler of the southern Hephtalites, the Zunbīls of Zābulistān [see ZUNBĪL]. Ḳutayba's presence scared the Zunbīl into temporary submission, but as always happened, once the Arab forces departed, all obedience was

renounced. The conquest of Khwārazm in 93/712 was a spectacular feat of Ḳutayba's, and it led to the tentative implanting of Islam there, though it was several decades before the people of the province or their Shāhs were fully converted; for details, see KHWĀRAZM. In the last years of his governorship, Ḳutayba's attention was focussed on Soghdia again. In 93/712, on the way back from Khwārazm, he attacked Samarḳand and imposed a fresh peace treaty on its ruler Ghūrak; the breaking thus of an earlier agreement considerably tarnished Ḳutayba's reputation in Soghdia amongst the Iranian population. It may be that it was at this point that the Western Turks or Türgesh intervened in Transoxania at the request of the Soghdian princes; at all events, Ḳutayba endeavoured to secure the regions of the Jaxartes adjacent to the steppes of Turkistān, moving into Shāsh and Ushrūsana, and in 94-5/713-14 he led a series of raids into Farghāna. Whether Ḳutayba had expressly in mind the securing of the trade route through Central Asia towards China is uncertain, and the report in Ṭabarī, ii, 1276, that his troops crossed the Tien Shan Mts. to Kāshghar was rejected by Gibb as a fabrication, see his *The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467-74.

The fall of Ḳutayba in 96/715 was ultimately the result of the change of régime in Damascus from al-Walīd to Sulaymān, the death of Ḳutayba's patron al-Ḥadjdjādj, and an expected reversal of the favour previously shown to the Ḳaysī elements in the empire. Ḳutayba was campaigning in Farghāna when he heard the news of al-Walīd's death, and though the new caliph confirmed him in his governorship, he feared an imminent change of attitude. He therefore proclaimed rebellion against the caliph's authority, but was supported only by his own family, the inadequate power-base of his fellow-Bāhilī tribesmen, and his bodyguard of Iranian archers; the mass of the Arabs mutinied and refused to support him, as also did the Persian *mawālī* troops under Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, formerly his faithful supporters. He and several of his family were therefore killed by their soldiers in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 96/August 715, or according to some sources, later in that autumn at the beginning of 716, and Wakīʿ b. Abi 'l-Sūd al-Tamīmī assumed power in the east in his stead.

Ḳutayba's death meant a halting for several decades, and indeed, a definite regression, in the momentum of Arab conquest beyond the Oxus; the Soghdians and their Turkish allies were now able to mobilise their forces for counterstrokes. He is undeniably one of the heroic figures of the age of Arab conquests, even if the Bāhilī tribal tradition enshrined in Ṭabarī tends at time to exaggerate his exploits, and this halo placed around his head brought about much confusion in the sources over the events surrounding his death.

The descendants of Ḳutayba continued to be influential in both the later Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid periods, with various of his sons and grandsons attaining official posts; his son Muslim (d. 149/766) was twice governor of Baṣra, and his grandson Abū ʿAmr Saʿīd b. Salm (d. 217/832) was governor of Armenia, Mawṣil, al-Djazīra, Sīstān, Sind and Ṭabaristān.

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2. Secondary sources: Muir, *The Caliphate*[4], 349-53; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 267-78, Eng. tr. 429-44; Périer, *La vie d'al-Ḥadjdjâdj ibn Yoûsof*, 232-45, 337; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 184-7; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-58; Spuler, *Iran*, 29-33; M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 61, 63-75; idem, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 122-4, 128; A. N. Kurat, *Kuteybe bin Müslim'in Ḫvārizm ve Semerkand'i zabti*, in *AÜDTCFD*, vi (1948), 385-430 (gives text of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī on Ḳutayba's conquests in Khwārazm and at Samarḳand). (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ḲUṬB (A.), pole.

1. As an astronomical term

In Arabic, *ḳuṭb* covers nearly the same field of semantic aspects as Greek ὁ πόλος: a pivot around which something revolves (in Arabic, especially the pivot for mill stones), which was extended to the revolution of the sky, designating the axis of the celestial east-west movement and, more specifically, its two "poles" (*LA*, Beirut 1955, i, 681b f.; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḳuṭb*; Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English lexicon*, s.v. πόλος). Hence later, in Arabic translations of Greek works, *ḳuṭb* was often used as a rendering of πόλος, (e.g. Ptolemy, *Almagest*, i, 3 (both translations, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar, and Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn); but Aristotle, *De caelo*, has *al-falak* in all instances, cf. Badawī's edn., Cairo 1961, 232 f., 280, 294).

The celestial pole was a known feature among the Arabs already in their "pre-scientific" period, i.e. before their contact with the scientific literature of the Greeks. Certain traditions concerning the location and nature of the pole have been transmitted in some philological and astronomical books (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Anwāʾ*, Hyderabad 1956, 122 f.; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *apud* al-Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-amkina*, Hyderabad 1332, ii, 7 f., 371 ff.; Ibn al-Adjdābī, *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ*, Damascus 1964, 65 f.; Ibn Manẓūr, *K. Nithār al-azhār*, Istanbul 1298, 146, 173; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī, *K. Ṣuwar al-kawākib*, Hyderabad 1954, 27 f. (repeated by al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, Göttingen 1849, 29; tr. H. Ethé, *El-Kazwīnī's Kosmographie*, Leipzig 1868, 62); al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm*, ed. and tr. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 77 [§ 163]; idem, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad, iii (1956), 995 f.). Here it is stated that the [north] pole was not a star, but merely a spot (*nuḳṭa, buḳʿa*) in the sky. Its place was assumed to be in the middle of the figure of a fish (*samaka*; al-Bīrūnī has instead: *shakl halīladjī*, "an elliptical figure") formed by two curved lines of stars, one consisting of the five stars β, ζ, ε, δ, α Ursae Minoris, and the opposite one of very small and faint stars (most of them not registered by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*), among which Fl. 5 and 4 Ursae Minoris and 32 H Camelopardalis. In some places, this statement is corrected, with the addition that the true place of the pole is not in the very middle of that figure, but more in the direction of α Ursae Minoris, near one of the small stars in the curved line of faint stars, (al-Marzūḳī, Ibn al-Adjdābī, al-Ṣūfī, *locc. cit.*). This difference in location obviously reflects the effect

of precession, due to which the place of the north pole was near the star 32 H Camelopardalis in A.D. 1000, and still more southwards in A.D. 500. It was also observed that the opposite point of the sky, the south pole, was invisible in the lands of the Arabs (Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*, 122; Ibn Manẓūr, *op. cit.*, 173)

After the introduction of scientific astronomy, it was known that this pole belonged to the equatorial system, hence it was occasionally called *ḳuṭb muʿaddil al-nahār*, "pole of the equator", besides its other designations, such as simply *al-ḳuṭb*, or *al-ḳuṭb al-shamālī* (and *al-djanūbī* respectively), *ḳuṭb al-djudayy*, *ḳuṭb banāt naʿsh*, *ḳuṭb al-falak*, *ḳuṭb al-kull*, etc. Al-Bīrūnī seems to be the first to declare α Ursae Minoris (= "Polaris") to be the nearest bright star to the [north] pole, at his time, and hence to serve as a substitute for the pole *wa-yanūbu ʿani 'l-ḳuṭbi li-annahū fī zamāninā aḳrabu 'l-nayyirati ilayhi* (*Tafhīm*, 77 [§ 163]). At the same time, the ecliptical system was assigned two poles, as well, which were called *ḳuṭb[ā] falak al-burūdj* and *ḳuṭb[ā] dāʾirat al-burūdj*, "pole[s] of the ecliptic" (al-Ṣūfī, *loc. cit.*, 25 f.; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 55 f. [§ 139]; idem, *Ḳānūn*, iii, 993, 995 ff.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 27, tr. 59, and 52 f., tr. 108).

North and south pole became of actual value for the Islamic navigators of the Indian Ocean (*ca.* A.D. 1500), who used both of them for altitude measurements in order to fix their position and determine their routes. In their terminology the north pole was generally called *al-djāh* (a word of Persian origin, used both for the pole itself and for the Pole Star). Travelling south of the equator, they also acquired a complete knowledge of the south pole, *ḳuṭb suhayl* ("the pole [in the region] of the star α Carinae"), or simply *al-ḳuṭb* (as opposed to *al-djāh*), which they observed—in contradistinction to the north pole—not to be marked by a bright star near it, but having the two Magellanic Clouds at some distance (Aḥmad b. Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī; in English tr. see G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, the glossaries and indexes, 518 and 547 [s.v. *al-djāh*], 538 [s.v. *ḳuṭb*], 609 [s.v. Polaris; Pole, North-South]).

The poles also seem to have excited the fantasy of astrologers, for two lists of magic virtues (*khawāṣṣ*) appertaining to both of them are repeated by Ibn Manẓūr (*op. cit.*, 146-53; partially also in al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, i, 30 f. tr. 64 f. and 40, tr. 83 f.).

In modern terminology, the terrestrial poles are also called *ḳuṭb* (with adjective *ḳuṭbī*, "polar").

Apart from this, in the construction of the astrolabe *al-ḳuṭb* signifies the central pivot, or axis (elsewhere also called *al-miḥwar*), which keeps together its different discs, the spider, and the rule (*Alhidade*), latinised (since the 10th century) as *Alchotob*, *Alchitob*, *Alchitoth*, etc. See ASṬURLĀB; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 235; al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, i, Milan 1903, 141 and 319; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 195 [§ 325], etc. Latin: J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig de història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, i, Barcelona 1931, 278, 66; 288, 4; 289, 29. 32. 36; N. Bubnov (ed.), *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae opera mathematica*, Berlin 1899, 123, 10; Herimannus, *De mensura astrolabii*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, cxliii, Paris 1882, 387 A; (Ps.-) Messahalla (Māshāʾallāh), *De compositione astrolabii*, ed. R. T. Gunther, *Chaucer and Messahalla on the astrolabe*, Oxford 1929, 201, 202, etc.

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(P. KUNITZSCH)

2. In mysticism

In Islamic mysticism, this term (lit. "pole", "axis") denotes either the most perfect human being, *al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*], who heads the saintly hierarchy [see AL-GHAYB and WALĪ] and is also referred to as *al-ḳuṭb al-ḥissī* ("the [temporal] phenomenal *ḳuṭb*"); or else *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* [see ḤAḲĪḲA] which manifests itself in *al-insān al-kāmil* and is sometimes referred to as *al-ḳuṭb al-maʿnawī* ("the [cosmic] noumenal *ḳuṭb*"). Both meanings of the term are covered by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī's definition: "the place of God's appearance in the world at all times" (Kamāl al-Dīn Abi 'l-Ghanāʾim ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshī [al-Kāshānī] al-Samarḳandī, *Kitāb Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. A. Sprenger, London-Calcutta 1845, 141; cf. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Būlāḳ 1274/1857, ii, 6).

The conception of the temporal *ḳuṭb* (A. *ḳuṭb al-waḳt*, *ṣāḥib al-waḳt*, *ṣāḥib al-zamān*; P. *mard-i waḳt*), referred to by some authors as *al-ghawth* ("the helper") [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who exists by virtue of the cosmic *ḳuṭb* or *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, manifest in him, has been traced back to al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], whose *huwa huwa* (i.e. the image of God with all his *asmāʾ* [*q.v.*] and *ṣifāt* [*q.v.*] in Adam) may be considered as the prototype of the conception of *al-insān al-kāmil* (cf. A. E. Afifi, *The mystical philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi*, Cambridge 1939, 79, 189), and also further back to pre-Islamic ideas, in particular to Iranian, Neo-Platonic and early Christian thought (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und glaube seiner gemeinde*, Upsala 1917, 333 ff.; and H. H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. iv [1925], 192-268).

The notion of the *ḳuṭb* as head of the saintly hierarchy is found in the teaching of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī [*q.v.*] outlined by ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Hudjwīrī in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* (see R. A. Nicholson, tr., *The Kashf al-Mahjúb. The oldest Persian treatise on Ṣúfism*, Leiden-London 1911, 214, 228). The scriptural justification for the belief in this hierarchy, of which the different forms mentioned by a variety of authors are discussed by E. Blochet, *Études sur l'ésoterisme musulman*, in *JA*, xx (1902), 77 ff. (in addition, see Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Shādhiliyya fī Sharḥ al-Burda al-Būṣīriyya*, Cairo n.d.; Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, in *La philosophie Shiʿite*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Bibl. iranienne 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 446, and H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris 1971-2, i, 118 ff.), is a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (cf. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī, *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyat al-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-awliyāʾ wa 'l-akābir*, Cairo 1286/1869-70, 10; Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, *Shawāhid al-ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-istighātha bi-sayyid al-khalḳ*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 101; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khabr al-dāll ʿalā wudjūd al-ḳuṭb wa 'l-awtād wa 'l-nudjabāʾ wa 'l-abdāl*, Cairo 1351/1932-3, 27). The reliability of the *sanad* of this *ḥadīth* was discarded by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (*al-Manār*, xi [1908], 50 ff.). Other *aḥādīth*, all without *isnād*, mentioning the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb*, are listed in al-Yāfiʿī's *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, 10 (see also al-Zamzamī al-Ṣiddīḳ, *al-Abdāl wa 'l-nudjabāʾ wa 'l-akhyār fī ḥadīth sayyidinā Rasūl al-Mukhtār*, in *al-Muslim*, ii/6 [Cairo, September 1952], 18 f.), including the most frequently cited one attributed to Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī [*q.v.*].

The tentative suggestion by R. A. Nicholson (*The*

idea of personality in Ṣūfism, Cambridge 1923, 44 ff.) that *al-muṭā'*, mentioned in al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār*, is identical with the *ḳuṭb* as *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* was discarded by W. H. T. Gairdner, *Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-anwār ("The niche for lights"). A translation with introduction*. London 1924, 23 ff., who had earlier questioned L. Massignon's suggestion that *al-muṭā'* is an obscure allusion to the doctrine of the *ḳuṭb* as the head of the saintly hierarchy (idem, *Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-anwār and the Ghazālī-problem*, in *Isl.*, v [1914], 144).

Each of the various ranks in the saintly hierarchy has also been conceived of as being headed by a *ḳuṭb*. From these *aḳṭāb* the saints who belong to these different ranks receive their knowledge, which they owe in the last resort to the supreme (temporal) *ḳuṭb* (cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii, 7; Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Gümüshkhānlī, *Djāmi' al-uṣūl fi 'l-awliyā'*, Cairo 1328/1910, 4; 'Alī Sālim 'Ammār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, 'aṣruhu, ta'rīkhuhu, 'ulūmuhu, taṣawwufuhu*, Cairo 1951, i, 192; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ayyād, *al-Mafākhir al-'aliyya fi 'l-ma'āthir al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1964, 20 ff.).

For Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. al-'Arabī [*q.v.*], the universal rational principle, the *rūḥ Muḥammad*, or *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* through which Divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints, finds its fullest manifestation in and is identical with the *ḳuṭb*, who is *al-insān al-kāmil*. He is the cause of creation, for in him alone creation is fully realised. He is *al-barzakh* [*q.v.*], the *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, or in other words he is Muḥammad as the inward aspect of Adam, i.e. the real Adam (Mankind) or *al-lāhūt* [*q.v.*], which is forever manifesting itself on the plane of *al-nāsūt* [*q.v.*] in prophets and saints (i.e. in *aḳṭāb*) who come within the category of *al-insān al-kāmil*, since they are perfect manifestations of God and have realised, in mystical experience, essential oneness with Him. This makes *aḳṭāb* infallible, and since there is only one *ḳuṭb* at a time (*al-ḳuṭb al-wāḥid*), he is God's real *khalīfa* [*q.v.*], who is the preserver and maintainer of the universe, the mediator between Divine and human, who passes on knowledge of the *manāzil* (degrees of mystical perfection [see MANZIL]), which cannot be entered by anybody else except by him, through virtue of his being in the *manzilat tanzīh al-tawḥīd* (absolute transcendence of God); cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 168 ff., 201 ff., 253 ff.; ii, 7 ff., 77, and in particular iv, 80 ff.

These ideas were further elaborated by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djīlī (cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 86 ff.). They were rephrased and/or simplified by other authors (cf. Blochet, 86 ff.) and have remained part of the mainstream of Islamic mystical thinking ever since.

An identical conception of the *ḳuṭb* as the active principle (or interior, *bāṭin*; cf. al-Kāshānī, 141) in all inspiration and revelation, comparable to the νοῦς in Neo-Platonism and manifesting itself in the form (*ṣūra*) of a prophet, is found earlier with 'Umar b. al-Fāriḍ (cf. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ wa 'l-ḥubb al-ilāhī*, Cairo 1945, 273). This idea as noted by Ḥilmī, ibid., 277, has a striking similarity to the Ismā'īlī [*q.v.*] belief in the personification of *al-'aḳl al-awwal* in (*al-imām*) *al-nāṭiḳ*. Other authors have equally drawn attention to the similarity between the Shī'ī conception of the *Imām* as a manifestation of the Divine Logos and the conception of the cosmic *ḳuṭb* in Islamic mysticism, or the possible identity of both concepts (see e.g. Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa 'l-tashayyu'*, Cairo 1969, 463, and Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, i, 92). Several authors have noted the analogy between the Ismā'īlī (Fāṭimid) *da'wa* hierarchy and the mystical hierarchy under the *ḳuṭb* (see e.g. al-Shaybī, 457 ff. and Y. Marquet, *Des Iḫwān al-Ṣafā' à al-Ḥaǧǧ 'Umar (b. Sa'īd Tall), marabout et conquérant toucouleur*, in *Arabica*, xv [1968], 27) or have regarded the mystical hierarchy as derived from it. The historical possibility of such a derivation was discarded by W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi Fragment*, in *Collectanea*, i, The Ismaili Society, Series A, No. 2, Leiden-Bombay 1948, 166.

Among the Shī'ī scholars, some have stated explicitly that *ḳuṭb* and *Imām* are terms which have the same meaning and which refer to one and the same person (Amoli, *La philosophie shi'ite*, 223; 'Allāma Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Shi'ite Islam* (tr., ed., introd. and notes by Seyyed Hossein Nasr), London 1975, 114; Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 76). The notion of the saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* is considered by H. Corbin as basically a Shī'ī idea which has been appropriated by Sunnī mysticism (see e.g. his *En Islam iranien*, i, 229, iii, 279; cf. al-Shaybī, 213). Several of his publications contain phenomenologically-inclined analysis of the hermeneutics involving conceptions of *ḳuṭb* in a perspective of Iranism (see e.g. his *L'homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, *passim*, and his *En Islam iranien*, i, 186 ff.).

Conceptions of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* and distinct from the hierarchy headed by the *Imām* are found in the works of 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī (cf. M. Molé, ed., *'Azizoddin Nasafi, Le livre de l'homme parfait* (*Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil*), Bibl. Iranienne xi, Tehran-Paris 1962, 20, 26) and 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī (*idem*, *Les Kubrawiyya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 107 f.; cf. Corbin, *op. cit.*, ii, 74). Similar conceptions are held in contemporary Shī'ī mysticism (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Zweiter Teil: Glaube und Lehre*, Wiesbaden 1976, 160 ff.). Shī'ī mystics have referred to the twelfth Imām as *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb* (Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 74-5, iv, 357) or *ḳuṭb-i shamsī* (Gramlich, *op. cit.*, 158), and to the head of a *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] as *ḳuṭb*, *ḳuṭb-i ḳamarī* and *ḳuṭb-i zamān* (idem, 159 ff. for further references and additional detail).

Belief in the existence of *aḳṭāb* and in the whole saintly hierarchy was denounced by Ibn Khaldūn (cf. Ibn Khaldûn, ed. de Slane, ii, 164; iii, 74, 105-6; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *Şifâ'u 's-Sâ'il litehzîbi 'l-Mesâ'il*, ed. M.B.T. al-Ṭanjī, Istanbul 1958; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabī*, Leiden 1919, 113 f.), and has been under attack by those adhering to a non-mystical conception of Islam up to the present day (see e.g. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Wakīl, *Hādhihi hiya 'l-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1375/1955, 124 ff.).

The *ḳuṭb* is regarded as being able to perform distinct *karāmāt*, which reveal his *maḳām* (cf. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Sakandārī, *Laṭā'if al-minan*, Tunis 1304/1886-7, 57 f.; and 'Ammār, i, 193), to know the meaning of the letters at the beginning of the *sūras*, which he has received from God directly—this qualifies him for *al-khilāfa* (al-Idwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 98), which is known as *khilāfat ūlā 'l-iṣṭifā'* (see e.g. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās, *Ẓuhūr al-ḥaḳā'iḳ fī bayān al-ṭarā'iḳ*, Bombay 1312/1894-5, 263; Muṣṭafā Yūsuf Salām al-Shādhilī, *Djawāhir al-iṭlā' wa-durar al-intifā' 'alā matn al-Iṣfahānī Abī Shudjā'*, Cairo 1350/1931-2, 270)—and to incorporate the *ṣifāt* of the *nuḳabā'*, the *nudjabā'*, the *abdāl* and of all those who belong to the saintly hierarchy (al-Gümüshkhānlī, *Djāmi' al-uṣūl*, 4; 'Ammār, i, 192),

in consequence of the fact that he is the means by which *al-ḥaḳḳ* sees his own names and *ṣifāt* (cf. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī maʿrifat al-awākhir wa 'l-awāʾil*, Cairo 1328, ii, 48). All secret beings and every animate and inanimate body have to give him their pledge (*bayʿa*) except for the following three classes of beings: *al-afrād*, who belong to the angels and are independent of the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 223); the *djinn* who are under the authority of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] (cf. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-ḳuṭb wa-maḳālihi wa-ḥālihi*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, 4); and those belonging to the tenth stratum of *ridjāl al-ghayb* [see AL-GHAYB], namely *al-ḥukamāʾ* or *al-wāṣilūn* (cf. al-ʿIdwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 101). According to Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī in his *Sharḥ Muḳaddima al-tāʾiyya al-kubrā* (the relevant section is published in al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb Khatm al-awliyāʾ*, ed. ʿUthmān I.Yaḥyā, Beirut 1965, 494 f.) only the *awtād* [*q.v.*] do not come under the authority of the *ḳuṭb*: they are equal to him in rank, they owe to God everything they are but they have not been granted the *maḳām al-khilāfa* (*ibid.*, 495). In another treatise, *Maṭlaʿ khuṣūṣ al-kilam*, al-Ḳayṣarī states that al-Khaḍir was the *ḳuṭb* in secret at the time of Mūsā before the latter became *ḳuṭb* on the plane of manifest being (see Andrae, 345).

Belief in al-Khaḍir as a mortal being identical with the temporal *ḳuṭb* is reported as being held by contemporary Shīʿī mystics (Gramlich, 146). The possibility of such an identification is implicit in the conception of a mortal Khaḍir, related by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 434-5. This scholar, however, expresses himself in a *fatwā* to the effect that the orthodoxy of the belief in the *ḳuṭb* (*al-ghawth*) cannot be established (cf. al-ʿIdwī, ii, 98).

Early belief in the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, 78 f.) seems in the course of time to have been elaborated into a conception of a secret assembly (*dīwān bāṭinī*) where the saints presided over by the *ḳuṭb* directed the affairs of the seen and unseen worlds (see Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Sidjilmāsī, *al-Ibrīz min kalām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, Cairo 1292/1875-6, i, 2 ff. Al-Sidjilmāsī relates the sayings and ideas of his *shaykh*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh. Al-Dabbāgh's description of the composition and functioning of the *dīwān* has found its way into the works of Muḥammad al-Makkī b. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAzūz, *al-Sayf al-rabbānī fī unḳ al-muʿtariḍ ʿalā al-ghawth al-Djīlānī*, Tunis 1310/1892-3, 74; and ʿUbayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥanṣalī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ naṣīḥat al-ikhwān*, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 176). This conception is prominent in certain mystical traditions to the present day (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ al-Badawī al-muftarī ʿalayhi*, in *al-Muslim*, xv/7 (Cairo, June 1965), 15; and *idem*, *Maʿ ḳaḍiyyat al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿ wa-marātib ahl al-ghayb*, in *al-Muslim*, xx/11 (August 1970), 11 f.: and ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Sulaymān al-Ḳalyūbī, *Fayḍ al-Wahhāb fī bayān ahl al-ḥaḳḳ wa-man ḍalla ʿan al-ṣawāb*, Cairo 1964, v, 57 ff.).

Opinions as to the whereabouts of the *ḳuṭb* vary. According to Ibn al-ʿArabī (cf. *Futūḥāt*, i, 168; *Manāzil al-ḳuṭb*, 4), the *ḳuṭb* is corporeally present at Mecca; according to Aḥmad Muḥammad Riḍwān, *al-Nafāḥāt al-rabbāniyya*, Cairo 1390, 270, his bodily presence is confined to Upper Egypt. Popular belief in Egypt held him to be miraculously present in a niche behind one of the doors of Bāb al-Zuwayla, the southern gate of Cairo (see E. W. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1860, 231 f.; and H. H. Harrison, *The Bab il Metawalli*, in *MW* viii [1918], 141-4), which was a site for veneration and votive offerings (cf. J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 141). In contemporary Islamic mysticism, the dominant view seems to be that only his spirit is seen at Mecca, i.e. at the Kaʿba, which is the *maḳām* [*q.v.*] of his spirit and the throne of his heart (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Kulaymāt mukammilāt li-mawḍūʿ al-aḳṭāb*, in *al-Muslim*, xv/8 [June 1965], 8).

A few cases are found where a *ṭarīḳa* teaches explicitly that the *ḳuṭb* will always belong to this particular *ṭarīḳa*. Examples are al-ʿAzāziyya (see the relevant section in F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt*, forthcoming) and al-Shādhiliyya (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 105). The latter *ṭarīḳa* teaches that God gave Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī the *bayʿat al-ḳuṭbiyya* after the death of Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (b. ʿAyyād, *ibid.*, 35). The *silsila* of the *ṭarīḳa* is referred to as the *silsilat al-aḳṭāb* (Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī, *Madāridj al-sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1330/1912, 90) going back to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib through his son Ḥasan, who is considered the first *ḳuṭb* (al-Sakandārī, 59; Ibn ʿAzūz, 75; al-Ḳusanṭīnī, 181).

Distinct cosmological systems revolving around a conception of *ḳuṭb* and derived from the ideas outlined above, and presenting or incorporating a modified version, have been developed and have gained some degree of significance at distinct times and places. Notable are, in chronological order, Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's [*q.v.*] presentation of the Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] as *insān al-kāmil* or temporal *ḳuṭb* around whom the world revolves in his *Akbar-nāma*; Aḥmad Sirhindī's [*q.v.*] conception of the *ḳayyūm*—the vicar of God on earth to whom the *ḳuṭb* is a servant under his rule, a rank which he ascribed to himself and which was claimed by four of his descendants (S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965, 266 ff.): this belief seems to have influenced the teaching of Mīr Dard (cf. A. Schimmel, *Pain and grace. A study of two mystical writers of eighteenth-century Muslim India*, Leiden 1976, 81); and Tidjānī doctrine centred upon the belief that Aḥmad al-Tidjānī [*q.v.*] was *khatm al-wilāya* and *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb* simultaneously (J. M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya. A Sufi order in the modern world*, London 1965, 27 ff.).

Before and after Aḥmad al-Tidjānī, Ṣūfīs claimed or were considered to be *aḳṭāb*. Some examples from among the earlier mystics are listed in Gramlich, 168, n. 910). Other notable examples among the later mystics are Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr (see Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Munawwar b. Abī Saʿd Asʿad, *Asrār al-tawḥīd fī maḳāmāt al-shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1348, 352 f.), ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināwī (cf. Aḥmad Ḥusayn Djabaruh, *Kalima mutawāḍiʿa ʿan ḳuṭb Ḳinā sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināʾī*, n.p. Ḳinā] 1388/1968); Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 35); Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (see al-Sakandārī, 68); ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*], and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī [*q.v.*]. The last four of these are frequently referred to as *al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿa* (see Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Suṭūḥī, *al-Taṣawwuf wa-aḳṭābuhu*, Cairo 1970, 15, 24; cf. Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿḳaḍiyyat al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿa*, 6 ff.). In some mystical cosmologies they are presented as occupying a position of pre-eminence in the successive stages of pre-creation out of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* before their birth, as successors to the four *khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn* during their lifetime, and as continuing forces in the world of the unseen after their death

(see ʿAḳīl Maẓhar, *Ḳuṭra min baḥr al-Ḳurʾān*; *dawlat Abi 'l-ʿAynayn*, in *Sanābil* v (Cairo-Kafr al-Shaykh, April 1967), 41; and Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ al-Badawī*, 8 ff.; cf. idem, *Kulaymāt mukammilāt li-mawḍūʿ al-aḳṭāb*, 8 ff.).

In some mystical traditions, those belonging to the saintly hierarchy, including the *ḳuṭb*, are held to be identical with the serious mystical teachers present at a certain time but whose spiritual rank remains undivulged to those outside this hierarchy (cf. ʿImrān Aḥmad ʿImrān, *al-Talbiya fī wudjūd shaykh al-tarbiya*, Asyūṭ 1354/1936, 14). This tenet may imply the belief that potentially everybody can become *ḳuṭb* by means of following the *ṭariḳa*, i.e. by means of the method prescribed by a distinct mystical tradition (cf. Sulaymān al-Djamal, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya bi-tawḍīḥ Tafsīr al-Djalālayn bi 'l-daḳāʾiḳ al-khafiyya*, Cairo 1913, i, 114).

The statement by J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 163 f., that the conception of the *ḳuṭb* has gone through a process of vulgarisation would seem to be in need of further substantiation.

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(F. DE JONG)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN [see MAWDŪD B. ZANGĪ; AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ].

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AYBAK, the first ruler of the Indo-Muslim state which arose after the death of the Ghūrid Shihāb al-Dīn (Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Sām in 1206 and was subsequently to be based at Dihlī. Brought as a slave from Turkestān first to Nīshāpūr and then to Ghazna, he was purchased by Muḥammad, then engaged in the reduction of the independent Hindu principalities in northern India, and rose to be *amīr-i ākhūr* (master of the horse) and *muḳtaʿ* of Kohŕām (now Ghurām in Patiāla) and Sāmāna. The sources for this period, composed either under Aybak's hegemony or under his successors, ascribe to him personally the capture of Meerut, Dihlī, Kōl (ʿAlīgaŕh), Thankīr (Bayāna), Gwāliyār, Badāʾūn, Kanawdj and Kālindjar, between 587/1191 and 599/1202-3, and the sack of Nahrwāla in Gudjarāt (593/1197).

On his master's assassination in 602/1206, he moved from Dihlī to Lahore, where he is said to have ascended the throne on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/25 June, and which became his permanent residence. Aybak's precise status is problematical. No coins of his are extant, and the statement of Ḥasan Niẓāmī that the *khuṭba* was read and coins struck in his name is not corroborated elsewhere. Djūzdjānī on the contrary specifies at one point that these prerogatives were retained by Muḥammad's immediate successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who now reigned at Fīrūzkūh, though elsewhere he says that Maḥmūd conferred on Aybak the title of Sulṭān. In view of Aybak's slave rank, it is most likely that he was simply manumitted by the new Ghūrid sovereign, as we read in Ibn al-Athīr, and remained his subordinate, receiving a diploma and canopy of state as *malik* of Hindūstān. Aybak's attentions appear to have been absorbed by the situation in the north-west, where the Ghūrid empire was succumbing to pressure from the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Tekish, and it is significant that no efforts to extend the Muslim conquests in India are recorded for his reign. He engaged in hostilities with another Ghūrid slave officer, Tādj al-Dīn Yīldiz, who was based at Ghazna and who endeavoured unsuccessfully to take Lahore in 605/1208-9. Aybak's own subsequent occupation of Ghazna, however, was merely temporary, and he was expelled by the citizens in favour of Yīldiz. He died at Lahore in 607/1210-1, of wounds sustained in an accident during a game of polo (*čawgān*), and his successor Ārām Shāh, whose relationship to him is uncertain, was soon set aside in favour of the *muḳtaʿ* of Badāʾūn, Aybak's son-in-law Iltutmish [*q.v.*, and see also DIHLĪ SULTANATE].

Aybak, who has achieved renown as the builder of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār [*q.v.*] at Dihlī, was a patron also of the literary arts. Fakhr-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], author of a manual of war, the *Ādāb al-ḥarb*, dedicated to him his book of genealogies, and it was probably under Aybak's régime that Ḥasan Niẓāmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] began writing his florid *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, which was completed under Iltutmish. Both are important sources for the early period of Muslim rule in Hindūstān.

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(P. JACKSON)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN BAKHTIYĀR KĀKĪ, a Ṣūfī who settled at Dihlī during the reign of Iltutmish [*q.v.*].

Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Kākī al-Ushī) was a native of Ush, a town in eastern Farghāna. The *tadhkira* literature depicts him as the disciple of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī (d. 634/1236), the founder-figure of the Čishtī affiliation in India. The accounts disagree on whether the two contemporaries first met at Ush, or at Iṣfahān, or in the Ṣūfī circle of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), or in the mosque of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī at Baghdād. After years of wandering, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn came to Multān early in the 7th/13th century during the rule of Naṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča (d. 625/1228). There Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd (d. 664/1265) sought his company, while Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ (d. 666/1268) seems to have encouraged his departure for Dihlī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn settled outside the walls of Dihlī near the tank, *ḥawḍ-i shamsī*, during the reign of Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), but declined the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* offered to him by the Sulṭān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was well-known for his Ṣūfī practice of listening to music (*samāʿ*), and is said to have died during a *samāʿ* performance on 14 Rabīʿ I 633/27 November 1235. His tomb is in the vicinity of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār at Mihrawlī. The Ḳuṭb Mīnār [*q.v.*], completed by Iltutmish in 629/1229, is believed to derive its name from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (not from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak).

The Čishtī affiliation venerates Ḳuṭb al-Dīn as one of the outstanding members of its founder-generation in India, and records him in its *silsila* as the link between Muʿīn al-Dīn and Farīd al-Dīn. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn is the alleged compiler of the apocryphal *malfūẓāt* of Muʿīn al-Dīn, entitled *Dalīl al-ʿārifīn* (Lucknow 1868), whereas his own sayings supposedly have been collected by Farīd al-Dīn in the spurious *Fawāʾid al-sālikīn*. A more reliable source, however, appears to be the *Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn*, which was compiled in the immediate circle of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's associates at Dihlī.

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Siyar al-awliyā', Dihlī 1302; Muḥammad Akbar Ḥusaynī, *Djawāmi' al-kalim*, Kānpūr 1356; Djamālī, *Siyar al-'ārifīn*, Dihlī 1311; 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1309; Dārā Shikūh, *Safīnat al-awliyā'*, Nawal Kishore 1872, 94-6; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Murādābādī, *Anwār al-'ārifīn*, Lucknow 1876, i, 342-8; Ghulām Sarwar Lahawrī, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*, Lucknow 1872, i, 267-76; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hindū, *Ta'rīkh-i Firishta*, Nawal Kishore 1323, ii, 378-83; Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. H. G. Raverty, London 1881, i, 621 f.; 'Abd al-Ḳādir Mulūk Shāh Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, tr. Ranking, Lowe, Haig, Calcutta 1925, i, 92, 123, iii, 19, 45; K. A. Niẓāmī, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961; R. N. Munshī, *The history of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār*, Bombay 1911. (G. Böwering)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AL-IZNĪḲĪ, Muḥammad al-Rūmī, early Ottoman Ḥanafī scholar and father of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn-zāde Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. He was born at Iznīḳ [*q.v.*] and died there on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 821/7 December 1418. Popular story puts him in contact with the conqueror Tīmūr when the latter occupied Anatolia, and he was the author of commentaries on the work of the great Spanish mystic Ibn al- Arabī [*q.v.*].

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ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUBĀRAK [see KHALDJĪS]

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS].

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN SHĪRĀZĪ, Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd b. Muṣliḥ, Persian astronomer and physician, was born in Ṣafar 634/October 1236 in Shīrāz and died in Tabrīz on 17 Ramaḍān 710/February 1311.

Like many Muslim medical men, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn belonged to a family of distinguished physicians; at the same time, however, he was not only a prominent medical man, at least as regards his writings, but he distinguished himself also in astronomy, philosophy, and the treatment of religious problems. This versatility induced Abu 'l-Fidā' to give him the name *al-mutafannin* "experienced in many fields". He received his medical training with his father Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī, i.e. of Kāzarūn (to the west of Shīrāz), in the hospital of Shīrāz. He lost his father at the age of 14 and then became a pupil of his uncles Kamāl al-Dīn Khayr al-Kāzarūnī and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zakī al-Rushkānī (Suyūṭī has Rukshawī) and Shams al-Dīn al-Kutubī; he then went to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, studied with him and surpassed everyone. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still quite young he conceived the idea of editing the *Kulliyyāt*, the first theoretical part of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. He next sought instruction with the physicians in Shīrāz and then studied deeply the works of earlier scholars. He then travelled in Khurāsān, the two 'Irāḳs, Persia, Anatolia, and Syria. Everywhere, as he tells us in the introduction to the commentary on the *Kulliyyāt*, he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably after these journeys that he became associated with the Mongol rulers of Persia, the Īl-Khāns; in what year and under which ruler this happened, we do not know. In any case in 681/1282 he was *ḳāḍī* of Sīwās and of Malaṭya in Anatolia under Aḥmad Nikudār (680-3/1281-4). There he was still engaged on the *Kulliyyāt*; he must have played a part in politics, as Aḥmad sent him with his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90 [*q.v.*]). He was sent to report the former's conversion to Islam, no doubt the result of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's influence, and to conclude a peace between the Mnslims and the Mongols. The latter part of his mission was a failure. In Egypt also he collected material for the *Kulliyyāt*. He dedicated the work, probably fiuished shortly after his return from Egypt, to Muḥammad Sa'd al-Dīn, Aḥmad Khān's vizier, and called it *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'diyya*, "the present to Sa'd", or *Nuzhat al-ḥukamā' wa-rawḍat al-aṭibbā'*, "the delight of the wise and garden of the physicians".

In his later years Ḳuṭb al-Dīn retired to Tabrīz. Towards the end of his life he ardently studied *ḥadīth* and made critical notes on the subject, e.g. on the *Djam' al-uṣūl* ("Encyclopaedia of principles") and to the *Sharḥ al-Sunna* ("Commentary on the *Sunna*"). Ibn Shuhba and al-Subkī give a sketch of the character of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. He had a brilliant intelligence, combined with unusual penetration; at the same time his humour was innocent; he was known as "the scholar of the Persians". It is evidence of his efforts to preserve his independence that, in spite of his prestige with princes and subjects, he lived remote from the court. He also led the life of a Ṣūfī. It is emphasised that he had many pupils; among these was Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (see below), who cannot praise him highly enough: he also induced al-Taḥtānī (d. 766/1364; see Brockelmann, II², 271, S II, 293-4) to come to critical decisions (*muḥākamāt*) on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, No. 743). He neglected his religious duties; nevertheless, al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabrīz he always performed his *ṣalāts* with the congregation. He loved wine and sat among the scorners. He was a brilliant chessplayer and played continuously; he was also skilled in the tricks of the conjurer and played the small viol (*rabāba*). His commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* ("the philosophy of illumination") of Suhrawardī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Nevertheless, as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (No. 1169) emphasises, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn distinguished himself in theology. He annotated the Ḳur'ān very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his *Fatḥ al-mannān fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*; in the *Fī mushkilāt al-Ḳur'ān* he also dealt with passages in the Ḳur'ān difficult to reconcile with one another. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tanzīl* of al-Zamakhsharī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn played a special part in the history of optics, because he called the attention of his pupil Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 720/1320) to the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*], with which he had become acquainted on his travels, and procured a copy for him. Al-Fārisī wrote a commentary on it and extended it by his own observations. It is noteworthy that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn so completely forgot Ibn al-Haytham's expositions that he based his observation not on rays of light like the latter, but on rays of vision.

In the two comprehensive astronomical works *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*, the "highest intelligence in the knowledge of the spheres", and *al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiyya fi l-hay'a*, which are very similar to each other, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn has given what is conceivably the best Arabic account of astronomy (cosmography) with mathematical aids. It closely follows the al-*Tadhkira al-naṣīriyya*, the memoranda of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, his teacher. But Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's works are very much fuller and deal with many questions which Naṣīr al-Dīn did not touch; they are therefore much more than commentaries. The

Nihāya discusses, for example, details of the cosmography of al-Khiraḳī or Ibn al-Haytham, which are again found in Roger Bacon. Passages from these works are discussed by E. Wiedemann in: *Zu den optischen Kenntnissen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwissensch., etc.*, iii (1912), 187-93; *Über die Gestalt, Lage und Bewegung der Erde, sowie philosophisch-astronomische Betrachtungen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *ibid.*, 395-422; *Beiträge*, xxvii, *Auszüge aus al-Schīrāzīs Werk über Astronomie*, in *SBPMS Erl.* xliv (1912), 27-35, reprinted in *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgesch.*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 802-10; *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, xv (1923), 47-8; *Inhalt eines Gefässes in verschiedenen Abständen vom Erdmittelpunkt*, in *Zeitschr. für Physik.*, xiii (1923), 59-60.

One work is entitled *Sharḥ al-tadhkira al-naṣīriyya*. As an appendix to the *Nihāya*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn wrote the *Fī ḥarakāt al-daḥradja wa 'l-nisba bayn al-mustawī wa-'l-munḥanī*, "On the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked". Other works are *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-hayʾa* and a work with a very peculiar title, *Kitāb faʿaltu fa lā talum fi 'l-hayʾa*, "Work on astronomy; I have composed it but blame it not".

Besides the works by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn already mentioned, there are also recorded a treatise on diseases of the eye and a commentary on the *Urdjūza* of Ibn Sīnā; a work on medical ethics, the *K. Bayān al-ḥādja ilā 'l-ṭibb wa-ādāb al-aṭibbāʾ wa-waṣāyāhum*; commentaries on the work, mainly grammatical of al-Sakkākī and on a work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, and an encyclopaedia of philosophy, the *Durrat al-tādj*, written for one of the Isḥāḳwand amīrs of Gīlān [see FŪMAN], which includes an important section on music.

After his death, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī wrote verses on Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, in which he expresses surprise that the mill (*raḥā*) of knowledge still turns after it has lost its axis (*ḳuṭb*).

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ḲUṬB al-DĪN-ZĀDE, Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Izniḳī, Ottoman scholar and mystic. He was born in the early 9th/15th century, the son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Izniḳī (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]), himself a scholar and the author of works on *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* (see *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 144, romanised version, i, 124-5). He was in his early years the pupil of the famous *muftī* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Mollā Fanārī (d. 834/1431) [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE], and later became interested in Ṣūfism. He wrote several works, many of them commentaries, e.g. on the mystical works of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his pupil Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḳūnawī, and others on the interpretation of dreams (*taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*), He died in 885/1480 and was buried in the Tatār Khān cemetery at Edirne.

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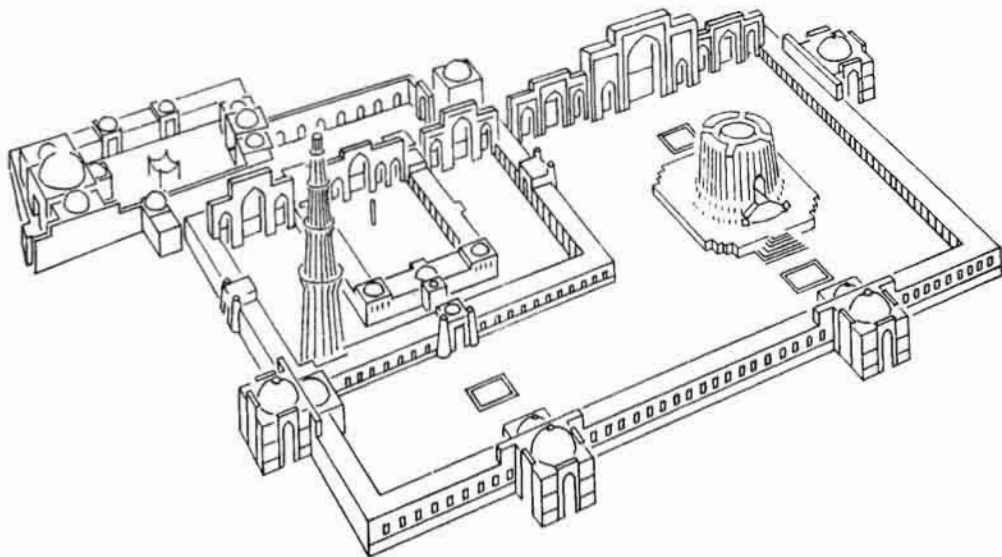
ḲUṬB KHĀN LŌDĪ [see LŌDĪs].

ḲUṬB MĪNĀR, a lofty tower of red sandstone, said by Fergusson (ii, 206) and Diez (165) to be one

Reconstruction of the area of the Ḳuṭb Mosque. From left to right: ʿAlāʾī Darwāza (705/1305), Ḳuṭb-Mīnār (591/1198) and unfinished tower ʿAlāʾī Mīnār (after A. Volwahsen, *Islamisches Indien*, Munich 1969, 40).

of the most beautiful buildings of its kind in the world.

It is situated about 11 miles from the modern city of Dihlī [*q.v.*], in the ruins of the first city of that name, and about 160 feet from the great mosque which was erected by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] in 589/1193, just after the capture of the city from the Hindu king, Prithvīrā**dj**. Like the Mīnār at **Gh**azna [*q.v.*] and the Mīnār at Koyl [*q.v.*] (no longer in existence), it is an isolated structure, from which the *mu'a**dhdh**in* gave the call to prayer, and is 238 feet in height; it is not attached to the mosque, but stands in the southeastern corner of the southern outer court, which was added in 622/1225 to Aybak's mosque by Iltutmi**sh** [*q.v.*]; it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement storey appears to have been built while Aybak still recognised the overlordship of Muʿizz al-Dīn **Gh**ūrī (i.e. before 601/1205); the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmi**sh**, but during the reign of Fīrūz **Sh**āh Tu**gh**luḳ [*q.v.*] the building was struck by lightning, and this king in 769/1368 had it repaired and added a fifth storey. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of Fīrūz **Sh**āh, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the tower is entirely of red sandstone, and is not round but made up of flutings, which in the basement story are alternately round and angular, in the second rounded only, and in the third angular only. The line of each fluting is carried up unbroken through each story. The inscriptions are partly historical in character and partly made up of quotations from the Ḳur'ān; they have been reproduced and translated in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911-12).

Recently, the prototype of this Mīnār was discovered in the ruins of the tower at **Kh**ʷā**dj**a Siyāh Pū**sh** in Af**gh**ān Sīstān: in the ground plan of the regularly alternating 8-rounded and angular flanges, we can recognise the transition between the Eastern Iranian stellate plan, continued for example at **Gh**azna [see **GH**AZNAWIDS. Art and monuments] and the round plan of **Dj**am [see **GH**ŪRIDS] in Central Af**gh**ānistān (K. Fischer, ed., *Nimruz*, pls. 252-4).

The tower derives its name from the saint **Kh**ʷā**dj**a Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ba**kh**tiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235 [*q.v.*]), who was held in high honour by Iltutmi**sh**.

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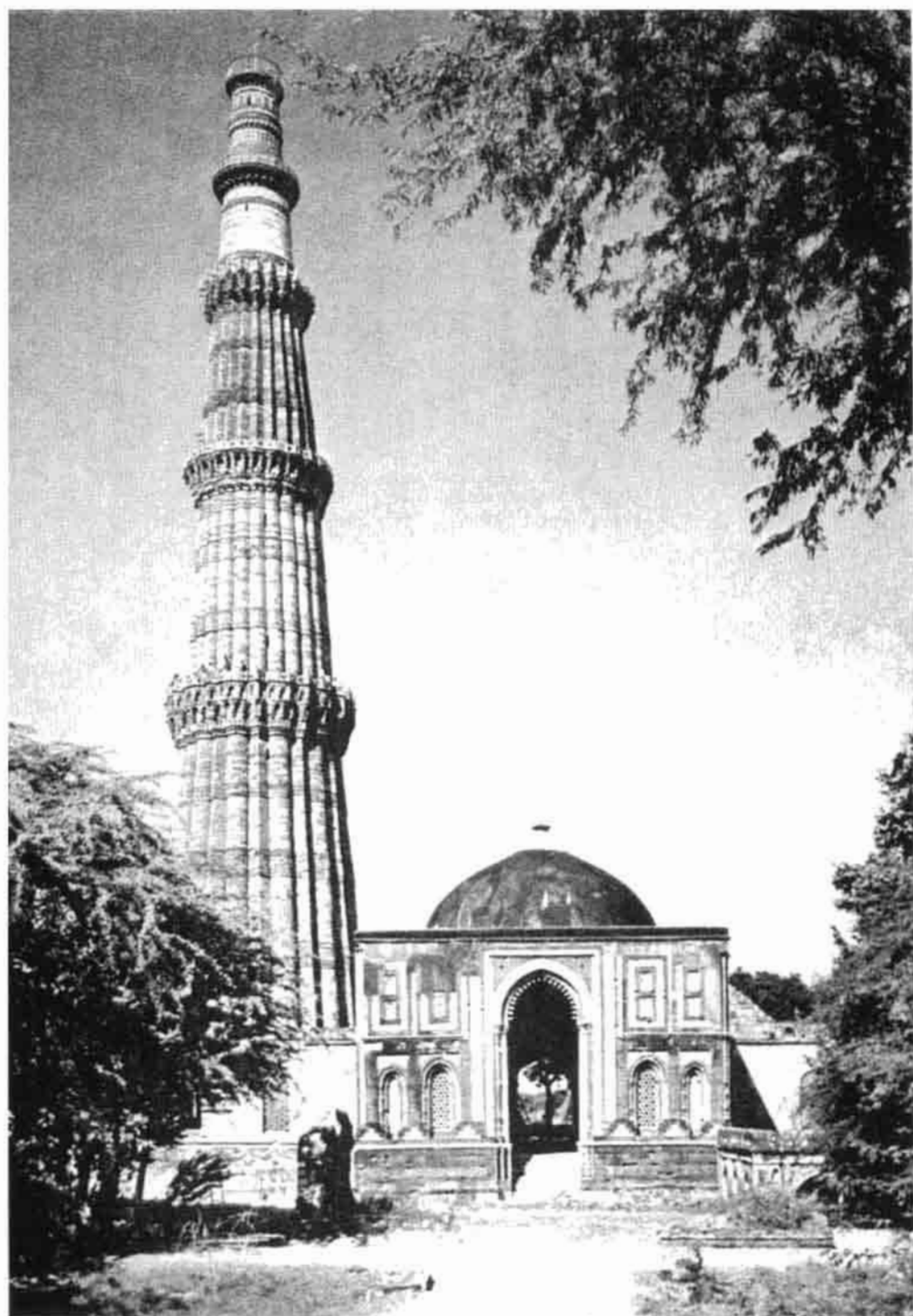
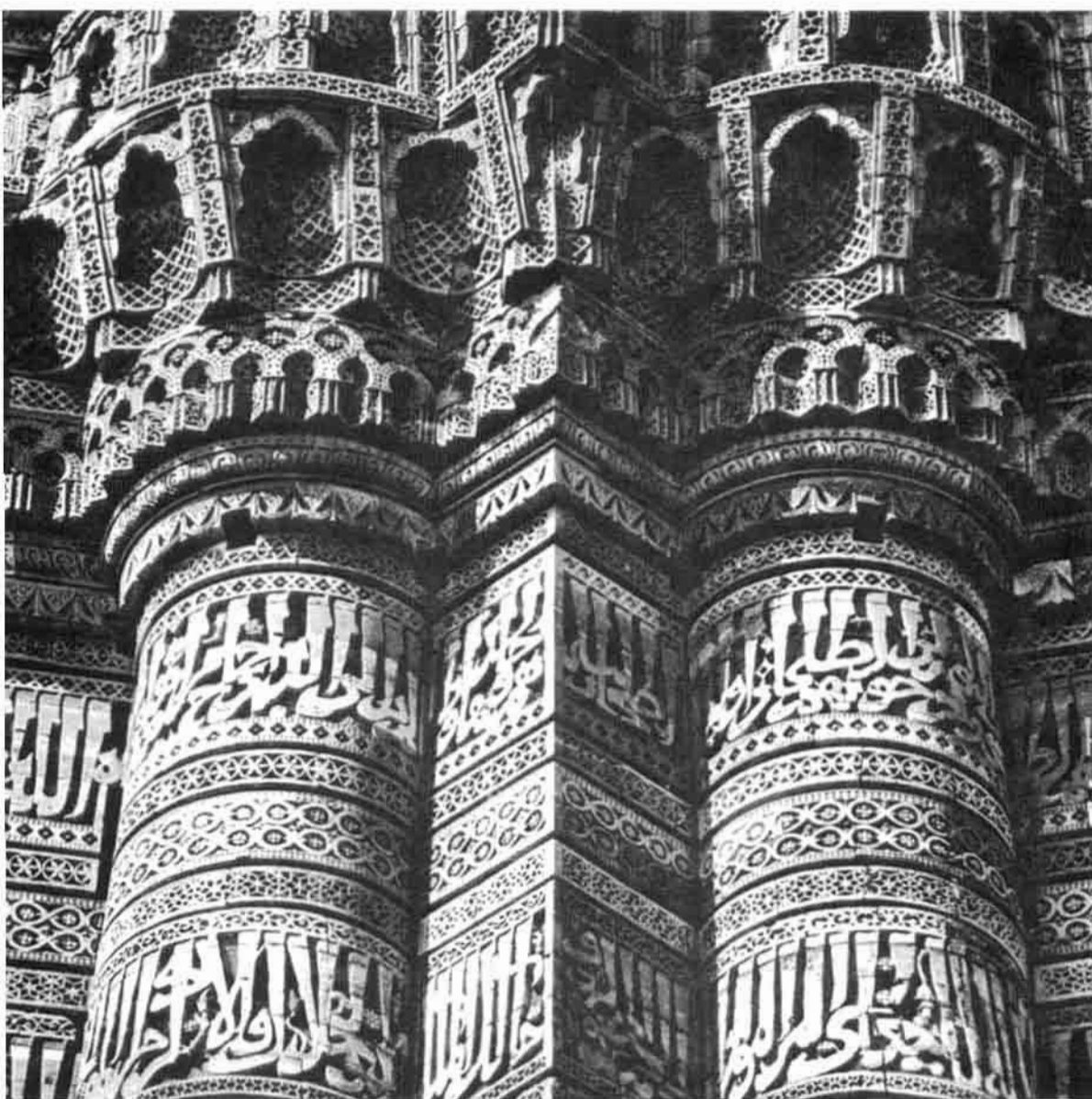
ḲUṬB SHĀHĪ, the name of an Indo-Muslim dynasty that dominated the eastern Deccan plateau as one of the five successor states to the Bahmanī kingdom. Basing their power on the city and hill-fort of Golkonḍā [*q.v.*], the Ḳuṭb **Sh**āhī kings achieved *de facto* independence with the decline of the parent Bahmanī kingdom in the early 10th/16th century, maintaining effective rule until Mu**gh**al armies under Awrangzīb conquered and annexed the kingdom in 1098/1687.

The founder of the dynasty, Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk, was a Turkoman adventurer of the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu clan [*q.v.*] who, having migrated from Persia to India as a youth, rose in Bahmanī service until in 901/1496 he was appointed governor over the easternmost Bahmanī dominions. Although he never claimed legal sovereignty during his long rule, Sulṭān Ḳulī managed to carve out for himself and his descendants the broad territorial outlines of a kingdom over which they held effective sway for nearly two hundred years. He also gave the dynasty ideological definition by declaring **Sh**īʿism the official creed, following the precedent set by **Sh**āh Ismāʿīl of Persia in 907/1501. This orientation, continued by all of Sulṭān Ḳulī's successors, caused the dynasty to identify ideologically with Persia as its link with *Dār al-Islām*, rather than with the Ottoman or Mu**gh**al empires, which were Sunnī. The sequence of Ḳuṭb **Sh**āhī kings is as follows:

Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk	901-50/1496-1543
Djam**sh**īd b. Ḳulī	950-7/1543-50
Subḥān b. Jam**sh**īd	957/1550
Ibrāhīm b. Ḳulī	957-88/1550-80
Muḥammad-Ḳulī b. Ibrāhīm	988-1020/1580-1612
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad-Ḳulī	1020-35/1612-26
ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad	1035-83/1626-72
Abu 'l-Ḥasan, son-in-law of ʿAbd Allāh	1083-98/1672-87

Throughout most of the 10th/16th century and the early 11th/17th century, the Kingdom of Golkonḍā was engulfed in constant warfare either with the most powerful two of its sister successor states to the west, Bī**dj**āpūr and Aḥmadnagar, or with the Hindu state of Vijayanagar to the immediate south. These conflicts were sustained by mutual jealousies and petty intrigues, resulting in constantly shifting military alliances among these four principal states of the Deccan. Thus, although Golkonḍā, Bī**dj**āpūr and Aḥmadnagar were able to band together in 972/1565 to crush Vijayanagar and sack its wealthy capital in the battle of Talikota, immediately after this battle the three Muslim states resumed their mutual hostilities. This situation prompted increasing intervention in Deccan affairs by the Mu**gh**al empire, which was expanding its imperial interests in the 11th/17th century. Finally, in 1045/1636 **Sh**āh **Dj**ahān forced ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb **Sh**āh to recognise the Mu**gh**al government's ultimate suzerainty over Golkonḍā in a "Deed of Submission". By clarifying Golkonḍā's relationship to Dihlī, however, this arrangement relieved ʿAbd Allāh of further anxieties about Mu**gh**al aggression so long as tribute was paid, and freed him to expand Ḳuṭb **Sh**āhī arms southward as far as the Palar river (near Madras), absorbing a number of petty Hindu principalities formerly dependent upon Vijayanagar.

But the reign of ʿAbd Allāh's successor, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳuṭb **Sh**āh, witnessed a dramatic transformation in the internal ruling structure of the kingdom as a number of Brahmins, especially the brothers Madanna and Akkanna, acquired the reins of central authority. This development, combined with the

1. Dihlī, Ḳuṭb Minār (594/1198) and ʿAlāʾī Darwāza (705/1305). (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1971, 17)

2. Ḳuṭb Minār, decoration and inscriptions. (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1971, 19)

state's official Shīʿī ideology, arrears of unpaid tribute to the Mughals, the general chaos in the Deccan prompted by the rise of the Marāṭhās, and renewed expansionist sentiment in the Mughal government now under Awrangzīb, led to a determined Mughal effort to end Golkondā's subordinate but semi-independent status and annex it to the Empire. In 1098/1687, after a protracted siege of Golkondā fort, the Mughal conquest and annexation of the kingdom was accomplished.

In its two centuries of rule, the Ḳuṭb Shāhī monarchy sank roots deep into Indian society and culture by successfully integrating multiple groups into its political fabric, by founding an efficient economic basis for the kingdom, and by forming a distinctive Indo-Muslim culture that accommodated itself in important ways with the pre-existing Hindu culture. On the political level the dynasty, faced with the choice of dislodging or absorbing the indigenous class of Hindu warrior chiefs (*nāyaks*) already dominant in Telugu society, adopted the latter alternative, employing *nāyaks* in garrisons throughout the kingdom and even in the royal guard at the capital. The other indigenous élite group, the Brahmins, were likewise absorbed into the dynasty's political structure, especially in the central revenue administration as clerks, accountants, and even chief administrators. On the local level too, virtually the entire revenue system was entrusted to Brahmins who functioned as agents, brokers or accountants. In fact the more important members of this rural gentry received royal orders guaranteeing their tenure, frequently hereditary, and assuring them of royal support against rivals.

By far the greatest share of the kingdom's revenue was derived from the land tax, collected in cash through a highly-organised and ruthlessly efficient revenue bureaucracy. Further contributing to the kingdom's economic stability, and also its notorious wealth, was the successful exploitation of a number of diamond mines discovered in the Krishna river valley during the early years of the dynasty's history. The diamond enterprise became a vast state monopoly that involved several hundred thousand labourers, officials, and merchants, and made Golkondā the world's most important diamond market in the 11th/17th century.

A distinctive aspect of the dynasty was its composite culture that combined Islamic and Indian styles, as reflected in the nature of its rule, in the flourishing of Telegu, Persian, and Dakhnī literature, and in painting and architecture. Having lived seven years in exile in Vijayanagar, where he learned Telugu and acquired a Hindu wife, Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh set the tone of this syncretic culture. He adopted not only the usual symbols of Muslim sovereignty (*sikka*, *khuṭba*, etc.), but also the style of a traditional Hindu rajah, reserving tax-free lands for the support of Brahmins and temples, erecting pillars on which the sworn loyalty of *nāyaks* was inscribed, patronising Telugu poets, and reviving the ancient Telugu monarchical tradition of building large irrigation works. Moreover, extensive contact between Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan gave rise to a new language, Dakhnī, which achieved its first literary expression in Golkondā in the 10th/16th century, with Sulṭān Muḥammad-Ḳulī himself being one of the foremost writers in the language. A blending of Hindu and Muslim styles is similarly reflected in contemporary painting and architecture, especially the architecture of Ḥaydarābād. Planned in 999/1690-1 by Muḥammad-Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh as a suburb of Golkondā fort, the city of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], with its gardens, bazaars, palaces, and such architectural masterpieces as the Čārminār, has indeed remained the dynasty's most lasting legacy.

Bibliography: Original authorities include *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, completed in 1004/1596 by Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, Dihlī 1936; Firishta, abridged tr., J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, Calcutta 1910; *Taʾrīkh-i Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḳuṭb Shāh*, compiled anonymously in 1026/1617, mss. in India Office Library, etc., see Storey, i, 747; *Ḥadīḳat al-salāṭīn*, completed in 1054/1644 by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, ed. S. ʿAlī Bilgrāmī, Ḥaydarābād 1932; Mackenzie Collection, London, India Office Library; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd. edn., London 1925; W. H. Moreland, ed., *The relations of Golconda in the early 17th century*, London 1931; S. N. Sen, ed., *Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi 1949. Secondary authorities include Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1912-30; P. M. Joshi, *Coins current in the Kingdom of Golconda*, in *J. Num. Soc. of India*, v (June 1943), 85-95; Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*, Calcutta 1951; Abdul Majeed Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, Hyderabad 1956; Percy Brown, *Indian architecture (Islamic period)*, Bombay 1956; Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel: 1615-1690*, The Hague 1962; J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, London 1975; H. K. Sherwani, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, London 1967; idem, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, New Delhi 1974 (the most comprehensive study). (R. M. EATON)

KŪTHĀ, a very old town of ʿIrāḳ, on one of the canals joining the Euphrates and Tigris and one stage from Baghdād on the Kūfa road. The town as well as the canal are often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (cf. the references in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920-5, Indices, s.v. Kutû and the map by Schwenzner in vol. i). The town is said to be identical with the place mentioned in 2 Kings, xvii, 24, from which came a part of the people whom the king of Assyria settled in Samaria in place of the deported Israelites. The course of the canal, at least for its western part, coincided with that of the modern Ḥabl Ibrāhīm; on modern maps, this last ends in the Shaṭṭ al-Nōl; the Arab geographers make no reference to this, but make this canal flow direct into the Tigris (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map II facing p. 25).

The Arab geographers distinguish two places called Kūthā Rabbā and Kūthā al-Ṭarīḳ, but only give further information about the former. (The distances from other places are collected in Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 11.) The geographers also mention the bridge of boats over the canal at Kūthā, which gave it the further name of Djisr Kūthā, and the Abraham legends, which are associated with the town; al-Muḳaddasī (*BGA*, iii², 121) actually calls the town Madīnat Ibrāhīm, and to this day the ruins of the town are erroneously located in the Tell Ibrāhīm which lies approximately on the site of the ancient Kūthā. Abraham is said to have been born at Kūthā, and the name of the town comes from that of his maternal great-grandfather. When his mother (her name is very variously given: Yāḳūt writes Būnā bint Karnabā b. Kūthā; the Talmud, *Bābdā bathrā*, 91ᵃ. אמלתאיבת כרנבו; for other names, see Eisenberg, *EI*¹ art. IBRĀHĪM and *The life of the prophets according to Arabic legend*. ii. *The life of Abraham* [in Hebrew, 1912], 9 n.) was about to give

him birth, she had to take refuge from Nimrod in a cave outside the town. Later, Nimrod threw her into a fiery furnace; therefore, in the time of the Arab geographers, many heaps of ashes were still pointed out which came from this fire.

Kūt͟hā is also the name of the *ṭassūdj* around the town, which comes within the district of Arda͟shīr Pāpakān and is in turn divided into 10 *rustāḳs*. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 79), Ūr Ka͟shd (the Biblical Ūr Kasdīm) from which Abraham migrated is a place *min bilād Kūt͟hā*. The *nisba* from *Kūt͟hā* is *Kūt͟hī* or *Kūt͟hānī*.

Besides Kūt͟hā in Mesopotamia, Yāḳūt and al-Bakrī also mention a place of pilgrimage of this name in Mecca.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Serapion, in *JRAS* (1895), 75; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 168 (ed. Kramers, 245, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 237); al-Muḳaddasī, 26, 121-2; Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 7, 9, 125, 185, 236; Ibn Rusta, 174, 182 (tr. Wiet, 202, 210); Yāḳūt, iv, 317-18; idem, *Mus͟htarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 377; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 485; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Ar. text, 80, tr. 183; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i, II, 16, 24; Le Strange, 68-9. On the question of the canals cf. also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 771. (M. PLESSNER)

KUT͟HAM B. AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB AL-HĀS͟HIMĪ, Companion of the Prophet, son of the Prophet's uncle and of Umm al-Faḍl Lubāba al-Hilāliyya, herself Muḥammad's sister-in-law. Although the *Sīra* brings him into contact with Muḥammad by making him one of the inner circle of the Hās͟himī family who washed the Prophet's corpse and descended into his grave, and although his physical resemblance to the Prophet is also stressed, he was obviously a late convert to Islam, doubtless following his father al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] in this after the conquest of Mecca.

Nothing is heard of him during the reigns of the first three Orthodox Caliphs, but then ʿAlī on his accession made Ḳut͟ham governor of Medina (36/656), and in the next year, when menaced by his rivals for the caliphate, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾis͟ha, he made him governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. He seems to have retained this office all through his cousin's caliphate, leading the Pilgrimage in 38/659 (cf. Ibn His͟hām, iii, 1018, 1020, tr. Guillaume, 687-8; Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 70, iv/1, 2, 22, vii/2, 100; Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Hamidullah 447, 569, 577-8; Ṭabarī, i, 1830, 1833, 3092, 3106, 3390, 3343; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 17, 46; Ibn K͟hallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vi, 351; etc.).

After this comparatively undistinguished career, Ḳut͟ham achieved fame through the manner of his ostensible death. He was with the army of K͟hurāsān under Saʿīd b. ʿUt͟hmān b. ʿAffān when the latter invaded Transoxania in 56/676 (cf. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 19-20), and was allegedly killed (thus in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 107, and Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳurays͟h*, 27) or died a natural death (thus in Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 412) at the siege of Samarḳand in 57/677. Ṭabarī makes no mention of Ḳut͟ham's death in his account of this campaign, and Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 298, tr. Wiet, 119, and Nars͟hak͟hī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Buk͟hārā*, tr. Frye, 40, state that he in fact died at Marw.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the supposed tomb of Ḳut͟ham at Samarḳand subsequently became a shrine and pilgrimage place; Barthold plausibly surmised that this cult was probably built up by his family, the ʿAbbāsids, when they came to power. It is, however, equally possible that some existing pre-Islamic cult of Sog͟hdia was islamicised and transformed into the cult of Ḳut͟ham. In the inscriptions of the later buildings making up the shrine complex of Afrāsiyāb, the citadel area of Samarḳand and the heart of the pre-Mongol invasion city [see SAMARḲAND], Ḳut͟ham is generally referred to as the *S͟hāh-i zinda* "living prince" or *S͟hāh-i djawānān* "prince of the youths", and I. I. Rempel has suggested that Ḳut͟ham is a syncretistic figure incorporating elements of the Islamic prophet K͟hiḍr [see AL-K͟HAḌIR] and of Siyāwus͟h and other ancient Iranian heroes (in G. A. Pugačenkova, ed., *Iz istorii velikogo goroda*, Tashkent 1972, 36-52).

The shrine flourished greatly and was added to in Ḳarak͟hānid and Saldjūḳ times, so that a whole complex was formed there, and during Sandjar's sultanate, probably in the 520s/1130s, a *Madrasa Ḳut͟hamiyya* was founded. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Samarḳand two centuries later, in the reign of the Čag͟hatayid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tarmas͟hīrīn (726-34/1326-34), he found the shrine opulently appointed and much visited by the local people of Samarḳand plus the Tatārs of the region. It had a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] or hospice attached to it for pilgrims and travellers, and a scion of the ʿAbbāsids, the *amīr* G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, great-great-grandson of the penultimate Bag͟hdād caliph al-Mustanṣir (623-40/1226-42), who had migrated from ʿIrāḳ to Transoxania, acted as *nāẓir* or superintendent of the shrine (*Riḥla*, iii, 52-4, tr. Gibb, iii, 568-9). The shrine continued to attract royal patronage, including from the Tīmūrids; a mausoleum, possibly to be ascribed to Ḳutlug͟h Āḳā, one of Tīmūr's wives, was built in 762/1361, and in the next century, Ulug͟h Beg [*q.v.*] added to it. Alterations were, indeed, made to it up to the early 19th century.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 29. For the development of the cult of Ḳut͟ham at Samarḳand, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 91-2, and N. B. Nemtseva, *Istoki kompozitsii i etapī formirovaniya ansamblya Shakhi-Zinda*, in *Sov. Ark͟heologiya* (1976), No. 1, 94-106, Eng. tr. with commentary by J. M. Rogers and ʿĀdil Yāsīn, in *Iran, Jnal. of the Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, xv (1977), 125-47. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KUT͟HAYYIR B. ʿ**ABD** AL-**RAḤMĀN** (better known as KUT͟HAYYIR ʿAZZA and often called al-Mulaḥī after Mulayḥ, a sub-tribe of K͟huzāʿa, or Ibn Abī Djumʿa, after his maternal grandfather), a poet of the ʿUd͟hrī school of the Umayyad period. Like other poets of the same school, his life was a favourite field for the imagination of story-tellers who wrote entertaining *asmār* literature. In such cases, legend plays such havoc with history that it becomes almost impossible for later critical studies to separate one from the other. Legends were introduced to suggest pseudo-historical occasions for some poems, and some poetry was made to suit stereotypes of the ideal lover. Other factors, both political and sectarian, made it easy for the *ruwāt* to shroud Kut͟hayyir's character with ever thicker layers of legendary material. Nowhere else does authentic poetry stand in sharp contrast to the alleged character of its writer as it does in the case of Kut͟hayyir. When stripped of such accretions, the biography of such a poet becomes a mere skeleton.

Kut͟hayyir's parents were both from K͟huzāʿa, and lived in Medina or in the adjacent hills to the east. If we believe al-Marzubānī, who states that the poet lived 80 or 81 years (*Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1960, 242), then he must have been born *ca.* 23 or 24/643 or 644 (since

there is no doubt that he died in 105/723). This date of birth seems very early if we consider that there are no traces of his poetical activities before 60/679, a fact which makes one think that he could not have been born earlier than 40/660. Although Kuthayyir's father died when he was still in need of a guardian, he is nevertheless accused of being an undutiful son (this is more likely a reflection of much later sectarian prejudice). When his father was afflicted with a sore in one of his fingers, Kuthayyir considered that as a heavenly punishment for the father, who used to raise that same finger whenever he swore falsely. The pious interpretation here is ignored, and the sharp comment is taken as indicating an unfilial attitude. Kuthayyir's uncle became a watchful guardian who, to keep the boy away from the vices of urban life, sent him to tend a herd of camels in the outskirts. At that stage, so the legend says, a brass figure trudging heavily appeared to him and ordered him to begin to recite poetry. Thus his inspiring *djinni* disclosed himself to him at an early age. Yet it was not this *djinnī*, but the author of the legend, who reduced the camels to sheep and took Kuthayyir to al-Djār on the Red Sea coast where, on his way, he met a group of women, from among whom a young girl approached him in order to buy a sheep. The lad, who in his manhood became known for his proverbial stinginess (Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalā'*, Cairo 1948, 165), gave her a sheep and refused to accept payment. This girl was inevitably ʿAzza, the daughter of Ḥumayl from the Dhamra tribe, who entangled Kuthayyir with her beauty. According to later evidence from a woman who knew ʿAzza, ʿAzza is described as a "sweet", pretty, clean and pale-skinned woman, whose conversation was most enchanting. ʿAzza's family must have previously given her as a wife to a first suitor because, shortly after that heady meeting, Kuthayyir's poetry became very embarassing to them. That same husband is referred to in his poetry as a jealous, impotent old man (*hawkal*), who used his authority over his wife to make her scold her lover and abuse him. It is also probable that the migration of ʿAzza and her husband to Egypt (*ca.* 67/686) was not only due to a drought that broke out in the Ḥidjāz, but also represented the husband's wish to avoid embarassment. Nevertheless, Kuthayyir, who cared but little about the feelings of his rival, found in travelling to Egypt a good opportunity to see both ʿAzza and his friend ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, governor of Egypt. Through the latter, the poet's attachment to the Umayyad caliphs and *amīrs* was strongly established, an attachment which endured until his death.

Yet at a date previous to these travels, Kuthayyir is said to have met a man called Khandaḳ who attracted him to the Kaysānī beliefs. In its early stage, the Kaysāniyya sect [*q.v.*] must have been compatible with the belief in the right of ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, to the imāmate, as successor to his half-brother, Ḥusayn. The poet's relation with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is a historical fact, to which Kuthayyir's own poetry attests. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was imprisoned by the rebel and anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and that imprisonment was strongly resented by the poet (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1971, 224). As for the other Kaysānī beliefs, such as those of the occultation of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the mountain of Raḍwā, near Medīna and his final return (*radjʿa*), or the transmigration of souls, nothing is explicitly or implicitly expressed about them in Kuthayyir's poetry. Even his two surviving elegies for his friend Khandaḳ are completely silent about any doctrines or beliefs. Yet the poet was later identified with the extremist Kaysānī poet, al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789), and some of the latter's poems were ascribed to him. The *riwāyas* about his Kaysānī beliefs hardly conform with the accepted Kaysānī doctrines. Ludicrously enough, instead of believing in the return of his *imām*, Kuthayyir, according to these *riwāyas*, believed in his own *radjʿa*. In examining similar traditions, one can discover not only contradictions but also a humorous strain which was intended to mock Kuthayyir's own character. Kuthayyir's attachment to the Kaysāniyya must have been a short, emotional interlude, to which he was driven by his friendship with Khandaḳ and his pity for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment. When the latter acknowledged the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik in 69/688, the poet felt no ambivalence in his allegiance and became an Umayyad partisan till the end.

Some traits in Kuthayyir's character made it easy to ascribe rather ridiculous beliefs or modes of behaviour to him. He was a very short, ugly, red-faced, long-necked, huge-headed and very slender man, who adopted a haughty and conceited manner to mask his limitations. His naiveté and lack of urban sophistication are easily detected in his poetry. In one of his poems he bridles at ʿAzza's humorous comment that he has become pale and rough in manner of late, and accuses her of ridiculing him only to please her husband (*Dīwān*, 379). Yet he explicitly acknowledges, in the same poem, that he had really become a shadow of a man, "like the remnants of a rope", totally bony but, in spite of all that, naturally handsome, without adornment, "like a Byzantine *dīnār*". Madness, which must be taken to mean no more than eccentricity, becomes an easy accusation. But no mad person, in reality, could have enjoyed the durable favour and esteem which the poet gained from his Umayyad patrons, or could have become so well-loved that nearly all the men and women of Medina would throng his funeral in order to bid him a final farewell. Kuthayyir was also accused of being insincere in his love. Considered as a ʿUdhrī lover, this accusation might be true; at a certain time, he was temporarily attracted to another woman called Ẓallāma, whose "magical tie" was easily broken by ʿAzza. Other tales about his unfaithfulness in love are mere elaborations on the same theme by *asmār* writers. His poetry, in a way, gives credence to such an accusation because it shows a sober restraint which falls short of a passionate abandonment to love. Love, in Kuthayyir's poems, is conceived in the terms of friendship. Let it be also remembered that he, unlike other ʿUdhrī-love poets, like al-Madjnūn or even his tutor Djamīl, did not restrict himself to love-poetry. Not only his eulogies, but also his harsh satirical poems against his beloved's tribe, testify that love, in his heart, was rivalled by other strong emotions. His elegies on his friends, Khandaḳ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, are not less in warmth than his love poems. His eulogies, though not so warm, are lengthy and symmetrical. In them, the poet's hard Bedouin life or the pangs of his forlorn love, are sharply contrasted with the luxurious life of the patron (*mamdūḥ*), and this latter is also drawn in contrast to the hardships which the patron faced in an inevitable war. Although the Umayyad *amīr* is an Arab chief who has, sometimes, the eyes of a snake and who seized sovereignty by force, it seems as if the poet resorts to a special set of distinguishing Umayyad attributes in his eulogies. Friendship, rather than financial benefit, is the stronger incentive for such poems This feeling of social equality helped

the poet to preserve much of his dignity. But when such a feeling is exploited in love-poetry, it reduces the sense of sacrifice to a minimum. The lover even, in moments of self-esteem, acquires the awe of the sovereign when he describes how admiring women feel towards him and how he enjoys the sight of entreating "subjects". It is true that this is not always the case, but, being there for once, it can outweigh all his other expressions of total absorption in love.

Kut̲h̲ayyir was a prolific poet. During his long life, he appears never to have stopped writing poetry except for a certain period, after the death of ʿAzza and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (86-99/705-17); the poet's use of a simple and direct style of composition helped that profuseness. When writing on love or praise, or combining both themes in one poem, his vivid descriptions of the scenes from the Ḥid̲j̲āz or those on the route to Egypt or Syria add much to the length of his poem. It is said that, of *lāmiyyāt*, he wrote 30 of considerable length. However, all that has survived of that poetry, scattered through the available sources, does not exceed 2,000 lines.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. Flügel, 110, 111, 306; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. M. Shākir, Cairo 1952, 457; Ibn Ḳutayba *al-S̲h̲iʿr wa 'l-S̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1964, 410; Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī, *Ag̲h̲ānī*, Beirut 1957-64, ix, 4, xii, 170, xv, 224; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*, Cairo 1965, 143; al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1954, ii, 387; al-Bakrī, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maymanī, Cairo 1936, 61; al-Sarrād̲j̲, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿus̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ*, Beirut 1958, i, 136; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1972, iv, 106; al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ*, Cairo 1302/1884, i, 43; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīt̲h̲ al-arbiʿāʾ*, Cairo 1926, ii, 116-26; S̲h̲awḳī Ḍayf, *al-Adab fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1963, 319-23; Aḥmad Rabīʿī, *Kut̲h̲ayyir ʿAzza*, Cairo 1967; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīk̲h̲ wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974, 312-22; Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 609-16 and index; Brockelmann, I², 44, SI, 79; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 408-9. Editions of the *Dīwān*: H. Pérès, *Koṯayyir-ʿAzza, Dîwân, accompagné d'un commentaire arabe*, Algiers 1928-30; I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1391/1971.

(IḤSĀN ʿABBĀS)

ḲUTLUG̲H̲-K̲H̲ĀNIDS. 1. a dynasty in Kirmān [*q.v.*] in the 7th/13th century, descended from the Kara-K̲h̲itay [*q.v.*] of Transoxania. The dynasty, successively vassals of the K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āh, the Mongol Great K̲h̲āns and the dynasty of Hūlāgū K̲h̲ān (Īlk̲h̲āns), lasted from 619/1222 or 620/1223 to 706/1305-6, but never had more than local importance. It entertained close relations with the neighbouring dynasties of the Atābegs of Yazd, the Salg̲h̲urids of Fārs and the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] and came into occasional contact with the caliph and with India. The founder of the dynasty (from 619 or 620) was Naṣr al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Ḳutlug̲h̲ Sulṭān Burāḳ-Ḥād̲j̲ib [*q.v.*], son of Kuldūz (?), d. 632/1235. His title Ḳutlug̲h̲ Sulṭān was given him by the caliph, although his conversion to Islam was of a very recent date. He had a son Rukn al-Dīn K̲h̲ād̲j̲ad̲j̲ūḳ (or Mubārak K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a) and four daughters, of whom Sawind̲j̲ Turkān was married to Čag̲h̲atay K̲h̲ān, K̲h̲ān Turkān to her cousin Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and the two others to members of the family of the Atābegs of Yazd.

Burāḳ appointed as his successor his nephew and son-in-law Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, whose father K̲h̲amītūn Tāyangū b. Kuldūz (variants: K̲h̲amītbūr, K̲h̲antimūr, Tānīkū) is perhaps identical with the Ḳara-K̲h̲itay chief captured by the K̲h̲ʷārazmians in 607/1210; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 364. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn at the end of a year had to retire into Mongolia on the approach of Rukn al-Dīn, son of Burāḳ and Ukā-K̲h̲ātūn, who after spending some time at the Mongol court received from Ögedey investiture for the fiefs of Kirmān and Narmas̲h̲īr. He ruled for 16 years. He was not well disposed to the Tād̲j̲īks and men of letters, according to the *Simṭ al-ʿulāʾ*.

In 650/1252 he had in turn to make way for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who had in the interval been serving in China under Maḥmūd Yalawač and upon whom Möngke after his accession conferred the *yarlīḳ* over Kirmān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was authorised by the Ḳāʾān to put Rukn al-Dīn to death as he was suspected of intriguing with the caliph. He soon suppressed a rising by a pretender who claimed to be the K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āh D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn. He severely punished the Kūč and Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN and KUFṢ]. His successes were attributed to the advice of his wife, Ḳutlug̲h̲ Turkān K̲h̲ātūn, whose wisdom is highly praised by the historians. Some doubts exist as to her origin; according to the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i guzīda* she had been the concubine (*surriyya*) of Burāḳ (according to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, that of G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn, brother of the K̲h̲ʷārazm-S̲h̲āh D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn) and would thus be a different person from K̲h̲ān Turkān, daughter of Barāḳ; this fact might explain her feud with the sons of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died in 655/1257. His son Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ being a minor, the notables asked the Ḳāʾān to entrust the government to the widow of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn ʿIṣmat al-dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ḳutlūg̲h̲ Turkān who ruled 655-81/1257-82 (in 662/1264 her powers were confirmed by Hūlāgū; cf. Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 403).

Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ when he grew up sought to get into touch with the sons of Ögedey and acted with little regard for Ḳutlug̲h̲ Turkān, but the latter, strong in the support of her daughter Pāds̲h̲āh-K̲h̲ātūn, married to Abaḳa-K̲h̲ān, forced Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ to retire to Dihlī in 666/1267-8. Then the other son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Suyurg̲h̲atmīs̲h̲, successfully disputed Turkān's power and she went to Tabrīz, where she died in 681/1282-3. Her daughter Bībī K̲h̲ātūn, who had married the *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dīn Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī, removed her remains to Kirmān. Marco Polo went through Kirmān (*ca.* 1272) in the reign of Ḳutlug̲h̲ Turkān.

D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Suyurg̲h̲atmīs̲h̲ (681-93/1282-94) received his investiture from the Īl-K̲h̲ān Aḥmad, but could not agree with his sister Pāds̲h̲āh-K̲h̲ātūn. She had been brought up among her brothers under the name of Ḥasan S̲h̲āh (cf. MIRK̲H̲ʷĀND) to enable her to escape compulsory marriage with a Mongol prince. She became, however, the wife first of Abaḳā and after his death, of his son Gayk̲h̲ātū. The latter on coming to the throne in 690/1291 gave Kirmān to Pāds̲h̲āh-K̲h̲ātūn. The princess, who was a poetess of talent, was of a vindictive and passionate nature. At first, Suyurg̲h̲atmīs̲h̲ governed the province in the name of the Pāds̲h̲āh, but she later threw him into prison. He was freed by his wife K̲h̲udāwand-zāda Kardud̲j̲īn, daughter of Mengü Tīmūr b. Hūlāgū and the Salg̲h̲urid [*q.v.*] princess Abis̲h̲, ruler of Fārs, and by his daughter S̲h̲āh ʿAlam. Gayk̲h̲ātū, however, handed him over to Pāds̲h̲āh-K̲h̲ātūn, who had him strangled. His death was followed by the execution of his vizier, who was captured by stratagem. In 694/1295 Baydū,

husband of ʿĀlam Khātūn, became king, and Pādshāh was handed over the vengeance of the wife and daughter of Suyurghatmish. In the reign of Pādshāh Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, 23, 91) passed through Kirmān on his return journey (*ca.* 1293).

In 695/1296 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad Shāh Sulṭān b. Ḥadjdjādj succeeded his aunt by command of Ghāzān Khān, but his brother slew his vizier and rebelled in Kirmān. The troops of Fārs and ʿIrāḳ besieged Kirmān for 18 months. Muẓaffar al-Dīn came from Tabrīz, forced the town to surrender and executed the ringleaders. His methods must have been summary, for his new vizier left him in terror. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who loved wine, died in 703/1303-4 as a result of his excesses.

His nephew Sulṭān Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II Shāh Djahān b. Suyurghatmish succeeded him and ruled for two years and a half (until 706/1306-7). As he was very cruel and did not pay his dues regularly to the Mongol treasury, Öldjeytü deposed him and appointed a simple governor to Kirmān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II retired to Shīrāz to Kardudjīn, wife of his father. His daughter Ḳutlugh Khān (*wālidat al-salāṭīn*) in 729/1328-9 became the wife of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, the real founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, who later took possession of Kirmān (in 741/1340-1).

Before the earthquake of 1896 there still existed in Kirmān the *Ḳubba-yi sabz* (remains of the *madrasa* of Turkānābād) bearing the date 640/1121-3 (i.e. contemporary with Rukn al-Dīn). This "green mausoleum" was the family tomb for the dynasty (cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 60-2, 194, 264). Turkān Khātūn founded the little towns of Sar-āsiyāb and Čatrūd, to which she brought a water supply. Suyurghatmish built the *madrasa* of Darb-i Naw, where he was buried.

Bibliography: The special history of the Ḳutlugh-Khānids is the *Simṭ al-ʿulā' li 'l-ḥaḍrat al-ʿulyā*, written in 716/1316-17, cf. Storey, i, 358, 1297. The author Nāṣir al-Dīn was the son of Khwādja Muntadjab al-Dīn Yazdī, the trusted adviser of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (cf. the Paris ms., B. N. Persian No. 1377, f., 125). On Burāḳ, Rukn al-Dīn and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, cf. Djuwaynī, ed. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 211-18, tr. Boyle, ii, 476-82. On the whole dynasty: *Ta'rīkh-i guzida*, ed. Browne, 527-35, 625; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, Bombay 1266, iv, 128-31; cf. E. A. Strandman, *Chuandamir's afhandling om Qarachitaiska i Kirman*, Helsingfors 1869; Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, ii/3, 10-12; Münedjdjim-bashī, Turkish tr., Istanbul 1285, iii, 587; Rieu also quotes Waṣṣāf, iii (to the year 694) and the *Geography* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, part ii, which seems to contain full references. Cf. also d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii, 5, 19, 32, 131-3, 396; iv, 90-3, 269, 485; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 237; Boyle, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 323.

2. The title Ḳutlugh-Khān was conferred in 629/1231 by Ögedey on Abū Bakr b. Saʿd, the Salghurid [*q.v.*], cf. d'Ohsson, iii, 398.

(V. MINORSKY)

ḲUTLUGH-SHĀH NOYAN, a notable Mongol *amīr* in Īlkhānid Persia, especially during the reigns of Ghāzān Khān and Öldjeytü (694-716/1295-1316). He was a member of the Manqut tribe, and a descendant of Čingiz Khān's general Djedey Noyan.

After the accession of Ghāzān, Ḳutlugh-Shāh led the pursuit of the *amīr* Nawrūz, besieged Harāt, where Nawrūz had taken refuge, and captured and executed him in 696/1297. He was also charged with the execution of the fallen *wazīr* Ṣadr al-Dīn. In 698/1299 he was sent by Ghāzān to Rum to suppress the revolt of prince Sūlāmish. In 699/1299 he accompanied Ghāzān's invasion of Syria, and was subsequently appointed by him *shaḥna* of Damascus. He commanded the right wing of the Īlkhānid army when the Mamlūk forces were defeated at Ḥimṣ. During the Syrian campaign of 703/1303, Ḳutlugh-Shāh was less successful; he was defeated by the Mamlūks at Mardj al-Ṣuffar. He among others was held responsible by Ghāzān, and together with his fellow-general Čūbān he was sentenced to be beaten with rods at the judicial enquiry (*yārghū*) which followed his precipitate return to Persia. Any eclipse that Ḳutlugh-Shāh may have suffered as a result of this defeat was only temporary, however. On his accession in 704/1304, the Īlkhān Öldjeytü appointed him commander-in-chief. But in 707/1307 Öldjeytü's armies invaded Gīlān, and during the campaign Ḳutlugh-Shāh was defeated and killed. His death cleared the way for the later ascendancy of Čūbān in the Īlkhānid state.

Ḳutlugh-Shāh's eminence among the *amīrs* of his time is amply attested in anecdotes concerning him. Ḳāshānī records that during a dispute at court between Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs during the reign of Öldjeytu, Ḳutlugh-Shāh urged in his exasperation that the Mongols should abandon Islam—of whose tenets he is represented as having a very curious conception—and return to the *yāsāḳ* and *yūsūn* of Čingiz Khān (*Ta'rīkh-i Uldjāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 98 = Aya Sofya MS 3019, f. 178a). On the other hand, in Ibn Bazzāz's *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, a near-contemporary life of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabīl, he is shown as a devotee of Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, and there is an entertaining account of how in a contest of piety and abstinence, Ḳutlugh-Shāh's favoured *shaykh* was beaten by Ghāzān Khān's candidate, Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī (ed. Aḥmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī, lith. Bombay 1911, 38-9 = Aya Sofya MS 3099, f. 28b).

Bibliography: references in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[3], Berlin 1968.

(D. O. MORGAN)

ḲUṬN, ḲUṬUN (A.), cotton.

1. In the mediaeval Arab and Persian lands.

In the period of the Arab conquests cotton had already been propagated from India to eastern Persia and the neighbouring lands. It was cultivated everywhere and a flourishing industry produced cotton goods there. The Arab geographers, in describing the economy of these lands in the ʿAbbāsid period, speak especially of the production of cotton goods, but there is good reason to suppose that these factories used the cotton planted in their own regions.

In modern Afghānistān, Kābul and Herāt had cotton factories which were known for the excellent quality of their products. Kābul exported cotton goods as far as China. Marw and Nīshāpūr were the most important centres of the cotton industry in Khurāsān. The province of Marw also exported large quantities of raw cotton, much appreciated for its softness. The cotton materials produced at Marw, especially *mulḥam*, a cotton and silk fabric, were so renowned that, according to al-Thaʿālibī, in all countries fine materials originating from Khurāsān were called *shāhidjānī* (after the name of Marw).

The industry of Nīshāpūr was known for the material called *haffī*. The cotton goods of these two towns passed in the caliphal empire, according to an observation of al-Djāḥiẓ cited by al-Thaʿālibī, as the best in the world. Transoxania also produced large quantities of cotton. From the province of Shāsh it was exported into the Turkish lands. Samarḳand, the small town of Wadhār not far from it, Bukhārā and Ṭawāwīs were the most important centres of the cotton industry there, whilst Bukhārā was renowned for its heavy cotton goods, whose firm fabric was praised. The cotton plantations had even been introduced into cold lands such as Khwārazm. Factories for cotton goods were also developed there, whose products, such as those called *arandj* and *amīrī*, enjoyed a great reputation.

Djibāl itself produced cotton and had factories which worked it, although on a smaller scale than those of Khurāsān. The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century relate that the cotton of the province of Rayy was exported as far as ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān. Speaking of irrigation by means of subterranean canals in the province of Iṣfahān, Ibn Ḥawḳal remarks that it served for the cultivation of cotton. In Kirmān, there was a flourishing cotton industry at Bamm which doubtless used the raw material produced in the province. As for the province of Fārs, there is no room for doubt about its presence there, for Ibn Ḥawḳal points out to us the rate of tax levied on the cotton plantations in the district of Shīrāz. Yazd and Abarḳūya themselves had factories which certainly worked the cotton cultivated in their provinces. However, in this part of Persia, the cultivation of flax and its manufacture prevailed over that of cotton.

At the end of the 3rd/9th century and beginning of the 4th/10th century, there were already cotton plantations in Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, but in these lands they constituted a new sector of agriculture. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, writing in the first half of the 4th/10th century, relates that in most of the lands of Rās al-ʿAyn, in Upper Mesopotamia, cotton was cultivated, and Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the cotton plantations and cotton goods production in the town of ʿArabān, in the same province. Al-Muḳaddasī, for his part, mentions cotton plantations in the district of Ḥarrān. Later on, Yāḳūt mentions cotton goods' production at Ḥazza, a small town near Rās al-ʿAyn. In the 4th/10th century much cotton was also planted in the province of Aleppo and in Palestine, in the region of the Ḥūla and in the Djawlān, near Bāniyās. To judge by the description of Palestine by al-Muḳaddasī, it was also cultivated near Jerusalem. A passage in the description of Upper Mesopotamia by Ibn Ḥawḳal reveals that the cotton plantations increased considerably in the 4th/10th century in this land, when the new lords, who had replaced the caliphal régime, established large estates and introduced the cultivation of industrial plants such as cotton. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Ḥamdānids, but there is reason to suppose that other dynasties were also involved. Whatever may be the case, the cultivation of cotton as yet only played a modest role in this period within the total agricultural production of these lands. Indeed, Ibn Ḥawḳal specifies that cotton goods were imported from Upper Mesopotamia into Syria.

In Egypt, the cultivation of cotton constituted, in this period and also later, under the domination of the Fāṭimids, a still more limited agricultural sector. Several papyri, it is true, testify to the cultivation of cotton in Egypt, in the 2nd-4th/8-10th centuries, and other documents refer to cotton plantations in Egypt under the Fāṭimids. According to al-Idrīsī it was even exported in this period from Egypt to Libya. On the other hand, numerous Judaeo-Arabic documents preserved in the Cairo Geniza from the second half of the 5th/11th and first half of the 6th/12th century show that cotton and cotton goods were imported from Sicily and especially from Syria and Palestine.

The same observation will be made as to the cultivation of cotton in the Maghrib in this period; it was planted almost everywhere but on a relatively small scale. Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the cotton plantations in the districts of Tunis and M'sila in Algeria. Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī mentions too the cotton plantations in the province of M'sila and speaks of them further in his description of Mostaganem in western Algeria. In Morocco, cotton was planted, according to the reports of the Arab geographers, in the districts of Fez, Tādlā, Baṣra and Kurt. In Islamic Spain it was cultivated, in the 4th/10th century, in the province of Seville and also in the district of Guadix, to the east of Granada.

In the period of the Crusades, the cultivation of cotton developed to a great extent in Syria, especially in its northern provinces. Several treaties concluded between Venice and the Ayyubīd princes of Aleppo and Ṣahyūn report the export of cotton from their states. However, the great rise of cotton cultivation in Syria was to begin later, after the fall of the Crusader states. When the farmers lost the great markets provided by the Crusaders' towns, there was a glut of cereals and they went over apparently to the cultivation of cotton. Already in 1304, some Venetian emissaries went to visit the Mamlūk governor of Ṣafad, doubtless to negotiate with him concerning the trade in cotton, the plantations of which had increased considerably in his province. The depopulation following the Black Death and the still further diminished demand for cereals accelerated this development, so that the export of Syrian cotton became an important sector of the Levant trade.

The connection between the reduced demand for cereals and the increase in cotton production emerges clearly from the development of agriculture in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia. Marco Polo relates, at the end of the 13th century, that the provinces of Mush and Mārdīn produce enormous quantities of cotton which was worked there. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the first half of the 8th/14th century, also speaks of the cotton plantations in the district of Mārdīn and still others in the districts of Bāzabdā, Barṭallā and Irbil in Upper Mesopotamia and in the environs of Walasdjird in Armenia. The Venetian ambassador Giosafa Barbaro, who travelled across these lands in 1474, also mentions the cultivation of cotton and the cotton goods' factories at Mārdīn as well as plantations in the district of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The fiscal regulations of Uzun Ḥasan, then lord of this country, refer to the cotton industries of Urfa, ʿArabgīr and Erzindjān, towns today forming part of Turkey. In ʿIrāḳ cotton was cultivated then in the districts of Baghdād, Kūfa and Ḥilla. The accounts of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī of the agricultural production of several provinces of Persia are particularly significant in this regard, in so far as they mention cotton plantations in some districts which do not figure as producers of cotton in earlier sources. He speaks of large harvests of cotton in several districts of Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Ḳūhistān and Kirmān. There is no doubt that the diminution of the population and consequently of the demand for

cereals after the Mongol conquests led also the farmers of these regions to go over to the cultivation of cotton. Al-Mawṣil and several other towns then became centres of the cotton goods industry and their products were exported to other lands, such as Egypt.

In this latter country, the production of cotton also increased from the middle of the 7th/13th century, although it was still imported from the Sudan. The Irish pilgrim Simeon Simeonis, who in 1323 passed by Fuwwa in the western delta, describes the plantations of cotton which he had seen there and later, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Emmanuel Piloti relates that cotton is the most important product of the province of al-Gharbiyya. Arnold von Harff, a German traveller of the end of the 9th/15th century, saw cotton plantations on his way from Ḳaṭya to Ghazza. In the late Middle Ages, Egypt was also able to export cotton to Europe.

Nevertheless, in no other country of the Near East was the role of cotton, in the late Middle Ages, as important as in Syria, nor was the volume of its production as considerable in relation to other crops; Syria exported large quantities of cotton to Europe, where it served as the raw material for the flourishing fustian industries in Lombardy and southern Germany. The great centres of the plantations were the region of Aleppo, the province of Ḥamā and the northern districts of Palestine. In northern Syria cotton was cultivated especially in the districts of Djabala, ʿAzāz and Sarmīn (called Siamo by the Italians, by confusion with al-Shām), and in Palestine in the environs of Acre and in the valley of Jizreel. But cotton was also planted in the province of Tripoli and on the coasts of Lebanon, near Bayrūt, Ṣaydā and Tyre. In the travel books which pilgrims in the Holy Land have left for us, there is mention of cotton plantations near Jaffa and Ramla. In Transjordania cotton was planted in the district of ʿAdjlūn. Accordding to the Merchants' Guide of Pegolotti, the cotton of Ḥamā was considered the best, and this statement is corroborated by numerous price lists of the Venice market. But all varieties of Syrian cotton were more appreciated in Europe than the cotton originating from other countries, such as Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt or Malta. It was appreciated for its longer fibres and for being more flexible. Part of the Syrian cotton fed the cotton goods' industry (especially "bocasin" from the Turkish *būghāsī*) which flourrished at Baʿlabakk, in the villages of the Lebanon, to the east of Tripoli and in the villages near Aleppo. It appears however that this industry only worked up a small part of the cotton produced in the country and that the greatest part of it was in fact destined for export. From the end of the 15th century, the Venetians made the largest purchases, while the Genoese traded especially in the cotton originating from the Balkans or Turkey, where there existed important plantations in the provinces of Konya and Siwas. The Catalans, who, at the end of the 14th century, still bought on a large scale in Syria, were supplied in the 15th century especially in Sicily. Venice sent each year two convoys of cogs to Syria, one in February and the other in August. Numerous documents which have been preserved in the archives of Italy allow us to evaluate the volume of the export of Syrian cotton by the Venetians. It will be concluded that in some periods of good (political and economic) conjuncture, the Venetians exported each year from Syria 8,000 sacks of raw cotton (apart from relatively small quantities of cotton thread) and in others, 5,000. Since a sack contained, on average, 150 kg., the value of these exports may be evaluated at 90-140,000 ducats a year. But when the price of cotton rose, at the beginning of the 15th century, from 24-5 ducats a *ḳinṭār* (of northern Syria) to 30-5 ducats, the Venetian investment rose to 200-250,000 ducats and more. Also, there were some years in which the Venetians bought Syrian cotton for 300,000 ducats.

The registers of fiscal returns made in Palestine in 1525-6 and 1555-6 indicate the large volume of cotton production in Galilee and also in the district of Jaffa after the conquest of the land by the Ottomans. Indeed, Syria still exported cotton to Egypt and other countries until the end of the 18th century. In Egypt cotton was cultivated, at the beginning of the 19th century, near Damanhūr on the western branch of the Nile and in the provinces of Sammanūd and Manṣūra on its eastern branch. But these plantations were not of great extent. Then, in 1818 or 1819, the French engineer Louis Alexis Jumel discovered in Cairo a species of cotton which was distinguished by its long, strong fibres and began to cultivate it with the help of Muḥammad ʿAlī. As the new species fetched a much higher price in Europe than the others, it was cultivated from 1822 on a large scale, principally on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the Nile. Always under the sponsorship of Muḥammad ʿAlī, experts on cotton cultivation were invited to Egypt and in 1830 a type of agricultural code (*lāʾiḥat zirāʿat al-fallāḥ*) containing detailed instructions for the cultivation of cotton was published. However, the great rise of its cultivation in Egypt only began in the 1860s, when the Civil War in America made the price of Egyptian cotton rise and the plantations were greatly enlarged. It is from this time that cotton has come to occupy a place of the first rank in the agriculture of Egypt.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 213, 302, 366, 490; Muḳaddasī, 160; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. Bosworth, 121; *La Péninsule ibérique ... d'après le Kitāb ar-Rauḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 192 of the Arabic text; *La description de l'Espagne de Rāzī*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 93; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*, in *Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästinavereins* (1903), 68; W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *ZDMG*, c (1950), 195; *I viaggi in Persia degli ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini*, ed. Lockhart-Morozzo della Rocca-Tiepolo, Rome 1973, 114, 116, 117; B. Lewis, *Studies in the Ottoman archives*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 489; idem, *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952, 18; idem, *Nazareth in the sixteenth century according to the Ottoman tapu registers*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 417; idem, *Jaffa in the sixteenth century, according to the Ottoman tahrir registers*, in *Necati Lugal Armağanı*, Ankara 1969, 437; the other sources are cited in: C. J. Lamm, *Cotton in mediaeval textiles of the Near East*, Paris 1937; D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, in *Isl.*, xxxii (1957), 38 f.; R. Pfister, *L'introduction du coton en Égypte musulmane*, in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, xi (1937), 167 ff.; E. Ashtor, *The Venetian cotton trade in Syria in the later Middle Ages*, in *Studi medievali*, xvii (1976), 675 ff.; idem, *Social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976, 222 ff., 240, 262, 276, 318 f.; R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1942), to

xv-xvi (1951), E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy 1820-1914*, Oxford 1969.

(E. Ashtor)

2. In the Ottoman Empire.

In western Turkish dialects, *pan(m)buḳ, pamuḳ, bamuḳ* or *mamuḳ* (see G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*) "cotton" is derived from Middle Persian *pambaḳ*, while in eastern dialects cotton is *paḵẖta, baḵẖta*, or *baḳta* (Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialecte*, iv) and cotton cloth *boḵẖtāy* (Maḥmūd Kās̲h̲gharī, *Divānü Lûgāt-it-Türk*, facs. ed. B. Atalay, 550; in Chinese *po-tie*, see J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouighours*, Paris 1955, 57-8). In Uyghur, *kebez* designated cotton. The word *bäz* (*bez*) is a common word for coarse cotton cloth in various dialects (also in the forms of *böz, biz*, or *bös*, with a theory of its derivation from the Greek βύσσος, Assyrian *busu*, W. Bang, *Vom Köktürkischen zum Osmanischen*, Berlin 1921, 14 n. 2, now challenged; see G. Doerfer and S. Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch*, Budapest 1980, 91; H. Ecsedy, *Böz, an exotic cloth in the Chinese imperial court*, in *Alt-orientalische Forschungen*, iii, 145-63).

Continuing a long tradition of cotton growing and industry in Central Asia, the Uyghur Turks produced cotton and exported cotton textiles to China, as recorded in the Chinese sources of the 9th century (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, Index, s.v. *po-tie*). Under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs [*q.v.*], cotton production and manufacture had apparently a considerable development in Asia Minor, in which principal towns had cotton bazaars (for instance, *panbah furūs̲h̲ān* in Ḳonya, Aflākī, *Manāḳib*, 618) and caravanserais of cotton textiles (for al-K̲h̲ān al-Bazzāzī in the *Sūḳ al-Bazzāzīn* in Ḳīrs̲h̲ehir, see A. Temir, *Caca oğlu Nūr el-Din*, 23). "Cotton fabrics edged with gold embroidery" of Lād̲h̲iḳ (Laodicaeaon-Lykos, today Denizli) noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 733/1322 (tr. Gibb, ii, 425) were famous all over Anatolia and referred to as late as the 9th/15th century (see ʿĀs̲h̲īḳ-Pas̲h̲a-zāde, ed. Giese, 52).

Although European markets preferred better-quality northern Syrian types (Ḥamā, Aleppo) and those of Cilicia and Cyprus (in the 1330s, Pegolotti: *cotone*; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 463), a substantial part of the cotton imported into Europe in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries came from western and southern Anatolian ports—Ayasoluk (Ephesus), Balat (Palatia), Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyya, Candelore), Antalya (Satalia), and Ayas (Lajazzo) (Heyd, ii, 463; H. Wescher, 2335; M. Mazzaoui, ch. 2). Cotton was grown in the immediate hinterlands of these ports. The island of Chios became the main entrepôt of the Anatolian cotton exported by the Genoese in this period. In the mid-15th century, the value of the annual export of cotton via Chios was estimated at 600,000 ducats. Turkish cotton was re-exported by the Genoese to other European countries and even to the Mag̲h̲rib (J. Heers, 393).

Over the course of time, Venice tried to monopolise the import and distribution of imported cotton in the West. Venetian annual cotton trade with Lombardy alone was estimated to be worth 250,000 gold ducats in the 9th/15th century (Wascher, 2337; M. Mazzaoui, *ibid.*). By the end of the 10th/16th century, Venice imported an average 4,000 tons annually from the Levant (8,000 sacks from Cyprus and 6,000 from Izmir). The expanding Swiss and German fustian industries were dependent on the cotton imported from the Levant.

Although first known in Germany in *ca.* 978/1570, cotton from Brazil and the West Indies became a serious competitor only after the mid-18th century. At that time, the cotton industries in France and England began to experience rapid growth. Favvoured by special trade privileges [see imtiyāzāt] granted by the Ottomans, France, England, and the Netherlands were then directly importing cottons from the Levant, and superseded Italy in cotton industries in the 11th/17th century. The war of Cyprus (1570-1) can be taken as a turning point for the Venetian decline.

Cotton-producing areas in the Ottoman Empire before 1215/1800. Ottoman survey books, customs registers, guilds and price regulations, as well as *ḳāḍī* court records, attest to a very active cotton manufacturing industry with export capacity in Anatolia, both in the small towns near main cotton producing areas as well as in the large cities with extensive dye-houses in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries.

Apart from a growing demand by the Europeans and from internal trade, the state's need of cotton products for the navy and army too appears to have become one of the factors contributing to the extension of cotton production and that of certain kinds of cotton fabrics. According to the tax regulations of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Index, s.v. *panbuk, penbe*), tithes on cotton produce were collected in the provinces of western Anatolia (K̲h̲udāwendigār, Ḳarasī, Kütahya, Aydīn), of the Aegean Sea and Greece (Triccala, Morea, Euboea, Chios), of southwestern Anatolia (Ḳaramān, Ḥamīd-ili, Ič-il, Adana, Sīs, Özer) and south-eastern Anatolia (Malatya, Behisni, ʿArabgīr, Kemāḵẖ, Ergani, Mārdīn, Urfa, Diyārbakir, and Mawṣil). Northern limits of cotton cultivation on the southern Mediterranean coast reached as far as north as Egirdir lake (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne*, fig. 7). Today, the cotton cultivation is concentrated in the valleys of Gediz and the two Menderes rivers, and in the Čukurova (Cilicia), and to a lesser degree, in the Antalya, Hatay, Marʿas̲h̲, and Diyārbakr areas (*Atlas of Turkey*, map no. 75).

The Ottoman survey of the Aydīn province dated 859/1455 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul, No 1/1M), which included the Küçük-Menderes and Büyük-Menderes valleys with the Izmir (Smyrna) area, attest to extensive cotton cultivation in the region. In many villages (Adakitlü, Yūsuflu, Bozdeg̲h̲an, Ḥaydara, Orta-Seyid, Čalis̲h̲u, Ḳalu-beglu, Ḳutlīld̲j̲, etc.) cotton production was near or sometimes exceeded wheat production. Ḳalu-beglu, for example, where two Türkmen nomad groups had settled, produced about 8.44 tons of cotton against 5.83 tons of wheat in 858-9/1454-5. These were flooded lands and mostly settled by Türkmen nomads by the mid-15th century. Obviously, cotton production in this area was oriented to supplying distant markets as well as to supplying towns and cities exporting cotton goods in the region. In the interior, the Beypazarī-Miḵẖaličcīḳ area in the Saḳarya-Kirmir valley, a number of villages (Čeltük, Ḳaraköy, Sürmeli, Ḳayalar, Sobran, Ḳīzīld̲j̲a-vīrān, Bas̲h̲-vīrān, Yarīmd̲j̲a-Avs̲h̲ar, Čay, etc.) showed a different structure with a much more limited production of cotton compared to other crops—wheat, barley, and rice (see the *taḥrīr* and *waḳf* registers of K̲h̲udāwendigār province, ed. Ö.L. Barkan). Apparently, this area supplied cotton to the nearby towns as well as to Ankara, the important centre of loom industries in this region. The area of Toḳāt, another important centre of cotton industry, displays a similar situation. Here,Venk, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Niksar, Felis,

Katar, and Ķaraķush in particular, cotton cultivation constituted only a small percentage of the overall agricultural production (H. İslamoğlu, *Dynamics of agricultural production*, ch. 2) The general trend, however, showed an increase in cotton production, over ten times in some areas. In no case is there a shift to monoculture in the period before the 13th/19th century.

According to the Ottoman surveys of the 10th/16th century (Soysal, 32), 6,506 hectares or 19% of the cultivated land in the *sandjaķ* of Adana was devoted to cotton, while barley and wheat cultivation took an area four times larger. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, the cotton production of the Čukurova appears to have been quite important. O'Heguerty (200) tells us that in the good harvest years, "cotton of Adana" was exported from Izmir.

Varieties of Indian *gossypium herbaceum*, the so-called *yerli* ("native") cotton, were well suited to the climate and soil conditions, and were known as the only varieties cultivated in Asia Minor until the 13th/19th century. Yielding a coarse fibre, thick, short, and of unequal length and curl, this variety was not considered suitable for fine cotton fabrics. However, in the Ķlrķaghač area in the Baķirčay valley, in the Ḥamīd-ili, Gelibolu (Gallipoli) the Čukurova (Adana, Cilicia), and Toķāt areas, superior varieties were produced for making fine *boghasī* fabrics. It was in the second half of the 13th/19th century that American and Egyptian varieties were introduced and cultivated in Asia Minor and the Balkans. In 1333/1941, however, 90-95% of the cotton production in western Anatolia and the Adana region still came from the *yerli* varieties (W. F. Brück, *Türkische Baumwollwirtschaft*, tr. C. Issawi, *The economic history of Turkey*, Chicago 1980, 242-6; *Türk ziraat tarihi*, 129-35)

At the exhibition of Istanbul of 1279/1863, many qualities of cottons from various parts of the Empire were displayed: 24 varieties from western Anatolia, 4 from Içel (Ič-il), 3 from Adana, 1 from Marʿash, 1 from Mārdīn, 1 from Diyārbakir, 7 from Amasya, 6 from Serez, 4 from Filibe, 3 from Edirne, 3 from Drama, 1 from Trikkala, 1 from Rhodes, 9 from Syria, and 4 from Egypt. Egyptians cottons were considered the best quality, while those of Aydîn, though of short fibre, were preferred for their colour and strength (*Türk ziraat tarihi*, 166). Of the varieties of western Anatolia, that of Subiča and Ķlrķaghač were rated first, with those of Aķhiṣār, Ķaṣaba, Ķlnlk, and Bayîndlr coming next. Ķirķaghač and Aķhiṣār, as well as Gelibolu, were the chief suppliers of the Istanbul cotton industries in the 11th/17th century (*Eṣnāf niẓāmlarî*, in the *Müftülük Arşivi*, Istanbul).

Cotton-producing lands were listed among the best quality lands, and a higher land tax was imposed (Uluçay, doc. 41). Tithe on cotton was, as a rule, one-tenth, while in grain it was one-eighth.

Irrigation works for cotton growing were carried out only on large farms organised and created by the élite (see *Vakıflar dergisi*, ii, 364-5). On big farms, *ortaķdjis*, sharecroppers, were usually employed, and one-third of the crop went to the landowner (at Turgutlu in Ṣarukhān, see Uluçay, doc. no. 33). Such farms of the élite were almost always converted into *awķāf*. On lands under the *tīmār* [*q.v.*] system, cotton was grown by individual peasants using primitive means, and often with no irrigation. Disputes arose when cotton prices were low and the *tīmār*-holder tried to leave the tithe to the peasant and ask instead for cash (examples in Uluçay, docs. 33, 41).

In Ottoman Egypt, cotton was grown on irrigated land in parts of Middle Egypt and the Delta. Egypt, however, had to import cotton from Syria to meet the needs of its cotton industries. By the end of the 12th/18th century, the imports of Syrian cotton reached 2,000-3,000 bales (Raymond, i, 190, 250, 273, 317-18). A special *muķāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] was established on the cotton trade in the ports of Rosetta and Būlāķ in 1132/1720-1 and 1161/1740 respectively, which provided evidence of the growing importance of cotton in the Egyptian economy. During the same period, the cotton markets at Būlāķ, Damietta, Rosetta, Maḥallat al-Kubrā, Manṣūra and Semenūd, united under one *muķāṭaʿa*, brought 2,195,000 *paras* per year in tax revenues collected on cotton grown in Egypt or imported from Syria. The total amount of this cotton was approximately 24,000 bales (1 bale = 325 *raṭl* or 143,9 kg). The *muķāṭaʿa* figures show an eight-fold increase in the period 1169-82/1755-68, falling to half that amount in the following period 1183-1213/1769-98 (see S. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt*, Index, s.v. *cotton*; for the following period, see E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy*, Oxford 1969).

Already in the 9th/15th century, the coastal plains between Drama and Karaferye (Verroia) and Vodena formed an important cotton producing area in Rumili. In 1163/1751, the Venetian consul Choidas estimated the total amount of raw cotton exported from this area to be 13,000 bales (7,000 for France, 4,000 for Venice; in Salonica, 1 bale was equal to 110, sometimes 100 *okkas*, see Svoronos, 249), while in 1212/1797, Felix de Beaujour's estimate was 60,000 bales of both raw cotton and cotton yarn exported (40,000 to Germany, 10,000 to France). In 1211/1796, de Beaujour gives a record 98,500 bales for the total export of raw cotton (50,000 to London and Amsterdam, 30,000 to Germany and 12,000 to France). De Beaujour that only 10,000 bales were consumed in the area itself.

The cotton boom in the second half of the 12th/18th century was apparently responsible for the structural changes in the area, sc. the shift from rice cultivation to cotton, the reclamation of new land for cotton agriculture, the extension of big *čiftliks* and commercialisation of agriculture, and the growing prosperity of the big *aʿyāns* with increasing control of the land and peasant labour.

The organisation of cotton trade and industries. The *ķāḍī* court records and market regulations provide us with quite detailed information on the processes of cotton trade and manufacture in the Ottoman towns (see *Iḥtisāb* regulations in *Tarih vesikaları*, nos. 5, 7, 9; for court records see Eluçay).

In cotton producing areas, *ķozaķ*, i.e. cotton bolls, and cotton cleaned from its seeds, was brought to nearby town markets, usually by camels (Uluçay, doc. 22). In towns, special markets, *penbe pazarı*, were reserved for cotton sale. Most of the crop was purchased in small quantities by local *djullāhs* or *čulāhs*, spinners who were poor townsfolk, mostly women. Usually, foreign merchants from the port cities tried to reach producers or local markets through their agents. In order to get the best grade cottons, the merchants, in keen competition among themselves, used a system of advanced payment for a crop directly to the producers through their "factors". The system of a future contract was bitterly denounced by the French, since they said it caused scandalous competition, resulting in higher prices (Masson, ii, 435). Also, native middle-men or speculators in the cotton trade, mostly consisting of members

of the Ottoman élite along with Jews and Armenians in the Izmir area, bought the next season's produce in advance. Such contracts, called *salam*, widely practised in Islamic countries, were strictly regulated in Islamic law because of the uncertainty about the subject of contract (see al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, ed. J. A. Wakin, New York 1972).

The customs registers provide definitive evidence that there was a group of Anatolian merchants who specialised in the cotton trade and who took their cotton goods as far as the northern Black Sea ports (İnalcık, *The Black Sea*, 91-107). The cottons in hairsacks or bales were taken in caravans into centres such as Kayseri, Ankara, Bursa, Ḳasṭamonu, Toḳāt and other parts of the Empire or by sea to Europe. Public regulations provided that all cotton imported for sale in the large cities had to be brought into a special building, called the *penbe ḳabbānī*. Cotton was to be weighed, taxed, and distributed there. For accomodating caravan merchants with their cotton goods, special caravanserais (*penbe-khānī*, *wakālat al-ḳuṭn* in Egypt) were built (Raymond, ii, 640).

In the *penbe ḳabbānī*, each member of the guild of *ḥallādj*s purchased his share of cotton at the officially-fixed price (*narkh-i djārī*) under the supervision of the *kadkhudā* and *yigit-bashī* of the guild. The *ḥallādjīn*, or carders, separated the fibre from the seed by beating (*atma* or *čalma*) the cotton with a *kemān* or *yay*, a bow-like instrument, to make the cotton clean and fluffy. The *ḥallādjīn* were also cotton dealers in the cities. According to a regulation dated 1138/1717 (Istanbul *eṣnāf niẓāmlarî*), there were 104 *ḥallādj*s in Istanbul, 15 in Galata (Pera), 9 in Üsküdar and 4 in Eyüp.

Each group of artisans was responsible for a stage in manufacturing. They were organised in *ḥirfet*s, guilds, and their shops occupied the same street or *khān*.

For example, in Magnisa, a relatively small town but an important centre of production of cottons, we find *pamuḳdjular* (cotton dealers), *djullāhlar* or *bezdjiler* (weavers of coarse cottons), *boghasīdjīlar* (weavers of fine cottons), and *bezzāzs* (dealers of cotton stuffs) directly involved in cotton trade and industry, while *boyadjīlar* (dyers), *takyedjiler* (cap-makers), *yorghandjīlar* (quilt-makers), and *terziler* (tailors) were considered as related crafts. In 980/1572, there were 520 *ḥallādjs*, 120 dyers, and 150 *bezzāzs* in Magnisa (Uluçay, doc. 64). Each craft guild elected its governing body, a *shaykh*, a *kadkhudā*, a *yigit-bashī*, and a committee of experts (*ehl-i khibra*) responsible for the supervision of the guild regulations, called *niẓām* or *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*]. *Djullāh*s in Magnisa had an *akhī baba* [see AKHĪ] as the head of the guild (Uluçay, doc. 38, dated 1044/1634). In important cities, these men obtained through local *ḳāḍī*s the Sultan's diploma empowering them to exercise authority over their guild members and to get the support of the local law-enforcing bodies.

In Istanbul, the guilds using cotton goods were *khayyāṭān* (tailors), *ḳawuḳdjuyān* (makers of wadded headgear for men), *tākyedjiyān* (makers of headdress for women), *yorghandjīyān* (quilt-makers), *gömlekdjiyān* (shirt-makers), *dülbenddjiyān* (dealers of muslim turbans), *yaghlīkdjīyan* (dealers of napkins and handkerchiefs), and *čadirdjīyān* (tent makers); for Cairo, Evliyā Čelebi (x, 370-1) gives a similar list of crafts and dealers. In both cities, guilds dealing with cottons were included in the group of 14 crafts connected with clothing or home furnishings, headed by the chief tailor.

Bazzāzs (in Turkish *bezzāz*), textile dealers, can be classified into two groups: big merchants of international or interregional connections; and local traders (see *Edirne askerî kassâmı*, ed. Barkan, 143, 261, 303, 306, 308, 325, 344, 352, 406, 421). The former dealt with costly goods, cottons, silks, and woollens, products of Anatolia, Aleppo, Damascus, Yemen, Egypt, Baghdād and India. Their stocks and credits amounted to big sums, sometimes over one million *aḳča*s or about 16,000 Venetian ducats in the 10th/16th century. They supplied the local guilds of dressmakers, cap makers, etc. with imported materials or re-exported them to distant areas usually on credit. These big merchants usually had their shops in the *bazzāziyya* or *bazzāzistān* (in Turkish, *bedestan* or *bedesten*) in the cities (see İnalcık, *The hub of the city: the Bedestan of Istanbul*, in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, i, 1-17), and were the wealthiest and most respectable members of the society. As far as their social background was concerned, many of them came from the ruling élite (*ibid.*).

The second group included those dealers of modest capital, dealing only in local trade in the city. Their stocks usually consisted of cheap cottons, and a large variety of textiles in small amounts. In Edirne, we find former Janissaries among their ranks (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 306, 308), but also a big merchant of Janissary origin (270).

Some of the big *bezzāzs* specialised in importing or selling particular kinds of cotton goods.

Market dynamics. Artisans and dealers in cottons had a variety of difficulties as a result of shortages of raw materials, competition from other centres of production, and intrusions by related guilds in procurement of raw materials and marketing. It was in large cities or export-oriented production centres with a dynamic economy that strains and conflicts were particularly acute and recurrent. There was a kind of delicate balance established by custom and regulation among the guilds which performed successive stages of manufacturing. If one guild in cotton crafts or some members of it diverged from the standards or marketing rules laid down in the regulations, the other guilds were disturbed and the whole system affected. Consequently, the government was usually scrupulously conservative in keeping the old standards and regulations, and often intervened authoritatively to restore the established norms. However, should the public interest require modifications, the innovations were accepted and introduced into the regulations. It was usually through the local *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] that the government changed the regulations; he consulted with the guild officers and elders in making these changes.

In the regulations, the quality and measures of each product were laid down. Prices were fixed periodically, every three or six months, by the *ḳāḍī* in consultation with the representatives of each guild. *Djullāh*s, for example, were required to make coarse cotton fabrics called *baladī*, three *arshīn* or 2.04 metres long, and *bučuk ve rubʿ* or 49.5 cm wide, with 1,600 threads at warp (*Bursa iḥtisāb*, II 7, 33, 908/1502).

It was the duty of the officers of the guild, *yigit-bashī* and *ahl-i khibra*, in particular, to supervise the standards during the process of manufacturing. The goods were also inspected by the *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] when marketed. Periodically, the government conducted inspections using special inspectors (*müfettish*) sent from the capital (see *Bursa iḥtisāb*, *loc. cit.*). In larger cities, growing demand and the

import of cheaper grades of cottons caused difficulties for the town handicrafts under regulations with strict standards. Despite the periodic inspections, the regulations and standards for town handicrafts were often ignored in order to produce cheap products so as to compete with imports (see *ibid.*).

Not being organised as a guild, spinners of cotton yarn in cities came from among the poorest segments of the population, mostly poor women and children. They purchased cotton at the cotton market directly from the peasants or from the *ḥallād̲j̲*s. This group of spinners, the real proletariat in the Ottoman cities, was particularly vulnerable to the speculation which caused unfair competition and unemployment among them. They often claimed that the merchants caused shortages and high prices by purchasing and re-exporting the imported cotton. Also, since too many spinning wheels depleted quickly the cotton supply at the market, the government restricted the number of the wheels in a town so that hand spinners could find enough raw cotton for their use (Uluçay, doc. 25). Sensitive to the complaints of the poor masses in the towns, the government repeatedly ruled that no merchants could purchase raw cotton until after the town spinners and weavers had completed their purchases at the cotton market.

Cotton manufacturers in large cities distant from the cotton producing areas were usually supplied with imported cotton yarn (*Bursa iḥtisāb*, II-7, 33) as opposed to bulky raw cotton with high transportation costs. Under regulations, imported yarn was to be available to the weavers directly from the importers. The regulations forbade the dealers of cotton yarn of the city to re-sell imported yarn to merchants—a measure taken to prevent the prices of cotton goods from going up and disrupting the price system set up by the regulations. Actually, better prices offered by the Europeans tempted local merchants to engage in smuggling with the foreigners. The government acted energetically to prevent this (Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, ch. 2, 73-4).

The important issue for *bezzāz*s, sellers of cotton textiles, was to protect their monopoly of sale in the city. Both weavers in the city or merchants from outside (in Magnisa, native Armenians or those of Persia) sometimes sold their wares in the bazars of *k̲h̲ān*s (caravanserais) or as peddlers in the back streets. All finished goods, however, either locally made or imported, had to be sold under regulation to the dealers of cotton in the city (Uluçay, docs. 16, 44, 43, 48, all belonging to the 11th/17th century). In Magnisa the *bezzāz*s obtained the Sultan's order, which protected their monopoly and banned Armenians of Persia from having shops and competing with the town dealers (Uluçay, doc. 61; cf. A. Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 40-1).

*Bezzāz*s were also concerned with keeping up the standard in the size of the cottons and the quality of cotton and dyes used in the fabric. The finished goods were to be inspected and stamped by the government agents at a specified place in the cotton textile market (*bog̲h̲asl-pazarl*). Those products found short of standards were fined one *aḳča* for each two *parmaḳ*s (1 *parmaḳ* = 2.83 cm.) of coarse *bog̲h̲asl* and for one *parmaḳ* of fine quality (Uluçay, doc. 3). The *resm-i tamg̲h̲a* or stamp tax was 2 *aḳča*s for each two *d̲h̲irā*ʿs (1 *d̲h̲irā*ʿ of the bazaar = 68 cm.) of fine cotton fabrics such as *elwān*, *alad̲j̲a* and white *bog̲h̲asl* and for each ten *d̲h̲irā*ʿs of *astarlıḳ*, a kind of coarse cotton fabric (this rate was valid in the provinces of Ṣaruk̲h̲ān, Aydln, Mentes̲h̲e, and Sug̲h̲la in Ramaḍān 1070/1659; Uluçay, doc. 46).

Concentration in cotton loom industries. In the 12th/18th century, the makers of towels of all kinds (*pes̲h̲temāl*, *ḥawlu*, and *siled̲j̲ek*), kerchiefs (*maḥrama* or *mahrama*), white "raw" *alad̲j̲a*, and bundle wrappers (*bog̲h̲ča*) were permitted to work only in the workshops in the three *k̲h̲ān*s in the district of Klz-tas̲h̲ī in Istanbul (Ṣldḳī, *Gedikler*, Istanbul 1323/1907, 17).

Again in Istanbul, the makers of printed cottons (*basmad̲j̲ī*), all located at Wezīr-k̲h̲ānī, were organised in 27 *gedik*s or workshops with patent. In 1138/1725, there were 192 *basmad̲j̲ī*s in the *gedik*s, each *gedik* consisting of one master, one associate (*s̲h̲erik*) and several journeymen (*k̲h̲alīfa* or *ḳalfa*). Thirty-three of them were Muslim and the rest were Armenian. The *kadk̲h̲udā*, or head of the guild, was Muslim, while his associate was an Armenian. Considered as "workers" (*ʿamele*), they worked for merchants or individual citizens in return for a fee (*Eṣnāf niẓāmlarī*). Such centres of manufacturing activities were created, as a rule, as part of the *waḳf* [*q.v.*] establishments and were rented to the members of the guilds (see A. Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 98). Thus the state or the members of the ruling élite became instrumental in constructing "factories" (*kār-k̲h̲āne*) or workshops which brought together the artisans of the same manufacture in one place. The confessed purpose for it was to serve the public by making goods abundant and cheap (*rāyegān ve rak̲h̲īṣ*). The leases for the shops included the provision that the leasers acquired the monopoly of the manufacture of a specific product. In 1102/1690 the *basmad̲j̲ī*s obtained such a monopoly in an area from the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus down to the mouth of the Dardanelles on the Aegean. Also, the Ottoman government sent orders to the main production centres for large quantities of sailcloth for the navy (Uzunçarşılı, *Bahriye*, 515) and coarse cottons for lining and underwear for the soldiery in Istanbul (Uzunçarşılı, i, 282-4).

Government orders involving the output of large quantities of cotton goods in a limited period of time appear to have generated changes in the volume, prices, and even in the organisation of manufacturing in the centres of cotton production. The areas most affected by this situation were those closest to the Ottoman capital or those connected with it by sea—Gelibolu, Bergama, Cyprus, Livadia, Athens, Euboea, Stifa and Aleppo (Uzunçarşılı, *Bahriye*, 515; Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, 65-73).

Export centres. It can safely be said that, next to leather manufactures, the cotton industry with a large export capacity was the most important of all the industries in the Ottoman dominions, particularly in western Anatolia, Syria, upper Mesopotamia and southern Macedonia. It constituted the foundation of economic prosperity and urban development in the empire until the 13th/19th century. The high cost of transport of the bulky raw cotton accounted for the concentration of cotton industries in districts near cotton production areas, whereas finished goods, costly cotton textiles, *bog̲h̲asī* and *dülbend*, as well as cheaper cottons, *kirbas* and *astar*, and cotton yarn were sent by sea or land to all part of the Empire and to Europe.

First among the main areas of cotton industries with large export capacity was western Anatolia during the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. The most active towns in this region at this period were Bergama, Magnisa, Menemen, Tire, Uşak, Gördes and Denizli. Tire specialised in making pillow and mattress cases, *alad̲j̲a*, as well as cotton thread, called

Cottons imported in the northern Black Sea lands in *ca.* 1164/1750.
(1 groush = 40 para = 120 aḳča; 1 arshîn = 68 cm; 1 okka = 1,2828 gr.)

	Thousand in groush	Price	Origin
Toḳāt-basmasî (prints of Toḳāt)	200	6-10 para per arshîn	Toḳāt
Boghasî (fine cotton fabric)	400	1½ groush per piece of 10 arshîn	Toḳāt, Ḳasṭamonu, Amasya
Astar or *bez* (coarse, cotton fabric)	250	—	from various Anatolian towns (*Čorum-bezi*, *dag-bezi*, *etc.*)
Dülbend (Muslin)	10-12	17-20 groush per piece	—
Čember (handkerchief and headdress)	250	6½ groush per piece	Anatolian as well as European and Indian kinds
Cotton shirts	4	2½ groush per piece	—
Cotton yarn	7.5	2½ groush per okka	—
Towels of Serres	8-10	—	Serres
Peshtemāl	10	15 para to 10 groush per piece	Sinope, Istanbul
Threads	16-18	30-35 para per okka	—
Gediz-bezi	600 bales	50-65 para per piece of 20 arshîn	Gediz in western Anatolia

Source: M. de Peyssonel, *Traité sur la Mer Noire*, Paris 1757.

rishte-yi Tire or simply *Tire*. Bergama specialised in sailcloth for the navy. The Ḥamîd-ili was known in the 9th/15th century for its large exports of *boghasî* from such centres as Ulu-Borlu (Borlu), Egirdir, Burdur and Isparta. Products from this area were sent to the great transit centre of Bursa, where they were dyed and re-exported (on the dependence of the area on Bursa market, see *Tarih vesikaları*, II-7, 32). The Ḥamîd-ili appears to have dramatically increased its production of cotton fabrics by the mid-10th/16th century (Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, 96).

During the 10th/16th century, the Antalya and the Silifke-Mut areas on the Mediterranean coast appear to have been among the most important areas of cotton growing and processing (Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, 96-7). The Ḳaramān-Ḳonya area, with centres at Ḳonya and Lāranda, exported fine cottons, *dülbends*, *boghasîs* and ordinary *bez* to Istanbul and the Black Sea region. The *boghasî* of Ḳaramān was found among the imports of Buda (Hungary) in 980/1572 (L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda*, Budapest 1962, 227).

Aleppo, along with Antakya (*Antākî* cottons), Kilis, ʿAyntāb (Gaziantep) and Marʿash made up another major area of cotton industries with large capacity for export to the other parts of the Ottoman lands, Egypt, and Europe. *Ḥalebî* cottons were among the imports to Kaffa as early as 892/1487 (Kaffa Customs Register). The *ḳabbān-î penbe*, cotton scales tax in Aleppo, amounted to 13,000 *aḳčas* and dues at dyehouses to 50,000 *aḳčas* in 926/1520 (*Tapu defteri*, 93). Half-a-century later (*Tapu defteri*, 544), the increase to 38,360 and 71,274 respectively can be taken as a proof of the development in cotton trade and industries in Aleppo. In the 1091/1680s and 1102/1690s, the costly cotton fabrics of the area, white and blue "daman" (of Ḥamā), handkerchiefs and cotton yarn were among the imports to France (Masson, i, table VIII). Ḥamā is described as "a city where the population made cotton yarn, cloaks for women, and towels" (Evliyā, iii, 60). Aleppo was also a transit centre for Indian cloths coming via Baṣra-Baghdād in the 11th/17th century (Sahillioğlu, *Belgelerle türk tarihi*, ix, 67). In Aleppo, imitations of the Indian cottons wrre made, while *ḥalebî* fabrics were imitated in Bursa and Istanbul.

Further east, Mārdîn (Göyünç, *Mardin*, 139, 167) and Diyārbakir were important centres of cotton loom industries. Coarse cottons and red cotton yarn of Diyārbakir were exported to Istanbul and Europe.

In northern Anatolia, the Ḳasṭamonu-Amasya-Toḳāt area developed as an important centre with large outlets in the northern Black Sea countries. According to the customs registers of Kaffa and Akkerman about 1100/1500 (İnalcık, *The Black Sea*, 95, 105), these lands imported large quantities of cotton textiles as well as cotton yarn and raw cotton. The imports included varieties of cotton cloths, such as *kirbās*, *boghasî*, *aladja*, and *ḥalebî*, as well as quilts, handkerchiefs, aprons, bath wraps, covers, thread, belts, and tents. Judging from the merchants taking these goods to Kaffa, one can conclude that western and southern Anatolian centres of cotton industries too took part in this trade also. Moreover, merchants came from large centres of the cotton trade and industries: Istanbul, Ḳasṭamonu, Sinope, Amasya, Merzifon, Toḳāt, and Bursa in northern Anatolia, and Bergama, Uşak, Gördes, Menemen, Tire, and Denizli in western Anatolia (*ibid.*, 101). Merchants from Bursa imported cotton manufactures of Ḥamîd-ili; those from Istanbul cottons of western Anatolia, and those from Ḳasṭamonu and Sinope cottons of the Amasya-Toḳāt area.

Altogether, cottons exported from Anatolia to northern Black Sea countries amounted to over one million groush in the mid-18th century. It appears that foreign cotton imports were negligible in this period.

The pattern of cotton trade between Anatolia and the north did not change much, as demonstrated by a comparison of this table with the data from the customs registers of Kaffa, Akkerman and Kili of the 1500s.

Indian competition and the Ottoman cotton loom industries. Apparently it was the Levant market that originally contributed to the expansion of Indian cotton industries. India began to manufacture the

Ottoman types of cotton or cotton and silk fabrics much in demand in Turkey—*aladja* and *ḳuṭnī*—in in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (*allejaes* and *cuttanees* in the English East India Company documents, see Chaudhuri, 502, 504). *Aladja* and *ḳuṭnī* were varieties already popular in Turkey before 906/1500 (Customs Registers of Kaffa, Akkerman and Kili).

Indian textile imports to Turkey go back to the 9th/15th century. In 875/1470, Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] sent his agents from India to Bursa "with *aḳmisha* (cloths)" to trade there and in the Balkans (*Belleten*, xxiv, 69, 75, 95). The list of the Indian textiles, as found in the court records of Edirne, includes Indian dark-blue *ḳuṭnī* (*Ḳuṭnī-i Hindī lādjiward*) (960/1553), Indian napkins (*peshkir-i Hindī*) (977/1569), Indian kerchiefs (*maḳrama-i Hindī*) (979/1572 and 1016/1608), kerchiefs of *Ser-hindī* and *Bihārī* and Indian *boghasī*, turbans, quilts, and girdles (*Edirne askerî kassâmı*, ed. Barkan, 120-3, 138, 147, 224, 335-8, 431). Home made *fūṭa* and *bāfta* were used in Turkey in much earlier times than in Europe (*phataes* and *baftas* in English, see Chaudhuri, *ibid.*)

It is possible that while the Indian industries, alert to the demands of the Levant market, made necessary adjustments in fashion and varieties (Chaudhuri, 239-40, 247), the original Indian luxury fabrics became popular in the Ottoman lands, as in Europe, particularly from the mid-17th century onwards. The fashion and use of Indian textiles became so widespread in the Ottoman lands that an Ottoman historian, Naʿīmā (iv, 293) claimed in the 1112/1700s that bullion sent to India to pay for Indian luxury textiles, had reached an alarming point for the whole economy of the Empire. He recommended the use of home-made products instead. At any rate, it was before European cottons dominated the Ottoman market in the 13th/19th century that Indian cottons, fine muslims, prints, *aladja* and *ḳuṭnī* types, as well as Indian cotton yarn, invaded and apparently threatened the Ottoman native cotton industries. It was during the period 1071-1164/1660-1750 when India became the chief producer and exporter of cotton textiles in the world that Indian cotton fabrics began to be imported in great quantities into the Ottoman markets.

By 1102/1690, the Indian exports to this area were estimated at five times as many calicoes as to the British and Dutch markets (Chaudhuri, 245-16) although no figure is available. Indian textiles reached the transit centres of the Empire, Baghdād and Aleppo via Hormuz and Baṣra on the Persian Gulf and Djidda and Mecca via the Red Sea. In the spring of 1019/1610, in a caravan from Baghdād to Aleppo with 120 merchants, there were ten Indian merchants, all Muslims. Most of the merchants in the caravan were carrying indigo, drugs, silk, and Indian textiles. Although Arab and Persian merchants made up the majority of the merchants in the caravan, there were also Turks, Armenians, Christian Arabs and Italians (five persons). Two Persian merchants from Hamadan had Indian wares, including indigo, drugs, and three bales of cloth of Lahore, all estimated to be worth 12,000 groush (H. Sahillioğlu, *Bir tüccar kervani*, 63-9.

In the Persian Gulf, Baṣra and Bandar ʿAbbās (Gombroon) were two outlets through which Indian textiles entered the Ottoman and Ṣafavid territories (R. W. Ferrier, *The trade between India and the Persian Gulf and the East India Company in the 17th century*, in *Bengal: past and present*, lxxxix/2, No. 168 (Calcutta, July-Dec. 1970), 189-98). An East India Company memorandum dated 1107/1695 tells us that "the Moors drive a great trade from hence (sc. from Surat) to Persia, Bussora, Aden, Mocha, and Judda, where they dispose of those goods which from hence are carried throughout the Grand Signor's Dominions" (Chaudhuri, 195). Gudjarāt was the main emporium of Indian textiles to Baṣra. Turkey also received luxury fabrics from the Pandjāb by the land route via Lahore and Ḳandahār or Sind (Chaudhuri, 242-45).

Also, an important part of the cotton fabrics imported by the Dutch and British from India was re-exported to America, West Africa, and the Levant (K. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade*, Copenhagen 1958, 133-4, 143). In the last three decades of the 11th/17th century, however, the European market showed a great demand for Eastern textiles when the use of Indian cotton textiles became fashionable, beginning with the women of the upper class (Glamann, 133; Chaud huri, 280-3; Masson, ii, 195). The fashion spread to lower classes, and initiated a dramatic increase in demand for cotton fabrics, despite the government prohibitions of the use of imported cottons which were brought about under pressure from the domestic industries of woollens and linen (prohibitions in France in 1098/1686, 1112/1700, and 1121/1709; in England in 1112/1700 and 1133/1720; cottons banned by the Church as "the manufactures of the Infidels", see Chaudhuri, *ibid.*, and Masson, ii, 277-8). The French imports of coarse cotton cloths from the Ottoman lands rose to about 3 million French livres in 1115/1703. The imported cotton fabrics were dyed and "printed" in Marseilles and an important part of them re-exported to Spain and Italy (Masson, 198-9). Thus the Levant shared with India the boom in the production and export of cotton textiles to Europe. This boom reached its maximum in the period 1112-64/1700-50. With their superior quality, the Indian textiles, however, dominated western markets through the East India Companies of Holland and England, while Levantine products, cotton yarn and coarse fabrics, were chiefly imported into France. Peyssonel (*Traité*, i, 31), the French consul in Izmir and the Crimea in the mid-12th/18th century, found that the export of French textiles to the Levant was limited mainly by the successful competition of the native cotton manufactures. The French export of cottons to the Levant in 1204/1789 was only 42,000 livres' worth (Masson, ii, 495; then 3 French livres = £). Red cotton yarn from western Anatolia and Diyārbakir exported from Izmir always found a ready market in the West, due to its high quality in dyeing and its low price. It was exported in great quantities to the Netherlands (O'Heguerty, 204) and to France.

Cotton yarn exported to France
(value in French livres)

	1700-02	1750-4	1786-9
Southern Syria	735,000	1,305,000	421,000
Aleppo	46,000	41,000	268,000
Cyprus	——	——	97,000
Egypt	213,000	267,000	156,000
Izmir	295,000	238,000	1,951,000
Istanbul	3,200	73,000	15,000
Total	1,292,200	1,924,000	2,908,000

Source: R. Paris, *Le Levant*, 514.

By the end of the 12th/18th century, the annual cotton yarn production of Thessaly and Macedonia reached 20,000 bales, or about 2.5 million kg., half of it dyed (F. de Beaujour, cited by Svoronos, 248). The Austrian firm of Starrhemberg, established in Salonica in 1190/1776, became a spectacular success. By 1204/1789, it had opened several factories which produced cotton yarn in Serres and Larissa (Svoronos, 182-5). Importing cotton and cotton yarn mostly through Marseilles, Switzerland too developed a cotton textiles industry, and in 1174/1760 a Swiss consulate was established in Salonica with the main purpose of promoting the cotton trade (Svoronos, 185, 252).

Cotton yarn and textiles from Egypt to Europe, i.e., France, Leghorn and Venice, consisted of only a small part of Egypt's total exports (Raymond, ii, 180). However, cotton textiles from Cairo, Maḥallat al-Kubrā and Rosetta, called *dimittes* (*Dimyāṭī*?), *agamy* (*ʿAd̲j̲amī*), and *mellaouy* (*Maḥallawī*), which were mostly exported to France, increased rapidly from 1133/1720. These exports reached their peak in the period 1143-52/1730-9 with an average of 609,362 livres, or 30.5% of total export. They then experienced a decline, to 291,708 livres in 1786-9 (the figures include exports of fabrics of flax, which made up one-third of the total in 1798). The decline was explained by the deterioration in quality, possibly a result of competition with western cottons (Raymond, i, 230).

England's share in the import of Egyptian tissues was less than 10% during the same period (Raymond, i, 174, 180-2). On the other hand, Egypt itself imported cotton fabrics from Syria, Izmir, Bursa and Istanbul. Syrian cottons or silk and cotton fabrics, such as *Anṭākī*, *Nāblusī*, *ḳuṭnī*, *alad̲j̲a*, and *S̲h̲āmī*, were an important part (about 43 million *paras* by the end of the 12th/18th century) of the Egyptian imports from that country (Raymond, i, 190). Before the English cottons invaded the area, Cairo was the main emporium of Indian textiles imported via the Read Sea. The total value of the Indian, European, and Syrian cloths imported was estimated at 500 million *paras*. The growing imports had a disruptive effect on the domestic textile loom crafts in Egypt as early as the turn of the 12th/18th century (Raymond, i, 191, 193, 199).

European competition. It is generally accepted that the reversal of the roles in cotton manufacturing and export between East and West occurred in the period 1164-84/1750-70. After 1184/1770, England, France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland began to export their cotton textiles to the Levant markets in growing quantities. Already by the mid-18th century, Western governments, changing their policies

Cotton textiles exported to Istanbul in 1191/1777 (value in French livres)

	Muslins	Woollen Cloths
Britain	691,000	656,000
Netherlands (1778)	298,000	583,000
Venice (1782)	97,000	217,000
Trieste (1782)	108,000 ("bours" and muslims)	220,000 (Austrian and German products)
French	42,000	7,448,000

Sources: Masson, ii, 495, 615, and R. Paris, 552.

of prohibition, permitted the expansion and protection of their domestic cotton manufactures.

Note the first-place ranking of the British in the export of cotton goods already at this time, and the dominance of the French woollens in the Levant market.

It is said that while the British cotton industries developed under the impact of Indian trade, the French developed under the Levantine one (Masson, ii, 434, n. 2). From 1133/1720 onwards, in order to protect national industries and those of its colonies in the Antilles, the French government imposed a heavy duty (20 livres per quintal) on the cotton yarn imported from the Levant (Masson, ii, 201). Already by 1142/1729, the French noted with pride that French imitations of Indian cotton prints found an outlet in Istanbul and were expecting even to manufacture the white cotton cloths themselves, thereby reducing their import from the Levant and Holland (Masson, ii, 436, 456).

In the second half of the 18th century, of the great variety of imports from Germany (Leipzig) and Austria to the Ottoman Empire, cotton textiles, muslins, and the so-called *indiennes*, were at the top of the list. German cotton goods had quite a large market at Izmir (55-60,000 pieces annually) and Bursa (30,000 pieces) (C. Aubin's report, ed. A. Cunningham) English cotton products exported to Germany also reached the Balkans through the Leipzig fair. Along with Leipzig, Vienna was another important centre for the Ottoman trade. Here we find 268 Ottoman resident merchants by 1181/1767, including a number of Muslim Turks (a certain Mollā Ḥuseyn owned six storehouses and Mollā Ḥasan four). During the period 1164-1227/1750-1812, when Austrian-Ottoman trade showed great development, raw cotton and cotton yarn became the principal exports from the Serres area to Austria and Germany (V. Paskaleva, 49-56).

However, the Eastern cotton yarn still had the advantage of lower prices due to the cheaper food and lower wages in the Levant (Masson, ii, 436-7). The cotton yarn imports from the Levant continued. By the 1195/1780s, while French cotton industries found markets, first in Spain and then Italy for their products, whose designs appealed to the taste of the populations there, the Muslim population of the Levant did not favour the imitations of the West. Western cotton industries would definitively conquer the Eastern markets only when they succeeded in solving the problem of price differential (by using machines) and when they imitated or created designs and colours which attracted an eastern clientèle.

The introduction of dyeing methods from the Levant was a crucial factor contributing to the success of western cotton industries and exports. The Dutch and the French finally succeeded in learning the special technique known as Edirne dyeing. Consequently, Turkey's export of red cotton yarn was reduced (O'Heguerty, 204; Masson, ii, 439-40). This reversal of the situation was apparent in the rapid growth in raw cotton imports and the diminishing proportions of cotton textiles and yarn from the Levant. Between 1112/1700 and 1203/1788, the French imports of raw cotton increased ten times, representing 39% of the total imports from the Levant, while cotton yarn did not make the same progress.

As has been seen above, change was a rather long process and one achieved in stages. For some time the Levant continued to export its cotton cloths, now in a raw state, undyed; then mainly its cotton

yarn, especially those dyed red with *alizari*; and finally only its raw cotton. On the other hand, invasion of the Levantine markets by western products was realised only after the industrial revolution in England with its mass production of cheap and finer quality cotton yarns (the so-called twist and mule) and prints. The dramatic change occurred in the period 1194-1231/1780-1815, and led to a situation in which the Levant became totally dependent on the western cotton industries for the supply of cotton yarn and textiles and for the sale of its raw cotton.

British supremacy and impact of the industrial Revolution. It was to the cotton imported from the Levant that the first cotton industry in England owed its foundation. First, fustians, made with a cotton weft and a linen warp, were produced in Lancashire under Elizabeth I at some time before 994/1586. By the middle of the 11th/17th century, the cotton industry was considered to be a well-established industry in England, although it depended upon a regular import of raw cotton from the Levant, Izmir, Cyprus, Acre and Sidon (A. C. Wood, 74-5).

During the period 1091-1184/1680-1770, the Levant suffered a decline in its exports of cotton and cotton goods to Britain. This was mainly due to the overall decline of the English trade in the Levant, as well as to the English domestic policies against the use and manufacture of cotton goods (R. Davies, *Devonshire Square*, 29-31). Another factor, a more enduring one, was the competition of colonial supplies to England from the West Indies and India. After the mid-18th century, when British cotton industries were encouraged, the cotton trade experienced a revival from which western Anatolia emerged as one of the main sources of supply.

Cotton imported from the Levant was approximately 300 tons in the years 1111-13/1699-1701, 150 tons in the 1133/1720s and 1143/1730s, and over 500 tons in the 1164/1750s (Davies, *op. cit.*, 173). Also some Levant cotton was imported to England through the Netherlands (Wood, 160). In the 1184/1770s, large cargoes in British ships from the Levant consisted of cotton and fruits. The "cotton boom" was responsible for the revival of the British trade in the Levant in the period after 1194/1780, when the English industry made its tremendous advance (R. Davies, *op. cit.*, 187, 241-2).

British cotton manufactures had to compete in the Levant not only with the Indian fine cotton textiles—muslins and calicos in particular—but also with Indian cotton yarn. The Ottoman consumer did not at first favour the British imitations of Indian cottons, but price became a key factor, and by 1215/1800, he came to prefer the cheaper British manufactures (Aubin's report). For the manufacture of fine cottons, Indian yarn was imported into the Levant until 1800, when it was replaced by British "twist", a strong thread used mostly for the warp (Aubin). "Twist" invaded Ottoman markets as far as the cotton production centre of Diyārbakir via Trebizond, and Central European markets via Salonica (Aubin). The demand of the Istanbul weavers alone was estimated at 10,000 *okka*s and that of Izmir and its hinterland at 400-500,000 lbs. Also, British imitations of Indian muslins, widely used in turbans, veils, and headgear for women, superseded the Indian imports in the Levant. By 1227/1812, other more popular English cotton textiles, all of them imitations of Indian cottons, were printed calicoes (with a consumption estimate of 35-40,000 a year in Izmir), chintz (Hindī *čhint*, Persian and Turkish *čit*), shawls and "shirtlings", etc. (Aubin gives a long list in his report).

Cheap, durable, bright in colour, the English cotton goods thus enjoyed a "prodigious demand" over the Levant from Cairo to Istanbul. This was considered to be a trade of the "highest importance" for England (Isaac Morcmer's report dated 1814, cited by Wood, 192-3). Although raw cotton imports from the Levant showed a great increase during the same period, their value was not significant when compared to that of the manufactured cotton goods exported to the Levant. Turkish cotton was only one-twelfth of the total imported by Britain.

British imports of raw cotton from the Levant
(in Sterling Pounds, declared value)

1233/1817	1234/1818	1236/1820	1240/1824	1241/1825
799	24,112	7,863	249,271	611,547

Source: A. C. Wood, *op. cit.*, 193.

After India, Germany too experienced losses at the Levant market for cottons in favour of British manufactures. During the Napoleonic Wars, the British took advantage of the rising prices in Germany and the closure of Trieste and Fiume, principal transit ports for Austrian-German exports. Great Britain's interest in the Levant as an important market for British manufactured cotton goods grew particularly from 1241/1825, when the full impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt at home. Taking advantage of its role as a protector during the Egyptian crisis, Great Britain had the Ottoman government sign the commercial treaty of 1254/1838 which awarded Britain favourable conditions and turned the empire into an open market for its cotton industry (V. J. Puryear, *International economics and diplomacy in the Near East*, repr. Archon Books, 1969, 107-30; F. E. Bailey, *British policy and the Turkish reform movement*, Cambridge 1942, 39-178; Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-Ingiliz iktisadi münasebetleri, 1838-1850*, Istanbul 1976). The principle of free trade was virtually introduced into Turkey before it was accepted in Great Britain (Puryear, 117). From 1254/1838 to 1269/1852, British imports of cotton textiles tripled and those of cotton yarn doubled, 63.9 to 183.8 million yards and 5.6 to 11.9 million lbs. respectively (Kütükoğlu, 82, 86). The value of the British cottons imported to Turkey rose approximately from one thirty-eighth in (1241/1825 to one-ninth of the total production in 1272/1855 (Bailey, 86).

Ottoman-British Trade in 1269/1852
(official value in £)

Total imports to Great Britain	Total imports to the Ottoman Emp.
2, 252, 283	8, 489, 100 (of this, textiles were over 3 million in 1850)

Sources: Bailey, 74; O. Kurmuş, *Emperyalizm*, 49.

The Ottoman trade occupied third place in Great Britain's foreign trade in 1267/1850 (Bailey, 82-3).

In the Ottoman Empire, the break-down occurred first in the cotton yarn production, which directly affected spinners, the poorest section of the population in rural and urban areas. In 1249/

1833 D. Urquhart tells us (*Turkey and its resources*, 148) that "their own yarn being unequal, heavy in weaving and liable to break, the weavers prefer much the English yarn". Also, the first serious crisis in cotton loom industries appears to have occurred in the period 1241-6/1825-30 (Urquhart, 47-54; Ö. C. Sarç, in Ch. Issawi, *Econ. history of the Middle East*, 48-9). At a later date, in 1279/1862, another Englishman, Lewis Farley (*The resources of Turkey*, 59-60) observed that "Turkey is no longer a manufacturing country. The numerous and varied manufactures which formerly sufficed, not only for the consumption of the empire, but also stocked the markets of the Levant, as well as those of several countries in Europe, have, in some instances, rapidly declined, and in others became altogether extinct ... The printed calicoes of Tokat ... the muslim looms of Scutari and Tirnova [in Thessaly] which in 1812 numbered 2,000 were reduced in 1841 to 200 ... Baghdad was once the centre of very flourishing trades, especially those of calico printing ... Aleppo was still more famous, for its manufactures of gold thread, of cotton tissues, ... and pure cotton called nankeens gave occupations to more than 40,000 looms, of which, in the year 1856, there remained only 5,560 ... now taste has changed. Cloth and every variety of cottons have supplanted silk. English muslins are preferred to those of India, and cashmere shawls were replaced by the Zebras of Glasgow and Manchester." He adds (61) that Great Britain "will continue to find Turkey an increasing and profitable market for our merchandize."

An American observer (C. Hamilton, *Among the Turks*, New York 1877) tells us how, following the free trade granted by the treaties of 1254/1838, "five thousand weavers in Scutari were without employ, and reduced to the most deplorable beggary. The fast colors and firm material of Diarbekr disappeared, ... and Bursa towels came from Lyons and Manchester ... Thus, all the industries of Turkey have perished."

Apparently, all these figures given are simply rough estimates, sometimes grossly exaggerated. In Aleppo, for example, in the period before 1273/1856, only 1,000 looms with an annual output of half a million pieces are mentioned in John MacGregor, *Commercial statistics*, 140; cf. Issawi, *Econ. history of the Middle East*, 221; also Viquesnel's more modest figures, *ibid.*, 51. In a French report cited by Chevallier (*Les tissus ikatés*, 300), the total number of looms manufacturing cotton-silk textiles in Damascus and Aleppo was estimated at 25,000 for the year 1241/1225. The report dated 1261/1845 considered the ruin of native cotton loom industries in Syria to be the result of the growing imports of low-priced cottons from Europe. English cotton yarn and prints headed the imports. However impressionistic, these Western reports demonstrate the dramatic disruption in Ottoman cotton industries by the mid-19th century. In the 1277/1860s, the first Turkish journalist (see İhsan Sungu, *Yeni Osmanlılar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 787) became the mouthpiece of the population in their distress, and blamed the government's westernisation and free market policies as well as the shift in taste and fashion to Western products, for the depression.

In a survey of the Ottoman economy made in 1332-5/1913-5 (*Osmanlı sanayii*, ed. G. Ökçun, Ankara 1970, 134; V. Eldem, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun iktisadi şartları hakkında bir tetkik*, Ankara 1970, 76), it was observed that 80 % of all cotton production (20,000 tons in 1335/1915) was exported abroad, while imported cotton manufactures constituted the major part of the overall imports. By 1335/1915, modern cotton factories in the Ottoman lands numbered only nine (altogether 82,000 looms and 68,500 spindles employing 3,024 workers), all of them making only cotton yarn and coarse cotton textiles (*ibid.*, 133; Eldem, 130-1). However, by the end of the 13th/19th century, Ḳonya, Ḳaramān, Antalya, Niğde, Ağlasun, Toḳāt, Merzifon, Marʿas̲h̲, and Antep (ʿAyntāb) were still mentioned as the important centres of cotton loom industries (Oppel, 525). At the turn of the 13th/19th century, as a result of the disorders, a number of cotton weavers left Aleppo for Egypt, ʿAyntāb and Marʿas̲h̲. ʿAyntāb made great progress in cotton manufactures, especially in red dyed yarn in the 1900s (Oppel, 528).

Some branches of the Middle Eastern loom industries, though adhering to the traditional techniques and types, resisted and survived the invasion of western machine-made cottons, thanks to the rural population's conservatism which favoured old-fashioned fabrics of the urban centres as luxuries. In Turkey, *alad̲j̲a* and *ḳuṭnī* are still popular with the peasants who use them in clothing and furnishings. As in the past, in these fabrics the woof is cotton and the warp is silk (or rather artificial silk).

Glazed and stiff, these fabrics still preserve traditional colourful designs and stripes (cf. Syrian *alad̲j̲a* and *ḳuṭnī* manufactured today in Aleppo, see Chevallier, 308).

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(H. İNALCIK)

ḲUṬR means in Arab geometry (1) the diameter of a circle or of any section of a cone and the diameter of a cone; (2) the diagonal of a parallelogram or of any quadrilateral; (3) in trigometry, the hypotenuse of the so-called umbra triangle; as such it is either the secant or the cosecant of an angle, according as the side opposite it is the tangent or cotangent of this angle; in the first case it is called *ḳuṭr al-ẓill al-awwal* ("hypotenuse of the first umbra"), in the second case *ḳuṭr al-ẓill al-thānī* ("hypotenuse of the second umbra").

Bibliography: M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, 283-5.

(H. SUTER)

ḲUṬRABBUL, a place name of ʿIrāḳ. Also given as Kaṭrabbul, the name is regarded as Persian in origin. (1) Yāḳūt lists a village (*ḳarya*) of that name which was situated between Baghdād and ʿUkbarā. This Ḳuṭrabbul was reportedly frequented by pleasure seekers, who recognised the quality of the local wine. As a result, the village is often mentioned by such poets as Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] and in tales comparing the virtues of different wine-bearing locations. (2) Ḳuṭrabbul also refers to one of the four major administrative subdistricts (*ṭassūdj*, and in Yāḳūt, also *kūra*) of the greater urban area of Baghdād. The sub-districts, which also included Bādūrayā, Nahr Būḳ and Kalwādhā, were in existence before the Islamic occupation of the area and may have continued to serve some administrative function after the construction of the Islamic city. Ḳuṭrabbul and Bādūrayā occupied the lands west of the Tigris River with the Ṣārat Canal serving as a boundary between them. The geographers speak of Bādūrayā being east of the Canal and Ḳuṭrabbul to the west, though it would perhaps be more correct to speak in terms of south and north. Ḳuṭrabbul thus came to represent the area which comprised the Round City of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and the northwestern suburbs, including the military cantonments of al-Ḥarbiyya.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 133; i, 460-1; Suhrāb, *ʿAdjāʾib* 123 = Ibn Serapion, 15; Ṭabarī. *index*; Muḳaddasī, 119-20; *Aghānī*, index iv; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, London 1900, 14, 50-1, 113, 123, 315; idem, *The lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 31, 65-6.

(J. LASSNER)

ḲUṬRUB, the werewolf. The Arabic word goes back to Syriac *ḳanṭrōpos* (or *ḳanṭrōpā*), which was subsequently transformed into the Arabic *ḳuṭrub* in the same way as other names of animals, like *djundub* "locust" or *ḳunfudh* "hedgehog". *Ḳanṭrōpos* itself is the Syriac transcription of Greek λυκάνθρωπος.

The saga of the werewolf is by itself indigenous to Arcadia in the central Peloponnesus (see Pausanias, viii, 2), but has many parallels amongst the Romans, Celts, Teutons and Slavs. Originally it was unknown to the Orient, and the Arabs came to know the figure of the werewolf in the 2nd/8th century at the earliest. According to an oft-repeated anecdote, Sībawayh once described his pupil Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr as *ḳuṭrub^un layl^in*, so that the latter was subsequently known by the nickname of Ḳuṭrub [see following

article]. The poet Abū Dulāma called his mother *khayāl al-kuṭrub* (*Aghānī*[1], ix, 133, [2]x, 259), but alleged earlier evidence for the word in ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3) (Zamakhsharī, *Fāʾiḳ*, ii, 177/360 Bidjāwī) and Imruʾ al-Ḳays (ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, no. 76, 36) is forged. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not seem to refer to the *kuṭrub*, but al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 319 = § 1203) mentions it amongst several fabulous beings. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ẓafar (d. *ca.* 564/1169) apparently confuses it with the *ʿudār* (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index, and al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*). Although the werewolf was integrated into the demonological world of the Arabs, it never attained the popularity which was always enjoyed by the *djinn*, the *ghūl*, the *ʿifrīt* and the *shayṭān*.

The Greeks, however, saw in the werewolf not only a fabulous creature, but also the manifestation of a mental disorder. Following Marcellus of Side, Oribasius (*Synopsis ad Eustathium*, viii, 9), Aëtius of Amida (vi, 11), Paul of Aegina (iii, 16) and later Byzantine physicians described lycanthropy as a kind of melancholia which caused the diseased person to shun the company of mankind, to seek out solitude and frequent cemeteries, and to roam about aimlessly with hollow eyes and lost in gloom. Through the translations of the works of Paul of Aegina in the 3rd/9th century and of Aëtius of Amida in the following one, the Arabs likewise came to know about this alleged illness. Paul of Aegina's information is quoted by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (*Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1955, 205 ff., 222), and Aëtius's chapter was the model for the descriptions of ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī (*Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, i, 333), of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (*Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4009, fols. 110-11), and of Ibn Sīnā (*Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 315/Būlāḳ 1294, ii, 71).

Finally, the term *kuṭrub* is also a component of the plant name *sirādj al-kuṭrub* (a translation borrowed from the Syriac *shrāghā dh-ḳanṭrōpos*), mostly used to indicate the mandrake root (*yabrūḥ*).

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(M. Ullmann)

ḲUṬRUB, the cognomen of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr, grammarian and lexicographer of Baṣra in the 2nd/8th century, the freedman of Sālim b. Ziyād. He was born in Baṣra, where he studied not only grammar with the founders of that science, ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and Sībawayh (who is said to have given him his nickname), but also theology with the famous Muʿtazilī authority al-Naẓẓām. He became the tutor to the son of the military commander and minister Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī [see al-ḳāsim b. ʿīsā, abū dulaf], and died at Baghdād in 206/821. According to Ibn al-Sikkīt, his pupil, he was not to be regarded as a reliable authority for lexicography.

Ḳuṭrub holds a very important place in the history of Arabic grammar, as the first grammarian known to have written a work on the three following topics: (1) words with two opposing meanings (*aḍdād* [*q.v.*]); (2) words with the same consonant skeleton capable of having three different meanings (*muthallath*) according to whether they have one or other of the three vowels; and (3) the explanation of the causes and occasions (*ʿilal*) of grammatical phenomena.

Furthermore, Ḳuṭrub seems to have held original ideas about syntax. Al-Zadjdjādjī in his *K. al-Īḍāḥ* (ed. M. al-Mubārak, 70, 77) states that Ḳuṭrub, as opposed to all the other Baṣran grammarians, did not believe that the *iʿrāb* affected nouns in order to show their different functions and to distinguish them from each other; he averred that there are nouns with the same *iʿrāb*, whose function differs, and nouns with differing *iʿrāb* but with the same function, and accordingly held that *iʿrāb* only affects a noun in order to distinguish two grammatical states, sc. at the end of a speech unit, without a final vowel, to mark pause (*waḳf*), and within a speech unit, with a final vowel, to mark liaison (*waṣl*) with the succeeding word.

Of the 18 works listed by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* and which dealt with exegesis and theology as much as grammar and lexicography only four have survived: the *K. al-Muthallath*, ed. E. Wilmar, Marburg 1857, and R. Souissi, Tunis 1398/1978; the *K. mā khālafa fīhi 'l-insān al-bahīma*, ed. R. Geyer, in *SBAK Wien*, cv (1888), 380-91; the *K. al-Aḍdād*, ed. H. Kofler, in *Islamica*, v (1931), 241-84, 385-461, 493-544; and the *K. al-Azmina*, still unedited.

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(G. Troupeau)

KUTTĀB (a., plural *katātīb*), itself probably plural of *kātib* ("scribe"), a type of beginners' or primary school. The term is frequently synonymous with *maktab* in Arabic and Persian and *mektep* in Turkish. In Ottoman it was also called *mekteb-khāne* or *mekteb-i ṣibyān* or *ṣibyān mektebi*, ("children's school"); later, in the *Tanẓīmāt* era, it was more generally referred to as *ibtidāʾi mekteb* ("beginner's school") and then as *ilk mekteb* ("primary school"). European writers have often called it "Ḳurʾānic school".

The *kuttāb* was formerly widespread in Islamic lands. Although the appellation was almost universally applied to Muslim beginners' schools, *kuttāb* has also been known to designate Jewish *ḥeder*-type schools in Arabic-speaking countries. While there are no precise indications as to when they were first established, they spread during the Umayyad era in the wake of the conquering armies. and the *kuttāb* system was already wide-spread in early ʿAbbāsid times. There is some evidence that the structure and teaching methods of the *kuttāb* were modelled on the Byzantinie primary school (Lecomte, in *Arabica*, i [1954], 324 ff.), but its curriculum was purely Islamic and Arabic. The early *kuttāb* was an important agent for socialising different ethnic groups into the Islamic faith and its way of life. Later, in the Ottoman Empire, it served as vehicle for transmitting the values of the Ottoman Islamic society from generation to generation. The *kuttāb* provided a common educational basis for all who attended it. It was homogeneous in its aims and methods, and thus differed from the indigenous traditions of education, which displayed remarkable diversity. Until the penetration of Western models of education in modern time, the *kuttāb* was the only vehicle of public instruction for young Muslim children. Even up to the present, it has displayed remarkable staying-power by continuing to compete tenaciously with other educational institutions in many Islamic countries.

Since basic education [see tarbiya] was usually imbued with a religious spirit, and its professed goal was to produce a true believer, much of it was closely connected with the mosque [see masdjid]. Consequently, the *kuttāb* was frequently attached to a mosque, whose officials also provided further instruction.

The *kuttāb* itself was located in any sort of room available, a tent in the desert or even (as in Uganda) in the open. If specially constructed, a *kuttāb* consisted (in the Ottoman Empire, at least), of a large domed, unadorned hall in which all the pupils sat crosslegged on mattresses in a rough semi-circle, usually next to low desks. Such buildings were generally erected by philanthropists (through a *waḳf* or otherwise) or by the pupil's parents, who also provided the teacher's fees (in money and food). In the Middle Ages, wealthier families sometimes set up a private *kuttāb* for their children. The state hardly intervened until well into the 19th century, so that fees, physical arrangements and the curriculum were agreed upon between teachers and parents alone. There are even recorded instances of teachers volunteering their services without pay, though in many other cases they were underpaid, and some had to send their pupils to collect alms for them (as in Nigeria, in the late Middle Ages). In other instances (mostly in Africa and possibly in Iran), schoolchildren performed all sorts of tasks for their teacher in lieu of school fees.

Boys formed the overwhelming majority of pupils in the *katātīb*, while girls studied, if at all, separately (although there are recorded cases of coeducation, chiefly in Iran and India). Attendance was voluntary, and there was no precise age-limit: pupils enrolled at age four or above and, in general, studied for between two and five years. All the pupils studied in the same room—there was seldom, if ever, a division into groups by age—and each pupil progressed at his own rate. Instruction was usually carried out from sunrise to sunset (or earlier) daily; Fridays (and Thursdays in the Maghrib) as well as some festivals, like Ramaḍān, were free days. The *kuttāb* was open throughout the year, except when economic needs (such as harvesting) or natural calamities (like floods) prevented attendance. Due to the character of the *kuttāb*, its student body was almost exclusively Muslim. There were, however, infrequent cases of others attending, as in Iran even during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (who forbade the attendance of non-Muslim children) and in Egypt, where a few Copts attended in the late 19th century.

The teacher was called *mudarris* or *muʿallim* and later *muʾaddib* in the Arab lands (in some cases, the *muʾaddib* was a higher rank, namely the more learned or the private tutor); *khōdja* in Turkey; *maktabdār* in Iran; *mollah* in some parts of Central Asia; *lebbe* in Ceylon; and *mallam* (from *muʿallim*) in Nigeria and some other areas in Africa. He was popularly referred to as *fiḳī*, or *fḳīh*, probably the vernacular for *faḳīh*. In the larger *katātīb* he was sometimes aided by an assistant (*muʿīd*, literally "repeater"), or, in other cases, by a senior pupil (*ʿarīf*, literally "monitor"). All these persons frequently adopted the carrot-and-stick approach: beatings [see FALAḲA] were administered to the lazy or unruly, while the meritorious, who had mastered a large section of the Ḳurʾān by heart (*khatma* [*q.v.*]), were offered prizes, usually sweets or even the honour (in Morocco and Ḥaḍramawt) of being led around on a camel.

At first, when books were very difficult to acquire, the teacher used to dictate the material, which his pupils wrote down with a pen or reed (*ḳalam*) on a tablet (*lawḥ*). Afterwards, the pupils read the material aloud, with the teacher correcting their errors and elaborating on some points. Emphasis was generally laid on memorising. Since independent thinking was frowned upon, as liable to lead to the weakening of belief and disobedience, learning by rote was customary. This method was, to a large extent, self-defeating, as it meant studying difficult subject-matter in a barely understood language. Literary Arabic was hardly known even by Arab children, not to speak of non-Arab Muslims. Even among the latter, however, the Ḳurʾān was initially taught in Arabic, although it was clear that the pupils could not understand the language. Only later were difficult passages sporadically explained in the local language, such as Turkish, Persian or Urdu. The teaching of Arabic *per se* in these schools was instituted in the Ottoman Empire only in 1781, by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (Persian was added then, also, but not Turkish!). However, this revolutionary innovation was in effect introduced in only a few schools; it became more widely accepted, along with other reforms, in the *Tanẓīmāt* era (beginning in 1846, the study of Turkish was also added, selectively).

While the general aims of the *kuttāb* were universally identical—to impart the rudiments of instruction required for the formation of a good Muslim—there were obvious qualitative differences between the towns and countryside, as well as substantive variations in emphasis in the curriculum. The Ḳurʾān was studied in all the *katātīb*, with stress laid on memorising and absolute accuracy. The teacher began with the *Fātiḥa*, then proceeded to the shortest, the 114th, *sūra* (*al-Nās*) and continued back until the class reached the longest, the 2nd, *sūra* (*al-Baḳara*). When a pupil had mastered all this, he began to practise his recitation in the correct order.

As a general rule, the early-morning hours, considered the best time of the day, were earmarked for studying the Ḳurʾān. At other times, prayer and religious rituals were imparted regularly. In the eastern Arab lands (Egypt, Palestine, Syria and ʿIrāḳ), Arabic grammar and poetry were usually studied as well. This was likewise the case in Muslim Spain, where composition was also added to the curriculum. While in Algeria, Morocco and among the Muslims of Africa south of the Sahara, little was learned besides the Ḳurʾān, in Tunisia *ḥadīth* was generally included as well. Some calligraphy and a smattering of arithmetic were added in some *katātīb* in Turkey as well as in Iran, where Islamic history and fragments of Persian poetry (e.g. from Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ) were occasionally included, from the 7th/13th century onwards. A little Persian poetry was also taught in the *katātīb* of Afghānistān and the parts of Central Asia ruled by Imperial Russia. In some *katātīb* in Ceylon, Arabic grammar, elementary arithmetic and the writing of Tamil in Arabic characters was practised in addition to the Ḳurʾān. All considered, one may surmise that although the *kuttāb*'s curriculum laid a basic foundation for further study, many of the pupils who ended their education at this level were hard to put to use it profitably, except for prayer.

Since the mid-19th century, the *kuttāb* has exhibited signs of change. Some reform has been promoted from above, as in the Muslim parts of the French possessions south of the Sahara, where the authorities initiated a campaign to supervise these schools and improve their quality (their success has not always been evident). Elsewhere the *kuttāb* stood in competition to the newly-imported Western-type primary schools, which also imparted a Muslim education but in more efficient ways. The *kuttāb* has held its own in Egypt, partly because this was the first Arab country that attempted to adapt it to modern requirements and integrate it into the state system.

An inspector of these schools (*Mufattish al-makātib*) was first appointed in 1835; since 1867, the Ministry of Education has been officially empowered to inspect these schools regularly (in the Ottoman Empire, a Ministry of Education to supervise the *katātīb* and other schools was established by an *irāde* in 1846). By 1890, official supervision of *katātīb* was fairly widespread in Egypt, and its effectiveness was increased by governmental grants-in-aid. Later, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] was instrumental in expanding their curriculum (which today includes object lessons). Indeed, there are recorded cases of 20th century Egyptian children attending an elementary school in the morning and the *kuttāb* in the afternoon, or going to the *kuttāb* in the early morning before school.

The fortunes of the *kuttāb* in the 20th century have accordingly varied. In the Sudan, it has coexisted with the more general schools introduced by the British soon after they had defeated the Mahdist [*q.v.*] forces. In Zanzibar, in 1907, the British director of education decided to make the Ḳurʾān a basic component of the general curriculum and to integrate the *katātīb* into the school network. In India (e.g. in Bengal) the British rulers tried to increase the number of *katātīb* and raise their standards by introducing secular studies (The Reform Scheme, 1914). The same trend was evidenced in the British administration of Arab education in Palestine after the First World War. In Syria, in the 1943-4 school year, there were still 1,229 *katātīb*, with an enrolment of 34,440 children; more recently, however, the bulk of Islamic education is carried out in secular government schools. Although in Iran western influences began to affect the *kuttāb* adversely in the 1890s, and a Ministry of Education was set up in 1910 to foster modernism, as late as 1939 there were still 2,356 *katātīb*, compared to 1,218 state primary schools.

In recent times, the fortunes of the *katātīb* have as a rule suffered wherever Muslims are in a minority, e.g. in the Soviet Union, where all these schools were closed by the authorities in 1928. Much the same occurred in Yugoslavia in 1946. In India, however, they made a comeback after Partition, sponsored by active Muslim organisations. The *kuttāb* is on the decline (although no detailed statistics are available) in countries undergoing modernisation, especially in urban areas. The extreme instance is Republican Turkey, which disestablished these schools in 1924 and closed them down in 1926—although some have continued to function surreptitiously in remote villages. The opposite case is to be found in theocracies like the former monarchical Libya or in Saudi Arabia, where the *kuttāb* (sometimes under other names) has long provided the only type of basic instruction in both the desert and rural areas; modernised primary schools have gradually been introduced there only recently.

In some other Islamic countries, the *kuttāb* has survived thanks to efforts towards raising its level and enriching its curriculum and to the generosity of various philanthropists. In yet others, the *kuttāb* flourished for a while due to the importance ascribed to it by anticolonialist movements. In Morocco during the 1930s, the prestige of the *kuttāb* (called *msid*, from *masdjid*) increased because it served as a focus for nationalist propaganda against the French Protectorate. In Algeria during the 1930s, an Association of *ʿulamāʾ* set out to revive the *katātīb* and increase their number as a means of protecting the younger generation against the modernising influences of the French. Later, in January 1964—less than two years after independence—a decree reorganised basic Muslim education to suit the new situation. Elsewhere, too, *kuttāb* instruction still continues to have current relevance; in 1962, for example, an Upper Volta politician in search of Muslim votes claimed that he had studied in such a school.

Practically all newly-independent Arab states, as well as Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia, have attempted to incorporate the *katātīb* into the national school system, to supervise them and to provide them with a better-organised curriculum, including regular class hours, examinations and grades. While the integration of the *katātīb* into the state systems of education may well ensure their continued existence, particularly in rural areas, state supervision is gradually altering their original character. This is especially so since in all Islamic lands the study of the Ḳurʾān and of Islam has become a standard part of the core curriculum of basic instruction.

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AL-KUTUBĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Dārānī al-Dimashḳī (686[?]-764/1287-1363), Syrian historian. The date of his birth is uncertain, since only one ms. of Ibn Ḥadjar's *Durar* fills the blank that was to contain it. It is plausible, however, and neither confirmed nor contradicted by the fact that a highly personal obituary notice in the *ʿUyūn* (Ms. Cambridge 699, fols. 7b-8a, *anno* 735) speaks of a young scholar born in 706/1306 as "our friend" (*ṣāḥibunā*). Born apparently in Dārayyā in the Ghūṭa, he spent all his later life in Damascus. He possibly went there to study with famous *ḥadīth* scholars such as Ibn al-Shiḥna (apparently), Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥadjdjār, *ca.* 624[?]-730) and al-Mizzī (654-742), but, being very poor, he went into the book trade and acquired a sizeable fortune. He had personal contact with the great al-Dhahabī, who quoted verses to him (*ʿUyūn, anno* 748). A fellow historian, Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*], took part in the funeral service for him on Saturday afternoon, 11 Ramaḍān 764/24 June 1363.

If there is practically nothing known about his life, this is due to the fact he did not occupy any major official position in the scholarly-political establishment. His two surviving works were, however, highly esteemed and much used. His large history *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, is represented in many libraries but usually only by individual volumes (presumed autograph in Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2922, cf. Cat. Karatay, iii, nos. 5853-65; O. Spies, *Beiträge*, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xix/3 [1932], 76). It has been little studied and not yet been edited, possibly on the *a priori* assumption that most of its contents is known from other sources. It does contain valuable information; see, e.g., F. Sayyid's introd. to *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, Tunis 1393/1974, 43-5, for the bibliography of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī. That al-Kutubī considered new information not to be found else-

where as the hallmark of a successful history is shown by his statement to this effect in connection with al-Djazarī (*ʿUyūn*, *anno* 739), even if this statement should turn out not to be original with him (cf. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 124). The value of the *ʿUyūn*'s contemporary section, preserved in Cambridge 699 (Add. 2923) and Ahmet III 2922, vols. 22, 24, has been stressed by E. Ashtor. It contains al-Kutubī's own observations, principally on Syrian intellectual and religious life. The close relationship of the *ʿUyūn*, for its last two decades (years 741-759/60), to Ibn Kathīr's *Bidāya* (cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 1185 f.), has been tentatively explained by Ashtor as being the result of al-Kutubī having used Ibn Kathīr's original notes; however, despite first-person references in Ibn Kathīr, it could well have been the other way round, especially if al-Kutubī was so much older than Ibn Kathīr.

Al-Kutubī's other work, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, has been edited repeatedly (Būlāḳ 1283, 1299; ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1951; ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, utilising autograph volumes written in 753/1352, Ahmet III 2921, cf. Cat. Karatay, iii, nos. 6405-7). Following Ibn Khallikān and using al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī*, it contains a wealth of biographical and literary information, mainly on Syrian littérateurs, which is noteworthy for its uniqueness and for the intimate glimpses it offers of Syrian cultural life.

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AL-KUTUBIYYA [see marrākush].

KÜTÜPHANE [see maktaba].

ḲUṬUZ, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn al-Muʿizzī, third Mamlūk sultan of the *Dawlat al-Turk* or Baḥrī dynasty. A nephew of the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Ḳuṭuz (whose original Muslim name was Maḥmūd b. Mamdūd) was taken prisoner by the Mongols and sold to a Damascus merchant who, in turn, sold him to the Mamlūk *amīr* Aybak in Cairo. Aybak, as the husband of Shadjar al-Durr, became in 648/1250 al-Malik al-Muʿizz, from which title Ḳuṭuz derived his *nisba*, al-Muʿizzī.

While still a youth, Ḳuṭuz claimed on the basis of various prophecies that he would rule Egypt and avenge his uncle by defeating the Mongols. A major step toward fulfilling that ambition was taken in 650/1252 when Aybak deposed his Ayyūbid co-sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā and appointed Ḳuṭuz viceroy of Egypt (*nāʾib al-salṭana*). In the following year Ḳuṭuz was one of those *mamlūk*s who assassinated Aybak's rival to the throne, Aḳṭāy, a leader of the Baḥrī regiment. When Aybak was himself murdered in 655/1257 at the instigation of Shadjar al-Durr and was succeeded by his young son al-Manṣūr ʿAlī, Ḳuṭuz retained the viceroyship and managed the affairs of state. In 655-6/1257-8 he led expeditions against Baḥriyya *amīrs* and their Syrian Ayyūbid allies. In the following year (657/1259), however, Ḳuṭuz and the Baḥriyya were reconciled and joined forces to combat a Mongol invasion of Syria. In addition, claiming that al-Manṣūr ʿAlī was too immature to defend Muslim territory, Ḳuṭuz deposed him and had himself proclaimed sultan. Thus Ḳuṭuz was the first of many *mamlūk*s to depose the son of his *ustādh* in order to make himself sultan, thereby setting, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo, vii, 56) "an evil precedent which led to the decline of affairs in Egypt".

Ḳuṭuz promised those *amīrs* who protested against this act of usurpation that he would step down from the sultanate once the Mongols had been defeated. To secure the co-operation of the Ayyūbids of Syria, Ḳuṭuz proffered his allegiance to al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Damascus and Aleppo and volunteered to defend him against the Mongols. To Hülegü himself, however, Ḳuṭuz offered only defiance and in 658/1260 put to death the envoys whom Hülegü had sent to demand his submission. Proclaiming a *djihād*, Ḳuṭuz led an army from Egypt into Palestine. Although the Mamlūk *amīrs* were reluctant to join battle against the Mongols, Ḳuṭuz succeeded in persuading them to march with him and sent Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī, the future sultan, at the head of an advance force. Ḳuṭuz first secured the neutrality of the Franks at Acre and then met, and defeated, the Mongol army at ʿAyn Djālūt. After the battle Ḳuṭuz marched to Damascus, which he used as a base from which to clear Syria of Mongol troops and to establish Mamlūk rule in the province, appointing his own *amīrs* to some key posts and retaining Ayyūbids in others. During the march back to Egypt, Ḳuṭuz was murdered at al-Ḳuṣayr, near al-Ṣāliḥiyya. Though the court historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir claims that Baybars was the sole assailant, it is clear from other sources that this historian was attempting to establish Baybars' unique claim to the sultanate according to "the law of the Turks" which states that *man qatala malikan kāna huwa al-malik*. (Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī, quoted in *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, ed. al-Khowaitir, 31).

There is also disagreement over the motivation for the assassination. Several historians claim that Ḳuṭuz reneged on his promise to award Baybars the viceroyship of Aleppo after ʿAyn Djālūt, but Ibn al-Dawādārī says that Ḳuṭuz had already aroused Baybars' enmity by rebuking his brother *amīrs* for cowardice during the battle. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir claims that Ḳuṭuz offended Baybars by refusing to share the glory of the *djihād* with him. In any event, it is clear, as Baybars al-Manṣūrī points out, that the enmity between Ḳuṭuz and the Baḥriyya was of long standing, and Baḥriyya ambitions for the sultanate were undoubtedly a factor. The disposition of the body of Ḳuṭuz is also a point of dispute, with Ibn Taghrībirdī claiming that Baybars transferred it from the original grave when it became a site of pilgrimage, while others merely say that it was buried in Cairo. Be that as it may, the sources are virtually unanimous in hailing Ḳuṭuz as a hero of Islam for the victory at ʿAyn Djālūt.

Bibliography: The fullest contemporary source that has been published is Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. A. A. al-Khowaitir, Riyadh 1976, see index; a shorter version of this source was edited and translated by Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956, index. See also the 8th/14th century historians: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, British Museum MS. Ar. 1233, fols. 11a-16a; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg 1971, index; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān*, i, Hyderabad 1954, 379-84; and

the 9th/15th century historians: al-Maķrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, i/2, ed. M. M. Ziada, Cairo 1936, 417-35; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, vii, Cairo 1938, 72-89. There are biographies of Ķuṭuz in Ibn al-Ṣuķā'ī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. and tr. Jacqueline Sublet, Damascus 1974, no. 205; and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1951, ii, no. 353; ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 201-3. See also A. A. al-Khowaitir, *al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Riyadh 1976, 18-26; idem, *Baibars the first; his endeavours and achievements*, London 1978, 15-25; M. M. Ziada, *The Mamlūk sultans to 1923*, in *A history of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, ii, Philadelphia, 1962, 735-58. (D. P. Little)

ĶU'ŪD (A.), the verbal noun *Ķa'ada* "to sit", which developed into a technical term. (1) In the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*] it indicates the sitting posture which is the penultimate component of a *rak'a* [*q.v.*]. For descriptions and illustrations, see Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 3rd edn., London 1842, i, 107, postures 7 and 13, and T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 467. (2) In early Islamic history it is the designation of the political attitude of a faction of the Khāridjīs, the *ķa'ada* (also called *ķu''ād*, *ķā'idūn* and simply *ķa'ad* after the analogy of *ḥāris*, pl. *ḥaras*). This designation is sometimes taken to refer to "self-declared non-rebels" (M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 151), although the generally accepted notion is "quietism". This notion may have been derived from the pre-Islamic custom with the Arab tribes to "abstain from" warfare, raiding, etc. (in Arabic: *ķa'ada 'an*) during Dhu 'l-Ķa'da, one of the four sacred months.

The quietist is extolled in a probably spurious tradition dating possibly from the end of the first century A.H.: "There will be a *fitna* [*q.v.*]; he who does not take an active part in it (*ķā'id*) is better than he who does (*ķā'im*)", cf. *Concordance*, v, 439, left column, first trad., where Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 169 and 185, may be added to the list of references.

(G. H. A. Juynboll)

AL-**KUWAYT** (conventionally spelled Kuwait), the capital city, situated in lat. 29°20′ N and long 47°59′ E, of an amirate of the same name situated on the Arabian shore at the head of the Persian Gulf. The mainland state is bounded by 'Irāķ to the north and west and by Saudi Arabia to the south. Kuwayt also owns a number of islands and islets, the largest and most important of which are Būbiyān, Warba and Faylaka. The total area of the state is approximately 6,900 sq. miles.

1. Geography and economy

At least two explanations have been suggested for the origins of the name; one is that it is a diminutive form of *kūt* ("fort"), and this in turn is said to refer to the existence of a small Portuguese defensive settlement there in the late 16th century. The other less general derivation suggests that in local usage Kuwayt means "a number of small wells", and that these exist near the low sandstone ridge called Ra's Adjūza, which is where the modern town was founded in the early 18th century. European sources usually refer to this settlement as Grane or Graine, which is probably a corruption of al-Ķurayn, an islet in the bay about four miles west of the centre of the town, near to which there was a good anchorage.

The bay is the largest in the Persian Gulf, with a maximum length of 20 miles (east-west) and a maximum breadth of 10 miles (north-south). It is the only good natural harbour near the head of the Gulf. The terrain is mainly flat and arid with occasional low hills; the highest point in the country, less than 1,000 ft. in elevation, is in the south-west. The coast-lands are low and sometimes marshy. Natural vegetation is very sparse and consists of scrub and stunted bushes. Spring rains sometimes produce a short-lived cover of grass. Oases are few; the largest is al-Djahra, some 18 miles west of the capital city. Permanent surface water does not exist, neither do springs. In the past drinking waters was drawn from wells which were often brackish, and it was also brought by boat from Baṣra. Some drinking water now comes by pipeline from the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, but a large sea-water distillation plant is the most important source of supply. The underground water table near al-Rawḍatayn in the north is also tapped for additional supplies.

The climate is hot, but often less humid than at other places in the Gulf. Summer daytime shade temperatures usually reach 105° F. to 110° F., but temperatures of over 120° F. have been recorded. The coldest month is January, when the daily maximum shade temperature is usually about 60 F. to 65° F. but temperatures as low as 24° have been recorded inland. Frosts sometimes occur in the desert but are almost unknown at the coast. Rainfall occurs chiefly between October and March and is slight: the average is under 5″ per year. Winds in winter are generally from the north-west and are relatively cool. Southerly winds in the spring and early summer are mainly hot and dry, those from the south-west later in the year are also hot but are often damp. Sandstorms more often occur during the winter than during the summer.

Before the discovery and exploitation of oil, the chief coastal occupations were trading, pearl and other fishing, and boat building. In the interior, nomads herded sheep, goats and camels and there was a little settled cultivation. The port served much of north-eastern Arabia, as well as acting as an entrepôt for trade with the south of 'Irāķ and southern Persia. Horses, animal products, fish and pearls formed the major traditional export items. Imports were chiefly foodstuffs and piece goods. In 1904, some 460 pearling boats worked out of Kuwayt and their crews numbered about 9,200 men. In the winter, about a third of these went to Ceylon for the pearling season there. The world-wide economic depression which began in 1929, and the introduction of cultured pearls from Japan, greatly reduced the demand for Gulf pearls. Boat-building using wood and fibre from India employed about 300 men in 1904, but this number obviously increased, for in 1912-13 as many as 120 pearling boats were reported to have been built. In 1904 the population of the town was estimated to be about 35 000. Of that number, about 1,000 were Persians, up to 200 were Jews and the Negro population was said to be about 4,000. By 1952 the population of the state had risen to about 152,000. Since that date it has grown very rapidly, because of changes which spring from the development of the oil industry. According to the census of April 1975, the population of the state was over 990,000. This very sharp rise was due chiefly to immigration, but the native birth rate is also very high. The same census reported that non-native-born residents made up 52.6% of the population; many of these were Palestinians or other Arabs, but immigrant workers have also entered Kuwayt in large numbers from Iran and the Indian subcontinent. There is a significant European and American community.

The first oil exploration concession was granted in December 1934, and oil was discovered in 1938 at al-Burḳān, but the Second World War halted the development of these fields. The Kuwait Oil Company, which held the concession, was owned jointly and equally by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later the British Petroleum Company) and the Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States of America. Production began in 1946, and in that year approximately six million tons of oil were exported. The Ābādān crisis of 1951 and the resulting embargo on oil supplies from Iran gave much impetus to the development of the oil industry in Kuwayt. In 1956 production exceeded 54 million tons, and Kuwayt was at that time the largest oil producer in the Middle East. By 1972 production had reached 148 million tons, but Kuwayt was no longer the leading regional producer, having given way to Saʿūdī Arabia and Iran. In January 1973 the Kuwait Oil Company and the Government of Kuwayt reached an agreement under which the state was to acquire immediately a 25% share in the Company, and by 1982 this would have risen to a 51% controlling interest. The Kuwaytī National Assembly, however, expressed strong disagreement with these terms, and there were demands for the immediate nationalisation of the Company. Further negotations were held and in December 1975 a new agreement was signed which transferred full ownership of the Company to the Government with retrospective effect from March of that year. During the War of October 1973, Kuwayt joined other Arab countries in restricting production, and for the first time since oil had been produced output showed a decline. The sharp increase in oil prices in 1973 encouraged the authorities to give increased attention to the question of conservation in order to extend the life of the oil reserves, the country's only known natural asset. A limit on production has been established of two million barrels per day, equivalent to about one hundred million tons per year; at this rate, it has been estimated that the state's known reserves should last at least until the middle of the next century. Kuwayt was a founder member of both the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1960) and of the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1968). The latter institution has its headquarters in Kuwayt and the Kuwaytī authorities have taken an important and active part in the work of both bodies.

The recent development of the oil industry has had some striking economic and social effects. From being a relatively poor society of traders, fisherfolk, boatbuilders and herdsmen, the country now (1978) has one of the highest levels of income per capita in the world, and the state provides an impressive array of social services. Kuwayt has become, despite its harsh environment, one of the most highly-urbanised states in the world. The dependence on oil is overwhelming, with over 90% of government income currently being derived from oil production. The pearling and boat-building industries are no longer of economic importance. Fishing has been modernised and catches of shrimp are sold in Japan, Western Europe and the United States of American rather than locally. Agriculture is of little significance; less than 3% of the land is regarded as cultivable and only about 1% is actually in use. Imports now consist of construction materials, consumer goods and industrial equipment as well as foodstuffs and textiles. Exports, apart from oil and related products such as petrochemicals and fertilisers, are negligible. Ships of all the major maritime nations now use the port; the airport is served by many daily international flights; and the most modern means of international telecommunication are widely available. Oil revenues have enabled the government to offer significant amounts of financial aid to poorer states, both Arab and non-Arab. By 1977 loans worth over US $ 1,500 million had been provided.

2. History

Archaeological excavations on Faylaka island have revealed traces of settlements dating back to 2500 B.C., but relatively little is yet known of the history of Kuwayt prior to the 18th century and the assumption of power by the first members of the present ruling dynasty of Āl Ṣabāḥ in about 1170/1756.

The Sāsānid King S̲h̲āpūr I is said to have had a great ditch dug from Hīt on the river Euphrates to the northern shore of Kuwayt bay to protect the Sawād [*q.v.*] from Arab raids, and it was in the neighbourhood of Kuwayt that K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd is reported to have defeated a force of Persians in 12/633. The foundations of the modern state date from about the end of the 17th century when a group of ʿUtūb Arabs, who claimed to be a branch of the ʿAnaza confederation [*q.v.*], migrated into the area. According to local tradition the three clans—the Āl Ṣabāḥ, the Āl K̲h̲alīfa, and the Āl D̲j̲alāhima—were expelled from their previous settlements near Umm Ḳaṣr by the Ottomans because of their acts of brigandage and piracy. By the middle of the 18th century, the Āl Ṣabāḥ had achieved a position of local dominance. The Āl K̲h̲alīfa [*q.v.*] left Kuwayt in 1179-80/1766 and migrated to Zubāra in Ḳaṭar before taking control of Baḥrayn in 1197/1783. The Āl D̲j̲alāhima left Kuwayt later and they too went to Ḳaṭar.

The first mention of Kuwayt by a European is that of E. Ives, who refers to it as Grane, but he does not give the name of the ruling *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* at the time of his visit in 1758. Niebuhr refers to the town as having a population of 10,000, but he noted that during the hot months the number declined to about 3,000. He reported that the harbour contained 800 ships and that the inhabitants were employed in fishing and pearling; but like Ives, he does not give the name of the ruler.

Kuwayt grew in prosperity after Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand had seized Baṣra in 1190/1776, for during the three-year Persian occupation, the East India Company used Kuwayt instead of Baṣra as the terminal point for its caravan route from Ḥalab (Aleppo) to the Gulf. According to Capper, who did not visit the town, the ruler of Graine was very friendly towards local British officials in 1193/1779; and in 1207/1793, after a quarrel with the Ottoman authorities in Baṣra, the East India Company's Agency was moved from there to Kuwayt. The Agency returned to Baṣra in 1210/1795. It was at this period that Kuwayt was often threatened by Wahhābī raiding parties.

The next century-and-a-quarter of Kuwayt's history was to be shaped by three sets of circumstances and by the relations between them. Those circumstances were threats from Northern and Central Arabia, the uncertain and varying nature of the relations between Kuwayt and the Ottoman Empire, and the emerging interest of first Great Britain, and later of other European powers, in this large natural harbour at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The temporary eclipse of Wahhābī power in Nad̲j̲d and al-Ḥasā after their conquest by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1232-4/1817-19 reduced the threat to Kuwayt for a

time. When a British officer visited Kuwayt in 1252/1836, he found that Egyptian envoys were present in the town, and the re-entry of Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces into Eastern Arabia shortly afterwards increased British suspicions about the extent of Egyptian ambitions. An officer of the Indian Navy surveyed the island of Faylaka in 1255/1839 as a possible base for British military forces, but it was concluded that the island was unsuitable. The harbour at Kuwayt was also surveyed at this time. The withdrawal of Egyptian forces in 1256/1840 meant that British interest began to wane. The fact that Kuwayt had not been heavily involved in piracy meant that the trucial system of relations, which had been established by Britain from 1820 with Baḥrayn and the other shaykhdoms of the lower Gulf, was not extended to Kuwayt. Although Kuwayt was involved in the slave trade, the anomalous nature of her relations with the Sublime Porte meant that the British government was reluctant to seek engagements for the suppression of that trade from Kuwayt similar to those which had been secured from the Arab rulers of the lower Gulf.

The economic fortunes of Kuwayt fluctuated throughout the 19th century. Stocqueler, who visited the town 1246-7/1831 estimated that its population was only about 4,000. Some revival appears to have occurred, for Palgrave, who was in Arabia in 1278-9/1862-3 but who did not visit Kuwayt, reported that the town was well-governed and that trade was flourishing. The same author described Kuwayt as the natural maritime outlet for the trade of the Djabal Shammar area, and Guarmani, who visited that region in 1280/1864, reported that many horses were exported from there to India via Kuwayt. The possibility of building a railway line from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Euphrates and onwards to the head of the Persian Gulf had been suggested as early as 1856, but the construction and opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 put a temporary end to such plans.

The relationship between the rulers of Kuwayt and the Sublime Porte had varied ever since the Āl Ṣabāḥ had established themselves in Kuwayt, but it was rarely anything other than vague and nebulous. Occasionally, as in 1871, the Ottoman authorities in ʿIrāḳ were able to exercise some sort of sovereignty over the Shaykh of Kuwayt, and the town was then used briefly as a staging post for the Ottoman annexation of al-Ḥasā, Kuwaytī boats being employed to transport some of the troops. In May 1896 the ruler of Kuwayt, Muḥammad b. Ṣabāḥ, was murdered and he was succeeded by his half-brother Mubārak. There was much suspicion that Mubārak was implicated in the death, and intense family rivalries threatened the position of the new Shaykh. In order to consolidate his authority, Mubārak tried to secure the recognition and support of both the Ottoman and the British governments. The former showed some signs of seeking to extend its influence over Kuwayt. The latter initially declined Mubārak's invitations, but when it became known that a Russian entrepreneur, Count Kapnist, was seeking a concession from the Ottoman government to build a railway line from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, with Kuwayt as the suggested railhead, British interest quickly revived. The concern of the British government was also increased by the belief that the Russian government might be seeking permission to construct a coaling station on Kuwayt Bay, and in Ramaḍān 1316/January 1899 an agreement was reached under which Shaykh Mubārak gained British support in return for a promise not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage or otherwise dispose of territory to a foreign government or national without specific permission from the British government. Increased international interest in Kuwayt became even more apparent in 1900 when a party of German railway engineers visited the area to seek a suitable site for the terminus of a possible extension to the Persian Gulf of the projected Berlin—Baghdād railway. Shaykh Mubārak opposed these plans, believing in part that they would tend to lead to an increase in Turkish control over Kuwayt. After a prolonged period of diplomatic negotations, the British and Ottoman authorities completed in 1913 a draft convention concerning their interests in the Persian Gulf. Under article 1 of this convention, Kuwayt was recognised as an autonomous *ḳaḍā*ʾ within the Ottoman Empire. That document also laid down the land frontiers of Kuwayt, but the outbreak of the First World War prevented the draft convention from being ratified. In 1914 the British government sought the support of Shaykh Mubārak against Turkish forces in Southern ʿIrāḳ, and among other reassurances the ruler was informed that the British government recognised Kuwayt as an independent government under British protection.

The Ottoman authorities were not the only threat to the independence of Kuwayt at the end of the 19th century. The value of that port as an outlet for the trade of Djabal Shammar attracted the attention of the rulers of the Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*], and that clan was engaged in open rivalry with the Āl Saʿūd [*q.v.*]. Much turbulence was caused in Northern Arabia in the late 19th and early 20th century by that contest for power. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal Āl Saʿūd and his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took refuge for a time with Shaykh Mubārak, and a raiding force from Kuwayt was defeated by the forces of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd near Ḥāʾil in March 1901. The recapture of al-Riyāḍ by the Āl Saʿūd and the curbing of the power of the Āl Rashīd reduced the immediate threat to Kuwayt, but as the power of the Āl Saʿūd increased it looked as if they rather than the Āl Rashīd would now pose a danger to Shaykh Mubārak.

In 1913 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd succeeded in expelling the Turks from al-Ḥasā and in gaining an outlet to the Persian Gulf. This meant that Kuwayt was now encircled to the west and the south by the territory of the Āl Saʿūd. In December 1915 the British authorities signed a treaty at al-ʿUḳayr with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd, among the provisions of which was a promise by the latter not to attack Kuwayt. Shortly before the signature of this document, Shaykh Mubārak had died and there was renewed family rivalry over the succession. Mubārak's eldest son Djābir became the *shaykh*, but he died in February 1917, and was succeeded by Mubārak's second son Sālim. Sālim was by no means as prudent as his father had been in his relations with either the British or with the Āl Saʿūd. He allowed the harbour of Kuwayt to be used for the transport of supplies to the Turkish army and from February 1918 the port was blockaded by ships of the British navy. This blockade was lifted in the autumn after the cessation of hostilities between the Allied Powers and the Ottoman Empire.

The lack of a defined frontier meant that relations between the Āl Ṣabāḥ and the Āl Saʿūd were unlikely to be easy or harmonious, but the activities of the *Ikhwān* [*q.v.*], and particularly their building of a *hidjra* at Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā, made matters worse. In 1920 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd

imposed an embargo on trade with Kuwayt and this ban lasted until 1937, doing much harm to the prosperity of Kuwayt. Fear of an *Ikhwān* attack prompted the building of a defensive wall around the city and in October 1920 a force of *Ikhwān* led by Fayṣal b. Sulṭān al-Dawīsh, the leader of the Muṭayr tribe, attacked the nearby oasis of al-Djahra. This attack did not succeed, but *Ikhwān* raids continued to pose a threat to the security of this part of north-eastern Arabia until the movement was finally suppressed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd in 1930 after it had rebelled against his authority.

Shaykh Sālim died in February 1921 and he was succeeded by Aḥmad b. Djābir, the eldest son of the previous ruler. Shaykh Aḥmad endeavoured to improve relations with the Āl Saʿūd, and in December 1922 a Convention was signed at al-ʿUḳayr in which a fixed frontier between the two states was established. The new territory of Kuwayt was very much smaller than that which had been allotted to it in the draft Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1913, and Shaykh Aḥmad believed that the British authorities had not supported his claims against those of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd as strongly as they should have done. This belief was an important factor in Shaykh Aḥmad's reluctance to grant an exclusive oil concession to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company; and it strengthened his later determination to secure the involvement of an American company in the development of Kuwayt's oil resources. (The growth of the oil industry has been treated in section 1 above.)

In 1920 Great Britain had been awarded the Mandate over ʿIrāḳ by the League of Nations, and in April 1923 the British High Commissioner for ʿIrāḳ recognised the frontier between Kuwayt and ʿIrāḳ as being that which had been laid down in the Anglo-Ottoman draft convention of 1913. There have, however, been disputes about this boundary. The most serious occurred in June 1961, when the 1899 agreement between Great Britain and Kuwayt was terminated and Kuwayt became a fully-independent state. The Government of ʿIrāḳ immediately claimed that Kuwayt was rightfully an integral part of ʿIrāḳ. The ruler of Kuwayt, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim (who had succeeded Shaykh Aḥmad in 1950) appealed to Britain for military assistance. This request was granted and the dispute was debated by the Security Council of the United Nations. On 20 July Kuwayt was admitted to the League of Arab States and that body resolved to preserve the independence of its new member. In 1963 Kuwayt became a member of the United Nations.

In November 1962 a new constitution was promulgated and elections for a 50-member legislative assembly were first held in January 1963. The Constitution was suspended in August 1977 as a result of internal political difficulties.

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(R. M. BURRELL)

ḲUWWA (pl. *Ḳuwā*), Arabic term denoting "strength, power".

1. Lexicographical study. Ibn Sīda defined the word *ḳuwwa* as the opposite of weakness (*naḳīd al-ḍaʿf*), cf. Ḳurʾān XXX, 54: "It is God who has created you from weakness (*min ḍaʿf*) and who then, after weakness, has given you strength (*ḳuwwa*)". It is thus the concept of strength and of vigour which is paramount. A man is described as *ḳawī* when he is strong in himself, and as *muḳwī* when he owns a robust mount. On the other hand, like the word *ṭāḳa* (which also has the sense of "ability to act"), *ḳuwwa* denotes a thread which is part of a rope. As may be read in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Daylamī: "Islam is unravelled link by link, as a rope is unravelled thread by thread (*ḳuwwatan ḳuwwatan*)". Abū ʿUbayda observes that when such threads become loose (*tukhrī*), the rope is liable to be broken. This may be seen as a further example of the idea of strength and solidity. Thus it is primarily a physical force that the term *ḳuwwa* evokes in the language.

Numerous words in Arabic have similar meanings. Attention has been drawn above to *ṭāḳa*, defined in *LA* as power over something (*al-ḳudra ʿalā shayʾ*). The term *ḳudra* is itself given as a synonym of *ḳuwwa* (*ibid.*); it is employed, as *maṣdar* of the verb *ḳadara*, in the expression *ḳadara ʿalā 'l-shayʾ ḳudratan*, with the sense of possessing (*malaka*) something. Possession is the exercise of a power, either physical or judicial. Furthermore, just as the idea of power-to-act implies possibility and aptitude, so *ḳuwwa* has been likened on the one hand to *imkān* (possibility) and to *istiʿdād* (disposition). *Ḳuwwa* in the sense of possibility is, according to al-Tahānawī, the power or the faculty which is a preparation (*tahayyuʾ*) to produce a thing or its opposite, whereas *istiʿdād* is limited to preparation for production of a single effect.

2. *Ḳuwwa* in the Ḳurʾān. A quite frequent use is that which gives this word the meaning of power in the sense of capacity to act, to fight, to win, and which applies it either to communities or to individuals. Thus in IX, 69, there is reference to "those who before you were stronger than you in power (*ashadda minkum ḳuwwatan*) and were richer in goods and offspring". Speaking of man at the Day of Judgment, God says (LXXXVI, 10): "He will then have for himself neither strength nor succour". A second use of a more moral nature is to be found in verses where there is the injunction to "take" the Revelation "with strength" (*bi-ḳuwwa*)" (cf. among other verses, II, 63 and 93; VIII, 145). Al-Zamakhshari explains the word with the expression: "with effort and firmness" (*bi-djidd wa-ʿazīma*). Finally and most importantly, *ḳuwwa* is attributed to God with the sense of *ḳudra*; for example in LI, 58, where it is said: "God is the Provider of all good things; He is the unshakable Master of power (*dhu 'l-ḳuwwati 'l-matīn*)" and in XLI, 15: "God, who has created them, is stronger than them in power (*ashaddu minhum ḳuwwatan*); elsewhere we find "There is no power but through God (*lā ḳuwwata illā bi-llāh*)" (XVIII, 39).

3. *Ḳuwwa* in theology. In the discussion by the Muʿtazila concerning the attributes, and with regard to the doctrine of *taʿṭīl* which stripped the divine essence of all its attributes, by reducing them either to this very essence, or to simple names, it was necessary to stress that the revealed Book speaks of the power (*ḳuwwa*; cf. above), as well as of the knowledge (*ʿilm*) of God. In the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, al-Ashʿarī notes that one group of Muʿtazila, on the basis of XLI, 15, "claim that in saying that God has power, we are led to say that He is powerful (*ḳādir*). They take *ḳuwwa* purely and simply as a synonym of *ḳudra*. But they maintain this point of view only in regard to *ḳuwwa* and *ʿilm*, being two substantives which occur definitively in the Book of God, and not in regard to the other attributes of the essence such as life (*ḥayāt*), sight (*baṣar*) and hearing (*samʿ*)." This is, according to al-Ashʿarī, the doctrine of al-Naẓẓām and the majority of the Muʿtazila of Baṣra and Baghdād. A second group understands "knowledge" in the sense of the object of knowledge (*maʿlūm*), and "power" in the sense of the object of power (*maḳdūr*). To say that God has a power (*ḳudra*=*ḳuwwa*), therefore signifies, not that there exists in Him such an attribute, but that created beings depend on Him in such a fashion that they could be called *maḳdūrāt*. This is why, when Muslims see rain, they say: "That is the power of God", meaning that it is a *maḳdūr*. These theologians reserve this explanation, among the attributes of the essence, for knowledge and power, for a purely scriptural reason, as has been seen in the case of the preceding group. A third group assert that God has a power which is identical to Himself (*ḳudra hiya huwa*), and the same applies to His knowledge; but they extend this interpretation to all the other attributes of the essence: this is the thesis of Abu 'l-Hudhayl and his disciples. A third group comprises the disciples of ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān, who is known to have sacrificed the texts to the requirements of reason: it can neither be said that God has knowledge and power, nor that He does not have them. This contradicts the formal declaration of the Ḳurʾān.

Ibn Ḥazm, in addition to the verse XLI, 15, quotes a *ḥadīth*. When instructing his Companions how to formulate a prayer to obtain a favour (*istikhāra*), the Prophet says: "O my God! I ask You for this favour through Your knowledge; I ask You for it through Your power" (*ḳudra*=*ḳuwwa*). Then Ibn Ḥazm puts power on the same level as knowledge: *ḳuwwa* and *ḳudra*, like *ʿilm*, belong to God really and not metaphorically; they are nothing other than He, although it cannot be said that they are God, because if power were God, God would be power, which is false. The same applies to knowledge. These terms play the same role as the word *nafs* (soul) in the verse VI, 17: "It is He Himself (his soul) that ordains mercy". The expression "soul of God" is a "description of Him (*ikhbār ʿanhu*)", but indicates nothing at all other than Him.

4. *Ḳuwwa* in philosophy. In his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ʿulūm al-islāmiyya*, al-Tahānawī gives a panoramic

survey of the question. *Ḳuwwa* is the origin of the act (*mabdaʾ al-fiʿl*), whether or not it is differentiated, and whether or not it is accompanied by awareness (*shuʿūr*) and by will (*irāda*). In this general sense, *ḳuwwa* is dependent at the same time on nature (*ṭabīʿa*), the principle of involuntary movement, and on the soul, the principle of voluntary movement. There is thus a distinction between the power of the spheres (*al-ḳuwwa al-falakiyya*) which produces a unique act, and the power of the elements (*al-ḳuwwa al-ʿunṣuriyya*) which produces acts that are differentiated in terms of the various combinations of elements, and which has also been called *al-ḳuwwa al-sukhriyya*, executive power of imposed labour, as a way of recalling that all power to act comes from God, taking inspiration from, among others, the verse XXII, 65: "Have you not seen that God has pressed into your service (*sakhkhara lakum*) all that is on the earth?" Nevertheless, in the Ḳurʾān, this term is also applied to the stars, as in XIII, 2, since the Book makes no ontological distinction between the firmament and the sublunary world. After elemental power come vegetative power, the faculty of the vegetal soul, and animal power, the faculty of the soul of animals. Finally, the term *ḳuwwa* is also applied to the origin of the change that is produced in one thing, transforming it into something else (*mabdaʾ al-taghayyur fī shayʾ ākhar min ḥaythu huwa ākhar*).

By origin is understood the cause (*sabab*), whether it is efficient (*fāʿil*) or not. In effect, the power can be active or passive, engendering qualities or receiving them (*ḳabūl*). As the origin of the change, it can be applied solely to its receptacle (*maḥall*), as is the case with the form (*ṣūra*) of the air which demands the production of humidity in the matter which it pervades. It can also be the origin of change in its receptacle first, then in another thing: this is the case with the form of fire which produces heat and dryness in its matter and transmits these features to neighbouring objects. But the power of change can act from the start in something other than a receptacle: this is the case with the rational soul which acts immediately on a thing other than itself in producing a change in the body.

According to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, some powers have substantial forms (*ṣuwar djawhariyya*), such as the power of fire; others have a basis in accidents which happen to the substance. Consequently, there is no generic notion of *ḳuwwa*, as it is impossible to unite substance and accidents in a single genre.

5. *Ḳuwwa* in medicine. As an extension of its philosophical usage, this term is frequently employed in medicine. Al-Tahānawī indicates that the physicians introduced three divisions: natural power; animal power; and psychical power. The natural and animal powers include powers served by others (*makhdūma*) and powers which serve them (*khādima*). The first are, in the realm of the living, those which operate with a view to the preservation of the individual, the faculty of nutrition and the faculty of growth, or with a view to the preservation of the species, generative power (*muwallida*) and plasmatic power (*muṣawwira*). The second are four in number: the power of attraction (*djādhiba*), the power of retention (*māsika*), the power of digestion (*haḍma*) and the power of repulsion or of evacuation (*dāfiʿa*). These four faculties are served in their turn by heat and cold, dryness and humidity. As for psychical powers, they are divided into two types: the power of perception (*mudrika*) and the power of motion (*muḥarrika*). Perceptions are external (*ẓāhira*), in the case of the five senses, or external (*bāṭina*), in the case of the coenaesthetic sensations. The power of movement comprises on the one hand the power that incites movement (*bāʿitha ilā 'l-ḥaraka*) with the faculty of desiring (*shawḳiyya*) which may be positive or negative, and the power of inclination (*nuzūʿiyya*) which guides the former towards the act; and on the other hand, the power responsible for the setting in motion (*mubāshira li 'l-taḥrīk*).

6. *Ḳuwwa* in human psychology. This is the faculty of deliberate voluntary action. It operates in accordance with a certain order; first there is a representation of the movement to be executed, then a desire, then a will to achieve the end envisaged, and finally the realisation of the movement and the act. Certain philosophers introduce an intermediary between the faculty of desire and the active power: they call it *idjtimāʿ*, a term which seems to correspond to the δογκατθεδις (consent) of the Stoics. It is the decision (*djazm*) which follows after a hesitation (*tarraddud*) between action (*fiʿl*) and non-action (*tark*), as a result of which one of the two parties prevails (*yataradjdjaḥ*). According to others, there is no intermediary, but a desire which may continue to grow until the decision and the act are put into effect. *Idjtimāʿ* is nothing more than this desire at its maximum intensity. As for the followers of Ibn Sīnā, they reckon that *idjtimāʿ* depends on will and that there is a great difference between desire and will.

A position of eminence is given to the power of the intellect (*al-ḳuwwa al-ʿāḳila*). All theories concerning the intellect, from the end of Antiquity, throughout the Hellenistic period and until the time of the *falāsifa*, depend on interpretations of the third book of Aristotle's ***Treatise on the soul***.

7. The notion of *ḳuwwa* and Greek influences on *falsafa*. The numerous meanings applied to the term *ḳuwwa* in philosophy may be examined, with a view to comparison with Greek thought, from two points of view. The concept δύναμις has two opposites in the writings of Aristotle: 1. ἀδυναμία (*lā-ḳuwwa* or *ḍaʿf*, inability or weakness); 2. ἐνήργεια (*fiʿl*, activity, reality). *Ḳuwwa* in the former sense is dealt with in the *Categories* and *Metaphysics* (v. 12), in the latter mainly in the *Metaphysics*, viii-ix. It may be here observed that inability is to be distinguished from impossibility (ἀδύνατον = *mumtaniʿ* or *mustaḥīl*).

A. *Ḳuwwa*, to be more accurate *ḳuwwa ṭabīʿiyya* (productive ability), being the second species of the category of quality (ποιόν [cf. MAḲŪLĀT]) is defined, with Aristotle, as that arrangement by which some one or some thing comes into action quickly and easily, while *lā-ḳuwwa* predisposes to undergo something easily and quickly. Activity and passiveness are here to be conceived as opposites, which exclude one another. They cannot be present at the same time in one and the same subject. *Ḳuwwa* in this sense is the positive capability for a definite activity or, as the Stoics expressed it: the qualities of things are active forces, agencies. The orthodox *kalām* referred this doctrine only to the activity of God. Muslim theologians said for example—cf. Christian dogmatics—that God's qualities (*ṣifāt*) are the sources (*maṣādir*) of his actions. The philosophers, however, referred it in the first place to the workings of nature. Nature is endowed with many forces and abilities and each ability has a corresponding inability. Inability, however, is nothing positive but a deprivation (στέρησις, *ʿadam*) or a decay (φθορά, *fasād*). *Lā-ḳuwwa* is not an absolute nothing but a non-existing of what according to Aristotle

belongs to a thing from its nature. It is especially emphasised that the transition from *ḳuwwa* to *lā-ḳuwwa* (or from active to passive) takes place not continuously but without intermediary, i.e. suddenly, timelessly. The Muslim philosophers are, for the rest, usually content to explain these sometimes very questionable assertions with the examples given by Aristotle. In the *Logic* (*Categories*) these are with reference to living beings health (ability) and sickness (inability), and in the organic world, hardness and softness. In addition, in other branches of knowledge, rest is sometimes defined as deprivation of motion, blindness as a want of ability to see, wickedness as the non-existence of good, and so on. All these deprivations (στερήσεις) are regarded with Aristotle as accidents of matter. Hence the practice (at least since Ibn Sīnā [cf. *Tis*ʿ *rasāʾil*, 64] who probably follows a Greek exposition) of distinguishing *ʿadam* as accidental principle from the essential principles: matter and form.

Al-Fārābī (*Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, 87, fr. 11) first discussed the question whether suffering (πάσχειν), as the term is used under the category of quality, meant the same as suffering as the last (10th) of the categories. Perhaps he was led to this by a passage in Aristotle (*De anima*, 417b) in which "suffering" is said to have two meanings: 1. it is a kind of decline (φθορά) through the opposite (see above); and 2. the preservation (σωτηρία) of the possible through what is active, and in this way that thereby a natural basis is evolved for its own being. Instead of a decline we have here a question not only of a mere survival but also of a higher development, a suffering in *bonam partem*, an endurance (passive, receptive, contemplative) of higher influences [see ATHAR].

B. More important than the contrast between *ḳuwwa* and *lā-ḳuwwa* for the history of philosophical terminology became the distinction between *ḳuwwa* and *fiʿl*, or, to use the language of the schools, power and action, commonly found in the formulae *bi 'l-ḳuwwa* (δυνάμει) and *bi 'l-fiʿl* (ἐνέργεια). Both expressions are closely connected with the two fundamental conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy, matter and form. Power is peculiar to matter, action to form. Power and action are called ὑπάρχοντα (Arab. *lawāḥiḳ*, attributes) of matter and form. Aristotle sought in this way to reconcile a static with a dynamic consideration of the world. Matter and form [see SABAB] are names for the constituents of the existing, power and action for the stages of development of the becoming. These fundamental conceptions cannot be defined more exactly. Like Aristotle, the Muslim philosophers endeavour to illustrate them by examples.

The development from power to action presupposes a continuous world of becoming, time and change. According to one principle of Aristotle, which was taken over by the Muslim thinkers, at least with reference to the world, the infinite cannot be real. But in time, especially if it is conceived without beginning and without end, lies the unending possibility of all that possesses its limited reality in any particular moment. Under definite conditions, if there is no obstacle in the way, the possible advances to full realisation by stages. Possibility and realisation are to be regarded as termini of a development taking place within time. This process, the development from power to action, is called by Aristotle motion (κίνησις, *ḥaraka*) which is defined as the realisation (ἐνέργεια) of the possible as such. The end (to be *bi 'l-fiʿl*) is called in Arabic also *kamāl* (perfection) just as Aristotle uses ἐνέργεια and ἐντέλεχεια synonymously.

The concept of an originally pure (i.e. without quality) possibility which can in course of time become everything, is according to Aristotle a conceivable abstraction. Everything becoming is already more or less formed, realised; deprivation is an accident of matter, not as the neo-Platonists asserted, matter itself. Aristotle himself did not succeed in carrying through logically his distinction between the principle of deprivation (*ʿadam*) and matter as pure possibility. The Muslim thinkers who were under neo-Platonic influences were naturally still less able to do so. They often identified *ʿadam* and *ḳuwwa*. Usually however, they endeavoured to represent our world of becoming as a hierarchy of positive forces or powers. The process of becoming is then to be conceived as a co-operation, a working into one another of active and passive. With Aristotle, the Stoics, etc., they talk of active and passive, moving and moved, ruling and serving forces, which by no means rule one another out. Two aspects of one and the same process are thus described. One and the same power may therefore be active, moving, ruling with respect to what is below it in the order of stages of being but passive, receptive, contemplative with respect to those above it. In other words *ḳuwwa* and *fiʿl* are used in the correlative sense exactly like matter and form. A material more or less formed, e.g. clay, is matter for bricks and the formed brick is material for a building. Similarly, in the sperm there is the potentiality to become a boy, in a boy a potentiality to become a man. In other words, the sperm possesses the immediate potentiality for a boy, a remote potentiality for a man.

Amongst the Ismāʿīlī thinkers, the problem of power is equally put forward in another form, in the shape of the idea of receptiveness (*ḳubūl*). Whilst the Primal Intellect receives at a single stroke (*dafʿatan wāḥida*) everything which rightfully makes up its being, the "creatures" inferior to it are incapable of this. Hence they receive successively in the course of time the characters and qualities which belong rightfully to their essence and which make up their secondary perfection. This explains why these latter gradually become transformed according to the different kinds of movement. It is through this that the power of generation (*kawn*) is explicable. But when they have reached their perfection, certain beings tied down to matter are unable to keep it and decline into final corruption (*fasād*); in this way, the force of destruction may be explained.

The whole theory is closely connected with the dynamic view of the existence of the world. Thus as in Aristotle, in the Muslim philosophers physics, including psychology, are developed into a hierarchical system of natural forces and faculties of the soul. In place of faculty we sometimes find parts of the soul (μέρη, *adjzāʾ*; Platonic terminology, also used by Aristotle). Galenic influences may be traced, in the doctrine of the faculties of the soul especially and their localisation (in al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī). Al-Fārābī deals with this in his *Fuṣūṣ* (i.e. *Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, 72 ff.; wrongly ascribed to Ibn Sīnā in *Tis*ʿ *rasāʾil*, 42 ff.); cf. his "Model State" (ed. Dieterici, 34 ff.). Ibn Sīnā (*Kitāb al-Nadjāt*, Cairo 1913, 258 ff.; cf. *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, 123 ff.) enumerates some 25 *ḳuwā* from the highest faculty of the reasoning soul to the powers of the simplest bodies. Al-Ghazālī (*Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, index) is acquainted with over 30 *ḳuwā*; but some are synonyms.

As briefly explained above, in the world of becoming *kuwwa* is earlier in time than *fiʿl*, but *fiʿl* —so his Muslim successors teach following Aristotle— is always the earlier in the sense of the higher. What is potential cannot of itself devolve into actuality. God who is the perfectly real, according to the Muslim philosophers, brought the world from non-existence (*ʿadam*) to existence (*wudjūd*) or from *kuwwa* to *iʿl* (*ikhrādj*). The spirits (*ʿukūl*) which act as intermediaries between God and the world are usually called real. It is the activity of the last heavenly spirit, the *ʿakl faʿʿāl*, which as Ibn Sīnā, following al-Fārābī, expresses it, gives everything earthly its form (*wāhib al-ṣuwar*; cf. for this expression *Enneads*, v. 9, 3), or, as Ibn Rushd prefers to say, brings everything potential here into actuality. This is however not a distinction in principle between the two philosophers: with Aristotle they regard matter and form as substances, potentiality and activity as their attributes (*lawāhik*).

C. In the *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, 94) is the following remarkable passage: "In this (sensual) world, action is preferable to potentiality, in the higher (intelligible) world, however, potentiality is preferable to action". This pregnant sentence is not found in the *Enneads* but corresponds completely to the utterances of Plotinus (*Enn.*, v. I, 6 f.; 3, 15 f.; 4, 1 f.; 5, 13 f.) According to a general principle of Plotinus—not however always logically carried through—the categories and main conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy are only to be referred to the sensual world. If they are applied to the spiritual world, they have another but higher meaning. The higher *kuwwa* is an intensification of the productive faculty discussed under A. In addition, there is an exchange of value in the factors potentiality and actuality.

According to Plotinus, the first and only principle of all things (in the *Theology of Aristotle* = God) is raised above the logos of the Stoics (*kalima*, active force) and above the energeia of the Peripatetics (*fiʿl*). It is true that one can say of the νοῦς (*ʿakl*), the first created thing, it is λόγος καί ἐνέργεια of the First, but the First himself is from his nature δύναμις, i.e. power, all-power. With the uniqueness of the First (also called, as e.g. by Plato, the absolute good) only one quality, that of omnipotence, is compatible. All activity however, whether it is thinking or acting, presupposes multiplicity and effort, which cannot be ascribed to the absolutely simple Being. On this definition of the First as Dynamis, cf. Plato's utterance (*Soph.*, 247 E): "I define the being of the existing in this way, that it is nothing but a Dynamis".

Excluding the Muʿtazila, it may be said that this emphasis on the omnipotence in the being of the Unique (God) must have been much more natural to the Muslim theologians—although traditionally they deal with God's knowledge before his power—than the Aristotelian view that God is pure Energeia, which manifests itself only in thinking.

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(Tj. de Boer-[R. Arnaldez])

ḲUZAḤ [see ḳaws ḳuzaḥ].

KWANADI (self-designation—Kwantl hekua or Bagolal; Russian designation—Bagulall, but Kvanadinskiy yazlk for language), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Kwanadi forms, with Andi, Akhwakh, Botlikh, Čamalal, Godoberi, Ḳarata and Tindi, the Andi division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages. Their population was 3,054 according to the 1926 Soviet census.

The Kwanadi inhabit the auls of Khushtada, Kwanada (Tsumada region), Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho (Akhwakh region) south of the bend of the Andi Ḳoysu in the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. Living in isolated mountain valleys, the Kwanadi have maintained many patriarchal customs. The Kwanadi are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī school. Their traditional economy was based on sheep and goat herding and related activities, and on agriculture.

There are two dialects of Kwanadi, sc. Bagulal and Tlisi, both of which are purely vernacular. Avar and Russian serve as literary languages. The Kwanadi are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars, and they appear as Avar-speaking Avars in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses (see also andi, avar, dāghistān, al-ḳabḳ).

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(R. Wixman)

KWAṬṬA, Quetta, a town and district of northern Balūčistān, now in Pakistan. In both the former British India and now in Pakistan, Quetta and Pīshīn, some 20 miles to its north, have formed an administrative district. The region is geologically complex and is very mountainous, with peaks rising up to nearly 12,000 feet/3,850 metres, and it is centred upon the basin of the Pīshīn-Lora river and its tributaries. The climate is temperate, with cold winters. Crops—wheat being the chief *rabīʿ* or spring crop and sorghum the chief *kharīf* or autumn one—can only be grown in the alluvial river bottoms, and then by irrigation; at present, there are about 300 *kārīzs* or *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], plus a reservoir and a canal, for this. The surrounding mountains furnish chromite and also coal (in the Sor range near Quetta and at Mač in the Bolān Pass area), whose exploitation now employs several thousand men, including Swati migrant labour and Pathan and Balūč nomads in the off-herding seasons.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the history of the Quetta-Pīshīn region was closely connected with that of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*], some 130 miles/210 km. to the north-west with which it is connected by an ancient route through Čaman just on the Pakistan side of the modern border with Afghānistān. The town of Quetta (whose name may stem from Pashto *kwata* "heap, hill", or from *kota* "room, fortress", ultimately from Hindi *koṭhā*) was more commonly known till the 19th century, and is still known by the local people, as Shāl or Shālkot; Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1809 calls it "Shawl" (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*², London 1839, ii, 225). In 884/1479 Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayḳarā [*q.v.*], the Tīmūrid ruler of Harāt, awarded Shāl, Mustang and Sībī to Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg Arghun of Ḳandahār [see arghun]. These places passed after Dhu 'l-Nūn's death in 913/1507 to his progeny, and in 930/1524 Shāh Ḥusayn Beg b. Dhi 'l-Nūn acknowledged the Mughal Bābur's suzerainty. After a brief Ṣafawid occupation of 963-6/1556-9,

they were incorporated in the Mug͟hal empire. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*², tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii, Calcutta 1949, states that the Quetta-Pis͟hīn region supplied the Emperor Akbar with 2,500 cavalry and 2,500 infantry, plus grain, sheep and 38 *tūmāns* in money. After 1031/1622 it came under Ṣafawid control again, and S͟hāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] conferred S͟hāl, Mustang and Sībī on the Pathan chief S͟hīr K͟hān Tarīn. In the 18th century, the Quetta-Pis͟hīn region was disputed by G͟hilzay Pathans and the Brahuis of Kalāt, but after 1112/1758-9, Aḥmad S͟hāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] left Naṣīr K͟hān of Kalāt as ruler in Quetta in return for a contingent of troops, at a time when the Afg͟hān ruler's position in India was being threatened by the Mahrāṭās. Henceforth, Quetta was controlled by the rulers of Kalāt, whose seat was the town of that same name 103 miles/182 km. to the south [see KILĀT]; Pis͟hīn and S͟horarūd, however, remained in Afg͟hān hands till 1879 (see below).

The importance of Quetta in recent times has arisen from its commercial role as an emporium for trade between southern Afg͟hānistān and the lower Indus valley, but above all, from its strategic position. It lies at a point where a north-south route runs from Ḳandahār and the southern Afg͟hānistān frontier via Quetta and the Bolān Pass to Jacobabad and the Indus at S͟hikarpur in Sind, and where a transverse route comes from the middle Indus at Dēra G͟hāzī K͟hān [see DĒRAD͟JĀT] and runs westwards through Quetta to the Persian border. These factors became especially operative in the 19th century after the annexation by Britain of Sind (1843) and the Pand͟jāb (1849). During the First Afg͟hān War (1839-42), when S͟hāh S͟hud͟jāʿ al-Mulk was placed on the throne in Kabūl [see AFG͟HĀNISTĀN. v. History], Quetta was occupied by British forces during these years; the town was used as a forward base for operations in the Ḳandahār region, and a political agent, Capt. Bean, installed there. It was, nevertheless, still only a small place, with a mud wall pierced by two gates and the governor's fort or *mīrī* on artificial mound; C. Masson in the late 1820s said that "Shāll" possessed "about 300 houses and a fair bazaar" (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, London 1842, i, 327-30); and W. Hough described it in 1839 as "a most miserable mud town, with a small castle on a mound, on which there was a small gun, on a rickety carriage" (*A narrative of the march and operations of the army of the Indus in the expedition into Afghanistan*, London 1840). Three decades later, A. W. Hughes still estimated its population at only *ca.* 4,000 (*The country of Balochistan, its geography, topography, ethnology and history*, London 1877, 67, 73-4).

After 1842, when Quetta reverted to the K͟hān of Kalāt's control, voices in the Government of India, such as that of General Sir John Jacob in 1856, urged its permanent occupation as a vital strategic point and also its being linked with Sind and Karāčī by railway (*The views and opinions of General John Jacob*, ed. L. Pelly, Bombay 1858, 349). It was, however, feared that such a distant place, as it then was, in the heart of the tribal area of northern Balūčistān, would be difficult to hold in times of crisis, and the proponents of "masterly inactivity" carried the day until the 1870s. Fears arising from the Russian advance against the Central Asian khanates and possible pressure on Afg͟hānistān led, however, to the adoption now of a "Forward policy", and in 1876 a decision was made to occupy Quetta. The Treaty of Jacobabad between the Viceroy Lord Lytton and the K͟hān of Kalāt renewed the right of Britain, already secured in 1854, to send troops into Kalāt territory in times of stress and made Kalāt into a protected native state. Quetta was occupied, and Major (later Sir) Robert Sandeman became the first Agent there to the Governor-General.

Quetta's military value was soon proved in the Second Afg͟hān War (1878-80), when troops were moved through the Bolān Pass and via Quetta into the Ḳandahār region. By the Treaty of Gandamak of 1879 with the Afg͟hān Amīr Yaʿḳūb b. S͟hīr ʿAlī, Sībī and Pis͟hīn, with the land up to the K͟hʷād͟ja ʿAmrān Mts., the so-called "assigned districts", were ceded to Britain, to form with Quetta in 1887 the nucleus of British Balūčistān; in 1883 Quetta was formally leased to the Government of India by the K͟hān of Kalāt in return for an annual payment of 25,000 rupees. It was at this time that the administrative District of Quetta and Pis͟hīn was formed. After 1879 a broad-gauge railway was built from a point near Sukkur to Pis͟hīn via the Harnai Pass, and Quetta now became linked with the North-West Railway system of India. Later, during the First World War, a lengthy branch (441 miles/830 km.) was constructed through British Balūčistān westwards to a railhead in Persian territory at Zāhidān.

Quetta town is situated in lat. 30°10' N. and long. 67°1' E., and lies at an altitude of 5,508 feet./1,770 metres at the northern end of the S͟hāl valley. Under British rule, it became a very important military centre, the headquarters of the 4th Division of the Western Command, and the seat of the Staff College. In 1896 it became a municipality. Quetta lies in an earthquake zone, and was severely hit by the earthquake of 1935, when tens of thousands of people died: buildings subsequently erected there have had to be earthquake-proof (see R. Jackson, *Thirty seconds at Quetta, the story of an earthquake*, London 1960). It now possesses a good amount of local industry, and in 1972 had an estimated population of 139,800 (swollen in summer-time by temporary residents), comprising the cantonment and the civil area. The population of Quetta itself is now somewhat mixed, though still largely Pathan. The surrounding areas are, to the north, overwhelmingly Pathan and Pas͟hto-speaking (Kākaṛs, Tarīns and Āčakzays); this Pas͟hto is close to that of Ḳandahār, i.e. of the southwestern group (for specimens of the Pas͟hto of Ḳandahār and Pis͟hīn, see *Linguistic survey of India*, x, 105-12). To the south of the town, the Brahui area begins. Quetta accordingly straddles the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Pathans and Brahuis-Balūč.

In the present administrative organisation of Pakistan, Quetta is the centre of Quetta-Pis͟hīn District, continuing the former British arrangement here (area 5,314 sq. miles/13,763 km.²), and also, since the re-organisation of 1955, when Balūčistān was merged into the single western unit of Pakistan, the centre of the Quetta Division, comprising the Districts of Quetta-Pis͟hīn plus those of Zhob, Loralai and Sībī to the east, and Chagai to the west (area 53,115 sq. miles/137,567 km.²).

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L

LAʿAḲAT al-DAM "lickers of blood", the name given to a group of clans of Ḳuraysh̲. According to tradition, Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] had allocated to the different subdivisions of Ḳuraysh̲ the quarters which they were to occupy in Mecca and had entrusted to the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār various local offices: administration of the *dār al-nadwa* and bearing the standard (*liwāʾ*), the furnishing of provisions (*rifāda*) and drink (*siḳāya*) to the pilgrims, and custodianship of the Kaʿba (*ḥid̲j̲āba* [see kaʿba]). However, the Banū ʿAbd Manāf thought themselves more worthy of these privileges, and Ḳuraysh̲ (with the exception of the B. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy and Muḥārib b. Fihr, who stayed neutral) split into two hostile factions. The B. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, the Zuhra b. Kilāb, the Taym b. Murra and the al-Ḥārith b. Fihr joined the side of the B. ʿAbd Manāf, and the five clans swore to aid each other and not to abandon each other's cause *mā balla baḥr^un ṣūfa*, i.e. till the end of time. In order to make binding the oath, a vessel full of perfume was brought into the Kaʿba, and the participants dipped their hands in it and then dried them on the walls of the shrine. Thus they became known as the Muṭayyabūn "perfumed ones".

In the opposing group, the B. ʿAbd al-Dār had the support of the B. Mak̲h̲zūm, the Sahm, the D̲j̲umaḥ and the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, and these five clans took the same oath and became known as the Aḥlāf "allies". The two sides were ready to come to blows when an appeal for reconciliation was made, and peace was kept by the ʿAbd al-Dār's conceding to the ʿAbd Manāf the *siḳāya* and the *rifāda*.

The composition of the respective two groups is given identically in the old sources, but the Aḥlāf are not always given, and Ibn Ḳutayba, for instance, speaks only of the Muṭayyabūn (*Maʿārif*, 604). Nevertheless, in his rescension of the *dīwān* of Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit (ed. W. Arafat, London 1971, ii, 260), Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb cites a passage of al-Kalbī which attributes also the name *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the Aḥlāf, and in his *Muḥabbar*, 166, this same author states that this group slaughtered a camel and plunged their hands into its blood; since one member of the B. ʿAdī licked this blood, the rest of the Ḳuraysh̲ present imitated him and were therefore called *laʿaḳat al-dam*. A parallel version is given by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Beirut 1380/1960, i, 77), with the difference that we only have mention of a vessel containing blood and no reference to the sacrifice of a camel. The author of the *Ḳāmūs* (s.v. *l. ʿ. ḳ*) echoes this tradition and gives the name of *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the five clans mentioned above, giving the detail that in order to seal the oath they killed a camel and either licked its blood *or* dipped their hands into it; he does not however say anything about the circumstances surrounding this ceremony.

Now, for its part, the *Sīra* indeed sets forth the difference between the Muṭayyabūn and the Aḥlāf over the public duties in Mecca (i, 131-2), but does not mention here the name *laʿaḳat al-dam*, which it reserves (i, 196-7) for one of the two groups formed at the time of the dispute among Ḳuraysh̲ about the positioning of the Black Stone during the rebuilding of the Kaʿba. It relates that the B. ʿAbd al-Dār brought in a vessel filled with blood and dipped their hands in it, swearing, together with the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, to fight to the death; it was at this time that they became called *laʿaḳat al-dam*, but the *Sīra* does not say whether other clans joined with the ʿAbd al-Dār and the ʿAdī nor anything about the licking of fingers. In any case, it was a member of Mak̲h̲zūm who advised the two opposing sides to submit to the arbitration of the first person who entered the Kaʿba by the door of the Banū S̲h̲ayba, and as is well-known, this was the Prophet. We find exactly the same version as the *Sīra*'s one in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1138.

A little later, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 119-21 = §§ 968-70) enumerates the factions making up the Aḥlāf and Muṭayyabūn, but gives the name of *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the ten clans belonging, in his view, to the Ḳuraysh̲ al-Biṭāḥ and made up, apart from two exceptions, of the united body of the two factions involved.

It appears clearly from all the pieces of evidence mentioned here and agreeing about the Muṭayyabūn and Aḥlāf of Mecca, but disagreeing about the episode of the *laʿaḳat al-dam*, that we have such a vague tradition that one wonders whether the story of the hands dipped in blood and licked has not been invented in the interests of symmetry by traditionists anxious to find a parallel with the perfume of the Muṭayyabūn. It is furthermore the only attestation of a practice involving the taking in of a few drops of blood [see dam in Suppl.] which we possess, and the *LA* makes no allusion to it when it cites, in regard to the oath called *g̲h̲amūs* (s.v. *g̲h̲. m. s.*), the ashes, perfume and blood in which the oath-takers steeped their hands.

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(Ch. Pellat)

LAʿB [see laʿib].

LABĀB (from Pers. *lab-i āb* "riverside"), the irrigated region along the banks of Amū Daryā [*q.v.*] in its middle course. The name, though of Persian origin, became known apparently only in modern times, when this region became one of the main centres of the settlement of the Turkmens. The exact limits of the region have never been defined; it seems that it extended as far as Darg̲h̲ān (the southernmost town of K̲h̲ʷārazm [*q.v.*]) in the north and as far as Kālif [*q.v.*] in the south. In pre-Mongol times a narrow tract of cultivated land stretched along both the left and the right banks of the river, though on the left bank conditions for artificial irrigation were better; the uniformly cultivated tract began to the north of Āmul [*q.v.*].

In the post-Mongol period, the irrigation system fell into decay, and both banks of Amū Daryā were inhabited by nomads, except for several townships with their surroundings. After the middle of the 17th century, a number of Turkmen tribal groups began to migrate to Labāb from Western Turkmenia through Khʷārazm, and in the 18th century the region was inhabited mainly by Turkmens who became sedentarised and built a network of irrigation canals. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Labāb belonged to the Khānate of Bukhārā and was administratively divided between two *wilāyats*, Čārdjūy (former Āmul) and Kerkī. In the 19th century, Labāb was the most densely populated region among all those inhabited by the Turkmens, and lack of irrigated lands brought about considerable emigration to Afghānistān and Eastern Bukhārā. The most numerous among various Turkmen groups of Labāb have been the tribes Salur [*q.v.*] to the north-west of Čārdjūy, Saḳar to the south-east of Čārdjūy, and especially Ersarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] further to the south, up to Kālif. Besides them, there have been in Labāb almost 30 other tribal groups of Turkmens interspersed with each other and, in the vicinity of Čārdjūy, with Uzbeks. Now Labāb belongs to the Turkmen Soviet Republic of the U.S.S.R., forming the core of the *oblast'* (province) of Čardjūy.

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LABBAI (Tamil *ilappai*, thought by Tamil *ʿulamāʾ* to derive from *labbayka*, the pilgrims' cry [see TALBIYA]), a community of Tamil-speaking Muslims residing in or originating from Tamilnadu State, South India. Labbai is a generic term incorporating four subdivisions, the Marakkayar, Kayalar, Rawther and Labbai. All four groups are Sunnīs, the first two predominantly of the Shāfiʿī school, while the latter two are Ḥanafīs. The Marakkayars and Kayalars predominate in the southern coastal regions of Tamilnadu, while Rawthers and Labbais reside in greater numbers in the state's north and its interior. Urbanisation has led to the geographic mixing of these communities, but in the countryside usually only one group lives in a particular location.

Each subdivision is associated with a distinctive tradition. The Marakkayars claim to be the descendents of Arab sea traders and have a reputation as dealers in gems and pearls and as smugglers. Kayalars are said to originate from Kayalpatinam, once an important port on the southern Coromandel coast. These two groups once published books and newspapers written in the Tamil language and using the Arabic script. The Rawthers claim a heritage as cavalrymen and horse-traders, while the subdivision of Labbais are said to be the descendents of Ḳurʾānic scholars. In Madurai District, Rawthers refer to the employees of their mosques as Labbais.

The four Labbai subdivisions are effectively endogamous, although they accept no ideology that would dictate this. On the contrary, they are adamantly egalitarian and do not accept any caste ranking of their groups, despite being surrounded by caste Hindus. The small amount of intergroup marriage that does occur in the cities substantiates this egalitarianism, since these marriages are considered socially acceptable.

The Labbais are more urban than rural, and consider mercantilism to be their occupational forte. In 1961 approximately 55% of the Muslim population of Tamilnadu was urban compared to 26.7% of the total state population. This latter figure is commensurate with a society based on an agricultural economy. The 55% figure is high and reflects the non-agricultural basis of the Muslims' livelihood. Throughout the state they are recognised as astute businessmen and traders. A few families have achieved wealth, but most operate petty businesses.

In search of a livelihood, Labbais have travelled over much of the Asian world, especially over South-east Asia. For centuries they were an important economic and political force in Malacca, and they are found in numbers in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. Prior to World War II, some had business in Japan. Wherever they go, they are primarily merchants.

Despite the Labbais' far-flung wanderings, India remains a homeland for them and ties are maintained with kinsmen in India. Often, overseas Labbais maintain households and families in India to which they periodically remit money and return home. It is clear that, despite their wanderings and attachment to Islam, they identify themselves as Tamilians.

The Labbais identify strongly with Tamil culture and society. For most of them, Tamil is the language both within and without the mosque. The Tamil-speaking Muslims are proud of their contributions to Tamil literature, the *sine qua non* of Tamil culture. The Labbais of the countryside dress in a fashion which is more similar to the Hindu mode than do most of their urban fellows. Their celebration of the ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī *ʿUrs* commemorating the death of "Mohaiyadeen Abdul Kadar Andakai Jilani" is in many features similar to the Hindu cart festivals. Saint worship centred around this *ʿUrs* forms an important popular undercurrent to the strict orthodoxy of urban religious leaders. Many Labbais do not eat beef because they have been socialised to Hindu custom, but not to Hindu religious ideology.

In the northern part of Tamilnadu and in Madras City, the Labbais have undergone a process of Islamisation with a stress on Sunnī orthodoxy. Saint worship is frowned upon as *shirk* by religious leaders, and when it occurs is much less flamboyant than the gala events of the countryside and is accompanied by conscious attempts to avoid *shirk*. Labbai dress is distinctively Muslim, and many have acquired Urdu as a second language because they consider it the language of Indian Muslims and akin to Arabic, if only in script. Some mosques in this northern part of the state recognise the importance of the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* at Deoband as a centre of religious learning, and hire *ḥāfiẓ*s from there during Ramaḍān. The impulse towards Islamisation is part of a process of de-parochialisation. As Muslims have become urbanised, their desire to become

recognised as good Muslims as well as good Tamilians has increased.

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LABBAYKA [see TALBIYA].

LABĪBĪ, the pen-name of a Persian poet who lived at the end of the 4th/11th and the beginning of the 5th/12th century. His personal name as well as almost any other particulars of his life are unknown. The *Tardjumān al-balāgha* has preserved an elegy by Labībī on the death of Farrukhī [*q.v.*], which means that the former was probably still alive in 429/1037-8. A *ḳaṣīda* attributed to him by ʿAwfī is addressed to a *mamdūḥ* by the name of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, who in that source is identified with a younger brother of the Ghaznavid Sultan Maḥmūd. But it is more likely that he was a member of the Āl-i Muḥtādj, the rulers of Čaghāniyān, who was also a patron of Farrukhī's poetry (see C. E. Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xix [1981], 11-12). In the *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (i, 445) the poem is in fact presented as a work of the latter, but it also occurs in manuscripts of the *Dīwān* of Manūčihrī and in the works of other poets. The attribution to Labībī was rejected by Rypka and Borecký, but is defended by most modern Iranian scholars. Apart from this poem, the remaining poetry of Labībī consists of fragments only, mostly single lines quoted in evidence by lexicographers. Some of these lines belonged to *mathnawī*-poems, the subject of which can no longer be ascertained.

Though his work fell into oblivion quite soon, Labībī must have been a poet of some distinction in his own age. Bayhaḳī, writing about 450/1058, appreciated him as an *ustād-i sukhan*; and so did Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, who also styled him *sayyid al-shuʿarāʾ* and imitated one of his *ḳaṣīdas* (*Dīwān*, ed. R. Yāsimī, Tehran 1339/1960, 571). The many quotations contained in the *Lughat-i Furs* of Asadī prove that his poems were still circulating in the later part of the 5th/11th century.

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LABĪD B. RABĪʿA, ABŪ ʿAḲĪL, Arab poet of the *mukhaḍram*. He belonged to the family of Banū Djaʿfar, a branch of the Kilāb, who belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 93 and Register, ii, 374-5).

According to Ibn Saʿd, vi, 21, he died in 40/660-1 in the night on which Muʿāwiya arrived in al-Nukhayla to conclude peace with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. Others, like Ibn Ḥadjar, iii, 657, whom Nöldeke (*Fünf Moʿallaqât*, ii, 51) thinks ought to be followed, give 41 A.H., others again 42. He is said to have reached an unusually great age (al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, § 61). In fact, he makes several allusions to this in his poems. The date of his birth can only be approximately fixed. Even before 600 A.D. he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe by his command of language. As quite a young man, he is said to have accompanied a deputation from his tribe to the court of king Abū Ḳābūs Nuʿmān of al-Ḥīra (*ca.* 580-602), and when the latter was incited against the Banū ʿĀmir by his friend Abū Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-ʿAbsī (of the tribe to which Labīd's mother belonged), Labīd succeeded with a satirical *radjaz* poem (*Dīwān*, no. 33) in so ridiculing him to the king that he restored his favour to the Banū ʿĀmir. A verse from Nuʿmān's answer to his courtier, who sought to defend himself from the lampoon on him in this *radjaz* poem, became proverbial (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal, *al-Fākhir*, i, 41-2; al-ʿAskarī, *Amthāl*, on the margin of al-Maydānī, ii, 117, 7-18; al-Maydānī, ii, 33; *K. al-Aghānī*,¹ xv, 94 f.; ²xvi, 22 f.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 79 ff., iv, 171 ff.). In his later poems Labīd also often prides himself on having helped his tribe by his eloquence. He remained loyal to his tribe even when a famous poet, and scorned the profession of a wandering singer, practised by his contemporary al-Aʿshā. But the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad threw him out of the usual groove. We do not know the exact date of his conversion to Islam. As early as Djumādā II of the year 8 Sept.-Oct. 629, the chiefs of the tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, sc. ʿĀmir b. Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Ḳays, a stepbrother of Labīd, seem to have negotiated in Medina about the adhesion of their tribe to the new community, but without reaching any result (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 90 ff.). Both men are said to have soon afterwards come to an

untimely end, ʿĀmir from plague and Arbad from a lightning stroke; the latter story seems to find confirmation in Labīd's lament for him (*Dīwān*, no. 5). The accusation on the other hand that Arbad attempted to kill the Prophet is quite incredible. In the year 9/630-1, the tribe again sent a deputation to Medina which included the poet, and an agreement was reached. Labīd is said on this occasion to have become a Muslim. He later migrated to Kūfa, where he died. Of his family, only a daughter is mentioned who is said to have inherited his talent (see al-Maydānī, ii, 49, 13 ff.; al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, i, 52, 7 ff.).

Labīd's poems were very highly esteemed by the Arabs. Al-Nābigha is said to have declared him the greatest poet among the Arabs or at least of his tribal group, the Hawāzin, on account of his *Muʿallaḳa*. He himself is said to have claimed third place after Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Ṭarafa. Al-Djumaḥī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Hell, 29-30) places him in the third class of pagan poets along with al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, Abū Dhuʾayb and al-Shammākh. Labīd showed himself equally master of the *hidjāʾ*, the *marthiya* and the *ḳaṣīda*. One of his *ḳaṣīdas* was adopted into the collection of *Muʿallaḳāt* and is thought by Nöldeke (*Fünf Moʿallaqât*, ii, 51) to be one of the best specimens of Bedouin poetry. Labīd uses the traditional pictures from the animal world—wild asses and antelopes fleeing before the hunter and fighting with his dogs—as charmingly as the usual complacencies about drinking bouts. He seems, on the other hand, to have cultivated the *nasīb* only because it was traditional. He deals far less with the subject of woman's love than with the description of the *aṭlāl*, which he likes to compare with artistic calligraphy. He is also fond of recalling memories of places of his native district, the palmgroves and irrigation channels which continually move him to charming descriptions; indeed, in one such connection he gives the whole itinerary (*Dīwān*, no. 19, vv. 4 ff.) of a journey from central Arabia to the coast of the Persian Gulf (see von Kremer, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.* below, 12). As his almost contemporary Abū Dhuʾayb is fond of doing, in the *Muʿallaḳa*, v. 55 ff., he turns however once more to his beloved, and thus combines the *nasīb* with the main part of the *ḳaṣīda* into an organic whole; but for him this is simply a mode of transition to a new descriptive passage. His poetry is, however, distinguished from that of other poets of the pagan period by a certain religious feeling which seems to have been not exactly rare among his contemporaries, even before Muḥammad's mission. While Zuhayr, for example, still expresses his practical wisdom derived from the experience of a long life, in plain though impressive language, Labīd on such occasions always strikes a religious note. He certainly did not profess Christianity, nor can we see in him a representative of the so-called *ḥanīf*s of the *Sīra*, as von Kremer wished to do. In him, rather, we find the belief in Allāh as the guardian of morality finding particular expression, a belief already widely disseminated in Arabia. Such passages naturally invited the Muslim traditionists to increase them. Indeed, a later author went so far as to ascribe to him a verse by Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (fragment 18). But many passages of his *Dīwān* seem to owe their inspiration to the Ḳurʾān. The statement that he wrote no more poetry after his conversion to Islam is obviously an invention (see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 21, 4, repeated later; e.g. by al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 52, below); it is contradicted by the simple fact that poems 21 and 53 of the *Dīwān* were only composed shortly before his death (*Aghānī*, xvi, 101). The description of Paradise (*Dīwān*, nos. 3, 4) is certainly inspired by the information in the Ḳurʾān, like the idea that precedes it, that a record is kept of the doings of men. Under the influence of Islam in nos. 39 and 41 (v. 11 of which, as Ibn Ḳutayba (*K. al-Shiʿr*, 153, 5) already points out, certainly must be written after his conversion, if it is not to be considered an interpolation), he replaces the *nasīb* by pious admonitions. Thus he creates a new artistic form, that of poetical paraenesis on the transitoriness of human life; besides the Ḳurʾān, he may of course have been influenced by the Christian preaching in the works of ʿAdī b. Zayd. He only follows older models in this connection when he combines admonition with the averting of blame from a woman in no. 14, as in Ṭarafa's *Muʿallaḳa*, vv. 56 ff., 63-5 (cf. Caskel, *Das Schicksal*, 9), where this is, however, only an episode in the *ḳaṣīda*.

Labīd's *Dīwān* was edited, according to the *Fihrist*, 158, by several of the greatest Arabic philologists, al-Sukkarī, Abū ʿĀmir al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Sikkīt. Of these recensions, only half of that of al-Ṭūsī, together with a commentary, has survived in the manuscript of al-Khālidī (see below) from the year 589/1193. All other manuscripts are much later, e.g. those in Leiden and Strasbourg, and that in Cairo not yet utilised, which also contains the *Dīwān* of Abū Dhuʾayb, ed. by J. Hell.

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LABIN or Libn (coll.; singular *labina*, *libna*) designates in Arabic the unfired brick whose use in building dates back to the earliest antiquity; to speak only of the present domain of Islam, some traces have survived above-ground on the Iranian plateau, in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, where this material was used in the Pharaonic period to build palaces and royal tombs as well as poor hovels; it is certain that it was also in use in the Arabian peninsula and North Africa. The hog-backed bricks of Mesopotamia appear to be no longer used, and the *labina* generally has a geometric, fairly regular shape, that of a parallel-sided rectangle, whose variable dimensions are at the largest those of a bond-stone and often have the ratio 4 × 2 × 1 (e.g. length 56 cm., width 28, thickness 14, or 42 × 21 × 10.5,

36 × 18 × 9, 32 × 16 × 8; but 45 × 35 × 5 in South Arabia). This unfired, rough and fairly economical brick is composed essentially of dampened, shaped clay, which is then turned into a wooden mould (*milban*) without a bottom or cover, packed tight and finally dried in the sun; the clay is fined down, depending on the region, with sand, gravel, chopped straw, and potsherds in fixed proportions to prevent its crumbling and cracking. Once taken out of the mould, the bricks are left for a while longer in the sun and sometimes stockpiled before being used in the construction of buildings which can reach a considerable height; this was notably the case of the ziggurats of Mesopotamia, and it is still that of the houses, several storeys high, which are built in South Arabia (the technique of manufacture and construction is explained by M. Bāfaqīh and J. Chelhod, *Notes préliminaires sur l'architecture de Shibām*, in *St. Isl.*, li [1980], 195-6). At Shibām, the foundations to a depth of 3 m. are of stone; however, the trench intended for them, usually wider than the wall, may only be filled up with beaten earth and ballast. In low houses and enclosures the walls are sometimes supported by wooden posts driven into the ground with regular spaces between them. The building can be strengthened, at least in its lower part, by means of two thicknesses of bricks placed alternately longwise and crosswise; the walls erected are generally thicker at the bottom than at the top, which, on the outside, gives the impression that they are leaning dangerously. Houses of unfired brick have the advantage of being warm in winter and cool in summer, and there are countries, such as Egypt, where *labin* is preferred to fired brick. But the large buildings form great masses of thick walls (as much as 10 m. in antiquity), pierced with a few narrow apertures.

This material is in current use, either because of its low cost, or because, in the region, clay is readily exploitable, and stone is rare, hard to extract or too heavy; but rainfall must not be very plentiful, for heavy rains cause severe deterioration of the walls to the point of making them disintegrate, even if they are lined with a coating of earth mixed with lime or plaster. The ancients took some supplementary precautions against erosion, by providing gutters, drains, reed beds, etc.

Unfired bricks are pointed with a mortar made of earth with an admixture of lime or ash (the use of bitumen, as in ziggurats, does not seem to be current). This mortar, like the coating mentioned above, is called *madar* (see *LA*, s.v.) in Classical Arabic, but this term (which one hesitates to connect with *materia*) seems clearly to be applied also to construction of earth and *labin*, to judge at least by the expression *ahl al-madar* which designates the sedentaries as opposed to *ahl al-wabar* "the people of the camel skin" = tents, i.e. the nomads, even allowing for the Arab taste for paronomasia; a fairly strong indication is supplied by the meaning of *madara* "a village built of *labin*". However, the ambiguity of the vocabulary does not always enable us to distinguish clay or mud from unfired brick, for Arabic texts give the impression that the same term was used for the different techniques; but it is probable that the Prophet's house in Medina was actually of unfired brick and that the *ahl al-madar* lived in dwellings of the same kind, while the expression is also applied, by extension, to some citizens living in stone houses.

Another difficulty arises from the uncertainty of the terminology. Although Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, s.v.) classifies *ṭūb* as a synonym of *ādjurr* "fired brick" (see below) and this word still has this meaning in Egypt for example, it designates in the Muslim West a lump of earth or an unfired brick, and it is furthermore in this latter sense that it has been adopted and preserved in Spanish in the form *adobe*. But Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, Bk. i, Ch. v, 25) states that the *ṭawwāb* is the mason who builds a wall in clay. At first sight, this craft name appears to be derived directly from *ṭūb* with the meaning of "clay", but it is quite possible that a telescoping may have taken place with *ṭāb(i)ya* "clay, mud" which, on the other hand, comes from the Spanish *tapia* (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). This borrowing leads us to think that the clay technique, well-known in antiquity, notably in Mesopotamia, was imported into the Maghrib from Spain. *Ṭābya*, which is still in use today in Algeria and Morocco, is used by Ibn Khaldūn, when he speaks (*loc. cit.*) of *binā' bi 'l-turāb*) and describes in detail the way a clay wall is built, according to a process which has not changed since then (cf. a description in Berber in E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 24). The masons, generally specialists belonging to particular tribes, use a frame made of two boards (*lawḥ*) of variable dimensions, but on average 150 to 180 cm. long by 80 wide, which they place face-to-face at a distance equal to the width of the wall under construction; the frame is held in place by cross-pieces and ropes and closed at both ends. The earth, prepared as for unfired brick, is mixed with lime, gravel etc. and carried in baskets; as soon as it is ready to be turned into the frame, it is beaten with a kind of rammer (*mirkaz*, pl. *marākiz*). The workmen generally arrange several frames so as to be able to carry out their work horizontally, then vertically with superimposed coats until the work is completed. Clay, which can form a really solid concrete, is used for the construction of all kinds of buildings, which can reach a great height and be very long-lasting. This is the case particularly with ramparts and military works; near Fās a bridge was built of very hard clay reinforced with fired bricks on top of the arches.

The kiln-fired brick is designated in Arabic by the collective *ādjurr*, but to judge by the multiplicity of forms which this term assumes (*ādjur*, *adjūr*, *yādjur*, *ādjirūn*, *udjurr*, etc.; noun of unity *ādjurra*, *adjurra*, etc.), all at any rate in the *LA*, it is clear that the Arabs did not possess either the term signifying or the object signified; nor is it known in what period there took place the borrowing from Persian *agūr* which Arab lexicographers freely recognise. It is a fact that fired brick, whose use is widespread throughout the Islamic world, was used particularly in Persia and the lands which fell directly under its influence. It will be recalled, for example, that the Muslims who founded Baṣra first demarcated the mosque by means of a reed enclosure, then built it in *labin* and rebuilt it in fired brick a few years later. All the same, a Roman and Byzantine influence was felt to an equal extent in the regions situated further west. The word which is used today with the meaning "tile", *ḳirmid*, is a sing. made from *ḳarāmid*, of which the *LA* asserts (√*ḳ.r.m.d.*) that it designates in Syria the fired bricks (*ādjurr*) of the baths and comes from the *rūmī* word *ḳirmīdāśī* (*sic*; κεραμίς, ιδος "brick, tile", rather than κέραμος).

The kiln (*attūn*) is similar to that of the potters, and consists of a furnace with a firing-room on top of it. Of smaller dimensions than the *labin*, the fired brick is not nearly so thick (3 to 6 cm.). Buildings

in which it is exclusively used are rare (a characteristic example is the Mausoleum of the Sāmānids at Bukhārā, where the arrangement of the bricks is particularly stylistic); in fact, it is generally combined with other materials (e.g. the Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*] consists of a wall of limestone, fired brick and unfired brick at the top); it is used for certain parts of the building (arches, vaults, staircases, etc.) and put to good use by architects to vary the decoration of their works. From the 6th/12th century, the glazed block has offered the possibility of obtaining similar effects to those of mosaic.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources cited, see the various works on Islamic architecture, the bibliography of the sections related to the monuments of the towns, countries and dynasties, and the articles ARCHITECTURE and BINĀ'.

(CH. PELLAT)

LABLA, the name given by Arabic authors to NIEBLA, ancient Ilipla, which was the seat of a bishop in the Visigothic period and which is situated about 40 miles to the west of Seville in the right bank of the Rio Tinto (in the modern province of Huelva). Certain authors, notably Yāḳūt, also call it al-Ḥamrā' because of the reddish colour of its walls and of its environs. It was the main town of one of the *kūra*s of the Gharb al-Andalus [*q.v.*]; it must have been integrated within the great division of Ishbīliya [*q.v.*], and separated from it in the course of the administrative reorganisation. The *kūra* was bounded, at 40 miles to the west, by the plain of Ukshunūba; at 20 miles to the east, by the Aljarafe of Seville; at 50 miles to the north, by the *kūra* of Bādja [*q.v.*] (Beja); and at 6 miles to the south, by the Atlantic. According to al-ʿUdhrī, it contained eight districts (*aḳālīm*), including that of the town itself, and the total tax revenue in the time of al-Ḥakam I went as high as 15,627 *dīnārs*. The town's population included a certain number of Arab families, amongst whom the Yaḥṣubīs were dominant, some Berbers and the descendants of the Hispano-Romans and the Hispano-Visigoths, both Christian and Islamicised.

The soil of Labla favoured all sorts of agricultural exploitation, thanks to its fertility and to the waters which the three river sources of the Sierra d'Aracena brought down; one of these gave sweet drinking water, another contained alum and the third copper sulphate. The district produced cereals and a wide variety of fruits, with fig trees, numerous olive trees and vineyards which yielded high-quality raisins. Excellent safflower (*ʿuṣfūr*, *carthamus tinctarius*) was grown which, together with other dyestuffs like cochineal (*ḳirmiz*), was used for dying leather and skins. Bovines and horses were reared, and these, plus hunting and fishing, were sources of wealth. It was also a lively commercial centre.

Niebla still retains ancient remains and solid walls from its original foundation. There were dependent on the *madīna* towns and a fortress, notably for a certain period, Huelva (Awbābā, Ūnaba or Wānaba), Tejada (Ṭalyāta) and Gibraleón (Djabal al-ʿUyūn) on the Odiel.

According to Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, it was conquered in 93/712 by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr or, more feasibly, by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the next year. Niebla was the seat of a part of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ. In 149/766 there was the rising of Saʿīd al-Maṭarī al-Yaḥṣubī. In 240/844, after having occupied Ishbīliya for some days, the Northmen or Madjūs [*q.v.*] went on to Labla, sacked it and carried off the inhabitants. In 284/897 occurred another rising, whose suppression the *amīr* of Cordova entrusted to his son Abān. Between this date and 304/916 it must have risen yet again, for on 20 Ramaḍān 304/17 March 917 the *ḥādjib* Badr b. Aḥmad occupied it when it was in the power of a certain ʿUthmān b. Naṣr. At the fall of the caliphate, it became a *ṭā'ifa* principality, actually set up in 414/1023-4 when Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, Tādj al-Dawla, rose up and was proclaimed ruler, this being recognised by the people of Gibraleón. His brother and successor (in 433/1041-2) had difficulties with al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville. For some time, al-Muẓaffar of Badajoz provided the ruler of Labla with help, but in the end the latter had to shelter under the protection of Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar [see DJAHWARIDS], with whom he sought refuge in 433/1052-3. Labla remained under the rule of his nephew, Fatḥ b. Khalaf b. Yaḥyā, Nāṣir al-Dawla, who made a treaty with al-Muʿtaḍid; but the latter ravaged his territories and in 445/1053-4 Fatḥ b. Khalaf had to flee to Cordova, where he died.

In the middle of the year 484/1091, Labla passed into the hands of the Almoravids. In *ca.* 538/1144, the doctrines of Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*] of Mértola caused a certain amount of anxiety. Being hostile to Almoravid power, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Bitrūdjī defended the town against Ibn Ghāniya until the time when it submitted, in 540/1146, to the Almohad Barrāz al-Masūfī. Eight or nine years later, the latter rebelled, and Labla had to be taken in 549/1154 by Yaḥyā b. Yaghmūr, who conducted a great massacre of the populace. The Infante Don Sancho of Portugal and Portuguese troops passed by Labla in 574/1178 and 578/1182. Under Ibn Maḥfūẓ, it came to form, in the 7th/13th century, an independent principality comprising Huelva, Saltés and part of the Algarve, and recognised the suzerainty of Ferdinand II of Castile. It was besieged for several months by Alfonso X, and capitulated in 660/1262.

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(J. Bosch Vilá)

LACCADIVES, a group of coral islands in the south-eastern Arabian Sea lying off the Malabar Coast of India between lat. 8° and 12°30′ N., and between long. 71° and 74° E. Under British Indian rule these were formerly the Laccadive Minicoy and Amindivi Islands; but in 1956 the group was brought under a single administration to form the Indian Union Territory of Lakshadweep (Sanskrit: *Lakṣadvīpa* "the hundred thousand islands"). There are in all 27 islands and islets of which ten—Maliku, Kalpeni, Kavrathi, Androth, Agathi, Amini, Kadmat, Kiltan, Bitra and Chetlat—are inhabited. Maliku, which is separated from the rest of the group by the 114 mile-wide Nine Degree Channel and from the Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] by the 71 mile-wide Eight Degree Channel, is attached to Lakshadweep politically, but belongs ethnically and culturally to the Maldives. In this article it is considered separately from the "Laccadives Proper".

The Laccadives were originally settled (possibly as early as the 2nd century A.D., but certainly by the 1st/7th century) by Hindu groups (Nambudiri, Nayar and Tiyyar) from North Malabar. Little is known of the early history of the islands. They were conquered by the Chola Rād̲j̲ās of South India in the 4th/10th century. By *ca.* 1500 they had passed under the rule of the Kólatirri Rād̲j̲ās of Kólattunād (North Malabar), by whom they were given in *d̲j̲āgīr* [*q.v.*] to the Ālī Rād̲j̲ās of Kannanūr [*q.v.*] in the mid-10th/16th century. The Ālī Rād̲j̲ās were the leading family of the Malabar Muslim community or Māppilas [*q.v.*], and under their rule the Laccadive Islands' coir trade became the monopoly of the Kannanūr Māppilas.

In 1786 the inhabitants of the northern (Amindivi) islands of Amini, Chetlat and Kiltan rose in protest against the coir monopoly and the harshness of Kannanūr rule. They appealed for protection to Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore [*q.v.*], and as a result were transferred to his rule in 1787; they passed to the East India Company after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. The Southern (Laccadives) group remained under Kannanūr until they were finally sequestrated by the British in 1875 (though the Bībī of Kannanūr retained a nominal sovereignty until 1908). Both groups of islands remained under British rule until India attained independence in 1947. Today the capital of the Union Territory of Lakshadweep is Kavrathi Island, and the population (including Maliku) is 31,810 (*Census of India*, 1971, Series 29 (*Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands*, part ii/A, 5)).

The people of the Laccadives are linked ethnically and culturally with the Malayalam-speaking Dravidian people of Kerala, especially with the Māppilas of North Malabar. There has also been a sustained Arab—particularly Yemeni—influence on the islands which lie in the path of the direct sea route between Arabia, South India and the Far East; certainly the mediaeval Arab navigators were familiar with the Laccadives, which they knew as the *D̲j̲uzur al-fāl*, *D̲j̲uzur al-fālāt* or (collectively with the Maldives) as the *Dībad̲j̲āt* (G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 458-60). As a result of this Arab influence, the islanders speak Malayalam with an admixture of Arabic, and write in the Arabic script.

The Laccadives were converted to Islam in *ca.* the 7th/13th century, according to legend by one ʿUbayd Allāh, an Arab castaway whose tomb on Androth island is particularly venerated. The islanders are overwhelmingly Sunnī Muslims of the S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab*, but there are also followers of the Rifāʿī and Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳas*, and of the Wahhābī-oriented Mud̲j̲āhid movement (which is active in Kerala). The women do not observe *purdah* and may (as in the neighbouring Maldives) have their own mosques with a female *imām* (Ellis, *A short account of the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy*, Madras 1924, 66).

Unusually for an Islamic society, the Laccadives are predominantly matrilineal. The people follow the Malabar system of matrilineal descent (Malayalam: *Marumakkathāyam*). The community is organised in exogamous matrilineal groups known as *taravāds*. There is a duolocal residence pattern (i.e. after marriage the wife remains in her maternal home and is "visited" by her husband). Descent is traced through the mother, and family (*taravād*) property is passed on through the mother's line. The self-acquired property of the father is passed on according to the Islamic family law. Monogamy is usual, but divorce is common.

The Laccadive Islanders are divided into three caste-like endogamous groups, in hierarchical order the *Koyas* (the land-owners); the *Malmis* (from the Arabic *muʿallim*, traditionally the sailing class); and the *Melacheris* (the coconut workers—originally the agricultural serfs of the *Koyas*). Today both the traditional caste-structure and the *marumakkathāyam* system are breaking down under the impact of modernisation.

Maliku (corrupted by Europeans to Minicoy, perhaps from the Arabic *Milikai*), is an isolated island within the Maldivian cultural sphere which by the mid-10th/16th century had fallen under the control of the Ālī Rād̲j̲ās of Kannanūr. Maldivian political control has never been re-established. The inhabitants are Indo-European, speak the Maldivian language *Divēhi* (though it is known on Maliku as Māhl), and use the Maldivian script *Tāna*. Originally Theravada Buddhist, the islanders are today Sunnī Muslims of the S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab*. They were probably converted in the mid-6th/12th century. Descent is patrilineal, but women occupy a respected and powerful position in society. They do not observe *purdah*, but sometimes wear a head-veil called the *burūga*. As in traditional Maldivian society the people are divided into four hierarchical, caste-like groups; see MALDIVES.

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LADĀKH, a region of the extreme north of India. It lies between lat. 32° and 36° N and long. 75° and 80° E, and is bounded on the north and east by the Chinese territories of Sin-kiang and Tibet, on the south by the Indian province of Himačāl Pradesh, on the north-west by Baltistān, and on the west by Kashmīr, of which it now constitutes a province, covering an area of 30,220 sq. miles. Its capital is Leh.

Ladākh is known to the Tibetans as Mangyāl or Māryul. The population may be divided into four racial groups, Čampās, Ladākhīs, Baltīs and Dārds, of whom the first three are of Tibetan stock and the last Aryan. There is a small Muslim community, but the majority are Buddhist, whence the name Bhottas traditionally given to the inhabitants of Ladākh by their neighbours.

The indigenous chronicles furnish little more than a list of rulers with the merest sketch for each reign (see K. Marx, *Three documents relating to the history of Ladakh*, in *JASB*, lx [1891], 97-135; lxiii [1894], 94-107; lxxi [1902], 21-34), but from time to time references in external sources provide a valuable landmark. In the 8th century A.D., through the medium of Kashmīr, then vassal to the T'ang, Ladākh was briefly drawn into the Chinese sphere of influence, after which there is a long gap until around 1400, when Leh received an embassy from the great Tibetan reformer Tsong-kapa. At this time there were two main principalities in Ladākh, but in the mid-10th/16th century we find the country reaching its greatest extent and united under one ruler. Its size was temporarily reduced through subsequent wars with its neighbour ʿAlī Mīr [see BALTISTĀN], and late in the 11th/17th century it was invaded from Tibet by the Džungarian Mongols [see KALMUK]. This threat Ladākh withstood by calling in the aid of the Mughal Emperor, who made it a condition that the ruler should become a Muslim. His successors were again Buddhists, but from this time dates the penetration of the country by Islam.

In 1834 it was invaded by Zurāwar Singh, the general of Mahārādjā Gulāb Singh of Djammū, and was obliged to pay tribute. There ensued a series of risings and intrigues until 1841, when Ladākh seized its opportunity to revolt following the defeat of the Dōgrās in Tibet, but was soon crushed by a fresh army from Djammū. It was now definitively annexed to Djammū [*q.v.*], thus becoming in 1846 part of Kashmīr. For its subsequent history, see KASHMĪR..

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(P. Jackson)

LĀDHIḲ, the name of several Anatolian towns, and the Turkish form, phonetically identical, of the name of Laodicea (Λαοδίκεια), which, since the imperial period often appears in inscriptions with the form Λαδίκεια, accented on the second syllable (cf. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*², Paris 1962, 283); Modern Turkish orthography Lâdik.

1. Lādhiḳ near Denizli, Laodicea of Lycos, or Laodicea of Phrygia. The ruins are located at a place called Eski Hisar, 8 km. to the north of the centre of Denizli, the acropolis standing on a hill which dominates the valley of the Lycos (Çürük Su), a left-bank affluent of the Great Meander. Captured for the first time by the Turks before 1119 (Cinnamus, Bonn ed., 5), this date saw the restoration of the town's defences by John Comnenus (Nicetas, *John Comnenus*, Bonn ed., iv, 17), but the town was abandoned before 1156, at which period its population was dispersed into the surrounding countryside (idem, *Manuel Comnenus*, iii, 163). It survived, however, for some time, following a shift in location, transferring to a more remote and more defensible site close to the foothills of the Baba Dağ (*in pede altissimi montis*, Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Frederici imperatoris*, in *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* (*Scriptores*, v), Vienna 1863, 58), where the fortified strongholds perhaps survived until the end of the 13th century. But a parallel development was the growth in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish urban settlement of Denizli, where the first epigraphical datings go back to the second third of the 13th century. The latter had no direct connection with Laodicea, but nevertheless bore the name of Lādhiḳ concurrently with

its own. It is also found separately (for example in the work of Ibn Bībī who, writing in 679/1280-1, speaks exclusively of Lādhiḳ) until the 8th/14th century (in Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne, 444, 483, and on the coinage of the Īnandj Oghullarī and the Germiyān Oghullarī until the year 760/1360), then as the equivalent of the new name until the 12th/18th century, at least in the work of Western writers (Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, tr. Armain, 620, in L. Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Histoire des découvertes...*, iii, Paris 1848: "Degnizli ou Lazakieh"), but this was nothing more than a scholastic tradition; the original text does not give the name of Lādhiḳ.

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2. Lādhiḳ near Konya, Laodicea Katakekaumene. Currently a large village, 35 km. to the north of Konya, in the *kaza* of Kadınhanı, *nahiye* of Sarayönü, on the road leading towards Afyon Karahisar and Eskişehir. The ancient name (Λαοδίκεια ἡ κατακεκαυμένη, Laodicea Combusta, which passed into the Islamic sources with the form Lādhiḳ Sūkhta, "the burnt L."), no doubt referred not, as is the opinion of J. A. Cramer (*A geographical and historical description of Asia Minor*, Oxford 1832, ii, 33), to the volcanic nature of the terrain (as in the case of Phrygia Katakemaumene), which here is primarily calcareous, but definitely to the existence of ancient mining or metallurgical workings. There is no need to retain the form "Yorgan Ladik" (from *yorgan*, quilted covering fixed to the upper bed-sheet), recorded by the Western travel literature of the 19th century (and the works which derive from it, *EI*[1], art. s.v.), starting with W. M. Leake, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor*, London 1824, 43, and explained by the textile industry (coverings, carpets) which was active in the locality. What has happened, as has been shown by Besim Darkot (art. *Ladik* in *İA*), is a mis-reading of the form یورکان لادیق given in the *Djihān-nümā*, which should be interpreted as Yürükān Lādīḳ ("Lādīḳ of the Yürük or nomads", with Persian suffix). The form "Ladik-el-Tchaus", also given by Leake (*loc. cit.*) appears incomprehensible. The village, which Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ed. Zuhuri Danışman, iv, Istanbul 1970, 87) describes as having suffered ravages on the part of the Djelālīs [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.], is cited by Kātib Čelebi as a small town which is nevertheless the administrative centre of a subsidiary district of Konya (tr. M. Norberg, Lund 1818, ii, 584-5), with numerous shops, and Leake (*loc. cit*) calls it "a large place". Decline must have set in in the 19th century (cf., for a comparison of the population in the 19th and 19th-20th centuries, the figures of W.-D. Hütteroth, *Ländliche Siedlungen im südlichen Inneranatolien in den letzen vierhundert Jahren*, Göttingen 1968). It had no more than 1,785 inhabitants in 1941 and had no administrative role of any kind.

3. Lādhiḳ near Amasya, a large village 40 km. north of Amasya, currently centre of a *kaza* (*ilçe*) subsidiary to the *vilayet* of Samsun. At an altitude of 950 metres, it stands on the edge of a plain, at the extremity of the Phazimonitis of antiquity, the base of which is occupied by a lake (formerly Lake Stiphanus, currently "Lake of Lâdik") 9 km. to the east of the town, reduced to a shallow swamp in summer but considerably augmented to the point of overflowing in spring, its waters, at this time, spreading, via the Terdekan Çay, into the Yeşil Irmak. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who has left us a detailed description of the place (iv, 87-91), the urban area comprised, in the 11th/17th century, 3,020 houses and 400 shops. Its prosperity was owed in particular to the fact that Bāyezīd II, when he was governor of Amasya (known to be residence of hereditary Ottoman princes in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries; cf. P. Kappert, *Die Osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976), chose it as a summer resort, spending six months of the year there, and embellishing it with numerous monuments and gardens. Important *waḳf*s were constituted there and the village, in the 17th century, still lived practically independently of provincial authority. Being off the main route, it declined when it lost its status as a princely residence. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London 1842, saw only "a small and miserable place, but called a town because it possesses a royal mosque with two minarets". It had no more than about 1,500 inhabitants at the end of the 19th century, rising to a population of 5,054 in 1950.

4-5. Two other localities, in the same region, currently small villages of a few hundred inhabitants, also bear this name: Lādhiḳ near Çekerek, in the *nahiye* of Kadı-Şehri, *kaza* of Çekerek, 28 km. to the south of Zile, on the southern flank of the Deveci Dağ; and Lādhiḳ near Niksar, 20 km. to the west of this town, to the south of the valley of the Kelkit, on the northern slope of the Kemer Dağ.

All these three localities must correspond to ancient "Laodiceas". Only one is attested in the region: Pontic Laodicea (Λαοδίκεια Ποντικῇ), whose existence is, in addition, known only from the coinages of Mithridates Eupator. Although E. Honigmann, in *EI*[1], wanted to locate it at Lādhiḳ near Çekerek, it should almost certainly be sought at Lādhiḳ near Amasya, in accordance with the opinion of Ruge, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädia*, on the basis of the text of Strabo (xii, 560) which identifies near the lake a ruined fortress (Ikizari) and a royal place (cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *A journey of exploration in Pontus*, Brussels 1903 (*Studia Pontica*, i) 79-80).

6. Finally, "The Blind Lādhiḳ". (Kör Lādhiḳ) is known exclusively from the works of Ewliyā Čelebi (*loc. cit.*, 87), who mentions it as a *sandjaḳ* of the province of Van. This locality is cited in no other source, and it may be an error on the part of Ewliyā.

Bibliography: on the overall subject, see the article *Lâdik* by Besim Darkot, in *İA*, vii.

(X. DE PLANHOL)

AL-**LĀDHIḲIYYA** (European transcriptions: Lattaquié, Latakia), a major Syrian port, was known by the Greek name of Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐπι θαλάσσῃ, and later by the Latin name of Laodicea ad Mare, whilst the Crusaders called it La Liche. In the second millenium, the settlement bore the name of Ramitha of the Phoenicians and was dependent, before taking its place, on Ugarit, a powerful metropolis lying 8 miles/12 km. to the north. It was in 327 B.C., or six years after the death of Alexander that Seleucus Nicator (301-281 B.C.) founded on this site

a city to which he gave the name of Laodicea in honour of his mother Laodice. At the end of the period of Seleucid domination it belonged to the Tetrapolis, a union linking the four most important cities of Syria: Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea and Seleucia, πόλεις ἀδελφαί—the "sister cities". It was for a long time to remain one of the major centres of Greek-Roman Syria.

Conquered by Pompey in 64 B.C., it suffered in the Roman civil wars. Sacked by Pescennius Niger at the end of the 2nd century, it was restored by Septimus Severus. In the 3rd and 4th centuries the city was dependent on Antioch.

The city is situated in lat. 35° 32′ N. and long. 35° 40′ E. and is built below a massive rocky promontory pointing towards the south, the Rās Ziyāra, which is surrounded by the sea on three sides with cliffs. It is principally linked to the dry land towards the east, two hills of 60 to 70 m. in height constituting the eastern limit of the ancient town. On the northern hill are two twin castles. The modern city has grown to the west of the mediaeval town. The urban area has been the victim of a number of severe earthquakes, of which the most recent took place in 1822.

The city plan. When Laodicea was founded, Seleucus laid down housing blocks of 112 m. by 57 m., following an orthogonal schema, as in other Seleucid foundations. To the original settlement the Romans added identical blocks. It is the remains of four avenues with lateral colonnades which have enabled Jean Sauvaget to reconstruct the ancient plan of the city and to discover in the present-day layout of Lādhiķiyya some elements of the Seleucid square design. The limits of the ancient city are defined by two large extramural cemeteries to the east and the north. Together with the port, the city covered an area of 220 ha. "The city of Laodicea has retained its straight streets. It is curious that this apparently quite modern design existed in the Middle Ages. It possibly dates back to antiquity, like some straight streets of Damascus and Jerusalem", observed Max van Berchem (*Voyage en Syrie*, i, 289).

Around Lādhiķiyya stretches a small fertile coastal plain (*sāhil*); it is bounded to the north by the Djabal al-Lukkām [*q.v.*], to the east by the Djabal Anṣāriyya, and enjoys a Mediterranean climate with strong prevailing winds from the west and south-west in January and March; rainfall varies from 750 to 1000 mm. annually, while temperatures reach their average minimum in January at 11° C. and their average maximum in July at 26°. To the north of the city, olive-trees flourish, while in the hinterland citrous fruits grow in abundance. In the Middle Ages, white and green marble were mined in the vicinity of the town and this material was exported to ʿIrāķ.

Mediaeval history. After the revolt of Antioch in 387 A.D., Laodicea returned to imperial favour and enjoyed prosperity in the Byzantine period. Justinian made it the capital of the province of Theodorias, recently founded (528). At the time of the Muslim expansion, the town was captured, after a siege, by troops under the command of ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī. The citadel was stormed. Those of the Christian inhabitants who had taken refuge at al-Busayṭ were permitted to return on payment of the *kharādj*; they retained their church while ʿUbāda built a mosque which was later enlarged.

In 100/719, supported by their fleet, the Byzantines attacked the coast of Lādhiķiyya, burnt the city and led the inhabitants away into captivity. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz organised the restoration of the buildings and the fortifications and ransomed the prisoners. After the death of the Umayyad caliph, his successor and cousin Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik completed the reconstruction of the city, improved its fortifications and reinforced the garrison.

In the golden age of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, Lādhiķiyya does not seem to have played a particularly distinctive role. In 357/968, Nicephorus Phocas appeared in northern Syria; two years later the city, which was the port of Apamea, was taken over from the Ḥāmdanids and became Byzantine. According to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (d. 458/1066), the emperor Basil II appointed as governor of Lādhiķiyya in 980 a certain Karmarūk, who distinguished himself in an expedition against the Fāṭimid prov nce of Ṭarābulus [*q.v.*]. When the city was attacked by Nazzāl, governor of Ṭarābulus, Karmarūk was taken prisoner in the course of a sortie and later beheaded in Cairo. In 374/985, Lādhiķiyya belonged to the *djund* of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*]. Ibn Buṭlān gave a description of the Byzantine city in 440/1049.

In 479/1086 it belonged to the Banū Munķidh [*q.v.*] of Shayzar, who then ceded it to the Saldjūķ sultan Malik Shāh. On 8 Ramaḍān 490/19 August 1097 a fleet of twenty-two ships from Cyprus penetrated the harbour and sacked the town. In 491/1098, Raymond de Saint-Gilles in the course of his journey to Jerusalem left a garrison at Lādhiķiyya and returned to establish his base there following the success of the First Crusade. In spring 1100, Raymond set out on the Anatolian crusade; returning to the coast in 1101, Raymond was obliged to renounce his claims to the city, then occupied by the Byzantines. Tancred took control of the city in 1103, after a siege lasting eighteen months, with the aid of a Genoese fleet of forty ships. Lādhiķiyya was integrated into the principality of Antioch and at that time was one of the most active ports of the eastern Mediterranean. This port, called by the Crusaders La Liche, used to export the commodities brought by the caravans from the Far East. For a number of years the city was the object of rivalry between the Franks and the Byzantines. In 1104, a fleet commanded by the admiral Cantacuzenus succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded four years later, after Bohemond had promised it to Alexis Commenus, in recapturing Lādhiķiyya with the aid of the Pisans; the latter, like the Genoese before them, were granted an enclave in the city, as well as freedom of trade in the ports and markets of the Principality.

In 1134, the princess Alice donated a house to the Knights of the Order of the Hospital [see DĀWIYYA and ISBITĀRIYYA, in Suppl.], who made it their headquarters in Lādhiķiyya. In Radjab 530/April 1136, the *amīr* Sawār who governed Aleppo on the authority of Zankī, mounted a raid against Lādhiķiyya and devastated it. In 559/1164, Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], in his turn, invaded the region and attacked the port.

On 25 Djumādā I 584/22 July 1188, after a rigorous siege, Saladin captured Lādhiķiyya; the most beautiful city of the coast, according to ʿImād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, was pillaged, and the marble façades of the houses were ripped off and carried away. The Ayyūbid prince appointed the *amīr* Sunķur al-Khilāṭī as governor of the city, which was given a strong Muslim garrison. This was the end of the Frankish occupation. In 1190, at the approach of Frederick Barbarossa, Saladin had the ports of the

Syrian coast dismantled. In October 1191 Bohemond III tried in vain to recapture Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya. He renewed the attempt in 1197, but al-Malik al-Ẓāhir <u>Gh</u>āzī had given the order to make the port unusable; seeing the damage, the prince of Antioch withdrew and shortly after, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir of Aleppo restored the citadel.

Under the Ayyūbids, the district of Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya was part of the province of Aleppo. In 601/1204-5, the Franks of Tripoli and the Hospitallers attacked the town, which was also an embarkation base for expeditions against Cyprus. In 1207 the Venetians, the rivals of the Genoese, received from al-Malik al-Ẓāhir <u>Gh</u>āzī a concession with a *funduķ*, a *ḥammām* and a church. At the end of 620/December 1223, an army sent from Aleppo, fearing it would be unable to resist the forces of the Fifth Crusade, destroyed the defences of Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya and dismantled the citadel. In 1261, taking advantage of the defeat of the Muslims at the hands of the Mongols of Hülegü, Bohemond VI took possession of the town with the support of the Hospitallers, to whom he awarded half of the city and of the surrounding area. The Genoese re-established themselves there at the expense of the Venetians. In 673/1275 there was an exchange of correspondence between Baybars [*q.v.*] and King Hugo III of Antioch-Lusignan on the subject of Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya. On 4 July 1275 the Franks obtained from the Mamlūk sultan the freedom of the city in return for an annual tribute of 20,000 *dīnārs*, and continued to exercise authority, but the town was in a state of constant decline to the benefit of Tripoli, Alexandretta and Payas, whither commerce was diverted following the fall of the Principality of Antioch. In 1287, a severe earthquake caused damage to the fortifications and a number of towers, including the Pigeon Tower, the Pier and the lighthouse collapsed; without delay, the sultan Ķalāwūn [*q.v.*] sent the *amīr* Turuntay, one of his lieutenants, to attack Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya. The siege machinery completed the destruction of the fortifications; to capture a massive tower built by Bohemond III in order to guard the entry to the harbour, Turuntay was obliged to enlarge the embankment linking it to dry land. On 5 Rabīʿ I 686/20 April 1287, the city fell, putting an end to the presence of the Franks in northern Syria. Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya soon become the centre of one of the *niyābas* of the new province of Ṭarābulus, its *nāʾib* being an *amīr* of ten with military responsibilities. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the city in 1355 he was impressed by its size and by the number of its inhabitants, as well as by its fine anchorage. But the city was not slow to decline. In 1366, arriving from Cyprus, Pierre de Lusignan attacked Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya, pillaged and razed it. In 1436, the sultan Barsbay [*q.v.*] expelled the Venetian merchants from the town, and in the middle of the 15th century it was less populated than Beirut and Tripoli, and much of it was in ruins. It exported cotton and luxury fabrics (*samīs*) as well as Arabian manna to Europe, and in 1494 was importing its sugar from Cyprus. Until 1516, Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya was apparently subject to the viceroys of Ḥamāt.

Ancient and mediaeval monuments. Arab historians and geographers mention a large number of ancient buildings in Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya. Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr and Abū <u>Sh</u>āmā praise the "high and beautiful houses and the perfectly straight streets paved with slabs of marble". The baths, the amphitheatre, the hippodrome and the sanctuaries built by Septimus Severus existed at the start of the 5th/11th century only in the memory of the inhabitants. However, thirteen monolithic columns still mark the location of commercial streets covered in by porticos of the Roman period. A number of cisterns in use at the beginning of this century and the remains of an aqueduct to the east of the city bear witness to the ancient hydraulic system. The city's ramparts have finally disappeared as a result of earthquakes, innumerable sieges and successive demolitions. The anchorage was designed according to the relief plan which is unconnected with the external shape of the built surface. The gates of the city were situated at the ends of the main arteries, each one flanked by two crenellated towers, if we are to judge by the mural crown worn on Roman coinage by Tyche, the tutelary goddess of the city. There were two gates, that in the east which was the starting point of the road to Afāmiya [*q.v.*] and which proceeded by way of the pass between the hills dominating the town, and the north gate which stood at the end of the colonnaded avenue which passed by the foot of the citadel and continued beyond the walls as the road towards Antāķiya [*q.v.*]. Among the best-known towers are the Tower of the Pigeons that provided the postal service, and the Pier which, in the Middle Ages, protected the narrows of the harbour on the site of an ancient lighthouse, probably the new tower constructed by Bohemond in 666/1268. On the northern causeway, at the site of the modern lighthouse, the Fārūs marked the entry to the port. This was, judging by the evidence of numismatic iconography, a round or polygonal tower built on a base of two levels with a second smaller tower bearing a tall, draped statue at its summit. This monument existed in the reign of Domitian (1st century A.D.). The Fārūs gave its name to a famous convent, the Dayr Fārūs, which was held to be the most beautiful in Syria; situated outside the town according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, it was much visited by Christians and also attracted large number of Muslims.

At the perimeter of the ancient town there stands an important monumental arch, the Tetrapyle, with its four fully-rounded arches banded between four strong pillars. The east-west thoroughfare came to an end at this monument. At a distance of 500 m. from the Tetrapyle there remain four Corinthian columns of a peristyle—doubtless the remains of a temple dedicated to Bacchus which was converted into a church (*Kanīsat al-muʿallaķa*).

All the authors speak of two twin castles linked together and built on a hill overlooking the town to the north-east. Röhricht (in *ZDPV* x, 310) has prepared a list of the buildings that are known to us from the Frankish sources.

The Ottoman period. In the middle of the 16th century, the port of Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya was part of the *liwāʾ* of <u>D</u>jabala; cotton and olives were cultivated in the region; walnuts and mulberry trees were of high quality, while vine-growing retained its ancient reputation. In the first half of the 18th century, Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya was subject to Ṭarābulus, and was governed by Yāsīn Bey, son of Ibrāhīm Pa<u>sh</u>a al-ʿAẓm. In Rabīʿ I 1143/September 1730, there was a major uprising; the rebels were joined by the troops sent to rescue Yāsīn Bey, and when a few months later fresh troubles broke out, the ʿAẓms were removed from all their positions of authority in Syria.

The modern period. In 1914, Lā<u>dh</u>iķiyya, with a population of 7,000, was nothing more than a small town belonging to the *vilāyet* of Beirut and administered, according to the Ottoman law of

1294/1877, by a municipality of which the president was chosen by the government in Istanbul from among the elected councillors.

In 1919, with the arrival of foreign troops, the opposition rallied behind the Shaykh Ṣāliḥ and incited insurrections against the French. On 31 August 1920, with the establishment of the French Mandate—confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922 and put into effect in 1923—Lādhiḳiyya became the capital of the autonomous territory of the Alaouites, with a governor under the authority of the mandatory administration. In June 1922 this territory became the State of the Alaouites, composed of two *sandjaḳs* : that of Lādhiḳiyya and that of Ṭarṭūs. It received a French governor and was integrated into the federation of mandated states. In 1923, Sulaymān Murshid headed an anti-French movement with a religious flavour. In December 1924, General Weygand announced the secession of the State of the Alaouites, proclaiming its independence on 1 January 1925. In 1930, a fundamental law, published on 14 May by the High Commissioner, created a government of Lādhiḳiyya. In 1936 this government was integrated into Syria, but benefited from a special administration under the authority of the Syrian government; France was authorised to station troops there for five years. In July 1939, Lādhiḳiyya became the capital of the autonomous territory of the Alaouites, separate from Syria. On 20 June 1942, this territory was once more integrated into Syria. This integration was confirmed in 1946 with the proclamation of independence.

The port. At the present day, the port of Lādhiḳiyya is the most important port of Syria. Originally, it was a bay open to the south-west, with no protection from the prevailing winds. The sea-bed is of inferior consistency, but the inlet is well protected from the south winds. Immediately behind rises a range of hills with fertile soil; "it is not the prosperity of the port that has created that of the town, but the reverse" observes Weulersse.

The ancient port was "perceptibly more low-lying on the ground than the present-day port". In 1934, Sauvaget noted a depression, which corresponded to the ancient docks, gradually covered over by shifting soil, whose outline marked those of the ancient port. The conquering Arabs found a port which had already lost its prominence. Its economic value remained; the battles fought by Byzantines, Muslims and Crusaders for possession of the town are proof of this. The Arab geographer al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) describes it as "a very beautiful port, one of the most spacious, always full of great ships".

The expulsion of the Franks led to a decline which lasted until the Capitulations. The port silted up. In the 18th century it could contain no more than four to six small boats. In the 19th century the haven was used only by small sailing boats; European ships anchored out at sea. Nevertheless, the port was very active, and around 1835 more than a hundred ships were visiting it annually. At the end of the 19th century, the volume of traffic using Lādhiḳiyya placed this port behind Beirut and Tripoli, but well ahead of Sidon and ʿAkkā [*q.vv.*]. The annual traffic was 120 steamships (55 of them French) and 570 sail-boats.

With the establishment of the Mandate, Lādhiḳiyya was roused from its lethargy. A restoration of the harbour was undertaken; the north and south moles were rebuilt, the depth of the inner harbour was increased from two to six metres, but these enlargements were still not sufficient for large ships, and merchandise and passengers continued to be disembarked at sea and brought ashore in lighters. In 1932, the scale of Syrian importing and exporting was such as to give rise to speculations that Lādhiḳiyya might be able to regain its original prosperity, and a plan was formulated to double the size of the dock by building an outer harbour and to construct a solid embankment further to the west proceeding towards the north, thus creating a deep-water port and an easily-dredged inner harbour.

Lādhiḳiyya lived "a life without glory and without future" until the day when, after the loss of the *sandjaḳ* of Alexandretta in 1938, Syria had no other solution to the problem of its commerce than to provide the means of restoration to its sole remaining harbour on the Mediterranean coast. The first plan was prepared in 1944 and then a more extensive project was envisaged in 1948. Lādhiḳiyya was at that time only a fishing port, with an annual turnover of 300 to 400 tons of fish. The construction of the modern port began in 1950; the following year, 24.6% of overseas trade passed through Lādhiḳiyya. In 1953, the construction of a large jetty was begun and also a silo of 35,000 tons capacity. In 1955, it was realised that the original project no longer responded to the needs of a major port. In 1957 the first stage of the modernisation was completed. If the activity of the port was modest until 1958, it was already handling no less than 52% of overseas trade. The ten-year plan of 1958-68 foresaw important works of infrastructure; thus it was that by 1968 there was a breakwater 1423 m. in length, assuring the protection in all seasons of a dock of 44 ha. a principal quay 600 m. long by 9.50 m. high capable of accommodating five ships at once, a quay 250 m. long beside the old dock, the total length of the quays amounting to 1160 m., and with modern equipment permitting the rapid handling of merchandise. The construction of a railway and of the highway No. 3 leading to Aleppo and the valley of the Euphrates have given a strong impetus to the economic activity of the Lādhiḳiyya, which has become the commercial outlet for Aleppo, northern Syria and the Djazīra. In 1967, 1,526 ships visited the port; they imported 1,294,000 tons and exported 331,000 tons of such Syrian products as tobacco, cotton, silk, fruit and eggs. The activity of the port is supplemented by industry represented by asphalt factories, soap factories, cotton processing works, flour-mills. The population of Lādhiḳiyya has expanded remarkably: in 1914, 7,000; in 1931, 20,000; in 1940, 30,000; in 1960, 68,000; and in 1970, 126,000.

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LADJĀʾ (literally "refuge") is the largest, geologically-recent lava-field in the south of Syria, comprising a plain of *ca.* 900 square km. It has roughly the form of a triangle, the base of which is formed in the south by the line Izraʿ-Shahba (*ca.* 45 km.) and the apex of which lies *ca.* 48 km. to the north near Burrāḳ (*ca.* 50 km. south-east of Damascus). In the north, the area is limited by the Wādī al-ʿAdjam, in the east by the Arḍ al-Bathaniyya [see AL-BATHANIYYA], in the south-east by the Djabal al-Durūz, in the south by the Nuḳra of Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], in the south-west by Djawlān [*q.v.*] and in the north-west by Djaydur.

Volcanic cones, some more than 1,000 m. high (the highest, 1,159 m., lies west of Shahba), tower up from the volcanic fields, which lie at an average of 600-700 metres above sea level. The fringes of the area are inhabited, as are also a few favoured places in the interior where agriculture is made possible by depressions which are free of stones and which have a diameter of several hundreds of metres. These depressions, called *ḳāʿ*, probably originated from volcanic eruptions of gas. Since springs and underground water are now failing, water is supplied by cisterns (R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 371-81; E. Wirth, *Syrien*, Darmstadt 1971, 419 ff.).

The area has borne its contemporary name since the Middle Ages (Yāḳūt, iv, 350). In antiquity, it was known under the name of Trachonitis (indicating also the *Tulūl al-Ṣafā* which lie further eastward) (Josephus, *Ant.* xv, 10,1; Ptolemy, v, 15, 26; Strabo, xvi, 2,16 and 20). During the second and first millennia B.C., Trachonitis, itself without any political and economic significance, was under the influence of the Hebrews in the south and the Aramaeans of Damascus in the north. In the second century B.C., Trachonitis was annexed to the empire of the Seleucids and formed the frontier between the spheres of influence of the two Arab peoples, the Nabataeans in the south and the Ituraeans in the north-west. When in 24 B.C. the region was put by the Romans under the command of Herod, it was inhabited by a rapacious nomadic people without agriculture, who infested both the trade route to Damascus and the Jewish pilgrimage route from Babylonia to Jerusalem. In order to check the Trachonites, who were living with their cattle in the volcanic caves and depressions of the region (Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 10,1), the town of Bathyra was founded during Herod's reign (its site is disputed, but was probably in the neighbourhood of Ṣanamayn, see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 331). Trachonites and the neighbouring regions obtained freedom from taxation and were soon sedentarised.

Between the 1st century B.C. and the 4th century A.D., numerous settlements and towns with theatres, colonnades and several temples were founded, like Philippopolis (Shahba) and Shāʿara (the classical name of which is unknown). A road, traversing the Ladjāʾ from north-west to south-east, was connected with the Roman road system in Syria. Inscriptions and ruins from the Roman period are found in nearly 20 sites (for the antiquities, see H. C. Butler *et alii*, *Syria. Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Expedition to Syria in 1904-5*. Division i, Leiden 1930, 95 ff.; Division ii, Section A, Part 7: *The Ledjā*, Leiden 1907-19).

The post-Roman pattern of settlement in the Ladjāʾ resembles that of other regions in Syria which are equally disfavoured by nature. Under the Byzantines (4th-7th century A.D.), the density of settlement reached a height that can only be compared with that of most recent times. In nearly 30 sites, Byzantine remains have been preserved, among which is the famous bilingual inscription in Greek and Arabic at Ḥarrān in the south of the Ladjāʾ (*RCEA*, i, no. 3). Not far from Ḥarrān, in Busr al-Ḥarīrī (Bosor in ancient times) and Izraʿ (Andrea Zorava, with the still undamaged St. George's church from 515), lie the most impressive Byzantine ruins of the region. Both sites are also mentioned by the Arab geographers of the 7th/13th century. According to Yāḳūt (ii, 921), Izraʿ (= Zurrā or Zurʿ) belonged to Ḥawrān (also in the later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 254). Busr (= Busr al-Ḥarīrī), where the tomb of al-Yasaʿ or Ilyasaʿ was revered (Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, 16; Yāḳūt, i, 621), seems to have been the more important site at the time. The fact that the Ladjāʿ is mentioned only by the later Arab geographers points to a re-settlement in the area at that period. As in other volcanic regions of Syria, repopulation was caused by the pressure produced by the Mongols on the population to the east of Syria. There is no doubt that the greater part of the Islamic ruins, proved to exist in 13 sites of the area, date from the 13th century.

We do not have accurate information on the period when settlement started to decline after the Middle Ages. With the exception of a few Christian settlements on the borders, the region seems to have been depopulated by the 17th century at the latest. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Druzes immigrated from Lebanon into the eastern and southern parts of the Ladjāʾ, and in the 19th century Bedouins settled in the north and the west. As in pre-Roman times, the Ladjāʾ was considered to be a hiding place for rebels and marauders during extensive periods of Ottoman rule. Notwithstanding the garrisons established on the border of the Ladjāʾ, the Ottomans were not able to bring it under control. Only the French mandatory power succeeded in doing this by sending over low-flying aircraft. At present, the Ladjāʾ is inhabited by peasants who are Muslim, Druzes and Christians (the latter mostly Greek Catholics).

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(H. Gaube)

LADJDJŪN, a small town in the Esdraelon plain in the vicinity of ancient Megiddo, in the north of Palestine, at lat. 32° 34′ N. and long. 35° 21′ E. It was the seat of the sixth Roman legion, on account of which it came to be known as Legio, and Ladjdjūn is the Arabic adaptation of the Roman name. The town, which is 175 m. above sea level, is referred to by early Arab geographers as part of Djund al-Urdunn bordering on the Djund of Palestine. The Islamic geographers emphasise its location on the highway between Damascus and Egypt, and it was also well-connected by roads to other parts of northern Palestine.

When the Mamlūks, after the expulsion of the Frankish Crusaders from Bilād al-Shām (Greater Syria), reorganised the country into a number of *mamlakas* or provinces, the old Djund al-Urdunn was incorporated into the new province of Ṣafad. Al-Ladjdjūn and Djīnīn constituted the seventh *ʿamal* or district in this province. Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, better known as al-ʿUthmānī (d. 780/1379), states that Ladjdjūn's inhabitants and those of the Esdraelon plain belonged to the Yamanī faction [see KAYS ʿAYLĀN. Ḳays and Yaman in the Ottoman period] and are most likely the descendants of the B. Djudhām [*q.v.*] mentioned in earlier sources as living in that neighbourhood. During the late Mamlūk period and during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, an indigenous Bedouin clan by the name of the Āl Ṭarabay, sometimes called Āl Ḥāritha, emerged in that area. The Mamlūks, as well as the Ottomans, entrusted this family with administrative and fiscal duties.

Ladjdjūn owed its prominence to its excellent location in a fertile plain with abundant water supply, to the influence of the Āl Ṭarabay and to the sanctity of a shrine, attributed to Abraham, which attracted pious people and on the site of which a domed building was constructed. It was also important because the Mamlūk sultans and senior officials travelling through the region used to rest there, since the sultan had his own *maṣṭaba* (an elevated piece of land for pitching his pavilion) there. Furthermore, it had its own *khān* [*q.v.*] or caravansaray to accomodate travellers and merchants, referred to by Ewliyā Čelebi.

In 945/1538 the town of Ladjdjūn, mentioned as a *ḳarya* or village in a *tapu defter*, had a population of 23 Muslim households. One-fourth of its revenue amounted to 4,670 *aḳčes* and formed part of the *iḳṭāʿ* of Ṭarabay. From the list of revenues, it appears that wheat, barley and sesame were grown there, and it had its own two-stone water mill paying a tax of 1,000 *aḳčes*. The protection-money tax (*bādj ghifārah*) yielded 30,000 *aḳčes*, collected annually at the above-mentioned *khān*. As late as 1696, when the English traveller Henry Maundrell was passing on his way from Aleppo to Jerusalem, he paid a local Bedouin chieftain "two caphars, one of Legune, one of Jenin".

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, a new *sandjaḳ* consisting of four *nāḥiyas*, that of Ladjdjūn, was set up in northern Palestine, where the village of Ladjdjūn formed part of the *Khāṣṣ-i Pādishāh*. The number of its inhabitants had now risen to 41 Muslim households and one-fourth of its revenue amounted to 15,500 *aḳčes* yearly. The extant imperial *firmāns* addressed to the various officials in both the *sandjaḳ* itself or in the Province of Damascus, exhibit the sultan's interest in maintaining law and order and in restoring fortifications in the area.

The decline of Ladjdjūn is associated with the eclipse of the Āl Ṭarabay in 1677, and the rising importance of the Syrian coastlands, following the creation of the new province of Sidon in 1660 and the benefits arising there from the growing trade with Europe. This fact was recognised by the Bedouin clan of the Āl Zaydānī, who replaced the Āl Ṭarabay and made Acre their principal town. Ladjdjūn remained a centre of the *sandjaḳ* and had its own *mutaṣarrif* (provincial governor), but nevertheless it continued to lose importance to the coastal villages of Ḥayfā and Acre. In 1940, the village had 1,103 souls; nine years later, after the establishment of the state of Israel, a Jewish settlement was established in its environs reviving the old name of Megiddo.

Ladjdjūn is further the name of a place to the east of modern al-Karak [*q.v.*] in Trans-Jordan, described by several geographers as a halting-place on the route to Mecca.

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(M. A. BAKHIT)

LĀDJĪN (LĀČĪN), AL-MALIK AL-MANṢŪR ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN, alias SHUḲAYR or AL-ASHḲAR, Turkish Mamlūk sultan. Originally a *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aybak, Lādjīn was purchased after his master's deposition in 658/1259 by the future sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], on whose accession he was raised to the amirate, and sent to Damascus as governor of the citadel (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 678/April 1280). His appointment alarmed the provincial governor, Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, who proclaimed himself sultan. The revolt was suppressed by an expeditionary force from Egypt, and in Rabīʿ I 679/July 1280 Lādjīn was appointed governor of the province. His successful tenure of this office throughout the

remainder of Ḳalāwūn's reign made him one of the most powerful magnates in the realm at the accession of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl in 689/1290, and the two regarded each other with mistrust. Lādjīn headed the Damascus contingent at the siege of Acre, during which he was arrested and sent to Ṣafad (Djumādā I 690/May 1291). He was restored to favour, but in Shawwāl 691/September 1292 he fled, fearing arrest, was captured by Arabs, and sent a prisoner to Cairo. Again released, he conspired with the vicegerent (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) Baydarā al-Manṣūrī and other malcontent *amīrs* against the sultan, who was murdered during a hunting expedition (Muḥarram 693/December 1293). The conspirators failed, however, in their further aim of placing Baydarā on the throne; he was killed, and Lādjīn absconded. Khalīl's infant brother, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was installed as sultan with the vicegerent Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī as *de facto* ruler. In Ramaḍān/August, Lādjīn emerged from hiding. Under his inspiration, Kutbughā usurped the sultanate (Muḥarram 694/December 1294), and Lādjīn himself was invested as vicegerent. Kutbughā's short reign was marked by dearth and famine in Egypt, and by the settlement in Palestine of numerous Oirat warriors with their families, fugitives from the Īlkhān Ghāzān after his overthrow of Baydū [*q.vv.*]. Since Kitbughā was himself a Mongol, the Turkish and Circassian *amīrs* may have seen this immigration as a threat to their ascendancy. A faction headed by Lādjīn deposed Kitbughā and installed Lādjīn as sultan in Muḥarram 696/November 1296.

Recurrent crises of the Mamlūk sultanate arose from the inveterate hostility between the *mamlūks* of the reigning sultan and those of his predecessor, whom the new ruler invariably sought to displace in order to reward his own household and to secure his own position. In an attempt to safeguard themselves, Lādjīn's fellow-conspirators made an accession compact with him by which he undertook to renounce the absolute discretion, the essence of the royal autocracy, and not to give his own *mamlūks* power over them. The absence of institutional sanctions for this compact soon rendered it null. In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 696/September 1297, the sultan removed his fellow-conspirator, Ḳarā Sunḳur al-Manṣūrī, from the vicegerency, which he bestowed on his own *mamlūk*, Mankūtamur. The tactless exercise of plenary powers by the new vicegerent antagonised the *amīrs*, who had still more reason to be alarmed by the sultan's fiscal reforms. A cadastral survey and redistribution of *iḳṭā'*s in Egypt (*al-rawk al-Ḥusāmī*) was carried out in Djumādā I-Radjab 697/March-April 1298, the first measure of this kind since Saladin's time (572/1176). The sultan retained the previous categories of beneficiaries, i.e. the privy purse (*al-khāṣṣ*), the *amīrs* and the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*], but whereas the allocation to the privy purse was unchanged, the other two categories were combined and given a smaller total assignment. The sultan was thus left with a surplus, free of the charges on the privy purse, on which he could maintain a new military force—an obvious threat to the power of the *amīrs*. In the following months their resentment led to a conspiracy, and on the night of 11 Rabī' II 698/eve of 16 January 1299 Lādjīn was murdered and Mankūtamur put to death. After some days of uncertainty, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was restored as titular sultan.

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(P. M. Holt)

LAGHOUAT (al-Aghwāṭ), Algerian town and oasis, administrative centre of a *wilāya* (district), 420 km. to the south of Algiers (long. 0° 30′ E. [Paris], lat. 33° 48′ N. Altitude: 787 m.). It was formerly the administrative centre of one of the four "Territories of the South" forming the region of Algeria administered under martial law, until the reform instituted by the law of 20 September 1947 (*Statut de l'Algérie*). On account of its geographical position, dominating the defence of the Sahara, as well as memories connected with the dramatic story of its conquest by the French (1844-52), not to mention its attractions as a centre of tourism, Laghouat has been the subject of numerous studies (see *Bibl.*). On the other hand, the town occupies a position of eminence in the cultural and religious history of contemporary Algeria, especially as one of the very first focal points of orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*].

Population. Because of its isolated location, on the fringes of the desert, far removed from the main areas of economic activity in the north, Laghouat has for a long time lived the uneventful life of a self-contained oasis. Its small-scale economy was limited to the cultivation of palm-trees, supplemented by local craftsmanship (weaving of wool) and sheep-rearing, according to long-standing practices of association between Laghouatis and Bedouin of neighbouring tribes (Larbā' and Mkhālīf). In this phase of economic stagnation, the population only grew at a very slow rate: from 7,000 in 1928, to 11,999 in 1954, a rate of increase lower than that of the remainder of the Muslim population of Algeria. With independence (1962), and in spite of the departure of the Europeans (who numbered about a thousand) and of the Jewish community (about 600), the population of the town underwent a spectacular increase, this being due to the economic influx engendered by the hydrocarbon industry (particularly prospecting and exploitation of natural gas deposits in the area of Hasi Rmel, and heavy road traffic towards the oil-fields of the far south).

Location. The town and the oasis are situated on the right bank of the Wādī Mzi, which descends from the Djabal 'Amūr and is absorbed into the Shaṭṭ Malkhīr, in the Constantinian south. The oldest sectors are set out on the two slopes of two rocky outcrops, foothills of the Djabal Tizgrārīn. The new town has developed to the north-west of these hills, and is steadily encroaching on the area of palm-plantations. The oasis itself extends in a semi-circle to the north-west and south-east of the town. The palms (about forty thousand trees) produce several excellent varieties of dates (but not the famous *daglat nūr*) and constitute one of the main pillars of the local economy. Through its position on the central north-south (Algiers-Sahara) axis, which has become a vital artery for independent Algeria, and its location between the Oranian south and the Constantinian south, at the point of divergence of routes leading, to the west towards the territory of the Awlād Sīdī 'l-Shikh, to the east towards the

Zībān and the Biskra, to the south towards the Mzāb (Ibāḍī territory), then towards the oilfields (Ḥāsī Masʿūd) on the one hand, and towards the main highway for penetration of the African continent, the "Trans-Sahara", on the other, Laghouat is at the centre of a considerable network of communications.

History. In the 4th/10th century, there already existed on the banks of the Wādī Mzi a locality whose inhabitants, after acknowledging the authority of the Fāṭimids, took part in the revolt of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*]. The neighbouring region was overrun by Berber tribes belonging to the family of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Algiers 1851, i, 64, Beirut 1956-9, vii, 96; Baron Mc G. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères...*, iii, 273). The Hilālian invasion brought into the region other tribes of the same race, notably the Ksel, fugitives from the Zāb, who founded a village called Ben Būṭa (the *nisba* "al-Būṭī" is still in use in Laghouat). Several other *ksour* (Bu Mendala, Nadjal, Sīdī Mīmūn, Badla, Ḳaṣbat Ftūḥ) were built by other emigrés, some of Arab origin (Dwāwda, Awlād Bū Zayyān), others from the Mzāb. This collection of urban centres was known by the name *Laghwāṭ*/*Laḳwāṭ*, the latter orthography being the only one which corresponds in reality to the current pronunciation in the Laghouati dialect. The modern form al-Aghwāṭ indicates a concern for conformity with the paradigms of Classical Arabic (cf. the model *afʿāl*). Now the classical form *ghawṭ*/*ghāṭ*, plur. *aghwāṭ*, is totally foreign to the linguistic usage of Laghouat and its surrounding neighbourhood. In spite of the feeling of Arabism which is a feature of the collective consciousness, there is still evidence of an ancient Berber stock, in various forms: personal names: numerous patronyms cited by Ibn Khaldūn (cf. above) are still borne in Laghouat and its surroundings; toponymy: place-names of Berber consonance in the Laghouat region are too numerous to be mentioned (see the detailed maps); agricultural sphere: the technical vocabulary of palm cultivation includes terms of Berber pedigree, particularly to denote fine varieties of dates (*timdjuhret, tizzawet, taddalet*, etc.); social sphere: the *twiza* (Berber *thiwizi*) has for a long time been a form of ritualised collective mutual aid (domestic tasks, weaving of wool, seasonal work in the oasis or the fields); and folklore: the old antagonism between sedentary Berbers and Arab tribesmen is still expressed in the form of a satirical folklore which perpetuates a more or less caricature image of "Arabs" (meaning Bedouin).

Little is known of the social and political history of Laghouat until the 18th century. At the end of the 16th century, it paid tribute to the king of Morocco. In 1666, the *ksour* of Badla and Ḳaṣbat Ftūḥ were abandoned. In 1698, a holy man, a native of Tlemcen, Sīdī 'l-Ḥādjdj, took up residence in Ben Būṭa and sought to reconcile the rival factions. His moral authority extended to the people of three other *ksour* as well as to the neighbouring tribe of the Larbāʿ. Under his leadership, the people of Laghouat defeated the inhabitants of the *ksar* al-ʿAssafiyya, but found themselves obliged to pay tribute to the sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1672-1727 [*q.v.*]), who came and camped under the walls of the town in 1708. After the death of al-Ḥādjdj, the patron of the town (1151/1738), the history of Laghouat was reduced to that of confrontations between two parties who competed for political and religious superiority: the Awlād Serḳīn, inhabitants of the south-west quarter, allied to the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] and the Aḥlāf, the majority of them affiliated to the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. In the course of these internecine struggles which periodically brought bloodshed to the oasis, the Turks succeeded in having their supremacy recognised. From 1727, the Bey of Tīṭrī had, in effect, imposed an annual rent on the people of the *ksour*. On the other hand, the Mzābīs, expelled from the oasis where they had acquired a share of the plantations, formed a confederation with the nomads of the south, over which the Laghouatis triumphed thanks to the support of the Larbāʿ (1752). This memorable episode seems to have put an end to a prolonged religious war, through the definitive elimination of Ibāḍiyya from an oasis whole-heartedly attached to Mālikī orthodoxy, over and above its ancestral discords. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Turks made an effort to reassert their supremacy, from which the Laghouatis had been gradually freeing themselves. Military expeditions were undertaken for the annual collection of taxes, with varying degrees of success, by the Bey of Medea, then by the Bey of Oran (1784 to 1802). In turns, the Aḥlāf and the Awlād Serḳīn were the object of favours or reprisals on the part of the Beys.

The two parties were not slow to re-align themselves with their respective allies, and the confrontations resumed with even greater severity, until the day when the chieftain of the Aḥlāf, Aḥmad b. Sālim, having allied himself through marriage with one of the leading Serḳīn families, became master of Laghouat and of the neighbouring *ksour* (1828). After a period of tranquillity, Laghouat became involved in the struggle of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir against the French. The chieftain of the Awlād Serḳīn, al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī (descendant of the patron saint of the town) was appointed *khalīfa* by the *amīr*. But he was unable to maintain his position and was obliged to flee to the Mzāb. His successor, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, was no more fortunate, although he had a force of 700 regular soldiers and a piece of artillery. His policies met opposition from the civic leaders and caused a riot; he was forced to leave Laghouat (1839). Al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī was appointed *khalīfa* for the second time. The same year, when the *amīr* was forced to raise the siege of ʿAyn Māḍī (after eight months) to regain control of the Tell, Aḥmad b. Sālim and his partisans took the opportunity to rally their troops. The *khalīfa* al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī was overthrown and then captured, at Ḳsar al-Ḥīrān, where he was killed (1839). Thus restored to power in Laghouat, Aḥmad b. Sālim entered into negotiations with the French (Col. Marey-Monge) to ask for recognition of his authority over southern Algeria (March 1844). This protectorate constitutes the first stage in the process of annexation of Laghouat, a process too long to be summarised (cf. R. Le Tourneau, *Occupation de Laghouat par les Français (1844-1852)*, in *Études Maghrébines. Mélanges Ch. A. Julien*, Paris 1964, 111-36). Following several expeditions (1844, 1847, 1852), the town was taken by storm on 4 December 1852, at the cost of heavy losses on both sides (more than 2,500 dead). The taking of Laghouat (on the orders of General Pelissier) was one of the bloodiest episodes in the conquest of Algeria. On the Algerian side, the memory of the martyrs never ceased to be honoured, in the guise of a semi-folkloristic, semi-religious ritual, until the time of independence. After its conquest and fortifications, Laghouat received a permanent garrison and became the operational base of the French in the south.

In its various phases, from the beginnings (4th/10th century) to the eve of the contemporary period, the dramatic history of Laghouat has been a microcosm of the general history: (a) of the Central Maghrib, as depicted by the historian Ibn Khaldūn: chronic anarchy, with no respite for the population, exhausted by a perpetual struggle for survival independent of any aspiration for economic and cultural order, and any effort towards civilisation; (b) of modern Algeria under Turkish domination. Like all urban centres or tribes escaping direct control on the part of the central authority (Algiers) and of its beyliks (Oran, Medea, Constantine), Laghouat had only the most distant connections with the Turkish administration, which was interested only in the collection of taxes (the regularity of which was determined by the relative strength of the sovereign power and its vassals); and (c) of French Algeria. After a rigorous conquest and a long period of pacification, the oasis of Laghouat was, for almost a century, to be oriented towards the Sahara, as administrative centre of one of the four "Territories of the South" under military control. The population of Laghouat and its environs thus lived on the fringe of northern Algeria, without becoming permeated by French influence. In the absence of a political will and sufficient means, the "moral conquest" by means of education and the exercise of republican freedoms would seem to be a myth incompatible with colonial realities. Until the inter-war period (cf. the celebration of the "Centenary of Algeria" in 1930), the diffusion of French language and culture attained only insignificant proportions, even within the native Jewish community. For this reason, the traditional aspect of the Muslim society of Laghouat were preserved almost intact. With its natural connections with neighbouring Bedouin peoples (on account of pressing economic requirements), with the permanence of specific symbols of religious culture (a dozen mosques, some twenty Ḳurʾānic schools), and the preponderance of shrines and institutions of religious mystics (Tidjāniyya, Ḳādiriyya, Shādhiliyya, etc.), Laghouat found itself well-equipped in its cultural resistance to the West. These socio-cultural features were to be reinforced, in the nineteen-twenties, by the reformist preachings of the Salafiyya. In fact, thanks to the prestige and the strong personality of the *shaykh* Mubārak al-Mīlī (1897-1945), Laghouat became (from 1927) onward) one of the strongest centres of the reformist movement in Algeria, under the stimulus of the Association of Algerian Muslim *ʿUlamāʾ* and of its leader, the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] (cf. A. Merad, *Le réformisme musulman en Algérie...*., Paris 1967, 199-200).

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LAḤAD [see ḲABR].

LĀHAWR (LAHORE), the principal city of the Pandjāb [*q.v.*], situated on the left bank of the Rāwī about 700 feet above sea level, at lat. 31° 35′ N. and long. 74° 20′ E. Its strategic location in the fertile alluvial region of the upper Indus plain has guaranteed it an important rôle in Indian history, very often as a frontier stronghold and more recently as the capital of the Sikh [*q.v.*] empire. Since 1947 it has been included in the republic of Pākistān, of which it is the second largest city.

1. History. Popular etymology connects the foundation of Lāhawr with the mythical Lava (Lōh), son of Rāma, and the forms Lōhāwar (cf. Peshāwar) and Lavapura have both been hypothesised by scholars, Cunningham (*Ancient geog. of India*, i, 197-8) identifying it with the place Labokla (< Lavalaka) mentioned by Ptolemy. Yet another possibility, Lahanagar, may have been preserved in the spelling Lāhanūr which appears in the 7th/13th century *Ḳirān al-saʿdayn* of Amīr Khusraw. It has also been identified with the anonymous flourishing city which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsʾang came upon around A.D. 630 on his way to Djālindhar.

At one time confused with Lohara in Kashmīr (see Sir M. Aurel Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Westminster 1900, ii, 293, 298, 363-4), Lāhawr is actually first mentioned in 372/982 in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*², 89-90, where we read that it was subject, although a city populated exclusively by Hindus, to the Ḳurayshite ruler of Multān [*q.v.*]. Possibly this is what underlies a later tradition that at the time of the first Ghaznawid invasion the capital of the Hindū-shāhī rulers of the western Pandjāb had been moved from Lāhawr to Siyālkoṭ [*q.v.*]; and certainly Bīrūnī, writing shortly afterwards, locates the capital of the Lāhawr region at a place called Mandhūkūr (ed. Sachau, 101; cf. the discussion in S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939-57, i, 53). Lāhawr was captured at an uncertain date by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], who constructed a fortress there and allegedly renamed the city Maḥmūdpūr, though this is doubtful. Under his successors it effectively became, as the administrative centre of the Indian provinces, the second capital of the Ghaznawid empire. The governor Aḥmad Yīnaltigin rebelled in 424/1033, and in 435/1043-4 Lāhawr was subjected to a long and unsuccessful siege by a confederacy of Hindu princes. But it remained firmly in Ghaznawid hands, serving, after the loss of Ghazna itself in 558/1163, as the capital until its capture by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] in 583/1187 put an end to the dynasty.

On the murder of the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 602/1206, Lāhawr became temporarily the capital of the Indian domain ruled by his slave Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], but after his death it was disputed for some time among the other former Ghūrid officers Ḳubāča, Yīldīz, and Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish [*q.v.*]. Ḥasan Niẓāmī in his *Tādj al-maʾāthir* (Brit. Lib. ms. Add. 7,623, fols. 124b-129a) describes at great length its capture by Iltutmish's forces in 613/1217, although Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh [*q.v.*], who invaded the Pandjāb a few years later, found a son of Ḳubāča in revolt against his father at Lāhawr (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, text 90), and it probably fell definitively to Iltutmish shortly before Ḳubāča's overthrow in 625/1228. Under Iltutmish's weak successors [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE], the govenors of Lāhawr were frequently in rebellion, and Kabīr Khān Ayāz was virtually independent there in 639/1241, when Lāhawr was taken and sacked by the Mongols. They did not follow up their victory, abandoning the city immediately, but around 651/1253, in the course of another inroad, they installed at Lāhawr the renegade prince Djalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Iltutmish. Sub-

sequently, however, it appears again as part of the Dihlī Sultanate under its governor Shīr Khān, who is credited by the historian Baranī (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. S. A. Khān, Calcutta 1860-2, Bibl. Indica, 65) with numerous military successes against the Mongols. The city was restored by the Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.] soon after his accession in 664/1266, but Lāhawr was to remain for some decades a frontier region subject to regular Mongol attacks and seems to have been replaced as an administrative centre by Dēōpālpūr. It attained to a temporary prominence once more early in the 8th/14th century under the governorship of Ghāzī Malik, who himself ascended the throne of Dihlī in 720/1320 as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ [*q.v.*]. In the reign of his son Muḥammad [*q.v.*], however, the district was ravaged by the Čaghatay khān Tarmashīrīn around 729/1329, and a few years later Lāhawr was occupied by a Mongol chief named Hülečü [see HÜLĀGŪ] in alliance with the Khokars [*q.v.*]: the brutal reprisals against the populace by Muḥammad's forces are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 333). After this, its history is again obscure until the turn of the century, when Shaykhā Khokar, who had been appointed governor of Lāhawr by Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluḳ, made a timely submission to Tīmūr (801/1398), but on showing signs of disaffection was suppressed by an army under the conqueror's grandson Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr.

Lāhawr was included in the territory conferred by Tīmūr upon Khiḍr Khān, who in 817/1414 seized power in Dihlī and established the Sayyid dynasty. Under his successor Mubārak Shāh, the city was twice attacked by the Khokars, now led by Shaykhā's son Djasrat, while at the same time the Afghān Lodīs [*q.v.*] were beginning to encroach upon the Pandjāb. In 845/1441 Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid, in an effort to curb the power of the Khokars, granted Lāhawr to Bahlūl Lodī, who repaid the Sayyids by supplanting them at Dihlī ten years later. During the Lodī era, the province continued to enjoy a quasi-independence. It was the sulṭān's kinsman Dawlat Khān Lodī, governor of the Pandjāb, who encouraged the designs of Bābur [*q.v.*] on Hindūstān, leading to the occupation of Lāhawr by the Mughals in 930/1524. On the outbreak of the rebellion of Shīr Shāh Sūr, Bābur's son and successor Humāyūn fled to Lāhawr, which he had been compelled at an earlier date to cede to his brother Kāmrān Mīrzā. The two Mughal princes were unable to hold the Pandjāb, and abandoned it to Shīr Shāh (947/1540), with the result that Lāhawr once again enjoyed a period of Afghān rule. Shīr Shāh is said to have regretted on his deathbed that he had not razed the city, in view of its strategic value to an invader from the northwest, a sentiment doubtless echoed by his ephemeral successors when Humāyūn reoccupied Lāhawr in Rabīʿ II 962/February 1555.

With the restoration of Mughal rule, Lāhawr entered on the era of its greatest prosperity, to which belong also its principal monuments (see below). Abu 'l-Faḍl in his *Akbar-nāma* testifies to its flourishing condition under Akbar, who used it as his headquarters for his expeditions against Kashmīr, Sind and Ḳandahār in the period 992-1006/1584-98. It was here that he received in 1595 the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries who were later, under his son Djahāngīr, to build the church and school which were destroyed by Shāh Djahān. Djahāngīr actually made Lāhawr his capital from 1031/1623, and it continued as such for most of the reign of Shāh Djahān, who was particularly attached to it as his birthplace, establishing a carpet manufactory and renovating the *dawlat-khāna*. During the period of its apogee, Lāhawr continued to serve at intervals as a centre of disaffection. Akbar had to march to its relief when besieged by his half-brother Muḥammad Ḥākim Mīrzā in 974/1566-7, and under his successors it was several times used as a base by aspirants to the imperial dignity: by Khusraw at the outset of Djahāngīr's reign (1015/1606), by Shāhriyār on the accession of Shāh Djahān (1037/1628), and by Dārā Shukōh on that of Awrangzīb (1068/1658).

Lāhawr's importance declined under Awrangzīb, who resided there less than his predecessors, though it continued to be styled *Dār al-salṭana* and the emperor was responsible for the construction of the *Djāmiʿ Masdjid*, with which the city's architectural history is usually assumed to have terminated. Bernier, however, visiting Lāhawr in 1665, gives the impression that it was already decaying and that large areas were in ruins. And with Awrangzīb's death, the region swiftly became a prey to the rising power of the Sikhs.

In 1123/1711 the Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh I arrived at Lāhawr in the course of a campaign designed to crush the first Sikh insurrection under Banda, which was threatening the city, but died before he could achieve his object. The struggle for the succession between Djahāndār Shāh and ʿAẓīm al-Shaʾn in 1124/1712 was actually fought out in the vicinity of Lāhawr, and it was not until the reign of Farrukh-siyar (1124-31/1713-19) that further action could be taken against the Sikhs. They were ruthlessly suppressed in a series of expeditions mounted by the governors of the Pandjāb, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Khān and his son and successor Zakariyyā Khān, the activities of the latter winning Lāhawr the nickname of *Shahīdgandj*. Zakariyyā submitted to Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 1150/January-February 1738, but recovered his independence once the Persian monarch had withdrawn from India. After the governor's death in 1158/1745, however, his sons engaged in a struggle for power, as a result of which the Afghān Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] was able to launch his first invasion of the Pandjāb and occupy the city in Muḥarram 1161/January 1748. On his departure, the court of Dihlī entrusted Lāhawr to Muʿīn al-Mulk, surnamed Mīr Mannū, son of the *wazīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn, but he was shortly obliged to submit to the Afghāns; and following a further invasion by Aḥmad Shāh in the winter of 1165/1751-2, the Mughal emperor signed a treaty whereby Lāhawr passed into the Afghān sphere of influence. This did not prevent the Dihlī *wazīr* Ghāzī al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk from invading the Pandjāb in 1169/1756, seizing Lāhawr from Mīr Mannū's widow, who had endeavoured to secure recognition from both Dihlī and Kābul, and installing as governor Adīna Beg. Aḥmad Shāh was thereby provoked into reoccupying the city in the following winter and establishing there his son Tīmūr Shāh. During this time, the Sikhs are found assisting Adīna Beg and his allies the Marāṭhās against the Afghāns. Together they expelled Tīmūr in 1171/1758 and repulsed another Afghān attempt on the city in 1172/1759. When Aḥmad Shāh decisively crushed the Marāṭhās at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 1174/1761 and again took Lāhawr, it was the Sikhs who were the ultimate beneficiaries of the victory. On his withdrawal, they simply reoccupied the city, and did so again after each of two further Afghān invasions, finally securing it in 1181/1767. For the next thirty years Lāhawr was governed by a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains, whose rule was disturbed

only by two temporary Afghān occupations under Aḥmad's grandson Zamān Shāh in 1211/1796 and 1213/1798-9. During the second of these invasions, the Sikh chief Randjīt Singh negotiated with the Afghāns for the office of *ṣūbadār* of Lāhawr, but it was not until Ṣafar 1214/July 1799 that he was able to wrest it from its three Sikh lords, who had meanwhile retaken it in the wake of Zamān Shāh's retreat.

Under the rule of Randjīt Singh, proclaimed *mahārādja* of the Pandjāb in 1802, Lāhawr, as his capital, recovered something of its lost prestige. He repaired its walls, and embarked upon a programme of construction works which did much to rehabilitate the city. On his death in 1839, it passed among various members of his family until the accession of Dalīp Singh in 1843, but the Sikh government soon became embroiled in its first war with the British, and by the terms of the two treaties of Lāhawr, in March and December 1846, Dalīp Singh had to accept a temporary British garrison into his capital and a permanent British Resident in the person of Colonel Henry Lawrence. In March 1849, as a result of the second war with the British and Dalīp Singh's deposition, Lāhawr was formally incorporated in the British empire. The city remained comparatively quiet at the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, though it was the scene of numerous disturbances during the twenties and thirties of the present century, with the rise of the Congress Movement and the conflicting claims of the Muslim League. In the partition of 1947, despite Sikh hopes of separate statehood for the Pandjāb, the city and most of its district were allotted to Pākistān. From 1955 it was the capital of West Pākistān, and since 1970 it has been the capital of the new province of the Pandjāb.

During this century Lāhawr has undergone a considerable expansion. In 1901 its population stood at less than a quarter of a million, but at the 1961 census it had reached 1,296,477 and in 1971 was estimated at 1,985,800 (all these figures include the cantonment). It consists essentially of the old city, the Anglicised quarters and the cantonment (formerly called Miyān Mīr) added during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the industrial areas which have grown up over the last few decades. First linked by rail to Amritsar in 1861, Lāhawr is now well integrated into Pākistān's railway network, being situated on the main line from Karāčī to Peshāwar, and is also accessible by air. It is an important educational centre, possessing two universities.

Bibliography: Historical surveys are to be found in the standard descriptive accounts of Lāhawr: see *Imperial gazetteer of India* [2], Oxford 1907-9, xvi, 95-115; *Imp. gaz. of India. Provincial series. Panjab*, Calcutta 1908, i; S. M. Laṭīf, *Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, Lāhawr 1892, 1-83, contains many chronological inaccuracies, and is in any case mostly derived from the earlier account of T. H. Thornton, dating from 1860 and reproduced in H. R. Goulding, "*Old Lahore*": *reminiscences of a resident*, Lāhawr 1924, 56-80; see now also M. Bāqir Malik, *Lahore past and present*, Lāhawr 1952 (Panjab University Oriental Publications, 34).

In addition to the works cited in the text, see for individual periods of the city's history C. E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977; A. B. M. Habibullah, *The foundations of Muslim rule in India* [2], Allāhābād 1961; U. N. Day, *The northwest frontier of the Sultanate*, in *Some aspects of medieval Indian history*, New Delhi 1971, 29-57; K. Jahn, *Zum Problem der mongolischen Eroberungen in Indien (13.-14. Jahrhundert)*, in *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München...* 1957, Wiesbaden 1959, 617-9; K. S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, London 1963; *Camb. hist. of India*, iv, index; J. D. Cunningham, *A history of the Sikhs*, new ed. H. L. O. Garrett, Oxford 1918; Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, Princeton 1963-6.

(P. JACKSON)

2. Monuments. The architectural history of Lāhawr can be traced substantially from the Mughal administration. Tombs remaining from earlier periods have undergone such extensive alteration that their interest lies mainly in their inscriptions. Among these are the graves of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), called Dātā Gandj-bakhsh, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (d. 607/1210 [*q.v.*] near the Lawhārī (*sic*) Gate, Pīr Balkhī (d. 637/1239?), of which the small domed *ḥudjra* may be original, and Sayyid Ṣūf (d. 786/1384); the tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Kāzarūnī, or Miyān Pādshāh (d. 788/1386) is preserved in the *ṣaḥn* of the Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān. Of the eighty-four tombs in the city listed by Čishtī, few in fact survive. No trace has been found, either, of the victory tower at the Fort and the mud-brick mosque known as Khishti Masdjid said by Fakhr-i Mudabbir to have been built by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], or the Ḳaṣr-i Humāyūnī of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. There is, however, an impressive *miḥrāb* from the Sultanate period which appears to have been the focus of an *ʿīdgāh* near Čāh Mīrān. The *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*], 7.4 m high, is surrounded by a band of geometric interlace; the semidome within the arch is reticulated to match, as is its central arched recess, and the squinches on either side have simple nets of groins, with hoods in floral relief. This decoration, which shares some features with Tīmūrid work, is carried out in plaster on a brick core. Burnt brick is in fact typical of Lāhawr, as of the Pandjāb as a whole, for want of local stone: it is usually covered with a revetment of cut plaster or tilework which conceals the structure, while stressing its main lines.

The Fort (*Ḳilʿa*) which still dominates the city centre has been shown by excavations (1959 ff.) to rest on strata dating back to the Ghaznavid occupation; the fort of Ghūrid times, and those rebuilt by Balban and Mubārak Shāh in 666/1267 and 825/1422 were presumably on the same site near the northwest corner of the former city wall. The present structure was begun by Akbar (*ca.* 974/1566) while work at Āgrā Fort was still in hand. He extended the site to the bank of the Rāwī in the north, maintaining the level by an elaborate undercroft, and enclosing a rectangle of about 340 by 427 m with walls that still exist to the north, east, and south. The twin polygonal towers of the Masdjidī Darwāza (Pandjābī: Mastī Darwāza) are panelled in blind arches like the Dihlī Gate at Āgrā, here offset vertically, and their rhythm continues throughout the north wall. Of Akbar's palace we know only that its Dawlat-khāna-yi ʿĀmm had a courtyard enclosed by 114 bays (*īwān* [*q.v.*] or *aywān*). The Djharōkhā balcony which still overlooks the site may be of this date. Akbar also built the city wall with its thirteen gates, now largely demolished or replaced. The early phase of building at the Fort was completed by Djahāngīr in 1027/1618 with a courtyard of private apartments in the same trabeated style, with faceted pillars and intricately

carved surfaces of Mathurā stone; the *čhadjdjā* brackets with their profusion of elephants, lions and peacocks owe much to Hindu timber-work. The architect responsible for this complex, ʿAbd al-Karīm Maʿmūr Khān, appears also to have carried out the remarkable and unorthodox cladding of panels in mosaics of cut glazed tiles, on the north, and later the west walls, with the semi-octagonal Shāh Burj, between 1034/1624-5 and 1041/1631-2. Their brilliant colours, which extend the range previously used in the Pandjāb from dark blue, azure and white to include yellows, brown and green, depict courtiers, scenes of hunting, elephant fights, battle and myth. The Dīwān-i ʿĀmm of forty columns ordered by Shāhdjahān in 1037/1628 follows the pattern of its contemporary at Āgrā; its present form was reconstructed by the British in 1846, but fragments of two ceremonial railings survive. Shāhdjahān, dissatisfied with the existing scheme, raised the level of the earlier work, and built a new group of private apartments inside the Shāh Burdj, including the Shīsh Maḥall of white marble set off with *pietra dura* inlay of floral motifs, opening onto the court through five bays with paired columns supporting engrailed arches in the fully-developed marble style: it rises to double height, with a ceiling of convex glass set in gypsum plaster (*āyina-kārī*), the walls now being Sikh work. To its west is a marble pavilion, the Banglā (Nawlakha), that reproduces a Bengali hut with its gridwork walls and arching roof, again inset with semi-precious stones (*parčīn-kārī*). In 1043/1633 he had the Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ and Khʷābgāh replaced, the former with a marble hall five bays by five, anticipating that at Dihlī [*q.v.*] in layout, with open arcades surrounding an inner hall, and a parapet inlaid to simulate merlons. The Motī Masdjid (ca. 1645) makes finely restrained use of marble as the first of the three Pearl Mosques (cf. Āgrā 1648-54, Dihlī ca. 1660); its *pīshṭāḳ* frames a four-centred arch that contrasts with the cusped ones on either side, and the three domes rise from strong cavetto mouldings in a rounded profile recalling Humāyūn's tomb, though crowned with a small pointed lotus. The round towers of Awrangzīb's ʿĀlamgīrī Gate (1084/1673-4) rise vigorously from a swelling lotus-petal base in broad gadroons to leaf-like merlons, and each is capped with a light *čhatrī* to counter the upthrust.

The Mosque of Maryam Zamānī, built for Djahāngīr's mother in 1023/1614, follows the established scheme of a five-arched prayer hall, with a tall semi-domed *pīshṭāḳ*, and five domes supported on massive brickwork piers. Square towers at the angles carry domed lanterns. The stilted central dome, less overpowering than that at Fatḥpur Sīkrī, has an inner shell of stucco; extensive use is made of squinch nets and honeycomb squinches, and the interior has the finest floral painting in Pākistān, on incised plaster. The prayer hall of the Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān (1044/1634) is of the same type, with four-centred arches, double-shelled Lōdī domes—albeit of an improved shape—and deep piers separating the façade from the domes. The courtyard is much longer and arcaded with stout octagonal minarets, capped with *čhatrīs* and set on squared bases: the first use of such towers, it seems, for a Mughal mosque. The main gate is enlarged to house the domed, octagonal central chamber of a bazaar street. The brickwork is extensively panelled, and its grids house flat panels of cut mosaic tile [see KĀSHĪ] on the surfaces of the gates, prayer-hall and minarets, with flowers, trees, tendrils and inscriptions in an inventive but strongly Iranian display. The building achieves great distinction in contrasting this vivacious decoration with the robust composition of the structure. Inside, the mosaic is replaced by paint. A *ḥammām* of the same date, and Iranian in type, still exists near the Dihlī Gate. These elements are readjusted in the much smaller mosque of Dāʾī Angā (1045/1635), where the three frontal arches are engrailed, the domes articulated with cavetto mouldings well above the parapet, and the hall is limited at either end by the massive square bases for minarets with lanterns that have been rebuilt this century; exceptionally, tile mosaic is used inside as well as out. Its form is close to that of the mosque and its counter-image flanking the Tādj Maḥall (*ca.* 1632-47). The mosque of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*] the historian and calligrapher (1070/1659) is also tiled, and remarkable for its inscriptions. The Bādshāhī Masdjid (1084/1673), Awrangzīb's finest building, combines local tradition with experience from the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Dihlī (1059/1649) [see DIHLĪ]. From the former come the octagonal minarets at the courtyard corners, the smaller ones at the angles of the prayer hall, and the recessed panelling; from the latter are drawn the plan, the raised plinth with steps and gateway, the bulbous domes, and the handling of the façade. The brick structure is faced throughout in red sandstone, and white marble for the domes; the interior is decorated with floral reliefs in lime plaster (*munabbat-kārī*), and painted, with almost Rococo delicacy.

Tombs. The tomb of Shaykh Mūsa Āhangar (*ca.* 1560?) whose squat dome on a cylindrical drum rests on a square, panelled cell, provides unique evidence of earlier tilework in the city: the dome is tiled in green horizontal courses, and the upper part of the walls in square tiles set diagonally, with floral motifs in blue and white. The squared mass of Djahāngīr's Tomb at Shāhdara (completed *ca.* 1046/1637) is derived from the base of Akbar's tomb [see ĀGRĀ], with the same number of arches and projecting bays at the centre of each side. Its red stone façades are inlaid with white and black marble in magpie elegance within the usual grid, and the tall octagonal corner towers are patterned in chevrons of white and yellow between four balconies. The absence of a central pavilion on the roof destroys the composition: the original arrangement is uncertain. A finely inscribed cenotaph lies in an octagonal central chamber with floor and walls all in superb *pietra dura*. This single-storey form is repeated at half-size in the tomb of his empress Nūrdjahān (d. 1055/1645) nearby, built by herself; no vestige of its original surface remains on the brickwork core. Dāʾī Angā's Tomb (1082/1671-2) in the Gulābī Bāgh is also square, with gridwork walls and a square *čhatrī* on each corner; the plan however incorporates a cross-shaped tomb chamber, with calligraphy by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in the coving, and an ambulatory with octagonal corner cells. A central dome shaped like those of Wazīr Khān's Mosque is patterned in chevrons of white and dark blue tiles, and its tall drum with floral motifs.

A series of octagonal tombs begins with that of Anārkalī (1024/1615), built by Djahāngīr for a former love. It has octagonal, panelled corner towers with *čhatrīs* at roof level, arched walls rising through two stories, and a dome of this same profile. It suffered various alterations when adapted for a church in 1851. Entrances formerly alternated with octagonal corner cells around a central octagon,

with the cenotaph, carved in bold relief, at the middle. The tomb of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641 [*q.v.*]) at Shāhdara has a single octagonal chamber, and a semi-domed arched recess on each external face around it. The reveals once had dados of square painted tiles, unique in this reign, and the squinch nets were enhanced with mosaic tile; the tall bulbous dome, now stripped of its white marble, was contemporary with that of the Tādj Maḥall. The cenotaph is modelled on that of Djahāngīr, below a *munabbatkārī* vault. ʿAlī Mardān Khān's tomb (*ca.* 1650), built for his mother, is similar in plan, but is crowned with a dome of the earlier type on a tall drum, balanced, Sūrī-style, by a *čhatrī* set above every angle of the octagon. Once more the veneers have been stripped by the Sikhs, but there are traces of a floral marble inlay on the dome. The Mausoleum of Sharaf al-Nisāʾ Bēgam (d. 1158/1745), called Sarwwālā Maḳbara, is a low tower, square in plan, whose walls are relieved by a frieze of cypress trees (*sarw*) 2.2 m high in glazed tilework around a tomb chamber at the upper level, surmounted by a *čhadjdja* and a hipped square dome. That of Sir Muḥammad Iḳbāl, designed by Nawwāb Zayn Yārdjang Bahādur in 1951, is a severe orthogonal cell with battered walls, set off by mouldings around a strong plinth and *čhadjdja*, and deep openings, reminiscent of Tughluḳ building yet somewhat Germanic; the white marble interior is carved in ornamental relief and lines from his *Zabūr-i ʿAdjam*.

The gardens associated with these buildings, all but obliterated and requiring extensive restoration on Lord Curzon's initiative, have lost their original planting, but still display the *čārbāgh* layout, with causeways patterned in local brickwork set between regularly-spaced cypresses. The first, planted by Mīrzā Kāmrān on the bank of the Rāwī (*ca.* 1530-40) has disappeared, but its summerhouse, a *bāradarī*, survives in midstream. Nūrdjahān's Bāgh-i Dilkushā, adapted for her husband's tomb at the centre, has each of the four quarters subdivided into four square plots, with canals and tanks at the intersections, within a huge walled enclosure. The Bāgh-i Shālimār [see BUSTĀN. ii], completed in 1052/1642, and like its namesake at Dihlī inspired by the eponym in Kashmīr [*q.v.*] was originally entered at the lowest terrace, allowing movement, as in the palace, through successively more private areas, past cascades backed by lamp-niches, a *takht-gāh* set in a tank, and 450 fountains. The Ḥaḍūrī Bāgh, formerly a *sarāy* built by Awrangzīb, is apparently Sikh work.

Three gateways clad in mosaic tile have survived the gardens to which they once led. The Čawburdjī (1056/1646), with four corner towers like those of Wazīr Khān's mosque, but more attenuated and lacking their *čhatrīs*, has cleanly-cut archways set in a gridded surface. The Gulābī Bāgh Gate (1066/1655) follows a similar scheme, but with angle-shafts in place of the towers, and with cusping of the upper arches. The undated gate at Nawānkōt (*ca.* 1650) has the panelled corners left unbroken as support for its twelve-pillared *čhatrīs*, remarkable for their gadrooned, green-tiled domes.

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LAḤDJ, colloquially called Laḥidj, a town and area of south-western Arabia, now situated in the second governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The town, also known as

Early Moghal Buildings
Shah Jahan's Buildings

Fig. 1. Plan of the Fort. (Archaeological Survey of India)

C D

E F

TANK

G H

A B
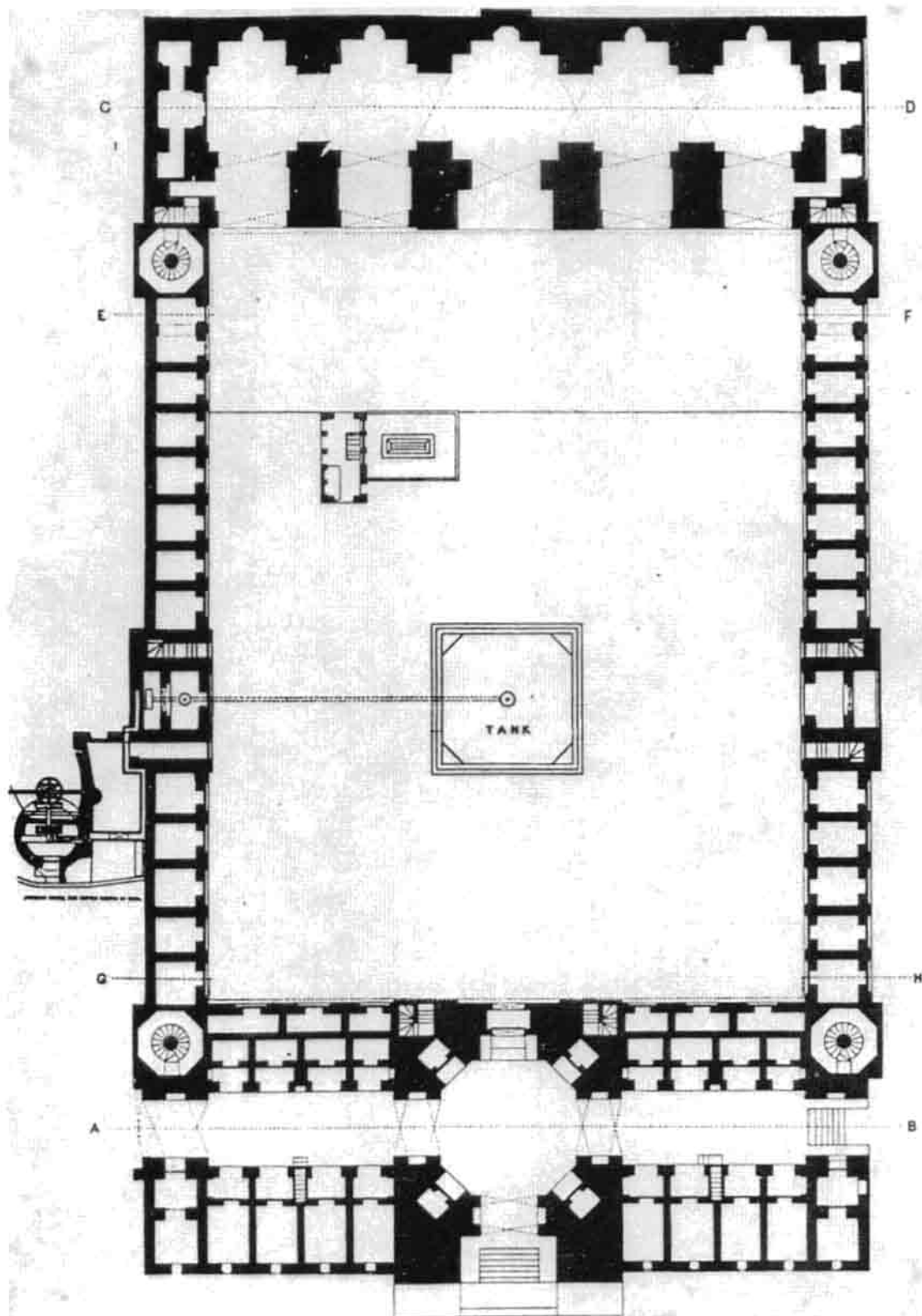
Fig. 2. Plan of the Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān. (From M.A. Chaghatai, *The Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore*)

al-Ḥawṭa, lies between the two tributaries of the Wādī Tuban, al-Wādī al-Kabīr and al-Wādī al-Ṣaghīr, about 25 miles north-west of Aden. The town is surrounded by a fertile area which is cultivated by means of an elaborate system of irrigation using the water of the wadis and also of wells. Date-palms abound, as well as cereal crops and vegetables. In fairly recent years too, cotton has become an important addition to the local agricultural economy.

Definition. In early Islamic, mediaeval and later times, Laḥdj comprised a whole area to the north and north-west of Aden and formed a joint fief with Abyan which at that time must have extended much further westwards to the north and north-east of Aden than the present-day area of the same name. Perhaps Laḥdj and Abyan in those times might have been divided by a line drawn due north from Aden, with the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern. It seems that the area of Laḥdj remained as described above until the late 19th century, when the then sultan of Laḥdj occupied the territories of the Ṣubayḥa, the tribal group inhabiting the territory between Laḥdj proper and Bāb al-Mandab. Thus the Laḥdj sultanate was composed of historic Laḥdj and Ṣubayḥī territory.

History. The genealogists connect the geographical name with the Ḥimyar, Laḥdj b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawth b. Katan b. ʿArīb b. Zuhayr b. Abyan b. al-Humaysaʿ.

After the Yemen had been won for Islam, Laḥdj shared the fortunes of this extensive province of the Arab empire. Laḥdj thus passed with the Yemen to the Umayyads and then to the ʿAbbāsids, though in early times governors in Ṣanʿā' and Ḥaḍramawt must have had little control in the area. In 203/818-19 the caliph al-Ma'mūn appointed Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād as governor of the Yemen. He was the founder of the Ziyādid dynasty and built the Tihāma town of Zabīd, which was to be their capital until 402/1011-12. Laḥdj, with Aden, Abyan, Ḥaḍramawt and al-Shiḥr, passed into the hands of the Banū Maʿn in the time of the Abyssinian slaves who ruled Ziyādid territory when the dynasty came to an end. In 454/1062-3, Aden came under the control of the Ismāʿīlī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, though the Maʿnids were left in effective control until his death in 473/1080-1, when his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, reclaimed the area. Aḥmad installed as rulers of Aden and the neighbouring area al-ʿAbbās and al-Masʿūd, the two Zurayʿids, in return for their past services to the Ismāʿīlī cause in the Yemen on behalf of the Ṣulayḥids. The Zurayʿids remained in power until the entry of the Ayyūbids from Egypt into the Yemen in 569/1173. Laḥdj, with Aden and indeed the rest of the Yemen, thus came under the control of the Ayyūbids (569-626/1173-1228) and their successors, the Rasūlids (626-858/1228-1454), who were followed by the Ṭāhirids (858-*ca.* 954/1454-*ca.* 1547).

The expeditionary force led by Ḥusayn al-Mushrif which the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳānṣawḥ al-Ghawrī sent at the request of the Ṭāhirid Sultan ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to prevent the encroachment of the Portuguese in the Red Sea, and which conquered a great part of the Yemen, only paved the way for the Turks. In 945/1538 the Turkish governor of Kulzum, Sulaymān Pasha, set out with a fleet and took Aden, which thus belonged to the Turkish empire until in 1045/1635 the Turks had to leave the Yemen to the Zaydī Imāms.

In 1141/1728, however, the ʿAbdalī tribal leader, Faḍl b. ʿAlī b. Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Sālim, made himself independent of the Zaydīs and made Laḥdj the capital of his territory. Thus the area remained under the ʿAbdalī house down to the evacuation of south-western Arabia by the British in 1967. With the arrival of the British under Captain S. B. Haines in 1839, when the Laḥdj sultan also controlled Aden, the latter was ceded to the Government of Bombay. As already mentioned, the vast area of the Ṣubayḥa fell under their sway in the late 19th century. By the time of the formal signing of the agreement with the British Government to inaugurate the Federation of the Amirates of the South in 1959, the Laḥdj sultan Faḍl b. ʿAlī, as ruler of the senior state in the Western Aden Protectorate, held the key portfolio of Federal Minister of Defence and continued in that post until the collapse of the Federation and declaration of the new Republic in 1967.

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LĀHĪDJĀN. 1. A town in the Caspian coastal province of Gīlān [*q.v.*] in north-western Persia, in long. 50° 0′ 20″ E. and lat. 37° 12′ 30″ N. It is situated on the plain to the east of the lower reaches of the Safīd-Rūd and to the north of the Dulfek mountain, and on the small river Čom-khala or Purdesar, but at some 14 miles/20 km. from the Caspian Sea shore.

Lāhīdjān does not seem to have been known as such to the earliest Arabic geographers, though legend was to attribute its foundation to Lāhīdj b. Sām b. Nūḥ. It does, however, appear in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) as Lāfdjān, one of seven "large districts" (i.e. it was not yet a town) of the south-eastern part of Gīlān, that known locally as Biya-pīsh ("this side of the water", *biya* cognate with Avestan *vaidhi* "water-course") as opposed to Biya-pas ("beyond the water") on the north-western side of the Safīd-Rūd, which had Fūman [*q.v.*] and Rasht [*q.v.*] as its centres (tr. Minorsky, 137, § 32. 25, comm. 388-90; on this passage of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, see Barthold, in *Izvestiya Kavkaz. Istor.-Arkheol. Instituta*, vi [1927], 63-6). In ancient times, the Safīd-Rūd or Amardus River [see ḳizil uzen] had formed the frontier between the Amardoi or Mardi to the east and the Gelai or Kadusioi to the west; see F. C. Andreas, in Pauly-Wissowa, i/2, 1729-33, s.v. *Amardos*.

During the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, Lāhīdjān district formed part of the dominions, straddling Gīlān and the mountainous hinterland of Daylam [*q.v.*], of the Djastānid or Djustānid Wahsūdān b. Djastān (still alive in 259/873, according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1880; see also Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī, *Shahhriyārān-i gum-nām*, Tehran 1335/1956, i, 25); the rulers of Biya-pīsh were generally able to extend

their power up from the plain into the mountains, and even at times over them to the south of the Elburz (as was to be the case with the Kar-Kiyā'ī Sayyids, see below).

There then arose in Biya-pīsh a family ruling from Kūtum or Hūtum in the Rān-i Kūh district, whose centre is Langarūd to the east of Lāhīdjān. This line was founded by the ʿAlid Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) [*q.v.*], who introduced Zaydī Shīʿism into the Caspian region; the eastern part of Gīlān, sc. Biya-pīsh, thus became strongly affected by Shīʿism, whereas Sunnī doctrines, including Ḥanbalism, remained dominant in Biya-pas. The wider political authority of al-Uṭrūsh's family shrank during the middle decades of the 4th/10th century, and became concentrated more on Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān to the east, but the Nāṣirid Sayyids remained influential in the Caspian region because of their religious prestige. The history of Lāhidjān in the succeeding period is obscure; but it is probable that the Djastānids re-asserted their authority there after the highland region of Daylam had passed into the hands of the Musāfirids or Sallārids or Langarids (the latter form better than "Kangarids") of Ṭārum [see MUSĀFIRIDS and ṬĀRUM], and it was the Djastānid "king of Daylam" who submitted at Ḳazwīn to the incoming Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg in 434/1042-3 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 348).

Subsequently, we find a family of local origin called the Nāṣirwands ruling Biya-pīsh from Lāhīdjān. The story of their origin from Maḥmūd of Ghazna's brother Nāṣir al-Dawla b. Sebüktigin retailed by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Kāshānī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Öldjeytü* is wholly fanciful, and the name Nāṣirwand obviously relates to a connection, real or supposed, with Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Uṭrūsh's tenure of power there. In the time of the Mongol Il-Khān Hülegü, the Nāṣirwand Djamāl al-Dīn Ṣaʿlūk b. Ṣaʿlūk was ruler in Lāhīdjān; some decades later, in Öldjeytü's reign, the family was divided into two branches, that of Ṣaʿlūk b. Sālār in Kūtum, and that of Naw-Pādishāh or Shāh-i Naw in Lāhīdjān. The latter submitted to the Il-Khānid when he appeared in Gīlān and at Lāhīdjān specifically in 706/1306-7, receiving in marriage the daughter of a Mongol commander and being granted suzerainty over the other local princes of Gīlān; Rashīd al-Dīn also testifies to Naw-Pādishāh's riches and prestige at this time. Lāhīdjān itself flourished, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes Lāhīdjān and Fūman as the two chief towns of Gīlān; in the vicinity of Lāhīdjān silk cultivation and weaving were actively pursued, and corn, rice, oranges and other sub-tropical fruits were grown (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 162-3, tr. 158-9; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 71).

Biya-pīsh was racked by warfare between the various local chiefs during the course of the 8th/14th century, and by 792/1390 the rule of the Nāṣirwands, already once interrupted in Lāhīdjān, foundered completely, and Sayyid Hādī Kiyā became master of Biya-pīsh. The Kar-Kiyā'ī Sayyids ruled there from 769/1367-8 (with a brief revanche shortly after this by the last Nāṣirwands) till 1000/1592, the first of the family to make himself completely independent being Sayyid Amīr Kiyā (for a genealogical table of the family, see H. L. Rabino, in *JA*, ccxxxvii [1949], at pp. 322-3). His son Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā, with the help of the Marʿashī Sayyids of Māzandarān, made himself master of all Biya-pīsh, and extended as far as Ḳazwīn, Ṭārum and Shamīrān; and Sayyid Raḍī Kiyā (d. 829/1426) chased out of the mountains south of Lāhīdjān the local family of Hazāraspids and the Ismāʿīlis. Likewise, Mīrzā ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Kiyā (883-911/1478-1506) at the zenith of his power controlled Ḳazwīn, Ṭārum, Sulṭāniyya, Sāwa, Zandjān, Fīrūzkūh, Tehran, Rayy and Warāmīn.

From the end of the 9th/15th century, the information of the local Caspian chroniclers like Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī may be supplemented by that of the Ṣafawid chronicles, the interest of the latter being focussed on the region because of the crucial role played by Mīrzā ʿAlī Kiyā in sheltering the young Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl b. Ḥaydar [see ISMĀʿĪL I]. The future ruling family of Persia already had close links with the Lāhīdjān district, for in the village of Shaykhānbar on the Lāhīdjān-Langarūd road lay the tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid (d. 714/1314) the *pīr* and *murshid* of Shaykh Ṣafī 'l-Dīn Ṣafawī (cf. Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 71). When Ismāʿīl was a fugitive from the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in 899/1494, he fled eventually from Ardabīl to Lāhīdjān. Mīrzā ʿAlī welcomed him there, refused in 902/1497 to extradite him to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu leader Rustam Mīrzā (allegedly after receiving a vision of the caliph ʿAlī enjoining him to protect the young prince), and assigned for his education a tutor, the Lāhīdjān scholar Shams al-Dīn. Then early in 905/later 1499, when he was still not quite 11 years old, Ismāʿīl left Lāhīdjān for the bid for power which was to end in the defeat of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and Ismāʿīl's conquest of Ādharbāydjān (see E. D. Ross, *The early years of Shah Ismaʿil*, in *JRAS* [1896], 249-340; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufsteig zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin-Leipzig 1936, 98-100; Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk, a manual of Safavid administration* (circa *1137/1725*), London 1943, Appx. II, 191 ff.)

During the 10th/16th century, Biya-pīsh and the Kar-Kiyā'īs became vassals of the Ṣafawids from 909/1503-4 till the region's final incorporation in the Ṣafawid empire in 1000/1592. At first, a Ḳïzïl-Bāsh [*q.v.*] governor was appointed to oversee the Kar-Kiyā'īs, and then in the middle years of the century, royal princes acted as governors, including a brother and two sons of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (in 943/1536-7 and 985/1577-92). The Kar-Kiyā'ī Sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (943-75/1536-67 and 985-1000/1577-92) introduced at Shāh Ṭahmāsp's behest the official Ṣafawid Twelver or Djaʿfarī form of Shīʿism in place of the Zaydī one; but he fell from favour when he started intriguing with the Ottomans, inviting them to send troops into Shīrwān and to Lāhīdjān for an attack on Ḳazwīn, so that in 975/1567 Ṭahmāsp invaded Gīlān and deposed Aḥmad. He was restored nine years later, and was formally adopted in brotherhood (*akhawī*) by Shāhs Ismāʿīl II and Muḥammad Khudābanda. But he continued to have relations with the Ottomans, and in 1000/1592 Shāh ʿAbbās came to Lāhīdjān, whilst Aḥmad fled to Shīrwān and then Istanbul, where he ended his days (cf. Von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 562, 576). All Gīlān was now placed under a centrally-appointed *wazīr*, and after the death of the grantee of the province Farhād Khān in 1008/1600, it became till the end of the Ṣafawid period one of the crown domains (*maḥāll-i khāṣṣa*); see K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 19, 44, 83, 87, 93, 105, 121).

Since then, Lāhīdjān's history has been only sporadically eventful. Under Shāh Sulaymān I there took place in South Russia the Cossack revolt of

Stepan Razin (1668-71), with raids expected against Persian territory along the Caspian coasts; hence troops were mustered in Biya-pīsh, the *Ghāziyān-i Ṣūfī*. During the Russian occupation of Gīlān 1136-46/1724-34, the Russians built two forts at Lāhīdjān, and the town was once more under Russian domination during the local Soviet Republic of Gīlān in 1920-1. According to the traveller Gmelin, who was in Gīlān in 1772, Lāhīdjān had seven years previously submitted to Hidāyat Khān of Fūman. Ḳādjār control was subsequently established there, but the last hereditary governor of Lāhīdjān, Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān, Sālār-i Mu'ayyad, was dismissed by the constitutionalist government in 1907.

In recent times, Lāhīdjān has lost most of its administrative importance to Rasht, but still has considerable commercial importance as a centre for the local Gīlān silk and cotton industries and as a centre for citrus fruit growing; tea was first introduced into the Caspian region in 1914, and later, Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī employed Chinese experts to start new plantations near Lāhīdjān in the lower foothills adjoining the coastal plain (see *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, London 1945, 148, 464).

The antiquities of the town include various graves of the Kar-Kiyā'ī Sayyids. Administratively Lāhīdjān is now the centre of a *shāhristān* or district of the same name, in the first province of Iran; according to the 1966 census, it had a population of 25,725 and *ca.* 5,573 houses (see Razmārā, ed., *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ii, 270-1, and L. W. Adamec, ed., *Historical gazeteer of Iran*. i *Tehran and Northwestern Iran*, Graz 1976, 410).

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Secondary sources: D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongoles*, iv, 488-97; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 544 ff.; P. Melgunoff, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1858, 230-4; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 174; W. Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. očerk Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 156; Rabino, *Les provinces caspiennes de la Perse. Le Guîlân*, in *RMM*, xxxii (1916-17), 291-334, 397 ff. (very detailed geographical survey of the region); idem, *Rulers of Lāhijān and Fūman, in Gīlān, Persia*, in *JRAS* (1918), 85-92; idem, *Les dynasties locales du Gîlân et du Daylam*, in *JA*, ccxxxvii (1949), 'Abbās Kadīvār, *Ta'rīkh-i Gīlān*, Tehran 1319/1940. For the coins minted at Lāhīdjān, see E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 218. (C. E. Bosworth)

2. Several districts in Persia have however derived from the stems *Lāh* and *Lār* [*q.v.*]: Lāhīdj, an important little town in Transcaucasia west of Shamākha [see shirwān]; Lāhīdjī, a village in the canton of Kurbāl in the province of Fārs; Lāhīdjān, a canton of Mukrī Kurdistān [see sawdj-bulāḳ], which the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, ed. Veliaminof -Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 280, calls Lārdjān. There is a village of Lāhīdjān near Ilkhiči, south of Tabrīz, and a village of Lāridjān south of the Araxes about 12 miles above the mouth of the river of Ardabīl (Ḳara-Ṣu). The forms *Lāh* and *Lār* may both come from **Ladh* (cf. the Old Persian *Māda*, which gave *Māh* in Persian and *Mar-kh* in Armenian). According to the dictionaries (e.g. Vullers) the old name of the town of Lār [*q.v.*] was Lād/Lādh; the silk called *lādh* is also known as *lāh* (*lāh* however may equally well be explained by *lās*). The change of *d* (*dh*) to *r* is attested in the Caspian dialects (it is regular in Tātī; Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, 221). The fact that we have districts of Lāhīdjān and Lāridjān in the adjoining provinces of Gīlān and Māzandarān is remarkable, but still more significant is the fact that Lāhīdj of Shīrwān represents an island of Iranian Tāt surrounded by Turks (the Tāt are now found scattered throughout Dāghistān, the country round Tehran, Ādharbāydjān, etc.). Their present name has a rather general and vague character, see tāt. The colony of Lāhīdj may have retained the original dialect formerly spoken in the metropolis. The name of the silk *lādh/lāh* suggests the former existence of a place called Lād, which produced silk (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v. Lāhidj; he says that Lāhidj produces the silk called "Lāhidjī" which is not of high quality). With the suffix *-ič*, the word *Lāh-ič* would mean the people of Lād". It remains to be seen if the region of Lāhīdjān is not the ancestral home of numerous *Lāhidj* colonies. At the present day there is spoken in Lāhīdjān—although with certain local pecularities—the Gīlakī dialect, but this parent dialect has here exercised a levelling influence, of which the foreign Turkish was incapable in the case of the people of Lāhīdj of Shīrwān. As to Lāhīdjān of Kurdistān, we may recall the hypothesis of Andreas that the name "Dimla" by which the Zāzā call themselves (north of Diyārbakr) is a metathesis of Dēlam (Daylam). The emigrations from Gīlān, still very obscure, certainly penetrated far to the west. Finally, to the names mentioned one might add perhaps that of Ḳal'a-yi Lāhūdj in Khūzistān (?); cf. Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, GMS facs., 240. (V. Minorsky)

LĀHĪDJĪ, the *nisba* of several eminent persons connected with Lāhīdjān [*q.v.*] in the Caspian region of Persia, among whom the following may be mentioned.

1. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Gīlānī, theologian, mystic, and poet of the Tīmūrid-Ṣafawid period and a renowned *shaykh* of the Nūrbakhshiyya Ṣūfī order in Shīrāz. He joined his master Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh in 849/1445, and during a period of 16 years, under Nūrbakhsh's spiritual direction, accomplished considerable progress along the Ṣūfī path. After the death of Nūrbakhsh (869/1464), or even slightly before then, Lāhīdjī retired to Shīrāz, where he founded a Nūrī (= Nūrbakhshī) *khānaḳāh* [*q.v.*], and spent much of his time in mystical exercises and teaching Ṣūfī doctrines. During this period of retirement, he was held in great respect not only by scholars such as Dawānī [*q.v.*] and Djāmī [*q.v.*], but also by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl I, who paid him a visit at his *khānaḳāh* in 909/1503 in Shīrāz. Nevertheless, the biographical data which we can glean from his own writings are minimal: a six-months' stay in Tabrīz

prior to his master's death; a pilgrimage to Mecca in 882/1477; and a short sojourn in Yemen, where in the course of his way back home from Mecca, he made an investiture of Nūrbakhshī khirḳas to a couple of disciples—a father and son—in Zabīd, for whom he also wrote a concise idjāza in Arabic, with traditional Ṣūfī instructions. His death, according to an oft-cited chronogram (= *Mādda taʾrīkh*), occurred in 912/1506. Other dates, including 980/1572 (cited by Pertsch, *Persische Handschriften*, 830) and 869/1464 (H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, index) are definitely incorrect. Lāhīdjī's literary output, including his *Dīwān*, with Asīrī as his pen-name, and a didactic *mathnawī* called *asrār al-shudūd*, contains a theosophical prose work called *Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz* (an extensive commentary on the well-known *Gulshan-i rāz* of Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī [*q.v.*]), together with a number of shorter tracts with comments on the difficult verses of some old poets. His own poetry, although of considerable theosophical value, is of rather mediocre literary quality. His son Fidāʾī-yi Lāhīdjī (d. 927/1521), better known as Shaykhzāda, was also a poet and reportedly a Nūrbakhshī *shaykh* as well.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): Nūr Allāh-i Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, lith. Tabriz, 306-9; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān-i Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn* [2], 63; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī-Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ii, 143; iii, 55-6; Ibn-i Yūsuf-i Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār*, Tehran 1318/1939, ii, 559-60; Mudarris-i Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab* [2], ii, 125-6; Kaywān-i Samīʿī, preface to his edn. of the *Mafatīḥ al-iʿdjāz*, Tehran 1337/1958. For an analysis of some of Lāhīdjī's personal mystical experiences, see H. Corbin, in *Eranos-Jahrbücher* (1959); the *Dīwān-i Asīrī-yi Lāhīdjī*, together with his minor tracts, edited by Dr. Barāt-i Zandjānī, is now in press.

2. ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ B. ʿALĪ B. ḤUSAYN GĪLĀNĪ, theologian, philosopher and poet of the late Ṣafawid period and a leading master of the so-called philosophical school of Iṣfahān. Although a favourite pupil and a son-in-law of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, he did not share his master's philosophical teachings over several topics. Among these one may mention Mullā Ṣadrā's belief in the movement of substances (= *al-ḥarakat al-djawhariyya*) and his opinion on the basicality of being (= *aṣālat al-wudjūd*). Lāhīdjī spent the latter part of his life in Ḳumm, where he died in 1072/1661, leaving behind him a considerable literary output. His own philosophy was of a rather eclectic character, owing much to Ibn Sīnā's and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's thought. His works include the *Ḥāshiya-yi Kitāb-i Ishārāt*, being glosses upon Ṭūsī's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tashbīhāt*, and the *Shawāriḳ al-ilhām*, a concise but original commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Tadjrīd al-ʿaḳāʾid*. He wrote also a commentary on Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī's *Hayākil al-nūr*, along with other theological works. Among these are two Persian books dealing with the elements of Shīʿī theology: the *Gawhar-i murād*, which he dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās II *ca.* 1052/1642, and *Sarmāyi-yi īmān* which he composed in 1058/1648 at the request of a friend. Lāhīdjī's poetical pen-name was Fayyāḍ, under which he composed a *dīwān* of no less than 5,000 verses. He is said to have had personal connections with contemporary poets, such as Ṣāʾib-i Tabrīzī and others. His own poetry contains gnostic ideas, though Lāhīdjī had no sympathy for the Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of his time. Although equally criticised by some fanatical *ʿulamāʾ* of his epoch, Lāhīdjī has been considered as in general more acceptable to orthodox Shīʿism than his teacher Mullā Ṣadrā was. Lāhīdjī's sons Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and Mīrzā Ḥasan were also theologians of some repute. The latter, who died in 1121/1709, left behind no less than twelve books on theological problems.

Bibliography: later authors have sometimes confused Shams al-Dīn Lāhīdjī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhīdjī, so that they have called the commentator of the *Gulshan-i rāz* ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (see e.g. E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 148), or Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, which is but a forged name (see Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 56). Concerning the philosophical school of Iṣfahān, see Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iv, Paris-Tehran 1972, 9 ff.; A. Bausani, *La Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 386 ff.; S. H. Nasr, in M. Sharif's *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 1966, ii, 904 ff. For an analysis of the philosophical teachings of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ-i Lāhīdjī, see S. Dj. Āshtiyānī's *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens, textes persanes et arabes*, Introduction analytique par H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1972, i, index. For his life and works, see Brockelmann, II, 590; C. Rieu, *Cat. of Persian manuscripts, Suppl.*, 205-6.; Browne, *LHP*, iv, 408-9, 435; Mudarris-i Khiyābānī, *op. cit.*, iv, 361-3.

(A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

LAḤN AL-ʿĀMMA, "errors of language made by the common people", is an expression which characterises a branch of lexicography designed to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists. The treatises which could be classed under this heading, correspond, broadly speaking, to our "do not say ... but say...", the incorrect form generally being introduced by "you say" or "they say = one says" (*taḳūl, yaḳūlūn*) and the correct form by *wa 'l-ṣawāb*... "whereas the norm is..."; they are most often intitled *Kitāb Laḥn al-ʿāmma* or *Kitāb mā talḥan/yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, but may also be *Kitāb mā taghlaṭ fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, *Kitāb ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*, *Kitāb Tathḳīf al-lisān*, etc., although this range of titles does not necessarily imply a significant difference in the manner of presentation of linguistic facts or a particular method of choosing the material to be considered. These works give evidence of the development of current usage and can, to a certain extent, serve as a means of tracing the history of the language, especially from the time that a standardisation of the *ʿarabiyya* [*q.v.*] came into operation through the efforts of the philologists.

Under the heading AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-ʿĀMMA, reference has been made to the *ʿāmma* of the grammarians, without any attempt to define it and determine its limits. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, who has considered this point (in *RIMA*, iii/1 [1376/1956], 133 ff.), relies quite rightly on a passage of al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 137) who writes: "When you hear me speak of the *ʿawāmm*, I do not refer to the peasants, the lower orders, the artisans and the tradesmen, nor the Kurds of the mountains or those who dwell on the islands in the sea... the *ʿawāmm* who belong to our nation and our religious community and possess our culture and morals constitute a class endowed with intelligence and qualities superior to those categories cited above, without however attaining the level of our *khāṣṣa*. It should be noted, in addition, that the *khāṣṣa* is also divided into hierarchical strata". It will be seen from this passage that al-Djāḥiẓ, without making a decisive contribu-

tion to the problem posed by the definition of the *khāṣṣa* and of the *ʿāmma*, excludes from the latter, from a linguistic point of view at least, the lower orders of society and the foreign elements whose language was not regarded as belonging to the *ʿarabiyya*, as strictly defined, and he includes among the *ʿawāmm* a medium social class who, at a time when literary Arabic and dialectal Arabic, as we call them, had not been irretrievably divorced, were expressing themselves in a language which was already less formal, but still fairly close to that of the *khāṣṣa*, of the intellectual élite, or the upper echelons of the latter, theoretically guardians of the norm of the past, of the innate and spontaneously respected *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*].

Al-Zubaydī provides a number of definitions in this context when he writes in the introduction to his *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* (cf. al-Ahwānī, *art. cit.*, 133; G. Krotkoff, *The "Laḥn al-ʿawāmm" of Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī*, in *Bull. of the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad*, ii [1957], 6-7): "I have examined the language employed in our time and in our land (Muslim Spain) and here I have found phrases which are cited neither by Abû Ḥātim (al-Sidjistānī; see below) nor by other lexicographers; it is a question of alterations, owed to our *ʿāmma*, which has modified the pronunciation (of certain words) or adapted the meaning, and has been followed in this practice by a great many people, to the point where these incorrect usages have infiltrated into the works of poets, and the most eminent scribes and functionaries include them in their correspondence and make use of depraved expressions in their conversations. I have therefore decided it appropriate to draw attention, in my turn, to these faults, to indicate the correct form which corresponds and to devote a book to the inaccuracies which I have observed . . . while leaving aside those that are committed by the mass of the people... and concentrating on those which one may expect to find in the language of the *khāṣṣa*." His treatise is however intitled *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, and one gains the distinct impression that this last term, or its singular *ʿāmma*, in the titles considered in this connection, is pure euphemism designed to disguise the truth and spare the feelings of the *khāṣṣa*, while laying the responsibility for linguistic deviations upon the latter. In fact, if he was referring to the uneducated people of whom al-Djāḥiz speaks, the works which belong to this genre would be descriptions of dialects, of the type which are known today as *ʿāmmī* or *ʿāmmiyya*; now this is far from being the case, even if dialectal forms did infiltrate the usage of the scholars who constituted a faction of the *khāṣṣa*. Furthermore, authors are well aware that their works will not be read by "the man in the street" and it is not a part of their objective to induce illiterates totally separated from their roots, or, which is more to the point, arabophones of foreign origin, to express themselves like the Arabs of the Djāhiliyya who merit the qualifying adjective of *faṣīḥ*. In reality, all the treatises of which we shall attempt a fully inventory in due course address themselves to a fairly closely-defined *khāṣṣa* whose practices are in need of correction, and al-Ḥarīrī is one of the few authors who has the courage to break with tradition and tell the truth, when he intitles his book *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣ* (ṣ).

In this case, *awhām*, elsewhere *khaṭaʾ*, *ghalaṭ*/*ghalaṭāt* or *saḳaṭāt*—"errors, faults, lapses"—are often substituted, in the titles of treatises, for *laḥn*, which is the time-honoured term. This technical expression has been the object of a vigorous semantic study on the part of J. Fück, in an appendix to his history of the Arabic language, *ʿArabiya* (Berlin 1950, 128-35; Fr. tr. Cl. Denizeau, Paris 1955, 195-205). Apart from its ancient connotations such as "word with double meaning, obscure allusion", "intelligence" etc., between which a subtle line of association may be traced, *laḥn* also appears to have signified, originally, "manner of speaking", "use of a word or pronunciation of a phonem peculiar to an individual or an ethnic group", in such a way that it could be considered an equivalent of the word *lugha*, adapted by the grammarians to take on the technical meaning of "dialectical or regional variation". These peculiarities were not, in themselves, reprehensible, but they were observed and sometimes derided by Arabs who, rightly or wrongly, stimulated by a spirit of purism and regarding themselves as defenders of the *faṣāḥa*, judged them contrary to their instinctive conception of the norm. *Laḥn* was not slow, however, with the establishment of normative grammar, to be applied to any deviation with regard to the rule and, in the first instance, to the abandonment of the *iʿrāb* [*q.v.*], of which an illustration or a relic may be perceived in the use of the word *malḥūn* [*q.v.*] to designate a form of popular poetry. It is thus that *laḥn* takes on the sense of "deed of committing faults of language", then of "perverted use (solecism, barbarism, malapropism, etc.)", as opposed to idiomatic usage and simple regionalism. Having become a synonym of *khaṭaʾ*, it is with this meaning that it figures twice in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (i, 262, 349; see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayh*, Paris 1976, 188). In the following century, the use of the term in this precise sense had become so widespread that al-Djāḥiz himself, commenting on a verse in which *laḥn* signified "word with double meaning, obscure allusion", spontaneously, but erroneously, gave it the meaning of "fault" (see Fück, *op. laud.*, 131-2; Fr. tr., 200-1; Pellat, in *Arabica*, xxi/2 [1974], 183-4).

The norm to which reference has been made above is nothing more than an ideal to which the various grammatical schools are at pains to pay attention in their application of criteria which sometimes lead to contradictory results. In addition to differences in viewpoint, there is no shortage of regional peculiarities, as is to be expected in a region as vast as the Arabic-speaking world, which serve to explain both the relative abundance of works of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* and the divergent tendencies of which they are sometimes the expression.

In the course of the last hundred years, more or less detailed inventories of these works have been compiled, completed, and corrected by both Eastern and Western scholars who have taken a particular interest in this branch of philological study. The earliest is that of H. Thorbecke who, in his introduction to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī (Leipzig 1871, 7-12) supplied a preliminary list which was soon to be enlarged by I. Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, xxvii [1873], 155-6); a few years later, the latter devoted an article to the question, *Zur Literaturgeschichte des Chaṭaʾ al-ʿâmma* (in *ZDMG*, xxxv [1881], 147-52). In publishing his catalogue of the Arabic mss. of Berlin (vi, 1894, 319), Ahlwardt was to put a considerable store of useful information at the disposal of Arabist scholars. Although two books on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* were written during the subsequent period, a gap of some forty years elapsed before the appearance of a new inventory, this time

in Arabic, compiled by ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf (*al-Lahad̲j̲āt al-ʿarabiyya*, in the *Mad̲j̲alla* of the Academy of Cairo, i [1935], 350-68 and iii, 349-71). The following year, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūk̲h̲ī was to put forward, in the introduction to his edition of the *Takmila* of al-D̲j̲awālīḳī (in *MMIA*, xiv [1936], 169-226) a brief list, later to be completed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id (in *MMIA*, xvi [1941], 287), Kurkīs ʿAwwād (*ibid.*, xvii [1942], 282) and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Mag̲h̲ribī (*ibid.*, xxv [1950], 471-7). In 1953, the IFAO of Cairo published the anonymous *D̲j̲umāna*, preceded by an introduction by the editor, Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and containing a list of Mag̲h̲ribī treatises. The most complete inventory is that with which U. Rizzitano prefaced his analysis of the *Tat̲h̲ḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī (*Studia et documenta orientalia*, 5, Centro di studi orientali della Custodia Francescana di Terra Santa, Cairo 1956); this work, which has lost none of its value, will be extensively utilised in the present article. In the same year, there appeared in Cairo a thesis presented in 1953 by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿd̲j̲am al-ʿarabī*, which also contains (96-115) a rather muddled list. The history of research on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* up to the year 1957 has been traced by G. Krotkoff (*op. laud.*), who also corrects and supplements Rizzitano on points of detail. Apart from the editions to which attention will be drawn in due course, the most recent works on this subject are those of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī (in *RIMA*, iii/1-2 [1376-7/1957], 133-7, 285-321), of Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (*Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1961, and *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa 'l-taṭawwur al-lug̲h̲awī*, Cairo 1967) and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (*Laḥn al-ʿāmma fī ḍawʾ al-dirāsāt al-lug̲h̲awiyya al-ḥadīt̲h̲a*, Cairo 1967); the studies of these three last-mentioned authors are based on the partial or complete editions which they had procured.

The earliest treatise dealing with the genre studied here could well be the *Kitāb mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿawāmm* (or *Risāla fī laḥn al-āmma*) attributed to al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805 [*q.v.*]) and published by C. Brockelmann (in *ZA*, xiii, 31-46; cf. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 111-15), later by al-Maymunī (in *T̲h̲alāt̲h̲ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1344/1968); this work comprises 102 entries in which the correct form is introduced by *taḳūl*—"you shall say . . ." and the incorrect form by *lā taḳūl* "you shall not say. . ." (see also Brockelmann, I, 115, S I, 178; Rizzitano, no. 18); the two editors, faced with the question of the legitimacy of the attribution of the text to al-Kisāʾī, finally decided in favour of its authenticity, but Fück (*ʿArabīya*, 50-1; Fr. tr. 77) has cast serious doubt on the issue; since Rizzitano indicates (no. 41) that *al-Naṣīḥa al-tāmma li 'l-k̲h̲āṣṣa wa 'l-ʿāmma* by a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAlāʾī al-Ḥanafī is a presentation in alphabetical order of the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* of al-Kisāʾī, this fact would seem to be an argument in favour of authenticity (cf. Krotkoff, 12, n. 13).

In the list of the writings of al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]), there figures a *Kitāb* (*al-Bahāʾ fī-*) *mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, now apparently lost (see Ibn al-Nadīm, Cairo ed., 100; Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, vii, 278 = *Udabāʾ*, xx, 13; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, v, 357; al-Suyūṭī, *Bug̲h̲ya*, 411; Rizzitano, no. 4); Ibn K̲h̲allikān (*Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 229) compares it with the *Faṣīḥ* of T̲h̲aʿlab (see below). In keeping with the chronological order of the authors, by dates of death, it is appropriate to mention next Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/825) [*q.v.*]), who is also credited with a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 80; Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, vii, 169 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 161; *Bug̲h̲ya*, 395; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, v, 357; Rizzitano, no. 1) which has not been preserved. The same applies to an article by his compatriot al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]), bearing the same title and mentioned notably by Ibn Yaʿīs̲h̲ (*S̲h̲arḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Leipzig 1882-6, i, 8), Ibn K̲h̲ayr al-Is̲h̲bīlī (*Fahrasa*, 375), Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī (*Taḳwīm al-lisān*, 97, 175) and Rizzitano (no. 2) but omitted, perhaps inadvertently, from the lists of works of this prolific philologist. Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838 [*q.v.*]) is said to be the author, according to the *LA* (root *ḥ-z-z*), of a *K. mā k̲h̲ālafat fīhi 'l-ʿāmma lug̲h̲āt al-ʿArab* (cf. Rizzitano, no. 5). The *K. mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* of al-Bāhilī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]) has not yet been recovered (see Ibn 'l-Nadīm, 83; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 36; *Bug̲h̲ya*, 130; Rizzitano, no. 10).

A different title, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (ed. S̲h̲ākir and Hārūn, Cairo 1949, ²1956; cf. *Oriens*, iii [1950], 325 ff.; Krotkoff, 13), was chosen by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858 [*q.v.*]) to deal with the same subject. Al-Māzinī (d. 249/863 [*q.v.*]) reverted to the traditional title (Ibn al-Nadīm, 85; al-Anbārī *Nuzha*, ed. ʿĀmir, 112; *Inbāh*, i, 246; *Irs̲h̲ād*, ii, 388 = *Udabāʾ*, vii, 122; Ibn Makkī, *Tat̲h̲ḳīf*, 265; *Bug̲h̲ya*, 202-3; Rizzitano, no. 6), but his treatise is lost. The same fate has befallen that of Abū Ḥātim al-Sid̲j̲istānī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), also intitled *Mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (al-Zubaydī, *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, introd.; Ibn al-Nadīm, 87; *Inbāh*, ii, 62; Ibn K̲h̲ayr, *Fahrasa*, 348; *Bug̲h̲ya*, 265; Brockelmann, S I, 167; Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, iii, 87 = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 265; Rizzitano, no. 7).

It was no doubt a particular category of the intellectual *k̲h̲āṣṣa* which came under attack from ʿUmar b. S̲h̲abba (d. 262/877 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. al-Naḥw wa-man kāna yalḥan min al-naḥwiyyīn* (*Irs̲h̲ād*, vi, 49 = *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 61; *Bug̲h̲ya*, 361; Rizzitano, no. 7A); to judge by the title adopted, this work must certainly have covered a less extensive span than those mentioned so far, since the author was apparently obliged to draw attention to individual faults committed, in conversations and lectures, by certain grammarians identified by name in order to chastise them for the bad example that they were setting, not with the object of illustrating the evolution of the language and certainly not to justify a certain degree of informality and abandonment of the *iʿrāb*, as was done by his contemporary al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ. In imitation of the latter, even an individual as conservative as Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]) went on record as arguing "in favour of the introduction of the spoken, or more exactly, vulgarising style into the written language, when the context requires that the expression be enlivened or embellished" (G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 435); it is nevertheless true that this author, in the chapter intitled *Taḳwīm al-lisān* of his *Adab al-kātib*, also takes his place among the ranks of the defenders of the purity of the *ʿarabiyya*. His contemporary Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. *ca.* 281/895, see AL-DĪNAWARĪ) follows the now well-established tradition in writing a *K. Laḥn al-ʿāmma* or *mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 116; *Inbāh*, i, 42; *Irs̲h̲ād*, i, 127 = *Udabāʾ*, iii, 32; *Bug̲h̲ya*, 132; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, v, 358; Rizzitano, no. 8), as well as, according to al-Suyūṭī, an *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (which is perhaps none other than the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*).

To T̲h̲aʿlab (d. 291/904 [*q.v.*]) there is attributed a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (*Inbāh*, i, 150; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, v, 357; Rizzitano, no. 9), but this title must apply, as is suggested by Krotkoff (*op. laud.*, 12-13, n. 15), to the well-known *Faṣīḥ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim K̲h̲afād̲j̲ī, Cairo 1949), which is

concerned with the genre being studied here; this work, with its object of establishing the norm, has given rise to a series of commentaries and supplements such as the *Fāʾit al-Faṣīḥ* of Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. 345/957 [*q.v.*]), the *Tamām Faṣīḥ al-kalām* of Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*]) edited by A. J. Arberry, London 1951, the *Dhayl Faṣīḥ al-kalām* of al-Ghaznawī (d. 442/1050), the *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 577/1182 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), the *Dhayl Faṣīḥ Thaʿlab* of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231 [*q.v.*]) edited with the *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* of al-Harawī, etc. (see Brockelmann, S I, 181).

Abu 'l-Haydham (d. after 300/913) is likewise credited with a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 122; *Irshād*, vi, 209 = *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 21; *Bughya*, 382; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357; Rizzitano, no. 3). Ibn Durayd (d. 321/934 [*q.v.*]) wrote a *Taḳwīm al-lisān*, composed in imitation of Ibn Ḳutayba and left incomplete (*Irshād*, vi, 89 = *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 136), but his *K. al-Malāḥin* (Brockelmann, I, 112, S I, 173; Rizzitano, no. 19) is not to be taken into account in this context, since it deals with words of double meaning and not with errors (cf. Krotkoff, 13, n. 15).

As Krotkoff (14) quite correctly points out, reference to mistakes is made in a vast number of works, so that it is difficult to select those which belong to the category of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* without bearing this specific title or one of the equivalents so far encountered. As far as it is possible to judge, the preceding treatises are concerned essentially with oral usage and its more or less accidental repercussions as they affect the written language, but it is legitimate to include in the present inventory works which draw attention to faults of orthography and errors of transmission or reading which threaten to be repeated on a lasting basis and to damage the integrity of the *ʿarabiyya*; after all, authors whose object is undoubtedly to correct what they call the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* do not neglect to devote a chapter to *taṣḥīf* and to *taḥrīf* [*q.v.*], and it will be noted that even Ibn Makkī puts the *bāb al-taṣḥīf* at the head of his book. It will therefore be appropriate to mention here *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf* (ed. A. Talas, Damascus 1968) of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 350/961 [*q.v.*]), which deals largely with erroneously transmitted verses (cf. Brockelmann, I, 145, S I, 221; Rizzitano, no. 20) and *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalā aghālīṭ/aghlāṭ al-ruwāt* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baṣrī (d. 375/985), which deals with errors and inaccuracies of one stratum of the intellectual *khāṣṣa* (on the mss., see Brockelmann, S I, 176-7). Also belonging to the same category are the *K. al-Taṣḥīḥ/al-Taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf* of al-Dāraḳuṭnī (d. 385/995 [*q.v.*]), mentioned by Krotkoff (14), and the *Sharḥ mā yaḳaʿ fīhi 'l-taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf* (ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Aḥmad, Cairo 1963) of Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī (d. 382/993, see AL-ʿASKARĪ), where there are studies of words whose similar *ductus* leads to errors of reading and pronunciation among the *khāṣṣa* as well as among the *ʿāmma*. Also deserving mention perhaps is the *Istidrāk al-ghalaṭ* of al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989 [*q.v.*]) which corrects the errors of the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl (ed. Guidi, in *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, vi [1890], 414-57).

We return to the subject as such with the *K. Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* or *K. ma yalḥan fīhi ʿawāmm al-Andalus* of the same Zubaydī; this work has been analysed by G. Krotkoff (*op. laud.*) before being published successively by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (Cairo 1963) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (Cairo 1966, with the *Taḳwīm al-lisān* of Ibn al-Djawzī and the *Tathḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī; see below); for the first time, we encounter an Andalusian author who observes curiously that Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (see above) has found in the Orient faults which are not committed by his compatriots, but he adds that the latter are not immune to inaccuracies; it will be noted that another Andalusian, Ibn Hishām, does not hesitate to criticise his predecessor.

Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005, see AL-ʿASKARĪ) is credited, for his part, with a *Laḥn al-khāṣṣa* (*Bughya*, 221) which is mentioned several times by Ibn al-Djawzī, but which has not survived. We do however have the *K. Tathḳīf al-lisān wa-talḳīḥ al-djanān* of Ibn Makkī (d. 501/1108 [*q.v.*]) first analysed by U. Rizzitano (*op. laud.*), then edited by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (Cairo 1966, see above). This Sicilian author, who was *ḳāḍī* of Tunis, makes statements analogous to those of al-Zubaydī with reference to the Orient and the Maghrib, and he takes up arms against the degradation of the *ʿarabiyya* which has become so accentuated that people who express themselves correctly are subjected to ridicule; in his opinion, even the few individuals who respect the norm when they read and write cannot resist using the informal language of the common people, that is, dialectal Arabic, in their speech.

The *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣ(ṣ)* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]) may be considered the most eminent work of this category (ed. H. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1871 and several oriental editions; numerous commentaries; see Brockelmann, I, 277, S I 488).

Salāma b. Ghayyāḍ al-Kaf(a)rṭāʾī (d. 533/1138) is the author of a *K. mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* which is now lost (*Irshād*, iv, 246 = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 234; *Bughya*, 259; Rizzitano, no. 12). Besides the celebrated *Muʿarrab*, al-Djawālīḳī (d. 539/1144 [*q.v.*]) wrote a *K. al-Takmila fī-mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* published by H. Derenbourg (in *Festschrift Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875, 107-66, under the title *K. Khaṭāʾ al-ʿawāmm*), then by ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī (in *MMIA*, xiv [1936], 163-226, under the title *Takmilat iṣlāḥ mā taghlaṭ fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*); this is a supplement to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī (see introd. of Tanūkhī, 167-8) which al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 401; cf. Rizzitano, no. 24) entitles in fact *Tatimmat Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, also citing a *Mā talḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, which must be the same work. Besides the commentaries and supplements to which reference has been made above, the treatise of al-Ḥarīrī gave rise to several refutations, among which that of Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 567/1171), the *Radd ʿalā Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* (*Bughya*, 276-7), is preserved in the Dār al-Kutub (*Madjāmiʿ*, 198). Al-Djawālīḳī (*Takmila*, ed. Tanūkhī, 167) mentions *al-Laḥn al-khafī* of Hishām b. Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī (d. 577/1182) also noted by al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 406; cf. Rizzitano, no. 13).

Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 577/1182 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) revises the *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* of al-Zubaydī and the *Tathḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī in searching out the ancient attestations of terms rejected by these authors and also corrects faults current in Spain in a work in two parts intitled *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Zubaydī fī laḥn al-ʿawāmm* and *al-Madkhal ilā taḳwīm al-lisān*; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī has extracted from it and published in the *Mélanges Ṭaha Ḥusayn* (Cairo 1962, 273-94) the chapter on popular proverbs drawn from more or less corrupt classical verses, and he has also devoted to this author two articles inserted in *RIMA*, iii/1-2 (1376-7/1957). On the problems posed by the revision of this

treatise and the successive summaries which have been made of it, see below and IBN HISHĀM in the Suppl.; in addition, al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 20) cites a *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* (of Thaʿlab) by the same author, considered to be of high quality.

Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187 [*q.v.*]) takes issue, in his turn, with the *fuḳahāʾ*, but not without taking precautions since he entitles his article *K. Ghalaṭ/Aghlāt al-ḍuʿafāʾ min al-fuḳahāʾ* (ed. C. C. Torrey, in *Orient. Studien ... Th. Nöldeke*, Giessen 1906, 211-24). The *K. Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm* of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]), published by Maṭar (*Taḳwīm al-lisān*; see above), is mentioned under a variety of titles.

Nothing is known of *al-Taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf* (Krotkoff, 14) of al-Balaṭī (d. 599/1202 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), nor do we have any information on the refutation of Ibn Makkī by Ibn al-Adjdābī (7th/13th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), *al-Radd ʿalā Tathḳīf al-lisān*, mentioned in the introduction by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to his edition of the *Djumāna* and in that by ʿIzzat Ḥasan to that of the *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ* (Damascus 1964, 22) by the Tripolitanian philologist (see also Rizzitano, no. 14).

Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī al-Ishbīlī (8th/14th century) is the author of a *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm fi-mā yataʿallaḳ bi-ʿilm al-kalām* (*Djumāna*, p. *yāʾ*, n. 9; Brockelmann, ii, 250; Rizzitano, no. 30), but this work deals with Ashʿarism and not with errors of language properly speaking (see J. D. Latham, *The content of the* Laḥn al-ʿawāmm *of Abū ʿAlī ...*, in *Actas del primer Cong. de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 293-307; it has been published by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Zamāma in *Revue des manuscrits arabes*, xvii/2 (1971), 235-76 and by S. Ghrāb, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, xii, (1975), 111-255). The father of the editor of the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Djuzayy (d. 741/1340), left a *K. al-Fawāʾid al-ʿāmma fi laḥn al-ʿāmma* (see *Djumāna*, p. *ṭ*, n. 6; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, viii, 29; Rizzitano, no. 15). By another Andalusian, Ibn Hāniʾ al-Lakhmī (d. 733/1332), the *Irshād al-ḍawāl(l) wa-inshād al-sawwāl* is a revision of the work of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (see above).

Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1348 [*q.v.*]) is the author of an article intitled *Aghlāṭī*, of which one ms. has survived (Derenbourg, *Mss arabes de l'Escurial*, 76, no. 123; cf. Brockelmann, II, 296), but it is unclear whether it fits into the category which concerns us (cf. Rizzitano, no. 31).

The *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf* of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) is a criticism and a resumé of nine previous works (of al-Ḥarīrī, al-Djawālīḳī, Ibn Makkī, al-Zubaydī, Ibn al-Djawzī, in particular; see Rizzitano, no. 32); a ms. of it exists in the Dār al-Kutub (37 *lugha*) and it has been the object of an analysis by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī (*K. Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf li 'l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī*, in *MMIA*, xxv [1950], 471-7; see also al-Ahwānī, in *RIMA*, 1957/1, 133, n. 1).

Ibn Khātima (d. 770/1369 [*q.v.*]) restricts himself to a summary, in the *Īrād al-laʾāl fi inshād al-ḍawāl(l)* of the work done by Ibn Hāniʾ al-Lakhmī on the *Taḳwīm al-lisān* of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī, and his, abridgment has been further edited, anonymously, into the form of a brief article published by G. S. Colin (in *Hespéris*, xii [1931], 1-32). Another unknown western scholar of the 9th-10th/15th-16th century has left a treatise with the revealing title *al-Djumāna fi izālat al-raṭāna* which has been edited by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*PIFAO*, Cairo, ix, 1953).

The prolific Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) was not a man likely to omit a contribution to the genre, and there remains in Istanbul (see Rizzitano, no. 34) a ms. of his *Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*. The same title was given to the Turkish translation (*Terdjüme-i Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*) of *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ghalaṭ al-khāmil* (or *al-djāhil*) *wa 'l-nabīh* by Ibn Kamāl Pasha (d. 940/1533, see KEMĀL PASHA-ZĀDE), which concerned Arabic words disorted or badly pronounced mainly by the Turks [see also GHALAṬĀT-I MESHHŪRE]; the Arabic text of the *Tanbīh* has been published by R. ʿA. al-ʿUbaydī, in *al-Mawrid*, ix/4 (1401/1981), 551-98.

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī (d. 971/1563) seems to a certain extent to take the opposite view from that of previous authors in his *ʿIḳd al-khalāṣ fi naḳd kalām al-khawāṣ(ṣ)* of which one manuscript exists in Istanbul (Rizzitano, no. 3) and his *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fi-mā aṣāba fihi 'l-ʿawām(m)* (ed. Tanūkhī, in *MMIA*, xv, 85-139, 165-215). Khusraw-zāde (d. 998/1590) summarises al-Farrāʾ, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Sidjistānī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn Ḳutayba, Thaʿlab, al-ʿAskarī, etc., in his *Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm* (ms. in Istanbul; see Rizzitano, no. 38) and corrects some linguistic errors in his *Tanbīh al-anām fi tawdjīh al-kalām* (ms. in Berlin; see Brockelmann, ii, 423; Rizzitano, no. 39).

Whereas al-Djawālīḳī confines himself, in his *Muʿarrab*, to considering words borrowed from Arabic, al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]) gives, in his *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fi-mā fi kalām al-ʿArab min al-dakhīl*, numerous examples of commonly-committed errors.

Rizzitano further mentions (nos. 43-5) some anonymous *Saḳaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*, equally anonymous *Aghlāṭ al-ʿawāmm wa 'l-khawāṣṣ* (ms. in Istanbul) and *al-Tanbīh ʿalā 'l-laḥn al-djalī wa 'l-khafī* by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Rāzī (various mss.; on the difference between *laḥn djalī* and *laḥn khafī*, see al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, iv, 1308).

The attitude of the authors cited above is by no means homogenous. Some of them show an excessive purism and lay down the law without reservation, whereas others take a more liberal line, accept variations and are content to define the form which they consider the most correct in terms of the *faṣāḥa*; the latter applies, in particular, to the work of Thaʿlab, in his *Faṣīḥ*. The study of those treatises that have survived enables us to make a few general remarks.

In the first place, as has been stressed above, the philologists are not concerned with purely dialectal usage, which they regard as an adaptation of the *ʿarabiyya*, of the perfect form of Arabic, and not at all as a survival and evolution of ancient speech-patterns influenced by the mixture of ethnic elements as well as by the language formerly spoken in that territory and the language of neighbouring areas. It is therefore quite interesting to see for example an Ibn Hishām going in search, to justify usages considered erroneous, of attestations of terms rejected by his predecessors with regard to the criterion of the *faṣāḥa*, but alive and well in the ancient Arabic dialects. The faults to which attention is drawn in the works in question do not however apply exclusively to elements of vocabulary, and usages which transgress the norm can be classified in five main categories: 1. The most common applies to phonetics (incorrect vocalisation; lengthening of a vowel; alteration of a consonant by lengthening, emphasis, disemphasis, sonorisation, deadening, etc.; metathesis; reduction of a dipthong, etc.); 2. Morphology gives rise to remarks on, for example,

the first person singular of the imperfective in *n*-, but does not figure significantly; 3. The same applies to syntax. 4. Orthography, especially of the *hamza*, is the object of a few observations; 5. But it is most of all vocabulary which interests these authors (shifts of meaning; neologisms and borrowings which are regarded as superfluous because a proper Arabic term exists; excessive use of dialectal forms, etc.).

The mediaeval authors of treatises of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* have in the present day some worthy successors, of whom there will be found in the introduction by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn S. al-Zaʿbalawī to his work entitled *A**kh**ṭāʾunā fi 'l-ṣuḥuf wa 'l-dawāwīn* (Damascus 1358/1939, 3, 6-9) a critical list, which may be enlarged by a study of the reviews of the various Arab Academies and of publications concerned with the language. Using criteria similar to those of their mediaeval predecessors, these authors are at pains to correct errors current in the press, in administration and in literature; we shall confine ourselves to mentioning Ibrāhīm al-Yāzi**dj**ī (1847-1906), *Lu**gh**at al-**dj**arāʾid* (Cairo 1319/1901, Asʿad **Kh**alīl Dā**gh**ir, *Ta**dh**kirat al-kātib* (Cairo 1933), al-Zaʿbalawī (see above), and Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945) who, in his *Dafʿ al-hi**dj**na fi 'rtiḍā**kh** al-lukna*, draws attention to deviations from Arabic caused by the Turkish domination.

To judge by the way that the language has been degraded, works of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, whether ancient or modern, do not seem to have born fruit, and the efforts of the purists continue to be vain in confrontation with the development of the written and oral usage of so-called "literary" Arabic, which hardly allows interested parties the time to polish their language, even assuming that they are capable of doing so. In addition, it may be asserted that there is a tendency to put into practice the old adage *li-kull maḳām maḳāl* and to consider that the *faṣāḥa* to which one refers is not intangible and that it has the right to evolve it (on this subject see R. Ḥamzāwī, *al-Faṣāḥa faṣāḥāt, aw al-daʿwa ilā ḍarūrat murā**dj**aʿat al-faṣāḥa* (*sic*), in *Ḥawliyyāt al-**Dj**āmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, xvi [1978], 45-63).

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(CH. PELLAT)

LAHNDĀ, meaning "west" in Pan**dj**ābī, was first given wide currency as a linguistic term by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India*. Following this authority, the name is often applied to the Indo-Aryan dialects of the western Pan**dj**āb (Pākistān), as opposed to the PAN**DJ**ĀBĪ [*q.v.*] of the central and eastern districts. The more natural feminine "Lahndī" is now general in South Asian scholarly usage, but neither form has ever achieved popular local currency.

1. Status and dialects. Grierson distinguished the dialects of the westen Pan**dj**āb as belonging to a "Lahndā language" (L.), regarded by him as a pure example of his conservative "Outer Circle" group, from the immediately neighbouring dialects he assigned to Pan**dj**ābī proper (P.), described as a member of his innovating "Central Group", which had come to overlay territory formerly occupied by L., although still retaining several L. features. Both the failure of Grierson's division of Indo-Aryan into "Outer" and "Central" groups to find much later support and the absence of any cohesive local consciousness of linguistic unity suggest that L. is to be regarded less as a language than as a convenient linguistic label for a group of dialects. In the latter sense, L. may be quite properly be distinguished from P. on the basis of such features as the conservative retention of many irregular past participles, the extensive use of pronominal suffixes with verbs (suggesting a parallel with the immediately neighbouring Iranian languages), the presence of a distinctive form of the past substantive verb (L. *āhā, hā* "was", P. *sī*), the non-periphrastic formation of the passive (L. *suṅī-* "be heard", P. *suṅiā jā-*), or the sigmatic formation of the future (L. *suṅsī* "he will hear", P. *suṅēgā*); many basic lexical items may also be collectively distinguished, as in the common verbal stems L. *ghinn-* "take", ***th**ī-* "become", *wanj-* "go" (< Sanskrit *gṛhṇāti, sthīyatē, *vrañjati*), for P. *lai-, ho-, ja-* (< *labhatē, bhavati, yāti*). The recognition of such differences should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that the many similarities between L. and P. make them closer to one another than either are to their immediate neighbours, respectively Sindhī and western Hindī.

Grierson's internal division of L. into dialect-groups, based as it was on data of very uneven quality, has been rightly criticised (see bibliography). While much detailed work still needs to be done, at least four such groups probably need to be distinguished.

The main group is that which covers the south-western Pan**dj**āb on either bank of the Indus below the Salt Range, including Multān and Bahāwalpūr, also the districts of Dēra Ismāʿīl **Kh**ān and Dēra **Gh**āzī **Kh**ān. Apparently as the result of earlier Balūč migrations from the latter areas, it is also widely spoken in eastern Balūčistān and upper Sind. In Sind it is called Sirāikī (< Sindhī *sirō* "up-river, north"), and this term has recently come to be generally current in the Pan**dj**āb also, replacing such local terms as "Multānī", etc. The absence of separate enumeration in the censuses and the settlement of large numbers of P.-speaking Muslim refugees from India since 1947 in the area makes the number of Sirāikī-speakers impossible to estimate accurately, though a figure of 15-20 million is often suggested. Both the number of speakers and the fact that Sirāikī (Sir.) is the only variety of L. to have been seriously cultivated as a vehicle for literature (see § 2. below) go some way to support its claim to be considered a separate language. Linguistically, Sir. is the variety of L. most distinct from P., as may be most clearly illustrated from typical phonological features. Middle Indo-Aryan initial and medial geminate voiced unaspirates are retained as such in P. and other varieties of L., but become implosive in Sir., as in Sindhī, and are in phonemic contrast with the corresponding explosives (often as a result of Perso-Arabic loans, which are very extensive): historical aspiration, whether as *h* or in the voiced aspirate series, is retained as such in Sir., where it has been reduced to tonal realisation of the adjacent syllables in P.: and, while L. is collectively distinguished from P. by the retention of *tr-* as an initial cluster (L. *truṭṭ-, trōṛ-* "break", P. *ṭuṭṭ-, ṭōṛ-*), Sir. is further distinguished by retention finally also, without anaptyxis, so Sir. *putr* "son" (< *putra-*), but northern L. *puttur*, Pl. *puttar*. Three main dialects of Sir. may be distinguished, although the differences are not particularly marked: these are the northern Thalī, the central Multānī, and the southern Bahāwalpūrī.

To the north of Sir., in and above the Salt Range, a number of related dialects are spoken, of which only Awāṅkārī has been properly described. This group of dialects is distinguished phonetically by the retention of historical aspiration, or its realisa-

tion as a high-falling tone, but normally without the low-rising tone of P., and morphologically by the use of extension in -ē to mark the singular oblique of unextended masculine nouns. Immediately to the east of this "northern L." group (of which the Hindkō of Peshāwar may be regarded as a member having many innovating features) is found Pōthōhārī, the speech of the Rāwalpindī area, which appears to be an intermediate dialect between it and P. Finally, to the south of this, in the Shāhpūr area, a complex group, containing features of P., northern L., and Sir. is encountered. This is clearly a linguistic frontier area, and it is unfortunate that Grierson should have chosen it as his standard for the description of L. The number of all speakers of varieties of L. other than Sir. is impossible to estimate accurately, but may amount to about 7 million.

2. Muslim literature. While the L.-speaking region was one of the first in the sub-continent to fall under Muslim political dominance, and the area has long had a large majority of Muslims in its population (now almost total, since 1947), the predominant literary language was naturally always Persian until its replacement by Urdū in the last century. Sir. has, however, also been cultivated for some types of writing, leading to the creation of an interesting local literature.

The earliest record of Muslim poetry in the Pandjāb is in the *shalōk* and hymns attributed to Farīd in the Sikh *Ādi Granth* (1604). While their traditional ascription to Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar (571-664/1175-1265 [*q.v.*]) is exceedingly doubtful, their language does suggest that a composite idiom, based on the Sir. of Multān, long important as the seat of influential Ṣūfī dynasties, and the P. of the political capital of Lahore, was already well established as a local Muslim literary language by the 16th century. This is confirmed by the more reliably transmitted works of such slightly later writers as Mawlawī ʿAbd Allāh "ʿAbdī" (d. 1075/1664), author of many versified treatises on Islamic law and dogma.

Only in the 18th century, with the collapse of centralised Mughal authority, does a linguistically distinctive tradition of Sir., as opposed to P., Muslim literature properly emerge. This literature is nearly all in verse, and most of its genres and themes are naturally very similar to the contemporary local literatures being cultivated both in P. and in Sindhī. The largest single category of writing was probably the versified teaching material produced in the form of short treatises on the tenets of Islam, or rhyming Persian-Sir. vocabularies, of little intrinsic literary interest. Adaptations of popular Persian *mathnawī*-themes were also made, the best-known of these poems (locally termed *ḳiṣṣa*) being the *Sayf al-Mulūk* by Luṭf ʿAlī of Bahāwalpūr (119/1781) and the *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm of Uč (1218/1803). Local legends were also treated in this form, the best early example being from Sind, in the *Sassī Punnūn* by Nabī Bakhsh Laghārī (1254/1838).

The chief glory of the literature is, however, its Ṣūfī lyrical poetry, whether in the form of the short *dōhṛā*, cultivated by ʿAlī Ḥaydar of Multān (d. 1201/1785), or the longer *kāfī*, a sung lyric with a refrain repeated after each verse, first brought to perfection by Saččal Sarmast (1152-1242/1739-1827) of Khayrpūr in Upper Sind, who wrote with equal fluency and immediacy in Sindhī also. The finest example of the Sir. *kāfī* are to be found in the *dīwān* of Khʷādja Ghulām Farīd (1845-1901), the head of an important Čishtī dynasty, who lived at Čāčṛān in Bahāwalpūr State. With their subtle blend of a sensitive handling of local desert scenery, and the most profound Islamic learning, these poems mark both the end and the culmination of Muslim writing in the local languages of the Indus valley.

Mention should be made of the Shīʿī elegies (*marthiya* [*q.v.*]) produced in great numbers from Multān since the mid-19th century. These represent interesting local adaptations of the vast store of Shīʿī legendary material found in the popular Persian sources, and are notable stylistically as being typically written in alternating sections of verse and prose (*taḳrīr*), thus directly reflecting the usual style of performance of the professional *dhākirs* at the local *madjālis-i mātam*.

Traditional genres continue to be cultivated, while in recent years a modern prose literature has begun to be created. The problem of a uniform adaptation of the Perso-Urdū *nastaʿlīḳ* script [see KHAṬṬ. 4. India] to record the many additional phonemes of Sir. has yet to be fully resolved. In Sind, no longer important as a centre for the production of original Sir. literature, older Sir. texts are published in the Sindhī *naskhī* script, with its many additional letters.

There is a much smaller Muslim literature in the northern L. Hindkō. Writings produced in the areas of Pōthōhārī and Shāhpūrī are hardly to be distinguished from the main stream of Muslim Pandjābī literature [*q.v.*].

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2. Literature. The best surveys of the literature (in Urdū) are Kayfī Djāmpūrī, *Sirāēkī shāʿirī, Multān* 1969; Fārigh Bukhārī, *Hindkō adab*, and Ḥassān al-Ḥaydarī, *Sirāēkī adab*, in *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt-i musulmānān-i Pākistān ō-Hind*, ed. Fayyāḍ Maḥmūd, xiv, part II, Lahore 1971, 210-56, 257-343; there is a general survey of Sir. literature in C. Shackle, *Sirāikī and Sirāikī literature, c. 1750-1900*, in *Upper Sind and South-West Panjab*, University of London Ph. D. thesis 1972 (unpublished), while detailed aspects are considered in idem, *The south-western style in the Guru Granth Sahib*, in *Journal of Sikh Studies*, v/1 (1978), 69-87; *Styles and themes in the Siraiki mystical poetry of Sind*, Multan 1976; *The Pilgrimage and the extension of sacred geography in the poetry of Khwāja Ghulām Farīd*, in Attar Singh, ed., *Socio-cultural impact of Islam on India*, Chandigarh 1976, 159-70; *The Multani marsiya*, in *Isl.*, lv (1978), 100-28; and [Muḥammad Djamāl Multānī], *Nūr-e-djamal*, ed. Mahar Abdul Haq, tr. C. Shackle, Multan 1977. (C. SHACKLE)

LAHORE [see LAHAWR].

LĀHŪT and **NĀSŪT** (A.), two terms meaning divinity (or deity) and humanity, and forming a pair which plays an important role in the theology of certain Muslim mystics and in the theosophical conceptions of the extremist Imāmate.

1. **Philological considerations.** The termination *-ūt* of these two words may be traced to an Aramaic origin. It is also present in the words *malakūt* (which is Ḳurʾānic, XXXVI, 83), and *djabarūt* which appears in the *ḥadīth*: "Glory to the One to whom belongs Ruling Power (*djabarūt*) and Kingship (*malakūt*)." So *malakūt* was already Arabised in the time of the Prophet. It is a direct borrowing from Syriac (*malkūtō*), or Ethiopic (*malakôt*), where this word means divinity, the Semitic root *ʾl* (God) being lost and replaced by the composite noun *ʾĕgzīʾ abĕḥēr*? Is it a difficult question to settle. Muḥammad's known relations with Abyssinia would lead one to suppose a Geʿez influence. Whatever may be the case, Ibn Manẓūr, in *LA*, states, without posing the problem, that "*al-malakūt* comes from *mulk* (kingdom), just as *rahabūt* (terrifying nature) comes from *rahba* (terror)." As for *djabarūt*, he says that it is the *faʿalūt* form of *djabr*. Consequently, he seems to give these words in *-ūt* a right to be cited as Arabic. He is more precise with regard to *lāhūt*: "Sībawayh thinks that *lāh*[un] is the original form (*aṣl*) of the name of God (*Allāh*)", and he cites a verse of al-Aʿshā in which *lāh* is understood in the sense of *ilāh* ("god"). Then he adds: "As for *lāhūt*, if it is correct that it is a word drawn from the language of the Arabs, it is derived from *lāha*: *lāha 'llāh al-khalḳ, yalūhuhum* = *khalaḳahum* "He created them". The form of this word (*wazn*) is *faʿalūt* like *raghabūt* (e.g. *radjul raghabūt*: a man of desires, naturally carried away by desire) and *raḥamūt* ('compassionate nature')." Thus there are several examples in Arabic of words in *-ūt*. The question as to whether they are, as such, of Arabic origin, remains unsettled by the lexicographers. In any case, a Syriac text of Aphraatus (4th century) has *shem alohūtō*, followed by *shem malkūtō*, the noun of the Divinity and the noun of the Kingship, and further on *raḥmonūtō* (*Patrologie Syriaque*, i, 794). *Alōhūt* may be the equivalent of *lāhūt*, although Syriac preserved the *alif* which is in the name of God, *alōhō* = *ilāh*, and which forms part of the root (cf. the discussions of the grammarians on the formation of the name *Allāh*). Finally, one should note that in Syriac, *alōhūt* designates the essence or nature of God (*kyōnō*).

On the origin of *nāsūt*, by contrast, there is no information available. Al-Tahānawī in his *Dictionary of technical terms* has not devoted any article to it. Ibn Manẓūr does not cite this word under the root *nās* or under the root *ʾns* from which come *ins* and its pl. *unās*, as well as *insān*. Here, it is well-established, according to Abu 'l-Haytham, that the *alif* is radical (*aṣliyya*); this grammarian is also ingenious in showing how *nās* ("men") could have come from *unās*, by adding the article *al*: *al-unâs* > *alunās* > *annās* (*al-nās*), and, after the dropping of the article, *nās*. This laborious explanation shows that if the form *nās* raises difficulties, *a fortiori* the form *nāsūt*. But Syriac has a word ܐܢܫܘܬܐ (ʾ)*noshūtō* with an occulting stroke (*mᵉbᵏatlōnō*) under the *alif*, indicating that his letter must not be pronounced. There is the form *nōshō* without *alif*, which means "man". This can be compared, in Sermon xv of the *Liber graduum* (*P.S.*, iii, 379), with *per humilitatem hypostaseos ejus humanae* (*da-ḳnūmeh d-bar nōshō* "from the hypostasis of the son of man"). So the Syriac origin of the word *nāsūt* does not seem to be in doubt; it designates human nature. Doubtless it was also chosen because of its assonance with *lāhūt*.

2. ***Lāhūt* and *nāsūt* in Christian literature.** Al-Bāḳillānī in the *Tamhīd* (Cairo 1366/1947) speaks of the Christians who claim that the union of the Word with the *nāsūt* is a mixture and mingling (*ikhtilāṭ wa-'mtizādj*) like that of water with wine (the Jacobites) or with milk (the Nestorians). Some claim that the significance of the union of the Word with humanity (*nāsūt*) which is the body, consists in its taking it as a temple (*haykal*) and dwelling place (*maḥall*) (86). Further on, al-Bāḳillānī reports that for the Christians, the name Messiah has two meanings: *lāhūt*, God (*ilāh*) and *nāsūt*, created man (*insān makhlūḳ*): the prayers of Christ come from the man, his miracles come from God and not from the man. But, demands the Muslim theologian, could the same not be said of Moses? The production of his miracles comes from the divinity, to the exclusion of his humanity (*min al-lāhūt, dūn al-nāsūt*) (94). For his part, al-Djuwainī, in his *Kitāb al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* (ed. al-Nashar, Alexandria 1969, 582), writes with regard to the Christian doctrines concerning the union (*ittiḥād*), that the Christians mean by it the manifestation of divinity in humanity (*ẓuhūr al-lāhūt ʿalā 'l-nāsūt*). But in the way in which they conceive of this manifestation, they are divided into three groups. Some say that an object placed in front of a polished body appears there and can be seen without being transferred there and without dwelling there (*wa-lam yaḥullah*); it is in this sense that divinity appears in humanity, thus without *ḥulūl*. Others take the example of the impression of a seal in wax; it is the seal itself which appears there, although there is no part of it which comes to dwell there. The last group say that the manifestation of divinity in Christ means the same thing as, for Muslims, God's sitting on the throne, all of them agreeing that contact is impossible. Furthermore, they express union with the image of an act of clothing oneself (*tadarruʿ*), as if they believe that it is possible and true that the divinity had taken the body of Christ as clothing (*dirʿ*). Reference may be made to what H. Corbin wrote (*En Islam iranien*, iii, 285, n. 102), on al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336). So it may be reasonable to suppose that the terms *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* were borrowed from the Christians who wrote in Arabic using Syriac sources and originals, particularly the Nestorians who had had, as we learn from al-Tawḥīdī, numerous relations with Muslim thinkers, especially in Baghdād. It is conceivable that the problem of the union of the divinity and humanity in Christ had been able to interest the mystics of Islam, who were faced with an analogous problem, *mutatis mutandis*. On this subject, the ideas of assuming a garment, indwelling and temple are present in the writings of St. John and St. Paul, and these images were applied not only to Christ, but also to the saints in whom God, Christ and the Spirit are said to reside. An echo is to be found in Syriac literature. Thus one can read in the *Liber graduum* (Sermon iii, *P.S.*, iii, 71): "And Christ dwells in them" (*w-ʿōmer b-hūn Mashīḥō*); they are "filled with God" (*metmalen men Alōhō*). One should note the translation of the passage of St. Paul: "You are the temple of God" (I Cor., iii, 16): *Haykᵉleh a(n)tūn d-Alōhō*. The Arabic language has the word *haykal* whose significance, according to the lexicographers, is that of an adjective which has the meaning of "corpulent", "large", "long or high". This qualification is applied to animals and plants, especially the horse when it is "high on its hooves" (*ṭawīl*). A building is called *haykal*, when it is raised like a horse on its hooves (*LA*); Ibn Manẓūr (*ibid.*) informs us that the *haykal*

"is stated as being, among the Christians, a temple (*bayt*) in which there is an idol in the likeness of Mary (*fīhi ṣanam ʿalā khalkat Maryam*) or even: "in which there is the effigy of Jesus and Mary". He adds that this name is sometimes given to Christian convents. Only lastly does he mention the meaning of an idol temple. So it seems indisputable that the use of the term *haykal* to designate the place where the *lāhūt*, i.e. the *nāsūt*, resides is of Christian origin. As for the image of clothing, in Christian literature, it has the two senses: the divine nature wears (*lᵉbesh*) the form (*ṣūrōt*) of the earthly man and we wear (*nelbesh*) the form of the celestial man (Aphraatus, *Démonstration* vi, 18, P.S., i). As for the Word, it wore (*lᵉbesh*) a body of dust, and it drew it to its own [divine] nature (*la-knyōteh*) (*Dém.* xxiii, 49, P.S. ii). But what is involved here is the Melkite doctrine of God made body (in Arabic: *ilāh mutadjassid*), meaning by body human nature, or even *Allāh al-mutaʾannis* (cf. St. Athanasius, *P.G.* 26, col. 804, where the incarnation σάρκωσις, is identified with "humanisation" ἐνανθρώπησις. According to the Nestorians, the divine nature of the Word wears an integral human nature and subsists as such in the union, this union being that of two concurrent wills (συνάφεια) in a *prosōpon* of union. In the *Book of Heraclides of Damascus* (French tr. F. Nau), Nestorius explaines his conception clearly (158, 212-13), and he expands in several ways on the image of the clothing which has its own nature, but which nevertheless is always and everywhere present with that which bears it, for example "on account of the One which is worn, I adore the clothing" (*ibid.*, 159). The image of the temple is also developed: "The temple is passive (παυητὸς ὁ ναός), but not God who gives it life" (*ibid.*, 207). In the same sense, Ibn al-Djawzī writes in *Talbīs Iblīs*: "the Christians maintain that Christ is two substances, the one eternal, the other created; that he had need of nourishment; that he was crucified; and that this was on account of his humanity" (*fuʿila hādhā bi-'l-nāsūt*). But, as a good Muslim, Ibn al-Djawzī asks "why did not the divine element in him (*lāhūt*) oust that from the *nāsūt*?"

The word *lāhūt* is used by Arabic-speaking Christians. Thus in the *History of the Twelve Patriarchs of the Church at Alexandria*, Severus, bishop of al-Ashmūnayn (towards the end of the 10th century), citing a letter from St. Cyril to Nestorius (*Patrologie orientale*, i, 434), reports that Christ "died on the cross in his body, while he is living by the force of his divinity" (*ḥayy bi-ḳuwwat lāhūtihi*). He confesses the Trinity by saying that there are three persons (*aḳānīm*), one unique nature (*ṭabīʿa wāḥida*) and one unique divinity (*lāhūt wāḥid*).

3. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in the thought of al-Ḥallādj. The preceding discussion may clarify many difficult aspects of Ḥallādjian mysticism. According to L. Massignon (*Passion*², iii, 51), al-Ḥāllādj borrowed from the lexicon of the extremist Imāmī theologians the words *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*, "however, profoundly modifying their significance". In a note he states that it is unlikely that he had made this borrowing from the Christians, as was formerly believed: "for him, as for the Ghulāt, *nāsūt*, *nūr shaʿshaʿānī* ('resplendent light') and *amr* ('command') are synonyms, which is in no way Christian". But the argument does not stand up, for the question is that of the origin of the words and not of the origin of their significance; if, even by the confession of Massignon, al-Ḥallādj modified the significance of expressions which he took from the Imāmīs, why would he not have accomodated to his own thought some terms which he had taken from the Christians? ʿAfīfī, in his book *al-Taṣawwuf: al-thawra al-rūḥiyya fi 'l-Islām* (Alexandria 1963, 82-3), followed by Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shībī in his *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥallādj*, has upheld the thesis of the Christian origin. But which Christians are concerned? If it is the Nestorians, it seems that, even going beyond words, similarities in ideas may be detected, allowing for the fact that in al-Ḥallādj there is no Christian christology. In fact, the Ḥallādjian *nāsūt* could be considered the equivalent of the *prosōpon* of union in which the will of God and the will of man are united, which justifies L. Massignon's important remark (*ibid.*, iii, 52): "The only aspect through which divine action takes part in transforming man is not *lāhūt*, the creative omnipotence ..., but this essential, intelligible word which is at the basis of every command of the Divine ...". *Nāsūt*, like *amr*, is actually the place where the wills of the One who commands and the one who obeys are united. As in Nestorianism, there is never any confusion between the divine essence, *lāhūt*, or as L. Gardet says (*Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, 491), "the sealed world of the divine essence" and the human substance. To mark this irreducible distinction of the two natures, al-Ḥallādj uses the terms *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūtiyya*: "My observance of what is properly Yours differs from Your observance of what is properly mine; in fact, Your observance of what is properly mine is divinity (*lāhūtiyya*) and my observance of what is properly Yours is humanity (*nāsūtiyya*), and even while my humanity (*nāsūtiyya*) is lost in Your divinity (*fī lāhūtiyyatika*) without being confused with it, at the same time Your divinity takes possession of my humanity without having any contact with it" (*Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, no. 1, Arabic text, 8). "He who supposes that *lāhūtiyya* mingles with humanity (*bashariyya*), or the *bashariyya* mingles with divinity (*ulūhiyya*) is an infidel" (*ibid.*, no. 25). The synonymous *ulūhiyya-lāhūtiyya* and *bashariyya-nāsūtiyya* allow us an accurate understanding of the meaning of the two terms constructed from *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*. Let us note that Ibn al-Fāriḍ (*Tāʾiyya*, 455) uses *lāhūt* in the sense of *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūt* in the sense of *nāsūtiyya*: "I am not diverted by *lāhūt* from the condition of the place of my appearance, and I do not forget, through *nāsūt*, the place of my wisdom's appearance." If, as for the Nestorians, there is no mingling of the two natures, by contrast, when al-Ḥallādj uses the image of clothing, it is to say "my temporality is beneath the clothing of Your eternity" (*ḥadathī taḥt mulābis ḳidamika*); (*Akhbār*, no. 1). "O All of my all ... The all of Your All is a clothing worn by my inner significance" (*Dīwān*, 7, v. 5: *wa kullu kullika malbūs bi-maʿnāʾī*). The act of wearing this All (*labs*), that Massignon explains by "the deiformity of the sanctified man" (*Passion*, iii, 356, n. 7), results in the all of the man containing the all of God with which he is clothed. "I contain in my all the All of Your All, O You, my sanctity. You are revealed to me to the point where it is as though You were within me" (*Dīwān*, 44, v. 1). Indeed, in the order of the stations of mystical ascension, *labs* comes immediately after *kashf*. Finally, there is also to be found in al-Ḥallādj the image of the *haykal* which is the corporeal form: "The *haykal* remains on earth, putrefied" (*Dīwān*, 63, v. 2). So it is not simply a question of the divine dwelling within him; he must also be transfigured. Al-Ḥallādj asked for "the destruction of the Kaʿba,

then its rebuilding with wisdom." The Kaʿba to be destroyed is the "temple of the human body", the *haykal* "whose transfiguration is to be hastened" (*Passion*, i, 689). As for myself, He does not veil Himself from me for a single moment, until my *nāsūtiyya* is lost in His *lāhūtiyya* and my body disappears in the lights of His essence" (*Akhbar*, 10; cf. *Passion*, iii, 52-3). *Nāsūtiyya* must then, in so far as it is purely human, be assumed by the *nāsūt*, the aspect of God in which union is realised: "Glory be to Him whose *nāsūt* manifested the secret of His dazzling *lāhūt*'s sublimity, in the form of a man who eats and drinks" (*Dīwān*, 9, v. 1).

The origin of the idea of *nāsūt* conceived by al-Ḥallādj must be looked for in the word that, in eternity before all creation, God addresses to man, the Word which is contained in the uncreated Ḳurʾān. To this idea of a pre-eternal conversation between God and man is linked all the Ḥallādjian dialectic of Me, You and Him, which underlies the relations between *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*, *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūtiyya* as in the following example, "The Yourself which is a Him has borne witness to Me" (*awʿazta ilā shahīdika 'l-huwī*) i.e. that the dialogue between the divine You and the human me, on the level of the *nāsūt*, manifests the essence of God (*lāhūt*) in his ipseity (*huwiyya*).

4. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in the thought of Ibn ʿArabī. For Ibn ʿArabī, the *lāhūt* is the divine aspect in the prophet and saint, as supposed to the *nāsūt* which is the human aspect. In a poem concerning knowledge of Jesus (*Futūḥāt*, ed. ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, iii, 41, 88-9), one can read: "His *lāhūt*, which was in the world of the Invisible, was his union (with God: *ṣihr*), was a spirit in whose image (*rūḥ mumaththal*) God made the secret appear." The term *ṣihr* (relationship through women) indicates, according to ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, that no natural parenthood is concerned, but the result of a divine choice. The spirit is a lifegiver; it is through it that Jesus brought the dead to life. Also, generally speaking, the *lāhūt* is the life infused in things, and the recipient that the spirit brings to life is called *nāsūt* (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ch. x, where it is Christ; tr. Burckhardt, 110). The same definition is to be found in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshī (or al-Kāshānī [*q.v.*]): "The *lāhūt* among the Ṣūfis is life which flows into things, and *nāsūt* is its place (*maḥall*): it is the spirit" (cited by al-Tahānawī, art. *Lāhūt*). Ibn ʿArabī does not make systematic use of these two terms. There are equivalents in his theory of the relation between the two domains of the Kingdom (*Mulk*) and the Kingship (*Malakūt*), in that of the Light of Muḥammad (*Nūr Muḥammad*) and the Muḥammadan Tree, which is "the totalising, universal human Tree" (R. Deladrière, *Ibn ʿArabī: la profession de foi*, 62). The *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ* (*ibid.*, 62, 133) also says: "The letters of the Muḥammadan Tree are the human nature of its intelligible truth and the veils of its significance...".

5. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in Shīʿi thought. According to the Imāmī conception, different planes of the universe exist (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, i, 35): *lāhūt*, *djabarūt malakūt*, *nāsūt*, [see ʿALAM]. *Lāhūt* is the world of secrets (*ʿālam al-asrār*) and the Unrevealed (*ibid.*, 203). The mystical relations between *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* express the different aspects of the theophanic conception of the Imām. Al-Tahānawī, who discusses *lāhūt* in his article *djabarūt*, refers essentially to Persian texts. It is thus finally in Iranian thought that the two terms *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* received the widest reception, following what al-Ḥallādj and Ibn ʿArabī had written on this subject. If comparisons can be made with the Christological doctrines of Christianity, particularly with regard to the image of clothing (cf. H. Corbin, *op. laud.*, iii, 174-5), it must be stated that these two terms were henceforth perfectly integrated in Shīʿi imamology.

We shall mention in conclusion a curious etymology given by al-Tahānawī; *lāhūt* originally derives from the formula: *lā huwa illā huwa*: it is the custom of the Arabs when they use a complex formula in speaking to add something to it (*čīzī ziyāda kunand*, i.e. the final letter *tāʾ*, and to cut something off it (*hadhf kunand*: here *illā huwa*). The result is that *lāhūt* is the radiance of the essence (*tadjallī 'l-dhāt*).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

LĀHŪTĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, Persian poet and revolutionary, was born in Kirmānshāh on 4 December 1887, the son of a petty shoemaker. As a youth he joined the struggle for constitutionalism in Persia, and in 1908 took part in the fight against the royalist troops in Rasht, following Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's attempt to reimpose autocracy. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1909 he entered the gendarmerie and was eventually promoted to the rank of major. There, charged with subversion, he was condemned to death, but he managed to escape taking refuge in the Turkish (now in ʿIrāḳ) border town of Sulaymāniyya. In 1915 he returned to his home town, and was drawn in the movement against Allied intervention in Persia. Around this time he also started the periodical *Bīsutūn* from Kirmānshāh, and founded a workers' party. In the period that followed, he again came into conflict with the authorities and migrated to Istanbul. While he was there he taught in a Persian school and issued the Persian-French periodical *Pārs*. Towards the end of 1921 he was allowed to return to Persia and was reinstated in the gendarmerie. Not long afterwards he headed an abortive revolt in Tabrīz and, after its failure, fled to the Soviet Union (February 1922).

In the Soviet Union, Lāhūtī's activities were connected mainly with the political and cultural life of Tādjikistān, where he took up residence after 1925. He served as deputy commissar of education, and was honorary president of the Tādjīk Writers' Union. The Soviet government awarded him several honours including the Order of Lenin. He died in Moscow on 16 March 1957.

Lāhūtī was the most outstanding Communist poet in Persian, and has been rightly acclaimed as one of the founders of Soviet Tādjīk poetry. His early political verse appeared in the periodicals of the Constitutional Period, such as *Ḥabl al-matīn*, *Īrān-i naw* and *Sharḳ*. In his poems written before 1922 he often displayed sentiments favouring workers and peasants. Thereafter, his permanent domicile in the Soviet Union strengthened his trend towards Communism, and his art became progressively identified with the literary and political assumptions of the Soviet government. The poem *Kreml* ("Kremlin"), composed in 1923, was the first notable indication of this development. It recalled Tsarist atrocities and condemned imperialism and capitalist exploitation, welcoming the triumph of the Communist Revolution in Russia. Lāhūtī's subsequent poems concerned themselves largely with his immediate environment, but themes dealing with Persia were not lacking. The poet employed both conventional and new forms,

and used non-traditional metres, which were apparently inspired by Russian literary models. He also composed songs, and wrote the libretto of *Kāwa-i āhangar* ("Kāwa the Blacksmith"), which was the first original opera to be performed in Tādjikistān. His literary endeavours extended to the field of translations, which he rendered from the works of such writers as Shakespeare, Pushkin, Gorky and Mayakovsky. His diction was simple and uncomplicated, and he used a language which almost verged on ordinary speech.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

LAʿIB (LIʿB, LAʿB), the Arabic word for "play" (also used variously in Persian, against Turkish *oyun*), in the Muslim world as fundamental a concept of vast sociological and psychological implications as in other civilisations. Only a few of its aspects can be briefly discussed here. The "play" character of many important human activities (dance, theatre, music, etc.) does not come under our purview, nor do ritual games as survivals of pre-Islamic religiously-motivated customs. We find them occasionally mentioned, as, for instance, in references to New Year practices, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 216, who also mentions the enactment of a Persian religious ceremonial played on seesaws; for a modern example from southern Morocco, see M.-R. Rabaté, in *Objets et Mondes*, x (1970), 239-62. The stress here is on children's games, but, in Islam as elsewhere, no clear dividing line separates the games of children from those of adults; there is no typological distinction, the only difference sometimes encountered being certain material factors. Al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-5, iii, 79, may have been aware of this circumstance when he singled out playing with pigeons as best representing the easy potential transition in games from playfulness to seriousness. The various expressions of the human play instinct and the various types of games were all cultivated in the Muslim world. The constant use in literature of metaphors built upon combinations with the root "to play" attest to the concept's living strength.

The large role of "play" in Muslim life is all the more remarkable as it ran counter to firm religious objections. These objections have indeed greatly coloured the expressed Muslim attitude toward play. They were no doubt effective in curtailing the factual information on games available to us. The Ḳurʾān refers to play (and *lahw* "amusement") as a particularly insidious expression of human unconcern with man's true task in this world, which is working toward salvation in the other world. Much ingenuity was spent by Muslim intellectuals on condemning it, as attested in innumerable statements such as, for instance, many verses in the *zuhdiyyāt* of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya or ʿAlī's indignant rejection of being called a *tilʿāba timzāḥa* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut 1394/1974, 151). Not dissimilar to the thought expressed by Anacharsis (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1176 b 33), that playing should be tolerated only when it enhances a man's ability for serious occupations, is the idea that all work and no play dulls the sensitivity of even the greatest and most dedicated minds, and light relaxation, therefore, is to be tolerated (e.g. F. Rosenthal, *Humor in early Islam*, Leiden 1956, 5, and see AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL), but the authors who quote statements to this effect would hardly have gone so far as to include simple games in what they meant by relaxation. Worldly wisdom required that rulers be warned against excess in playful activity. As a matter of fact, "play" in Islam came to be considered the exclusive prerogative of children, bracketed at times with women also in this respect. In the Greek tradition as represented by Bryson (ed. M. Plessner, Heidelberg 1928, 202; cf. also al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, *riyāḍat al-nafs*, Cairo 1352/1934, iii, 63) and used by such influential thinkers as Miskawayh, even children should be permitted moderate playing as relaxation only to be better able to tolerate the hardships of education, or (according to *al-Saʿāda wa 'l-isʿād*, ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8, 360) to acquire serious skills. Sometimes, we find statements to the effect that future greatness is foreshadowed in childhood by a disdain shown for playing. References to children are often routinely associated with play. It was quite natural to have the youth killed in the story in Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 74/73, described as having been found playing with others (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1378-83, i, 232, xi, 25, 33; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad loc.*), or to worry that Yūsuf's playing in XII, 12 (the only morally neutral reference to "playing" in the Ḳurʾān) might implicate his adult brothers (I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 28 f.), or to explain *daʿāmīṣ* applied in the *ḥadīth* to Muslim infants in Paradise from their being similar to water bugs (?) because of their playing in the rivers of Paradise (al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Madjāzāt*, Cairo 1387/1967, 406). The Prophet as a child is said to have engaged in a game called *ʿaẓm* (*ʿuẓaym*) *waḍḍāḥ*, described as searching (in the dark) for a very white bone tossed far away, with the finder being allowed to ride upon his playmates (Lane, 2087b, 2947a; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iv, 476; Ibn Ẓafar, *Anbāʾ nudjabāʾ al-abnāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 24); the Prophet's alleged participation in such a game could easily have struck strict interpreters of the doctrine of *ʿiṣma* as objectionable and is, in fact, mentioned only very rarely. The Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās is described as having played *ḳula* as a boy, a game mentioned in ancient poetry (ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, Labīd, cf. T. Nöldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaqât*, i, Vienna 1899, 47; *Sharḥ Dīwān Labīd*, Kuwait 1962, 81) and described as played with two small wooden boards, one twice as long as the other and the one being hit with the other (or with a *miḳlāʾ*), this being in an anecdote intended to show al-ʿAbbās's innate decency (Ibn Ẓafar, *Anbāʾ*, 52).

The most influential reference to child's play goes back to the biography of ʿĀʾisha, reported in

many traditions with only slight variations (for instance, *Concordance, s.v. l-ʿ-b*; Ibn Saʿd, 40-5; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959, 410-12). It happened when the Prophet saw ʿĀʾisha playing on a seesaw (*urdjūḥa, mardjūḥa*) that she first caught his attention, and he once, or on different occasions, came upon her playing with dolls. "Dolls" (*banāt* "girls", or *luʿba*, pl. *luʿab*, the typical "plaything") came thus to be discussed intensively in the legal literature. The gist of the Sunnī jurists' discussion and the problems of detail they chose to face can best be captured from Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ*, xiii, 143 f. In sum, dolls were usually given very reluctant approval as having educational value for training little girls to become good mothers. The obvious conflict between the prohibition of figurative representations [see EI [1] art. ṢŪRA] and the permissibility of dolls, although often they were not realistic representations of living beings, proved impossible to solve to everybody's satisfaction. The connection with idol worship was only hesitantly mentioned. The *ḥadīth* also informs us that dolls were made of wool (ʿ*ihn, Concordance*, iv, 409a, 16 f.) to be given to children who were made to fast, in order to divert them (as other toys, such as polo sticks, might be promised to children as incentives for studying, see Ibn ʿAḳnīn, *Ṭibb al-nufūs*, ms. Bodl. or Hunt. 518, 70b). Some of ʿĀʾisha's toys had, or were seen by the child's imagination to have, the shape of (winged) horses, with the wings made of rags. In this connection, al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ, ādāb al-samāʿ*, ii, 245) speaks of the "imperfect forms" (of toys) fashioned by children from clay and rags as something tolerated by Shāfiʿis, as he also mentions elsewhere (*Iḥyāʾ, ādāb al-kasb*, ii, 60) animal toys made of clay given to children on festivals.

Numerous names of games were mentioned as being of philological interest and listed because of their strange forms or because of literary connections (e.g. al-ʿAskarī, *al-Talkhīṣ fī maʿrifat asmāʾ al-ashyāʾ*, Damascus 1389-90, 718-24, see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 65). We also find references to such things as *diḥindiḥ, dirkila, daʿladja* (a running, and ? catching, game, al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1373, ii, 315; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iii, 97), or the putting of *fidjrim* into *uwaḳ* (al-Ḳālī, ii, 4 f.). Games are given at times names in the form of noun combinations or sentences, such as *al-muʿallim wa 'l-adjīr* "master and hired hand" (T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus*, ii, Oxford 1694, 234-6), *djiʾtukum khudhūnī* "I have come to you, seize me" (Hyde, ii, 240 f.), *khasā wa-zakā* for even-and-odd, (Turkish) *tut Leila* "catch Laylā" (H. Ritter, *Knabenspiele aus ʿAmāra*, in *Isl.*, xxvi [1942], 49-57), etc. Characteristically, the names of games change greatly in the course of time so that those found in Hyde from the 17th century and even more so those from modern times (e.g. K. L. Tallqvist, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Spiele*, Helsingfors 1897, or Ritter) are nearly all different from those known from the mediaeval literature, quite apart from local differences.

The philologians no doubt had often no personal experience of the games they sought to describe. Descriptions are often non-existent, or they are so brief as to indicate hardly more than the general type of a given game and to be practically useless; this is nothing peculiar to Muslim philologians but something worldwide, since the play instinct required to be satisfied by intricate and volatile rules hard to describe fully. Ambiguities of interpretation are always present. Similarities between modern and mediaeval names, in the rare cases in which they exist, do not necessarily indicate that the games are the same. Thus, the *laʿb al-khumaysa* mentioned by Ibn Ḳuzmān (E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972, i, 32/33, 36 n. 6) is hardly the *khemis* described by A. Robert from Algeria, in *Revue Africaine*, lxii (1921), 69. The ring (*khātam*) game of prestidigitators is no doubt the guessing game described by Robert, but hardly represents all the games thus designated (cf. Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 62; al-Sīmāwī, ʿ*Uyūn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ch. 11). The modern game called *bilbil* may be related to ancient *ḳula* as suggested by Ritter, but we have no way of knowing how far this relationship, if it in fact exists, extends to details.

Of the more important types of games, we may mention here (1) guessing games such as *kharidj*; (2) board games of the chess [see SHATRANDJ] and backgammon [see NARD] types and of the *manḳala* type which were usually, but not always, played on boards, involving the placing of chips into holes, as, for instance, the game of "fourteen" (*arbaʿata ʿashara*), the throwing of dice and, of greater antiquity in Arabia, of knucklebones (*kaʿb*, pl. *kiʿāb*), also in a way the walnut (*djawz*) game, see also KHARBGA; (3) skill and sports games, such as ball playing, the great favourite of children, often mentioned as done in the streets, also played with balls and (polo) sticks, see al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ, riyāḍat al-nafs*, iii, 53, further jumping games, catching games, the seesaw, imitation fighting games, the egg game, also tops (*duwwāma, khudhrūf*); dancing with a hobby-horse (*kurradj*) was apparently not practiced as a children's game, cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Mél. Wm. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 155-60; and (4) "playing" with animals such as small birds, pigeons, dogs (add al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 28, to Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 58 n. 242a), or reptiles, either as an innocent pastime or as a gambling, racing, and fighting sport.

Most children's games contain an element of gambling, inasmuch as they entail rewards for the winners and penalties for the losers [see ḲIMĀR]. This added to the scruples raised by the play concept in general and the *ṣūra* problem of dolls, and cast doubt in the eyes of jurists upon the legality of commercial transactions involving toys. In conjunction with prevailing economic conditions, it probably contributed to keeping toys used by children mostly simple and makeshift.

Bibliography: given in the article, in particular, Hyde, *De ludis*, and Rosenthal, *Gambling*. For board games, cf. H. J. R. Murray, *Board games*, Oxford 1952. (F. ROSENTHAL)

LAK 1. The most southern group of Kurd tribes in Persia. According to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, their name (Lāk, often Lākk) is explained by the Persian word *lāk* (100,000), which is said to have been the original number of families of Lak. The group is of importance in that the Zand dynasty arose from it. The Lak now living in northern Luristān [*q.v.*] are sometimes confused with the Lur (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), whom they resemble from the somatic and ethnic point of view. The facts of history, however, show that the Lak have immigrated to their present settlements from lands further north. The Lākki language, according to O. Mann, has the characteristics of Kurdish and not of the Lurī dialects [cf. LUR]. Čirikov, *Putevoi zhurnal*, St. Petersburg 1875, 227, says that "the Lur and the Lak speak different dialects, and hate one another".

The Lak appear in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 323, along-

side the Zand, among the secondary Kurd tribes, and as subjects of Persia. According to Rabino, the Lak were settled in Luristān by order of Shāh ʿAbbās, who wished in this way to create some support for the new *wālī* of Luristān, Ḥusayn Khān, whom he had chosen from among the relatives of the old Shāhwardī Atābeg (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 369). Of these tribes, the Silsila had formerly lived at Māhīdasht (to the south-west of Kirmānshāh); the Dilfān take their name from Abū Dulaf [see AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿĪSĀ], whose fiefs in the 3rd/9th century lay in the north of Luristān [see SULṬĀNĀBĀD]; the Bādjilān of Zohāb as well as Luristān say they come from al-Mawṣil and are evidently one tribe. The Luristān branch seem to have exchanged its Kurmandjī dialect for Lākki during its sojourn among the Lak in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. Even after Shāh ʿAbbās there were several Lak tribes outside of Luristān. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (opening of the 19th century) mentions among the Lak: the Zand, the Māfī, the Bādjilān and the Zandi-yi kāla (?). To the last tribe (according to Houtum-Schindler: Begele) belonged Karīm Khān Zand (born in Pāriyā, the modern Pāri, about 20 miles from Dawlatābād on the Sulṭānābād road). When at Shīrāz, Karīm Khān sent for the Lak tribe of Barānwand. In 1212/1797 the Bayrānwand and the Bādjilān actively supported Muḥammad Khān Zand in his attempt to seize power from the Ḳādjārs (Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *A history of Persia*, London 1833, 46, 58; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 116). Under the Kādjārs, several Lak tribes were broken up. The Zand have almost completely disappeared; in 1830 remnants of them were to be found among the Bādjilān of Khānikīn (Khurshīd-Efendi, *Siyāḥat-nāme-yi ḥudūd*, Russ. tr. 112, 221); there are still a few Zand families in the Dorā-Farāmān district to the south-east of Kirmānshāh (*RMM*, xxxviii, 39); a section of the ʿAmala of Pusht-i Kūn claims to be descended from the Karīm Khān tribe. At the present day, there are Māfī at Waramīn, Tehran and Ḳazwīn.

According to a good list compiled by Rousseau at Kirmānshāh in 1807 (cf. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 1813, iii, 85-98), there were considered as Lak the following tribes: Kalhūr, Māfī, Nānakī, Djalīlwand, Pāyrawand, Kulyāʾī, Ṣūfīwand, Bahrām-wand, Karkūkī, Tawalī, Zūyirwand, Kākūwand, Nāmīwand, Aḥmadwand, Bohtūʾī, Zūliya, Ḥarsinī and Shaykhwand.

According to O. Mann and Rabino, the Lak tribes of Luristān are as follows: Silsila (9,000 families), Dilfān (7,470). Tirhān-Amrāʾi (1,582 families), the Bayrānwand (6,000 families) and Dālwand (1,000 families) forming part of the Bālā-girīwa group, a total of about 15,000 tents. The Bayrānward and Djālwand live to the east of Khurramābād around the sources of the river which flows through this town; the Silsila and the Dilfān occupy the beautiful plains of Alishtar and Khāwa respectively, while the Tirhān (perhaps = Tarkhān, i.e. "exempt from taxes") live between the left bank of the Saymara and the lower course of its left-bank tributary from Khurramābād. The territory occupied by the Lak, and including northern and north-western Luristān is sometimes called Lakistān.

The cohesion of the Lak tribes is evident from the fact that even before 1914 the Silsila, Dilfān and Tirhān were united under the authority of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān of the Amrāʾī clan. In addition to the bonds of tribe and language, there is that of religion, for all the Dilfān and many of the ʿAmala of Tirhān belong to the extremist Shīʿa sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*].

Bibliographie: E. Beer, *Das Tarikh-i Zendije*, Leiden 1888, pp. xviii, xxvi; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran 1315, 522; O. Mann, *Skizze d. Lurdialecte*, in *SBAk. Wien* (1904), 1173-93; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, pp. xxii-xiv; to the number of tribes speaking "Lākkī", the author adds the Kalhur of Kirmānshāh and the Mākī of the Pusht-i Kūh; Rabino, *Les tribus du Luristan*, in *RMM* (1916); Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahlé-Haqq*, in *RMM*, xl (1920), 56.

2. The name given to themselves by the Ghāzī-Ḳumuḳ, a people living on the eastern Ḳoy-su in central Daghistān (see the next article and ḲUMUḲ, also Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seiner Völker*, Leipzig 1887, 248-57, and Dirr, *Die heutigen Namen der kaukasischen Völker*, in *Petermanns Mitteil.* [1908], 204-12).

On the other hand, the term Lêk in Armenian and Lek-i (plural Lek-ebi) in Georgian means the Lezgi/Legzi of Daghistān (where the *e* may certainly designate the value of *ä/a*: Lägzi). This last name seems to have been applied to the highlanders of Kürä, living in and around the sources of the Samur, and later to have been extended to all the people of Dāghistān, although no people of the Caucasus actually call themselves Lezgi/Legzi. Marquart, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran*, in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), has attempted to explain the Arabic al-Lakz by the addition of the Persian suffix *-zi* to the name Lek (or Lak), cf. Sag-zi, "inhabitant of Sīstān". (V. MINORSKY)

LAḲ (self-designation: Laḳ, Laḳuču; Russian variants: Lak(tsi), Kazikumukh(tsi); Avar: Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezg: Yakholshu; Dargin: Vuluguni, Vulečuni; other: Ḳaziḳumukh [from Arabic Ghāzī, warrior for the faith, and Ḳumukh, the political and cultural centre of the Laḳ territory, see ḲUMUḲ]), a Muslim people of the Caucasus.

The Laḳ language belongs with Dargin, Ḳaytaḳ and Ḳubači [*q.vv.*] to the Dargino-Laḳ (Laḳ-Dargwa) group of the Northeast-Caucasian language family. There are five dialects of the Laḳ language, Ashti Ḳuli, Balkhar, Vitskh, Vikhli and Ḳumukh. The Ḳumukh dialect forms the base of the Laḳ literary language, as Ḳumukh was, and is, the cultural and economic centre of the Laḳ territory. Laḳ was originally (since the late 19th century) written in the Arabic script; this was changed to the Latin script in 1928, since 1938 it has been written in the Cyrillic. Prior to the establishment of Laḳ as a written language, Arabic served as the literary language of the Laḳ people. Laḳ is at present one of the nine official literary languages of the Dāghistān ASSR, although it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in the schools (Laḳ served as a language of education among the Laḳs until the fifth year, between the late 1920s and the late 1960s; virtually all education since then has been conducted only in Russian).

The Laḳs are inhabitants of the mountainous central region of the Dāghistān ASSR. They live primarily in the basins of the upper Ḳaziḳumukh, Tleuserakh, and Khatar Ḳoysu rivers located in Laḳ and Ḳuli districts, and in separate settlements in the districts of Tsudakhar, Aḳusha, Rutul, Ḳurakh, Čaroda, and Dakhadaev. In 1844 many Laḳs were resettled in the steppes and foothills north of the Andi Ridge in what is now "Novo Lakskiy" ("New Laḳ") district of the Dāghistān ASSR. According

to the 1970 Soviet census, there were 85,822 Laḳs in the USSR, of whom 72,240, or 84.2%, lived in Dāghistān (1926 population, 40,380; 1959 population, 63,529). Although the Laḳs are reported to be the most Russianised of all Dāghistānis, according to the 1970 census only 3.7% of the Laḳ population considered Russian their native language, with 95.8% considering Laḳ their native language.

According to legend, the Laḳs were conquered by Abū Muslim in 777 [*sic*] and converted to Islam, making them the first Dāghistāni people to be Islamicised. However, it is more likely that the final conversion did not occur until the 13th century, with some Christian and Jewish traditions surviving up until the 15th century. The Laḳs are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿi school.

Legend has it that the Shah-Baala was the first Muslim ruler of all Dāghistān and founder of the Shamkhal dynasty, which reigned at Ḳumukh until the 17th century. At this time Ḳumukh, which had been established by Abū Muslim as the seat of the ruler of Dāghistān, was renamed Ḳaziḳumukh. In the 14th century, the rulers of Ḳaziḳumukh adopted the title "Shamkhal" (supposed etymology from Shām = Syria, suggesting descent from the former Arab governors). During the 15th and 16th centuries, at the time when the Shamkhals ruled a large part of central and coastal Dāghistān, a second capital, which also served as a winter residence, was established at Tarḳu in the Ḳumuḳ territory. In 1640 the Laḳs broke away from the rule of the Shamkhalate, replacing it with appointed *khakhlavai* (from Arabic *khalk* "people", and Laḳ *lavai* "supreme"). Although appointed administrators, their chief function was that of military leaders, and as such they received land and tribute as payment.

With the death of the last Ḳaziḳumukh khān, Agalar, the Laḳ territory was incorporated in the Dāghistān *oblast'*, and became an integral part of the Russian empire. By 1842 both the Laḳ territory and Avaristān had come under the control of Shamīl [*q.v.*] and his Murīds, and in 1877, during the Russo-Turkish War, the Laḳ beks, together with other Dāghistāni feudal lords, staged a revolt against Tsarist rule. This revolt was, however, put down, resulting in a greater integration of Dāghistān into the Russian empire.

The Laḳs are reported to have been the first mountaineer Dāghistāni people to establish a feudal system. Their feudal society was comprised of the khāns; the *bagtal* (beks), i.e. the khān's family and the nobility; the *cankri*, i.e. children of marriages between beks and women of lower social orders; the *uzdental* (*uzden*), i.e. free peasants (the numerically largest class); the *rayat* or serfs; and the *lag'art* or slaves. This feudal system coexisted with a system of free societies based on the patriarchal clan (*tukhum*), which was made up of one or more extended families. These free societies were ruled by the village *ʿadat*. Within the *tukhum*, there was mutual help in work and family affairs, as well as group responsibility in vendettas, which were under the jurisdiction of the *ʿadat*. Although exogamy was not forbidden, an endogamic marriage system prevailed.

The traditional economy of the Laḳs was based upon transhumance, with sheep and goat raising, and home industries (leather working, pottery, weaving, gold and metal smithing, etc.). These activities still play a large role in the village economies. Due to the lack of fertile land in the mountainous regions of the Laḳ territory, agriculture played only a minor role in the Laḳ economy, and migrant working was common (with the highest rate of migrant labour among any Dāghistāni people). In the steppe and foothills of the new Laḳ territory of northern Dāghistān, horticulture, vineyards, agriculture and silk production are important activities. In the larger towns in the Laḳ territory, there is a rising level of industrialisation (flour milling, printing, etc.).

The first written documents of the Laḳ people appear in the 15th century. A rich religious and didactic literature appears in the 18th and 19th centuries (ʿUmar of Balḳar, Ghāzī Saʿīd Ḥusayn, Ḥādjdjī Mūsā Ḥādjdjī, etc.), lyrical literature in the late 19th century (Yūsuf Ḳāḍī Murḳulinskii), as well as historical (Shāfiʿī Nitsovkrinskii). Laḳ literature of the Soviet period was established by Hārūn Saʿīdov, who was both the first Dāghistāni dramatic author and the author of the first Bolshevik Dāghistāni journal, *Ilči* ("The Messenger"). Other Laḳ authors include Saʿīd Gabiev, Abutalib Gafurov, Abdurahman Omarov, and Efendi Ḳapiev (who wrote in Russian only).

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LAḲAB (A.) nickname, and at a later date under Islam and with a more specific use, honorific title (pl. *alḳāb*). For suggestions about its etymology, see L. Caetani and G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum*. i. *Fonte-introduzione*, Rome 1915, 144-5; and for its place in the general schema of the composition of Islamic names, see ISM.

The *laḳab* seems in origin to have been a nickname or sobriquet of any tone, one which could express admiration, be purely descriptive and neutral in tenor or be insulting and derogatory. In the latter case, it was often termed *nabaz*, pl. *anbāz*, by-form *labaz*; cf. al-Bayḍāwī on sūra XLIX, 11, "In common usage, *nabaz* is particularised for an unpleasant *laḳab*". The grammarians, in their love for schematisation, divided *alḳāb* into simple (*mufrad*) ones, comprising only one word, and compound (*murakkab*) ones, comprising two or more words, but this division has neither historical nor semantic significance, beyond the obvious point that as Islamic society developed and became more complex, honorific titles tended to become lengthy and grandiloquent.

1. The pre-Islamic and the earliest Islamic periods. Already in these times, we have many examples of Bedouin leaders, poets, orators, etc. with nicknames, e.g. Ākil al-Murār, al-Abraṣ, al-Mutalammis, ʿĀʾid al-Kalb, Muḳabbil al-Rīḥ, etc., and from the ʿAbbāsid period we have Dīk al-Djinn, Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī, etc. These names might relate to physical characteristic or defects, to striking lines in a poet's verses, to incidents in the holder's life, but often to events whose significance is now lost in the mists of time. Explanation of the more unusual and bizarre names drew the authors of literary biographical works into much fanciful

theorising; cf. *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, xviii, 209, ed. Beirut, xviii, 480-1, on the origins of the name Taʾabbaṭa Sharran, and for a useful list of such names, together with explanations drawn from the sources, A.-C. Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, ix (Jan.-June 1907), 173-244, 365-428, x (July-Dec. 1907), 55-118, 193-273.

The giving of nicknames was clearly widespread in early Arab society, where the number of personal names was limited and where there was, as in the Arab world today, keen observation of personal foibles, physical peculiarities, etc.; and from the Arabs, the practice spread to the Persian, Turkish and wider Islamic world. The personal connection of such nicknames is presumably behind the oft-quoted anonymous line of poetry, "It is rare that you see a man whose character is not revealed, if you consider the matter, in his *laḳab*" Al-Thaʿālibī, who devotes two out of the ten chapters of his *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif* to the *alḳāb* of prominent literary and political figures, quotes this verse in reference to the philologist al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*], and makes the curious observation that the people of Baghdād and Nīshāpūr were celebrated for their facility in coining appropriate nicknames; he gives numerous examples from each town, some quite grotesque, but unfortunately omitting to explain—if he ever knew—the origins of the names (ed. I. Abyārī and Ḥ. K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1960, 46, 53-4, tr. C. E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 63, 66-7).

Some nicknames were clearly given as *nomina boni augurii*, aimed either at attracting a favourable future for the recipient or else at averting harm. Thus arose the practice of giving antiphrastic and apparently unpleasant names and nicknames in order to avoid attracting the evil eye [see ʿAYN] which might otherwise fix itself on something wholesome and perfect; whilst slaves and other persons of little importance might be given euphemistic and euphuistic names, such as those of flowers, jewels, perfumes, etc. Thus the caliph al-Mutawakkil called one of his slave concubines, the mother of al-Muʿtazz, Ḳabīḥa "the hideous one" because she was famed for her beauty. Euphuism is seen in such names as Yāḳūt (lit. "jacynth, ruby") and Djidjak (< Turkish *čiček* "flower", the slave mother of the caliph al-Muktafī), and a good example of antiphrasis in the name of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī [*q.v.*] (*kāfūr* "camphor" being white and fragrant, whereas Kāfūr was a black eunuch, proverbially noisome and malodorous [see KHAṢĪ. i. In the Central Islamic lands]). In these connections, there is an interesting passage in Ibn Durayd's *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 4-5, in which he quotes al-ʿUtbī as having once been asked, "How is it that the Arabs give their sons names which are considered unpleasant (*mustashnaʿa*), yet give their slaves names considered pleasant (*mustaḥsana*)?" Al-ʿUtbī replied that the Arabs gave their sons names with their enemies in mind, whereas they gave their slaves any names they wanted (i.e. without any ulterior motive). Ibn Durayd then goes on to give examples of names given to sons which would augur well against their enemies (*tafāʾulan ʿalā aʿdāʾihim*), expressing violence, harshness, bellicosity and endurance, e.g. Ghālib, Ẓālim, Muḳbil, Thābit, etc. (see further, M. P. Kister, *Call yourself by graceful names...*, in *Lectures in memory of Professor Martin B. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1970). We are here perhaps straying into the realm of the *ism* proper rather than the *laḳab*, although the names given to slaves and slavegirls may be considered as *alḳāb* replacing those persons' first given names.

The fondness of the Arabs, and of Ḳuraysh in particular, for giving satirical and opprobrious nicknames is condemned in Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 11, where there is a warning against the practice of groups of both men and women mocking at each other, "Do not scoff at each other or give each other derisory nicknames (*wa-lā talmizū anfusakum wa-lā tanābazū bi 'l-alḳāb*)". This sûra is accounted late Medinan, from a year or two before Muḥammad's death, by Nöldeke (*Gesch. des Qorâns*, i, 221) and Montgomery Watt (*Companion to the Qur'an*, London 1962, 237); it may be that the Prophet was feeling particularly aggrieved by nicknames given to him in the past by his opponents and by the Hypocrites, like that of al-Abtar "the childless one", even though the *sabab al-tanzīl* was, according to the commentators, the women's insults to Muḥammad's wife Ṣafiyya bint Ḥuyayy because of her origin from the Jewish tribe in Medina of al-Naḍīr (cf. Sale-Wherry, *A compendious commentary on the Qurán*, London 1896, iv, 70-1).

Yet whilst retaining for some time to come its derogatory and insulting aspects, the *laḳab* tended to be transmogrified into higher roles within Islamic society. In one direction, it evolved into the nom-de-plume of authors and artists, the *makhlaṣ* or *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*], above all in the Persian, Turkish and Indo-Muslim worlds, such as we find in the name of the Persian poet Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] or the pseudonym adopted by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I for his Azeri Turkish verses [see ISMĀʿĪL I. 2. His poetry]. Most significantly for the development of Islamic culture, the *laḳab* developed from being a nickname of praise or admiration (as in such examples as Mulāʿib al-Asinna "he who played with lances" for the pre-Islamic poet ʿĀmir b. Mālik, famed for his prowess in battle) into becoming an honorific title, conferring status and prestige on its owner, since it frequently implied a specially close relationship to the sovereign or the divinity or else a reward for personal bravery or services to the state. As such, the *laḳab* was to have an extended life-span in the Islamic world—more particularly, in those parts of lying between Egypt and India, though these honorifics were also to be found to a more limited extent in Muslim Spain and North Africa, see below, 3—right up to the 19th and early 20th centuries, when floridity and hyperbole went out of Islamic titulature just as they did from literature and other aspects of culture.

It is not difficult to discern why such titles became eagerly sought after; the desire to stand out above the rest of mankind is a universal one. Indeed, al-Ḳalḳashandī, in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 440, following the line of traditional Islamic *awāʾil* literature writers, traces what he calls the *alḳāb al-madḥ wa-nuʿūt* back to such figures as Abraham al-Khalīl "the friend of God", Moses al-Kalīm "the one who spoke with God", Jonah Dhu 'l-Nūn "the man in the fish", etc. Within a formalised, hierarchial society such as the Islamic one became in the ʿAbbāsid period, modes of address, insignia or rank and office, dress, etc. all contributed to the fixing of a man's status in society and the state, and as such were prized as the visible and audible symbols of success in the temporal world. In this process of the spread of honorifics, there were—as for other aspects of early Islamic culture—the precedents of

the earlier Near Eastern civilisations, the Romano-Byzantine and the Persian ones, to provide an element of continuity with the past.

The early Arabs knew from their contacts with the Byzantines on the Syro-Palestinian borders that a complicated system of honorific titles and modes of address existed for Byzantine civil and military dignitaries. Allies of the Greeks, such as chiefs of the Ghassānids [see GHASSĀN] like al-Ḥārith b. Djabala and his son al-Mundhir, were honoured by having the honorary title of *patricius* bestowed on them; this term found its way into general Arabic usage as *biṭrīḳ/baṭrīḳ* [see BIṬRĪḲ]. In Achaemenid Persia, the characteristic expression of pomp and magnificence (μεγαλοπρεπεῖα) through grandiloquent titles was familiar to Herodotus (i, 139), who further mentions (viii, 85) that meritorious servants of the state were enrolled in the list of "the king's benefactors" (ὀροσάγγης). Under the Sāsānids, the great men of state were likewise honoured by the award of a wide range of honorifics, e.g. the title *buzurg framadār* "chief executive" for the emperor's chief counsellor and minister; Mahisht "the greatest [of the ruler's servants]"; Hazārmard "[with the strength of] 1,000 men" for military commanders; and various compounds including the sovereign's name, e.g. Zhāyedhān Khusraw" "eternal Kh.", Hormuzd Varāz "wild boar of H.", and many with *tahm* "strong" like Tahm Shāpūr or Tahm Yazdigird. These honours were usually completed by the grant of robes of honour, the later Islamic *khilʿa* [*q.v.*] (see Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 8-9, 443 and n. 1; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 318; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* ², Copenhagen 1944, 113-14, 326, 409-11).

2. The period of the caliphate. The wide dissemination of honorific titles in the Islamic world began at the top, with the adoption of regnal titles by the caliphs. Later historians, projecting backwards what had become common practice in their own time, attributed the use of such titles to the Umayyads and even to the Orthodox caliphs. Al-Masʿūdī, in his, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 335, tr. 431-3, cites pro-Umayyad traditions to the effect that the Umayyads had honorifics of the theocratic type which had by two centuries later become familiar from ʿAbbāsid practices, e.g. al-Nāṣir li-ḥaḳḳ Allāh for Muʿāwiya, al-Ḳāhir bi-ʿawn Allāh for Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Mutaʿazziz bi'llāh for Ibrāhīm b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik; but he rightly rejects these traditions as weak and uncorroborated by the historians and biographers (cf. E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*. i. *Le califat*, Paris 1954, 486-7). Similarly, the epithets attributed to the Orthodox caliphs, such as al-Ṣiddīḳ "he who testifies to the veracity of the Prophet's mission" for Abū Bakr, al-Fārūḳ "the just" for ʿUmar and Dhu 'l-Nūrayn "possessor of the two lights" for ʿUthmān, are probably of early growth (cf. al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 105), but must nevertheless have been applied only after the deaths of their owners.

Honorifics of a theocratic nature, expressing dependence on God, reliance on Him, or participation with Him in the work of ruling, are really an innovation of the early ʿAbbāsid period. B. Lewis has stressed the importance of the atmosphere of messianic expectation around the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, when the worldly *Realpolitik* of the Umayyads and their animus against the Prophet's kinsfolk, the ʿAlids, was replaced by what it was hoped would be the reign of divinely-guided justice; and these feelings favoured the adoption of religious-based titles by al-Manṣūr and his successors. The first ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, had no formal regnal title, though his partisans may well have attributed to him various names with messianic implications. His successor Abū Djaʿfar formally adopted the *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh "he who is helped by God to victory", and the chiliastic tone of early ʿAbbāsid titulature is especially clearly seen in the *alḳāb* of his successor al-Mahdī bi'llāh "the divinely-guided one" and then of al-Hādī ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ "the one who directs towards the divine truth" (cf. Lewis, *The regnal titles of the first Abbasid caliphs*, in *Dr. Zakir Husain presentation volume*, New Delhi 1968, 13-22; F. Omar, *A note on the laqabs* (*i.e. epithet*) *of the early ʿAbbasid caliphs*, in *ʿAbbāsiyyāt, studies in the history of the early ʿAbbasids*, Baghdād 1976, 141-7). In subsequent ʿAbbāsid usage, the apocalyptic element is less prominent, but the honorifics still express reliance upon and submission to the deity, or confidence in His guiding power, e.g. al-Wāthiḳ bi'llāh "he who puts his trust in God" and al-Muṭīʿ bi'llāh "he who shows himself obedient to God" (cf. Tyan, *op. cit.*, 483 ff.).

It is notable that the ʿAbbāsid honorifics up to the later 4th/10th century and the period of Būyid control in Baghdād are formed essentially with participles or adjectives of a passive or reflexive character, thereby emphasising the supremacy of God's controlling power and the vital securing of His favour for the business of ruling in conformity with the *Sharīʿa*, the ideal, if not always the practice, of the ʿAbbāsids. A. Abel has noted that the ʿAbbāsids' great rivals in North Africa and Egypt, the Fāṭimids, had, in order to press their superior claim, as they saw it, to the caliphate and imāmate, to adopt a more aggressive and active form of titulature (*Le khalife, présence sacrée*, in *Stud. Isl.*, vii [1957], 38 ff.). This new type of titulature reflected the role assigned in Ismāʿīlī cosmogony to the *Imāms* in the hierarchy of intelligences emanating from the godhead, and it actively associated the holders of these titles with God's direct working in the world. Thus we have al-Ḳāʾim bi-ʿamr Allāh "he who takes charge of the execution of God's command" for the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh's successor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad; and from the time of al-Muʿizz's accession onwards (341/953), the honorifics of the Fāṭimids are all active participles or adjectives emphasising the ruler's decisive part in the implementation of God's will in this world, e.g. al-Ḥākim, al-Āmir, al-Ẓāfir, etc., usually with a complement like . . . *li-dīn Allāh* or . . . *bi-amr Allāh*.

Not surprisingly, the ʿAbbāsids strove from the latter years of the 4th/10th century onwards to emulate these activist forms of titulature, in order to emphasise their own position as upholders of the Sunna; whence titles like al-Ḳāʾim bi-ʿamr Allāh appear in the middle years of the 5th/11th century and ones like al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh and al-Ẓāhir bi-amr Allāh in the early 7th/13th one. In all these cases, the *laḳab* might be adopted as a new regnal title on the caliph's accession; but increasingly, the *walī 'l-ʿahd* or heir to the throne was given a *laḳab* as soon as he was invested formally as heir to the reigning monarch, with his own *kunya* and/or honorifics thereafter appearing on the coinage side-by-side with those of the actual caliph. This *laḳab* usually remained with the heir once he acceded to the caliphate proper; but occasionally, the *laḳab* adopted by such an heir-apparent was exchanged

for a different, often more grandiloquent one on his obtaining the throne. Thus al-Mutawakkil's original *laḳab*, during the period when he was his brother's heir, was al-Muntaṣir, but this was changed on the second day of his succession to the caliphate (232/847) by the chief *ḳāḍī* Abī Duʾād to al-Mutawakkil (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, vii, 189 = ed. Pellat, § 2872; cf. Tyan, *op. cit.*, 280, 486).

If the caliphs could assume splendid and sonorous honorifics themselves, it lay also within their power to confer titles on their servants and supporters, in the first instance to their viziers and secretaries and to their military commanders. The process dates from the early 3rd/9th century, and at least until the following century it was practised comparatively sparingly by the ʿAbbāsids. The Persian secretary al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], former protégé of the Barmakīs and eventually vizier to the caliph al-Maʾmūn, exercised the functions both of *wazīr* and *amīr*, and by 196/811-12 he is found with the honorific Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn "possessor of the two executive functions", sc. of civil administration and military leadership. Around the same time, the Persian general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], founder of the line of Ṭāhirid governors in Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ, received the *laḳab* of Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn "possessor of two right hands, the ambidextrous" (various explanations for this phrase are in fact given in the sources; it had already been used in the earliest Islamic times as a synonym for "liberal, open-handed", e.g. by the great poetess al-Khansāʾ [*q.v.*] when elegising her brother Ṣakhr); al-Faḍl b. Sahl's cousin ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿīd received that of Dhu 'l-Ḳalamayn "possessor of the two pens" (either alluding to the two principal government departments of finance and the army, or else to "the two modes of writing", sc. Arabic and Persian); whilst later in the century, in 269/885, the vizier Saʿīd b. Mukhallad was granted by al-Muwaffaḳ the title Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn "possessor of the two vizierates" (referring either to the two spheres of power, civil and military, or recognising Saʿīd's role as servant both of al-Muwaffaḳ and the titular caliph al-Muʿtamid) (see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 201-3, 319-20, ii, 678, 681).

This type of *laḳab* containing a dual expression was, however, one known before this time, as is attested by the name Dhu 'l-Nūrayn for the caliph ʿUthmān and Dhu 'l-Shahādatayn, applied to the Companion and partisan of ʿAlī, Khuzayma b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (because the Prophet had promised him double the normal martyr's rewards, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 425, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 114). The type was, indeed, to enjoy a long life in Islamic titulature, just as dual forms of the simple *ism* (Muḥammadayn, al-Ḥasanayn) have been current in the Islamic world until the present day. The ʿAbbāsids' successors in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, the Būyids, continued the usage of the caliphs for their own ministers and secretaries; thus we find Rukn al-Dawla's great vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd with the *laḳab* of Dhu 'l-Kifāyatayn "possessor of the two capabilities" (i.e. of the sword and pen), though this title was in fact awarded directly by the caliph [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD]. In the following period of the Saldjūḳs, titles in *al-Ḥadratayn*, referring to the separate courts of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldjūḳ sultans, occur, e.g. Thiḳat al-Ḥaḍratayn "confidant of the two courts", and Niẓām al-Ḥaḍratayn "support of the two courts", the title held by the *Naḳīb al-Nuḳabāʾ* ʿAlī b. Ṭarrād al-Zaynabī in Baghdād during the latter decades of the 5th/11th century (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968-72, iv, 454, tr. de Slane, iii, 151). See for all these types of dual titles, I. Goldziher, *Ueber Dualtitel*, in *WZKM*, xiii (1899), 321-9 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hildesheim 1967-73, iv, 195-203, and Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum*, i, 167-9.

An interesting fact of usage has recently been highlighted by P. Balog. Pious invocations after names are familiar from the early use of the *taṣliya* after the name of the Prophet, the *taslīm* after those of earlier prophets, the *tarḍiya* after the names of the early caliphs, etc. From the latter Umayyad period (from the time of Yazīd II b. ʿAbd al-Malik [101-5/720-4] onwards, in regard to the evidence of inscriptions on glass weights and measure stamps from Egypt) onwards, pious invocations like *aṣlaḥahu Allāh* "may God set him in the way of righteousness!", *abḳāhu Allāh* "may God grant him long life!" and *akramahu Allāh* "may God honour him!" are consistently appended to the names of caliphs and of high officials and governors. It seems that a particular formula like those just mentioned remained with an official or governor throughout his career, unless he were awarded a fresh invocation of higher prestige. Such *adʿiya* (sing. *duʿāʾ*) may accordingly be approximated to *alḳāb* as expressions of particular honour awarded by the ruler to a faithful servant, and in the manuals of secretaryship from the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods (see below, section IV), the two types of honorific are often treated together. See Balog, *Pious invocations probably used as titles of office or as honorific titles in Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 61-8.

Characteristic of the 4th/10th century was the appearance and then the growing popularity of compound honorifics including as their second elements the terms *dīn* "faith" and *dawla* or *mulk* "secular power", or less commonly, compounded with *umma* "religious community" and *milla* "religion". These titles have been studied in detail by M. van Berchem, *Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlande mit historischen Erläuterungen*, in *ZDPV*, xvi (1893), 84-105; Caetani and Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, i, 199 ff.; J. H. Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, in *AO*, v (1927), 53-67; and A. Dietrich, *Zu den mit addīn zusammengesetzten islamischen Personnamen*, in *ZDMG*, cx (1960), 43-54. The last three of these studies contain extended lists of these types of *laḳab*, for they were to enjoy a popularity which ran for almost a millenium, and Dietrich puts the total of *dīn* titles enumerated by Kramers and himself at 186. The *dawla* titles were the earliest to appear, but in the first place, were titles of great honour granted only exceptionally by the caliphs. Thus when al-Muktafī honoured his vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh of the Banū Wahb (vizier 289-91/902-4) by giving to him one of his daughters in marriage, he also awarded him the title Walī 'l-Dawla "friend of the state" as a special mark of intimacy (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 356). In 330/941-2 the Ḥamdānid of Mawṣil Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan received from al-Muttaḳī, as a reward for his services against the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ, the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla, whilst his brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī of Aleppo obtained that of Sayf al-Dawla. Shortly afterwards, in 334/945, the Daylamī Būyids entered Baghdād and took over the office there of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and the three Būyid brothers Aḥmad ʿAlī and Ḥasan b. Būya received the honorifics of Muʿizz

al-Dawla, ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla respectively. All the subsequent Būyid *amīrs* obtained from the caliphs titles of this type, sometimes with a greater degree of elaboration, e.g. the ʿAḍud al-Dawla wa-Tādj al-Milla of Fanā-Khusraw, the Sharaf al-Dawla wa-Zayn al-Milla conferred on Abu 'l-Fawāris Shīrzīl by the caliph in 376/986, and the Bahāʾ al-Dawla wa-Ḍiyāʾ al-Milla wa-Ghiyāth al-Umma of Abū Naṣr Fīrūz b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla (see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 133, Eng. tr. 135; L. Richter-Bernburg, *Amīr-malik-shāhānshāh: ʿAḍud ad-Daula's titulature re-examined*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, xviii [1980],; and BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA in Suppl.).

It may be noted, in connection with the mention of Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ [see IBN RĀʾIḲ], that it is in the first half of this century that we have the formal constitution of the office of *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] as the concomitant of caliphal decadence. In fact, this title, or a similar form like *kabīr al-umarāʾ*, appears in the later years of the 3rd/9th century in reference to the commander-in-chief of the caliphal armies; but only with the caliphate of al-Rāḍī (322-9/934-40) did the holder of the *imārat al-umarāʾ* achieve a commanding grip on affairs, so that it seemed natural for the Būyids to step into the office a few years later (see Tyan, *op. cit.*, 531-41).

Especially interesting, in the light of the significance of the Būyids and the *dawlat al-Daylam* or "reign of the Daylamīs" for an attempted reconstruction, in Islamic form, of the ancient kingship of Iran, is their assumption of the ancient imperial title *Shāhanshāh* "emperor of emperors". ʿAḍud al-Dawla used it widely and with great pride in his titulature and protocol, and indeed the title became so characteristic of the Būyids that the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī actually refers to them as the Shāhanshāhiyān (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ [1], 41, 400, 438), but it seems possible that use of the title goes back to the very beginnings of the Būyids' seizure of power in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, and was begun by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's father Rukn al-Dawla or even before that by his uncle ʿImād al-Dawla. Its assumption without caliphal permission clearly indicates a claim to temporal power by the Būyids independent of any caliphal act of delegation; but after ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death, his weaker and squabbling successors were compelled to seek caliphal support and hence pay more respect to the "caliphal fiction" by seeking validation for the title *Shāhanshāh* directly from the ʿAbbāsids. As is well-known, al-Ḳāʾim complied over this when asked by Djalāl al-Dawla, but when in 429/1038 the title was introduced publicly into the Baghdād *khuṭba* for the first time, a near-riot ensured, and the approval of the *fuḳahāʾ* of the three law schools of the East, the Ḥanafīs, the Ḥanbalīs and the Shāfiʿīs, had to be sought before this ostensibly blasphemous (at least in the eyes of the pious) title could safely be re-introduced from the pulpits (see H. F. Amedroz, *The assumption of the title Shâhanshâh by Buwayhid rulers*, in *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. v [1905], 393-9, and the detailed and important study of W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title Shāhanshāh by the Būyids and "The reign of the Daylam* (Dawlat al-Daylam)", in *JNES*, xxvii [1969], 84-108, 168-83). Until approximately the time of the Mongol invasions, *Shāhanshāh* remained an exalted regnal title, e.g. the Ismāʿīlī Grand Master of Alamūt ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618-53/1221-55) is called al-Mawlā al-Aʿẓam Shāhanshāh al-Muʿaẓẓam in one inscription (van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie*, in *JA*, Ser. 9, vol. ix [1897], 453-501). Subsequently, however, it declined from being a *laḳab* into an ordinary *ism* amongst Persian princes and those Turkish ones who at times adopted ancient Iranian nomenclature. As we have seen above in regard to dual titles, the Būyids likewise secured imposing honorifics for the great viziers and secretaries who served them. Notable here is the use of the element *kāfī* "capable one", and al-Bīrūnī singles out such *alḳāb* of Būyid officials as Kāfī 'l-Kufāt, al-Kāfī al-Awḥad and Awḥad al-Kufāt as "nothing but one great lie" (*al-Athār al-bāḳiya*, 134, tr. Sachau, *The chronology of ancient nations*, 131).

The Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in distant Transoxania and then Khurāsān were abstemious in the use of honorifics, and al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, praises them for this, comparing them favourably with the Būyids. The epithets of al-Saʿīd, al-Sadīd, al-Ḥamīd, al-Riḍā, etc., seem to have been applied to them retrospectively after their deaths, and the only clear instance of a *laḳab* used by one of the Sāmānids in his own lifetime is that of the last of the line, Ismāʿīl b. Nūḥ (d. 395/1005), who styled himself al-Muntaṣir "the one rendered victorious [by God]", perhaps as a hopeful omen—vainly, as events turned out—for the restoration of his dynasty's fortunes. Yet although the Sāmānids, in practice independent, were usually punctilious in their deference to the ʿAbbāsids, they did in the second half of the 4th/10th century confer *alḳāb* unilaterally on their great commanders; thus Nūḥ b. Manṣūr (365-87/976-97) gave the title of Nāṣir al-Dawla to the commander of the Bukhārā *ghāzīs*, and the Sāmānids' Turkish commanders in Khurāsān received similar titles, e.g. Ḥusām al-Dawla for Tāsh Ḥādjib and ʿAmīd al-Dawla for Fāʾiḳ Khāṣṣa (see Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv [1962], 214-15).

The successors of the Sāmānids in eastern Persia and Afghānistān, the Ghaznavids [*q.v.*], departed, on the other hand, from the path of Sāmānid simplicity, and from the time of the line's founder, Sebüktigin, onwards, regularly sought from the caliphs numerous honorifics. Those of Sebüktigin were Muʿīn al-Dawla and Nāṣir al-Dawla or Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla, perhaps commonly abbreviated to Nāṣir al-Dīn (cf. S. M. Stern, in *Paintings from Islamic lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Oxford 1969, 14-16; the question of the exact form of the *laḳab* is of some importance for the first appearance of the compound *dīn*-type honorifics, see below). By the time of Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (451-92/1059-99), the sultans bore a dazzling array of honorifics, in this case Ẓahīr al-Dawla and some twelve others, as well as the ceremonial designation (e.g. for the coinage) of al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam/al-Aʿẓam "highly-exalted sultan", a designation probably adopted under Saldjūḳ influence (details in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 215 ff., and idem, *The later Ghaznavids: splendour and decay, the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 55-6).

Compound honorifics in *dīn* appear at a slightly earlier date than the *dawla* ones, and the award of Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla to Sebüktigin would appear to be the earliest instance of a *dīn* title; it is certainly the only *laḳab* of this type listed by al-Bīrūnī in his *Āthār*, 133-4, tr. 130-1, under the heading "the holders of *alḳāb* granted by the caliphal court", the remainder being mainly compounded of *dawla*, *milla* and *umma*. (Kramers thought that the linking of *dīn* and *dawla* in titles—see further on this coupling, below—stemmed from a long Islamic tradition

in which these two strands of human existence were regarded as interdependent in this temporal life and their fortunes inextricably interwoven; he also thought that the combination of ideas came "incontestably" from Persia, see *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, 61.)

In the 5th/11th century, usage of the two types of *laḳab*, in *dawla* and in *dīn*, fluctuates, but the coming of the Saldjūḳs gave a great impetus to the spread of those of the second type. According to the Saldjūḳ historical sources, when Ṭoghrïl appeared in Baghdād in 449/1058 for the second time, the caliph al-Ḳā'im bestowed on him the honorifics of Rukn al-Dawla "pillar of the states" and Malik al-Mashriḳ wa 'l-Maghrib "king of the east and west" (see Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 47); but in practice, Ṭoghrïl was generally referred to, in the short period of life remaining to him and also retrospectively, as Rukn al-Dīn. *Dawla* titles seem to have fallen into disfavour under the Saldjūḳs, for the subsequent sultans of the 6th/12th century favoured titles with *dīn* or, instead of the frequent alliterative coupling of *dīn* and *dawla* in a title, a further alliteration of *dīn* and *dunyā*; Malik Shāh had the honorifics Djalāl al-Dawla (whence the name of the Djalālī era [*q.v.*]) and Muʿizz al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunya, whereas his son Muḥammad had that of Ghiyāth al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā. Whether the overshadowing of the *dawla* titles had any theological significance, as Kramers suggested—a preference for those in *dīn* stemming from the strongly orthodox religious atmosphere of the Sunnī reaction against political Shīʿism, and an avoidance of the non-Ḳur'ānic term *dawla*, with its connotations of the changes and vicissitudes of blind fate—is unproven, but seems unlikely. But if *dawla* titles became less popular, the Saldjūḳs had no hesitation in the use of compound titles with *mulk* for their viziers and high military commanders (e.g. ʿAmīd al-Mulk for Abū Naṣr Kundurī [*q.v.*] and Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] for Abū ʿAlī Ṭūsī); and the ʿAbbāsids themselves came to imitate the Saldjūḳs in the bestowal of titles expressing the idea of secular power, e.g. al-Muḳtafī's award of the title Sulṭān al-ʿIrāḳ, Malik al-Djuyūsh to his vizier ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] in 549/1154 as a reward for expelling the Türkmens from Wāsiṭ. Saldjūḳ practice was also the model for the Khwārazm-Shāhs of the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries; see L. Richter-Bernburg, *Zur Titulatur der Ḫwārezm-Šāhe aus der Dynastie Anūštegīns*, in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F. ix (1976), 179-205.

The Shīʿī Fāṭimids, the Saldjūḳs' great opponents in the struggle for influence in the Syrian Desert region and its fringes of Syria and al-Djazīra, did not have this reluctance to use *dawla* titles, at least for their viziers and officials. A standard formula for their viziers was al-Wazīr al-Adjall "most exalted vizier", awarded for instance to Yaʿḳūb b. Killis by the caliph al-Muʿizz in 368/979, but at this same time, compound *dawla* and other titles appear for the Fāṭimids' viziers, e.g. Amīn al-Milla for Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār, and for their commanders, governors and vassal princes, e.g. Sayf al-Dawla for the Zīrid Yūsuf Buluggīn in 361/972, and similar titles for Yūsuf's successors Bādīs and al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (see H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes Xe-XIIe siècles*, Paris 1959, ii, 509; when al-Muʿizz in 433/1041 transferred his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids, the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir awarded the *laḳab* of his former vassal, Sharaf al-Dawla, to al-Muʿizz's kinsman, the Ḥammādid al-Ḳā'id, who returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance); and Murtaḍā 'l-Dawla for the Ḥamdānid commander Lu'lu' s son Manṣūr in Aleppo in 399/1008 (see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, 710). An individual feature of Fāṭimid titulature for their viziers was the use of compound titles in *amīr al-mu'minīn*, e.g. Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu'minīn wa-Khāliṣatuhu for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad al-Djardjarā'ī, and Muṣṭafā Amīr al-Mu'minīn for Abū Manṣūr Ṣadaḳa b. Yūsuf al-Fallāḥī. Very soon the titulature of these Fāṭimid officials became remarkably luxuriant and pompous, heralding the later verbosity of Mamlūk titulature in Egypt; thus in 447/1050-1 the vizier Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Yāzūrī enjoyed the titles of al-Wazīr al-Adjall al-Awḥad al-Makīn, Sayyid al-Wuzarā' wa-Tādj al-Aṣfiyā' wa-Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt wa-Dāʿī 'l-Duʿāt, ʿAlam al-Madjd, Khāliṣat Amīr al-Mu'minīn, to which were later added al-Nāṣir li 'l-Dīn, Ghiyāth al-Muslimīn, the ensemble denoting the wide extent of his powers, not merely as a vizier but also as chief *ḳāḍī* and chief *dāʿī*.

But in general, Fāṭimid procedure over the grant of honorifics was on similar lines to that of the ʿAbbāsids, as is attested by the texts of such awards (called technically *kutub al-tanwīh* "documents conferring eulogy") quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī from the *Mawādd al-bayān* of the Fāṭimid author ʿAlī b. Khalaf (a work which was long believed lost, but which has recently turned up in Istanbul, see A. H. Saleh, in *Arabica*, xx [1973], 192-200, and IBN KHALAF in Suppl.). Here a sterotyped formula is set forth, in which the grant of titles is accompanied by other favours such as the gift of a standard, a sword and a fine mount (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 341). As in the Sunnī world, the awarding of honorifics was often proclaimed *urbi et orbi* by the Fāṭimids in Cairo, either before the caliphal palace or from the mosque pulpit; thus al-Ḥusayn b. Djawhar was in 390/1000 honoured by al-Ḥākim, receiving a robe of honour and having his newly-acquired title of Ḳā'id al-Ḳuwwād "supreme commander" read out from the *minbar* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 15; see further on Fāṭimid titulature in general, Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya fi 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-wathā'iḳ wa 'l-āthār*, Cairo 1958, 65 ff., 92 ff.).

After the Saldjūḳ period, sc. after the 6th/12th century, the dominance of *dīn* titles was firmly established, not only for rulers and their servants, but also, by what must have been unilateral adoption or else by the general consensus among religious groups, for outstanding spiritual leaders, Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, etc., e.g. Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī [*q.vv.*]. In any case, by this time all pretence at the caliph's being the sole dispenser of these honours had been abandoned. A consequence of this was that honorifics began to be adopted according to a method of rough conformity with a person's original *ism*. Al-Ḳalḳashandī has a passage on this custom in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 488-90, under the heading of *Fi 'l-alḳāb al-mufarraʿa ʿalā 'l-asmā'*, and the practise clearly dates back to early Mamlūk times, if not before. Thus among the Turkish mamlūks, ʿAlam al-Dīn went with the name Sandjar, Djamāl al-Dīn with Aḳ Ḳush, Ḥusām al-Dīn with Ḥasan or Ḥusayn, ʿAlā' al-Dīn with ʿAlī, Tādj al-Dīn with Ibrāhīm, etc. Even eunuchs had their characteristic combinations of *laḳab* and *ism*, e.g. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn with ʿAnbar, as had the Coptic officials of the administration in Egypt, e.g. Taḳī 'l-Dīn with Wahba (cf. a similar list in al-Suyūṭī's

Risāla fī maʿrifat al-ḥulā wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-asmāʾ wa 'l-alḳāb, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Une importante Risāla de Suyūṭī*, in *MFOB*, xlviii [1973-4], 352-4, and also Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *op. cit.*, 103-5). This type of usage was carried over into the Ottoman empire, especially amongst the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, e.g. Badr al-Dīn with Maḥmūd, and the already-mentioned couplings with Ḥasan or Ḥusayn, ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm; the alliterative effect often achieved was obviously a factor favouring the adoption of several of these (cf. F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi [1923], 20 n. 3).

Whilst the ʿAbbāsid caliphate was still a living organism (i.e. till the Mongol sack of Baghdād in 656/1258), the granting of honorific titles remained, at least in theory, a jealously-guarded privilege of the caliphs. Local rulers or provincial governors who maintained the "caliphal fiction" of Sunnī constitutional theory, that all executive authority derived ultimately from the caliph, sedulously sought a grant of honorifics at the outset of their reigns of governorships; and titles expressing personal closeness or a special relationship to the caliph, such as Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn, Walī Amīr al-Muʾminīn and Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn, were especially sought after (early examples of the designation *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn*, say before the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, probably simply expressed a relationship of subordination and dependence, clientship or *walāʾ*, between the caliph and its bearer, rather than being the grant of an official title; O. Grabar thinks that the attribution of this phrase to the governor of Egypt Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] in 265/878-9 still expressed dependence rather than a title of honour, cf. his *The coinage of the Ṭūlūnids*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs no. 139, New York 1957, 39-40).

Recognition by the caliph, involving an investiture charter (*ʿahd, manshūr*), plus the other insignia of power such as honorifics, a richly-caparisoned charger and banners, might give a contender for power in a disputed succession the edge over his opponent. In 421/1030 the Ghaznawid prince Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd hurried eastwards from western Persia to Afghānistān in order to confront his brother Muḥammad, who had been proclaimed sultan by the army in Ghazna. At Nīshāpūr he received from the caliph al-Ḳādir an investiture diploma for the Ghaznawid empire plus a strong of honorifics, *nuʿūt-i sulṭānī* as Bayhaḳī calls them, Nāṣir Dīn Allāh, Ḥāfiẓ ʿIbād (or ʿUbbād) Allāh, al-Muntaḳim min Aʿdāʾ Allāh and Ẓahīr Khalīfat Allāh Amīr al-Muʾminīn. Masʿūd ordered that details of the award should be proclaimed and publicised in the towns of Khurāsān, and it proved to be a valuable propaganda weapon in his successful wresting of the sultanate from Muḥammad later that year (Bayhaḳī, cited in Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, 224-5, and idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 944-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 54).

Not surprisingly, the ʿAbbāsids held on their privilege of granting these titles in the Sunnī world for as long as possible. The caliph personally was the fount of honours, and the precise form in which they were granted had to be rigorously observed; the Mamlūk author Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [see FAḌL ALLĀH] states, concerning the correct form of address used by kings for governors and lesser rulers. that there was an inflexible rule in ancient times "that no king was ever addressed except by the precise honorific granted to him from the caliphal *dīwān*, with no addition or omissions", *bi 'l-naṣṣ min ghayr ziyāda walā naḳṣ* (*al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 86-7). Conversely, the unilateral and unauthorised assumption of *alḳāb* by a person was an act of *lèse-majesté*, a virtual declaration of rebelion against the caliph or sovereign, as happened in Khurāsān during the late 4th/10th century; the ambitious military commander of the Sāmānids, Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī, in 381/991 rose against his master Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, appropriated all the revenues of Khurāsān and styled himself (*talaḳḳaba*) Amīr al-Umarāʾ, al-Muʾayyad min al-Samāʾ "the heavenly-guided supreme commander" (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286/1869, i, 155).

Since the granting of such titles and honours created status and prestige for the recipients, it was natural that the ʿAbbāsids, in the period of penury into which they had fallen by the early 4th/10th century, should expect a return for this services; during the Būyid period in particular, when the caliphs were reduced to subsisting in straitened circumstances as pensioners of the Būyids, this sale of honours, normally in return for presents, became all the more vital for them. The grants seem to have become in time regulated by something like a fixed tariff. In Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 293, there is an account of the detailed discussion at Masʿūd of Ghazna's court in 422/1031 about the presents to be sent to the new caliph al-Ḳāʾim, from whom the sultan expected confirmation of his territories plus a grant of fresh *alḳāb* and other insignia of royalty; much of this discussion revolved round what was the usual *rasm* or practice here, with the adducing of precendents from the Ṣaffārid period.

Inevitably, voices were raised against the over-lavish granting of honours and titles, with a consequent cheapening in their value. Already the poet and littérateur Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Khwārazmī (d. 383/993 or 393/1003 [*q.v.*]) had complained in a satire.

> What do I care that the ʿAbbāsids have thrown open the gates of *kunā* and *alḳāb*?
>
> They have conferred honorifics on a man whom their ancestors would not have made doorkeeper of their privy.
>
> This caliph of ours has few *dirhams* in his hands, so he lavishes honorifics on people.

(al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 230; cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 78-9, Eng. tr. 86-8). Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 448/1056) has a long passage in his *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Farādj, Cairo 1958, 166 ff., lamenting the changes between the time of the viziers Ibn al-Furāt and ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (the latter of whom had refused to increase the designation of a certain governor above the simple wish "May God exalt him"!, although threatened for his obduracy), and even between the time of the viziers of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, and the position at the end of his own lifetime. His main gravamen is that social and functional differentiation becomes impossible when titles lose their real meaning, and his conclusion is that "Inevitably, official positions have declined in status where they have been reduced to one level [in titulature], and have become cheapened when they have all been made equal. They no longer possess any glory which one can admire, nor any splendour to be prized. Indeed, I have heard our master the caliph al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh—may God prolong his reign!—says that there is no designation

left for a deserving person". Hilāl's contemporary al-Bīrūnī likewise moralisingly observes that when the ʿAbbāsids started rewarding their adherents with vain *dawla* titles, extending even to triple ones, their empire foundered: "In this way, the matter became utterly opposed to common sense and clumsy to the highest degree, so that he who mentions them gets tired before he has hardly begun, he who writes them loses his time and writing, and he who addresses [people] with them runs the risk of missing the time for prayer" (*al-Āt̲h̲ār al-bāḳiya*, 132, tr. 129). By the end of the 5th/11th century, the process of debasement had gone even further in the Muslim East, and the Sald̲j̲ūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk complains volubly, in the section of his *Siyāsat-nāma* on titles (ch. xl, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 189-200, tr. idem, *The book of government or rules for kings*, London 1960, 152-63) that "There has arisen an abundance of titles, and whatever becomes abundant loses value and dignity", and that "In these days, the meanest official gets agry and indignant if he is given less than seven or ten titles". In particular, Niẓām al-Mulk denounces the confounding of *dawla* titles, formerly reserved for military commanders and the Turks, with the *mulk* and other titles used by viziers, governors and other civilian and religious officials and dignitaries, so that there results the absurdity of a Turkish general, illiterate, tyrannical and totally ignorant of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, being given titles like Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn "crown of the faith or Muʿīn al-Dīn "succourer of the faith". He places the time when the floodgates were opened in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ empire to the indiscriminate and incongruous granting of honorifics as being the years after Alp Arslan's death (sc. after 465/1072 and the accession of Malik S̲h̲āh; these strictures on the trends of the latter sultan's reign must be regarded as from a later hand than Niẓām al-Mulk's, perhaps from that of his copyist Muḥammad Mag̲h̲ribī).

3. The Muslim West. Most of what has been said so far relates primarily to the central and eastern lands of Islam, sc. Egypt and the lands further east. The vogue for honorifics followed a rather different course in the Muslim West. In general, their use was less developed in the more puritanical West, where there was a tendency to regard elaborate and fancy names and titles as effete and Persianising phenomena. Hence the term *alḳāb mas̲h̲riḳiyya* is not infrequently used by Mag̲h̲ribī writers in disparaging references to them, e.g. by al-Maḳḳarī and by the Mag̲h̲ribī traveller to Egypt and Syria just before the Ottoman conquest, ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Idrīsī. This last shows himself, in his opuscule *Bayān g̲h̲urbat al-Islām bi-wāsiṭat ṣinfay al-mutafaḳḳiha wa 'l-mutafaḳḳira min ahl Miṣr wa 'l-S̲h̲ām wa-mā yalīhā min bilād al-ʿAd̲j̲am* (written in 916/1510, see Brockelmann, I ², 152, S II, 153), as particularly severe against the habit of the religious scholars (the first of the two classes mentioned in the title of his work) of taking honorifics like S̲h̲ams al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn, which he stigmatises as *bidʿī* "heretical" and *s̲h̲ayṭānī* "devilish", in preference to the plain good old *sunnī* names Muḥammad and ʿUmar, and of insisting on the use of these honorifics in addressing them (see Goldziher, *ʿAlī b. Mejmûn al-Magribî und sein Sittenspiegel des östlichen Islam*, in *ZDMG*, xxviii [1874], 306-10 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, vi, 14-18).

Already the Idrīsid *s̲h̲arīf*s of Morocco, with their claims to ʿAlid descent, had styled themselves *imāms*, and the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī Rustamids of Tāhart utilised not only this last designation but those of "caliph" and *amīr al-muʾminīn* also; these powers, of course, rejected the legitimacy of ʿAbbāsid rule, whereas the Ag̲h̲labids of Ifrīḳiya, faithful in theory at least to the Bag̲h̲dād connection, never took such liberties in matters of titulature. The rise of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in North Africa during the early years of the 4th/10th century nevertheless introduced fully to the Mag̲h̲rib a titulature with messianic implications and one wholly opposed to the ʿAbbāsid moral and constitutional position (see above, Section II), and the new trend inevitably had repercussions in Muslim Spain. A dynasty like the Spanish Umayyads, which had to defend itself on the cultural and ideological planes against both the distant ʿAbbāsids in Bag̲h̲dād and, more pressingly, against the aggressively S̲h̲īʿī Fāṭimids (on the propaganda offensive of the Fāṭimids directed against the Spanish Umayyads and its effects, see M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 162-9), could not but be influenced by the political and religious propaganda value of honorific titles. When the greatest sovereign of the family, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, adopted after his victory at Bobastro over Ibn Ḥafṣūn in 315/927 the *laḳab* of al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, together with the designations of "caliph" and "commander of the faithful", he thus placed himself firmly within what had now become the mainstream ʿAbbāsid tradition of theologically-oriented caliphal titulature. His lesser successors studiously followed his example till the end of the dynasty in 422/1031, so that we find e.g. His̲h̲ām II al-Muʾayyad, Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, etc., as did the Ḥammūdids who alternated with the last fainéant Umayyads, e.g. al-Ḳāsim al-Maʾmūn (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 132-3, ii, 21, 115-16). The *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* who followed them during the period of the disorder and fragmentation in the middle decades of the 5th/11th century followed suit, with a disparity between the actual extent of their authority and the grandiloquence of their titles which attracted the satirical or ironic comment of contemporaries. Thus Ibn K̲h̲aldūn in two places in his *Prolegomena* quotes verses of the panegyrist of the Zīrids, Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ [*q.v.*],

> What makes me feel humble in Andalus is the use of the names "Muʿtaṣim" and "Muʿtaḍid" there.
> Royal epithets (*alḳāb mamlaka*) not in their proper place, like a cat that by puffing itself up imitates the lion.

(*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 281, 412, tr. Rosenthal, i, 316, 470, attributing the verses to Ibn S̲h̲araf [*q.v.*]; al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Muʿtaḍid were honorifics adopted by princes of the Ḥammūdids of Malaga and the ʿAbbādids of Seville respectively). In matters of titulature, the Naṣrids of Granada "demeurèrent fidèles à la tradition orientale adoptée par les Umayyades de Cordoue, fondée sur l'autorité absolue du souverain et sa caractère semi-religieux" (R. Arié) Like their contemporaries amongst the rulers of the Muslim West, they used the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn, known from Almoravid times (see below), although the Mamlūk chancery in Egypt simply addressed them in official documents as *Ṣāḥib Ḥamrāʾ G̲h̲arnāṭa*, according to Ibn Nāẓir al-D̲j̲ays̲h̲, cited by al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, vii, 413. Certain Naṣrid rulers assumed, as Arié implies, *alḳāb* of the usual theocratic pattern, such as the dynasty's founder, Muḥammad I, called al-G̲h̲ālib bi'llāh, and on returning from a successful expedition against Castile, Muḥammad V assumed that of al-G̲h̲anī

bi'llāh (Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 1973, 185-7).

Yet although the trends of the East filtered through to the Iberian peninsula in considerable measure, the effect of these trends tended to operate at the highest level only, that of the monarchs themselves. The Spanish Muslim sovereigns were much more careful over the bestowal of honorifics to their servants, ministers and generals than were the eastern dynasts. Ibn Abī ʿĀmir of course assumed the title of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], for which his role in the state at the end of the 4th/10th century befitted him, on his return from the expedition against Leon in 371/981, and he was followed by his son ʿAbd al-Malik, styled al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]. Other isolated instances occured, such as the award by al-Ḥakam II of the title Dhu 'l-Sayfayn in 363/974 to the general Ghālib on his victorious return from a campaign in the Maghrib, and the bestowal of the title Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn in 367/978 to both Ghālib and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, one borne previously only by the general charged with defence of the Spanish frontier against the Christians; and over three centuries later, the great vizier of the Naṣrids, Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], was to enjoy the *alḳāb* of Lisān al-Dīn and Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 194, 213, 215-16, 228-9).

North Africa remained faithful for a longer period to the puritanical ideals of an equalitarian, earlier form of Islam, in its disapproval of pompous titles, once the interlude of the rise of the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids was over and the domination of Mālikī orthodoxy was re-established under the Almoravids. The Almoravids originally recognised ʿAbbāsid authority, but to mark the reality of their own power in North-West Africa adopted—whether of their own accord or with the approval of Baghdād is unclear—the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn. Thus there was created, from the constitutional point of view, what van Berchem conveniently called a "sub-caliphate", whose rulers recognised an authority higher than their own and did not therefore adopt a titulature proclaiming their total independence and non-recognition of any superior power. The Almohads, however, came to power in the middle years of the 6th/12th century on a wave of messianic enthusiasm and under a charismatic leader, the Mahdī Muḥammad b. Tūmart [see IBN TŪMART], and took up again in some measure the pattern of titulature instituted in the Maghrib two centuries before by the Fāṭimids. During Ibn Tūmart's lifetime, his lieutenant ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was styled the Mahdī's *khalīfa* and Amīr al-Muʾminīn, sc. of the Almohad faithful, and on Ibn Tūmart's death, he became the *imām* of the community, with the title of al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh; from the reign of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) onwards, the Almohad sultans are found with honorifics of the familiar theocratic pattern (see van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'occident, à propos de quelques monnaies Mérinides et Ziyanides*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, vol. ix [1907], 263-79, and the important section on the title Amīr al-Muʾminīn in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 408-14, tr. i, 465-72).

The pattern of titulature was in this way established for the sovereigns of the three successor-states in the Maghrib and Spain to the Almohads, sc. the Naṣrids (for whom see above), the Marīnids of Morocco and the Ḥafṣids of Ifrīḳiya. The Ḥafṣids' eponymous ancestor was the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's celebrated companion and partisan, Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, and the Ḥafṣids continued to use in reference to themselves the term al-Muwaḥḥidūn "those who proclaim God's unity" (an assumption admitted by the secretaries of the Mamlūk chancery in Cairo, who used the titles Zaʿīm al-Muwaḥḥidīn "chief of those proclaiming God's unity" and Ḳudwat al-Muwaḥḥidīn "exemplar of those..." in adressing them, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 51, 65). The most significant factor in the pattern of Ḥafṣid titulature, as it evolved in the 7th/13th century, was their claim to the caliphate, put forward by the second ruler of the dynasty, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (647-75/1249-77) in 650/1253. This was buttressed firstly by the attempts of the family's apologists to impute to them a Ḳurashī descent from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (whose *kunya* had been Abū Ḥafṣ), so that the sultans proudly termed themselves *ibn al-khulafāʾ al-umarāʾ al-rāshidīn*; and secondly by the recognition of the Sharīf of Mecca and, briefly, of the Mamlūks of Egypt even, after the extinction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdād by the Mongols and before its revival in Cairo. Whence also the Ḥafṣids' adoption of the characteristically caliphal designation of Amīr al-Muʾminīn (although their rivals, the Mamlūks, would only allow them the "sub-caliphal" one of Amīr al-Muslimīn), and of theocratic *alḳāb* on the exact ʿAbbāsid pattern (al-Mustanṣir and al-Mutawakkil being especially favoured by various members of the dynasty), in order to demonstrate the genuine nature of their caliphal claims and the continuity of their titulature with the older ʿAbbāsid practice.

Looking forward to what will be said below about the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk usage of such titles, we may also note that the Ḥafṣids, deeply involved in struggles with Christian powers such as Spain and France, seeking a foothold in North Africa, assumed titles reflecting their roles as leaders in the holy war, such as al-Mudjāhid fī sabīl Allāh "he who fights in God's way", and allowed themselves to be addressed impersonally by titles of respect like al-Maḳām al-ʿalī/al-aʿlā and al-Ḥadra al-ʿaliyya (the latter expression being used by the Bey of Tunis until the proclamation of the republic there as the equivalent of the European diplomatic forms "His Majesty", "Son Altesse", etc.). See on all these questions of Ḥafṣid usage, von Berchem, *Titres califiens d'occident*, 283-93; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XVᵉ siècle*, Paris 1940-7, i, 40, ii, 7-17.

The Marīnids for long accepted the supremacy of the already-established Ḥafṣids, hence they (and also their neighbours of Tlemcen, the ʿAbd al-Wādids or Zayyānids) normally used the lesser title of Amīr al-Muslimīn rather than the fully caliphal one of Amīr al-Muʾminīn; many of the Marīnid sultans also bore theocratic-type *alḳāb* like the Ḥafṣids. But there were episodes when certain sultans did assume the higher title. For a short period of 9 month in 708/1308-9, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān adopted it on the coins which he issued conjointly with his Naṣrid ally Muḥammad III, apparently as an act of defiance to the Ḥafṣids. Furthermore, Abū ʿInān Fāris al-Mutawakkil (749-59/1348-59) seems to have employed the title as a lever to secure the deposition of his father ʿAlī, who had already styled himself in his official documents Amīr al-Muʾminīn and Ḳāʾid al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Almohad titles par excellence (and also Baḳiyyat al-Salaf al-Karīm in allusion to the Berber Marīnid's pretensions to an Arab genealogy). The mention in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 414, tr. i, 472, of the "Zanāta rulers", sc. the Marīnids, using the title Amīr al-Muʾminīn must be a reference to this episode, though subsequent

sultans reverted to the lesser title Amīr al-Muslimīn. The whole question of this alternation of titles was examined in great detail by van Berchem in his *Titres califiens d'occident*, 245-335.

With the decline of the Marīnids and their kinsmen the Waṭṭāsids, the Saʿdī S͟harīfs from southern Morocco rose to power in the early decades of the 10th/16th century on a wave of Moroccan enthusiasm for the expulsion of Turkish Algerian influence and of renewed Islamic maraboutist fervour for *d̲j̲ihād* against the Portuguese encroachers on the Moroccan coastlands. In an atmosphere which was thus fed on religious enthusiasm and popular messianic expectations of a new defender of the Muslims, it is not surprising that the first of these S͟harīfs of the Sūs, Muḥammad (d. 924/1517-13) assumed the chiliastic titles of al-Mahdī and al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh, reminiscent of Fāṭimid and then Almohad usage. Similarly religiously-motivated honorifics were adopted by several of his successors, e.g. Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, etc. One should also note the very characteristic forms of address used by both the Saʿdī sultans and their ʿAlawī successors, those of Mawlāy/Mūlāy "my master" and Sayyidī/Sīdī "my lord", as also by other high dignitaries, princely and religious, in the Mag͟hrib. The form Mawlānā "our master" had been used by the Naṣrids during the 8th/14th century, and the Christians of Spain in the 9th/15th century often referred to the ruler of Granada as Muley (Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, 187); whilst both Mawlānā and Sayyidunā had been early used by the Ḥafṣids in their official documents. The form with the first person singular pronoun affix, *mawlāyā* > *mūlāy* apparently appeared amongst the Ḥafṣids in the course of the 8th/14th century, but is only at first attested in Christian sources, e.g. the "Muley Bolabes" = Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad II al-Mustanṣir of a Latin document of 1391 (cf. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 15-16).

4. The post-caliphal period. With the strengthening of the grip of Turkish and Kurdish dynasties over the central and eastern lands of Islam from the 5th/11th century onwards, regal, military and ministerial titulature increased in complexity and grandiloquence. After the extinction of the Bag͟hdād caliphate and the establishment by the Mamlūks of a puppet line only of ʿAbbāsids in Cairo, the granting of titles became in practice the responsibility of the Mamlūk chancery or *Dīwān al-Ins͟hāʾ*, so that this office became the concentration-point of a great deal of expertise in these questions. In any case, the correct ordering and recounting of all the various components of the titles of rulers and dignitaries had always been vital in epistolary and other official usages. The various manuals for secretaries and officials, stretching back to Fāṭimid times but reaching their full florescence in a great document-producing civilisation like that of the Mamlūks, devote much space to forms of address and titulature. In the most monumental of these manuals, al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͟hā*, the first *bāb* of the third *maḳāla* (v, 423-506, vi, 1-188, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 110-13) is devoted to the topic of names of all kinds, but with special reference to *alḳāb*, which are traced from the origins of Islam to the author's own time, the 9th/15th century. Al-Ḳalḳas͟handī has several lists of titles, e.g. of these which he calls "honorifics of more recent times", *alḳāb muḥdat͟ha*, such as *nāʾib, sāḳī, mus͟hrif, awd̲j̲āḳī, ustād al-dār, bunduḳdār, dawādār, amīr al-āk͟hur*, etc.—this last class of titles being descriptive of offices rather than *alḳāb* in the true sense of honorifics as we have been discussing them.

Of greater interest for our present purpose are al-Ḳalḳas͟handī's numerous pages on the protocol of correct address, when addressing the caliph or sultans downwards. Many delicate and subtle distinctions are stressed here: thus *al-mad̲j̲lis al-sāmī/al-sāmiyy* (with *yāʾ mus͟haddada*) is a higher designation than *al-mad̲j̲lis al-sāmī* (with single *yāʾ*); *al-mad̲j̲lis al-ḳaḍāʾī* is higher than *al-mad̲j̲lis al-ḳāḍī*, and al-*mad̲j̲lis al-ḳāḍawī* higher still (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͟hā*, vi, 141 ff.; cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, Introd. LXXXII ff.). Even heathen rulers and notables were not to be denied their honorifics, though these were naturally on a lower level than those accorded to Muslim equivalents; the Mamlūk chancery had, of course, a sphere of diplomatic contacts embracing many non-Muslim powers, from the Christian empire of Byzantium and the Latins of the Western Mediterranean to the still-pagan Turkish and Mongol rulers of Inner Asia. As an example, we might cite the titles used in addressing the Doge of Venice (Dūk al-Bunduḳiyya): "al-Dūk al-D̲j̲alīl, al-Mukarram, al-Mubad̲j̲d̲j̲al, al-Muwaḳḳar, al-Baṭal, al-Humām, al-Ḍirg͟hām, al-G͟haḍanfar, al-K͟haṭīr, Mad̲j̲d al-Milla al-Naṣrāniyya, Fak͟hr al-ʿĪsawiyya, ʿImād Bani 'l-Maʿmūdiyya, Muʿizz Pāpā Rūmiyya, Ṣādīk al-Mulūk wa 'l-Salāṭīn N.". If such titulature was used for infidels, the luxuriance of contemporary practice for Islamic addressees may be judged!

Only some of the salient features of Ayyūbid and Mamlūk honorific titulature can be mentioned here; the existing documentation is so rich that a whole monograph could easily be written on the topic, and indeed, much of the material used by Ḥasan al-Bās͟hā for his book derives from these two periods and from the Syrian and Egyptian milieux; such material from the Mamlūk period has further been used to good effect by Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Ḥusaynī in his study, based in the first place on coin legends, *al-Kunā wa 'l-alḳāb ʿalā nuḳūd al-Mamālīk al-Baḥriyya wa 'l-Burd̲j̲iyya fī Miṣr wa 'l-S͟hām*, in *al-Mawrid*, iv/1 (1975), 55-104.

All the Ayyūbid sultans, and following them the Mamlūk ones, bore honorifics of the *al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* pattern—continuing here Sald̲j̲ūḳ practice —and these appear in inscriptions and offical documents, although for less formal usage a shorter form in *al-Dīn* only seems to have been current. Especially characteristic of the Ayyūbids was the use of an honorific composed of *al-Malik* plus a laudatory epithet (e.g. al-Malik al-Kāmil, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam) beginning with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's title of al-Malik al-Nāṣir bestowed on him by the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid when he appointed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his vizier in succession to Shīrkūh in 564/1169. Titles like these had been known in the Fāṭimid caliphate for some time, and al-Ḥāfiẓ's vizier Riḍwān b. Walaks͟hī had already in 531/1137 borne the titles of al-Sayyid al-Ad̲j̲all al-Malik al-Afḍal. The inscription on the K͟hān al-ʿAḳaba to the south-east of Lake Tiberias by its founder, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, describes him as al-Malikī al-Muʿaẓẓamī "connected with al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam", sc. with S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn, at that time (610/1213-14) governor of Damascus for his father and not yet an autonomous Ayyūbid prince; these titles were not therefore confined under the Ayyūbids to reigning princes only (van Berchem, *Eine ara-*

bische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlands, 89). From the Ayyūbids, titles of this type spread to the Mamlūks, and were used by the sultans, e.g. al-Malik al-Muʿizz for Aybak and al-Malik al-Ḳāhir and then al-Ẓāhir for Baybars. Such titles were also adopted unilaterally by presumptous, often rebellious, *amīrs* and governors, e.g. that of al-Malik al-Mudjāhid assumed by ʿAlam al-Dīn Sandjar al-Ḥalabī after the murder of Ḳuṭuz in 658/1260, and the fashion spread to powers dependent upon or culturally influenced by the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, such as the Rasūlids of Yemen, whose rulers, from al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar onwards in 626/1229, all had honorifics of this type (see al-Bāshā, 498 ff.).

The titulature of the Mamlūk rulers and of their *amīrs* was particularly complex. The title Sulṭān [*q.v.*], though certainly known in the Ayyūbid period, had not been widely used by the Ayyūbid monarchs, but was now extensively adopted by the Mamlūk ones. Each of the sultans bore honorifics of the characteristic Ayyūbid type compounded with *al-Malik*, as discussed above, and also titles in *al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* (see also above). But because of their military slave origin, the Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs* usually further bore special *nisbas* relating to their ethnic or local origins, their early professional training or their affiliation to the household of their masters. Thus sultan Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] had the *nisba* of al-Yalbughāwī because he had been the *mamlūk* of the general Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, and Baybars [*q.v.*] that of al-Ṣāliḥī from his original master, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb; the general Ḥusām al-Dīn Özdemür was called al-Mudjīrī from the slave dealer who had sold him; and both the sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Sonḳur were called al-Alfī because they had been bought for 1,000 (*alf*) *dīnārs*. Although these names are in form technically *nisbas*, they were not regarded as in any way derogatory, but were, rather, a source of pride to the holders and may in this wise be regarded as honorific titles.

One class of *laḳab* borne by some early Mamlūk sultans may be characterised as "quasi-territorial" or "quasi-ethnic", sc. those titles in which the ruler claims lordship over particular regions and/or peoples. Already al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb had grandiloquently styled himself Shahriyār al-Shaʾm Sulṭān al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam Ṣāḥib al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn Malik al-Barrayn wa 'l-Baḥrayn Malik al-Hind wa 'l-Sind wa 'l-Yaman Malik Ṣanʿāʾ wa-Zabīd wa-ʿAdan Sayyid Mulūk al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam Sulṭān al-Mashāriḳ wa 'l-Maghārib (*RCEA*, xi, no. 4308), and in certain inscriptions of the Mamlūks Baybars and Ḳalāwūn we find headship over al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam extending to al-Turk and even al-Daylam (= the Mongols here?) (*ibid.*, xiii, no. 4817, etc.).

A notable feature of the Mamlūk age was the strongly orthodox Sunnī atmosphere, now that the very seat of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had been transferred to Cairo and the Mamlūk rulers had become the principal defenders of Islam. This stress on orthodoxy appears naturally in the Mamlūks' external policy, against such assailants of the *Dār al-Islām* as the Mongols and the Christian Franks and Armenians, and in their internal policy as repressions of Muslim sectaries like the Nuṣayrīs and Ismāʿīlīs. Under the stimulus of an increased religiosity, both in official theological circles and in the sphere of popular religion and mysticism, the duty of *djihād* was exalted. Whence the frequency in Mamlūk titulature of designations like al-Mudjāhid, al-Muthāghir, al-Murābiṭ, al-Ghāzī, al-Mughāzī, etc., though these had already appeared under the Saldjūḳs, the Atabegs and the later Fāṭimids as a reaction to the landings of the Frankish Crusaders (cf. al-Mudjāhid as a title of the Börid Atabeg Ṭughtigin in a Damascus inscription of 524/1130, *RCEA*, viii, no. 3034, and also as a title of ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak in the Khān al-ʿAḳaba inscription, van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 101-2). The proximity now of the seat of the caliphate and this atmosphere of religious exaltation and bellicosity probably gave an impetus also to the increased popularity of a type of *laḳab* already well-known, that compounded with one of the titles of the caliph or sultan, and expressing close dependence on the supreme ruler, the enjoyment of his favour or support for him and the furtherance of the faith. Thus Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, at the time of his recognition as ruler by the ʿAbbāsid caliph, adopted the title of Khalīl Amīr al-Muʾminīn, and others of this type include Thiḳat Amīr al-Muʾminīn, ʿUmdat al-Mulūk wa 'l-Salāṭīn, Nuṣrat al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimīn, etc. Those titles which included as one of their elements the caliphal title *par exellence*, Amīr al-Muʾminīn, were naturally the highest-regarded, and al-Ḳalḳashandī arranges the different forms which this class of title took in a hierarchy of status. Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn is the highest, and may only be borne by the sultan's sons or used in correspondence with certain neighbouring Muslim princes; ʿAḍud Amīr al-Muʾminīn is the highest title which can be used for the sultan's provincial governors; Walī Amīr al-Muʾminīn can be used by high civil officials and by religious scholars, and ranks above Ṣafī/Ṣafwat Amīr al-Muʾminīn; and so forth (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 108-9).

The type of honorifics classified by al-Bāshā, *op. cit.*, 83 ff., as "those indicating place and status". *alḳāb makāniyya*. were used as indications of reverence and humility in addressing or referring to the great. They had already been used in the heyday of the ʿAbbāsids, for in the vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt there had arisen the practice of addressing the caliph indirectly as *al-khidma*, in effect, "the one to whom service is due", and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ states that what had originally been just a formula of *ḳurba*, ingratiation, soon became a *sunna*, compulsory practice (cf. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*. i. *Le califat*, 488). By the time of the later ʿAbbāsids, we find the caliphs regularly referred to in epistolary style (e.g. in such sources as Abū Shāma and the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil) by such circumlocutions as al-Djānib al-Sharīf, al-Mawāḳif, al-Sharīfa, Maḳām al-Raḥma, etc. The Būyid and Saldjūḳ usage of al-Ḥaḍra (see above) is clearly a precursor of these expressions, although by the Mamlūk period, al-Ḥaḍra had declined from being a form of address suitable for caliphs, as in al-Ḥaḍra al-Sāmiya, into being used in addressing civil officials, infidel foreign rulers and the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 498. These "honorifics indicating place or status" enjoyed a great expansion in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times. That of al-Madjlis spread under the former dynasty downwards from the sovereign to the great men of state, so that by al-Ḳalḳashandī's time it was regarded as essentially a title for the "men of the sword and the pen", but somewhat below al-Djanāb. Hence towards the end of the Ayyūbid period, the ruler tended to adopt instead the forms al-Maḳām al-ʿĀlī or al-Maḳām al-Ashraf. This usage was followed by the Mamlūks, so that Ibn Shīth, for instance, says in

his *Maʿālim al-kitāba* that al-Maḳām and al-Maḳarr are the highest *alḳāb* and are exclusively royal (*ibid.*, vi, 495-6, where it is also stated that the reference in such titles is to the seat of the ruler's power or his capital).

Van Berchem's opinion was that the study of mediaeval Islamic honorifics was only of value for the study of administrative institutions, and that these titles only had historical significance in so far as they were linked with specific offices—"lose Ehrentitel haben so gut wie keinen Werth" (*op. cit.*, 105). As already noted above, Kramers combatted this negative view, suggesting that the nature of these honorifics reflected the religious and cultural atmosphere of their time, e.g. that the later predominance of *dīn* titles over *dawla* ones coincided with the Sunnī reaction against political Shīʿism and against external Christian pressure. Whether certain *dīn* honorifics did owe their popularity in the Iranian world to the fact that they resembled traditional names, e.g. Farīd al-Dīn and Farīdūn/Āfrīdūn, Bahāʾ al-Dīn and Behdīn, and Ḳiyām al-Dīn and Kāmdēn (*Les noms musulmans composés avec Din*, 63-5), seems impossible to prove or disprove.

5. The period of the great empires. The use of honorifics continued in the great empires of later mediaeval Islam, sc. those of the Indo-Muslim sultans, the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans, almost down to modern times.

The titulature of the first Muslim dynasties to be permanently established in the northern Indian plain, the Slave Kings of Dihlī and their successors, inevitably followed *grosso modo* the pattern set by their original master, the Afghān Ghūrids [*q.v.*], who had in their turn continued in the ways established by the power which they had overthrown in the later 6th/12th century, the Ghaznawids (for Ghaznawid titulature, see above, 3, and for that of the Ghūrids, the information given in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhādj-i Sirādj Djūzdjānī [*q.v.*], who is always careful to detail the titles of his Ghūrid forebears, as also those of the Dihlī sultans contemporary with him).

The Slave Kings, essentially the Turkish military commanders of the Ghūrid sultan Shihāb al-Dīn or Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602/1206 [see GHŪRIDS]), followed their old masters in favouring on the whole *alḳāb* in *dīn*, whence Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, Shams al-Dīn Iltutmush [*q.vv.*], etc. However, as both Djūzdjānī's information and the contemporary inscriptions show, there were many variants and elaborations. Thus Aybak appears in an inscription of the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque in Dihlī as Ḳuṭb al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn, Amīr al-Umarāʾ, whilst Djūzdjānī gives Iltutmush's *laḳab* in full as Shams al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn. Basking in the glory of their extensive military conquests, various sovereigns of this period conceived of themselves as following in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. Already the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad is described on the Ḳuṭb Minār [*q.v.*] as Iskandar al-Thānī, a title imitated e.g. by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khaldjī of Dihlī (695-715/1296-1316) on his coins, with such variants as Iskandar al-Zamān "the Alexander of the age". The geographical and ethnic extent of the empire ruled by these Turkish commanders is indicated by Iltutmush's adopting later in his reign (in an inscription of the Hānsī mosque) the title Mawlā Mulūk al-Turk wa 'l-ʿAdjam, whereas previously he had styled himself (on the Ḳuṭb Minār) by the conventional, but by then obsolete title for an eastern Islamic potentate of Mawlā Mulūk al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam. Like other Turkish ruling dynasties of the East, being newcomers into the Islamic society and polity and as yet uncertain of their place within these last, the Indo-Muslim rulers sought to validate their rule by expressing their loyalty to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (who were of course after 659/1261 puppets under the control of the Egyptian Mamlūks). Iltutmush, in the last decades of the independent ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād, usually styled himself Naṣīr or Nāṣir Amīr al-Muʾminīn, but in one instance at least, Ḳasīm Amīr al-Muʾminīn, the title favoured by the Ghūrids to demonstrate their fidelity to Baghdād. Later in the century, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-87 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) followed the same tradition when he styled himself Yamīn Khalīfat Allāh as well as Nāṣir Amīr al-Muʾminīn. See J. Horovitz, *The inscriptions of Muhammad ibn Sām, Qutbuddin Aibeg and Iltutmish*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, 12-34; G. Yazdani, *The inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi-Muʿizzu-d-dīn Bahrām, ʿAlāʾu-d-dīn Masʿūd, Naṣīru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Ghiyāthu-d-dīn Balban and Muʿizzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād*, in *ibid.*, 1913-14, 13-46; Z. A. Desai, *The inscriptions of the Mamlūk Sultans of Delhi*, in *Epigraphica Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1966, 4-18.

The Turco-Mongol successors of these first Turkish and Afghān Indo-Muslim rulers, the Mughals, brought to India Tīmūrid traditions in using the grant of titles and other marks of honour to strengthen the loyalty of their own Turkish commanders and to win over other groups, such as the great Afghān chiefs. Bābur mentions that, in India, permanent designations (*muḳarrarī khiṭāblar*) were given to highly-favoured *amīrs*, such as Aʿẓam Humāyūn, Khān-i Djahān and Khān-i Khānān (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 537). Bābur's son Humāyūn followed a careful policy in the award of titles appropriate to services rendered or expected; thus the supreme distinction of Amīr al-Umarāʾ was bestowed on Amīr Hindū Beg, an old commander of Bābur's who had fought at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 932/1526 and who was, moreover, allowed the signal honour of sitting with the emperor in formal court sessions. Under Bābur's immediate predecessors in India, the Lōdīs, the titles of nobility had been (in ascending order) Malik, Amīr and Khān. In the course of the 10th/16th century, the title of Malik fell out of fashion and that of Beg, one of prestige under the first two Mughal rulers, subsequently declined in favour of Khān, so that under Akbar, Beglar Begi was a lower title than that of Khān-i Khānān. This last was the highest title of all, held e.g. by the young Akbar's *atālīḳ* or guardian Bayram Khān (d. 968/1561 [*q.v.*]), together with that of Amīr al-Umarāʾ. Other titles tended to be associated with specific affairs or functions; thus that of Āṣaf Khān was mostly conferred on civil officials acting as *wazīr* or as *wakīl* of the royal household, hence mainly on Persians; whilst Akbar conferred the Hindu title of *rādjā* not only on the hereditary successors to princely power but also on faithful Indian servants like the master-gunner Sabbahan. See Radhey Shyam, *Honours, marks and titles under the Great Mughals (Babur and Humayun)*, in *IC*, xlvi (1972), 101-17, and idem, *Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals (Akbar)*, in *ibid.*, xlvii (1973), 335-53.

As the political and military power of the Mughals shrank in the post-Awrangzīb period, the conferring of titles became more and more widespread by the

emperors and by provincial Muslim dynasties, so that their social value declined; hence today, old titles like Mīrzā, Khān and Beg have in the modern subcontinent become nothing more than the equivalents of western surnames.

In Ṣafawid Persia, one notes first of all, in connection with the strongly Shīʿī basis of the state and the theocratic nature of the early Shāh's authority, a fondness for names and titles expressing devotion to or dependence upon either some venerated figure of Shīʿism, such as ʿAlī or his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, or upon the sovereign himself, considered as the vicar on earth of God or the *Imāms*. In pre-Ṣafawid times, there had occasionally been used by rulers in Persia names compounded with the Persian word *banda* "slave, devotee", e.g. the Mongol Il-Khānid Muḥammad Khudābanda Öldjeytü (the *laḳab* being assumed when Öldjeytü became a Muslim; his pro-Shīʿī sympathies should perhaps be noted here). Under the Turkmen Ṣafawids, the equivalent Turkish word *ḳul* was commonly used, as in ʿAlī-Ḳulī, Imām-Ḳulī, Ṭahmāsp-Ḳulī, Ṣafī-Ḳulī, etc., especially in regard to military commanders and governors, although the Shāhs themselves retained simple regnal names. The usage of these titles in *ḳul* was imitated in Muslim India by certain of the South Indian sultans who were Shīʿī in faith and strongly under Ṣafawid cultural influence, e.g. the ruler of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhīs [*q.v.*] in Golkonḍa, Muḥammad-Ḳulī b. Ibrāhīm (988-1020/1580-1612).

Whilst the Shāhs themselves remained modest over the use of personal *alḳāb*, their subordinates enjoyed a rich titulature. It is under the early Ṣafawids, apparently towards the end of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's reign *ca.* 976/1568-9, that the characteristic Ṣafawid title for the *wazīr*, that of Iʿtimād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] "trusty support of the state" appears; this title is much distorted in the travel accounts of contemporary western visitors to Persia, e.g. the "Athemadeulat" of Du Mans and the "Etmadowlett or prime minister" of John Bell. The late Ṣafawid administrative manual *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (*ca.* 1137/1725) gives detailed information on this latter official and on the other important figure of the Ḳurčī-Bashī [see ḲŪRČĪ] (who was, in early Ṣafawid times, before the establishment of a regular, standing army, virtually the commander-in-chief, with the title of Amīr al-Umarāʾ), here called the Rukn al-Salṭana al-Ḳāhira, and on a host of lesser officials. The top fourteen officials of the administration had the title of *ʿālī-djāh* "exalted in rank", and there were groups of officials with the title of *muḳarrab al-khāḳān* "confidant of the supreme ruler" because of their special closeness to the throne, and with that of *muḳarrab al-ḥaḍra* "confidant of the royal presence". The first group included the head of the palace eunuchs, the royal physician (*ḥakīm-bashī*), the court astrologer (*munadjdjim-bashī*), the controller of assay (*muʿayyir al-mamālik*), the state secretary, who drew the royal *ṭughra* [*q.v.*] (*munshī 'l-mamālik*), the keeper of the seal (*muhr-dār*) and the keeper of the ink-holder (*dawāt-dār*). The second group, somewhat lower in status, included senior harem attendants, aides-de-camp (*yasāwulān*), the heads of various departments of the royal household and workshops (*buyūtāt*), including the master of the mint (*ḍarrābī-bashī*), etc. (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 8b, 12b, 30a-55a, tr. Minorsky, 44, 46, 55-69).

Under the Ḳādjārs, the title of Iʿtimād al-Dawla for the *wazīr* declined in currency, being replaced by that familiar in Ottoman usage also (see below), Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam. There was also a great expansion of honorifics in *dawla, mamlaka, salṭana*, etc. for the numerous princes of the Ḳādjār family and for other great officials, a process which the Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] endeavoured in the mid-19th century years to check, but one which continued with little abatement till the end of the Ḳādjārs in 1925. This rich array of titulature, with by now elaborate forms of address extending down the social scale as low as mere village headmen, inevitably came under fire from the reforming Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Muḥammad Riḍā had indeed already in the Fifth Madjlis, as *Sardār Sipāh* and before he had overthrown the Ḳādjārs, abolished the honorific titles which had been sold for the personal enrichment of the Shāh and court officials, even though this act had been an infringement of the monarch's prerogative. On 2 August 1935 there was issued a decree on the abolition of titles and on the terminology of social intercourse. The royal family was to receive new titles, with the Shāh himself to be Aʿlā-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Humāyūn Shāhanshāhī; high officials were to be addressed just as *djanāb*, and the old titles of *amīr, beg, khān, mīrzā*, etc. were to be abolished. In fact, although these reforms were honoured in the press and in public announcements, the old titles continued very much in common and spoken usage (see P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965, 267, 273; D. N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi: the resurrection and reconstruction of Iran*, Hicksville 1975, 167, 171). When western-type surnames were introduced, some people turned the old *alḳāb* which went back to Ḳādjār days into family names, e.g. in the cases of Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ, Prime Minister 1951-3, formerly Muṣaddiḳ al-Salṭana, and his contemporary the statesman and former Prime Minister in 1921 Aḥmad Ḳawām, formerly Ḳawām al-Salṭana.

A centralised and bureaucratic institution like the Ottoman empire, with from the late 8th/14th century onwards extensive diplomatic contacts, firstly with the Muslim beyliks of Anatolia and the Turkmen powers of the East, and then with the Christian states of the West, increasingly affected by Ottoman expansionism, evolved a complex and elaborate chancery procedure in which the careful recounting of honorific titles played a vital role. The immense bulk of surviving Ottoman diplomatic and administrative documents would make feasible a highly detailed study of this titulature, a task which remains however to be done. For the moment, it may be noted that Feridun Beg devotes the opening pages of his great collection of correspondence to an exposition of the *alḳāb* of the various classes of addressee, from the sultan at the top down to civil and military officials and members of the religious institution within the empire, and also of the *alḳāb* to be used in communicating with dependent rulers such as those of the Trans-Danubian principalities and with foreign potentates like the Doges of Venice (*Münsheʾāt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274/1857, i, 2-13). Also, L. Fekete devoted a section of his *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik der Türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, pp. XXXII-XXXVI, to an exposition of honorifics as found in administrative and diplomatic documents of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries concerning relations between the Porte and local officials in Hungary or between the sultans and the Christian monarchs in adjoining lands. The luxuriance of the titulature of, for instance, Süleymān the Magnificent is seen in a letter of this sultan from 972/1565, where in the *intitulatio* of the document

Süleymān describes himself as Sulṭān-i Salāṭīn-i Shark wa Gharb, Ṣāḥib-Kirān-i Mamālik-i Rūm wa ʿAdjam wa ʿArab, Kahramān-i Kawn wa Makān, Narīmān-i Maydān-i Zamīn wa Zamān, Ak Deñiziñ wa Kara Deñiziñ wa Kaʿba-yi Muʿaẓẓama wa Madīna-yi Munawwaranīñ wa Kuds-i Sharīfiñ wa Takht-i Miṣr Nādira-yi ʿAṣrīñ wa Wilāyet-i Yaman wa ʿAdan wa Sanʿāʾnīñ wa Dār al-Sadād Baghdād wa Baṣr wa Laḥsānīñ wa Madāʾin Anūshīn-Rawānīñ wa Diyār-i Djazāʾir wa Ādharbāydjānīñ wa Dasht-i Kïpčak wa Diyār-i Tātārīñ wa Kūrdistān wa Lūristānīñ wa Kulliyyan Rūm Īlī wa Anāṭūlī wa Karamān wa Aflāk wa Bughdān wa Angarūs memleketleriniñ wa bunlardan ghayrī niče mamālik wa diyār ʿaẓīm al-iʿtibārīñ Pādishāhī wa Sulṭānī Sulṭān Süleymān Khān b. Sulṭān Selīm Khān (*ibid.*, p. XXXII).

The honorifics of the sultan's subordinates were naturally less florid, but considerable care was taken to differentiate niceties of rank, so that a *kāḍī* with a stipend of less than 150 *akčes* was addressed as Kudwat al-Kuḍāt al-Islām [*sic*], ʿUmdat Wulāt al-Anām, whereas a *kāḍī* of 150 *akčes* or more could add to the above titles that of Mumayyiz al-Ḥalāl ʿan al-Ḥarām (*ibid.*, p. XXXIV). The grand vizier was from the time of Süleymān onwards awarded the designation of Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam "most illustrious of the high dignitaries", and this title remained in use all through the Ottoman sultanate's existence, surviving the reforms in the bureaucracy of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], the last Ṣadr-i Aʿẓams being Dāmād Ferīd Pasha [*q.v.*] (till October 1920) and his successor Aḥmed Tewfīk Pasha (till November 1922) who served Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn. The vizier had several other epithets of distinction, such as *sāmī*, *āṣafī* and *ʿālī*, and he was entitled to the same form of address as the Khedives of Egypt in the 19th century, *dewletli fekhāmetli* (see further ṢADR-I AʿẒAM).

It was during the *Tanẓīmāt* period of the mid-19th century that some attempt was first made at rationalising and restricting the unchecked growth of titulature, as part of the institutionalisation on western lines of the old Ottoman bureacracy. It seems that the traditional titles were now bureaucratised. Thus Redhouse in his *Turkish and English lexicion*, s.v. *bey* (375a), has "5. The title given [to] the sons of Pashas, and of a few of the highest civil functionaries, to military and naval officers of the rank of colonel or lieutenant colonel, and popularly, to any persons of wealth, or supposed distinction"; s.v. *pasha* (434a) he has an explanation of the modern military and naval positions, of general officer and flag rank, entitled to use this designation; and s.v. *vezir* (2136a) he has the definition "a civil state functionary of the highest rank, with the title of pasha". Hence in the biography of Fuʾād Pasha [*q.v.*] given in Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inan's *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar* [4], Istanbul 1969, i, 159, he is referred to merely as Efendi in all official documents until he achieved the rank of vizier in Shaʿbān 1271/May 1955 and thereby acquired the title of Pasha. See for this period, S. Kekule, *Über Titel, Ämter, Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache*, Halle 1892, and the entries in M. Z. Pakalın's *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, s.v. *elkâb-ı resmiye*, *rütbe*, *mülkiye*, *vezir*, etc.

It seems that these bureaucratic gradations in titulature introduced under the *Tanẓīmāt* continued under the Young Turk régime in the early 20th century, but, as in the parallel case of Persia under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, Kemal Atatürk's secularising and reforming policies did not allow these titles to continue in official and public usage. According to the Law no. 2590 of 26 November 1934 "Concerning the abolition of appellations (*lâkap*) and titles (*ünvan*) such as Efendi, Bey and Pasha", these modes of address were swept away, and religious titles such as Hacı, Hafız and Molla were also banned (Kazim Öztürk, *Son degiçiklikleriyle gerekçeli anayasa* [2], Ankara 1975, 306; Bülent Dâver, *Türkiye cumhuriyetinde lâyiklik*, Ankara 1955, 175). Instead of Bey and Hanım, Bay and Bayan were introduced for "Mr" and "Mrs". But as in Persia, old conventions and speech habits die hard, and in popular speech, the old title survive: Paşa for generals, whether active or retired; Efendi for artisans and non-Muslims; Üstad for craftsmen, artists, etc.; Hoca for teachers, secular and religious; and so forth (cf. G. Lewis, *Turkey* [3], London 1965, 110-11).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LAKANT, the name of two places in al-Andalus. The first, which has now disappeared, was situated some 60 km. to the south of Mārida [*q.v.*] in the district where la Fuente de Cantos is at present to be found, on or near to the road connecting Mérida with Seville and followed by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, and on the left bank of the Guadiana (see F. Hernandez Jiménez, *Ragwāl y el itinerario de Mūsā, de Algeciras a Mérida*, in *al-And.*, xxvi [1961], 106-13, and *La kūra de Mérida en el siglo X*, in *ibid.*, xxv [1960], 320, 361, 368). Yāḳūt (iv, 363) speaks of two fortresses dependent on Mérida, Lakant al-Kubrā and Lakant al-Ṣughrā, but this seems highly improbable, for one might more feasibly conclude that *al-kubrā* refers to the place mentioned above or the alternative, and that *al-ṣughrā* corresponds to Alicante (or the alternative) on the Mediterranean coast to the south of Dāniya [*q.v.*] or Denia.

Alicante, classical Lucentum, formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmīr [*q.v.*]. It was one of the six towns included in the pact with Theodomir, on the journey from Orihuela to Elche, six miles from the latter according to al-ʿUdhrī. Al-Idrīsī (*Maghrib*, text 193, tr. 235), copied by al-Ḥimyarī (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, text 170, tr. 205), says that there was here a little town (*madīna ṣaghīra*) which was fairly prosperous, with a market, a great mosque and a *minbar*. The earth produced in abundance fruits and vegetables, figs and grapes, and the town was a port for shipping esparto to the Mediterranean lands, and a centre for the construction of shipping for commercial purposes and for fishing. It had a *kaṣaba* well-garrisoned with troops, on the summit of a mountain, Benacantil, which was difficult of access. At the time of Muḥammad I, it seems to have become an anchorage used by the seafarers of Pechina. In 316/928, the lord of Callosa de Ensarriá (Kalyusha) and of Alicante and its strongholds, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaykh al-Aslamī, was subdued. In the 5th/11th century, Alicante became part of the *ṭāʾifa* of Denia, whose fortunes it followed. After the Almoravids had passed by there, it came within the possessions of Aḥmad b. Hūd Sayf al-Dawla and was governed by Ibn ʿIyāḍ. Subsequently, it fell under the domination of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] and of the Almohads. After having recognised for some period of time Ibn Hūd's authority, and having known several confused years, whose history deserves to be studied more thoroughly, it passed under the control of James I of Aragon, on condition that the local Muslims might retain their lands.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the text, see *Cronica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Diego Catalan and Mª Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 35-6, 293; ʿUdhrī, *Fragm. geogr.-hist. de al-Masālik ilā djāmiʿ al-mamālik*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, index; E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 64, 210-11; Maķķarī, *Analectes*, 103 (writing *Alķant*), 566; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muķtabis*, ed. Antuña, Paris 1937, 118, 130; *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Ḥakam II, por ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī* (tr. of the *Muķtabis* by E. García Gómez, Madrid 1967), 128; Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 51, 52; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, 499; E. Llobregat Conesa, *Teodomiro de Oriola. Su vida y su obra*, Alicante 1973, 30-3; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana (II). La cora de "Tudmīr" (Murcia)*, in *al-And.*, xxxvii (1972), 147, 150, 158; E. Molina López, *La cora de Tudmīr según al-ʿUdrī (s. XI)*, in *CHI*, iv (Granada 1972), index; M. Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905; F. Figueras Pacheco, *Compendio histórico de Alicante*, Alicante 1957; R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane aux temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 1973, 65 and index; J. B. Vilar, *Orihuela musulmana*, Murcia 1976, index; see also the *Bibl.* to IBN MARDANĪSH.

(J. Bosch Vilá)

LAKHM, an Arab tribe, especially influential in the pre-Islamic period. With the exception of the Lakhmid family [see LAKHMIDS] in ʿIrāķ, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-Islamic history of this family is not well-known and is full of legend. According to the traditional genealogy, Lakhm was of Yemenī origin and was the brother of Djudhām and ʿĀmila [*q.vv.*]. Yemenīs and Maʿaddīs claimed descent from the powerful Lakhmid dynasty of ʿIrāķ.

Of the three sister-tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also. Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Lakhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him. But by the eve of the *hidjra*, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the ʿĀmila and notably the Djudhām, who under the Umayyads played a leading part, had increased in importance. Two centuries before the *hidjra*, the surplus Lakhmid population had spread over the lands in the north of the peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in ʿIrāķ where they established the Lakhmid phylarchate of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*, and also DJADHĪMA], continually at war with the Ghassānids of Syria. In Syria we find the Lakhm settled in the same districts as the Djudhām. Like the latter, they adopted Christianity, which also became latterly the official religion of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra.

However, the al-Namāra inscription, dated A.D. 328, has thrown much light on the history of Lakhm. It fully explains the presence of Lakhm or part of it in Syria after it emigrated from ʿIrāķ with its king, Imruʾ al-Ķays, who went over to the Romans. It was after its emigration to Roman Syria that Lakhm became associated with the "sister-tribes", Djudhām and ʿĀmila, and so the geneaology that related the three tribes to one another as descended from one ancestor is fictitious, and is merely the reflection of geographical and political conditions that obtained after the emigration of Lakhm to Roman territory and its settlement in the southern part of Syria, not far from where these two tribes had settled. The separation of Lakhm from the two "sister-tribes" genealogically tips the scales against Lakhm's being a non-Yemenī or South Arabian tribe and suggests a Mesopotamian origin. The re-appearance of the tribe in ʿIrāķ, and what is more, in al-Ḥīra, after a long interregnum may be explained by the possible return of part of it to ʿIrāķ after its disappointments with the Romans, or by the fact that part of Lakhm had not accompanied its king Imrūʾ al-Ķays when he went over to the Romans but had stayed on in al-Ḥīra.

When Islam appeared, the Djudhām had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutal agreement. In the 1st century A.H. the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm", we can hardly be wrong in thinking that he also ruled the Djudhām. The *nisba* "Lakhmī" becomes rare in comparison with "Djudhāmī." In the wars of Islam, during the conquest of Syria, at the Yarmūk, at Ṣiffīn, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I against the sacred cities of the Ḥidjāz, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner. "Lakhmī" became practically reduced to little more than a title of honour. Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of ʿIrāķ, was socially impressive, but the tribe of Lakhm no longer had a separate existence from the Djudhām. When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudhām, and it is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind.

Only a last echo of the aristocratic connotation of the name "Lakhmī" is seen in the claim of the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*], *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* in al-Andalus during the 5th/11th century, to be of Lakhmid stock.

Bibliography: For the al-Namāra inscription and bibl. on it, see *RCEA*, i, 1-2, and I. Shahid, *Philological notes on the al-Namāra inscription*, in *JSS*, xxiv (1979), 33-42. For the history of the tribe in general, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiķāķ*, 225-7; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIķd al-farīd*, ii, 85; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, ed. D. M. Müller, 129, 9, etc., 130, 131, 205, 206; Yaʿķūbī, *Historiae*, i, 229, 264; idem, *Buldān*, 329, 242, 244; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 59, 136; Masʿūdī, iv, 353, v, 192; al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, 45, 151, 162; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 41, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 326, 349, ii, 232, iii, 212, 352, 422; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 272-4 = *MFOB*, v (1911-2), 591 ff.; O. Blau, in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 577; F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, Berlin 1964-8, ii, 312-24, iii, 106-7, iv, 262-3, 280; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, Leiden 1966, ii, 53-6; C. E. Bosworth, *Iran and the Arabs before Islam*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iii, Cambridge 1982.

(H. Lammens-[Irfan Shahid])

LAKHMIDS, a pre-Islamic Arab dynasty of ʿIrāķ that made al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] its capital and ruled it for some three centuries from *ca.* 300 A.D. to *ca.* 600 A.D. Strictly speaking, the dynasty should be called the Naṣrids after their eponym, Naṣr, Lakhm [*q.v.*] being the tribe to which they belonged. As semi-independent kings and as clients of the Sāsānids, the Lakhmids were the dominant force in the political, military, and cultural history of the Arabs during these three centuries before the rise of Islam.

1. History. The founder of the dynasty, whose *floruit* may be assigned to the last quarter of the

3rd century, was ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, the nephew of the Tanūkhid king Djadhīma [q.v.]. It was he who made al-Ḥīra the Lakhmid capital, whence he conquered far and wide in the Arabian Peninsula and, according to the Arabic tradition, warred successfully against Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. He appears as the protector of Manichaeism after it was outlawed in Persia. He was succeeded by his son, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, described in the famous al-Namāra inscription as "king of all the Arabs". He, too, was a warrior king who after conquests in Arabia went over to the Romans, died in A.D. 328, and was buried at al-Namāra in the province of Arabia. The defection of Imruʾ al-Ḳays to the Romans resulted in the first interregnum in the history of the Lakhmids. The sources speak of a certain Aws b. Ḳallām in the sixties of the 4th century, and he is given various tribal affiliations, but it is almost certain that the interregnum began long before the sixties and that the Ghassānids played an important role in the affairs of al-Ḥīra, now that more light has been shed on their early history. Certainty cannot be predicated of the names and reigns of the Lakhmid kings assigned by the Arabic tradition to this obscure period in their history, sc. the 4th century.

The 5th century is much better documented in the Greek and Syriac sources as well as the Arabic ones, which yield imporant data on three Lakhmid kings. The first is al-Nuʿmān, nicknamed al-Aʿwar ("the one-eyed"), and also al-Sāʾiḥ ("the wanderer"); according to the Arabic tradition he earned the latter for his having renounced the world. This is not improbable, since he is known to have visited the Syrian saint, Simeon, between 413 and 420. His name is associated with the building of the famous palace, al-Khawarnaḳ [q.v.], and with the two divisions in the Lakhmid army known as al-Shahbāʾ and al-Dawsar. He was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir, who is said to have reigned forty-four years, possibly 418-52. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of 421-2 and played an even more important role in the internal affairs of Persia by his support of Bahrām Gūr for the throne. Little is known about the Lakhmid kings that followed him, al-Aswad and al-Mundhir II, but much is known about the warrior-king al-Nuʿmān II. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of the period. In 498 he was beaten by the Byzantine commander Eugenius at Bithrapsos; in 502 he advanced against Ḥarrān, where he was first beaten by the Romans and then triumphed over them, but shortly after died of a battle-wound in the vicinity of Circesium. A second short interregnum takes place in this period, ca 500, associated with a certain Abū Yaʿfur.

Of the three centuries of Lakhmid rule in al-Ḥīra, the last is the best documented and the most important. It is dominated by al-Mundhir III, who reigned for a half-century, 503-54. Firstly, during his reign the Arabian Peninsula witnessed a reassertion of Persian power and al-Mundhir made his presence felt in it, both as an Arab king and as the vassal of Khusraw Anūshirvān, who entrusted him with the entire Persian sphere of influence in Arabia. He warred continually with the South Arabian kings; ca. 520 he received an embassy from the South Arabian king, Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās [q.v.] and ca. 540 he sent one to the new ruler of South Arabia, the Ethiopian Abraha [q.v.]. During his reign, probably in the twenties, took place a third interregnum, that of al-Ḥārith of Kinda [q.v.]. Secondly, throughout the Byzantine-Persian conflict he was the spearhead of raids and expeditions against the border provinces, especially in the twenties; ca. 520 he attained international fame when he received an embassy from the Byzantine emperor Justin; in 531 he conceived and in part executed the Persian campaign which ended in a great victory against Byzantium at Callinicum on the Euphrates; in 539 he engaged in a dispute with the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith, which was one of the causes for the outbreak of the Byzantine-Persian war of 539-44; in the forties he continued to war with the Ghassānids, but in 554 he was killed in an engagement with al-Ḥārith near Ḳinnasrīn, probably the Yawm al-Ḥiyār of the Arabic tradition.

He was succeeded by his son ʿAmr (554-69) whose mother was Hind, the Kindī princess and daughter of the same al-Ḥārith who ruled al-Ḥīra during the Kinda interregnum in the twenties, and it is by his matronymic, son of Hind, that ʿAmr, the son of the most famous of all the Lakhmid kings, is known to the Arabic sources. The Lakhmids and their adversaries, the Ghassānids, are mentioned in the treaty of 561 between Persia and Byzantium; according to one of its clauses, both were expressly forbidden from waging wars against each other which would involve the two world powers, and yet ʿAmr continued to make raids against the Byzantine frontier in the sixties as did his brother Ḳābūs, who appears associated with him as his general. In 569 ʿAmr died a violent death, killed by the poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [q.v.] and was succeeded by his brother Ḳābūs, who reigned for some four years (569-73). It was during his reign that the Ghassānid al-Mundhir scored, ca. 570, a victory in Lakhmid territory not far from al-Ḥīra itself, probably the battle of ʿAyn Ubāgh, but it was also in the same reign that the Persian occupation of South Arabia took place in 572; this turned the tide against Byzantium, and resolved in favour of Persia what might be termed the struggle for Arabia.

The short period that intervened between the death of Ḳābūs in 573 and the accession of the last Lakhmid king in 580 was punctuated by two interregna; that of the Persian Suhrāb may be assigned to 573-4, while the other, during which most probably ruled Ḳabīṣa, an Arab from the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ, lasted for a few months in 580, before the accession of al-Nuʿmān. Between the two interregna there ruled the unpopular al-Mundhir IV, during whose reign his namesake, the Ghassānid al-Mundhir, scored a decisive victory over the Lakhmid, this time capturing al-Ḥīra itself, ca. 578, and setting it afire.

The last Lakhmid king was al-Nuʿmān, the son of al-Mundhir IV, who ruled for some twenty years (580-602). He is the Lakhmid best known to the Islamic Arabs and the post-Islamic Arabic sources through the panegyrics of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [q.v.] and through his relations with ʿAdī b. Zayd [q.v.]. Unlike the reign of al-Mundhir III, his is not memorable for its international relations but for those with the Arabs of the Peninsula and with his Sāsānid overlords. In his Peninsular wars he was unfortunate in a battle (the Yawm Tikhfa or Takhfa) with Djarbūʿ, a subdivision of Tamīm. His relations with the Sāsānids varied. Hormuzd gave him a splendid crown, while Khusraw Parvīz fell out with him, possibly because he was intolerant of Lakhmid pretensions to independence. After wandering among the Arab tribes seeking refuge, he surrendered himself to Parvīz, who had him killed in 602, and with his death the Lakhmid rule over

al-Ḥīra came to an end. In so doing, Parvīz destroyed the shield that protected Persia's flank against the Arabs of the peninsula. Some two years after the death of al-Nuʿmān, the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] was fought, in which the Arab tribe of Bakr scored a victory over the Persians, a foretaste of more dramatic victories in the thirties by the Muslim Arabs. Dhū Ḳār foreshadowed al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], both of which were splendid justification of Lakhmid al-Ḥīra as a bulwark for Persia against the Arabs of the Peninsula.

After the death of Nuʿmān, al-Ḥīra was ruled by an Arab from Ṭayyiʾ, Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa, assisted by a Persian, al-Nahīragān, for some nine years, 602-11. After this it became a Persian possession directly ruled by the Persians until it fell to Khālid b. al-Walīd in 633. The last Lakhmid prince known to the sources in this period is al-Nuʿmān, nicknamed al-Gharūr ("the deluder"), who took part in the *ridda* war in Baḥrayn and was defeated by al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī in 633.

2. Culture. The geographical location of their capital al-Ḥīra and their special relationship to Sāsānid Persia determined for the Lakhmids the direction that their history took. In spite of a certain independence which they enjoyed, they were vassals of the Sāsānids, for whom they performed the following important functions: (a) they were their shield against the inroads of the nomads from the Arabian Peninsula; (b) they watched over their sphere of influence in Arabia, especially the Arabian littoral of the Persian Gulf, including Baḥrayn and ʿUmān, which they ruled for them; (c) they were their spear against Byzantium and the latter's client-kings, the Ghassānids; and (d) they protected their trade interests in the Peninsula, especially the caravan-route that connected al-Ḥīra with South Arabia.

Their fruitful association with Persia is reflected in the various forms of their military, political, and social life, and in their material culture: (a) the sources speak of five units in their army—al-Shahbāʾ, al-Dawsar, al-Waḍāʾiʿ, al-Ṣanāʾiʿ, and al-Rahāʾin, the first of which are said to have consisted of Persian troops; besides, there was the Khandaḳ Sābūr, "Shāpūr's Ditch", rebuilt by Khusraw Anūshirvān, a *limes* of some sort protecting al-Ḥīra and extending down to where al-Baṣra was to be in Islamic times; (b) the crowns of the Lakhmids were apparently bestowed on them by the Persian kings and with the crown came the word itself for crown, *tādj*, as a loanword into Arabic from Persian; and (c) the various aspects of their material culture must also have been dominated by the Persians in such areas as architecture, dress, food, drink, and music.

Zoroastrian Persia was also the determining factor in the attitude of the Lakhmids towards Christianity. The Sāsānids understandably frowned on their adoption of a missionary religion with universalist claims, especially after the conversion of their secular enemy, Rome, to that religion. The second Lakhmid ruler, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, adopted Christianity, which fact must at least partly explain his defection to the Romans. Only the last Lakhmid king, al-Nuʿmān, adopted it openly; but since it was the Nestorian form of it, in opposition to the Chalcedonian one adopted by Byzantium, it was acceptable to the Sāsānids. And yet their capital, al-Ḥīra, became the great centre of Arab Christianity and of its transmission to the Arabs of the Peninsula. The city was adorned with churches and monasteries, was the seat of a bishopric, and the refuge for many a persecuted ecclesiastic.

Important as their role was in the political and military history of the Arabs and of the Near East, it was their development of al-Ḥīra itself as the great Arab urban centre in pre-Islamic times that must be considered the major and enduring contribution of the Lakhmids. In the 3rd century A.D., the Arab cities of Hatra, Edessa, and Palmyra fell in rapid succession, and the rise of al-Ḥīra as the capital of the Lakhmids, almost immediately after the fall of Palmyra, ensured a certain continuity in Arab urban life in the Fertile Crescent.

For almost three centuries, al-Ḥīra stood almost alone as a metropolis radiating higher forms of culture to the Arabs of the Peninsula; and of all the elements of culture that mattered, the most important was undoubtedly the development of the Arabic script and of written Arabic, called for by the demands of an organised and stable urban life in al-Ḥīra [see ʿARABIYYA. A. The Arabic language (ii) (I)].

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(IRFAN SHAHID)

LAKHNAW, conventional English spelling LUCKNOW, the capital city of the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (the United Provinces of British India). It is situated on the south bank of the winding Gumti river at lat. 26° 52′ N. and long. 80° 52′ E. It is the eleventh largest city in the country (population, 1971 census: 750, 512) and the second largest town of the State. Besides being the seat of the State government, the city also serves as the administrative headquarters of Lakhnaw district and division.

1. History. Though legend connects the origin of Lakhnaw to a mythical local mound called Lakshman Tīlā, a pre-historic stronghold built by Lakshmana, brother of Rama, king of Ayodhya, the known history of the city can be traced to the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when it was colonised by the *Shaykhs*, one of whose descendants *Shaykh* Muḥammad, better known as Shāh Mīnā, attained

great saintly renown, and his shrine, located with the confines of the historic Machhi Bhavan, is a place of pilgrimage for devotees all the year round, apart from being the oldest epigraphic monument of the city. During the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] period, Lakhnaw figured prominently in connexion with the revolt of ʿAʾīn al-Mulk, son of Māhrū, governor of Awadh, against Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. Between 1394 and 1478, Lakhnaw became part of the Sharḳī kingdom of Djawnpur [*q.v.*]. After changing hands several times between different occupants of the Dihlī throne, Lakhnaw finally passed into the Mughal dominion under Humāyūn, after suffering from frequent Afghān incursions. The Emperor Akbar, under whom the district of Lakhnaw formed part of the *sarkār* of that name in the *ṣūba* of Awadh, had a special fascination for Lakhnaw, whose delightful surroundings, pleasant climate, flowers and fruits and different varieties of rice are highly spoken of by his court chronicler, Abu 'l-Faḍl. During Djahāngīr's reign, Lakhnaw blossomed into a *magnum emporium*. Awrangzīb's visit to the place is commemorated by a mosque which he built on the top of the said Lakshman Tīlā, the oldest site of the city.

As the fortunes of the Great Mughals dwindled, those of Lakhnaw rose, until a new and independent kingdom sprang up as an offshoot from the decayed tree of the Empire. The governors henceforth paid only nominal allegiance to the titular Dihlī king. Saʿādat Khān, who was appointed *ṣūbadār* by the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1134/1722, became the founder of the dynasty of the Nawwābs of Awadh, with whose régime most of Lakhnaw's glorious past is intimately connected. The period of the fourth ruler, Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla, marks the greatest height of Lakhnaw's prosperity. The extravagance and munificence of his court passed into a byword, and could be rivalled only by the Imperial court of Dihlī. Along with the Rūmī Darwāza and the adjacent mosque, the great Imāmbārā, whose central hall is one of the largest vaulted rooms in the world, forms the apotheosis of his building achievements. Lakhnaw was raised to the rank of a royal city in 1819 when Lord Hastings transformed the seventh and the last Nawwāb Wazīr, Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, into the first king of Awadh. The puppet monarchy came to an end in 1856 when the territory was annexed to the East India Company territories and Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, the last king, was exiled to Calcutta, where he lived a pensioner's life under British supervision till his death in 1887.

To the Englishmen, however, Lakhnaw is best known as the city where a regiment of British troops under Sir Henry Lawrence, joined by the local English inhabitants, put up a gallant defence of the Lakhnaw Residency for twelve weeks against heavy odds during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when the city witnessed some of the fiercest fighting. The history of the Lakhnaw district after its annexation by the British is a history of a long chain of administrative changes caused by the exigencies of situations obtaining at different times. Later on, Lakhnaw had a conspicuous role to play in the political movements of British India, for the famous Lakhnaw Pact resulting from meetings held there in December 1916 between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League led to the Hindu-Muslim co-operation in the *khilāfat* movement and the Non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920.

With gilded domes and graceful minarets rising above its many mosques, *imāmbāṛās*, palaces and tombs, Lakhnaw gives the impression of fantastic splendour, characteristic of the capital of an eastern potentate. The fine Djāmiʿ Masdjid, the handsome Čhattar Manzil and the glittering Shāh Nadjaf mausoleum are, apart from Āṣaf al-Dawla's buildings, some of the finest speciments of the architectural glory of the prodigal Nawwābs. La Martinière, an impressive Christian landmark of Lakhnaw, symbolises the zeal and influence of General Claude Martin (1735-1800), a French soldier of fortune who amassed great wealth and position during the days of Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla. The building is an exquisite memento of the synthesis of European and Indo-Saracenic architecture. "As regards learning" says Abdul Halim Sharar, the noted contemporary Urdu writer, "Lakhnaw was the Baghdad and Cordova of India and Nishapur and Bokhara of the East". The world famous *čikan* embroidery, the hallmark of Lakhnaw's craftsmanship since the days of the fastidious Nawwābs, has developed as the most flourishing industry. Another legacy of the Nawwābī era is the manufacture of good-quality *khamira* tobacco used for smoking and the *zarda* for chewing, which have acquired a reputation of their own.

With Lakhnaw's name is indissolubly associated a particular school of Urdū poetry which developed there under the benign patronage of the Nawwābs. Cultivation of delicacy and refinement, which characterised the city's social life, left an indelible mark on the Urdū poetry produced there. The Urdū language was purified almost to the point of perfection. The intensive interest of the Lakhnawi Muslims in Shīʿism brought about the sophistication of the poetical genre known as *marthiya* [*q.v.*] (martyrological epic mourning the tragedy of Karbalā), of which Anīs and Dabīr were the two great exponents.

Modern developments have made Lakhnaw a leading city of northern India. It occupies a central place in a rich farming region, producing and marketing wheat, barley, grain, mustard, mangoes and sugar cane. Paper and carpet, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, cigarettes and shoes, gold and silver wares, wood carving and leather goods, embroidery and perfumery are among the chief commercial and industrial products of Lakhnaw. It is a very important centre of the country's railway system. For its numerous parks and avenues, Lakhnaw is called a "garden city". There is a residential University founded in 1921, with a large number of boys' and girls' colleges, several private and technical schools and the provincial museum. A University of Indian music and two national research institutes, sc. the Central Drug Institute and the National Botanic Garden, are housed there, Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, popularly known as Nadwa College, is universally regarded as the leading centre of Islamic studies in India.

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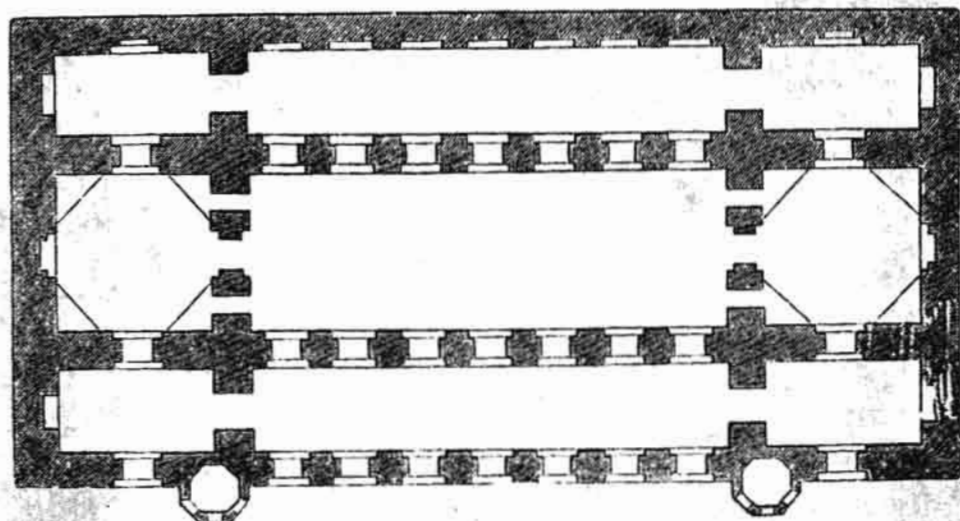
(ABDUS SUBHAN)

2. Monuments. The most noteworthy of the older sites is the tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad, known as Shāh Mīnā, dated 884/1479 (though biographies of saints give 870/1465-6). The tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Čishtī, near the ʿAysh-bāgh, dated 961/1553-4 is a square limestone cell surmounted by blind merlons and a hemispherical dome set on a octagonal drum; the plain doorway arch, flanked by two small superimposed niches on each side, resembles Sultanate work at Dihlī. Two Mughal mausolea in the same area are close to work at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*] in character, but undated. One, the Nadān Maḥall, apparently the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, was built as a twelve-pillared open pavilion, but this was converted to a square cell with *djālī* lattices, and surrounded with a verandah of twenty pillars whose elaborate brackets, including elephant and birds, support a *chadjdja* pent. The parapets of this verandah, the cell, and the base of the dome carry brilliant tile mosaic ornament in dark blue, turquoise and yellow set in red plaster: a confirmation of detail to be seen on some contemporary book paintings (e.g. *Akbar-nāma*, V & A, IS 2-1896 113). The *mahāpadma* finial base is extended by a petal-like network of tilework lines. The red sandstone Sola Khambā preserves the open form, here rectangular, with sixteen columns surrounding a line of five cenotaphs, and supporting a florally carved ceiling above a finely panelled plinth. The details indicate the transition from the Akbarī to the Djahāngīrī style. The Mosque of Awrangzīb with three frontal arches to its prayer hall, and three domes, is flanked by massive octagonal minarets engaged to the front corners like the larger Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Dihlī, and lanterns at the rear; its *pīshṭāḳ* however incorporates new Baroque curvatures in the upper storey, with an arching *čhadjdja* and flanking *čhatrīs*. Following his transfer of the administration of Awadh from Fayḍābād [*q.v.*] in 1189/1775, Āṣaf al-Dawla built a complex including the Āṣafī Masdjid within the Mačhī Bhawan or Old Fort (Ḳilʿa) to relieve the famine in 1198/1784. This mosque follows the lines of the earlier one, but with a prayer hall of eleven bays, still with three domes, here bulbous, gadrooned, and reeded. The façade of plain arches set within engrailed arches on tapering engaged pillars is crowned with a deep foliated frieze, and a continuous register of delicate arches surmounted by tiny bulbous domes, a device already used in the mausoleum of the Nawwāb Ṣafdār Djang (d. 1168/1754) at Dihlī. The prayer court, flanked by arcaded ranges with octagonal pavilions, is approached by a long surge of steps. The same tradition is resumed in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1837-42); there the *pīshṭāḳ* is no longer rectangular, but rises into a pointed arch, and within its *īwān*, where squinch nets are reduced to waving lines, there are three arched entrances. Secondary *pīshṭāḳ*s are introduced at the centre of each wing, rising in taller arcades. Luxuriant leaves spring round the dome bases, and the same foliation pervades the interior, where the *miḥrāb*, matching the entry, is triple. *Guldastas* of differing length are clustered on the skyline.

The *taʿziya* ceremonies [*q.v.*] required large halls, of which the greatest, the Baṛā Imāmbāṛā is in Āṣaf al-Dawla's complex of 1784 (see Fig. 1). The long range of the façade is handled like that of his mosque, but with niched piers, and triads of arches at each end marked off by domed octagonal pavilions in two storeys. The arches and domes of the parapet are reiterated in a second range above, set back with two more pavilions on the flat roof. The hall within, *ca.* 49 m by 16 m by 15 m high has a solid concrete vault carried on successive covings of converging groins, and the founder's tomb lies in the middle. The architect was Kifāyat Allāh. The third building of the complex, the Rūmī Darwāza, possibly so-named after its triple gateway, shares the rapid change of rhythm and the recession in levels, but the river elevation unexpectedly reveals a giant *īwān* framed within an arch with radiating *guldastas*, and capped by a *čhatrī*. The Ḥusaynābād Imāmbāṛā of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh again contrasts arches of different sizes with parapet arcades and *guldastas*, though in a light, lacy manner culminating in a gilded dome. The Ḥaḍratgandj Imāmbāṛā of Amdjad ʿAlī Shāh (1842-47) is comparatively plain, but its interior, like the other two, was once

Plan of the Bāṛā Imāmbāṛā, Lakhnaw (after J. Fergusson).

splendid with crystal chandeliers and precious shrines.

Besides the *imāmbāṛā* burials, the tradition of mausolea continued with those of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1798-1814) and his wife Khurshīd-zāda, built by his successor Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1814-27). Both follow the organisation of Ṣafdar Djang's monument with corner turrets capped by *čhatrīs* around the main dome, but the *pīshṭāḳ* and *īwān* are absent, replaced in the former by a tetrastyle portico on each face (R. Smith, *Journal* 1832, V & A. IM 15/58-1915, pp. 581-2). Both have domes of a strongly European profile, with prominent finials and salient angles around a tall drum suggesting a derivation from Les Invalides (1693-1706); the accumulation of lesser domes and *banglā* vaults around the Queen's tomb also recalls Hindu massing. Ghāzī al-Dīn built his own tomb, the Shāh Nadjaf (Nadjaf Ashraf) dominated by a white, stupa-like dome and finial within an arcaded precinct. The garden at Ḥusaynābād contains two supposed replicas of the Tādj Maḥall for a daughter of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh and her husband, which however demonstrate complete lack of its classical balance.

The origin of European influences is apparent in domestic buildings. Initially Saʿādat Khan had taken over the Panč Maḥall built by the Shaykhzādas in the Fort; the buildings were improved on a grand scale by Shudjāʿ al-Dawla (1754-75), but by 1775 they still lacked unity (Modave, *op. cit.* 183). Both palace and fortifications were destroyed in 1857 and after. Āṣaf al-Dawla transferred the court to a new Dawlat Khāna including the Āṣafī Koṭhī, probably commissioned from Claude Martin, in 1782-9. Martin, who had arrived in Lakhnaw in 1776, rose to become advisor to the Nawwābs, whose taste he influenced, creating fine buildings for them and obtaining furniture from Europe. These included Mūsā Bāgh (Barowen) (1780-1804), a classical house with a bow front to the river, and a landward court sunk for coolness, and Bībīyapur Koṭhī, a much plainer building. His own town house, Farḥat-bakhsh (1781) shows the same combination of climatic ingenuity, strong defences, and wit; it was bought in 1800 by Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, who used it as his residence at the centre of a new palace complex. Constantia (La Martinière (1795-1800) though influential was, as Martin's tomb, unsuitable for adoption, and continues in his endowment as a school. Dil-kushā (*ca.* 1805), built by Sir Gore Ouseley as a reinterpretation of Seaton Delaval back home in Northumberland (1729) became a favourite hunting lodge of Saʿādat ʿAlī, and provided the portico model for his tomb. By 1803 the Nawwāb had bought all the English houses but three, and himself constructed a fine new street of such houses, radically different from the Indian model, in Ḥaḍratgandj. The building of palaces continued with his domed Motī Maḥall and Lāl Bāradarī (Ḳaṣr al-Sulṭān), a throne room with *djālīs* as fine as the Nadān Maḥall. Ghāzī al-Dīn built the Čhattar Manzil, incorporating the Farḥat-bakhsh, for his harem, blending Martin's classicism with the local tendency to culminative recession, and domes with *čhadjdja* eaves, carrying gilded parasols. That these allusions were deliberate is confirmed in the Darshan Bilās, of whose four façades two are taken from Barowen, one from Farḥat-bakhsh, and one from Dil-kushā, much as the images in Urdū poetry (Jones, *op. cit.*, 224). The borrowing of Western motifs remained superficial, and even the use of such houses was not fully grasped. Such stylistic variety could be realised with ease in the local medium of stucco on brickwork. This was fully exploited in the vast palace of Ḳayṣar Bāgh built for Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh by Čhóṭā Miyān in 1848-50; the final, Rococo phase of Mughal architecture is combined with the gamut of Western elements with a splendid and theatrical disregard for rule, but little now remains.

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LAKHNAWTĪ (shortened form of Lakhanawatī, "home of Lakhan", which is a derivation from *Lakshmanā*, son of Dasarata and half-brother of Rāma Čandrā, and *watī*, meaning "home" or "habitation", the name of an ancient city which served as the principal seat of government in Bengal under Muslim rule for nearly four centuries. Its ruins are still found spread over a narrow and deserted channel of the River Ganges in lat. 24° 52′ N. and long. 88° 10′ E., 10 miles/16 km. south-west of the modern Mālda town (administrative headquarters of Mālda district in the State of West Bengal, India), from which it is reached by a macadamised road.

Though the date of the foundation of the city is shrouded in obscurity, tradition has it that it was built by one Sangaldīb of the Cooch Behar area of north Bengal, who had become unchallenged master of Bengal and Bihār after defeating Rādja Kedar Brahmin of the same region. But the recorded

history of Lakhnawtī does not begin until the Muslim conquest of western and northern Bengal in 594/1198 by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, the military general of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak of Dihlī, who surprised and defeated Lakhan Sen, the ruling Hindu king, at Nadia (represented by the present Nabadwip town). After the fugitive king escaped into eastern Bengal, Bakhtiyār Khaldjī established his capital at Lakhnawtī, which thenceforth became the centre of Muslim power till the end of the 10th/16th century. The most ancient name of the city was Gawr, afterwards changed to Lakhnawtī, and subsequently called Gawr again. The city was also known by various names at different times, such as Fatḥābād, Ḥusaynābād, Nuṣratābād and Djannatābād, the last name, meaning "paradise", being given to it by the Emperor Humāyūn when he stayed there for three months in 1538. The earliest numismatic mention of Lakhnawtī as a mint town occurs in a coin of Sulṭāna Raḍiyya dated 634/1236. The nearest contemporary account of this early period is the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, whose author Minhādj-i Sirādj visited Lakhnawtī in 641/1245 within fifty years of its conquest by the Muslims. Under the Emperor Akbar, Lakhnawtī was one of the nineteen *sarkārs* in which Bengal was divided for administrative purposes. Abu 'l-Faḍl states in his *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* that the city was known in his time both as Lakhnawtī and Gawr.

After the lapse of three decades of the Khaldjī oligarchical rule, the Lakhnawtī kingdom passed under slave governors, during which it acquired so much influence and status that its governors used to be called *Malik al-Sharḳ*. But soon the palace intrigues and political squabbles of the Dihlī Sulṭanate emboldened the viceroys of Lakhnawtī to revolt against the central imperial authority, the distance from Dihlī being a greatly-contributing factor here. The greatest of these revolts took place during the reign of the strong-willed Sulṭān Ghiyath al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who personally led a large army to Bengal to crush the rebel governor Sulṭān Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughril, who was mercilessly put to death. Bughrā Khān, Balban's youngest son, became governor of Lakhnawtī in 681/1282. Baranī, the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, gave Lakhnawtī the name of "Bulghāḳpūr", meaning "place of sedition", in view of the insurrections which frequently occurred there ever since the inception of the Muslim rule.

With the passage of a century, the small principality of Lakhnawtī expanded into a redoutable Muslim kingdom, embracing in its fold Sunargaun (the present Dacca area), Sātgaun (present Hooghly area), the Brahmaputra valley and the marshy lands of southern Bengal. The founder of the Ilyās-Shāhī dynasty, Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh, used to be called "Shāh-i-Bangāla". The process of the cultural identification with the Bengali people which had begun during 140 years of Ilyās Shāhī rule culminated during the next half-century's reign of the Ḥusayn Shāhī Sultans, who were particularly noted for their active patronage of arts and literature. The fame of the Lakhnawtī kingdom spread far and wide, and its sultans exchanged ambassadors with the potentates of China and Khurāsān. Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh (795-813/1392-1419) established *madrasās* in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and invited the famed Persian poet, Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, to visit his court and elicited from him a celebrated panegyrical ode. The writ of the Sulṭān of Lakhnawtī was respected even beyond the frontiers of Bengal, within Orissa, Kamrup, Tippera and Arakan.

The prosperous condition of Lakhnawtī in the mediaeval times attracted the attention of foreign travellers. The Portuguese traveller, de Barros, writing before 1540, speaks of broad and crowded streets with trees planted in rows along the walls to give shade to the passers-by. Faria y Souza, visiting the city around 1640, describes the capital city lying on the banks of the Ganges as being three leagues in length, and well-fortified, and containing 1,200,000 families. Rennell, the cartographer, who visited Lakhnawtī in the third quarter of the 18th century, portrays the city as "not less than fifteen miles in length and from two to three in breadth".

On account of changes in the course of the Ganges, the capital was removed from Lakhnawtī to other nearby places several times in its long history. Twenty-six rulers from Bakhtiyār Khaldjī (1198) to Ḳadir Khān (1325) ruled from Lakhnawtī, while six kings of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty had their capital at Pandua, 20 miles/32 km. away in the north-easterly direction, till 1414, when it was transferred back to Lakhnawtī in the reign of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (818-36/1415-32). In 1564, Sulaymān Karrānī subsequently removed the capital from Lakhnawtī to Tānda, lying still further to the south-west near the present village of Mahdīpur. The capital was again shifted back to Lakhnawtī in 1575 by Munʿim Khān Khān-i-Khānā, the first viceroy of Akbar, but excessive rains in that year caused a pestilence in which thousands of inhabitants perished, the viceroy himself falling a victim to the contagion. The few people that survived the epidemic left the deserted city, which never regained its old glory. The capital was hurriedly shifted to Tānda, from where it was later changed to Rādjmahal in 1589 by Rādjā Mān Singh, and then to Dacca in 1608 by Islām Khān, and finally to Murshidābād in 1704 by Murshid Ḳulī Khān.

Though Lakhnawtī was finally deserted towards the end of the 10th/16th century, its magnificent buildings withstood the ravages of time for another century, for as late as 1683 when William Hedges, governor of the East India Company, visited the place, the architectural remains of the historic city were fairly intact. But systematic human spoliation caused irreparable damage to the monuments, whose bricks and stones were carried away to adorn the palaces and houses of distant Rādjmahal and Murshidābād. According to Grant (*Fifth report*), the *niẓāmat daftar* of Murshidābād received Rs. 8000/- annually from the local *zamīndārs* of Lakhnawtī as fees for the privilege of demolishing the ruins and stripping from them their highly-prized enamelled bricks and basalt stones. Early in the 19th century, many carved stones, found in the ruined city, are said to have become prey of the Calcutta undertakers and others for ornamenting graves in Calcutta. Some of the important relics which are still extant are as follows:

The Sona Masdjid or Great Golden mosque, a massive rectangular mosque, built by Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh in 932/1526, is the largest as well as the finest of all the monuments of Lakhnawti. It is called golden because its domes were actually gilded, and *Barādarī* (meaning "audience hall") because it has a spacious court-yard resembling an audience hall. The Čhota Sona Masdjid, built during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh (899-925/1494-1519) is situated in that portion of Lakhnawtī which now forms part of the Rādjshāhī district of Bangladesh. Of the historic Fort of Lakhnawtī, which lay on the

banks of the Ganges and extended for about a mile from north to south, only the Main Gate, called the *Dākhil Darwāza*, and the Royal Entrance, commonly called *Luka Čūri*, are in existence today. The Fīrūz or Fīrūz Shāh Minār is a sort of a victory tower, 84 ft. high and 62 ft. in circumference, popularly supposed to have been built by Ṣayf al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (1488-90). The Ķadam Rasūl is a single-domed square building, constructed by Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh in 937/1531 and situated within the enclosure of the Fort. The actual relic, which comprises a small carved pedestal of black marble containing a stone representation of the footprint of the Prophet, is said to be preserved in a private residence nearby for reasons of security. Of the remaining important mosques, there are the Tāntīpārā Masdjid, erected around 1480, the Lattan Masdjid, built in 1475, and the Čamkattī Masdjid constructed by Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh in 880/1475. In a spot known as Banglākot there existed the tomb of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Shāh (d. 925/1519), but it was destroyed in about 1846. The tomb of *Shaykh* Akhi Sirādj al-Dīn ʿUthmān, the famous saint who visited Lakhnawtī in the early 8th/14th century, is located in the north-west corner of the Sāgardighī, the enormous cistern, nearly 7 miles/10 km. south-west of Mālda town.

Bibliography: Minhādj-i Sirādj Djūzdjānī, *Tabaķāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1864, tr. H. G. Raverty, Calcutta 1881; Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm, *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, Calcutta 1898, Eng. tr. Abdus Salām, Calcutta 1910; ʿAbd ʿAlī Khān, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, Calcutta 1931; Abdul Karim, *Social history of Muslims in Bengal*, Dacca 1959; M. R. Tarafdar, *Ḥusayn Shāhī Bengal*, Dacca 1965; West Bengal District Gazetteers: *Mālda*, Calcutta 1969. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

LAĶĪṬ (A.) "foundling", according to the definition of Mālikī law, a human child whose parentage and whose status (free or slave) is unknown.

It is a collective duty (*wādjib*) to pick up an abandoned or exposed child. A person finding such a child may not, having taken it up, replace it in the place where found. If two persons wish to take up the child, preference is given to the one finding it first; if they have both found the child together, it should go to the one best fitted to rear it, but if both are equally qualified, then lots may be drawn for it. The child's finder must swear in the presence of witnesses that he has found it, so that he may not subsequently claim that it is his own son or slave. The child's paternity must be established by regular means. A slave, even if liberated through *mukātaba*, and a married woman, may not pick up a child unless with the master's or husband's consent. A person who has picked up a child must be free, a Muslim, *sui iuris* (*rāshid*) and of good character.

The foundling is presumed to be of free status until proved otherwise, and is presumed to be a Muslim if found by a Muslim in a place populated by Muslims. If the local people are, however, all infidels, the child is presumed to be non-Muslim.

Looking after the foundling is the responsibility of the finder; the collective obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) is converted for him into a personal obligation (*farḍ ʿayn*). Nevertheless, certain authorities set the child's upbringing as a charge to the public treasury (the revenue derived from the *fayʾ*) or to special endowed foundations (al-Yaʿķūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 171). The finder administers the child's possessions, represents him in civil law and is responsible for the expenses of his upbringing, but he may have a remedy against the child's father for the cost of these expenses if it can be proved that the father voluntarily exposed the child and not through necessity. The child's upkeep is due until the end of puberty if it is a boy and until marriage if a girl. If the child dies, its inheritance belongs to the public treasury as representative of the Muslim community, but the *imām* may nevertheless make over the inheritance to the child's finder.

Bibliography: Khalīl b. Isḥāķ, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'imam Mâlek*, tr. G.-H. Bousquet, iii, § 270; Khirshī, *Sharḥ ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*, vii, 130 ff.; Shaykh Dardīr, *Sharḥ ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Sayyidī Khalīl*, iv, 112; Māwardī, *Adab al-ķāḍī*, i, No. 1831; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano Malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, i, 306.

(A.-M. DELCAMBRE)

LAĶĪṬ AL-IYĀDĪ, pre-Islamic Arab poet. The name Laķīṭ does not necessarily mean that the person bearing it was a foundling; but in the present instance, whilst the genealogists know all the poet's ancestors (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 377), the *ductus* of his father's name has given rise to divergent readings; MAʿBAD (Ibn al-Kalbī, *loc. cit.*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 42, 43, 52; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiķāķ*, 104; al-Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 175); MAʿMAR (Ibn Ķutayba, *Shiʿr*, 152-4; *LA*, s.v. *l-ķ-ṭ*); and YAʿMAR/YAʿMUR (al-Shammākh, *apud* al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 829; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab*, 2-7; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, 71-5; *Aghānī*, xx, 23-5, ed. Beirut, xxii, 394-8; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 398; Yāķūt, *Buldān*, iii, 125). This last reading seems to be the most correct; it even appears in the mss. of the *Dīwān* whose rescension is attributed to Ibn al-Kalbī, for whom, in his *Djamhara*, the poet was Maʿbad's son (see above). Such variation is easily explicable, but one nevertheless wonders whether two distinct persons have not been confused (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Register, ii, 377; amongst Kināna, there was moreover a Laķīṭ b. Yaʿmar, cited by Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 36).

Ibn Ķutayba, *loc. cit.*, says that the Iyād [*q.v.*] established in ʿIrāķ had to flee for refuge in al-Djazīra under pressure from the troops of Anūshirwān (531-79 A.D.), who wanted to put a stop to their depredations. These last continued, and Laķīṭ, who happened to be in al-Ḥīra (or, according to Ibn al-Shadjarī and al-Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, was allegedly secretary for Arab affairs in the Sāsānid king's chancery), placed his fellow tribesmen on guard against an expedition which the Persians were preparing, in a poem in *-ādī*. But the Iyād remained deaf to this warning, persisted in their ways, and were scattered; it was then that Laķīṭ wrote a long poem in *-ʿā* exhorting them to take seriously the new threats against them and to choose a valiant chief to oppose their enemies.

The *Aghānī* (*loc. cit.*) places these events in the same sovereign's reign, after the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, during which the Iyādīs repelled the Persian cavalry sent against them (see Yāķūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Dayr al-Djamādjim; naturally, this was not the famous battle of 83/702 [*q.v.*]), and makes the poem in *-ādī* the prelude of the poem in *-ʿā*. Al-Bakrī (*loc. cit.*) also speaks of Dayr al-Djamādjim, whilst for Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, the incidents in question were contemporaneous with Dhū Ķār [*q.v.*], hence later, which seems very unlikely.

Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 176-7 = §§ 601-2) tells palpably the same story, but places it much further

back in time, since, for him, the poet was serving in the army (var. in *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 175: was languishing in jail) of Sābūr II (310-79 A.D.); this last exterminated the Iyād, and it was the fate wrought on the prisoners which, according to this tradition, gave Sābūr the sobriquet of Dhu 'l-Aktāf.

From all these pieces of information, the personality of Laḳīṭ remains highly confused, and it is hardly possibly exactly to fix the period when he was living, though it was probably during the second half of the 6th century A.D. Thanks to his two poems, the poet passed into posterity; in the 6th/12th century indeed, Ibn al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1148) thought highly enough of the poem in -ʿā to place it at the beginning of his *Mukhtārāt*, where it has 55 verses. It was set to music, and the passage in which the ideal war commander is sketched was especially famous (see al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 497, 1166; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, 203). Laḳīṭ is placed on the same level as Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*] in some verses of Zayd b. Djundab al-Iyādī in praise of his tribe (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 42), and as a result, considered as the glory of Iyād. One editor of the *Dīwān*, Muʿīd Khān (see below), makes him "the first nationalist poet of pre-Islamic Arabia". This *Dīwān*, which contains no more than these two poems, is preserved in several mss. of a few leaves: Aya Sofya 3933, Fatih 1665, Chester Beatty 5474 and Berlin 1123, 1176, 1130. It was made the subject of an edition and German tr. by Th. Nöldeke (in *Orient und Occident*, i [1862], 689-718), an edition by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya (Baghdād 1390/1970) and an edition and English tr. by M. A. Muʿīd Khān (Beirut 1391/1971).

Bibliography: In addition to references given above, see the introds. to the various editions; O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxviii, 382; *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, i (1954), 466; Brockelmann, I, 27, S I, 55; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 254-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 175-6. (CH. PELLAT)

LAḲĪṬ B. ZURĀRA B. ʿUDUS B. ZAYD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. DĀRIM, ABU NAHSHAL, poet and *sayyid* of the second half of the 6th century A.D.

His name apparently appears for the first time in a tradition concerning the assassination by his brother-in-law Suwayd b. Rabīʿa b. Zayd (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 60, and Register, ii, 521) of a son (or of a young brother) Mālik, of al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, who had entrusted him to Zurāra, and the vengeance of ʿAmr b. Hind [*q.v.*], in the first place on the seven sons of the murdered man and then on the Banū Ḥanẓala b. Mālik (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 59), from whom he is said to have had about a hundred tribesmen burned; in a piece of verse, Laḳīṭ reproaches these last for having remained in the service of the king of al-Ḥīra (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 1084-7 *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut xxii, 190). In his article devoted to a mountain in the Ḥidjāz infested with lions and called Tardj, Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, i, 835-6) alludes to a "famous" *yawm Tardj* (cf. al-Maydānī, ii, 409; E. Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aiyām al-ʿArab*, Wiesbaden 1970, does not mention this), in the course of which Laḳīṭ is said to have been captured by a certain Kumayt b. Ḥanẓala. Nevertheless, it is in the traditions about the "days" of Raḥraḥān (see Meyer, *op. cit.*, 47-50) and of Shiʿb Djabala (see DJABALA and Meyer, 65-71) that he is most often mentioned. In the course of the first battle, which took place after the death of Zurāra, the latter's son, Maʿbad chief of Dārim, was captured by a section of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa commanded by al-Aḥwaṣ b. Djaʿfar (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 93). Laḳīṭ, now chief of Dārim, then offered his enemies 200 camels as the purchase price for his brother, alleging that Zurāra had forbidden his sons to go beyond that number so as not to incite their enemies to obtain large ransoms. Despite the prisoner's supplications, in which he offered 1,000 camels from his own herds, Laḳīṭ remained immovable and left Maʿbad to die of hunger and thirst in captivity (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 227; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 424; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. 1346/1928, iii, 306; etc.).

As *sayyid* of Dārim, Laḳīṭ decided to avenge the death of his brother, and assembled a force of warriors from Tamīm (with the exception of the Banū Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, according to Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 247, who accounts him one of the war leaders worthy of the title *djarrār*), from Dhubyān and Asad, as well as a contingent said to have been sent by al-Nuʿmān b. Mundhir, against the coalition of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and the ʿAbs. Exactly a year after the "day" of Raḥraḥān, *ca.* 580 according to Meyer, *loc. cit.*, the "day" of Shiʿb Djabala took place; during the clash, accompanied by the usual exchange of verses, Laḳīṭ, who was mounted, for the first time among the Arabs, on a horse caparisoned with brocade provided for him by the king of Persia, was felled by the blows of an opponent variously named in the sources (see e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 194; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 24) but who must have been Shurayḥ b. al-Aḥwaṣ (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 663-5; *Aghānī*, xi, 135-7). He died the next day, not without having uttered once more some verses, and the leadership passed to his brother Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]. Since his enemies had yet again struck him after his death, this gratuitous action inspired some verses of his daughter (or his sister, according to *ʿIḳd*, iii, 309) Dukhtanūs, wife of his cousin ʿAmr b. ʿAmr b. ʿUdud (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 665; *Aghānī*, xi, 137-9; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 24).

Although al-Djāḥiẓ, in a rather obscure passage (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 93), seems to consider Laḳīṭ as a tyrant, the sources cite an anecdote in which one has his widow (a daughter of Hāniʾ b. Ḳabīṣa according to al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 493, and al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 231-2, or else a certain Muḳadhdhafa bint Ḳays b. Khalīl according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 372-3), who had remarried, eulogising Laḳīṭ and telling her new husband that he was certainly as [sweet as] water, though not however as sweet as that of the famous spring of Ṣaddāʾ—*māʾ wa-lā ka-Ṣaddāʾ*, an expression which became proverbial.

Al-Djāḥiẓ (*op. cit.*, iv, 382) considers that all the sons of Zurāra (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 60, cites ten of them) were poets, but their output hardly appears profuse, and only a small number of verses attributed to Laḳīṭ survive; these are brought together by Abkāryūs in *Rawḍat al-adab*, 258-9.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 170, iii, 220; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 662; idem, *ʿUyūn*, iv, 17; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 175; Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, index; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 257 and index; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 194. See also DJABALA and ḤĀDJIB B. ZURĀRA.

(CH. PELLAT)

LĀLĀ [Owing to circumstances beyond their control the editors are unable to supply the article planned under this entry. They intend to publish it in the Supplement.]

LALA MEḤMED PASHA, grand vizier under Aḥmad I. He was a Bosnian by origin and a relation of Meḥmed Soḳollu Pasha. The year of this birth is not given. After having had higher education

in the palace, he was *mīr-ākhūr*, and became in 1003/1595 *agha* of the Janissaries. In the next year he took part in the Austrian wars as *beglerbegi* of Rūm-ili and was commander of Esztergom (Gran, Turkish: Usturghon) when this town capitulated to the Austrian army in Muḥarram 1004/September 1595. During the following years, Lala Meḥmed was several times *ser-ʿasker* in Hungary and when, in Ṣafar 1013/July 1604, the grand vizier Yawuz ʿAlī had died in Belgrade on his way to the Hungarian theatre of war, the sultan sent the imperial seal of office to Lala Meḥmed. Although peace negotiations were continually being resumed, the new grand vizier took in that year Waitzen (Turk. Wāč) but besieged in vain Esztergom. During next year's campaign, Esztergom was taken by Lala Meḥmed (29 September 1605), and in November he crowned the Hungarian Bocskay as king of Hungary (excepting the regions occupied directly by the Turks) and Transylvania. In that same year, the Turkish eastern army under Čighale Pasha was beaten by the Persians, while the troops sent to subdue the revolt in Anatolia were routed at Bolwadin. After his return, it was decided that the grand vizier should remain next year in the capital and lead the war on the two fronts and, if possible, bring to a successful end the long-drawn peace negotiations with Austria. The young sultan, however, changed his mind in keeping with the wishes of the Ḳapudan Pasha Derwīsh, who was intriguing against Lala Meḥmed. Accordingly, the latter was ordered to take command of the army against Persia. He had already put up his tent in Üsküdār, when overcome by sorrow because of the frustration of his plans, he was seized with an apoplexy and died three days afterwards (23 May 1606). He was buried near the *türbe* of Ṣoḳollu Pasha.

Bibliography: The *ta'rīkhs* of Pečewī who, as scribe, had served Lala Meḥmed on several occasions (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 192), Naʿīmā and Ḥasan Beyzāde; ʿOthmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, 52 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 140; von Hammer, *GOR*, iv. (J. H. Kramers)

LĀLE DEVRI, "The Tulip Period", the name given to one of the most colourful periods of the Ottoman Empire, corresponding to the second half of the reign of Aḥmed III (1703-30 [*q.v.*]) and more precisely to the thirteen years of the vizierate of Nevshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. The tulip which gave its name to this era had been exported from Turkey to Austria by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, the ambassador of Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1503-64) at the court of the Sultan, but it was in Holland that its cultivation was developed, through the efforts of the botanist Charles de l'Écluse (C. Clusius) (Arras 1526-Leiden 1609), who occupied the Chair of Botany at the University of Leiden. The predilection for tulips spread rapidly throughout Europe, but the mania for this plant adopted its most extravagant forms in Turkey. In fact, imported back to Turkey from Holland in the 17th century by the Austrian ambassador Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn during the reign of Aḥmed III, this flower became the object of extraordinary enthusiasm. The tulip fashion gave birth to an architecture, of which the elegant Lāle Djāmiʿ mosque, in Istanbul, is an example; to an art form, Ottoman baroque, inspired by French "rococo"; and to a literary genre, the poet Nedīm [*q.v.*] being the prototype here.

The promoter of this fashion was the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha of Nevshehir, son-in-law of the Sultan. Coming to power at the beginning of 1718, he showed great diplomatic skill in the negotiations over the Treaty of Passarovitz (21 July 1718), putting an end to a state of continual war which had disrupted the economic structure of the Empire and devasted its rural areas. After Passarovitz, the Grand Vizier applied himself to pursuing the objective of peace, and his vizierate was to be marked by an initial period of absolute peace, followed by a period of euphoria induced by victorious campaigns in Iran, which was then in a state of anarchy as a result of the Afghān invasion. Agreeable and peace-loving by temperament, Aḥmed III had a strong hedonistic streak. He was a cultured man, a poet and calligrapher, but also a man of exceptional greed. Ibrāhīm Pasha was himself refined and cultured, an extrovert personality and a lover of peace and pleasure. Having similar tastes, the two men were well-suited to each other. Ibrāhīm Pasha was at pains to satisfy both the hedonistic nature and the avidity of the Sultan. By anticipating the latter's desires, he simultaneously reinforced his own status and ensured the relaxation and well-being of his master. The Sultan took no interest in any aspect of government and left all the responsibility of state to his vizier, who surrounded himself with close relatives and rid the court of all hostile elements. Until 1730, the entire administration of the state was under his control and all important posts were held by his appointees; this nepotism caused much resentment and earned him numerous enemies.

Overtures to the West. The Grand Vizier was a man of enlightened sympathies, and the years of his vizierate were marked by a series of approaches to the West. For the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire, attempts were made to benefit from the political, economic and cultural structures of Europe. Diplomatic relations were fostered, especially with France: an ambassador, Yirmisekiz Čelebizāde Meḥmed Efendi, was accredited to the court of Louis XV, and was instructed to study those French institutions which might be adapted to the requirements of Ottoman lands (1719). Commercial relations with France were developed: each year, five hundred trading ships operated between France and Turkey.

Policies of progress, construction and innovation. In 1724, the first printing-press was installed in Istanbul, through the good offices of Ibrāhīm Müteferrika [*q.v.*], a Hungarian converted to Islam, aided by the son of the Sultan's ambassador to the court of Louis XV, who had accompanied his father to Paris. A French officer of engineers, de Rochefort, was invited to prepare plans for reforming the army on the Western model, while another French convert to Islam, Khumbaradjī Aḥmed Pasha [see AḤMED PASHA BONNEVAL], organised a corps of artillery. Yet another French convert to Islam, Gerček Dāwūd Agha, was responsible for the foundation of the first team of fire-fighters. A lover of arts and literature, the Grand Vizier surrounded himself with poets, musicians and artists. He prohibited the export of rare manuscripts and founded a society for the translation of Arabic and Persian texts. He established five libraries, in addition to that of the Sultan, of which the poet Nedīm was curator. He gave a fresh impetus to the manufacture of porcelain and earthenware, restoring the workshops of Izmid and Kütayha and founding a new one in Istanbul, that of Tefkūr Sarāyī. He founded a textile-mill. In the context of municipal engineering, the projects that he instituted include the construction of a dam to bring water from the Forest of Belgrad to the capital and the building of roads and

of harbour installations; he supervised the markets personally, regulating the sale of bread and the importation of coffee. He encouraged progress in medicine. Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, the wife of the British ambassador to the court of the Sultan, states in her *Letters* that certain maladies were, better treated in Turkey than elsewhere and, in particular, she mentions the existence of a vaccine against small-pox. The Sultan was an enthusiastic promoter of construction projects: fountains, mosques and mausoleums sprang up in every corner of Istanbul; palaces, pavilions (*köshk* [*q.v.*]) gardens and places of recreation adorned the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Architects were brought in from Europe, and on his return from France in 1721, Yirmisekiz Čelebizāde Meḥmed Efendi brought with him the plans of palaces and gardens. The most famous of these palaces, that of Saʿdābād, was built at the base of the Golden Horn, at Kāghitāne. Given this name on account of an ancient paper-mill dating from the Byzantine era, it was to become a favourite place of promenade; the palace was erected in two months, according to the plans brought from France; the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac, presented the Sultan with the forty orange-trees which adorned the façade; and the first feast was held there on 31 July 1722, of which Nedīm has left us an account. The Tulip Period was an era of progress and increased interest in art and culture, poetry and music being pre-dominant; in poetry, Nedīm was an innovator, introducing music into verse and popularising ballads (*sharkī*).

Entertainment. When wearied with affairs of state, Aḥmed III sought rest and recreation. Over a period of almost thirteen years, Ibrāhīm Pasha procured for him an ambience of continuous festivity, symbolised by the tulip. Gardens and window-frames were decorated with tulips; different varieties proliferated; 839 were enumerated in 1726. Competitions were organised. Bulbs became so expensive that the government was obliged to control prices in order to prevent speculation (*firmān* of Muḥarram 1140/ September 1722). A bulb in the possession of an ambassador went missing; town-criers appealed in vain for its return and houses were searched. At times when the flowers were in bloom, Aḥmed III used to change his place of residence, proceeding majestically to his *yalī*s (palaces built on the edge of the water). The people resorted *en masse* to the tulip promenades, and barges sailed to Saʿdābād and other places of recreation. Festivities were also held at night, and these were renowned for the spectacle, in the gardens of the Palace of Čirāghān, "Palace of Candles", at the mouth of the Bosphorus, of burning night-lights or candles under every tulip, hence the name given to this palace; in the illuminated gardens, tortoises were to be seen meandering over the beds of tulips, bearing night-lights on their shells. Nedīm has left us a reminiscence of these festivities in the lines: "Let us laugh, be glad, make merry/ . . . Come, slender cypress, let us set our course for Saʿdābād." When the tulip season was at an end and the rigours of the winter arrived, the round of entertainments continued unabated. The cold and the inclement weather were forgotten at the "feasts of *ḥelvā*"; poets, men of letters, musicians and singers were invited to these occasions, and the most intemperate nights of the winter were passed in convivial company, enlivened by a profusion of choice viands and confections; the banquet came to its climax with the arrival of the *ḥelvā*, brought in on copper plates and prepared in the presence of the guests, to the accompaniment of music and song. Besides the tulip feasts and the *ḥelvā* banquets, the ceremonies associated with the circumcision and marriage of the thirty-one princes and princesses, the children of Aḥmed III, were the occasion for interminable festivities. Such feasts sometimes lasted for as long as a week or ten days (for example, in April 1719, April 1720, May 1721). In 1727, there were *ḥelvā* banquets which lasted for a whole month; that same year, the month of Ramaḍān fell in May, giving rise to further festivities; between 1726 and 1730, the month of Ramaḍān fell in the spring, and was celebrated accordingly each year.

With the passage of time, the festivities became ever more extravagant: the Sultan's palace was crammed with tulips and pinks at the height of winter and also with odoriferous shrubs; thousands of birds sang in gilded cages; pleasure was the sole purpose of living; the Sultan and the Vizier, both of them poets and calligraphers, wrote love-poems addressed to each other. Under the influence of the court, a change in public morals was discernible, and a love of luxury and the pursuit of pleasure became more marked. In her *Letters*, Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu declares that Turkish women are more liberated than their English counterparts. Lines by Nedīm are an indication of the moral freedom of the time: "Ask permission of your mother, say that you are going to the Friday Prayer/ . . . Come, slender cypress, let us set our course for Saʿdābād." Wishing to rival the people of the court, the middle class also embarked on schemes of reckless expenditure, thus causing the ruin of numerous households. As a means of restraining such expenditure, the Grand Vizier was obliged to pass a law regulating clothing according to social class, especially in regard to decorative dress worn by women. But this moral laxity scandalised the public; the Sultan had swings built for the people's amusement, and the sight of swinging women pushed by young men was an affront to public opinion; in addition, members of the nobility, including the Grand Vizier himself, were accused of amusing themselves, during barge-trips on the water, by tossing gold coins into the corsages of the ladies; there was even an accusation levelled against the Grand Vizier that he had made continual advances to the attractive wife of the *Ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi.

The end of the festivities. The unbridled expenditure by the court, the relaxation of morals, the taxes levied by the Grand Vizier to pay for ever-more costly entertainments, caused discontent among the people, in particular the fanatical and reactionary class of the *ʿulemāʾ*. The people felt that they had been let down. Although the Grand Vizier had made great efforts in the interests of cultural growth, had had done nothing to combat the fanaticism of the *ʿulemāʾ* and the ignorance of the masses. The Janissaries, ignorant and fanatical, whose income depended on pillage in time of war, felt themselves threatened by the military reforms advocated by the Grand Vizier. The latter had imposed new taxes on commerce, taxes which caused discontent both among the artisans and among the Janissaries, who engaged in smallscale trading during their leisure time. The *ʿulemāʾ* took it upon themselves to fan these grievances. However, the revolt was caused by political factors.

The foreign policy of Ibrāhīm Pasha consisted in the avoidance of war; however, the Tulip Period saw a temporary extension of Ottoman sovereignty, on account of the Afghān invasion of Iran. In the

anarchic conditions which prevailed, a new rivalry brought the Turks and the Russians into confrontation in the Caucasian provinces. Thanks to the mediation of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac, this tension was resolved in an amicable fashion and a Russo-Turkish treaty, signed 23 June 1724, divided the Iranian spoils between the two powers: the Turks occupied Tiflis, Erevān, Tabrīz and the territories to the west of a line from Ardabīl to Hamadān, while the Russians took possession of Derbend, Bakū and Dāghistān. This treaty was the occasion for fresh festivities, with exchanges of gifts between Turks, Russians and French, then control of affairs was delegated into the hands of the *wālīs* of the frontier regions, and the festivities continued. However, in Iran, the situation was soon reversed: Nādir Shāh succeeded in seizing power having overturned the Afghān dynasty and, in 1730, he compelled the Turks to restore the Iranian territory that they had occupied. There was news of the capture of Hamadān and the massacre of its Turkish garrison. The Grand Vizier tried to keep the defeat a secret and to settle matters peaceably through diplomacy, but Nādir Shāh refused to negociate. In order to stifle public unrest, it was necessary to prepare a campaign. On 17 July, the Ottoman army paraded at Üsküdār, where until 3 August it awaited the arrival of the uncommunicative Sultan. The latter finally joined his troops to conduct a grandiose procession which was nothing more than a show-off, all the soldiers returning to their homes at the end of the parade. But on 12 August, it was heard that the Iranians had taken Tabrīz and brutally massacred the Turks who had been stationed there. Again, Ibrāhīm Pasha tried to suppress the news, but Janissaries returning from the frontier regions spread the news of Iranian atrocities through the *ḥammāms*. Discontent mounted, and the Grand Vizier was held responsible for the setbacks. Janissaries and *ʿulemāʾ* fanned the fanaticism of the artisans. In his report dated 17 September 1730, the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador, speaks of hesitation to act on the part of the Sultan's court. This indecision was to prove crucial to the success of the revolt, which broke out on the morning of 28 September. The leading officials of the State were on holiday at the time: the Sultan and the Grand Vizier at Üsküdār, the governor of Istanbul, Ḳaymaḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha, son-in-law of Ibrāhīm Pasha, was busy tending his garden beside the Bosphorus, as was the Ḳapudan Pasha, another son-in-law of the Grand Vizier. The insurgents were able to act with total freedom. Their leader was Patrona Khalīl, an Albanian, formerly a *levend* [*q.v.*] on the Sultan's flag-ship *Patrona*, of whom we have a portrait painted by the artist of the Tulip Period, the Dutchman Vanmour (1656-1738); he was a man between thirty-five and forty years old, already an active veteran of numerous rebellions, a skilled demagogue and inciter of crowds, who made a precarious living, sometimes as an itinerant trader, sometimes as a town-crier or *ḥammām* masseur. The crowd which assembled at the Hippodrome Square (At meydānı) consisted of some thirty artisans, mostly Albanians, who were joined by the tradespeople from the bazaar and about three hundred Janissaries whose *Agha* had made his escape with great difficulty and had reached Üsküdār in disguise. Towards evening, the number of rebels had risen to 2,000 persons. The revolt was the work of a handful of ignorant artisans: Patrona Khalīl, Muslu the vegetable merchant and ʿAlī the coffee stall owner, but in fact it was skilfully directed by two individuals belonging to the *ʿulemāʾ* class: the preacher of Aya Sofya, Ispirīzāde Aḥmed Efendi, and the *Ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, the Albanian Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi, who had personal reasons for hating the Grand Vizier. According to the report of the Marquis de Villeneuve, dated 7 October, the tragic outcome was caused by the indecision of the Sultan. The court did not return to Istanbul until the night of 29 September, two days after the outbreak of the revolt. On the morning of the 30th, Aḥmed III sought to negotiate with the rebels: feeling themselves in a position of strength, the latter demanded that the Grand Vizier and his two sons-in-law, the Ketkhüdā Ḳaymaḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha and the Ḳapudan Pasha, be handed over to them. The Sultan tried in vain to rescue his favourite; in the night of 30 September, fearing for his own life, he ordered the strangling of Ibrāhīm Pasha and his two sons-in-law, and at dawn their bodies were surrendered to the rebels, on three ox-drawn hearses. But the insurgents, who had pillaged and sacked the palaces of the viziers, now insisted on the abdication of the Sultan. Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi and Ispirīzāde, acting in the name of the rebels, communicated the decision to Aḥmed III. In the night of 2 October, having received the guarantee that his own life and those of his sons would be spared, he abdicated in favour of his nephew Maḥmūd who was immediately enthroned. Soon afterwards, Maḥmūd I had the ringleaders of the revolt assassinated.

The age of festivity had come to an end: the tulip gardens, the palaces and the places of recreation had been destroyed. The tulips had gone: they left behind a sumptuous but tragic memory.

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LĀLEZARĪ, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Meḥmed, Ottoman author of a work on tulips, the *Mīzān al-azhār* "Balance of flowers". This treatise on the cultivation of tulips was composed in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III (1115-43/1703-30), who had given the author the title of *S̲h̲ükūfe-perwerān* "cultivator of blossoms" on the suggestion of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a between 1718 and 1730.

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LĀLEZĀRĪ, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Meḥmed Ṭāhir, Ottoman *ḳāḍī* and author of several theological works, often known as Ḳāḍī Meḥmed.

The date of his birth is unknown, but he was born in Istanbul and was presumably connected with the Lâlezār quarter near the Fātiḥ Mosque. He became a *mollā* and a *müderris*. In 1201/1786-7 he was *ḳāḍī* at Eyyūb, and then on 30 Muḥarram 1204/20 October 1789 he died at his house in Rumeli Ḥiṣār. None of his extant works has been printed, but these all exist in manuscript in Istanbul libraries. They include a series of theological commentaries, such as the *Mīzān al-muḳīm fī maʿrifat al-ḳisṭās al-mustaḳīm*, the *Dafʿ iʿtirāḍ Rāg̲h̲ib Pas̲h̲a fī ḥaḳḳ al-fuṣūṣ*, and one on the *Ḳaṣīde-yi nūniyye*, and various others on works of leading Sunnī scholars like al-Māturīdī, al-G̲h̲azālī, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī and al-Birgewī.

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LĀLIS̲H̲, a valley some 30 miles/50 km north-north-east of Mawṣil in ʿIrāḳ, in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ān and in a largely Kurdish mountain area, famed as the principal pilgrimage centre of the Yazīdī sect [see yazīdīs]. The *d̲j̲amāʿiyya* of the Yazīdīs is held from the 23th to the 30th September O.S. (6th to the 13th October N.S.) each year, and revolves round the shrine of the founder, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAdī b. Musāfir [*q.v.*] and the tombs of other early saints of the sect. The first European to attend and describe the festival seems to have been Sir Henry Layard in 1846 and 1849; a valuable description of the ceremonies as they were held in the 1940s is given by C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967.

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LALITPUR, the name of a town in the Bundelkhand region of Central India, administratively in the southwards-protruding tongue of the former United Provinces, Uttar Pradesh of the Indian Union. It is situated in lat. 24° 42′ N. and long. 78° 28′ E. on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and on the Kānpūr (Cawnpore)—Saugor road. Tradition ascribes its foundation to Lalitā, wife of a Deccani Rād̲j̲ā, and till the early 16th century it was held by the Gonds. In the 17th century it fell within the Bundelā state of Čanderi. In the first half of the 19th century, it passed from Marāṭhā control to that of the British, and in 1844 the District of Čanderī was formed, with its name changed in 1861 to that of Lalitpūr; in 1891 it was absorbed into Jhānsi District. The Čanderī and Lalitpūr Districts were centres of fighting, under the leadership of Rād̲j̲ā Mardān Singh of Banpūr during the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, and Lalitpūr town was temporarily abandoned by British troops. The antiquities of Lalitpūr include several Hindu and Jain temples, and there is an inscription of Sultan Fīrūz S̲h̲āh Tug̲h̲luḳ dated 759/1358.

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LALLŪD̲J̲Ī LĀL, the most important translator of Sanskrit works into Brad̲j̲-bhās̲h̲ā prose at the Fort William College, Calcutta. Born at Āgra in 1763 of a family of Brahmin priests, in 1786 he sought employment with Nawwāb Mubārak al-Dawla of Murs̲h̲idābād and then settled in Calcutta, where he died in 1835.

In 1802 John Gilchrist, the Professor of Hindustānī (later known as Hindī and Urdū) at the Fort William College, appointed Lallūd̲j̲ī as an assistant in Brad̲j̲-bhās̲h̲ā. His primary duties were to help the Professor in his publications of a Hindustānī grammar and dictionary. Lallūd̲j̲ī also collaborated with the senior Muslim translators of Hindustānī in their works. Based on Lallūd̲j̲ī's interpretation, Kāẓim ʿAlī D̲j̲awān translated *S̲h̲akuntala*, the celebrated Sanskrit drama of Kālidāsa (*ca.* 375-455 A.D.). Lallūd̲j̲ī also translated a book on Hindū polity and wrote an elementary manual of Brad̲j̲-bhās̲h̲ā, but became infinitely more famous for his *Premsāgar*. This is a translation of the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* or *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, containing the life story of Kris̲h̲na, especially of his boyhood. The original Sanskrit was first translated into Brad̲j̲-bhās̲h̲ā poetry by Čaturbhud̲j̲dās in 1510, and Lallūd̲j̲ī translated it into lucid Brad̲j̲ prose, which even the Muslims of that century praised highly, both for its content and its language.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article Hindī, see T. Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William*, Calcutta 1819; *Proceedings of the College of Fort William 1801-1805*, National Archives, New Delhi. (S. A. A. Rizvi)

LĀM, the 23rd letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed as *l*; numerical value 30 [see abd̲j̲ad].

Definition: *fricative, lateral, voiced*. It is called a *liquid* (H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, § 3 b) because of the fluidity of its emission. This act of emission comes

normally from the two corners of the mouth, *l* bilateral; it can be made from one side only, with unchanged acoustic results, *l* unilateral (M. Grammont, 71 penult. This last was probably the case with the *ḍād* (a lateralised consonant [see ḌĀD]), called *al-ḍaʿīfa*, which was made from the right or left side of the mouth (Sībawayh, ed. Paris, ii, 452, ll. 17-18). J. Cantineau has placed *l* amongst those "consonants outside the classification scheme" (*Esquisse*, 183, and *Consonantisme*, 288), see A. Martinet's observations in *BSL*, xlix/1 (1953), 77. According to Arabic tradition, it is *bayniyya*, *dhawlaḳiyya*, *madjhūra*, and also called *munḥarifa* "incurvated" (see Fleisch, *op. cit.*, § 47 a, d, § 48, c, f, § 49, i, and Cantineau, *Cours*; 50).

The articulation described above is for the phoneme; for the phonological oppositions which define the phoneme *l*, see Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 172, and for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 200.

Lām is emphatic *ḷ* in the word *Aḷḷāh* when it is preceded by the vowels *u* or *a*, so that one says *ʿinda ḷḷāh*, but *li-llāh* (see references in Cantineau, *Cours*, 51 n. 1; for a study of its articulation, references in Fleisch, *op. cit.*, 224 n. 1). The treatises on *tadjwīd* set forth the rules according to which *ḷ* may be found in other words (Cantineau, *Cours*, 51).

Lām seems to continue an articulation which was similar to it in common Semitic (Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 172 n. 1); indeed, one may go further and add that "La liquide latérale *l* se trouve en correspondance régulière en sémitique, berbère et couchitique" (M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 182).

Alterations: (a) Exchange of phonemes: *l* > *n* in a fairly numerous groups of doublets. In several of these, the phenomenon does not seem to be conditioned, e.g. *ḳullat* and *ḳunnat* "mountain peak", and *l* > *r* in *ʿūd mutaḳaṭṭil* and *mutaḳaṭṭir* "a piece of split wood" (Fleisch, *op. cit.*, § 9 f, g).

(b) Assimilation. The *l-* of the definite article is assimilated when in contact with the "sun" consonants, sc. the dentals to the prepalatals (except for *dj*). For *-l* when it is final in a word, assimilation of the initial following consonant is especially notable in the case of the interrogative particle *hal* and of *bal* "nay, on the contrary" (*ibid.*, § 12 k); for the variations of the Ḳurʾān readers, see *loc. cit.* For the position in the dialects, see Cantineau, *Cours*, 53-4, to be completed for Egypt by the material in N. Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 27; and for Mauretania by that of D. Cohen, *Le dialecte arabe Hassaniya*, Paris 1963, 23-4. In regard to Lebanon one might add *mlīḥ* > *mnīh* "well", *ṣār-lna* > *ṣār-rna* "has been for us", and *-lna* > *-anna* "for us" (Fleisch, *Études*, 398), and for Aleppo (A. Barthélemy, *Dict. ar.-fr.*, Paris 1935-54 and 1969), assimilation at a distance, as in *lakhʾr* (750) and *rakhʾr*, *rakhri* and also *rəkhrāni* and *rəkhreni* (273) "other" or" another".

(c) Dissimilation. For this see Cantineau, *Cours*, 51, and for the dialects, *ibid.*, 53. To the nouns cited there one might add for Lebanon *karakol* > *karakon* and *karakūn* "police station" (Fleisch, *Études*, 361 and 188 *l.* 3, and the examples of J. Grand'Henry in his *Le parler arabe de Cherchell, Algérie*, Louvain 1972, 42; see also W. Fischer, *Die Sprache der arabischen Sprachinsel in Uzbekistan*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1961), 238.

Bibliography: Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, and *Études d'arabe dialectal*, Beirut 1974; Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique* and *Le consonantisme du sémitique*, in *Études de linguistique arabe*, *Mémorial Jean Cantineau*, Paris 1960; M. Grammont, *Traité de phonétique*, Paris 1933; Zadjdjādjī, in his *K. al-Lāmāt*, ed. Māzin Mubārak, Damascus 1389/1969, has gathered together all the uses of *lām* as a particle *-l*, *la-* and *li-*.

(H. Fleisch)

LĀM, Banū, a numerous and formerly powerful Arab tribe living on the borders of Iran and ʿIrāḳ, principally on the plain between the foothills of the Pusht-i Kūh mountains and the river Tigris. The easterly limit of the main tribal territory follows the course of the Rūd-i Karkha southwards from Pā-yi Pul to the area north of Ḥawīza where the river peters out into salt flats. The course of the Tigris between Shaykh Saʿd and ʿAmāra forms the westerly limit of that territory. Small and isolated groups of Banū Lām have been observed outside the main area—as far afield as Mandalī to the northwest and in the Rām Hurmuz district to the southeast.

The tribe is divided into numerous sub-groups which have varied over time in their size and relative importance (A. H. Layard, *A description of the province of Khuzistan*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xvi [1846], 45; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, ii, 1081-4; Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, with Werner Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, Wiesbaden 1952, iii, 471-3, and H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of Iran*, Chicago 1939, *Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, xxix/1, 195-8). According to Lorimer (ii, 1085), all members of the tribe spoke Arabic, but a minority also knew and used Persian. The great majority of the tribe was, and remains, Shīʿī. In the past, different groups have followed sedentary, semi-nomadic and nomadic ways of life, but in the 20th century, particularly since the Second World War, the former has come to predominate. The Banū Lām have long had a reputation for being very good pastoralists. In former times they raised a wide range of animals—sheeps, goats, cattle, horses, donkeys and camels. Demand for some of the latter animals has declined sharply in recent decades, and most attention is now devoted to sheep. The Banū Lām also grow crops, chiefly for their own consumption; these include wheat, barley, oats and maize, but little attention is apparently given to rice.

It is impossible to give accurate figures for the population of the tribe either now, or in the past. One estimate made in 1840-1 put the total number of families at about 30,000 (Layard, *op. cit.*, 46). Some seventy years later Lorimer (ii, 1084) estimated the total population to be about 45,000. After fieldwork in 1934, the number of Banū Lām living in Persia was estimated to be about 5,700 families (H. Field, *op. cit.*, 196). Another source put the number of families in Persia at 10,650 in 1945 (Admiralty [Great Britain] Naval Intelligence Division, *Persia*, Geographical Handbook Series, London 1945, 379). A similar source for ʿIrāḳ noted that the Banū Lām were the most powerful tribe on the Tigris, but no figures were quoted (Admiralty [Great Britain] Naval Intelligence Division, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, Geographical Handbook Series, London 1944, 371).

The origins of the tribe remain obscure (see von Oppenheim, iii, 459-69, for a summary history of the tribe). Tradition relates that the name of the tribe derives from a certain Lām b. Ḥāritha, a leader of the Ḳaḥṭān tribe in the Ḥidjāz; and that one of his grandsons, Barak, led a migration to the Ḥawīza area of ʿIrāḳ. Later, Ḥāfiẓ al-Lām, a son of Barak, is reported to have quarrelled either with his father,

or with the *wālī* of Ḥawīza, who was also a leader of the Banū Rabīʿa. Ḥāfiẓ is then said to have taken control of the land between Shaykh Saʿd and ʿAmāra which had previously belonged to the Banū Rabīʿa and to have become the founder of the Banū Lām (S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 8, and H. Field, *The anthropology of Iraq. The Lower Euphrates-Tigris region*, Chicago 1949, *Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, xxx/1 no. 2, 329-30). A putative date for these events would be about the end of the 10th/16th century (von Oppenheim, iii, 460 states that the Banū Lām were already living on the east bank of the Tigris in 1575).

The Banū Lām were reluctant to accept Ottoman control, and the *Pasha* of Baghdād, ʿUmar (who was in office 1088-92/1677-81) ordered the first of many Turkish campaigns which tried to compel their submission. ʿAlī Pasha (in office 1107/1695-6) personally led a punitive raid against them, and Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] (in office 1116-36/1704-23) also mounted a series of expeditions against them beginning in 1116/1704 (Longrigg, *op. cit.*, 93-4, 124, 126). The Banū Lām sometimes acted in concert with other tribal groups in rebelling against Ottoman rule; for example, in 1138/1726 they joined with various groups of Lurs to attack Baghdād.

The rise to power of Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī Khān (later Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]) provided further opportunities for insurgency on the part of the Banū Lām. In 1145/1733 Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī Khān laid siege to Baghdād and the leader of the Banū Lām, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī, joined forces with the Persians. He apparently agreed to cooperate with the Arab *wālī* of Ḥawīza in launching an attack on Baṣra, but the decision was not implemented (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 68). After the defeat of the Persian army by Ottoman forces under Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha [*q.v.*] in Ṣafar 1146/July 1733, the Banū Lām helped many of the survivors to return to their native country; for this, a Turkish force led by Aḥmad Pasha later inflicted punishment on the tribe.

The destruction and chaos brought about by the Persian invasion and retreat provided conditions in which tribal rebellion could flourish, and the Banū Lām were not slow to take advantage of them; "Les Muntefiks et les Beni Lames avoient donné plus de peine que les autres aux Paschas" (M. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1748, quoted in Longrigg, *Four centuries*, 156). In 1156/1743 Nādir Shāh's forces again invaded Turkish territory and they were joined by the Banū Lām, who this time did take part in the siege of Baṣra (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 646-7). During the next century and a half, the pattern of rebellion followed by punitive Ottoman military expeditions was often repeated. Important Turkish campaigns were mounted against the Banū Lām in 1763, 1800, 1806, 1849, 1879 and 1911. In 1841 the Persian ruler Muḥammad Shāh sent an expedition to collect arrears of taxation from Muḥammad Taḳī Khān, the *ilkhānī* of the Bakhtiyārī. During this campaign, which was led by the governor of Iṣfahān, Muʿtamid al-Dawla, the Banū Lām were plundered by the Persian troops (Layard, *loc. cit.*). But in later years the tribe had relatively little to fear from Tehran; it seldom paid taxes to the Shāh (Lorimer, ii, 1085), and it retained a position of autonomy between the Ottoman empire and Persia.

The Banū Lām were often in conflict with their neighbours, particularly with the Lurs, the Āl Bū Muḥammad and the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*]. De Bode, who visited the area in 1841, reported that it was only the existence of strife between the Banū Lām and the Muntafiḳ which prevented Dizfūl from being attacked (C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii, 198-9). At other times, the tribe was riven by internal feuds, and these too led to bloodshed and the intervention of Turkish forces.

Raids by the tribe not infrequently interrupted traffic on the Tigris, and this was seen as a serious menace to British lines of military communication during the First World War. The Banū Lām attacked both boats on the river and military outposts at this time, and British forces were involved in minor actions against them (A. T. Wilson. *Loyalties: Mesopotamia 1914-1917*, London 1930, 46, 79, 145; idem, *Mesopotamia 1917-1920: a clash of loyalties*, London 1931, 96). In the years immediately following the First World War, disputes between the Banū Lām and the *wālī* of Pusht-i Kūh were again frequent —particularly during the summer months when members of the tribe moved into Persia for better grazing (S. H. Longrigg, *Iraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953, 107, 158). The rise to power of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī and the establishment of effective central government in Iran reduced both the degree of migration and the incidence of such skirmishes.

Bibliography: substantially given in the article. Von Oppenheim provides many useful references to Arabic, Persian and Turkish works, as well as to the accounts of European travellers. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, also has a useful survey of both types of sources. There are references to the tribe in Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Taʾrīkh-i pānṣad sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehran 1312/1934-5.

(V. Minorsky-[R. M. Burrell])

LAMAK, the Biblical personage Lamech. In Gen. iv, 21, the invention of music is attributed to Jubal, son of Lamech, but various Arabic sources give primacy here to Lamech/Lamak, of Cain's posterity. Bringing together the origin of the *ʿūd* with the invention of music, the story goes that Lamech had an only son in his old age, who died at the age of five, leaving his father full of grief. Not wishing to be separated from him, Lamech hung the corpse up until it decomposed. There then came to him the idea of making from his foot an *ʿūd*, on which he could accompany himself in his lamentations. The most detailed, and perhaps the oldest, version of this story occurs in the *K. al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī* of al-Mufaḍḍal a-Ḍabbī, who in fact cites a lost source going back to the historian Hishām b. al-Kalbī. With variants, the story comes up again in several authors, notably in Ibn Khurradādhbih (*K. al-Lahw*), al-Bayhaḳī (*Maḥāsin*), al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbīʿ*), al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (*ʿIḳd*) and al-Adfūwī (*al-Imtāʿ bi-aḥkām al-samāʿ*). Elements of Hebrew legends and of the universal myths concerning the origins of music can be found in these stories.

On the other hand, al-Thaʿlabī retails in his *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] the Hebrew legend about Lamech, how the latter, when blind, inadvertently killed his father Cain and then his own dear son who was accompanying him out of hunting; after these events, he recited the first Biblical lament (Gen. iv, 23). This source, together with others, emphasises the connection of music, invented in the bosoms of the posterity of Cain, with the excesses and trickery of Satan.

Bibliography: See A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings* (*RISM*, BX), Munich 1979, index, s.v. Lamek.

(A. Shiloah)

LAMAS-ṢŪ, a small river of Southern Anatolia, descending from the Eastern Taurus and flowing into the Mediterranean, about 60 km. in length, whose canyon, carved deep in Miocene limestone, constituted in antiquity the border-line between lowland Cilicia and Trachoean Cilicia. Muslims and Byzantines often assembled on its banks for exchanges of prisoners, in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries (see below). The flanks of the upper river, above Kızıl Geçit, are totally uninhabited; along the lower reaches a series of ancient ruins marks the edge of the plateau. At the mouth, the small township of Lamas retains the name of the ancient settlement of Lamos (a simple village according to Strabo, xiv, 6, not to be confused with the town of the same name situated much further to the west, between Gazi Paşa and Anamur; cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 382, 455-6). Nearby are the important ruins of an aqueduct which carried the waters of the rivers as far as Ayas (Elaeûssa-Sebaste) at a distance of 14 km., and of a mediaeval fortress, held for a long period by the Armenians (Lamas Kalesi).

Bibliography: Among the numerous descriptions by travellers, see in particular F. X. Schaffer, *Cilicia*, Gotha 1903 (*Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 141), 64-5; J. Th. Bent, *Explorations in Cilicia Tracheia*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (1890); L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie*, Venice 1899, 413-14. (X. DE PLANHOL)

On the banks of the Lamas-Sū there took place, on numerous occasions, payment of ransoms and exchange of prisoners of war with the Byzantines.

The first of these arrangements, in the reign of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and that of the emperor Nicephorus I, was effected in 189-90/805, in the name of al-Ḳāsim b. al-Rashīd, by a eunuch of the caliph named Abū Sulaymān; the exchange lasted 12 days, and 3,700 Muslims were freed. The second (*fidā' Thābit b. Naṣr*) took place under the same sovereigns in 192/808; it lasted 7 days, and 2,500 Muslims of both sexes were exchanged. The third (*fidā' Khāḳān*), in the reigns of al-Wāthiḳ and of Michael III, in Muḥarram 231/September 845, lasted 10 days and involved some 4,000 prisoners; the chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād [*q.v.*] sent an emissary to interrogate them on the question of the creation of Ḳur'ān, with instructions to leave in the hands of the Byzantines those who refused to comply with official doctrine. The fourth (*fidā' Shunayf*) was effected in the reigns of al-Mutawakkil and of the same emperor, in Shawwāl 241/February-March 856; it lasted 7 days and allowed the liberation of 2,000 men and 200 women. The fifth (*fidā' Naṣr b. al-Azhar wa-ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā*) took place in the reigns of the same sovereigns, at the beginning of Ṣafar 246/April-May 860; it lasted 7 days and involved 2,367 Muslims of both sexes. The sixth (*fidā' Ibn Ṭughān*) was effected in Shaʿbān 283/September-October 896, in the reigns of al-Muʿtaḍid and of Leo VI; it lasted 10 days and allowed the liberation of 2,500 or 3,000 Muslims of both sexes. The seventh took place in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 292/September 905, in the reigns of al-Muktafī and of the same emperor; it lasted 4 days and 1,155 Muslims of both sexes were freed; Rustam conducted the negotiations, but this exchange is usually known by the name *fidā' al-ghadr* "the ransom of treachery"), because the Byzantines reneged on their guarantees and took several thousand prisoners. The eighth, also effected by Rustam, took place in Shawwāl 295/July 908, and 2,842 prisoners of both sexes were released; it bears the name *fidā' al-tamām* ("the ransom of completion") because it supplemented the preceding. The ninth (*fidā' Mu'nis*) was negotiated in Rabīʿ II 305/September-October 917 in the reigns of al-Muḳtadir and of Constantine II; it lasted 8 days, and 3,336 Muslims of both sexes were the beneficiaries of it. The tenth (*fidā' Mufliḥ*) was effected under the same sovereigns, in Radjab 313/September-October 925; it lasted 19 days, and nearly 4,000 Muslims of both sexes were freed. The eleventh, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 326/October 938, in the reigns of al-Rāḍī and the same emperor, was negotiated by Ibn Warḳā'; it lasted 16 days and 6,300 Muslims of both sexes regained their freedom, but 800 prisoners remained in the hands of the Byzantines and were subsequently freed in small groups. The twelfth was effected in Rabīʿ I/October 946, under al-Muṭīʿ and the same emperor, by Naṣr al-Thamalī, but in the name of Sayf al-Dawla (it also bears the name of *fidā' Ibn Ḥamdān*); 2,482 Muslims of both sexes were exchanged, and 230 remained in the hands of the Byzantines. Subsequent exchanges do not figure in the lists, since they cannot have taken place on the Lamas-Ṣū, henceforward situated in Byzantine territory; we may note in particular that of which Abū Firās [*q.v.*] was the beneficiary, in 355/966, at Samosata.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 706, 707, 1339, 1353, 1426, 1449, 2153, 2253-4, 2280; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 3313, 3369; idem, *Tanbīh*, 189-96 (ed. Ṣāwī, 161-6; tr. Carra de Vaux, 241, 255 ff.); Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 191 ff.; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i-ii, index; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, 759-60, 823-4. (CL. HUART*)

LAMASAR [see LANBASAR].

AL-**LAMAṬĪ**, an ethnic designation stemming from Lamaṭa, a quarter of the Moroccan town of Sidjilmāssa, borne in particular by two mystics:

1. AḤMAD AL-ḤABĪB B. MUḤAMMAD AL-GHUMĀRĪ B. ṢĀLIḤ AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ (since he traced his genealogy back to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr) AL-SIDJILMĀSSĪ, who belonged to the Shādhiliyya order [*q.v.*]; he had numerous pupils, including Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Hilālī [see AL-HILĀLĪ in Suppl.] and his cousin through his female relatives, Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak (see below). He died in the odour of sanctity at Sidjilmāssa on 4 Muḥarram 1165/23 November 1751.

Bibliography: Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892, ii, 253; Marrākushī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush* ..., Fās 1355-8/1936-9, ii, 187-9; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 200-1.

2. ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-MUBĀRAK B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-SIDJILMĀSSĪ, born at Sidjilmāssa *ca.* 1090/1679, settled at Fās in 1110/1698-9 and died there on 12 Djumādā I 1156/4 July 1743 after having acquired the title of *shaykh al-djamāʿa* given to the doyen of the professors. He was buried in the mausoleum of the Fāsī saint ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (1095-1131/1684-1719; see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 309), with whom he had been connected and whose fame he had helped spread by devoting a work called *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī manāḳib al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (lith. Cairo 1278/1861-2; printed Būlāḳ 1292/1875, Cairo 1304/1886) to his *manāḳib*. He was furthermore the author of several treatises, commentaries and glosses of a religious, grammatical, etc. nature (see mss. detailed in Lakhdar), of an *idjāza* containing some of his epistles and of a short work called *Djawāb ʿamman ḥalla bi-bilādihim ṭāʿūn: hal yadjūz lahum al-khurūdj minhu firārᵃⁿ am lā?* (ms. Rabat D 1348).

Bibliography: Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ii,

247, Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1307/1898, ii, 203; Ḥadjwī, *al-Fikr al-sāmī*, Fās 1345/1926-7, iv, no. 787; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*[2], Beirut 1961, i, 278; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 309-10; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Akṣā*, i, 209-10, ii, 317; Brockelmann, II[1], 462, S II, 704; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 185-7 and bibl. cited. (Ed.)

LAMBADIS, a name of unknown origin designating in general a group of tribal peoples, ancient nomads, who were active in western and southern India as salt carriers, cattle herders and porters of general merchandise. They were known by different names in different parts of southern India: Lambani, Brinjari, Boipari, Sugali and Sukali, as well as Lambadi.

The origins of the Lambadis are obscure, but appear to be similar to those of groups like the Koravar and Yerukala. All are ancient nomadic tribal groups, who maintained their freedom of movement by securing a place in the economic structure of pre-modern India as carriers, herdsmen and porters in an age when modern modes of transport and adequate roads were non-existent. Apart from their occupation as carriers, members of such groups were often found on the fringes of villages as hunters and distillers of toddy.

Edgar Thurston (see *Bibl.*) indicates that the Lambadis were mainly Hindus, and clung to their tribal rituals and mixed Hindu-animistic religious practices. However, some Lambadis, in the Telugu coastlands and the Mysore highlands, claimed to be Muslims and aspired to the title of Shaykh. Their numbers were very small, but nevertheless they represented a very basic level of Hindu-Muslim interaction within the Indian subcontinent. At one end of the spectrum were the orthodox Urdu-speaking Muslims of northern India, at the other end odd tribal groups caught in the transition from tribal identity to something more distinctly Muslim. Some groups of Lambadis fell into this category, as did the Ahir cowherds of the Andhra highlands and the Dudekula and Panjuvetti cotton cleaners of coastal Andhra and Tamil Nadu.

Such groups were generally despised by the main body of Muslims, and possessed few overt signs of being followers of Islam. The Muslim Lambadis spoke a dialect of Telugu strongly interlaced with Tamil and Kanarese words, followed no Muslim marriage rites and practiced circumcision. In dress, daily life-style, names and casual worship, however, they retained many tribal and Hindu rituals. Like the more numerous Dudekula, who were also of Telugu origin, the Lambadis were endogamous and rarely mixed with other Muslim groups, who regarded them with scorn.

The only settled groups of Muslim Lambadis found in southern India were located in the Anantapur district of the old Madras Presidency and in the region of Mysore. There are three recorded groups, all Telugu-speaking, with bards or priests known as Tamburian (or Thamburi), who appear to be the equivalent of the Hindu Lambadi priests or *bhat*. Most of these Lambadi Muslims claimed to have been forcibly converted by the Mysore Muslim prince Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] in the late 18th century, who found the nomadic Lambadis ideal espionage agents in his wars against the British in Madras. However, some in Anantapur also claimed descent from carriers who had accompanied Mughal generals in their invasions of southern India.

Until the 19th century, nomadic tribal groups like the Lambadis had a distinct function in the economic life of India; but with the evolution of modern modes of transport their status and fortunes declined. The Hindu Lambadis (and Karavars and Yerukala) probably suffered more than their Muslim counterparts, as the *jati* system made the changeover to alternative occupations very difficult. Many in fact took to brigandage and petty crime, and were officially classified as problem groups and habitual criminals. The Muslim Lambadis were far fewer in number, and appear to have made the transition to sedentary occupations, though generally they were ones of low social and economic status.

The Dudekulas, a similar Muslim marginal group, were more fortunate in that their traditional occupation—cotton cleaning—facilitated their absorption into the economy of modern India. By the early 20th century, they were merging into the mainstream of Islam in the subcontinent, with overtly Muslim practices and names replacing those of their pre-Islamic past.

By the middle of the 20th century, the Muslim Lambadis appeared to have all but vanished. They were no doubt absorbed into the surrounding body of Muslims, and probably can still be traced amongst the more impoverished and illiterate Muslims in remote areas of Andhra Pradesh in India.

Bibliography: The most detailed description of the Lambadi group can be found in E. Thurston's *Ethnographic notes on Southern India*, Madras 1906, and vol. iv of his *Castes and tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909. Thurston, however, concentrated on Hindu Lambadis, with only an occasional reference to the Muslim ones. The same is true of the District Gazetteers, especially G. A. Grierson, *North Arcot*, Madras n.d., and W. Francis, *Bellary*, Madras 1904; W. Francis, *Anantapur*, Madras 1905, does mention the Tamburian priests. J. Dupuis, *Madras et le Nord du Coromandel*, Paris 1960, puts the Lambadis in their tribal and occupational perspective, whilst L. Dumont, *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud*, Paris 1957, further explains the painful transition from porterage to crime for the nomadic tribal peoples in an excellent case study. G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India*, London 1832, makes a brief reference, perhaps the earliest, to Muslim Lambadis. In addition, there are a few isolated references scattered through the records of the British administration of the Madras Presidency.

In official publications and in Thurston's *Castes and tribes of Southern India*, the Dudekulas and Panjuvettis are far more prominent than the Muslim Lambadis, and references to them can be found in the following District Gazeteers: W. Francis, *Anantapur*, Madras 1905; idem, *South Arcot*, Madras 1906; F. R. Hemingway, *Godavari*, Madras 1907; C. F. Brackenbury, *Cuddapah*, Madras 1914; *Guntur* (statistical appendix), Madras 1915; A. F. Cox and H. A. Stuart, *North Arcot*, Madras 1895; W. Francis, *Bellary*, Madras 1904; F. R. Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, Madras 1907; W. Francis, *Vizagapatam*, Madris 1907. See also references in *Census of India*, 1901, xv, 1911, xii, 1921, xiii. Brief references occur in T. W. Arnold, *The preaching of Islam*, repr. Lahore 1961; I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim community in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, and *Murray's handbook of the Madras Presidency*, London 1879. (K. McPherson)

LAMENTATION [see niyāḥa].

LAMGHĀNĀT, a district of eastern Af-

ghānistān, thus designated in the Islamic sources of the later mediaeval period, deriving its name from its urban centre Lamghān (later form, Laghmān). It comprises the fertile plain of the middle course of the Kābul River, much of it lying to the north and east of Kābul city [*q.v.*] itself. It is bounded on the north by the mountains of Kāfiristān [*q.v.*], modern Nūristān, and includes the lower reaches of the Alingār and Alishang Rivers; on the south and east, it adjoins, and was sometimes considered (e.g. by Bābur) to include the region of Nangrahar and the comparatively recent town of Djalālābād [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Ethnically, the region includes Pushtūns and Tādjīks, and also a considerable proportion of Dardic-speaking Pashaʾīs [see DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES], who are probably descended from the ancient Hindu and Buddhist population of pre-Islamic Kapiśá and Nangrahar; the ancient Iranian Parāčī language also lingers on in a few villages of the region [see AFGHĀNISTĀN, ii. Ethnography, and iii. Languages].

The town of Lamghān was already a flourishing one in the 4th/10th century. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) describes it as being situated on the middle stretch of the Kābul River (which the anonymous author in fact calls "the river of Lamḳān" [*sic*], regarding this, plus "the river of Dunpūr", Bābur's Adīnapūr, as constituting the modern Kābul River), and as a residence of merchants and an emporium for the products of India (tr. Minorsky, 72, 92 = §§ 6, 10, comm. 209, 252). Until the advent of the Turkish adventurer Sebüktigin and the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] towards the end of that century, Lamghān was still part of the Indian cultural and religious world, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* specifically mentions the presence of idol temples there. It lay on the western marches of the extensive kingdom of the Hindūshāhīs [*q.v.*] of Wayhind, which spanned the middle Indus and lower Kābul River basins; ʿUtbī's *Yamīnī* describes how Sebüktigin twice defeated the Rādjā Jaypāl in the Lamghān region, annexed it to his dominions and implanted Islam there (M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 30, 36, 86, 194). Islam was still however precarious there for some time to come, and the Muslim settlements were vulnerable to attacks by the pagan Pashaʾīs and Kāfirs to the north of the Kābul River. An anecdote in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī's *Čahār maḳāla* describes how the infidels raided and despoiled Lamghān during the reign of Sebüktigin's son Maḥmūd of Ghazna (388-421/998-1030), so that the vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī had to remit that year's taxes (ed. Ḳazwīnī, 18-19, revised tr. Browne, 20-1). Yet a century or so later Lamghān was producing Muslim scholars, for Yāḳūt mentions a family of Lamghānī Ḥanafī *ḳāḍīs* and *faḳīhs* who had settled in Baghdād during the 6th/12th century (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374/1955-7, v, 8, s.v. *Lāmghān*; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 503).

During the early years of the 10th/16th century, the Mughal prince Bābur [*q.v.*] spent much time in this region, and in the *Bābur-nāma* he expatiates on the beauty of the forested hillsides (cypress, holm oak, etc.) and on the fertility of the valley bottoms (corn, rice, oranges, citrons, mulberries, and in one favoured spot, even date palms). It is in this source that we find the name given as Lamghānāt, and the area described as containing administratively five *tūmāns* and two *bulūks* of cultivated land; a "greater Lamghanāt" included the Muslim-settled parts of the lower Kāfiristān valleys, including the easterly one of the Kunār River (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, 206 ff., 222, 424, 494, 510-11; cf. also G. Scarcia, *Ṣifat-nāma-yi Darviš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ġāzī, cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Laġmān nell' anno 1582*, Rome 1965, Introd. pp. CXXXVIII-CXL). Lamghān was doubtless the base for many expeditions of *djihād* against the Kāfirs, and as such is frequently mentioned in the Kābulī Persian account of the crusade led by the Mughal Emperor Akbar's younger brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm, governor of Kābul, in 990/1582, cf. Scarcia, *op. cit.*, index to text, s.v.

The district of Lamghān is today an important food-producing area, supplying Kābul, Djalālābād and other centres with rice, cereals, fruit, etc., and it further produces textiles (J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 172-3, 327-8). Since the administrative reorganisation of 1964, a province specifically called Laghmān has come into being, and this comprises essentially the central part of Nūristān, with its centre at Meh Tarlam.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LĀMIʿĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL, Persian court poet, born about 402/1011, died some time after 460/1067, who left a *dīwān* of *ḳaṣīdas*, only some 1,100 *bayts* of which have survived.

Although Lāmiʿī was a contemporary of, and panegyrist to, such major historical figures as Ṭughrīl Beg, Alp Arslan and Niẓām al-Mulk, very little reliable information about his life and work has come to light. From his *Dīwān* we learn only that he was a native of Gurgān and that he went to Baghdād in the train of Ṭughrīl Beg in 447/1055. The *tadhkiras* of Dawlat-Shāh, Ādharbīkdilī and Riḍā Ḳulī Hidāyat state that he was a student of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī and a disciple of the poet Sūzanī, but Nafīsī has shown that these statements are fabrications (cf. *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, s.v.).

Stylistically, Lāmiʿī was an enthusiastic but unexceptional imitator of the great Ghaznawid court poets, ʿUnṣurī, Farrukhī and Manūčihrī, particularly the latter. His poems reflect none of the stylistic innovations that may be seen in the works of his contemporaries Azraḳī and Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Bibliography: Lāmiʿī's *Dīwān* has been published twice, by Saʿīd Nafīsī in 1319/1941 and by Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī in 1353/1974, both times in Tehran. The only studies of his life and work are to be found in the introductions to these editions, the substance of which is repeated in the article on Lāmiʿī in the *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā* already cited. There is a brief chapter on Lāmiʿī's use of metaphor and simile in Muḥammad Riḍā Shafīʿī-Kadkanī's *Ṣuwar-i khiyāl dar shiʿr-i Pārsī*, Tehran 1350/1971. (J. W. CLINTON)

LĀMIʿĪ, SHAYKH MAḤMŪD B. ʿOTHMĀN B. ʿALĪ AL-NAḲḲĀSH B. ILYĀS, a celebrated Ottoman Ṣūfī writer and poet of the first half of the 10th/16th century. He was born in 877/1472-3 at Bursa, where he spent all his life. His grandfather, Naḳḳāsh ʿAlī Pasha, teacher of Fawrī [*q.v.*] and one of the great painter-carvers (*naḳḳāsh*) of his time, had in his youth been taken by Tīmūr to Samarḳand, where he perfected his art; after his return, he contributed masterly decorations to the Yeshil Djāmiʿ and the Yeshil Türbe in Bursa.

As the son of ʿOthmān Čelebi, the *defterdār* of Sultan Bāyazīd II's treasury, Lāmiʿī learnt Arabic and Persian, and received an excellent *madrasa*

education from the *mollās* Akhawayn and Muḥammad b. Ḥādjdjī Ḥasan-zāde. He aspired to the career of a jurist and theologian, but his father's death created difficulties (preface to *Farhād-nāma*, see A. S. Levend, *Lamiî'nin Ferhad ü Şirin'i*, in *TDAY Belleten 1964*, Ankara 1965, 87). He seems to have written worldly poetry and prose, until he became aware of his preference for the mystic path, *ṭarīḳa*, and took as his spiritual guide the Naḳshbandī Shaykh Amīr Aḥmad al-Bukhārī, who exerted a decisive influence on his life.

Lāmiʿī's success as a writer began when two of his works attracted the attention of Sultan Selīm I, who awarded him a pension of 35 *aḳčes* a day, and bestowed on him the revenues from a village. Sultan Süleymān, whose accession he celebrated in a chronogram, kept up this patronage; to his Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who showed him the greatest favour, Lāmiʿī dedicated several of his *mathnawīs* as a mark of gratitude. Already in 918/1512 Lāmiʿī was able to found a *waḳf* of 4,000 *aḳčes*.

Occasional complaints over lack of money did not go unanswered: Ibrāhīm Pasha awarded him a stipend of 20 *aḳces* daily which Lāmiʿī needed for the education of his children. He had married early and had three sons and one daughter; among his descendants, his son Derwīsh Meḥmed Čelebi, known as Lemʿī, a *mudarris* and author of a work on prosody, and a grandson known as Lāmiʿī-zāde, are mentioned. In his private life, Lāmiʿī was described as outspoken, persistent in his opinions, witty and fond of literary jests. He died in 938/1531-2, and was buried in the graveyard of the (no longer extant) mosque built by his grandfather on the Citadel of Bursa.

The fact that Lāmiʿī, who never went to court, owed his livelihood to Ottoman sultans and one Grand Vizier, allows us to surmise that he conformed to the expectations of his patrons. Their declared aim was to blend the refinement of Persian poetry with the vigour of the Turkish style cultivated in Anatolia, while welcoming the best of Eastern Turkish poetry.

Significantly, Lāmiʿī took as his models two great near-contemporary poets of Tīmūrid Herat, the Persian Djāmī [*q.v.*] and his Turkish friend, the minister Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], both Naḳshbandīs like himself.

In a literary age which restricted any poet, Turkish or Persian, to conventional forms (allegory being the prevailing fashion), Lāmiʿī was encouraged by his Ottoman patrons to turn his efforts at originality in the direction of the themes. Passing by such well-worn stories as Laylā and Madjnūn [*q.v.*] or Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, Lāmiʿī concentrated his talent in introducing into Turkish literature fresh themes such as *Shamʿ u parwāna*, *Salamān u Absāl* and *Haft paykar*, incidentally preserving two themes that had virtually sunk into oblivion in Persian literature: *Wīs u Rāmīn*, for which one of the rare Gurgānī [*q.v.*] manuscripts could only be found after a long search, and *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrāʾ*, of which the Persian original by ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*] is now lost.

Lāmiʿī developed the *munāẓara* genre and experimented, as had become customary for poets, with Čaghatay Turkish. It was Lāmiʿī's diversity and originality, and not only his renderings of works by Djāmī, which earned him the honorific epithet "the Djāmī of Rūm".

Lāmiʿī's "reasons for writing", *sabab-i taʾlīf*, and additions to his translations, are worth a special study (cf. Babinger, 264); this would reveal the independent and lively intellect of this writer, whose originality was achieved not by breaking out along new lines but by fusing new themes with the traditional conventions. About thirty of his works are known. He wrote eight *mathnawīs* and a great deal of other poetry, but is better known for his prose works. Viewed chronologically, his major works are as follows: (1) The *Laṭāʾif-nāma*, a collection of facetious and partly scandalous stories in prose, probably written from the time of his youth and continued over the years; the unfinished book, which contains valuable information such as that on the old poet Shayyād Ḥamza (see S. Buluç in *İA*, s.v.), was completed in 988/1580-1 by his son Lemʿī (P. N. Boratav in *Ph T Fundamenta*, ii, 55); — (2) *Sharḥ-i dībādja-yi Gulistān* (according to the *Farhād-nāma*, Lāmiʿī commented on the whole *Gulistān*, A. S. Levend, *op. cit.*), a commentary on the preface to Saʿdī's [*q.v.*] "Rose garden", completed in 910/1504; — (3) *Ḥusn u dil*, ("Beauty and the heart"), a translation in prose of Fattāḥī's [*q.v.*] allegorical work, dedicated to Sultan Selīm I, studied by R. Dvořák, *Ḥusn u dil, persische Allegorie von Fattâḥi aus Nîšâpûr*, Vienna 1889; — (4) *Shawāhid al-nubuwwa* ("Distinctive signs of prophecy"), an expanded and commented prose translation of the treatise of Djāmī, completed in 915/1509-10, printed 1293/1876 Istanbul, ed. 1958 Muzaffer Özak; — (5) *Gūy u čavghān*, ("Ball and bat"), Lāmiʿī's first *mathnawī*, for which, inspired by a religious dream, he made use of ʿĀrifī's (d. 853/1449) allegorical poem, studied by N. Tezcan, *Lâmiʿî'nin Gûy u Çevgân mesnevisi*, in *Ömer Asım Aksoy armağanı*, Ankara 1978, 201-25; — (6) *Farhād-nāma* or *Farhād u Shīrīn*: interestingly enough, Lāmiʿī used for his second *mathnawī*, written in honour of Selīm I, the Eastern Turkish version by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, who had introduced radical changes in the old theme, especially by replacing Khusraw as hero by Farhād [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. Lāmiʿī, who undertook the work on the request of Fenārī [*q.v.*] Djamāl al-Dīn Meḥmed Shāh, who had just acquired a *Khamsa* by Nawāʾī, claimed only to have altered the style (*uslūb*), but he made also alterations in the story (A. S. Levend, *op. cit.*, 88, 110 f.), tr. von Hammer, Stuttgart 1812; — (7) *Absāl u Salamān*, his third *mathnawī*, dedicated to Selīm I, is the first Turkish treatment of Djāmī's allegorical work with considerable additions; — (8) *Futūḥ al-mudjāhidīn li-tarwīḥ ḳulūb al-mushāhidīn* ("Conquests of the champions of Islam giving rest to the hearts of the spectators"), better known as *Tardjama-yi Nafaḥāt al-uns* ("Translation of the Breath of divine intimacy"), a translation of Djāmī's Ṣūfī biographies with important additions on more than thirty Anatolian Ṣūfīs, in prose, begun in 917/1512 and finished in Radjab 927/April 1521, on the eve of Süleymān's Belgrade campaign; the book was printed in Istanbul 1270/1853-4 and 1289/1872; — (9) *Shamʿ u parwāna* ("The taper and the moth"), his fourth *mathnawī*, written in honour of Süleymān after the conquest of Rhodes 929/1522, but sent to him later; it seems that Lāmiʿī used for this allegorical poem not the accepted Persian version of Ahlī-yi Shīrāzī, composed in 894/1488-9, but that of a certain Niyāzī (ʿAbd Allāh Shabustarī; G. K. Alpay, *Lāmiʿī Chelebi and his works*, [see *Bibl.*], 88 ff.), a second-rate author whom he need not mention in his preface; — (10) *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrāʾ*, his fifth *mathnawī*, translated at the request of Sultan Süleymān from the no-longer-extant Persian version of ʿUnṣurī; parts were very freely tr. by J. von Hammer, *Wamik und Asra, das ist der Glühende und die Blühende*, Vienna 1833; — (11)

Maḳtel-i Imām Ḥusayn ("Martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn"), his sixth *mathnawī*, for which no specific source is named; Lāmiʿī reacted here against the warnings of some *ʿulamāʾ* concerning the recital of these martyrdom narratives in public; illustrated copies have survived; — (12) *Shahrangīz*, a poem in praise of Bursa in expectation of a visit of Sultan Süleymān, published at Bursa 1288/1871-2, tr. A. Pfizmaier, *Die Verherrlichung der Stadt Bursa*, Vienna 1839; — (13) *Munāẓara-yi bahār u shitāʾ* ("Controversy between spring and winter"), an extensive poem using Bursa and the Keshish Daghl̄ as a stage-setting, Istanbul 1290/1873; — (14) *Munshaʾāt-i makātib* or *Niṣāb al-balāgha*, Lāmiʿī's letters; — (15) *Manāḳib-i Ḥaḍrat-i Uways al-Ḳaranī*, a prose legend; on the few mss., see G. K. Alpay, *op. cit.*, 82 no. 9; — (16) *ʿIbrat-nümā* or *ʿIbrat-nāma* ("The exemplar") written after the battle of Mohácz (932/1526), a prose work in two parts, legendary accounts of holy persons, and stories with moral significance; their agreeable literary style procured a wide popularity for this work, printed twice in 1273/1856-7 and 1327/1909; — (17) *Sharaf al-insān*, ("The nobility of man"), perhaps Lāmiʿī's best-known prose work, written in 933/1526-7. The theme, the contest of man with the animals, is taken from the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*; — (18) *Wīs u Rāmīn*, his seventh *mathnawī*, in honour of Süleymān, appeared in the same year; Lāmiʿī uses Gurgānī critically and changes the tone drastically; "instead of expressing the intensity of human passions, Lāmiʿī tries to amuse and edify. The end of this poem is tinged with mystic reflections . . ." (V. Minorsky, who had not seen Lāmiʿī's work, in *Vis u Rāmin, a Parthian romance*, in *BSOAS*, xii [1947], 31-2); — (19) his *Dīwān* of about 10,000 verses, compiled in 936/1529; — (20) A work on the *mathnawī Haft paykar* ("The seven effigies") based on Hātifī's [*q.v.*] *Haft manẓar*, was interrupted by Lāmiʿī's death and completed by his son-in-law, Rūshenī-zāde.

Bibliography: On Lāmiʿī's life, Sehī, *Hasht bihisht*, Istanbul 1325/1907-8, 50; Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 290-4; ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, facs. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, 108b-109a; Tashköprüzāde-Medjdī, Istanbul 1269/1852-3, 431-3; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, Pesth 1837, 20 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 86; *ʿOthmanlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 492; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii; Th. Menzel, *EI*[1] art. *Lāmiʿī*, A. Karahan, art. *Lâmi'î* in *İA*, vii, both with bibliography; A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyati tarihi*, i, Ankara 1973, 84, 87. Specimens of texts are in Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienna 1853; A. S. Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*[3], Ankara 1972; F. İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964; idem, *Nazım*. i, Istanbul 1966-7; E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx (1977), 157-90. A comprehensive description of Lāmiʿī's works, with reference to the manuscripts, is contained in G. K. Alpay, *Lāmiʿī Chelebi and his works*, in *JNES*, xxxv (1976), 73-93, to which should be added N. Tezcan's article *Lāmiʿī'nin Gūy u Çevgān mesnevisi* (see above).

(B. Flemming)

LAMLAM, a generic name given by mediaeval Arabic authors to the animistic African peoples, considered to be cannibals, living to the south of the Muslim sultanates of the Sudanese zone; other versions are Dahdam, Damdam, Iamiam, Limiyyia, Namnam and Temiam.

Al-Masʿūdī (before 356/957) places the Dahdam upstream from Gao and says of them "They fight amongst themselves. They eat people. They have a paramount king who has other kings under his authority. In his land there is an important fortress in which there is an image in the shape of a woman which they venerate and to whom they make pilgrimages" (tr. in Cuoq, *Recueil*, 61). This passage is repeated by al-Bakrī (460/1068), who speaks of the Damdam, and by al-Idrīsī (548/1154), who speaks of the Lamlam who are raided by the slave merchants of Takrūr and Ghāna. Ibn Saʿīd (before 685/1286) speaks of, as well as the Lamlam of the west, the Damdam to the south of Ethiopia and Nubia, and his information is repeated by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (721/1321). Al-Dimashḳī (before 727/1327) mentions the lakes of the Tamīm and the Damdam, a name also borne by a river emptying into the Indian Ocean, and equally speaks of the Lamlam to the south of Ghāna. According to al-ʿUmarī (before 749/1349), the Damdam are a people employing horses and hostile to Mansa Mūsā (Mossi?). Ibn Khaldūn (784/1382) and al-Maḳrīzī (846/1442) repeat the information of Ibn Saʿīd about the Damdam invading Ethiopia and Nubia. Leo Africanus takes over from al-Maḳrīzī the name of Tamīm in order to make up a kingdom of Temiam, and it is under this form that knowledge of it came to European writers of the 16th century, such as Marmol 1573, Belleforest 1575 and Anania 1582 (Iamiam).

The 19th century explorers speak of them mainly in the form Yemyem or Niamniam (see Cooley, *loc. cit.*, below).

Bibliography: W. D. Cooley, *The Negroland of the Arabs . . .*, London 1841, repr. 1966, 111-16; J. Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIII*e *au XVI*e *s.*, Paris 1975

(R. Mauny)

LAMṬ, a word of obscure origin which denotes the oryx of the Sahara [see mahāt]. Now the word is obsolete and occurs only in a proverbial expression inspired by the speed with which it runs: "he runs like a *lamṭ*" (see M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au III*e*-IX*e *siècle* Algiers 1949, 103, n. 159). It is also used in northern Algeria, where Beaussier (*Dict.*, s.v.) found it applied to a mythical animal which, even though it had only one foot, was very swift.

Arab geographers of the Middle Ages referred to the *lamṭ* in association with the tribe of the Lamṭa [*q.v.*], who were particularly famous for the shields they made from the skin of this animal (*daraḳa lamṭiyya*). In this expression, the adjective could just as well have been derived from *Lamṭa* as from *lamṭ*, so the two terms may only be apparently related and the connection may be an arbitrary one.

The earliest mention of these shields (*daraḳ*) may be found in al-Yaʿḳūbī (*K. al-Buldān*, 345, tr. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 206, n. 1), who says simply that they were white in colour, or in Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (*Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 81, tr. H. Massé, Damascus 1973, 99; ed-tr. Hadj-Sadok, *op. laud.*, 33, 35), who is more explicit. He describes how the inhabitants of Anbiya and the Lamṭa soak them in milk for a whole year with the result that "a sabre rebounds off them, and if it does manage to penetrate, it sticks so hard that no-one can pull it out". Curing leather in milk makes shields (not only those made by the Lamṭa) better than those from India, where elephant hide is used. That was the opinion of al-Masʿūdī, (*Murūdj*, iii, 18 = § 859). Al-Zuhrī (*K. al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. Hadj-Sadok in *BEO*, Damascus (1968), §§ 314-15, in his description of the *lamṭ*,

records that *lamṭiyya* shields were offered to the kings of the Maghrib and al-Andalus. It is in this last country that E. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 95) says that "the most desirable shields were those made from *lamṭ* leather". The name of the animal was certainly well-known, especially in Portuguese; it was called *lant*, *dant*, etc. Another point is made by al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed.-tr. de Slane, 1965², 171-231), who says that the best (and most expensive) shields were made from the hides of old females. The place where they were made is said by al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome iii, 224, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 37) to have been at Nūl (see Yāḳūt, *s.v.*), a centre for the Lamṭa near Joulimini; he says that "the Maghribīs use them in battle because they are light yet solid". More information is provided by the Egyptian Ibn Zunbul al-Maḥallī (10th/16th century), who also describes the *lamṭ* (*Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, tr. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 179-80) and says that these shields "are special, because holes made by arrows or spears close up again by themselves and so they never lose their value as defensive weapons". Leo Africanus (*Desc. de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 559, see also 452-3) has a paragraph devoted to the *lamṭ*, and says that in the summer it is easier to catch the animal because the heat of the sand affects its hooves. As far as the targes (*lamṭiyya*) are concerned, he provides more up-to-date information additional to the earlier accounts and says: "Nothing except bullets from fire-arms can pierce them, but they are very costly."

These defensive arms are probably no longer made except for tourists, but until recently the Touareg (at least, the Touareg nobility who had the sole right to carry them) still used them and they were "escutcheon-like in shape and significance; the decorative motifs have magical qualities associated with them." (H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs de Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 325-6, with illustrations; see also H. Bissnel, *Les Touaregs de l'Ouest*, Algiers 1888, 95). When P. de Foucauld was writing, the targes of Ahaggar had the same name as the animal, the hide of which was used to make them, *ihəm*, pl. *ihəmmən* (*Dict.*, ii, 602-3).

Bibliography: in addition to the sources already cited, see P. de Cénival and Th. Monod, *Description de la côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal par Valentin Fernandes (1506-7)*, Paris 1938, 159-61, n. 90; G. Ferrand, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, in *JA* (1925), 43-4, 248-9; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 75-82; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique*, etc., Dakar 1959, 256. (F. Viré)

LAMṬA, a large Berber tribe of the Barānis family. Its exact origin does not seem to have been known to the Arab and Berber genealogists, who simply make them brethren of the Ṣanhādja, Haskūra and Gazūla; others give them a Ḥimyarite origin like the Hawwāra and the Lawāta [*q.vv.*].

The Lamṭa were one of the nomadic tribes who wore a veil (*mulaththamūn*). One section lived on the south of the Mzāb, between the Massūfa on the west and the Târga (Tuareg) on the east; they even seem to have extended as far as the Niger. In the south of Morocco, in al-Sūs, where there were Lamṭa who led a nomadic life, in company with the Gazūla, the Lamṭa occupied the territory nearest to the Atlas. On the coming of the nomadic Arabs of the Maʿḳil family, the two sections of the Lamṭa were absorbed by the Dhawī Ḥassān; the remaining sections then joined the Shabānāt, another Maʿḳil tribe, to oppose the Gazūla who joined the Dhawī Ḥassān.

In the territory of the Lamṭa of al-Sūs at the mouth of the Wādī Nāl (now Wād Nūn) lay the commercial town of Nūl or Nūl of the Lamṭa, the first inhabited place one reaches on coming from the Sahara. Several Moroccan dynasties have struck coins there.

The jurist Uggʷag b. Zallū of Sidjilmāsa, a pupil of Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], was a member of the tribe of Lamṭa; one of his pupils was ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Gazūlī, founder of the Almoravid empire [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

The country of the Lamṭa was noted for the shields made at Nūl with the skin of the *lamṭ* antelope [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Yaʿḳūbī, Bakrī, Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, indices, s.vv. Lamṭa and Nūl; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome, fasc. iii, 221-5; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, index (esp. 452-3, where H. Llote's long note should be regarded with care). (G. S. Colin*)

LAMTŪNA (in Leo Africanus: Luntuna or Lumtuna), a great Berber tribe belonging to the branch of the Ṣanhādja who led a nomadic life, and like other tribes of this branch forming part of the *Mulaththamūn* or "wearers of the veil" [see LITHĀM].

The Lamtūna nomadised over the western Sahara, where between the 2nd/8th and 5th/11th centuries they played a considerable political role. According to al-Bakrī (459/1067), the region covered by them stretched from the lands of Islam (i.e. the Maghrib) to those of the blacks. This is what this geographer says of the Lamtūna's way of life: "They are strangers to any manual work, to agriculture and even to bread. Their riches consist wholly of their herds. They live entirely off meat and milk". According to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the Lamtūna already formed a considerable kingdom at the time of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, founder of the amīrate of Cordova (138-72/756-88). This author plus Ibn Abī Zarʿ (d. between 710-20/1310-20) give the names of several kings of the Lamtūna from that time onwards. The first of these was a certain Talākākīn; the period of his power is unknown, but it is very probable that he lived towards the middle of the 3rd/8th century. His successor was Tīlūtān or Taywalūtān b. Tiklān b. Talākākīn, who died aged 80 in 222/836-7. He was a great ruler, and if Ibn Abī Zarʿ is to be believed, he reigned over all the desert (i.e. all the western Sahara), and the territory under his control stretched for three month's journey in both length and breadth, as far as the borders of the land of the blacks, of whom more than twenty of their kings were subject to him. Tīlūtān's successor was his nephew al-Athīr b. Bātin (also called Yalattān) who died aged 65 in 237/851-2, or according to another source, in 287/900. The fourth king of the Lamtūna was Tamīm (or Ramīm) b. al-Athīr who reigned over the tribe until 300/912-13; he was killed by the Ṣanhādja notables in a rebellion. His death heralded a time of troubles which lasted 120 years, i.e. until *ca.* 420/1029.

It seems that the state (or rather, the confederation of Berber tribes) created by the Lamtūna and which endured down to 306/918-19, was actually the state or rather confederation called Anbiya by the mediaeval Arabic writers. This existed already in the time of the astronomer al-Fazārī (*ca.* 172/788), who locates it as between the kingdom of Sildjilmāssa (in the western

Maghrib) and that of Ghāna in the western Sudan. We also owe a few details about the Anbiya to Ibn al-Faķīh al-Hamadhānī (*ca.* 290/903), whose information on Africa goes back to the middle of the 2nd/8th century. He relates that "the land of Anbiya is part of the Sūs al-Aķṣā (in the extreme south of present-day Morocco) and extends over seventy nights' march across the plains and deserts". One may further add that the historian and geographer al-Yaʿķūbī (d. 278/891) says as follows about the people of Anbiya: "It is by setting off from Sidjilmāssa southwards that one arrives in the land of the blacks ... It is reached via empty regions and deserts stretching for about fifty days' march. En route one meets a people called Anbiya, a part of the Ṣanhādja [who live] in the desert; they have no fixed abodes. They veil their faces, according to one of their customs. They do not wear a tunic, but cover themselves with pieces of cloth. Their food comes from camels, and they have no cereals or corn". On al-Yaʿķūbī's evidence, the Anbiya confederation was not, in the 3rd/9th century, the only great Berber power in the western Sahara. Indeed, he mentions also as existing in this desert and on the fringes of the land of the blacks a land (or a town) called Ghasṭ, identical with the Awdaghast of the geographers of the 4th-5th/10-11th centuries and situated in south-eastern Mauritania. According to al-Yaʿķūbī again, there was in this country a king who had no religion, who raided into the land of the blacks and who possessed numerous kingdoms.

It seems that the king of Awdaghast contributed to the fall of the confederation of the Lamtūna (or of Anbiya), and it may be in reference to him that Ibn Abī Zarʿ speaks when he mentions the revolt of the Ṣanhādja notables against the fourth king of the Lamtūna in 306/918-19. Hence the king Tīnazwā b. Wānshiķ b. Bīzār or Barūyān b. Wānshiķ b. Izār, who ruled, according to Ibn Khaldūn, over the Lamtūna and all the Sahara in the 4th/10th century, in the times of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) and his son al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76), belonged to the dynasty of Awdaghast and not to that of the Lamtūna. This name Barūyān b. Wānshiķ b. Izār appears merely to be a deformation of that of Tīn Yarūtān b. Wasīnū b. Nizār attributed to the king of Awdaghast (who reigned between 340/951 and 350/961) by the geographer al-Bakrī. It is the same person who is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawķal (d. *ca.* 378/988) under the name of Tanbarūtān b. Isfīshar and who was his contemporary; he says of him "Tanbarūtān b. Isfīshar ... was at that time king of all the Ṣanhādja ... He governed these last for twenty years ... Power belonged to this man's family in that tribe from time immemorial".

It appears that towards the end of the 4th/10th century or at the beginning of the next one, the kingdom of Awdaghast was destroyed by the king of Ghāna, who incorporated its capital (now the ruins of Tegdaoust) in his own kingdom, whilst leaving the tribe of Lamtūna their freedom. It was at this time, at the end of a period of 120 years during which "power was divided up amongst the Lamtūna", as Ibn Abī Zarʿ says, that there appeared amongst the Lamtūna a new king called ʿAbd Allāh (or Abū ʿUbayd Allāh) b. Tīfāwt, who brought about a union of all the Lamtūna. According to Ibn Abī Zarʿ, he was a man of religion and piety who made the Pilgrimage. He was killed, at the end of three years' reign, during a raid; al-Bakrī calls him Muḥammad Tāreshna and says that he carried on the holy war, in the course of which he was killed at a place called Ķanķāra (Gangara, the Mandingos) in the land of the blacks. Tāreshna (or Nāresht) al-Lamtūnī seems to have reigned between 426 and 429/1034-8, at the head of a confederation of Ṣanhādja tribes whose members included, as well as the Lamtūna, the Djudāla and perhaps the Massūfa too.

At the outset, the Lamtūna were pagans, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, only became Muslim during the 3rd/9th century. But most of the tribe's members were only nominally Muslim, apart from the *amīrs* and probably a section of the notables. Because of this fact, Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Djudālī, the successor of Nāresht (Tāreshna) as head of the Lamtūna confederation, decided in the course of his Pilgrimage to Mecca, to bring from the Maghrib into the Sahara a pious and learned Muslim *shaykh* called ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, who was to work at the conversion of the Djudāla and Lamtūna to a genuine form of Islam. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn soon discovered that most of the people he was working amongst lived in ignorance; hence he quickly surrounded himself with true believers and declared holy war against the infidels of the two tribes, which he managed to convert to Islam after several raids. In this way came about the origin of the kingdom of the Murābiṭūn or Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

After the death of Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Djudālī (*ca.* 434/1042-3), ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, by now the spiritual head of the new community, appointed as his successor the *amīr* Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Talākākīn, who reigned until 449/1056-7. Then the latter's brother, Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar, also appointed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, reigned over the western Sahara. Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar was content to rule over the desert and to leave Morocco, whose conquest he undertook, to his nephew Ibn Tāshfīn. However, he kept the title of *amīr* of the Almoravids till his death. Apparently, after Abū Bakr's death (he was killed in 480/1087 during one of his raids against the blacks in the western Sudan) the Lamtūna still retained for some time their supremacy over the people of the western Sahara. Towards the middle of the 6th/12th century al-Zuhrī speaks of a Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr, *amīr* of the Massūfa (*Lamtūna) who lived towards the year 496/1102-3 and who seems to have been the son of the *amīr* Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī. During this time there took place the conquest of Ghāna by the Lamtūna and the conversion of that city to Islam. Later, the power of the Lamtūna grew feebler, but nevertheless, we know, thanks to the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (*ca.* 588/1192), that the Lamtūna always possessed, at this period, an independent king as well as their own *shaykhs*. Subsequently, like the Massūfa and other Berber tribes of the southwestern Sahara, the Lamtūna were compelled to recognise the supremacy of the Sudanese kings of Mālī. If al-ʿUmarī (743-50/1342-9) is to be believed, the Lamtūna came under their control in the first half of the 8th/14th century; however, they still had their own *shaykh*. The later Arabic sources are silent about this people, whose importance became at that time almost nil.

A word should finally be said about the boundaries of the Lamtūna territories in the period from the 2nd/8th to the 8th/14th centuries. Originally, they extended, according to al-Bakrī, to the south of the mountain of Ayzal (Kedyet Ej Jell or Fort Gouraud on our maps), occupying all the eastern part of what is now Mauritania, as far as the fringes of the Sudan. They were separated from the Atlantic by the lands nomadised over by the Djudāla, who occupied western Mauritania and the south-western part of

that country (al-Bakrī, Ibn Saʿīd) to the north of the lower Senegal and as far as the fringes of the Djabal al-Lammāʿ (modern Cap Blanc). Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Lamtūna occupied the Mauritanian Adrar previously inhabited by a non-Muslim Berber tribe. They built there a fortress called Āzukkī or Azukkī (Azougui near Atar on modern maps), which then became their capital and a very important stage along the commercial route connecting Sidjilmāssa with Ghāna. From the Mauritanian Adrar, the lands traversed by the Lamtūna stretched as far as the Sudan, more exactly to Tagant. In the second half of the 5th/11th century, the Lamtūna occupied the district of Nūl al-Aḳṣā in the south-west of modern Morocco and that of Tāzuggāght (Saguiet El Hamra on modern maps = al-Sāḳiya al-ḥamrāʾ), both of which belonged to the tribe in al-Idrīsī's time.

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(T. Lewicki)

AL-LAMTŪNĪ, Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar b. Tāglāgīn al-Ṣanhādjī, war leader of the Almoravids [see al-murābiṭūn] and above all, the real founder of one of the historic capitals of Morocco, Marrakesh (Murrākish [*q.v.*]). He was the brother of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar who became, at the death of the pious *ḥādjdj* Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gazūlī, *amīr* of the Berber confederation of Ṣanhādja nomads of the parts of the Sahara bordering on the Atlantic (Lamtūna, Gudāla and Massūfa). The two brothers were the first to rejoin, after his *hidjra*, the Mālikī reformer ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn in his *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] of Nā (?), situated on an island or a peninsula of the Atlantic coast of modern Mauritania. It was from this *ribāṭ* that the powerful movement which culminated in the establishment of the Berber Almoravid dynasty was launched.

In 448/1056 Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar was killed fighting the infidels in the western Sudan, and the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh immediately replaced him, as head of the armed forces, by his brother Abū Bakr, who was celebrated for his courage, religious enthusiasm and experience. The new *amīr* had his position legitimised by the people of Sidjilmāssa and struck coins of his own, and was then charged with the task of conquering, by word and by sword, the region of the Moroccan Atlas. In 449/1057-8 his successful campaign ended in the capture of the town of Aghmāt [*q.v.*], the Maṣmūda capital. With the support behind him of this urban centre, at the time one enjoying considerable prestige, the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh directed his troops against the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], the heretics of the central Moroccan Atlantic coast region; but having injudiciously rushed into the battle, he was killed in 451/1059. Abū Bakr now became the sole head of the Almoravids; he buried ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn on the spot, went on to crush the Barghawāṭa and returned, laden with booty, to Aghmāt. There he established his centre of power and married the rich widow of the former governor of the town, the Tunisian lady Zaynab bint Isḥāḳ al-Nafzāwiyya, whose beauty was only equalled by her political astuteness.

Being probably now largely occupied with the administering of his native land and of his conquests, Abū Bakr at this point gave command of the army to his nephew and cousin, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [*q.v.*], who had come to prominence through his outstanding qualities, confirming him in this office and directing him to the conquest of northern Morocco.

However, life in Aghmāt became more and more difficult for everyone. Both the persons and the possessions of the local people suffered from the presence of their unpolished conquerors, and these latter, as Saharan nomads, felt little at ease within the walls which they had conquered but which were suffocating them. In the end, Abū Bakr was persuaded to found a new town, one better situated in all regards than the double city of Aghmāt. Following the advice of his expert counsellors, he decided to establish the new centre on the actual site of Marrakesh. The process of transfer took place, according to the Moroccan historian Ibn al-ʿIdhārī in his *Bayān*, on 23 Radjab 462/7 May 1070 and not in 1062 as indicated by Ibn Abī Zarʿ [*q.v.*] in his rather undependable *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*. The initial works, directed by the amīr personally, were concentrated on the construction of a *ḳaṣaba* [*q.v.*], the renowned Ḳaṣr al-ḥadjar "stone fortress", where the ruler's harem, treasury and armoury were deposited in safety over the following three months.

Soon afterwards, on a date which the *Bayān* fixes within Rabīʿ II 462/January 1071, Abū Bakr received some alarming news from the desert. In order to fly to the aid of his tribe, he left to Yūsuf b. Tashfīn the administration of the Almoravid conquests, the town in course of construction, a large part of the army and even his wife, who had herself urged him to divorce her so that she might, at the end of the waiting period required by Muslim law, legally marry Yūsuf and give him the benefit of her great experience of the Moroccan situation. The great role played by women in Almoravid society is of course well-known.

After having restored order within the desert, Abū Bakr did not return to Morocco till 464/1072-3. Well aware of what was happening at Marrakesh, he prudently installed himself at Aghmāt. He had

quickly learnt and realised that Yūsuf, strongly backed by Zaynab, would not give back to him the command entrusted to him earlier nor the town of Marrakesh, now expanding rapidly. After a pathetic interview between the two men, seated together on a burnoose in the open countryside, Abū Bakr had the sense to accept the very impressive presents offered to him, and with his face thus saved, returned to the land of his people in order to resume the holy war against the infidel blacks. This doughty hero of the faith, and founder of one of the great capitals of the Islamic world, was killed in 468/1075-6 in the massif of Tagant to the north of the Senegal River, where his gravestone and epitaph have been found.

His son Ibrāhīm then went to Morocco to reclaim his father's heritage of leadership, but wise counsels of prudence and substantial presents discouraged these ambitions and led to his definitive disappearance from Almoravid history.

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(G. Deverdun)

LAMU, a town, island and archipelago, in lat. 2° S. off the Kenya coast, together with Pate and Manda islands [*q.vv.*] and some smaller islands, probably to be identified with the Pyralaae Islands mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of *ca.* A.D. 106 as an established resort of Arab and Egyptian sea traders. Nevertheless, the first archaeological evidence found on Manda does not antedate the 8th or 9th century A.D., nor on Lamu before the 13th century. The first reliable literary evidence is that of Ibn Taghrībirdī (later 9th/15th century), but the Swahili traditional history *Khabar Lamu*, and likewise the Swahili traditional histories of Pate, assert that it was founded in 77/695 by Syrians sent thither by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and reinforced by a further contingent sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd in 170/786. Although not in themselves impossible, there is no contemporary literary or archaeological evidence to sustain these 19th century traditions. Syrian traders are not known to have penetrated farther south than the Ethiopian ports, and such late traditions are to be regarded with the greatest caution, if not scepticism. At the end of the 9th/15th century the island and the adjoining landfall are mentioned briefly by the celebrated pilot, Aḥmad b. Mādjid.

Ibn Taghrībirdī, quoting al-Maḳrīzī, makes only the curtest mention. The king is entitled to ambergris found on the beach. There are large banana trees, from which a kind of honey is made, and various preserves. The town is almost buried under the sands. This suggests that in the later 9th/15th century the town was in decline. Its fortunes seem to be aptly illustrated by a sequence of dedicatory inscriptions, all but one in the mosques. The earliest is dated 1370-1 A.D.; the next, with a remarkable wooden *minbar* unique in eastern Africa, where stone alone is used for this purpose, was not built until 1511-12. The 18th century saw the construction of four mosques, in 1733, 1753, 1760 and 1797. In this interval, from *ca.* 1506 to 1698, the town was under nominal Portuguese control, and the first tribute of 600 *mithḳāls* of gold was paid in Venetian *mocenigos*. In 1585 the town acknowledged Turkish suzerainty in the person of the Amīr ʿAlī Bey, for which the Portuguese deposed the sultan in 1587, hanging him in Goa on Christmas Day, 1589. Lamu supported the Mombasa rising of 1631 [see MOMBASA], for which the town was punished in 1634. Following another rising in 1678, the sultan of Lamu and four other neighbouring sultans lost their heads.

Lamu came under the nominal control of ʿUmān after the ʿUmānī capture of Mombasa in 1698, but this was not effectively exercised until 1812-13, in which year an inscription dates the building of the fort as a residence for the Bū Saʿīdī governor, always a member of the royal family until about 1901 [see ĀL BŪ SAʿĪD]. Under them the town grew considerably because of the expansionist trading policy of Sayyid Saʿīd of ʿUmān and Zanzibar and his successors. Lamu was an important centre for trade in ivory, mangrove wood (used universally at this epoch throughout southern Arabia for roofing) and, for a period, slaves. New mosques were dedicated in 1823, 1824 (two), 1845, 1849, 1865, 1876, 1877 and 1880-1. To the same period we may ascribe the pleasant two- and occasionally three-storeyed houses with their verandahs (Swa. *baraza*), which form the greatest part of the older town, so reminiscent of southern Arabia, but with a distinctive architecture which may be called "Zanzibari". Particularly attractive are their doors of carved teak. These and the so-called Lamu chests (Swa. *sanduku*), camphorwood clothes chests, used because that wood is resistant to the omnipresent white ant, were important local manufactures. Elaborate beds and chairs, of ebony inlaid with ivory, give some indication of the luxury of the merchant notables. This is echoed in poetry, and especially during the 19th century Lamu was celebrated for its numerous Swahili poets and literary men [see SWAHILI, Literature]. These included poetesses, of whom Mwana Kupona was the most famous. The poetry is written in the local dialect of Swahili, Ki-Amu. During the 1960s J. W. T. Allen identified no less than 30,000 pages of Swahili poetry in private hands in Lamu town, all in manuscript. Of these 10,000 pages have been photographed and the record deposited in the University Library, Dar es Salaam. It is estimated that as many pages were found of Arabic manuscripts, but at the present these have neither been photographed nor catalogued: they remain a challenge to the present generation of scholars.

With the growth of Mombasa as a deep-water port, the diminution in importance of the mangrove and ivory trades, and the disappearance of the slave trade, Lamu receded in importance, although recently it has achieved a certain popularity as a tourist centre. But more than anything it has been saved by emerging as the most important Islamic religious centre in eastern Africa. The Ribāṭ al-Riyāḍa, or Madrasat al-Riyāḍa, also commonly called the Mosque College of Lamu, was founded in 1319/1901-2 by Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb ʿAlawī b. Ḥabīb ʿAbd Allāh Djamāl al-Layl, the word *Ḥabīb* being used as an alternative to *Sayyid*. Of a well-known Ḥaḍramī family of *sayyids*, an ancestor had settled at Siu town on the neighbouring Pate island: from there another ancestor migrated to the Comoro Islands [see ḲUMR and PATE]. There Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ was

born and brought up as a Swahili speaker: although his was a learned family, Arabic was not spoken in the home. There and from family connections he became learned in the religious sciences and in traditional Arab medicine, although he never left eastern Africa. Migrating from the Comoros to Lamu, he began to teach, and soon acquired a band of followers. Following quarrels with the more conservative Muslims in the town, and especially because of the use of the tambourine to accompany the reading of the Barzanji *maulidi* to celebrate the birth of the Prophet, Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ first built a hut for use as a *muṣallā*, and subsequently the present mosque. This became a centre for the dissemination of the ʿAlawiyya *ṭarīḳa*, which soon attracted students from neighbouring African peoples, mainly the Pokomo, the Galla and the Bajun. By the 1950s the influence of the mosque had made itself felt throughout the eastern littoral of Kenya and the present Tanzania, and its pupils could be found teaching in numerous small Ḳurʾānic schools. In eastern Africa, all Sunnī mosques hold *maulidi* in honour of the Prophet during the month of his birth, the authorities in each neighbourhood arranging not to clash with each other's celebrations. The most important *maulidi* is that of the Ribāṭ al-Riyāda, attracting visitors from throughout Kenya and Tanzania, even as far as the border with Mozambique. Apart from the strictly religious ceremonies and the solemn procession to Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ's tomb, Africans of different tribes also celebrate it with dances that are generally frowned upon as impious, if not heretical, by those of Arab descent. The tomb itself is in a flimsy wooden hut. If this is surprising, such simplicity in a holy tomb has its parallels not only in Tanzania but also in al-S̲h̲iḥr, the port through which the potent influence of the Ḥaḍramawt has chiefly percolated into eastern Africa.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

LANBASAR (thus in Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn and Mustawfī), popular pronunciation with assimilation Lam(m)asar < Lambasar, the name of one of the Ismāʿīlī fortresses in northwestern Iran taken over from a local chief by Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ's lieutenant and eventual successor Kiyā Buzurg-Ummīd, according to D̲j̲uwaynī in 495/1102 [see ALAMŪT, ISMĀʿĪLIYYA]. Its still-extensive ruins lie on a site sloping at 30°, whose surface resembles in shape a truncated cone and which measures some 1,500 ft./480 m. by 600 ft./190 m., with easily defensible slopes, in the Rūdbār district of the upper S̲h̲āh-Rūd, tributary of the Safīd-Rūd [*q.v.*] in what was the mediaeval region of Daylam [*q.v.*], now in the central *ustān* of modern Iran. Its precise location is 30 miles/43 km. north-east of Ḳazwīn and 2 miles/3 km. north of the village S̲h̲ahristān-i Bālā, on the Nāyīn-Rūd stream, in lat. 36° 33′ N. and long. 50° 13′ 30″ E. The fortress's position guarded the approaches to Alamūt from the S̲h̲āh-Rūd valley, and it was accordingly an important unit in the network of Ismāʿīlī castles in Daylam. In recent times, the site and ruins have been visited and described by Freya Stark (1931), W. Ivanow (1958) and P. J. E. Willey (1960).

Lanbasar was besieged in vain in 511/1117 by the forces of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]. At the time when the Il-K̲h̲ān Hülegü overran northern Persia, the last Ismāʿīlī Grand Master Rukn al-Dīn K̲h̲ūr-S̲h̲āh submitted to the Mongols, and some forty Ismāʿīlī strongholds passed into the invaders' hands. Lanbasar, however, held out against Hülegü's general Dayir-Buḳa for a year after the beginning of 655/1257, and another fortress, Girdkūh, for considerably later; it was presumably after its capture that Lanbasar was abandoned as a military centre.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

LANGA [see LAS BELA, 2 Ethnography].

LANKORAN (Lenkoran), the chief town of the district of the same name in the region of Bākū. Lenkoran is the Russian pronunciation of the name, which was at one time written Langarkunān ("anchorage"), or perhaps Langar-kanān ("place which pulls out the anchors"), which is pronounced Lānkārān in Persian and Lankon in Tālis̲h̲ī. The ships of the Bākū-Enzelī [*q.v.*] line used formerly to call at Lankoran, which has an open roadstead, but at 8 miles north-east of the town is the island of Sarā, which has an excellent roadstead which shelters the ships in bad weather.

In the district of Lankoran, de Morgan found monuments of very great antiquity (dolmens, tombs, cases of exposure of bodies in the Mazdaean (?) fashion), but it is not known at what period the town of Lankoran was founded. Certain statements (cf. *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿĀlam-ārā* under the year 940/1533 in Dorn, *Auszüge*, iv, 283; and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Ḥazīn [about 1725 A.D.], *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Aḥwāl*, ed. Balfour, 157) suggest that the capital of Tālis̲h̲ was originally at Astārā; towards the end of the 18th century, Lankoran be-

came the capital of this khānate. The whole district was annexed by the Russians under Peter the Great (treaties of 1723 with Ṭahmāsp II, and 1729 with the Afghān Ashraf), but returned to Persia by the treaty of 1732. Retaken by Count Zubov in 1796, Lankoran was retaken in 1812 by the Persians who fortified it. On 9 Muḥarram (*ʿāshūrā*) 1228/1 January 1813, Lankoran was taken by storm by General Kotliarevski after a brave resistance of the Persians. This event hastened the conclusion of the Treaty of Gulistān (1813), by which Persia ceded to Russia part of Tālish to the north of the river Astārā. From 1846 Lankoran was the capital of the district. The fortress was dismantled in 1865. Since 1921 Lankoran has formed part of the Adharbāydjān S.S.R. in Soviet Transcaucasia.

The population of the town, which was 3,970 in 1867, had reached 11,100 in 1897. The district of Lankoran has an area of 5,000 sq. miles and in 1840 had 30,200 inhabitants and in 1861 99,082. Later, the district was reduced to 2,000 sq. miles; in spite of this, its population in 1897 was 125,895, of whom 46.5% were Azeri Turks, Iranian Tālish 46.2%, Russians 6.9% (in the north) and Armenians (0.2%). The district is composed of three zones: to the north, an eastern continuation of the steppes of Mūghān; to the east, a marshy littoral intersected by lagoons and covered with a rich subtropical vegetation; whilst to the west are wooded mountains running from 5,500 to 7,500 feet above sea-level which rise from the Russian frontier, forming the boundary with the Persian province of Ardabīl. The district is rich in forests and had good fishing.

The figures for the 1926 and 1931 censuses showed little change from the above figures, but by 1973 the town alone had a population of 42,300. The town has a number of schools and colleges, libraries and clubs, as well as a museum of local lore. During the 1930s, a newspaper was published in Ādharbāydjānī and Tālishī. The majority of the population of the province are Shīʿī, though there are substantial Sunnī communities in the south. The tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid, teacher of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, eponymous ancestor of the Ṣafawī dynasty, is situated a few miles to the south of the town of Lankoran.

The chief local industries are associated with the processing of agricultural products (tea, fish, vegetables, wine).

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(V. MINORSKY-[L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON).

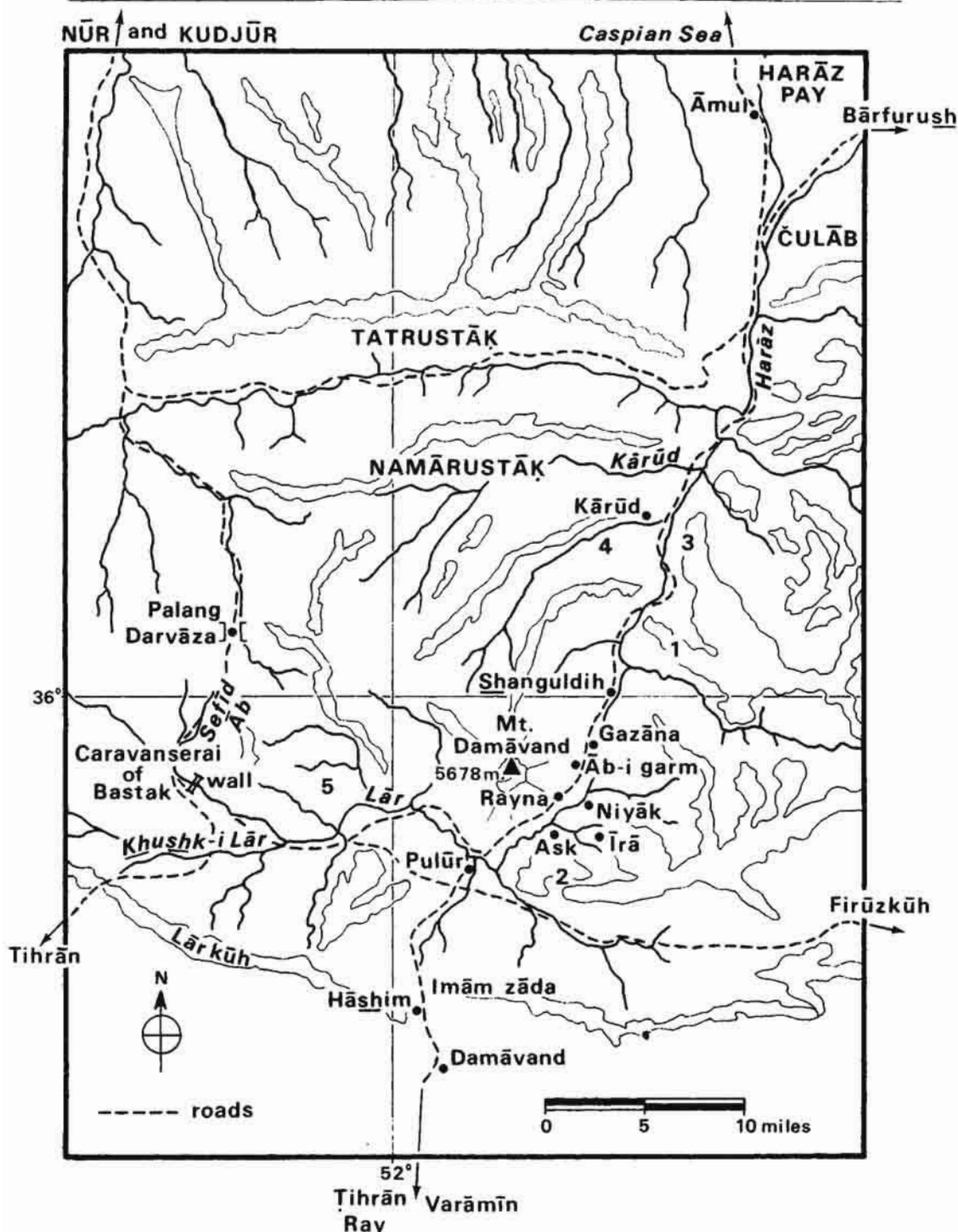
LĀR and **LĀRĪDJĀN**. Broadly attested outside southern Iran, the toponym Lār is applied to a characteristic region of northern Iran known by the name of Lārīdjān. Lār itself is the name of a watercourse, of its valley and of the pasture-lands which surround it. In different forms and local variants, it also refers to other sites or urban settlements of the Iranian lands.

1. *The high valley of the Lār.*

On the barren slope of the Elburz, not far from the conurbation of Tehran, the valley of the Lār constitutes one of the high points of nomadism. Situated at the foot of Mt. Damāvand—at 5,678 m (de Planhol), the highest peak of the Elburz and Iranian range—between the valleys of Nūr, Karadj, Djādj-i Rūd and Harāz, populated by Gīlakī peasants, today it supports no permanent settlement. Highly appreciated over a long period, not only by the nomads but also by the neighbouring village communities and by members of the royal household, its summer pastures have been the object of complex apportionments between these three contenders. Since the decade of the 1950s, the balance has been largely upset in favour of the nomads or semi-nomads, threatened in their turn by the process of modernisation.

Between its source in the vicinity of Kulūm/Kulūn-i Bastak and the elbow of Pulūr where it changes its name to that of Harāz, the Lār takes in the waters of numerous tributaries (names supplied by Rabino, 41-2; Karīmān, *Ḳaṣrān*, 120-1). It flows between mountains which, in the north as in the south, rise beyond the 3,000 m. mark; to the south, the peak of the Lār-kūh is at an altitude of 3,901 m. (12,797 feet according to an American map printed in 1957; *ibid.*, 116). On either side of the banks of the Lār, the pasture-lands extend over some 60 km. and over a breadth of 6 to 7 km. (*ibid.*, 122). The winters are long and extremely cold. The altitude does not fall below a level of 2,500 m.; even in summer, the temperature seldom rises above 24°C. At the eastern extremity of the valley, at Pulūr (see Lārīdjān, below), situated at 2,130 m., average temperature over the year is 5.8° C., rainfall is 547,7 mm. (Adle, chart; 569 mm. according to de Planhol, 23, n. 52, after Péguy).

Near the confluence of the Sefīd Āb and the Lār, a wall of dry rock blocks the entire valley. Situated, close by the so-called caravanserai of Shāh ʿAbbās, at a crossroads of caravan routes between Tehran and the north, in a locality dominated by the ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Dukhtar, according to oral tradition this wall separates two villages (Hourcade, 42 and map). Indications of the existence of permanent settlement in the valley of the Lār are quite numerous; besides the remains observed by certain travellers (Wells, 2; Von Call-Rosenburg, 121; Stahl, 10), there is the oral tradition current among the Hedāvand nomads (Brugsch, i, 285, quoted by de Planhol, 21-2) among the Gīlakī villagers of the valley of Īrā (Hourcade, 42, n. 6) and most notably the tradition attested at Lāristān as in the villages close to the valley of the Lār, according to which, under a king of ancient Iran, the villagers of the Lār, unable to endure the rigours of the winter, are supposed to have emigrated to Lār of the Fārs (Fasāʾī, ii, 281 ff.; Kotschy, 51). This popular tradition should not be regarded as "quite fantastic" (de Planhol, 21) since numerous toponyms (Lār, Lārak, Elburz, Bastak etc.), are current in the north as in the south

Although it is impossible to follow the evolution of relations between nomads and settlers until after the beginning of the 19th century, it seems that the settled territory covered a greater area then than it does today. According to de Planhol, the "wall" across the valley separated nomads from

Lārīdjān (after Rabino) *Sub-districts:** 1 Amīrī or Pā'īn Lārīdjān, 2 Bālā Lārīdjān, 3 Bihrustāķ, 4 Dilārustāķ, 5 Valley of the Lār. * on 4 and 5, see our reserves and remarks in the article.

settlers. Since the decade of the 1830s, the encampments of the nomads and semi-nomads of the Lār have been amply described by travellers, diplomats, soldiers etc. These accounts describe to us the stability of these tribes (itineraries of migration, places of summer pasturing, etc.) of which the majority were transferred to the region of Tehran from the 18th century onward, for political reasons (Hourcade, 39). For at least a century, and until quite recently (1976), approximately 200,000 head of small livestock (sheep and goats) belonging to the nomads of the south slope of the Elburz have summered at the Lār. But the terms "tribes" and "nomads" are quite inappropriate to designate populations whose origins

remain obscure. Briefly, one encounters Hedāwand who speak the Lori language (having arrived in the 18th century); Kotī Arabic speakers (originally from Khuzistān?); the ʿAraba, poor and Persian speaking; the Kalmur or Kalhur, Gīlakī speakers, whose chiefs lived in Tehran (descended from the Kalmuk Mongols?); the Persian speaking Pāzukī ("Turks of Khurāsān", Kurds?); other small tribes or diverse groups: Turks (Sayl Sepur, ʿAlī Manṣūr, Kalʿaʾī, shepherds of the Turkish villages of Rūdahan); Kurds; "great nomads" (ʿAlī Kāʾī, Gīlakī speakers; Ḥasanlu, Turkish speakers; Sangsarī, who speak an Iranian dialect from the North-West): numerous details on these tribes (number of tents, migrations, summer pasturing etc.) in Hourcade, 40 ff.; de Planhol, 33 ff.; Hourcade and Tual, 23.

The use of Turco-Mongol terminology in nomadism reflects the acceleration of the process of bedouinisation in the region following the Mongol invasion. The term *yūrt* refers to the tent as well as to encampments (Stack, i, 98) or pastures and summer settlements (Rabino, 115). The summer pasturing (*yaylāḳ*) of the Lār was frequented by the Il-Khānids, the Tīmūrids, the Ṣafawids and the Ḳādjārs. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848-96), the pastures were grazed in summer by horses from the Shāh's stables (de Planhol, 21). He often set up his summer camp there, to be followed by all the dignitaries and their families, military men, ambassadors (numerous references to the camp of Lār in the diplomatic archives in London, Paris etc., in the stories told by travellers, soldiers, sportsmen, etc.). Under the Pahlavīs (1925-79), the pastures to the west and south of Damāwand remained for the most part the property of the crown or of public services (national education, army, agriculture, etc.), who leased them to the nomads.

While profiting from the decline of sedentary mountain life, nomadism has recently suffered the impact of the expansion of the Tehran conurbation. Semi-nomadic groups adapted with varying degrees of success to the re-organisation of the milk and meat markets, becoming the salaried shepherds of large societies, "city-dwelling" nomads or villagers. But the trend towards sedentary living, utilisation of the motor-car, etc. have modified migratory practices. In some cases, nomadism has been replaced by pastoral migrations of the Alpine type (Hourcade, 44-5). Other factors have contributed to the decline of nomadism. The development of tourism and of sporting activities (mountaineering, trout fishing, also practised by the nomads, spa facilities and ski-ing activities in neighbouring areas) has led to the creation of cottage-industries and of construction projects; inevitable measures for the protection of the environment have brought about the extension of natural reserves to the detriment of the pasture-lands. But it is the construction of the dam of the Lār, designed to improve the water-resources of Tehran, which has had the profoundest impact on nomadism. With its foundations laid in 1975, this huge dam (105 m. in height; 1,000 m. long; reservoir of 30 square km. containing 960 million cubic m. of water) was due to become operational in 1980. Ecological constraints—particularly the erosion of the banks and terraces as a result of over-grazing—brought about the expulsion of the nomads from 1976 onward (*ibid.*, 45 f.). The abandonment of major industrialisation projects should in principle favour the renewal of the traditional economy and of nomadism which had been tending towards modernisation and self-destruction (*ibid.*, 47f.)

Rivalries between the nomads, the villagers and the state over the appropriation of pasture-lands are reflected on the administrative level. Originally belonging to the Ustān-i Markazī (*bakhsh* of Afdje, *shahristān* of Ṭihrān: *DG*, i, 196), the Lār has seen its southern area attached to the villages of the southern slope (Ustān-i Markazī) and the rest shared between the *dihistān* of Nūr and Lārīdjān (Ustān-i Māzandarān), the properties of the crown and the state lying between these two spheres of ownership (Hourcade, 38). Until the 19th century, its history is intermingled with that of Lārīdjān (see below), of which it often forms an integral part.

2. *Lārīdjān*

Geographical setting. Lārīdjān takes its name from the Lār (see above), a perennial river which flows down the southern flank of the Damāwand and constitutes the principal branch of the headwaters of the Harāz. The change of name takes place towards the elbow of Pulūr where the Harāz is swollen by the addition of the Delīčāy; in places where it crosses inhabited territory, the river is called Ghāzān-čāy (from the Turkish "river which bores", according to de Planhol, 17, n. 13; perhaps also in memory of the Il-Khān Ghāzān; see below).

Constituted of volcanic rocks thrown up in the Pliocene and Quaternary periods (clear trachytes and coloured andesites), the cone of Mt. Damāwand (400 km².) offers on its eastern slope—dissected by the Harāz and its tributaries and a multiplicity of deep valleys—conditions more favourable to human settlement than exist on its western slope, which is made up of a compact and inhospitable mass of andesites. The high valley of the Lār does not fall below a level of 2,500 m., although the more deeply excavated valleys descend towards a level of 1,300 m., the furthest limit of permanent settlement currently being in the region of 2,300-2,400 m. On the eastern periphery, the soil produced by the decomposition of volcanic deposits engenders a stretch of fertile and well-watered ground. These natural conditions explain the human dissymmetry of this volcanic massif, which gives to Lārīdjān its physical shape and its individuality (de Planhol, 17 ff.; on the morphology and physical geography of the Damāvand, see P. Bout, M. Derruau, J. Dresch and Ch. P. Péguy, in *Mémoires et Documents*, viii, CNRS, Paris 1961, 39-83; see also *CHI*, i, 44 ff., 189, 415).

Socio-economic outline. A remnant of one of the most ancient provincial nuclei of northern Iran, Lārīdjān is characterised by an exceptional density of villages, in contrast to the remarkable void existing upstream of the Lār towards Pulūr as well as in the down-stream valley, on the Caspian side. Life in the settled areas, in the main valley, is closely linked to that of the high pasturages of the Lār and of Lārīdjān. The traditional equilibrium is based on a minute system of balance between intensive agricultural exploitation of tiny plots, the pastoral life and complementary resources supplied by the winter emigration (on land use and irrigated and pluvial cultivation—corn, barley, lucerne, vegetables etc.—the agrarian structure and rustic landscape, the pastoral life and exploitation of the mountain—raising of small and large live-stock—see de Planhol, 22-8; also Hourcade and Tual, 34 ff.). The rigours of the climate and the lack of winter resources are the cause of the significant migrations. In winter, only the peasantry and the stock-breeders remain on the mountain. Some farmers possess arable land on the Caspian plains. Traders and artisans (manufacturers of felt) traditionally

emigrated towards the Caspian. Conversely, the people of the plain of Āmul used to spend the winter on the Lār. Some important resources were drawn from the transit of merchandise and from mule-traffic along the traditional highway axes: the Harāz valley route (Tehran-Āmul by way of the col of Imām-zāda Hāshim): the route of Nūr and Kudjūr through Afdje, via the valley of the Lār (Hourcade and Tual, 25 f.).

Having witnessed an expansion at the beginning of the century, sedentary rustic life has experienced a constant decline as a result of this migration towards the Caspian and towards Tehran, a new focus of attraction. In the decade of the 1930s, new migratory patterns are seen to emerge; in ever increasing numbers, the nomads establish themselves in the high altitude cultivated lands abandoned by the villagers (de Planhol, 32 f.). The improvement of roads, the reorganisation of the production and marketing of dairy and meat products, have transformed the pastoral life and nomadism (see above). The tourist excursions undertaken by a great many city-dwellers are capable of "rendering marginal" the migrations of villagers. Centres of seasonal commerce have been established along the major routes (Hourcade and Tual, 29 f.).

The uneven settlement of the land and the social contrasts are reflected in the appearance of dwellings (large houses belonging to farmers/stock-breeders; the small houses of the emigrants; more recently, summer resort chalets). Cave-dwelling is an ancient practice; caverns excavated in the calcareous rock are currently used for sheltering live-stock and fodder (de Planhol, 26, nn. 55, 56). Study of the system of ownership reveals a predominance of small properties. Quite complex contrasts exist between small-holders and exploitative farmers/stockbreeders. Although the standard of living is fairly low, it is possible to regard Lārīdjān as "a rural democracy, with a hierarchy, but without glaring inequalities" (de Planhol, 29 f.).

Lārīdjān is the point of departure for the ascent of Damāwand [*q.v.*] (Dumāwand/Dunbāwand/Dubāwand, etc.), a mountain which plays a significant role in the myths and legends of Iran (Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. Browne, index; Schwarz, 785 ff.), and in local folklore (Minorsky, *Lār*, in *EI*[1]). Nāṣir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century) relates that sulphur extracted from the crater was wrapped in the skins of cattle which were then rolled down the slopes (*Ṣafar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāķī, Tehran 1344/1965, 7). Ibn Isfandiyār (writing in 613/1216) describes—following the *Firdaws al-ḥikmat*—how the ascent could be made in two days, starting from the village of Ask (i, 82-3; tr. 35-6). In the 19th century, two scientific ascents were made within a few days of each other in September 1837 (W. Taylour Thomson and E. d'Arcy Todd); subsequently, it became fashionable for Europeans (travellers, diplomats, explorers, mountaineers, etc.) to make expeditions to Mt. Damāwand (de Planhol, 19 ff.). Ascent by the north face being something of an exercise for experienced climbers, it is more easily accomplished by the south face starting from the village of Rayna/Reine (to the south-east, 2,200 m. in altitude) with the aid of mule-drivers well acquainted with the mountain (see de Planhol, in *Iran*, Nagel's Guide, Geneva 1973, 128-9).

As warriors of repute, the Lārīdjānīs have had occasion to defend their territory or to support the claims of local chieftains. After having fought against the Ķādjārs, they supplied them with appreciable help in the maintenance of order in the north as well as in the south of Iran (see below).

Administrative framework and demography. Although Lārīdjān has been able to extend its influence over the neighbouring regions, its borders have changed little in the course of time. They have probably not gone beyond those that it had in the Ķādjār period. This is how Rabino defines them (114-15, with the names of villages and pasturages; names given here in parentheses are those of the main places of permanent settlement):

(a) Amīrī or Pā'īn Lārīdjān (Shāhāndasht, Shanguldih)

(b) Bālā Lārīdjān (Ask, Āb-i garm, Gaynā, Gaznā, Gazānak, Īrā, Malār, Lāssim, Navā, Niyāk, Pulūr, Rayna)

(c) Bihrustāķ (Bāydjān, Nawsar/Nāssar)

(d) Dilārustāķ (Fīra, Ḥādjdjī Dilā, Kahr-rūd/Kuhrūd/Kārū, Kurf, Nāndal/Nunnal, Tihna/Tīna

(e) The valley of the Lār; besides the caravanserais of Surkhak, Bastak and Sefīd Āb on the road from Tehran to the Nūr via Lashkarak, there are no pasturages (see Hourcade, chart of the summering-sites of the Lār).

Although Dilārustāķ, on the northern slope of the Damāwand, has been capable of definition as "a separate regional subdivision" (de Planhol, 17), it is historically a part of Lārīdjān. With the exception of the valley of the Lār—which now depends to a large extent on the Ustān-i Markazī (see above)—Lārīdjān has preserved its other administrative divisions (see below).

The demographic evolution of the region is hard to trace. Having apparently benefited from the development of Māzandarān in the Ṣafawid era, the population of the region seems to have declined in the 18th century. The improvement and then the decline of the 19th century is reflected in the population of the regional centre, Ask: 1,000 to 1,500 houses in 1837 (d'Arcy Todd); 2,000 in 1860 (Brugsch); 500 in 1874 (Napier). Recent information indicates a decline at Ask (approximately 700 inhabitants in 1950, 424 in 1956) and a relative expansion at Rayna (200 houses in 1874 (Napier), 400 in 1958 (de Planhol)).

Attached to the Ustān-i Māzandarān, Lārīdjān constitutes a *bakhsh* of the *shahristān* of Āmul. It is divided into four *dihistāns*, as follows (*DG*, iii, 266; data from about the year 1950):

dihistān	*inhabited places*	*inhabitants*
Bālā Lārīdjān	18	7500
Bihrustāķ	7	900
Amīrī	10	2000
Dilārustāķ	10	1500

The censuses of 1956, 1966 and 1976 indicate a demographic decline, the inhabitants being progressively less numerous than the migrants (see Hourcade and Tual, 16 ff.).

Historical evolution. The toponym Lārīdjān is quite widely attested in Islamic sources. It derives from Lārīg: *Lār* + *īg* (a suffix which, in Pahlavī, serves to form adjectives of relation; however, its use in proper names in Pahlavī remains problematical: see Ph. Gignoux, in *Pad nām-i yazdān*, 63 f.). It should therefore be written with a long *ī* although, as in the case of Lāhīdjān, both ancient and modern authors most frequently write it with a short *i*. The use of Pahlavī, especially in coinage, epigraphy, seals, etc. was maintained for a long period in the Caspian region (on the Arabo-Sāsānid coinages of Ṭabaristān, see R. Curiel in *Pad nām-i yazdān*, 151-8).

The precise localisation of the urban settlement or the district known in ancient times by this name

remains uncertain. Its origin is lost in the myths and legends of ancient Iran which cannot easily be exploited from a historical point of view. Briefly, "Lārīdjān is the most ancient region of Ṭabaristān. Firīdūn (i.e. Thraetona/Frēton) was born in the 'village' (*dīha*, which can have a broader sense) of War which is the principal town (*ḳaṣaba*) of this region (*nāḥiyat*) and where the cathedral mosque (*djāmiʿ*) and the oratory (*muṣallā*) are situated" (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 57). Waraka for War is an incorrect reading by Browne (tr. of Ibn Isfandiyār, 15), followed by Rabino, 40; Minorsky, art. *Lār* in *EI*[1] (who identifies Waraka/Warak/Varena with the village of Wāna in Lārīdjān); de Planhol, 20, etc. According to Āmulī (33), the birth-place of Firīdūn is Lārīdjān, *ḳaṣaba* of the region of the same name. According to Marʿas̲h̲ī (*TT*, 4), Gurgīn Mīlād, the "founder" of Gurgān, possessed the region of Ray: "in winter, his *ḳis̲h̲lāḳ* [*q.v.*] was at Karadj Rūd, in summer his *yaylāḳ* was at Lār (*TT*, 4; on Lār-i Ḳaṣrān, see below). More easily identifiable is S̲h̲alab/Čalab/Čalāw, at Dilārustāḳ, at the northern foot of the Dunbāvand/Damāwand, an area of rich pasturages where Firīdūn was brought up, went hunting mounted on a cow and devoted himself to training oxen as saddle-animals, and whence he set out to conquer ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 57 ff.; according to de Planhol (20, n. 34), there is in this myth an echo of the ancient mountain practice of riding oxen.

The fact that Lārīdjān designates sometimes an urban settlement, sometimes a district, does nothing to faciliatate the toponymic study of the region. Lārīdjān is the mountainous frontier zone where the Harhaz flows (*Ḥudūd*, 77). Probably because of the fairly late Islamisation of the region (by the ʿAlids), Lārīdjān is rarely mentioned by geographers who wrote in Arabic. In addition, their works contain ambiguities. Thus Lāriz (supposedly the ancient form of Lāridj), named as a village or a district of Ṭabaristān (Marquart, 127, 135) is not the present day Lāridjan (on Lāriz and Marquart's interpretation, cf. below, 3).

According to Yāḳūt (iv, 340-1) "Lārīdjān is a small town (*bulayda*) between Ray and Āmūl in Ṭabaristān; it lies at a distance of 18 *farsak̲h̲s* from each of these two towns; it is protected by a fortress often mentioned in the chronicles of the Buwayhids and of Daylam". Villages, fortified points, places allegedly situated in Lārīdjān are mentioned by various sources. The village of Īrā is mentioned under the name of Bāra/Yāra (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 210; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 271, quoted by Schwarz, 789; does this refer to Īrā near Ask, or to an ancient permanent village to the south of the valley of the Lār (see above); Ask (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 83); Fulūl, Fulūl-i Lārīdjān, Ḳalʿa-yi Fulūl (Marʿas̲h̲ī, *TT*, 116; *TG*, 284); Ḳalʿa-i Lawandar (near Rayna) (Marʿas̲h̲ī, *TT*, 213-14); the *ḳalʿa* or the urban settlement of Kuhrūd/Kahrūd/Karū/Karūd (Āmūlī, 135; Ibn Isfandiyār, ii, 78, 99; Marʿas̲h̲ī, *TT*, 54, 213). This or the *ḳalʿa*s of Lār, without further definition, are also mentioned (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 297-9; Āmulī, 109; Marʿas̲h̲ī, *TT*, 212). In the Sāsānid period, Lārīdjān must have formed part of the Padas̲h̲k̲h̲ʷargar, of which the sovereign was Māh gus̲h̲nasp (or Djus̲h̲nasfs̲h̲ah) at the end of the Arsacid period. Subsequently, this region belonged to the Sāsānid Kawād, then to his son Kāwūs. Later it came under the control of the Sāsānid family of the Ḳārinids [*q.v.*] (Marquart, 130 ff.; Karīmān, *Ḳaṣrān*, ii, 632). In a broad sense, Kūh-i Ḳārin or Djibāl-i Ḳārin designated the eastern Elburz. According to Rabino (2), it included present-day Lārīdjān, the Sawād Kūh and the Hazār-djarīb. But according to the *Djahān numā*, the Djibāl-i Ḳārin is also called Djibāl-i Rūnandj/Rūna (Rūyān) and the Dunbāwand/Damāwand does not form a part of this mountain (Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān, *Djahān-numā*, ed. Tehran 1342/1963, 58). At the time of the Arab invasion, the situation in the region is unclear, especially as regards the Lār (valley of the Lār), the southern limit of Lārīdjān, where ancient occupation is attested most notably by the presence of remains of sanctuaries dedicated, it is said, to Nāhīd/Anahita (Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 189, 632). The mountainous region to the north of the Ray was called Ḳaṣrān (Kūhsarān), and was divided into Ḳaṣrān-i dāk̲h̲il (or Ḳaṣrān-i darūnī) and Ḳaṣrān-i bīrūnī (Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 3 ff., with reference to al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī, Zakariyā al-Ḳazwīnī, Yāḳūt, etc.). The Lār presumably belonged to the Ḳaṣrān-i dāk̲h̲il. Lār-i Ḳaṣrān is found in various sources (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 56; Marʿas̲h̲ī, *TT*, 112, 124; Āmulī, 182 f., etc.). But reference to Lār ū Ḳaṣrān (e.g. Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 223) is also found, which gives grounds for supposing that one part of the Lār belonged to Ḳaṣrān and the other part to Lārīdjān. Furthermore, the mountains to the north-west of the Lār whose waterways flow towards the north, form part of the Rūd-bār-i Ḳaṣrān (Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 20 f.). It also appears that the Lār, endowed with at least one fortress, at times exercised a certain independence between Lārīdjān, Lawāsān and Ḳaṣrān. It may also be noted that—at least on the geographical level—the mountains of Rūyān formed a frontier with the mountains of Ray (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 304, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 320, quoted by Karīmān, *op. cit.*, 18).

At the time of the conquest of Ray (which al-Ṭabarī locates in 22/643), the Maṣmug̲h̲ān (Mas-i Mug̲h̲ān, Grand Master of the Magi) who exercised jurisdiction over Dunbāwand, K̲h̲uwār, Lāriz and S̲h̲irriz, agreed conditionally to the payment of the *djizya* and *k̲h̲aradj* (Karīmān, *RB*, ii, 487, after al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-At̲h̲īr). According to H. Karīmān (*Ḳaṣrān*, i, 71 ff.), the north of Ḳaṣrān and a part of Lārīdjān were in the hands of the Maṣmug̲h̲ān, but this is not stated clearly in the sources. The possessions of the Maṣmug̲h̲ān were conquered by Abū Muslim in 131/748 (Marquart, 127, after Ibn al-At̲h̲īr).

In the absence of indications in the sources which would permit an appraisal of the economic worth of the region, it may be said that, in mediaeval Iran, Lārīdjān exercised—as a result of its geographical position—control over a military, commercial and pastoral route, i.e. the Ray-Āmul axis towards the Caspian Sea and the transversal routes towards Ḳūmis and K̲h̲urāsān via Fīrūz-kūh to the east, towards Ḳazwīn and Ād̲h̲arbāydjān to the west. A highway also connects Ārim, in the Hazār-djarīb, to Lāridjān (Rabino, 115). Other transversal routes were added later (see below). This function would pre-suppose the existence of a stable local power. The latter was exercised by governors usually bearing the title of *marzbān* (the term Lārīdjān seems also to have had a patronymic connotation). Ibn Isfandiyār supplies us with a list of these *marzbān*s beginning with Faḍl b. al-Marzubān in 252/866 (the list has been partially reconstructed by Rabino, 147, up to the 7th/13th century). In the final third of the 3rd/9th century, Sahl b. al-Marzubān constructed across Lārīdjān the route which, in earlier times, had been impracticable both in winter and in summer, and he took steps to ensure its security (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 122).

Like other chieftains of Ṭabaristān, the governors of Lārīdjān accorded a warm welcome to the ʿAlids. The chieftains of Lārīdjān and of Ḳaṣrān rallied to the support of the brother of Ḥasan b. Zayd known as al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 233; Marʿashī, *TT*, 132). In 272/885-6, the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Zayd, brother of Ḥasan b. Zayd, attempted to take possession of Ray; on being defeated, he sought refuge in Lārīdjān (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 252; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 59). In the Saldjūḳ period, the phase of disorder which followed the deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and of Malik Shāh (485/1092) had an effect on Lārīdjān. Having ordered his governors of Lārīdjān, of Rūyān and of Āmul to help him in the fight against the Ismāʿīlīs, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh nominated as governor of Ray and of a vast area, including Lārīdjān, his young son Malik Aḥmad, whom he entrusted to the care of an *amīr* named Sunghūr-i Kučik. This Saldjūḳ policy, aimed at maintaining control of pro-Shīʿī regions, spread consternation among the Bāwandid Iṣpahbads (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 38). Nevertheless, Lārīdjān benefited —as did other regions of Iran before the Mongol ravages—from the decline of Saldjūḳ power. After a period of conflict with the Iṣpahbad Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I Bāwandī (534-58/1140-63) (see Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 77; Āmulī, 126), Manūčihr, *marzbān* of Lārīdjān, turned Ḳalʿa Kuhrūd (in the down-stream area, later known by various names, including Kārū/Kārūd) into a place so prosperous that people of all professions, natives of India, of Egypt and of Syria, came and settled there (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 77 ff., 99); this *ḳalʿa* was destroyed in 783/1381-2 and later rebuilt (Marʿashī, *TT*, 213 ff.). Other fortified points are mentioned. The *ḳalʿa* of Lārīdjān (without further definition) is named in connection with various events (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 297, 299; Āmulī, 109); Marʿashī mentions the *ḳalʿa* of Fulūl (*TT*, 19). Manučihr allied himself, with other chieftains of Ṭabaristān, to Shāh Ghāzī Rustam Bāwandī; his troops formed a part of the army which conquered Bisṭām/Basṭām and Dāmghān (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 94; Marʿashī, *TT*, 19; Āmulī, 131).

Abū Ḥarb, the eldest son of Manučihr, was a violent and irreligious man. He killed his father and his brothers (through trickery), renewed the alliance with Shāh Ghāzī Rustam, and fought alongside him against the *ustundār* Kay Kāwūs; after having been defeated, the latter went to war against the rebel Garshāsf. At the last military parade conducted by Shāh Ghāzī Rustam, Abū Ḥarb was among his army commanders (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 99 ff.; Marʿashī, *TT*, 22-3). Eventually, the people of Lārīdjān lost patience with Abū Ḥarb and his misdeeds, and killed him. His one-year-old son, Kīnkhʷār or Kīna-khʷār (i.e. "Avenger") was put into power by ʿAlī Lārīdjānī, the commander of Abū Ḥarb's army and of that of his father Manučihr. ʿAlī Lārīdjānī appointed himself *atābeg* and towards the end of his career he collaborated at Ray with the Saldjūḳ *atābeg* Ildegiz [see ILDEÑIZ] in carrying off "the treasures" of Lārīdjān (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 110-11; Marʿashī, *TT*, 107). The Lārīdjānīs rallied to the cause of the *iṣpahbad* ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Ḥasan (surnamed "al-Malik al-Shahīd", 558-67/1163-71), maternal uncle of Kīnkhʷār. Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla controlled Ḳaṣrān, and, especially after the misconduct of Abū Ḥarb, Lārīdjān had practically lost its independence. Furthermore, "Amīr Lārīdjānī" incited the Saldjūḳ *atābeg* to recapture from ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla the *wilāyat-i Lārīdjān* "which had always been a part of ʿIrāḳ" (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 112). Under the *iṣpahbad* Ḥusām al-Dawla Shāh Ardashīr, a sizable portion of Lārīdjān formed part of the "darūn Tamīsha" (*ibid.*, 124). Ḥusām al-Dawla entrusted the government (*sardārī*) of Lārīdjān to the *iṣpahbad* Abū Djaʿfar Āsarb (Marʿashī, *TT*, 110).

At the turn of the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, the history of the region is poorly attested; the chronicles mention numerous journeys that passed through Lārīdjān, of which the *ḳalʿa* also constituted a refuge (for example for the mother, the wives and the children of Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Khʷārazm-Shāh when he fled before the armies of Čingiz Khān: see Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, *GMS*, xvi, ii, London 1916, 199). The relations between the Lārīdjānīs and the Ismāʿīlīs (energetically fought by Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I) and, in general, the politico-religious situation in the region on the eve of the Mongol invasion, remain obscure. It may also be noted that, according to Mustawfī, the *ḳalʿa* of Lār was included among the Ismāʿīlī fortresses conquered by Hūlāgū Khān in 654/1256 (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1339/1960, 527).

Following the Mongol invasion, the weakening of local powers resulted in the loss to Lārīdjān of part of its strategic importance (later Saldjūḳ, Mongol and Tīmūrid sources refer to the region by the name *wilāyat-i Lār*). It is, however, unknown to what extent the presence of the Mongols, experienced in operating in high-altitude areas, and the extension of nomadism which ruined the neighbouring districts, affected Lārīdjān (on these problems, see J. Aubin, *Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier*, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, i, Paris-Geneva 1971, 105-30, at 116 ff.). It seems that the pasturages of the Lār were appreciated by the Il-Khāns. Arghūn Khān "had caused a fine palace (*kūshk-i ʿālī*) to be built at the summer resort of Lār, at the foot of Mount Damāwand; this place is now known by the name of Kūshk-i Arghūn" (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 229). This was no doubt the place where Ghāzān Khān solemnly adopted the Muslim faith in Shaʿbān 694/June 1295 (at least, this is the version given by some authors: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Amsterdam 1852, iv, 131-2; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Taʾrīkh-i Mughul*, Tehran 2536/1977, 256; J. A. Boyle, in *CHI*, v, 378). But details as to the site, the date, the number of Mongols converted on this occasion, etc., remain poorly defined in the sources. According to the leading chroniclers, it was at Fīrūz Kūh that, following the advice of his *amīr* Nawrūz, Ghāzān Khān was converted to Islam at the beginning of Shaʿbān 694/mid-June 1295 in the presence of the *shaykh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, Baku 1957, iii, 294 ff.; Waṣṣāf, *Taʾrīkh*, Tehran 1338/1959, 316-17; Khʷānd-Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1333/1954, iii, 144; Mīr-Khʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Tehran 1339/1960, v, 380). According to local tradition, it was in the valley of the Lār, at Kūshk-i Arghūn, that this conversion took place (Feuvrier, 239). It may also be noted that on numerous occasions Ghāzān Khān frequented the "Yāylāḳ-i Damāwand" (see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. K. Jahn, GMS, London 1940, index).

The Tīmūrids also thought highly of the pasturelands of the Lār. It was in the valley of the Lār that the Spanish ambassador Clavijo came, in June-July 1404, to visit the son-in-law of Tīmūr, Sulaymān Mīrzā, whom he found in the middle of his encampment of some three thousand tents (tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 169). Some days previously, on his way from Ardabīl, Tīmūr had broken his journey at the *wilāyat-i Lār*, in Kūshk-i Arghūn, which he

left for Fīrūz-kūh on 29 June (Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Calcutta, ii, 591, ed. Tehran 1336/1957, ii, 417).

As elsewhere in Iran, and especially in Māzandarān, Lārīdjān was affected in the 8th-9th/14th-15th century by the increasing power of socio-religious movements and of the *sayyids*. In 734/1333-4, Amīr Masʿūd Sarbadār forced the Il-Khān Tughā Tīmūr, governor of the Ḳaṣrān-i dākhil, to take refuge in the summer resort of Lār-i Ḳaṣrān (Āmulī, 182-3). In this period, the Marʿashī *sayyids* [*q.v.*] were all-powerful in Māzandarān. In the years 783-4/1381-3, Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn, brother of Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn, took possession of Ḳalʿa-yi Nūr; in two years, he took all the *ḳalʿas* from Ṭāliḳān to Lawāsān, including the *ḳalʿa* of the Lār and of Lārīdjān (Lawandar, near Rayna; Kārūd). Lārīdjān was then in the hands of Kiyā Ḥasan Kiyāʾī Ḍamāndar; Namārustāḳ, Daylārustāḳ, Tarīta Rustāḳ and Kārūd were under the control of Māzandarān (Marʿashī, *TT*, 213-14). In 795, Tīmūr exiled Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn to Transoxania with his brothers and his sons. After his death, Shāhrukh allowed them to return to Māzandarān (Khwānd-Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 22). In 821/1418, Sayyid Murtaḍā b. ʿAlī seized power in Māzandarān. He entrusted Namārustāḳ, Daylārustāḳ and Tarīta Ruṣtāḳ to his son Malik Kāwūs and gave him authority to wrest Lārīdjān from the hands of Kiyā-i Damāndar (Marʿashī, *TT*, 268). But other local potentates disputed control of the region with the *sayyids*, notably the Pādusbānids or Rustamdāriyya (who bore successively the titles of Iṣpahbad, Ustundār and Malik) and the Kiyā of Čulaw/Čalāb (see Rabino, 141 ff.). After the death of the Pādusbānid Malik Gayūmarth (857/1453), Rustamdār was shared between his sons Kāwūs and Iskandar, founders of the Banī Kāwūs (Nūr branch) and of the Banī Iskandar (Kudjūr branch). Under Malik Gayūmarth, Iskandar had been in control of Lārīdjān, Namārusṭāḳ and Kārūd. Conflicts between Kāwūs and Iskandar were numerous and prolonged; Djahān Shāh Ḳarā Koyūnlū intervened on a number of occasions, calling upon Amīr Kiyā Sayyid Muḥammad Gīlānī to settle the dispute between the adversaries (Mahdjūrī, ii, 75 ff.; Karīmān, *Ḳaṣrān*, 397-8).

In the 10th-16th century, the region remained under the control of the Pādusbānids. Under the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, it was shared between three cousins: Malik Bahman held Lārīdjān (formerly a dependency of Kudjūr), Malik ʿAzīz held Nūr and Malik Sulṭān Muḥammad held Kudjūr. At the beginning of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, Rustamdār was divided into three *nāḥiyas*: Malik Bahman holding Lārīdjān, Malik Djahāngīr b. Malik ʿAzīz holding Nūr, and Malik Djahāngīr b. Malik Sulṭān Muḥammad holding Kudjūr (*AAA*, ii, 399, tr. 696; 534, tr. 713). Malik Bahman was constantly at war with his neighbours, whom he endeavoured to dominate by force or by trickery. These internecine struggles inevitably gave encouragement to Shāh ʿAbbās I in his scheme to assert his power over the whole of Māzandarān. In 1000/1592, Malik Bahman welcomed to the summer resort of Lār a Ṣafawid expedition on its way to Khurāsān (Yazdī, fol. 58a). In 1001/1593, he laid siege to the *ḳalʿa* of Lawāsān, captured and then put to death the brother of Malik Sulṭān Ḥusayn Lawāsānī who was a favourite of Shāh ʿAbbās, and led away his wives and children to captivity in Lārīdjān (*AAA*, ii, 520-1, tr. 697, 714-15; Yazdī, fol. 65a). In the course of the second campaign in Māzandarān which Farhād Khān undertook on the orders of Shāh ʿAbbās I, he succeeded in capturing Malik Bahman (in 1005/1596-7), who was put to death (by Malik Sulṭān Ḥusayn Lawāsānī to avenge the blood of his brother, according to *AAA*, ii 522, tr. 698; by ʿAbd al-Ḳahhār Beg, son of Malik Sulṭān Ḥusayn, according to Yazdī fol. 73b; on Malik Bahman, see also Mīr Tīmūr Marʿashī, 273 ff.). Realising the futility of resistance, Malik Kay Khusraw, eldest son of Malik Bahman, surrendered. Shah ʿAbbās had commanded Muḥammad Beg Begdīlū Shāmlū to take possession of the *ḳalʿa* the brothers and the children of Malik Bahman, who were subsequently delivered to Malik Ḥusayn Lawāsānī; then he entrusted Lārīdjān as a *tiyūl* to a Ḳizilbāsh *ḥākim* (*AAA*, ii, 534-5 tr. 713-14). But the two Djahāngīrs of Rustamdār who had capitulated to Shāh ʿAbbās at the summer resort of Lār retained important functions: the Malik of Nūr was appointed governor of Sāwa; the Malik of Kudjūr at first retained his possessions as suzerain and became one of the trusted officers of Shāh ʿAbbās. Later, he rebelled as did other *maliks* of Rustamdār; their conspiracies were foiled and all were put to death. Thus was extinguished the power of the Pādusbānids (*ibid.*, 535-4, tr. 715 ff.).

The Ḳaṣrān-i dākhil and the summer resort (*yāylāḳ*) of the Lār were favourite haunts of the Ṣafawids. At the time when the Ḳizilbāsh *amīrs* enthroned Shah Ṭahmāsp I (931/1524-5), the *wakīl* Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū established his summer quarters at Lār, before marching on Khurāsān which had been invaded by the Uzbeks (*AAA*, i, 46, tr. 78). On many occasions, Shāh ʿAbbās visited the *yāylāḳ-i Lār* (*ibid.*, ii, 399, 452, 854).

Although the history of Māzandarān and of Ḳaṣrān is relatively well-documented from the time of the Ṣafawids to the present day, points of reference concerning the Lār and Lārīdjān do not become plentiful until the Ḳādjār period. Ṭahmāsp II lived for two years in Māzandarān (1137-9/1724-6), in particular in Lārīdjān where he was joined by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār, who became his *sipah-sālār* (Mahdjūrī, 110 ff.; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Mirʾāt al-buldān-i nāṣirī*, i 521). The chieftains of Lārīdjān and the potentates of Māzandarān took the side of the Zands against Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār Ḳoyūnlū. Sabz ʿAlī Khān, leader of the dignitaries of Lārīdjān, prevented him from going to Āmul; the misconduct of Walī Khān, the envoy of the Ḳādjār chief, led to the revolt of "the people of the mountain and of the plain", under the command of Muḳīm Khān Sārawī, Afshārid governor of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 123-4). After the death of Karīm Khān Zand (1193-1779), numerous Lārīdjānīs and Māzandarānīs allied themselves to Muṣṭafā Ḳulī Khān Ḳādjār, estranged brother of Āghā Muḥammad Khān (*ibid.*, 131). After defeating ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand and his coalition of Lārīdjānīs, Afghans and men from the Lur, Āghā Muḥammad Khān controlled the whole of Māzandarān and of Astarābād (end of 1194/1780). But in the conflicts in which he was continually at odds with his brothers, the Lārīdjānīs fought on the side of his enemies (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, Mihdī Ḳulī Khān: *ibid.*, 132-3). Captured and then set free by Āghā Muḥammad Khān, Riḍā Ḳulī Khān again rebelled. With his Lārīdjānī *tufangčīs* (musketeers), he captured Āghā Muḥammad Khān, who was set free on the intervention of Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān (*ibid.*, 133, Fasāʾī, i, 222; according to Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, i, 20-1, it was Djaʿfar Ḳulī Khān who liberated Āghā Muḥammad Khān). Beaten once more by the army of Astarābād, Riḍā Ḳulī Khān rallied to the cause of Ṣādiḳ Khān Zand. But

in 1196/1781-2, the Lārīdjānīs remained in the camp of the Zands. They joined forces with Amīr Gūna Khān, sent by ʿAlī Murād Khān to Māzandarān, on whom Āghā Muḥammad Khān inflicted a crushing defeat at Sabze Maydān: the cruelty of the Ḳādjār *khān* towards the Lārīdjānīs has remained proverbial in the region (Fasāʾī, i, 223; Mahdjūrī, 134). But in 1198/1783-4, Shaykh Ways Khān Zand, son of ʿAlī Murād, asserted his control over the whole of Māzandarān, Fīrūz-kūh, Lārīdjān and Rustamdar (i.e. Nūr u Kudjūr), Fasāʾī, i 224-5. The following year, Āghā Muḥammad Khān was obliged to recapture Māzandarān before proceeding to take possession of Tehran.

Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48), the *khān* of Lārīdjān enjoyed a quasi-independence. This semi-autonomy was founded upon control of the principal economic thoroughfare between Māzandarān and Tehran "in a fairly subtle equilibrium of forces and of services rendered with the sovereign who ruled not far from there" (de Planhol, 19, with reference to Aucher-Eloy, Thompson, d'Arcy Todd). Ask was at that time the local capital of the province. ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān Lārīdjānī Sartīp (later Sardār) possessed a fine palace there (Buhse 229-30). This prince of Lārīdjān set about maintaining order in the region. He made himself a valuable ally of the Ḳādjār authority and of the *ʿulamāʾ* by quelling the Bābī insurrection [see BĀBĪS] of Mullā Ḥusayn Djināb-i Bāb al-Bāb at Shaykh Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrisī in 1265/1849 (see Mīrzā Ḥusayn Hamadānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djadīd*, tr. E.G. Browne, London 1893, 52-3, 67 ff., and index; Mahdjūrī, 165 ff.). ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān at that time occupied the highest rank among the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 176). The following year, he helped to re-establish order in Fārs with his Lārīdjānī horsemen; he entrusted the government of Kuhgīlūya and of Bihbahān to his Lārīdjānī officers and acted himself in the role of administrator (*ʿāmil*): Fasāʾī, i, 306-7. The prosperity of Lārīdjān is again indicated in 1860 (Brugsch, i, 295) and in 1862 (de Philippi, 256-9). At the start of the journey of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to Māzandarān, in 1283/1866, ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān presented himself to the *istiḳbāl* with all the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 177). Although the decline of the town of Ask became a constant process, at the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's second visit to Māzandarān (1292/1875-6), Lārīdjān retained a degree of prosperity and still had its dignitaries (including *ʿulamāʾ* and *sayyids*): Mahdjūrī, 181 ff. But in 1875 an Italian general had under his command in Tehran a regiment recruited in Lārīdjān (von Call-Rosenburg, 142, quoted by de Planhol, 19, n. 23).

The last important figure of Lārīdjān in the Ḳādjār period was Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān, son of ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān. Surnamed Amīr-i Mukarram, he was a senior functionary at the court of the Ḳādjārs. Outside Lārīdjān, he exercised jurisdiction over numerous villages of Āmul. During the upheavals of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11), he was appointed governor of Astarābād and encountered hostility from members of the local *andjuman* (Mahdjūrī, 249). At the time of the dismissal of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1327/1909), he was obliged to confront his kinsman Amīr-i Aʿẓam Sangsarī and his coalition of religious activists and of Bakhtiyārīs. Amīr-i Aʿẓam plundered the treasures of Amīr Mukarram at Ask and carried them off to Tehran. In the course of a second expedition of Āmīr-i Aʿẓam to Lārīdjān, a large number of Bakhtiyārīs were killed (including their leader Imām Ḳulī Khān), *ibid.*, 258 ff. Although succeeding in retaining some of his influence, Amīr Mukar[...] Lārīdjānī was exiled to Kirmānshāh by Wu[...] al-Dawla in 1337/1918-9 (*ibid.*, 295). Under [...] Shāh Pahlavī, his possessions as well as nume[...] villages of Kasrān and Māzandarān became [...] property of the crown (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa*), pl[...] under the jurisdiction of officers who, in their t[...] oppressed the villagers (*ibid.*, 326-7).

The predilection of the Ḳādjārs for the sum[...] resort of the Lār led to the development of ro[...] especially transversal routes linking the wi[...] and summer palaces of the Tehran region. [...] modernisation of arterial routes towards Lār [...] Lārīdjān was pursued by the Pahlavīs (Karī[...] *Kaṣrān*, 165 ff.).

3. *Other Lārs.*

Besides Lār in Fārs (Lāristān) and Lārīdjān, [...] toponym Lār and its variants are widely atteste[...] the Iranian lands. Within the present-day front[...] the following are to be noted (after *DG*):

village	*shahristān*	*DG*
Lār	Sāwa	i, 196
Laridjān	Maḥallāt	i, 197
Lār	Zandjān	ii, 268
Lār-i Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān	Zandjān	ii, 269
Lār-sar	Fūmīn	ii, 268
(Lārmā)	Sārī	iii, 266
(Lārīm)	Shāhī	iii, 267
Lār	Bihbahān	vi, 325
Lār	Čāh Bahār	viii, 38[...]
(Lār-hang)	Sabzawār	ix, 374

Lārak is alleged to be the name of a localit[...] Hazārdjarīb (Rabino, 124).

The gorge (*tanga*) of Lārīdj on the northern s[...] of the Elburz in Māzandarān is known for its depo[...] of iron ore (*Lughat-nāma-i Dihkhudā*, after Kayh[...] *Djughrāfiyā-yi iḳtiṣādī*, 259-60). A Larān ex[...] in Badakhshān (Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, [...] n. 1). A gorge called Lār is mentioned in Kash[...] [*q.v.*] (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾri*[...] *Rashīdī*, tr. Elias and Ross, London 1895, repr. 1[...] 423, n. 3).

According to Minorsky, Lāf(i)djān/Lāhidjān, [...] hidjān are variants of Lār (*Lāhīdjān*, in *EI*[1]; *Ḥu*[...] 407 ff.) Lāhīdjān and its variants are widely [...] presented in Gīlān and elsewhere, (in Ādharbāyd[...] in Fārs, in Dāghistān, etc.: Minorsky, *ibid.*; [...] also W. Eilers in *Ar O*, xiii [1954], n. 174).

Variants of Lār have led to some confusions. T[...] although Yāḳūt (iv, 340-1) has established a [...] tinction between "Lārdjān" and "Lāriz", atten[...] have been made to discern in the latter topo[...] the arabised form of Lārīdjān (Marquart, 127, 1[...] Lāriz is presented sometimes as a district of Ṭ[...] ristān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 3[...] sometimes as a village provided with a fortres[...] two days' distance from Āmul, on which it is [...] pendent (Yāḳūt, iv, 341); its prominent citi[...] are known by the *nisba* of al-Lārizī (Yāḳūt, Samʿ[...] According to Rabino (130), Lāriz is probably La[...] a village in the district of Āmul, better known[...] the name of Ḳalʿa Lāriz.

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(J. Calmard)

LĀR, LĀRISTĀN, a Persian toponym which, in various forms (Lār, Lād, Lādh, Lāz, Alār, etc.) denotes an important town of Fārs and its surrounding region (Lār and Lāristān), an island and an islet in the Persian Gulf, and various villages and a region of pastures in southern Persia (Lār and Laridjān).

1. The town of Lār (lat. 27° 42′ N., long. 54° 20′ E.) is the chef-lieu of a *shahristān* (which has become a *farmāndārī*; see *Lāristān*, below) of the province of Fārs (*ustān-i Fārs*). It is situated on one of the roads connecting Shīrāz [*q.v.*] with the Persian Gulf ports and the Sea of ʿUmān (Daryā-yi ʿUmān), 366 km. from Shīrāz, 306 km. from Bandar Linga [*q.v.*] and 259 km. from Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Lār is an old station on the caravan route (9th-12th/15th-18th centuries), and lies at a height of 909 m. in a moderately mountainous region (*ca.* 1,000 to 2,000 m. high). Because of the region's aridity, the town's drinking water comes from wells and from cisterns for collecting rain-water (*birkas*). For irrigation, a network of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] is used. Unlike other towns in Fārs, and despite earthquakes, Lār has retained relatively well its former appearance, e.g. in its wind-towers (*bād-gīrs* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), its labyrinths of streets, alleys, etc. Only a single new avenue, the Khiyābān-i Himmat, crosses the town from north to south. The most interesting monuments comprise:

(1) The stone-built fortress Azhdahā Paykar ("having a dragon's body") which dominates the town from a rocky spur. According to legend, its well contains an army and treasures belonging to the Ḳā'im-i Āl-i Muḥammad (see the extracts from the *Tuḥfat al-gharā'ib*, ms. of the B.L., Or. 10999, ed. J. Aubin in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, vi/2-3 [1337/1958], 177). The ancient castle of the kingdom of Lār is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake in 1593 (the ruins are mentioned by 17th century European travellers; see Calmard, 150). The region is full of fortified places, in particular, at Girāsh, most of them in ruins (on the *ḳalʿas* of Lār, see the *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd*, ed. Aubin, in *ibid.*, 174).

(2) The Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya ("imperial market") which forms, with the caravanserais surrounding it, a remarkable architectural ensemble. This is a covered bazaar of the *čahār sūḳ* type (i.e. cruciform, with four streets for merchants and artisans, or four sides), with an almost-square plan (117 m. E.-W., 124 m. N.-S.). It is built out of dressed masonry covered with stucco. Its dome (*ṭāḳ, gunbad*) is 18 m. high, and has a *bād-gīr* providing fresh air and ventilation. Inscriptions indicate various dates of building or reconstruction: under Shāh ʿAbbās in 1014/1605-6, by Ḥādjdjī Ḳanbar ʿAlī Beg Dhu 'l-Ḳadr (see Fasā'ī, ii, 283), and under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1300/1882-3, by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, governor of Fārs. This *bāzār* was allegedly the model of the Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya of Iṣfahān (built 1029/1620) and of the Bāzār-i Wakīl of Shīrāz (see Allāh Ḳulī Islāmī, *Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya-yi Lār*, in *Hunar wa Mardum*, no. 139 [1353/1974], 70-3; this article makes no mention of the evidence from European travellers of the Ṣafawid period, for which see Calmard, 154, and below).

(3) The Masdjid-i Djumʿa, for which we have no exact, historical description. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions a dervish convent (*zāwiya*, i.e. *khānaḳāh*) of the famous Shaykh Abū Dulaf Muḥammad. At the opening of the 17th century, there was situated near the Ḳayṣariyya bazaar "a very great mosque, the only one of the town"; it contained the marble tomb of a saint constructed "in a fine court outside the mosque" (Rebelo, 109). A marble *miḥrāb* of Gudjrātī style, allegedly dating from the 8th/14th century

Map 1. The routes from Shīrāz to the Gulf via Lār (1638-1706). (After Jacqueline Calmard, *Les routes de Chiraz au Golfe Persique.*)

1. *Shīrāz-Lār-Bandar ʿAbbāsī*

Mandelslo	1638, February
Basting de Oude	1645, March
La Boullaye-Le-Gouz	1649, March
De Bourges	1661, October
Tavernier	1665, March
Thévenot	1665, March
Struys	1672, March
Chardin	1674, March
Melton	1675, September
Fryer	1677, January
Fryer	1678, October
Van Leenen	1701, April
De Bruijn	1705, August-September

2. *Bandar ʿAbbāsī-Lār-Shīrāz*

De Bourges	1661, May
Tavernier	1665, September
Thévenot	1665, September
Pétis de la Croix	1674, July
Fryer	1676, June
Fryer	1678, May
De Bruijn	1706, October

3. *Shīrāz-Lār-Bandar Kung*

Gemelli Carreri	1694, September
Morelli	1694, October
Pereira Fidalgo	1697, June
F. M. di San Siro	1697, June

4. *Bandar Kung-Lār-Shīrāz*

P. de la S. Trinité	1640, March.
Hedges	1685, July
Pereira Fidalgo	1696, July-August

and coming from Lār, is preserved in the Fārs Museum at Shīrāz. This *miḥrāb* poses an historical problem; was it brought to Persia in its present state? And were the inscriptions on it added in Persia? (see R. Howard, *The Lar mihrab*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, ix [April 1976], 24-5, with a photograph which does not permit the decipherment of the inscriptions).

Lār is divided into 14 quarters (*kuy*). Like most modern Persian towns, it now takes in several suburban areas. It has all the organs of civil administration, a military garrison, schools (a *dabīristān* and four *dabistāns*) and an airport (to the south-east of the town). Although the climate of Lār is relatively more tolerable than that of the Gulf coasts, various illnesses are rife there, in particular trachoma and filiarosis, both for long endemic in the region. The demography of the town has followed the evolving of the natural conditions and the historical and economic vicissitudes of the region (see below).

2. Lāristān. *Geographical sketch.* As a province of southern Persia on the Shīrāz—Bandar ʿAbbās axis, Lāristān is generally reckoned as part of the *garmsīrāt* or warm regions of Fārs, with which it was integrated at the opening of the 11th/17th century. Since its influence spread over the neighbouring regions (see Map 2), its natural borders have fluctuated. In general, they may be fixed as follows. In the north-east and north, the old regions of Sabʿa (centred on Furg) and of the Shabānkāra (centred on Īdj, now Iṣṭahbānāt; Lāristān takes in Djūyum, to the south of the Dārāb). In the east, along a line passing half-way between Djahrum and Djūyum and connecting with the Gulf littoral in the region of Gawbandī (embracing the lands of Bīd Shahr, Khundj, ʿAlāmarwdasht and Galladār). In the south, the Gulf littoral (ports and islands of the Gulf of ʿUmān, embracing Lashtān, from Cape

Map 2. Lāristān and its dependencies in the 19th century, after the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*.

number	*nāḥiya*	*ḳaṣaba*	number of villages	position in relationship to Lār
1	Bīkha-yi Aḥshām*	Bayram	10	west
2	Bīkha-yi Fāl*	Ashkanān	10	south-west
3	Bīd Shahr	(Bīd Shahr)	23	north-west
4	Djūyum	(Djūyum)	15	north-west
5	Djahāngīriyya/Djuhūngīra	Bastak	30	south
6	Khundj	(Khundj)	29	north-west
7	Shīb-Kūh-i Lāristān	Bandar Čārak	41	south
8	Fūmistān-i Lāristān**	Gawbandī	13	south-west
9	Kawristān/Kaūristān	(Kashshī)	4	east
10	Linga	Bandar Linga	12	south-east
11	Mazā'idjān	(Izad-khʷāst)	6	north-east
12	Muḍāfāt-i Shahr-i Lār	Lār	34	central
13	ʿAlā-marw-dasht	(ʿAlā-marw-dasht)	?	west
14	Fāl-u-Galladār	(Galladār)	43	west
15	Sabʿa-u-Furg	(Furg)	(7 *bulūks*)	north-east

* Bīkha, meaning a steep-sided valley, derived from *bīkh*, "river-bed", in Lāristānī (Iḳtidārī, *Farhang*).
** Fūmistān, from *fūm*, meaning "corn" in vernacular Persian.

Nāband to Bandar ʿAbbās. In the east, Kawristān. In former times, certain adjoining regions (such as Furg, Ṭārum and Hurmuz) have been on occasion attached to Fārs, on others to Kirmān; Kawristān/Kawuristān was taken over by the Shabānkāra in the 7th/13th century (see below, on history).

As noted by numerous travellers, this region has distinct geographical features. Nevertheless, it has never formed the object of detailed geological studies; as in regard to archaeology (see below), only the peripheral zones have been studied. The region is situated to the south of the main spine of the Zagros (the "Main Zagros thrust line", according to A. Ruttner and J. Stöcklin, in *Bull. Amer. Assoc. of Petroleum Geologists* [1968]), i.e. on the edge of the Arabian formation-level which juts forth a salient into the region of Bandar ʿAbbās. In certain marginal zones belonging to the Cretaceous period there are included some Eocene period formations, such as the "Ginau series" (at Kūh-i Ginaw; see Pilgrim [1924], 59 ff.). The autochthonous, marginal folds which make up the mountainous terrain which is characteristic of Lāristān are clearly marked out. With their east-west orientation, they are made up from a basis of an epicontinental sedimentation; their composition (calcareous rocks, marls and gypsums) suggests the existence of fairly shallow seas. In their immediate vicinity are often found domes of salt, generally considered as being of Cambrian origin. The main concentration of these domes of salt is located in one part and another of a line connecting Lār and Bandar ʿAbbās (see J. V. Harri-

son, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 179 with map). These marginal folds are closed on the south by the Kūh-i Khamīr (opposite the island of Kishm [*q.v.*]), which is made up of calcareous rocks described as "foetid or putrid" (hippuritic limestone) belonging to the structure bearing the special name of the "Khamīr series" (see Pilgrim [1924], 15, 60). The "Hurmuz series", conglomerates of rock found on the peripheries of most of these salt domes, stretch as far east as Ṭārum and Kirmān and possibly further in to Lāristān (Pilgrim classes them as Jurassic, *ibid.*, 16, and Harrison as Cambrian, *ibid.*, 115).

The orography of the region is characterised by a relief which is lower than elsewhere in Fārs (especially along the axes Shīrāz-Bushire and Shīrāz-Bandar Ṭāhirī) or further to the east in Makrān. Along the Djahrum-Lār road, the highest point is 2,100 m., and only along the edges of Lāristān is the 3,000 m. mark passed (Kūh-i Furgūn, 3,280 m.). Elsewhere, heights are more usually between, 1,000 and 2,000 m. Lāristān suffers from frequent earthquakes, some of which have been described or noted by chroniclers and travellers; six have been counted between 1953 and 1960. In 1960, one of them caused much destruction and numerous casualties at Lār and Girāsh (see photographs in the *National Geographic Magazine* [Jan. 1961], 68-9). The hydrography of Lāristān is very clearly marked by aridity. Except along the margins, snow does not remain long in winter, and the rainfall is feeble (at the most, 100-200 mm. per annum). The water intended for consumption or for irrigation is frequently brackish (see below). The rivers with a regular flow are very erratic; rainstorms gouge out ravines across crossing-routes, and floods are often the cause of catastrophes. The most important river—known, with local variants, as the Rūd-Khāna-yi Shūr Mihrān runs from west to east, from the *dihistān* of Farāmarzān to Bandar Khamīr. It is totally useless for agriculture; its flow is very feeble, and it can be forded at all seasons (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, 208).

The region has a sub-tropical climate, hot and humid along the coasts, arrid and torrid in the interior (see A. H. Adle, *Regions climatiques et végétation en Iran*, Tehran 1960, Persian text 40-1, Fr. text 8-9). Although certain traces of a continental climate may be felt at Lār (untouched by the monsoons), the variations of daytime and nocturnal temperature are small, and towards the Gulf, the temperatures become torrid (Calmard, 94 ff.). Winter cold is only met with along the Lār-Djahrum route. In Lār, the houses are cooled by *bād-gīrs* (*ibid.*, 95), and beyond Kawristān, a drying wind called *bād-i samūm* ("poisonous") blows (*ibid.*, 97). There is a great contrast between the plains of the littoral affected by the monsoons (with a hot and humid climate) and the upland regions (mountains, elevated plains and desolate plateaux) of the interior which have a dry climate, with mild winters and very hot summers. The palm-groves of the interior offer, however, shelter for the coastal peoples at the period of greatest heat.

Socio-religious aspects. The story of the population of Lāristān is an extremely complex one. Heterogeneous groups have been subsequently added to an ancient Iranian stratum of agriculturists and pastoralists. Elements described as Mongol were still in course of sedentarisation in the Kurbāl district at the end of the 7th/13th century (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 24). The presence of Turkmens, who intervened in the affairs of Lār at the beginning of the 14th century, presents an historical problem (*ibid.*, 496, and below). From the 10th/16th century onwards, travellers mention the presence of numerous nomads. Kashkāʾī groups spent the winter in the Khundj district (*Le Fars*, 17, 21). Some Bahārlū had become sedentarised and lived in tents on the plain of Yazd-i Khʷāst (*ibid.*, 27). Some Bāṣirī spent the winter in the districts of Sarwistān and Kurbāl, and some Nafar occasionally passed the winter in Lāristān (*ibid.*, 31-2). Some nomadic or semi-nomadic families (*tīra*) of Turkish origin have been recorded at Durz, Sāyibān, Karmūsta(dj), Ṣaḥrā-yi Bāgh, Ashkanān, Bīd Shahr and Djūyum; and some Arabs and Bāṣirī at Djūyum, Harm, Kāriyān and Bīd Shahr (see the names in Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209; Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 15). There are sedentary Arab elements along the coasts, at Bandar ʿAbbās, at Bandar Linga (Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] known locally as Djawāsim) and in the interior (notably the Djahāngīriyya/Djuhūngīra, cf. the *shaykhs* of Bastak). The Banyans, Hindu merchants also called Multānīs (numerous at Bandar ʿAbbās and at Bandar Kung in the Ṣafawid period), used to play an outstanding commercial role, and there are still residual groups of Hindus in Lāristān. There used to exist an important Jewish community at Lār, Gilār, Djahrum and Hurmuz, and Lār was a centre of Hebraic learning. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, a Jew from Lār became a convert to Islam, assumed the name of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lārī and secured from the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* the putting-into-force of discriminatory measures against the Jews. These measures were incorporated in a code to be applied to all the Jews of Persia, who had to wear special, distinctive clothing (a hat or piece of coloured cloth), and they underwent various persecutions under ʿAbbās I and his successors. In the 19th century, there were massacres, forcible conversions, expulsions, etc., and the Jews of Lār, Djahrum, Fasā, etc. emigrated to Shīrāz (the main items of bibliography about the Jews of Lār are to be found in L. Loeb, *The Jews of Southwest Iran, a study of cultural persistence*, diss. Columbia University 1970, 31 ff., with translations of the "restrictionary codes", Appx. I, and chronological lists of intimidatory measures, Appx. II; on Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lārī, see also Ḥabīb Liwī (Levy), *Taʾrīkh-i Yahūd-i Īrān*, Tehran 1339/1960, iii, 224 ff.).

Islam in Lāristān was notable for the preponderant influence of the Sunnī *ṭarīḳas* or dervish orders: the Isḥāḳiyya/Murshidiyya, the Dānyāliyya (at Khundj and Lār), the Banī ʿAbbāsī (at Bastak), etc. The Twelver Shīʿism imposed by the Ṣafawids only succeeded in implanting itself in Lāristān to a partial extent, and numerous troubles broke out in the post-Ṣafawid period, in the 18th and 19th centuries (see Aubin, *Les sunnites du Lārestān*, and below). The dichotomy thus created remains very apparent today, since the greater part of the urban and village communities are in majority Shāfiʿī Sunnīs. The sedentary Arabs of southern Lāristān are Sunnīs. Amongst the tribal groups, it appears that today, only the Turkish tribes are both nomadic and Shīʿīs (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 157 n. 8). Non-Islamic practices have been noted among the peoples of African origin along the coasts and in the islands (see below, on Lārak).

The population structure has been heavily affected by natural factors: earthquakes, floods, droughts, polluted water sources, locust-plagues, etc. These last have been the cause of dearths and illnesses: ophthalmia (from the sand storms), malaria, dysentery,

and above all the filiarosis peculiar to Lāristān, caused by a parasite present in particular in the stagnant water of cisterns, the guinea-worm or *Filaria medinensis*, *payaw/piyūk* in Persian and *peve* in Lāristān (see Iḳtidārī, *Farhang*, 67). Accidents of history have also been the cause of depopulation (destructions, sackings, massacres, exoduses, deportations, etc.). Despite the relative economic florescence of the region during the 14th-18th centuries, the Lārīs have continued to emigrate, above all towards Muslim India, where they have served in the army and in the administration.

Taking into account the lack of preciseness in the evidence, the demography of the region as a whole is difficult to delineate. The only data which are even a little sure concern the town of Lār itself, and these are given below (unless there is an indication to the contrary, these items of information pertain to the town or the urban agglomeration of Lār; one should reckon 6 persons per family or household): 4,000 heads of families in 1523 (Tenreiro); 4,000 households in 1638 (Mandelslo); 50,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 18th century (English estimate); 15,000 inhabitants in 1808 (a figure given to Dupré, who found it exaggerated); 1,200 households in 1881 (information given to Stack, who estimated the population at 6,000 inhabitants); 2,500 families (1913); 11,656 inhabitants (*ca.* 1950); 14,188 inhabitants (1956); 17,000 inhabitants (1960 estimate). In 1966, the *s̲h̲ahristān* comprised 137,303 inhabitants and the town of Lār 37,198. The preliminary results of the 1976 census (the only information so far published) deal only with the *s̲h̲ahristān* of Lār, and give a population of 183,369, 52,465 being urban and 130,904 rural dwellers.

Language and literatures. In addition to Persian, Arabic (spoken on the coasts) and Turkish, Lāristān has its own particular dialect, which has been used by popular poets of the region; their verses have been partly gathered together in written form and studied (see the references in Minorsky's *EI*[1] article). Some proverbs in *lāristānī* have been published (Iḳtidārī, in *FIZ*, xi/2-3 [1333/1954], 233-53), as well as vocabularies: K. Kamioka and M. Yamada, *Larestani studies. i. Lari basic vocabulary*, Tokyo 1979 (not seen). Some works in Judaeo-Persian have been written at Lār, which must have been the centre for a school of scribes, translators, copyists, etc. (see Loeb, *op. cit.*, 49 ff.). The fate of the Jews of Lār has been put into Persian verses (mixed with dialectal terms) by the Jewish poets (on whom see Ḥabīb Liwī, *op. cit.*, 270-1), notably by Bābāʾī Luṭf Kās̲h̲ānī and Bābāʾī Farhād Kās̲h̲ānī (cited at length by Liwī, 224 ff.).

Numerous littérateurs originally from Lāristān have written in Persian in all the literary genres: poetry, grammar, philosophy, mysticism, *fiḳh*, historiography, etc. (see the lists cited by Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ms. India Off. Libr., cat. Ethé, i, 397, fol. 111a-b; Fasāʾī, ii, 284 ff.; Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 135-203. To these one should add Nīmdihī, a writer of the 9th/15th century, on whom see Aubin, in *REI* [1967], 61-81; Karāmatī [idem, *Les sunnites du Lārestān*, 155]; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Faḳīhī [*ibid.*, 170 n. 1]; etc.).

Economic aspects. Though generally considered as one of the poorest regions of Persia, Lāristān is not without natural resources. Sulphur is found in many places, and is fairly easily exploitable: in the coastal regions, at Bustāna (to the west of Bandar Linga) and at K̲h̲amīr (to the east of Bandar Linga); in the interior, at Karmūsta(d̲j̲), to the south-east of Lār, etc. In the 19th century, the sulphur mines of Lāristān were quite productive (see Pilgrim [1908], 155 ff., [1921], 343 ff.). Gypsum (*gač*) is frequent everywhere, and is easily exploitable along the littoral (Pilgrim [1908], 157-8). The iron ore and the salt of the "Hurmuz series" are more difficult to exploit. There is also some copper, unexploited, at "Karmoussah" = Karmūsta(d̲j̲), see Dupré, i, 431. Saltpetre, taken from nitrous lands and abundant in the region of Lār, yields material for gunpowder (at Girās̲h̲, to the east of Lār; Dupré, *loc. cit.*). On the minerals of Lāristān, see also Fasāʾī, ii, 338-9. After having been famous for its bows (see below), Lār was also famed for its firearms (Calmard, 157). Various manufactories existed at Evaz (*ca.* 30 km. north-east of Lār; see Dupré, *loc. cit.*; Karāmatī, 48-9).

The natural vegetation covering is fairly meagre. However, Lāristān is relatively well-wooded. There are to be found varieties of tamarisk, acacias, conifers (Adle, *op. cit.*, 10), and the jujube tree (*kunār*) is also to be found. The *gaz* wood, which is very hard and solid, is used for cabinet-making and for timber framing. Various spiny shrubs, such as the *kahūr*, are enjoyed by camels. The region falls completely within the date-palm zone, which is cultivated in the oases of the interior. The date harvest occupies a seasonal work-force, and as well as dates, cotton, tobacco (of good quality) and mustard are grown and exported (*Le Fars*, 163). In some places, opium poppies, sesame, etc. are cultivated. On the stony plains between Lār and Bandar ʿAbbās, asafoetida, the exudation from the roots of certain varieties of *Ferula foetida*, used in the pharmacopeia as far as in Europe, is gathered (Calmard, 115-16). Amongst products of an animal origin, the "bezoar" has been noted (see below). One should also note the raising of and trafficking in camels (Dupré, i, 441; *Le Fars*, 163); a similar trade in horses, exported to India (see below); and one in sheep, whose skins were the subject of an extensive trade throughout all of Lāristān (Dupré, i, 453).

The basic problem remains that of water-supply. The water from wells and watercourses is most often brackish. Cisterns for rain water (*birkas*), in various patterns (hexagonal, circular, etc.), are to be found in all the inhabited spots and at road stages. Except in certain regions of the north, in particular at those of D̲j̲ūyum and K̲h̲und̲j̲, where irrigation by *ḳanāts*, wells (*gāvčāhs*) and springs is found, dry farming is generally done (*daymī*, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209). In the date-palm oases of the interior, these are often consumed on the spot. In addition to dates, the food supply comes, according to local possibilities, from cereals, products of market-gardening, citrous fruits, specimens of the gourd family, milk products (cows, goats, sheep), poultry, etc. Travellers have noticed the abundance of game (ibexes, mouflons, partridges, quails) and the excellent truffles of Lār. On occasion, grasshoppers are also appreciated (Calmard, 120-1). Along the coasts and elsewhere in Lāristān, fish is fed to animals, including to camels, asses and even to bovines and sheep (*ibid.*, 124). There is a condiment, peculiar to the region, made from a fish base and spices (*māhiāba* or *māyāba*, called *mahva* in Lāristānī; see Iḳtidārī, *Farhang*, 203-4, and Fasāʾī, ii, 283, where its making is described).

As well as the making of arms, local products include cotton cloths and carpets (*gilīms*, *ḳālīs*). Except in period of disturbance, the agro-pastoral sedentary and the nomadic economies complement

each other (i.e. exchange of agricultural products and manufactured goods for the products of stock-rearing, carpets, etc.).

The economy of Lāristān was relatively prosperous in the 9th/15th to the 12th/18th centuries, but suffered in the post-Ṣafawid disturbances and the interruption and ending of international trade (see below). The profession of caravaneer (coupled with the rearing of camels, mules, asses, etc.) used to occupy an important proportion of both the town and rural population. From this economic activity in the past, the people of Lāristān have retained an interest in the commerical life; one meets, above all along the Gulf shores, numerous peddlers (*pīlawars*). Also, the profession of arms (cf. the famous *tufangčis*) has continued to attract a good number of Lārīs.

Historical evolution. Lāristān or the land of Lār does not emerge clearly in Persian history till the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Until then—apart from a few sparse items of information about the neighbouring regions or about certain small places (Yāḳūt speaks of "Djuwaym Abī Aḥmad", i.e. Djūyum)—its past belongs almost exclusively to the little-known history of the kingdom of Lār. There are doubts concerning the localisation of this last according to mythical or legendary history. Minorsky (*EI*[1] art. *Lār*) proposed to equate it with the land of the dragon Haftān Bokht (or the *Haftvād* of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*) which Ardashīr Pāpakān killed. This dragon is said to have lived in the village of Alār in the *rustāḳ* of Kodjārān, one of the *rustāḳs* bordering on the Gulf of the province of Ardashīr Khurra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 820). The variants Gulār (*Kārnāmak*, tr. Nöldeke, 50), Kočārān (*ibid.*) or Kudjārān (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v, 308) do not help in identifying it. Alār is the name of an island (see below); Kudjār, in the *bulūk* of Galladār (Fasā'ī, *Fihrist*), borders on Lāristān (of which it forms part, in the large sense). At the present day, one finds several villages in Lāristān whose names might well be variants of Gulār (Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 46 n. 2; Gilār belongs to the *bakhsh* of Djūyum, Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 202). But there is also a Kulār in the *shahristān* of Bū-shahr (*ibid.*, 187), a Kūlār in the *bulūk* of Čahār nāḥiya (Fasā'ī, *Fihrist*), etc.

Thus the localisation of the land of the dragon Haftvād within the imprecise borders of Ardashīr Khurra (also called Īrāhistān) remains problematical. Moreover, a legend which could have some basis of genuineness places the home of Haftvād in the region of Bam (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 3). The place-name Marak-i Lārān appears in the *Bundahishn* (D. Monchizadeh, *Topographische-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos*, Wiesbaden 1975, 141). A village called Lār exists in the *shahristān* of Čāh Bahār (in the old *ustān* of Kirmān wa Makrān), populated by Sunnī Balūčīs (pop. 220 in *ca.* 1950, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, viii, 383).

According to a *bayt* attributed to Firdawsī (lacking in the known editions of the *Shāh-nāma*, but cited in the *Burhān-i ḳāṭi'*, whence Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Lād*; Fasa'ī, ii, 283, etc.), the town or region of "Lād" was allegedly "given" to Gurgīn Mīlād by the Kayānid Kay-Khusraw when he renounced the world and distributed the Persian lands to his dignitaries. The passage from *d* to *r* is found in Armenian, in Tātī (Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. *Lār*; J. Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes*, i, 73) and in various Iranian dialects (see G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 156). Previously, Lād seems to have had another name (*AAA*, tr. Savory, ii, 807).

According to a legend as generally current in southern Persia as in Lāristān, the people of Lār in Fārs are said to have come from Lār at Damāwand (see Lār and Lāridjān), whose cold climate in winter they were unable to endure (Fasā'ī, ii, 281 ff.). Although one can hardly use this legend as historical material, there are toponymical resemblances between the two places: Kūh-i Alburz in both places (to the south-east of Djahrum in Lāristān); a defile (*gardana*) Kulūn-i Bastak of Lār at Damāwand (Lāridjān) and the settlement of Bastak in Lāristān (Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 47, n. 4; Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 6).

According to another tradition, the foundation of Lār came from one Balash (Valakhsh), son of Fīrūz (Pērōz), see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209, and Dihkhudā, *LN*, s.v. Lār.

Archaeological information gives us only very imprecise material on the past of Lāristān. Investigations have revealed numerous "Sāsānid" traces, above all in the western border district. On Galladār (formerly Khundjūfāl), see Sir Aurel Stein, *Archaeological reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran*, London 1937, 213-25; on the *čahār-ṭāḳs* of Kāriyān and of Maḥallča, near Fishvar, see L. Vanden Berghe, in *Iranica Antiqua*, i (1961), drawing, 196, and maps; Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 3; idem, *Survie de Shilāu*; and for an archaeological survey in southern Lāristān, see Stein, in *GJ*, lxxxiii/2 (1934), 130 ff.

The list of princes of Lār, from Gurgīn Mīlād up to the 16th century, has been partially reconstructed by J. Aubin from the Ṣafawid sources (above all, from Ghaffārī, *Djahān-ārā*, ms. B.L. Or. 141, Add. 7649/1; Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ms. I.O.L. (cat. Ethé, i, 397) and ms. B.N. Paris, Suppl. persan, 357; Ḥasan Beg, *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*, ms. B.L. Or. 1649; Münedjdjim-Bashī's *Ṣaḥā'if al-akhbar* (cf. Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 69-71) add nothing to this list, which replaces that of Minorsky in *EI*[1] art., based on a single ms. of the *Djahān-ārā*). Information on this princely family only becomes reliable after 594/1198. Between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries fifteen *amīrs* followed each other, son succeeding father. But the list has some vague points; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's evidence (according to him, the sultan of Lār was a Turkmen and not a descendant of Mīlād) and that of other sources does not tally. Also, the chronology becomes uncertain for the last five reigns, in the 10/16th century, *Lar médiévale*, 496 ff.).

As Aubin has pointed out, the problem of the "rise" of Lār in the 13th and 14th centuries can only be approached indirectly, as a reflex of the establishment of a new route Hurmuz-Lār-Shīrāz (*op. cit.*, 491). This particular problem is connected with the more general one of the evolution of the maritime outlets of Fārs and Kirmān. The ruin of Sīrāf (5th/11th century) and its problematical survival linked to the development of the island of Ḳays/Kīsh [see ḲAYS] (6th-8th/12th-14th centuries) caused an eastwards displacement of the ports and routes of the Persian Gulf. New towns grew up in the *garmsīrāt* of Fārs: first of all Fāl/Bāl, a place to which the Sīrāfīs, menaced by the Gulf pirates and the tribes of the interior, could fall back, and then Khundj, situated at the crossroads of the *garm-sīrāt* routes, on the Ḳays-Shīrāz axis and the transversal axis towards Lār and Hurmuz. In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, a complicated play of interests brought the various socio-economic small groups and local powers into conflict. Around 700/1300, the dervishes of Khundj secured from the Ṭībī merchants the cession of the isle of Djarūn to the princes of Hurmuz,

and these last acknowledged them till the time of the Portuguese domination (Aubin, *Princes d'Ormuz*, 94-5; *Survie de Shilāu*, 26). Around 700/1300 also Ḳays was occupied by the Ormuzis, and henceforth, the international transit trade via Hurmuz and the Ḳays-Shīrāz route was abandonned.

Although Lār is described in the 8th/14th century as a prosperous town (by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see below), it does not seem to have played any important political role nor to have excited the envy of its neighbours in mediaeval Persia. The sole exception to this state of affairs seems to have been the annexation in the 7th/13th century of Lār by the Shabānkāra, its northern neighbours who controlled eastern Fārs and who had spread into Kirmān. According to Aubin (*Lar médiévale*, 499-500), this involved an episode in the fight between the Shabānkāra and Salghurid Fārs. From the beginning of his reign, the Salghurid Abū Bakr b. Saʿd (628-58/1231-60) began a policy of dominating the Gulf. In this kind of race to the sea, he clashed with other local powers: Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shabānkāraʾī and, over control of the island of Ḳays, the prince of Hurmuz. It was probably in 628/1230-1 that Muẓaffar al-Dīn seized Lār; the territories annexed extended to the Gulf shores (not precisely delimited in the west, but to Kawristān, the frontier with the kingdom of Hurmuz, in the east, see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 500). Lār's orientation towards the Gulf and its prosperity in the 8th/14th century are confirmed by various sources. Mustawfī —who does not use the term Lāristān but that of *wilāyat-i kinār-i daryā* "region along the sea-coast"— says that most of its inhabitants are merchants who travel by sea and land, and corn, dates and cotton are grown there (*Nuzha*, 139, tr. 138). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's words, who visited Lāristān (probably in 748/1347), pose certain problems, especially in regard to dating (see I. Hrbek, in *ArO*, xxx [1962], 446 ff., and Aubin's remarks, *Survie de Shilāu*, 23, n. 20, 29, n. 68, 31, n. 92). He describes Lār to us as "a large town with springs, considerable streams and gardens". It had large, well-built bazaars. He lodged in a *zāwiya* of Shāfiʿī dervishes, who welcomed travellers. Not only the dervishes but also the brigands of Lāristān were organised for trading (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, 500; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 240-1, tr. Gibb, ii, 405-6).

We know from other sources, complementing Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's information, that the hereditary *shaykhs* of the *zāwiya* of Lār came originally from Khundj (Aubin, *Survie de Shilāu*, 32, n. 98). The religious situation at Khundj in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries is unclear. In the 7th/13th century, this little town became the seat of a *khānaḳāh* [*q.v.*] whose *murshid* was Shaykh Dāniyāl, affiliated to the Isḥāḳiyya or Murshidiyya order. In addition to the rich *zāwiya* of Shaykh Abū Dulaf Muḥammad (Sh. Dāniyāl's successor), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw at Khundj another Shāfiʿī *zāwiya* of an imprecise nature. It seems that in the 9th/15th century the *khānaḳāh* of Sh. Dāniyāl fell into decline, whilst that of Abū Nadjmī (that visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa? In 1347?) was more flourishing (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 30 ff.). According to Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 29-30, the one visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was that of the *shaykh* of the Banī ʿAbbāsī, Ḥādidjī Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salam Khundjī, known under the *laḳab* of Ḳuṭb al-Awliyāʾ (d. aged 85 in 746/1345-6).

According to various sources, two Indian princes are said to have invited the poet Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] to their court. At the invitation of the Deccani sultan Maḥmūd Shāh of the Bahmanids, Ḥāfiẓ proceeded to Hurmuz via Lār with the intention of setting sail for India by ship; but since a storm blew up at the time of his departure, he is said to have abandoned the plan (see Browne, *LHP*, iii, 285-7). Some coins struck in Lār (a gold piece of the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ, and some Tīmūrid (and Čaghatayid?) coins) testify to the interest of certain princes in the town during the 8th/9th/14th-15th centuries (references given by Minorsky in his *EI*[1] art.).

In the 8th/14th century, the *garmsīrāt* of Fārs were divided into two antagonistic politico-administrative groupings, the *bilād Lār* and the *bilād Khundj-ū-Bāl* (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) "de structure interne différente et de visées extérieures opposées" (Aubin, *Survie de Shilāu*, 23). Khundj-ū-Fāl had amicable relations with the principality of Hurmuz, whilst the principality of Lār employed an aggressive policy towards this last and even tried to annex it (see below). Although Khundj-ū-Fāl possessed—in the same manner as Shīrāz or Hurmuz—a class of numerous, experienced notables, one only finds there, at a late date, a powerful family (that of the *raʾīs Fālīs*) who, well after the decline of Khundj-ū-Fāl, became viziers at Hurmuz at the end of the 9th/15th century and remained there till the end of the period of Portuguese domination (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 36). As for the principality of Lār, despite its feeble resources, its lack of an intellectual élite and the emigration of its traders and its soldiers to India, it had a family of *maliks* who assured to the town a continuity of princely power during the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries. Gradually, in the course of the second half of this latter century, a class of educated notables took shape there (*ibid.*, 32).

The causes of the decline and then of the deflection of the Khundj-ū-Fāl route remain little known (political upheavals, the loss of influence by a certain or group or family and natural catastrophes have been suggested, *ibid.*, 35). The ruin of Kārzīn (on the Khundj-Shīrāz axis, earthquakes and floods *ca.* 1440), the development of Djahrum as an intellectual and religious centre in the second half of the 9th/15th century and the founding nearby of a community of dervishes (by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Kushknārī, called Ḳuṭb-i Muḥyī, at Ikhwānābād or Ḳuṭbābād, at the crossroads of the routes from Shīrāz, Fasā and Lār, favoured the use of the Hurmuz-Lār-Djahrum-Shīrāz axis (see Map 1). At the end of the 8th/14th century, Djahrum was a stage on the Shīrāz-Lār road (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, 501). Whilst the Hurmuz-Shīrāz route via Ṭārum, Furg and Fasā continued to be used, that via Djahrum was regularly employed from the second half of the 9th/15th century onwards (Aubin, *ibid.*, and *Survie de Shilāu*, 33-4).

In the *garmsīrāt*, only the family of the *raʾīs Fālīs*—who held Shilāw and retained some influence in the Gulf—succeeded in maintaining Fāl as a petty urban centre, despite the growing pressure of the princes of Lār. The latter in fact drew benefit from the new position of their town-staging post on the Hurmuz-Shīrāz axis by extending their power towards the coast and the intervening high valleys (*ibid.*, 35-6). The inevitable conflict between Lār and Hurmuz—which had become economically complementary through their dependence on the Indian trade—broke out in 904/1598-9, when the prince of Lār tried to exploit an outbreak of discontent amongst the Bedouins of Djulfār. The naval expedition against the island of Djarūn led by Abū Bakr Lārī was checked by Khʷādja ʿAṭāʾ, a *ghulām* of Salghur Shāh (Aubin, in *Mare*, i, 102-3). The intrusion of the Lārīs in the affairs of Hurmuz revived

after the death of Salghur Shāh (1505) with a further attack on Djarūn. But the new lord of Hurmuz, Khwādja ʿAṭāʾ, put an end to this, at the same time removing the young ruler issued from a union between Salghur Shāh and a princess of Lār (*ibid.*, 104-5). Nevertheless, the princes of Lār continued to expand towards the shores. Their vassals, the *amīrs* of Ilūd, brought pressure to bear on the Lashtān region (the land behind the island of Ḳishm at Nāband); one of them seized the district of Lashtān in 1546 (Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 142-3; on Ilūd, see *ibid.*, n. 367 and *Lar médiévale*, n. 22). Yet despite the decline of Fāl, Lārīs and Fālīs followed parallel paths in their relations with Hurmuz even after the advent of the Ṣafawids.

At the end of the 9th/15th century, commercial traffic was enough to stimulate Lār's prosperity. The prince levied no taxes on goods in transit. At the beginning of the next century, at the time when the Portuguese appeared, Lārī merchants and mercenary soldiers took an active part in affairs of the Deccan. The famous silver coin of Lār, the *lārī* or *larin* [*q.v.*], circulated through all the markets of the Indian Ocean shores (Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 142; Steensgaard, 420-1). Like Lārī warriors, the bows of Lār were celebrated, and were exported to ʿIrāḳ and India (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 177-8). After Fāl (*Dār al-Ṣafāʾ* "abode of purity") and its twin Khundj (*Dār al-Awliyāʾ* "abode of saints", Lār could boast the *laḳab* of *Dār al-Maʿdala* "abode of equity".

In 914/1508 envoys from Hurmuz and Lār came to give allegiance to Shāh Ismāʿīl at Shīrāz (*AAA*, tr. Savory, i, 57-8). The prince-governors of Lār became tributary to the Ṣafawids with the title of *Amīr-i Dīwān* (*ibid.*, ii, 806). Around the turn of the 15th-16th century, pieces of information on Lār become more numerous. The travellers who passed through it in the 15th century did not give any details on their itinerary (Afanasiy Nikitin, *Khozhenye za tri morya*, Moscow 1958, 89; Girolamo S. Stefano, see Aubin, *Survie de Shilāu*, 33, nn. 106-7). Gil Simões, secretary of the Portuguese embassy to Shāh Ismāʿīl who, in 1515, returned from Shīrāz to Hurmuz via Lār, tells us nothing further. Other Portuguese, however, were more informative. The embassy of 1523-4 passed through Lār. Though sometimes difficult to trace, the itinerary of this embassy is described in detail by António Tenreiro (*Itinerário*, Lisbon 1971, 16 ff.; for a critical study of this text and of the parallel account of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, see Aubin, in *Arquivos*, iii (1971), 238-52, with 245-6 on Lār itself. Tenreiro gives us some important information about Lāristān, especially on Kawristān/Kawuristān, the frontier region between Lār and Hurmuz (cf. Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 104), on the caravanserais and cisterns constructed along the road by pious donors, on the town of Lār (its protective wall built from stone and with plaster decorated with tiled squares; the Lārīs' clothing; the Lārī bows; the agricultural products (dates and barley); the local Jews; the money there (the *larin*); the muleteers-caravaneers; etc.), on the date-palm groves, the rearing of mares and the export of horses to India via Hurmuz, and on the mountain goats which produced the *bazar* (bezoar, i.e. *bāzahr* [*q.v.*]; this famous antidote to poisons of which there existed spurious imitations, was produced in Persia in Khurāsān and in the land of the Shabānkāra, see C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia*, Cambridge 1951 369 ff.). Tenreiro also describes the road from Khundj to Kārzīn at a time when it had become a secondary track (Aubin, *Survie de Shilāu*, 33-4).

In 1540, under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, the Venetian Michele Membré travelled from Shīrāz to Hurmuz via Lār, giving a description of the latter (*Relazione di Persia (1542)*, IUON Naples 1969, 53-4). According to him, the town was surrounded in two halves by stone walls. It had a higher part, that with the citadel, and a lower part, and "outside the town there are other houses which are not walled". Membré and his retinue lodged in a caravanserai outside the town walls. He noted the numerous cisterns for collecting rain water built by pious Lārīs both in the town and at two-league intervals along the Lār-Hurmuz route. At Lār, there were even some fountains for the prostitutes. The gold and silver smiths were "gentiles from India", "all gathered together in one street". At Lār, both Turkish and Persian were spoken. The king, a vassal of the "Sofi", was called "Soprassi" (?), and wore the "cap" of the Sofi (the external sign of adhesion to Twelver Shīʿism, according to the Ḳizilbash. The shops, piled high with merchandise, hardly needed protection at nights against thieves "because the said king of Lār exercises great justice".

Soon after Membré's passage through Lār, the prince [Anūshirwān] b. Abī Saʿīd b. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, called Shāh ʿĀdil, was assassinated (29 Ṣafar 948/24 June 1541; see Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, 495). Under his successor Ibrāhīm Khān, the relations of Lār with the Ṣafawid authority deteriorated. He omitted to go and give allegiance to Shāh ʿAbbās I when he went to Shīrāz, ill-treated the Shāh's tribute-collectors and levied extraordinary taxes on merchants and travellers. The Shāh's anger was aroused, and he sent two punitive expeditions against Lār in 1010-11/1601-2 under the command of Allāh-Verdī Khān, the *beglar-begi* of Fārs. In the course of the second one, the latter seized Lār, carried off Ibrāhīm Khān and his entourage back to Shīrāz and confiscated their possessions. Ibrāhīm Khān and the "treasures of Lār", including the famous crown of Kay Khusraw, were then taken off by Allāh-Verdī Khān to Shāh ʿAbbās's court, then engaged on a campaign in Bādghīs near Harāt. In the course of the expedition against Balkh, Ibrāhīm Khān died of an epidemic which affected a large number of the troops. The administration of Lār was entrusted to Ḳāḍī Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Lārī, a devoted Shīʿī (*AAA*, tr. Savory, 807-8; cf. Yazdī, fol. 99a ff.).

During the whole of the 11th/17th century, until the decline of the Ṣafawids, the Persian Gulf routes via Lār were followed by numerous traders, diplomats, travellers, men of religion, etc., who have left us lively first-hand accounts. A few months after Allāh-Verdī Khān's seizure of Lār, the Augustinian friar António de Gouvea passed through the town, where he mentions the recent destructions (on Gouvea's mission as mediator in the conflict between the Portuguese and Shāh ʿAbbās, see Steensgaard, 230-1; on Lār, 231). In a parallel version to the *Itinerário* of Gaspar de S. Bernardino, Nicolau da Orta Rebelo gives us a long description of Lār and Lāristān dated August-September 1606 (on S. Bernardino's narrative, see Aubin, in *Arquivos*, i [1969], 208-15; on Lār, ed. Lisbon 1842, 136-47). Rebelo noted the numerous charitable works (cisterns and caravenserais), the security of the roads (the Hurmuz-Lār road and above all the entry into Lār was very well policed "because of the war between the Sofi and the king of Ormuz") and the freedoms and the liberalities which the Persians and the travellers enjoyed (see below). He further noted the

abundance and low price of the *bāzār* products (fruits, textiles, poultry such as partridges, and sheep) and the rebuilding works undertaken after the Ṣafawid conquest, in particular, the fortress dominating the town and the bazar (i.e. the Bāzār-i Ḳayṣariyya, see above) rebuilt at that time by Ḳanbar ʿAlī Beg, who also erected a sumptuous caravanserai on the Lār-Shīrāz road (Rebelo, ed. Serrao, 101-12).

After the Ṣafawids achieved direct control of Lār, its affairs were continuously affected by the question of Hurmuz, which brought into play the colonial rivalries (essentially those of Spain and Portugal, now united under one crown, against the English), the Persians' own interests, those of the Arab merchants and the Gulf pirates, etc. (Steensgaard, 253 ff.). After the conquest of Lār, the Persians had —at least temporarily—taken off the protection payments ("mocarrerias", i.e. *muḳarrarī*) made by the ruler of Hurmuz to that of Lār (*ibid.*, 249). Ḳanbar ʿAlī Beg tried to reimpose these levies on Hurmuz and occupied the island of Ḳishm (*ibid.*, 250 ff.). The khān of Shīrāz, the *beglar-begi* of Fārs Imām Ḳulī Khan, seized the port of Gombron/Gombroon (Portuguese Comorão) in December 1614 (*ibid.*, 291 ff.), and in spring 1622 Persian troops commanded by Imām Khān were helped by an English naval force (*AAA*, tr. 1200-4; Steensgaard, 305 ff.). The negotiations begun by the second "Spanish" embassy of Sherley (1617-22) and the presence of a Spanish ambassador at the Persian court and a Persian one at the Spanish court since 1617 were unable to prevent the Portuguese from losing "the key to the Land of India". Much held back in his mission (cf. Steensgaard, 312 ff.), the Castilian ambassador Figueroa has left behind for us an itinerary (lacking details) of his journey through Lāristān in 1618.

After the fall of Hurmuz, the English, and then the Dutch, and then later the French, were authorised by the Ṣafawid government to set up their factories at Gombrun, now renamed Bandar ʿAbbāsī. In 1630, the Portuguese gained the same permission to use Bandar Kung (8 km. to the east of the modern Bandar Linga), which began to fill up with Arabs and Persians (and then with Banyans and Portuguese) and became an important town in the years 1630-40 (Steensgaard, 357-8). Despite the difficulties of the routes into the interior, Djāsk/Djāsak and Bandar Kung became significant rivals of Bandar ʿAbbāsī (on the rivalry of Bandar Kung and Bandar ʿAbbāsī, see Calmard, 86-7).

From this time onwards, the routes through Lāristān are described in detail by the travellers. We have important items of information from Sir Thomas Herbert about the embassy of Sir Dodmore Cotton to Persia in 1628-9 (tr. Paris 1663, 205 ff.; Calmard, illustration 1), and the parallel account of Robert Stodart (ed. Denison Ross, London 1935; on Shīrāz-Lār-Gombroon, see 78-85). Mandelslo, a member of the Duke of Holstein's embassy, passed through Lār in February 1638, and he gives us a fairly detailed description of his route from Shīrāz to "Gamron" (tr. Wicquefort, Paris 1659, Book i, 91 ff.). With the development of the commerce of the trading Companies, journeys and accounts of them abound. Putting together a synthesis of all the items of information from 1638 to 1706, a map is here given showing the chronological divisions of the routes from the Gulf to Shīrāz via Lār (Map 1; the travellers who only describe Bandar ʿAbbāsī, Bandar Kung, etc., have not been included here). As this chronology shows, the dates of movements across Lāristān were a function of the movements of ships, hence of the monsoons, and the climatic conditions in the interior of the country: there were few journeys in mid-summer, because of the extreme heat and the "poisonous winds" (*bād-i samūm*), or in winter, because of the snow along the route Lār-Shīrāz (Calmard, 23 ff.). The travellers give us first-hand information on the routes followed (which varied little from the 17th to the 19th centuries, except on the Lār-Shīrāz section), on travelling conditions (state of the roads, bridges and fords; the security provided by the *rāh-dārs*, "road-guards"; tolls, customs-dues; etc.), on the natural habitat and the populations (climate, plants, animals, local inhabitants, habitats, illnesses and urban communities), on the political rivalries in the Gulf and in Persia between the central and local powers (including the topic of pirate activity) and between the different European Companies, etc. (see the *Bibl.* for travellers of the 17th-18th centuries).

Although the Dutch remained the most firmly-implanted group along the Hurmuz-Lār-Shīrāz-Iṣfahān axis (they had factories or "houses" in each of these towns) and derived great profits (above all, from the illegal trade in gold which weakened the Persian economy), the Portuguese continued to strengthen their presence at Bandar Kung (used by the Portuguese, Italians and other travellers). At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, an attempted Portuguese-Persian alliance against the "Arabs" (i.e. Muscat or ʿUmān) was cut short because of the internal situation in Persia (see Aubin, *L'ambassade de Gregório Pereira Fidalgo*, Introd.). This did not prevent the taking shape of threats from the ʿUmānīs (aided by the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] and Arabs from Ḳaṭar) against the islands and the ports along the Lāristān coast (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavid dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 115-16, and below, on Lārak). During this period of troubles, the Lāristān government was a kind of family enterprise: the *shāhbandar* of Bandar Kung was the brother of the Bandar ʿAbbāsī one and the Khān of Lār's one (Calmard, 187). According to Pereira Fidalgo, the Khān of Lār had under his jurisdiction Bandar Gombron, Bandar Kung and Bandar Rīg (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 36-7).

Despite the repeated attacks of Arab pirates and of the Balūčīs (who seem to have allied with the ʿUmānīs in their threats to the ports and to Lār; see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 79), Lāristān resisted longer than the Iṣfahān-Shīrāz axis against the Afghān invasion. In practice, when Shīʿism became implanted along the Shīrāz-Lār-Bandar ʿAbbāsī commercial route, the south and part of the north of Lāristān (except for the town of Lār) had remained Shāfiʿī. Certain lines of *shaykhs*, in particular at Evaz and Bastak, occupied the dominant places of Sunnī Lāristān. Despite the support of the *tufangčīs* or musketeers of the Sunnī *garmsīrāt*, the Afghāns were unable to establish an effective control over Lār, which was held in turn by a Balūčī chief, a local notable, a Ṣafawid general and the *sardār* of Fārs Muḥammad Khān Balūč (see Aubin, *Les sunnites du Lārestān*, 159 ff.). In the latter's rebellion against Nādir (the later Nādir Shāh), Muḥammad Khān Balūč was supported by the Sunnīs of Lāristān. Nādir's revenge there was merciless: the executions of Muḥammad Khān and Shaykh Aḥmad Madanī, fines, extensive deportations, etc. (*ibid.*, 168 ff.).

Taking advantage of this period of troubles and its aftermath, the brigand chief Naṣīr Khān Lārī was able to establish—in the first place with the

help of his brother Ḥādjdjī Khān—control over the Bulūk-i Sabʿa (i.e. the region between Lāristān and Kirmān), and then over Lār. After an abortive expedition against Shīrāz in 1163/1750, in which Ḥādjdjī Khān died en route, Naṣīr Khān extended his jurisdiction over the Gulf littoral (i.e. over the Arab *shaykhs*) and his expensive protection over the East India Company at Bandar ʿAbbāsī. Nevertheless, he had difficulties in controlling this latter port, and moreover, fell inevitably into conflict with Karīm Khān Zand. During the years 1754-66, he fought on two fronts, against the governor of Kirmān on the north-east and against the penetration of the Zands on the west. He even planned joint attacks against Karīm Khān in Shīrāz in concert with the Ḳādjār chief, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (in 1756 and 1758). It was Ṣādiḳ Khān Zand who in the end captured the town of Lār and reduced Naṣīr Khān's fortress there in 1179/1766 (on these events, see Perry, 117-22, based on the English and Dutch archives and on the main Persian sources; add to these Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārikh*, Tehran 1348/1969, 373-4; Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 38-9).

It seems that, contrary to what Fasāʾī asserts (followed by Minorsky, *EI*[1] art, and Perry, 122), the administration of Lāristān did not remain in a more or less autonomous fashion in the hands of Naṣīr Khān's family (till 1845, according to Minorsky, till 1858 according to Perry). This same family adopted towards the Zands and then towards Agha Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār an at least rebellious attitude (Fasāʾī, i, 229; Dupré, i, 369). Furthermore, Karīm Khān Zand and Luṭf ʿAlī Zand handed over the government of Lāristān and the ports of the Gulf to the *shaykhs* of Bastak (now promoted to *khāns*). Under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the government of Lāristān and the Bulūk-i Sabʿa reverted to this same family; it was given to three sons of ʿAbd Allāh Khān (at Furg, Ṭārum and Lār respectively), with ʿAbd Allāh himself residing at Shīrāz at the side of the Ḳādjār prince-governor (Dupré, i, 361 ff.). Having become *beglar-begi* of Lāristān, one of his sons, Naṣīr Khān Lārī, was in 1247/1831-2 deposed from office and the governorship of Lāristān entrusted to Aḥmad Khān Bastakī (Fasāʾī, i, 280). In the next year, Naṣīr Khān was re-appointed *beglar-begi* of Lāristān and the Sabʿa (*ibid.*, i, 281). In 1262/1845, after dissensions had arisen amongst the *khāns* of Lār, the *wālī* of Fārs put an end to this and appointed at Lār a mere *kalāntar* [*q.v.*], Karbalāʾī ʿAlī Riḍā Girāshī, and then his son (Fasāʾī, ii, 284). Naṣr Allāh Khān Lārī, jailed in Shīrāz for his misappropriations, managed to escape and to stir up a revolt in the region of Sabʿa. He could not be suppressed by force, but hid in the mountains; in the end, he went to Shīrāz and was in 1275/1858 granted a pension (Fasāʾī, i, 318-19). In 1276/1859-60 the governorship of Lāristān was given to the Ḳādjār prince Mahdī Ḳulī Mīrzā, who put down the revolt of Muṣṭafā Khān-i Bastakī (*ibid.*, i, 321).

In view of the extreme difficulties of the Ḳādjārs in keeping control of Fārs and the Gulf ports (in particular, Bandar ʿAbbāsī, the governorship of which had to be handed over to the Imām of Masḳaṭ (Muscat) until 1284/1868), the governorship of Lāristān kept its considerable importance. In 1284/1868 and in 1293/1877, it included the regions of Sabʿa and Bandar ʿAbbāsī, to which were joined (in 1297/1880 and 1299/1881-2) jurisdiction over the Five Tribes (Khamsa [see WILĀYAT-I KHAMSE]) and over Dārāb (*ibid.*, i, 326, 336, 340, 345). Towards the end of the Ḳādjār period, Lāristān found itself more and more under the control of the Ḳawāmī, a powerful vizieral family of Fārs stemming from the descendants of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Khān Iʿtimād al-Dawla Shīrāzī. In 1294/1877-8, Iḥtishām al-Dawla and Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān Ḳawām al-Mulk restored order in the coastal districts of Lāristān (*ibid.*, i, 337-8). In 1299/1882, the governorship of Lāristān, Sabʿa, Dārāb, Khamsa and Fasā was entrusted to Ḳawām al-Mulk, who in fact died the next year. The plan for the administrative reorganisation of Fārs in 1913 proposed no longer to attach "Lāristān and ʿAbbāsī" to the Ḳawāmī sphere of influence nor to the *wilāyat* of the Khamsa tribes (*Le Fars*, 161). Under the Pahlavīs, Lār became a *shahristān* comprising five *bakhsh*s: Markazī, Bastak, Linga, Gawbandī, and Djūyum and Bunārūya (the result of the administrative reform of 1317/1938-9, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209). With the reform of 1334/1955-6, the Farmāndārī-yi Lāristān comprised the following *bakhsh*s: Evaz, Lāmard, Djūyum and Ḥumā. The coastal districts and their hinterlands now form part of the Ports and Islands of the Persian Gulf. Bastak, shorn of two *dihistāns*, is one of the five *bakhsh*s of Bandar Linga (Muwaḥḥid, 8-9).

The fighting between Karīm Khān Zand and Naṣīr Khān Lārī for control of the ports and the routes through Lāristān accelerated the economic ruin of the region (Perry, 152 ff.). Already rather little-used in the Ṣafawid period (over and above the Gulf routes via Lār), the Shīrāz-Bandar Rīg route (facing the island of Khārg) was envisaged by the East India Company as an alternative to the Shīrāz-Bandar ʿAbbāsī one (*ibid.*, 259). The troubles in Lāristān amongst the local powers led to the Companies moving further north up the Gulf: the English to Bushire (Bū-Shahr) and the Dutch to Khārg (*ibid.*, 154 ff.; Stiffe, in *GJ*, xvi [1900], 211-15). Hence Lār retained henceforth only a regional importance.

Lāristān once again suffered from brigandage (the pillaging expedition of the Balūčī Mihrāb Khān, *sardār* of Bampūr, at the opening of the 19th century, see Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, London 1816, 163, Fr. tr. Paris 1818, i, 325 ff. (on the Balūčī raids of 1810, see Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 105). Around 1256/1840, Lār seems to have been occupied by Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī, head of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in revolt against the Shāh (Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1897, 94; on Āḳā Khān's revolt, see H. Algar, in *SI*, xxix [1969], 55-18). Despite its comparative isolation, Lār continued to trade with the Gulf ports (in particular, with Bandar ʿAbbāsī, Bandar Linga and Bandar Ṭāhirī (the former Sārīf), see Stiffe, in *GJ*, vi (1895), 166-73.

In 1881, Stack found Lār in a fairly wretched condition (i, 133-45). But the action of its governor Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān (a person whom he describes at length) and his son allowed the town's buildings to be restored (see above, on the Ḳayṣariyya *bāzār*), noted as being in excellent condition in 1907. Bandar Linga was at that time the main port of Lār (via Bastak; see A. T. Wilson, in *GJ* [February 1908], 152-70). The comparative development of Bandar Linga under the Ḳawāsim/Djawāsim Arabs favoured the hinterland, and notably Bastak. At the end of the Ḳādjār period (*ca.* 1900-15), the Gulf ports, including Bandar ʿAbbās and Bandar Linga, were increasingly controlled by Belgian officials (Lorimer, iiA, 14). In 1335/1916-17, Bandar ʿAbbās was considered to be wholly under British influence (Kabābī, 541).

3. **The island of Lār** (see Map 2). This Gulf island is generally considered as being that called

Abū Shuʿayb (Bū Shuʿayb, Shaykh Shuʿayb or Djazīrat al-Shaykh, situated to the south-east of Bandar Nakhīlū and belonging to the Shīb-i Kūh-i Lāristān (at 3 *farsakhs*' distance from the coast, according to Fasāʾī, ii, 315). Since the identification of this island is not made easy by utilising the classical and early Islamic sources, one finds numerous errors in both old and modern writers, and some of them have mixed up the island and the kingdom of Lār (Iḳtidārī, *LK*, 128-9). Nearchus must have touched on it in the course of his periplus. It could possibly be the island of pearls (Nesos Margaritis) of Orthagoras (see Tomaschek, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi [1890], 55, and Minorsky, *EI*¹ art. s.v.). The geographers writing in Arabic give it various names: Lāwān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Iṣṭakhrī); Lār (Yāḳūt, Abu 'l-Fidā); whilst the variants Alār, Lān, Allān (Lārān) are given by Schwarz, 87, Le Strange, 261, and Minorsky, *loc. cit.* Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 241) connects the island with Ardashīr Khurra (Īrāhistān). Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān calls this island Lādh (*Djahān-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1342/1963, 43). The toponym Lādh (cf. Lād, the ancient name of the town or the kingdom of Lār) could be applicable to the place called Laz/Laza or to Lāz/Lāza/Lazā, the most important settlement in the eastern part of the island. The Portuguese called it Ilhe de Lazão or Laracoar (Lār-Shatwār, from the name of the islet Shatwār/Shitwār/Čitwār at its eastern extremity; see Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 97, n. 115).

According to Yāḳūt (iv, 341), Lār is a large island situated between Sīrāf and Ḳays, lacking any settlement or village; there were pearl fishers, i.e. divers; its circumference was said to be 12 *farsakhs* round. Because of the insecurity from Gulf piracy, the island was thinly peopled. According to Duarte Barbosa, it formed part of the dependencies of Hurmuz (Aubin, in *ibid.*). It is situated, in relationship to the coast, which makes an outward salient at Raʾs Nakhīlū, 14 to 15 miles from the coast; from east to west it is about 15 miles long, and about 3 miles wide. It is 120 feet high at the centre, and low plains of one to two miles extend towards each extremity. It has virtually no vegetation, but the water from its well is of good quality (Lorimer, iiB, 1813). Its geological formation is identical with that of the island of Ḳays and Hindarābī (Pilgrim [1908], 142).

Shaykh Shuʿayb is attached to the *dihistān* of Badawī in the *shahristān* of Bandar Linga (Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 61, which places it 23 km. to the south-east of Bandar Maḳām and gives its dimensions as 24 x 5 km., with its highest point *ca.* 37 m.). Drinking water comes from wells and from cisterns to catch rain-water. There is cultivation of dates, cereals and some market-garden produce. Fishing, for fish and for pearls, is carried on. At the beginning of the 20th century, it had 10 villages or hamlets, the most important being Laz (70 houses). It had a total of *ca.* 300 houses for 1,500 inhabitants, Shāfiʿī and Sunnī Arabs of various tribes (Lorimer, iiB, 1814-15). In *ca.* 1950, it had 7 small settlements and 730 inhabitants, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, speaking Arabic and Persian (Razmārā, *Farhang*, *loc. cit.*, which mentions its liability to malaria). The population seems to have varied little (800 in *ca.* 1976, according to the *Farhang-i Muʿīn*, v, 948).

4. **The island of Lārak** (see Map 2). This is an island of the Gulf 20 miles south of Bandar ʿAbbās and partially closing the approach to this port between Ḳishm and Hurmuz. The channel between Lārak and Ḳishm, to the north-east, is 6 miles wide; between Lārak and Hurmuz, to the north-north-east, it is 11 miles. Slightly smaller than Hurmuz, Lārak is oval in shape, measuring 6 miles (from east-north to west-south-west) by 4 miles. It is surrounded by deep water except at the western side. The interior is a mass of sharp, sandstone hills mixed with salt domes and domes of red iron oxide (a typical formation of the "Hurmuz series", see Pilgrim [1908], 141, [1924], 16). Except for a few date-palms, it is almost bare of vegetation. The highest point reaches 510 feet. Except for the well of Salmī (in the west), water comes from cisterns (Lorimer, iiB, 1086; see also Fasāʾī, ii, 317). There are many gazelles and rabbits, the former living off a spiny plant called the *kittaw* which stays green in winter as well as summer (Kabābī, 98, who states that the island is 13 miles in circumference, 18 miles from Bandar ʿAbbās, 28 miles from Kūh-i Musandam, 8 miles from Shahr-i Ḳishm, and 16 to 17 miles from Hurmuz).

The sparsity and the vagueness of the older sources has given rise to many hypotheses. Lārak, literally "little Lār", has been take—by Kabābī, 291—for the ancient island of Lār (wrongly, because the depths do not allow pearl-fishing). The island seems to have occupied, made useful and cultivated by a fairly important (to judge by the remains of buildings and irrigation works) non-Muslim population (according to the orientation of numerous tombs, see Lorimer, iiB, 1087, and Kabābī, 698). Amongst the ruins, the latter author mentions those of a rectangular fortress like the one of the island of Ḳishm. Lorimer records two ancient forts: a ruinous one at the place called Kharābistān, in the interior of the island (i.e. Lārak-i kūhī), and the other, in a better condition, at Labṭiyāb on the northern coast. According to this same authority, the fort is said to be Portuguese, but according to Curzon, ii, 413, Dutch. According to Iḳtidārī, the *ḳalʿas* of Lārak and Ḳishm are Portuguese, whilst that of Khamīr is possibly Dutch. The Lārak *ḳalʿa* is made from dressed stone covered with mortar, with three floors, four towers and a look-out walkway (*Āthār*, 740 ff., with photographs). Only the foundations remain of the East India Company's telegraph house. Among the remains of the cemetery have been found lamps for the dead from baked earth (*ibid.*, with photograph at 742).

The anchorage of Lārak was much appreciated by sailors, especially the Portuguese, who called it Lareka/Lareca. They sheltered there in February 1625 when making an attempt to recover Hurmuz (see Steensgaard, 352). The ambassador Pereira Fidalgo stopped there in 1696 (ed. Aubin, 29). In 1717, Lārak was captured by the Imām of Masḳaṭ aided by the Ḳawāsim and Arabs from Ḳaṭar (Perry, 158).

According to the *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd* (17th century), Lārak was inhabited by Arab fishermen. The boat from Bandar Rīg called there sometimes (ed. Aubin, in *FIZ*, vi/2-3 [1337/1958], 175). At the beginning of the 20th century, the population of *ca.* 200 was made up of Dhahūriyyīn linked by marriage with the Banū Shatayr Shiḥūḥ of Kumzār (the region of the Ruʾūs al-Djibāl in ʿUmān) who spoke *kumzārī* (Lorimer, iiB, 1086). In addition to the Kumzārīs, Kabābī notes 30 heads of families, five of them from Bustānū-yi ʿAbbasī, and he states that the soil of the island is good for agriculture. The people live by extracting salt (exported to the ʿUmānāt and Ḳishm), fishing and a little bit of stock-rearing (sheep and goats). In summer, most of them migrate to the oasis-palm-groves of Mīnāb (Kabābī, 96). Formerly, the island depended administratively on

the *kalāntar* of Ḳis̲h̲m. Persian authority was only established after 1905-6 with the building of a customs-post (Lorimer, iiB, 1087; Kabābī, 97). One of the interesting peculiarities of Lārak is that it possesses—in company with other places of the coasts and islands of Lāristān—*zār* [*q.v.*] adepts and practitioners. Called locally the *ahl-i hawā* "people of the wind", they have as the officiating persons men (the *bābās*), women (the *māmās*) and some *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*, most of them of African origin (see G̲h̲ulām Ḥusayn Sāʿidī, *Ahl-i hawā*, Tehran 1345/1966, index *s.v.* Lārak).

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LARACHE [see AL-ʿARĀʾIS̲H̲].

LĀRANDA, Larende or Karaman in modern Turkish usage, earlier Turkish Ḳaramān or Dārende, a provincial town in Anatolia, is the seat of one of the thirteen districts of Ḳonya [*q.v.*]. The district of Karaman is the largest (4,647 km²) *ilçe* in Turkey. The town lies outside the earthquake zone at lat. 37° N, long. 33° 10′ E, at an elevation of 1,038 m., on the plateau at the northern end of the pass leading through the Taurus Mts. to the Göksü (ancient Kalykadnos, or Saleph) river valley. The main road from Ḳonya (at 110 km.) to Silifke (at 148 km.) passes through the district. The town has a station on the railway line from Ḳonya to Eregli, a stretch of the former Istanbul-Bag̲h̲dād railway. The population grew from 8,182 in 1927 to 28,113 in 1965 and to 51,208 in 1980, when the *ilçe* counted 113,408 inhabitants.

1. HISTORY

Excavations at prehistoric sites in the Ḳonya-Lāranda area, especially at Čatal Hüyük and Čan Hasan, have revealed an advanced Neolithic culture and substantial towns dating from *ca.* 7000 B.C. (See J. Mellaart *et alii*, in *Cambridge ancient history*; idem and D. French, in *Anatolian Studies*, x (1960); U. B. Alkım, in *Anatolia* i (1968); D. Magie, *Roman rule*; W. Ramsay, *Hist. geogr.*, 45; F. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*).

The Byzantine Laranda (τά Λάρανδα, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, xii, col. 793) fell to the Sald̲j̲ūḳs after the battle of Manzikert (463/1071), and islamisation must have taken place early. After having been under Dānis̲h̲mendid [*q.v.*] rule, it was retaken around 560/1165 by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan Ḳılıd̲j̲ Arslān II [*q.v.*]. Taken briefly in 586/1190 by emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and in 1210 by Leo II of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, it was regained by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs in 1216 and used as a frontier fortress against the Armenian kingdom. In 623/1226 the area was organised as the *wilāyat-i Arman* (*Histoire des Croisades, Doc. Arm*, i, 360; *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, Cambridge 1970, 234 ff.). Around 625/1228, the family of Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] settled in the town. D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn was married there and extols its delights in his poetry (A. Göl-

pınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin*, Istanbul 1959, 4, 41 ff.). It is claimed locally that the great folk poet Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] is also buried there (idem, *Yunus Emre, hayatı*. . ., Istanbul 1963; M. C. S. Tekindağ, in *Belleten* xxx (1966), 117, 59-90; *Procs. of the 1971 Istanbul Symposium on Yunus Emre*). Lāranda also claims as its native sons the chronicler Neshrī [*q.v.*], the Grand Vizier Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], the medical writer Lārendeli Siyāḥīzāde Dervīsh, and others (Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, index; Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, index; V. L. Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans*, London 1964; A. A. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943). In 626/1228 the Türkmen dynasty of the Ḳaramān-oghullarī [*q.v.*] emerged in the Ermenek-Lāranda region, and in 628/1231 the town was given as a temporary *iḳṭāʿ* to Ḳushlu Sankum, a Khwārazmian chief. In 654/1256 Lāranda became the capital of the Ḳaramānids under Ḳaramān-oghlu Güneri Beg and was able to maintain itself against the combined forces of the Saldjūḳs and their supporters, the Īl-Khānid Mongols. In 687/1288 Lāranda was burned by the Īl-Khānids, and lost temporarily again to them in 691/1292, but heavy destruction and loss of population did not stop the Ḳaramānids from rising to great political power. The town grew in importance and was enriched with many buildings. (See section 2, below). After 1300, the name Lāranda was replaced by the new name Ḳaramān. Even when the Ḳaramānid princes expanded their dominions and were able to make the prestigious royal city of Ḳonya their capital in 712/1312, the old residence remained important as a seat of lesser members of the dynasty. The town remained somewhat distant from the battle front during the Ḳaramānids' struggle with the competing powers in Anatolia, including the Mongols and later the Ottomans, the heirs of the Saldjūḳ sultans. According to F. Sümer (art. ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ, Vol. IV, 622a), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his visit to Ḳonya and Lāranda, and of his meeting the Ḳaramānid begs, is based on hearsay. In 799/1397 the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I Yīldīrīm [*q.v.*] occupied Lāranda and conquered nearly all the dominions of the Ḳaramān-oghlu *amīr* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who was himself killed. The *amīr*'s widow, the Ottoman princess Nefīse (Melek Khātūn), and her two sons Meḥmed Beg and ʿAlī Beg, were deported to Bursa in 800/1398. This was seemingly the end of the principality. Tīmūr, however, restored the Ḳaramānids to power after the battle of Anḳara (804/1402), and they maintained themselves in the face of the Ottoman restoration in 817/1414 and 818/1415. Next to Ḳonya, Lāranda remained the main centre of the Ḳaramānid state and flourished greatly. At this time, however, the Mamlūks invaded the country and occupied Lāranda in 822/1418-19 for a short time, the region becoming tributary to them. The town's lords then changed several times because of civil warfare. In 826/1423, Meḥmed Beg was killed at the siege of Anṭālya and buried in Lāranda. The town saw its last decades of glory as a capital under Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg (827-69/1424-64). When de la Brocquière traversed the lands of "the Grand Karman" in 836/1432, he attended an audience with sultan Ibrāhīm in his court at Ḳonya after having visited Lāranda. He remarked on the great extent of the Ḳaramānid domains, the dignity and wealth of the court and flourishing trade of both towns. Another conflict brought the Mamlūk army to Lāranda again, and it was set on fire (861/1456-7). After Ḳonya was lost to the Ottomans, the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha took Lāranda in 873/1468, the last Ḳaramānid chiefs continuing their resistance against the forces of Sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror. Part of the inhabitants, especially the craftsmen, were deported in 1471 to be settled in Istanbul in the so-called Büyük Ḳaramān quarter (the present Çarşamba). In Lāranda a number of monumental buildings, sacred and profane, were destroyed by the new Ottoman rulers (including by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]). The castle was repaired with the architectural débris. In 881/1476 the first Ottoman registration of land, property and pious foundations took place, and the town's tithe tax (*ʿöshr*) was made into a *waḳf* for the benefit of al-Madīna. By this time, the rule of the Ḳaramān-oghullarī in Lāranda had virtually come to an end (Tekingdağ, 1963, 61; Konyalı, 100-2, 405). The town became the first Ottoman *shehzāde* (prince's) *sandjaḳ*, governed from Ḳonya under princes Muṣṭafā and Djem [*q.vv.*]. In 888/1483 Bāyazīd II had the Ḳaramānid territory organised as a regular Ottoman province as the *eyālet* of Ḳaramān, with Ḳonya as capital and seat of the *beglerbegi*.

From now onwards, Lāranda was of only secondary importance. With its castle, it must have played a role in the Ottoman campaigns to suppress revolts fomented by Ḳaramānid chiefs and Ṣafawid agents till *ca.* 1501. The rebel Ḳulī Shāh seized the town briefly in 916/1510, while in 917/1511 the area was taken by prince Aḥmad in his fruitless effort to succeed Bāyazīd II. Turmoil was caused in 933-5/1526-8 by the Ḳalandar [*q.v.*]. Until 923/1517, the town was part of the fortified frontier with the Mamlūk dominions, and it became a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳonya. During a short period in the 11/17th century, it probably held the rank of *sandjaḳ* itself. The name of Ḳaramān came now more and more in use. The importance of the trade route passing through Lāranda was probably reduced by the extension of the Ottoman empire to the east. The tax registers dated *ca.* 929/1523 show that the population of Lāranda counted 664 *khānes* = 464 *nefers* or tax payers (Konyalı), or 493 *khānes* = 693 *nefers* (Jennings), or 576 *khānes* = 693 *nefers* (Faroqhi). The registers of 992/1584 and 995/1587 show 2,027 *nüfus* (Konyalı), 2,048 *nefers* (Jennings), and 1,423 *khānes* = 2,048 *nefers* plus 625 *müdjerreds* (Faroqhi). The number of *maḥalles* had increased in 1587 from 34 (Konyalī: 33) to 39. Thirteen of those quarters still exist at the present. The growth of population seems to point to secure living conditions. From other sources it is known, however, that Lāranda was one of the centres of the well-known *softa* or student revolts against the central government's financial policy in the years 985-1002/1577-94. In 1596 the Djelāli [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.] revolts ravaged the province of Ḳaramān. Lāranda's population seems to have remained loyal to the government during the following years, at least till 1011/1603. The presence of the Janissary garrison must have had an influence here (cf. M. Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları (1559-1603)*, Ankara 1963, index s.v. Karaman (Lârende)). Ḳara Yazīdjī [*q.v.*], one of the Djelālīs, was bought off by the office of *muḥāfiẓ* of Ḳaramān.

From the taxation data of the 10th/16th century, Lāranda appears as a flourishing interregional market town in an important agricultural region. The building activity during the same century seems to bear this out. The town contained, around 929/1523, 1 *ʿimāret*, 4 *djāmiʿ*s, 25 *mesdjids*, 7 *medreses*, 1 *dār al-ḥadīth*, 10 *tekkes*, 7 *ḥammāms*, 264 *dükkāns*

and 65 *ṣandīḳs* ("trading booths"). The castle was manned by a garrison of 39 men under a commander (*dizdār*) and a *kāhyā*. Its armament must have included some pieces of artillery (Konyalı, 176, 178). Tenth/seventeenth century Lāranda is described by Ewliya Čelebi (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, ix, 311-15) and Kātib Čelebi (*Djihān-nümā*, 1145/1732, 614 f.). In 1867, Lāranda/Ḳaramān was incorporated in the new *wilāyet* of Ḳonya as a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the central *sandjaḳ*.

Traditional economy, based mainly on dry farming, live-stock, textiles and the production of the well-known *Ḳaramān-bulguru* (wheat), has been diversified and enlarged. Lead, zinc and chrome are in limited production and there are minor iron ore deposits in the area. In the early 1960s, 400 workers from Karaman went to Germany in the first group of Turkish labourers. For further details, see Ibrahim Rıfkı Boynukalın, *Karaman'ın iktisadi ve sosyal gelişimi*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul 1968.

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(A. H. DE GROOT - H. A. REED)

2. MONUMENTS

The archival sources for the monuments of Lāranda/Ḳaramān—the *waḳf* review of Khwādja Muṣliḥ al-Dīn dated Muḥarram 881/January 1477 (= Ankara, Kuyud-i kadime 665; facsimile and commentary, Feridun Nafız Uzluk, *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyâleti vakıflar fihristi*, Ankara 1958); and *waḳf* reviews of Bāyazīd II, dated 906/1500-1 (= Ankara, Kuyud-i kadime 565, old number 255) and Süleymān I, dated 929/1522-3 (= Başvekâlet Arşivi 387)—give a more varied picture of the 14th-16th century monuments of Ḳaramān and can be used to supplement the data of those still extant, though the unusually diverse nomenclature of the monuments makes some identifications subject to caution. The present review is, therefore, concerned primarily with standing buildings. In one respect, however, the sources are significant: they provide singularly little evidence for the 13th century architecture of the town.

Sherd finds from the Citadel or Içkale are evidence for 13th century habitation, though the existence of a Saldjūḳ palace remains to be demonstrated. Saldjūḳ blue and white tiles were also reused in the Hatuniye Medrese (see below), and two fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum (355-6. 1906) have been shown (M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, i-ii [= Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 13], Tübingen 1976, ii, 483-4) to have Ḳaramān as their likely provenance. But there is no architectural evidence for major buildings in the 13th century, and the only surviving 13th century monument is a small *masdjid* * (Monuments marked with an asterisk bear dated inscriptions), much restored in 645/1247-8 by Saʿd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abū (*sic*) Bakr (Meinecke, *op. cit.*, ii, 483-4; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 347-50), a domed square with an adjacent flat-roofed *iwān*. It contains multiple burials, but the only dated tombstone is that of Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Madjd al-Dīn ʿAlī, dated Djumādā II 700/March 1301. The area was evidently a cemetery at the time it was built.

Fortifications. Of the original triple enceinte, little remains. The outermost walls have disappeared entirely. The middle enceinte, to which Ewliyā Čelebi attributed nine gates and from which Christian and pre-Christian spoliae have been retrieved, is now reduced to a single gate and a few fragments of rubble walls. The Citadel or Içkale (Fig. 1) which, doubtless by mistake, he describes as surrounded by a deep moat, is rectangular, with eight round, faceted or rectangular towers. The walls contain many heterogeneous re-used Islamic blocks (Fig. 2), perhaps from the monuments which, Shikārī states (M. Koman, *Şikârı'nın Karaman oğulları tarihi* [= Konya Halkevi Tarih ve Müze Komitesi Yayınları, I.2], 1946, 112), were destroyed by Gedik Aḥmad Pasha [see AḤMAD PASHA GEDIK] on the Ottoman occupation of Ḳaramān (*inter alia* the Djāmiʿ-i Sulṭān, the Djāmiʿ-i Kāshī and the Djāmiʿ-i Niẓāmshāhī); and from the Great Mosque, the mosque of the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg and the mosque of Ḳaramān Shāh. None of the reused fragments bears a foundation inscription, so that Shikārī's assertion is difficult to evaluate. However, since all are fairly near ground level, the Citadel was evidently rebuilt shortly after the Ottoman conquest. It was radically restored in 1965.

The pre-Ottoman fortifications cannot be identified, though the Citadel mound is evidently man-made and the fortress played an important role as late as the end of the 15th century. Nor can the water supply be traced; in the absence of wells or aqueducts, the Citadel must have been supplied by cisterns. However, their presence remains to be established.

Mosques. The Great Mosque, now restored out of all recognition, was a flat-roofed aisled construc-

tion with wooden columns and stalactite capitals (Konyalı, *op. cit.*, 359-63). No Great Mosque is mentioned in the *waḳf* register of Muḥarram 881/January 1477, which thus indirectly corroborates Shikārī's assertion that it was destroyed in or after the Ottoman capture of Ḳaramān. The only evidence, moreover, for the existence of a Great Mosque in the 16th century is the foundation inscription of a *maktab* * associated with it dated 940/1533-4. The façade of the Hacıbeyler Camii (Konyalı, 294-8), a rectangular building now with a pyramidal gabled roof, has also evidently been substantially rebuilt, save for the entrance in a projecting rectangular moulded frame bearing a foundation inscription dated 902/1496-7 (cf. the anonymous foundation inscription of the heavily restored Arapzade or Araboğlu Mosque dated 899/1493-4). However, a block built into the wall to the left of the porch bears the foundation inscription of a mosque dated 757/1356. This is evidently a re-use, and it is unclear whether the present building occupies the site of an earlier mosque.

The Dikbasan Mosque in the bazar (Meinecke, ii, 175-7), identified by Konyalı, (281-8) with the Fasih Camii of the *waḳf* registers of the reigns of Bāyazīd II (906/1500-1) and Süleymān I (929/1522-3), is a flat-roofed, four-aisled construction with a carved stone *miḥrāb* in the central bay. The brick minaret is rebuilt. The interior contains a two-line chronogram, read variously as 899/1493-4 (Konyalı, *loc. cit.*) and 920/1514-15 (E. Diez, O. Aslanapa and Mahmut Mesut Koman, *Karaman devri sanatı*, Istanbul 1950, 40), and a re-used fragment of relief tile on a cobalt ground with traces of gilt dated Djumādā II 840/January 1437, perhaps from an earlier building on the site which was then rebuilt about 1500. The most imposing Ottoman mosque, however, is that of Nūḥ Pasha, a native of Ḳaramān, built while he was governor of Konya and dated 1005/1596-7. Against the inside wall of the three-domed narthex is a wooden gallery, the soffits of which have an applied revetment of gilt and painted wooden strapwork, probably contemporary.

Madrasas. The *madrasa* of the Amīr Mūsā (Konyalı, 455-60; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 50-4; Meinecke, ii, 158-64) was destroyed in 1927 (Fig. 3). The building was, however, photographed by both Sarre and Van Berchem, and Sarre was able to draw a plan of the building (F. Sarre, *Konya. Seldschukische Denkmäler* [= *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, IV], Berlin 1910, Plate 30, misidentified as that of the Hatuniye Medrese). This shows a central dome on pendentives, lateral ranges of four cells fronted by arcades or re-used marble columns, and an axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers with a *miḥrāb* housed in its side wall. To either side of the shallow recessed entrance and inner porch were rectangular corner rooms and annexes, that to the right housing the stair-well of the minaret. This was cylindrical on a square base, with a shaft, divided, like that of the *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (see below), by projecting mouldings into registers, and a single stone balcony on a corbelled stalactite base. The porch was a barely-decorated moulded frame with a shallow stalactite canopy on corner pilasters with doubled polyhedral capitals. The foundation inscription, which has now disappeared, occupied the course above the doorway and was flanked by further pilasters and capitals. The *waḳf* review of Muḥarram 881/January 1477 gives the *madrasa* of the Amīr Mūsā in seventh place. Its precise designation is problematic. Mūsā Beg (d. 758/1356-7) is buried in the Tol Medrese * (740/1339-40) which he built at Ermenak [*q.v.*]. The present foundation was also funerary, however, and Konyalı (*loc. cit.*) has identified the tombstones of Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Beg b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. Ḳarāmān (*sic*) (d. 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 750/17 January 1350) and his brother Shams al-Dīn Beg (d. 753/1352-3) from it. These give a terminus for its construction; and a third burial, of Durkhwānd Khātūn bint Badr al-Dīn Beg (d. 12 Djumādā I 813/13 September 1410), testifies to its later frequentation by the Ḳaramānids.

The Hatuniye Medrese * (783/1381-2) (Fig. 4), the finest decorated building of Ḳaramān, was founded by Sulṭān Khātūn, daughter of Murād I Khudāwandigār and wife of the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg (Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 55-66); Konyalı, 461-82; Meinecke, ii, 165-70). The building is symmetrically planned, with small domed rooms to either side of the entrance block, side ranges of three domed cells and a rectangular vaulted *dars-khāne*, and an axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers, one a mausoleum. The entrances to these have high relief-carved limestone frames (Fig. 5). The projecting entrance block has been heavily restored several times: the entrance is recessed in an elaborately-carved and profiled bi-coloured marble frame, continuing a tradition of Saldjūḳ porch decoration—the Çifte minare Medrese, Erzurum (*ca.* 1242), the Gök Medrese, Sivas * (670/1271-2) and the Eşrefoğulları Camii, Beyşehir * (699/1300)— and although on a smaller scale than these, is particularly close in conception and execution to the Gök Medrese at Sivas (cf. S. Ögel, *Bir Selçuk portelleri* (sic) *grubu ve Karaman'daki Hatuniye Medresesi portalı*, in *Ilahiyât Fakültesi Dergisi. Yıllık Araştırmaları Dergisi 1957* [Ankara 1958], 115-9 and Figs. 6-7). It bears a craftman's signature, Khwādja Aḥmad b. Nuʿmān b. Aḥmad (Meinecke, *op. cit.*, ii, 166, correcting the "Muḥammad" in Mayer, *Architects*, 112), which also continues the Saldjūḳ tradition of signed façades. The remarkably exact copying on a smaller scale of both profiles and decoration suggests strongly that forms of projection were known to the builders of 14th century Anatolia, though there are no literary attestations for the popularity of the prototype, and the other cases of parallelism have not been established beyond the Saldjūḳ period (cf. K. Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ii-iii, Berlin 1976, 148). The marble revetment of the façade, like the columns inside, is entirely re-used.

There is no trace of any tile mosaic *miḥrāb*, but Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, has established that the *īwān* and the mausoleum both had dadoes of dark turquoise-green hexagonal tiles. The cenotaphs have disappeared but these also may well have been tiled. The Hatuniye has also yielded a re-use Saldjūḳ tile inscription, evidently from a pious foundation, in white relief *naskhī* on a cobalt ground, in the name of Abu'l-Fatḥ Kaykhusraw ... b. al-Saʿīd Ḳilīdj Arslān (= *RCEA*, 4817), now in the Islamic Museum in East Berlin (No. I. 563). The inscription is defective and the ruler, therefore, indeterminate, but Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, has argued for Kaykhusraw I (second reign 601-7/1205-11) or for Kaykhusraw II (634-44/1237-46) [*q.vv.*]. Kaykhusraw III (663-81/1266-84) [*q.v.*] may be eliminated, since from 1261 the amīrate of Ḳaramān was independent, and the titulature of a Saldjūḳ Sulṭān would not have appeared unmodified in foundations at Ḳaramān of the later 13th century.

The foundress has been identified with Malak Khātūn, whose *waḳfiyya*, appointing herself as

mutawallī with her descendants after her, dated Rabīʿ I 787/May 1385, is resumed by Konyalı, 475-82, and appears in précis above the entrance to the mausoleum. This designates the foundation as a Ḥanafī *madrasa*, to which the family mausoleum was to be attached, with the provision that a S̲h̲āfiʿī *mudarris* might be appointed if no-one better was available. On the foundation were two *muʿīds*, five *faḳīhs*, a *nāẓir*, a *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*, a sweeper and a porter. The endowments are almost exclusively agricultural property and the national income therefore fairly small. No students on the foundation are mentioned; and the *madrasa* is so small that some of the staff, anyway, must have lived out.

K̲h̲ānkāhs. The *tekke* of Siyahser or Karabaş Veli, otherwise known as the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ or Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Konyalı, 316-22; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 85-7) consists of a flat-roofed, three-aisled covered mosque with transverse arcades and a minaret of Ottoman type, possibly a later construction, at its north-east corner (Fig. 8). On its north-west side is a symmetrically-planned building, following Anatolian custom in not being *ḳibla*-oriented, with a central sunken area with a large fountain and roofed by a dome on pendentives. Of the three *īwāns*, each has lateral annexes, while on the south-east side an arcade or loggia serves as a narthex to the mosque. The masonry and plan suggest a foundation date of about 1460. Both *tekke* and mosque have entrances on the east. Outside is a cemetery with late burials and a ruined undated octagonal canopy tomb (Fig. 9).

The complex no longer bears a foundation inscription, but has been associated with a K̲h̲alwatī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, known variously as Mawlānā or S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ or Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Rūmī or Aswad, whose tombstone (Konyalı, 316), dated S̲h̲awwāl 870/June 1466, was recorded in the canopy mausoleum in 1943. The confusion of names suggests that the monument was colonised by later *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*. The mosque was evidently ruined by the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II, since it does not appear in the *waḳf*-register of Muḥarram 881/January 1477; and in the register of the reign of Bāyazīd II dated 906/1500-1, the *waḳfs* are stated to be at the disposal (*dar taṣarruf*) of another, unidentified *zāwiya*, that of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Pīrī K̲h̲alīfa.

A building, known variously as the Aktekke, Mevlevī *tekke*, *tekke* and tomb of "Mader-i Mevlânâ" and the Valide Sultan Camii, seems to be an adaptation of a 14th century Ottoman mosque plan, consisting of a large, partially-domed rectangular area containing twenty-one undated cenotaphs, with an exterior portico preceded by a narrow courtyard with ranges of cells to either side (Konyalı, 229-53; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 44-9). The foundation inscription records the foundation by the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg of a *zāwiya* for a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, whose *laḳabs* are given as D̲j̲alāl al-Milla wa 'l-Ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-Dīn, in Rabīʿ I 772/October 1370. The foundation was evidently associated with another *zāwiya*, the *waḳfiyya* of which in the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg and dated 769/1367-8 (Konya, Yusuf Ağa Kütübhanesi No. 10389) has been resumed by Konyalı, 252-3. This was in favour of the descendants of a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, D̲j̲alāl al-Ḥaḳḳ wa'l-S̲h̲arīʿa wa 'l-Milla wa '-Dīn, whose *nisba* is not given. The conclusion that the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* in question was D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn *Rūmī* is unwarranted; there is no evidence in either foundation inscription or *waḳfiyya* that a Mevlevī foundation was envisaged; and the popular association of the *tekke* with the Mevlevī order must, therefore, be based on a late colonisation of the *tekke* by Mevlevī dervishes.

Though the details of its organisation are obscure, the so-called *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (Konyalı, 405-52; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 67-84; Meinecke, ii, 170-5) belongs architecturally among the *tekkes* of Ḳaramān. It was a multiple foundation, enclosed by a wall of which there is now no trace, consisting of the *ʿimāret*, a mausoleum attached and a fountain opposite (Fig. 10). The *ʿimāret* has a domed, central courtyard surrounded on three sides by two storeys of rooms, with a *ḳibla*-oriented axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers. The minaret salient and traces of the springing of arches on the façade show that originally the building was intended to have an arcaded exo-narthex. The *ʿimāret* plan has several remarkable features, including the fan-pendentives below the dome which derive from the brick architecture of 13th century Konya, though with the exception of re-used marble blocks for the lintel and consoles of the main entrances and the tympana of the outside windows the building is entirely of local stone. The upper storey consists of long galleries, evidently store-rooms or places of assembly. The central area is poorly lit and barely decorated in a style deriving from the internal stone carving of the Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum (*ca.* 1242) and the Hospital at Divriği (626/1228 onwards), and the decoration is concentrated on the exterior-grilled windows and their tympana, soffits, door frames and a cylindrical minaret shaft divided by projecting mouldings into registers sparingly decorated with bi-coloured stone (*ablaḳ*). The main entrance is framed by mouldings of Anatolian Sald̲j̲ūḳ origin, but without concern for their canonical disposition, and their carved decoration, particularly the markedly chinoiserie foliate elements in the spandrels of the porch, is more indebted to the decorative renaissance of the 1420s at Bursa than the Sald̲j̲ūḳ tradition. The Bursa style is also apparent in the carved marble hood of an exterior window, a single carved block with an arabesque-palmette design, deriving from the marble hoods of the Green Mosque at Bursa.

The tomb, at the southern corner, is also *ḳibla*-oriented, a domed square surmounted by an eight-sided pyramidal canopy on an octagonal drum (Fig. 11). Inside there are two floors: a crypt or burial chamber just below ground level and an upper chamber with a carved porch reached by a double staircase. The porch has a shallow stalactite canopy and carved frame with marble jambs, and a lintel with voussoirs set as a flattened broken arch of Bursa type. The upper chamber contains three damaged moulded plaster cenotaphs (Fig. 12), of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḳaramān (d. 868/1463-4), ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm (d. 870/1465-6) and S̲h̲āh Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 888/1483-4). Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, remarks that the first two are evidently from the same mould and that the third may well be contemporary. The plaster shows traces of gilding and may also have been painted.

The interior of the *ʿimāret* still contains traces of hexagonal turquoise tiles alternating with cobalt triangles set directly on the rubble walls. The most important decorative feature, however, was a monumental tile *miḥrāb*, now in the Çinili Köşk in Istanbul, old number 136 (E. Kühnel, *Die Sammlung Türkischer und Islamischer Kunst im Tschinili Köschk* [= Meisterwerke der Archäologischen Museen in Istanbul III], Berlin-Leipzig 1938, Fig. 24). It is of polychrome tiles, partially gilt after

firing, with black or red contours of earth colours to prevent the glazes from running. Though not identical to the tile-work of the Green Mosque and Tomb at Bursa (822/1419-20) or the Muradiye at Edirne (*ca.* 1433), it is markedly similar. Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, considers the *miḥrāb* to have been a special order, while assigning comparable fragments in Konya, Berlin and the Victoria and Albert Museum to a refection of the tomb of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya in 783/1381-2. Also from the *ʿimāret*, doubtless from the main entrance, is a wooden door, now in the Türk ve Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul (Çinili Köşk, old number 16; *not* No. 238 as in Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, *loc. cit.*), carved by a craftsman, ʿUmar b. Ilyās al-Ḳaramānī (Mayer, *Woodcarvers*, 66), combining high-relief foliate motifs and silhouette carved lions and gryphons, in a style much closer to stone carving than was Anatolian woodwork of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period.

The *ʿimāret* and mausoleum are rich in inscriptions. That over the main entrance is dated Muḥarram 836/August-September 1432. Over the entrances to the domed chambers flanking the axial *īwān* are two undated extracts from the *waḳfiyya*. The basic *waḳfiyya* text, dated S̲h̲awwāl 835/July 1432, bears two addenda of the same year and further addenda of 843/1439-40, 849/1445-6, 851/1447-8 and 870/1465-6 (facsimile and commentary by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Karamanoğulları devri vesikalarından Ibrahim Beyin Karaman imareti vakfiyesi*, in *Belleten*, i [1937], 65-164). The richest foundation of Ḳaramān, was it endowed as *waḳf ahlī* according to the Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab*, with a staff of twelve Ḳurʾān readers, from among whom the officials of the foundation were to be appointed with appropriate supplements to their basic stipends of 225 silver *dirhams*, and servants to work in the kitchens to provide three days' free food and lodging for reputable visitors. Its designation is slightly ambiguous. Uzunçarşılı describes the foundation as *dār ḳurrāʾ*, *maṭbak̲h̲* and *masd̲j̲id*. However, the foundation inscription and the first of the two extracts from the *waḳfiyya* inscribed inside describe it merely as *hād̲h̲ihi ʾl-ʿimāra al-mubāraka* (non-descript "foundation"); while the *waḳfiyya* also mentions a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ*. None of this is sufficient to characterise the foundation as a novelty in institutional organisation. The *mutawallī* was to be Ibrāhīm Beg during his lifetime, and thereafter his descendants. Nothing is said of the disbursement of surplus revenus; but the express conditions that one-quarter of the income should go to the upkeep of the foundation and that *waḳf* property be kept in good repair look forward to the terms of Ottoman *waḳfiyyas*.

Mausolea. The distinction between attached and unattached mausolea is probably artificial, since the cemeteries have suffered considerably from recent urban expansion. Photographs, for example, taken prior to the restoration of the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Türbe (Fig. 13), close to the no longer extant *madrasa* of Mūsā Beg (see above) show the springing of the arches of an adjoining building on its south-east side; while a tomb, probably early 15th century, popularly associated with the Zaynī *ʿālim* and *faḳīh*, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Meḥmed Fenārī, who was actually buried at Bursa [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE] (d. 834/1430-1), was also attached to a *zāwiya* or *masd̲j̲id*. Of the tombs in the cemeteries, only three are now of architectural importance. The ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Türbe (designated as such in the *waḳf* survey of Muḥarram 881/January 1477) is an undated octagonal construction of the 14th century with a fluted pyramidal roof following a brick prototype (cf. the mausoleum * of Sayyid Maḥmūd K̲h̲ayrānī at Akşehir [621/1224-5], *RCEA*, 3920) with a recessed entrance and diminutive stalactite canopy (Fig. 14). A ruined octagonal tomb with a set-back octagonal transitional zone and a recessed entrance in a shallow, broken-arched niche, known (Konyalı, 499-501) as the Demirgömlek Türbe and identified on the basis of the 881/1477 *waḳf* survey as the mausoleum of a late Ḳaramānid official, Amīn al-Dīn, appears to be a development of a tomb type characterised by the Hüdavend Türbe at Niğde (712/1312-13). Comparable is the Kızlar Türbe, an undated construction of cut stone with bi-chrome (*ablaḳ*) designs on alternate facets and a recessed entrance set in an arched canopy. The evidence (despite Konyalı, 364-77) that the tomb of Yunus Emre—fervently believed by the local population to have died at Ḳaramān—is in the Kirişçi Baba Mosque is inconclusive.

Baths and fountains. Most of the baths of Ḳaramān were seriously damaged in an earthquake in 1299/1881-2. None is dated, but the plan of a bath given by Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 49, which, they suggest, might have been founded by the Ḳaramānid Süleymān Beg, is of recognisably traditional type. There are no recorded double baths, so the buildings must have been used alternately by men and women. Many must occupy the sites of baths mentioned in 16th century Ottoman *waḳfiyyas* and may well be older, since Sauvaget has remarked that waterworks, for obvious reasons, tend to persist even though the superstructure is rebuilt. However, there is a clear relation between the construction of new baths in the outlying quarters of the town and the building of fountains in the 18th—19th centuries.

The numerous fountains of the quarters of Ḳaramān (Konyalí, 625-35) are of uniform type, with the outflow inset in an arched, normally undecorated, recess, with small *maṣṭabas* or seats at the sides. Those in the centre of Ḳaramān have, like the baths, been the object of frequent, mostly unrecorded, repairs and restorations, often re-using stone from other constructions. Thus the foundation inscription of a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ* * dated Rabīʿ II 855/May 1451 built into the Hoca Mahmud fountain (Konyalı, 637-8) is no evidence that the fountain was associated with any *dār al-ḥuffāẓ* founded by K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Maḥmūd. Likewise with the marble foundation plaque of an *ʿimāra* of the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's Supervisor of Waterworks (*mīr-i āb/āv*), dated Rabīʿ II 777/October 1375, built into the so-called Şahruh Çeşmesi (Konyalı, 351). The earliest standing fountain is thus that opposite the main entrance of the *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432), set in a well-decorated, carved frame. The fountains of the Ottoman period, except for the Kadıbudak and Kilçi Çeşmes (both 958/1551), are mostly associated with mosque foundations. To judge from the surviving inscriptions, few were built in the 17th century. However, the large number of construction or restoration inscriptions covering the period 1790-1850 on the fountains of the peripheral quarters is evidence for considerable urban expansion in the late Ottoman period.

Conclusion. Despite the disappearance of important monuments over the past hundred years, the surviving monuments (of which only the most important have been considered) seem a typical sample of the original constructions of the Ḳaramānid

and Ottoman period. To judge from the earliest Ottoman *waḳf* registers, many buildings were already *kharāb* and their *waḳfs* appropriated by other foundations. Calculation of the revenues of the major Ḳaramānid constructions is difficult, since the scale of the endowments is not recorded. However only the largest foundations, the *madrasa* of Mūsā Beg (*ca.* 1340, no longer extant) the Hatuniye Medrese * (783/1381-2) and the *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg * (836/1432), have whole villages specified among their *awḳāf*. Even allowing, therefore, for the decay of Saldjūḳ foundations and their endowments through the 14th century and their tacit absorption by the later Ḳaramānid foundations, the *waḳf* registers tend to show that even at the height of the Ḳaramānids' power, building was no more extensive at Ḳaramān than at other centres of the amīrate—Niğde, Ermenak, Ereğli and Aksaray—and considerably less than at Konya, Akşehir, Beyşehir and Aksaray under the Saldjūḳs.

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(J. M. Rogers)

LĀRĪ [see LARIN].

AL-LĀRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ṢALĀḤ B. DJALĀL B. KAMĀL AL-ANṢĀRĪ (or al-Nāṣirī), known as Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, Persian scholar and historian, was born *ca.* 1510 in Lār, to the south of Shīrāz. Following his family's tradition, he entered upon a scholarly career and studied under Mullā Ṣadrā's son Mīr Ghiyāth b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and Mīr Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, a pupil of Djalāl al-Dīn [see AL-DAWĀNĪ]. It is transmitted that Lārī's father proceeded openly against the Shīʿī heretics (*rawāfiḍ*).

During his later journeys, al-Lārī was at first received honourably by the Mughal emperor Humāyūn (1530-56), who granted him the title *ustād* and became his pupil. Because of the unrest after Humāyūn's death, he left the country to go first on a pilgrimage to Mecca. According to the Persian source quoted below, four hundred of his books were lost at a shipwreck. After the pilgrimage, from 964/1556-7 (rather 1557) onwards, he stayed for a while in Aleppo, where he apparently tried to establish himself as a merchant. His erudition stood out in discussions with learned men, among whom was Aḥmad Ḳazwīnī, who did not dare to answer Lārī's objections against his recently-composed *Ithbāt al-wādjib*. It is not known how long Lārī stayed in Aleppo; he probably lacked there means of subsistence. His next station was Istanbul, where he obtained admittance to the Muftī Abu 'l-Suʿūd [see ABU 'L-SUʿŪD]. But he declined the offer of a professorship, endowed with 50 *aḳčes* daily; he might have thought that such a position was rather unimportant in comparison with his previous situation at the Mughal court. In this connection, the Ottoman historian ʿĀlī speaks of breach of faith of the Muftī *vis-à-vis* Lārī (H. Sohrweide in *Isl.*, xlvi [1970], 286). Disappointed, he left Istanbul and found his final home in Āmid (now Diyarbakır), where Iskender Pasha, the Ottoman governor, appointed him professor at the Khosrew Pasha *madrasa* and teacher of his children. After being accepted among the *mewāli-yi Rūm*, he then also met with recognition by the Porte. He died over 60 years old in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 979/April-May 1572.

He was originally a follower of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, becoming later a Ḥanafī; also, he had a certain inclination towards mysticism. He wrote numerous annotations and commentaries of well-known works on philosophy, astronomy, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*. His few experiments as a poet met with no approval, but his *Mirʾāt al-adwār wa-mirḳāt al-akhbār*, a universal history in Persian, dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Selīm II (974-82/1566-74) on the occasion of his accession to the throne, became widely known. The work consists of ten chapters, and is a compilation from fifty Arabic, Persian and a few Turkish works, which are mentioned in the preface. Possibly between 974/1566-7 and 978/1570, Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn (d. 1008/1599 [see KHŌDJA EFENDI]) undertook, at the order of the Grand Vizier, an adaptation in Turkish of the first nine chapters. He left out the tenth chapter, on the Ottomans; as is well-known, they were the subject of his own work, the *Tādj al-tewārīkh*. In the 19th century, the official historiographer Esʿad Efendi [see ESʿAD EFENDI, ṢAḤḤĀFLAR-SHEYKHĪ-ZĀDE SEYYID MEHMED] also made a partial translation.

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(H. Sohrweide)

LĀRIDA, name denoting, in Arabic texts, the former Ilerda, an episcopal see, currently Lérida, provincial capital in Spain, to the west of Barcelona, on the Segre.

It was a district (*ʿamal*) centre of the Upper March (*al-Thaghr al-alʿā*) to which other towns and a large number of fortified strongholds were subordinate. Situated on a fertile plain, it is surrounded by numerous gardens and orchards. One of its main sources of wealth was constituted by the plantations of fine quality flax which were farmed commercially throughout the March. There used to be gold in large quantities in the river of Lārida. The district included rich farmlands on the banks of the Cinca (*nahr zaytūn*) with olive-groves and vineyards. There were numerous agricultural estates (*ḍiyāʿ*) comprising cereal and pasture land. Al-Ḥimyarī notes as a special feature the fact that each rural grouping (*ḍayʿa*) had at its disposal a fortified look-out tower (*burdj*), or underground galleries (*sirdāb*) where the farmers could take refuge in the event

Fig. 3. *Madrasa* of the Amîr Mûsâ (*ca.* 1340). (F. Sarre, courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum).
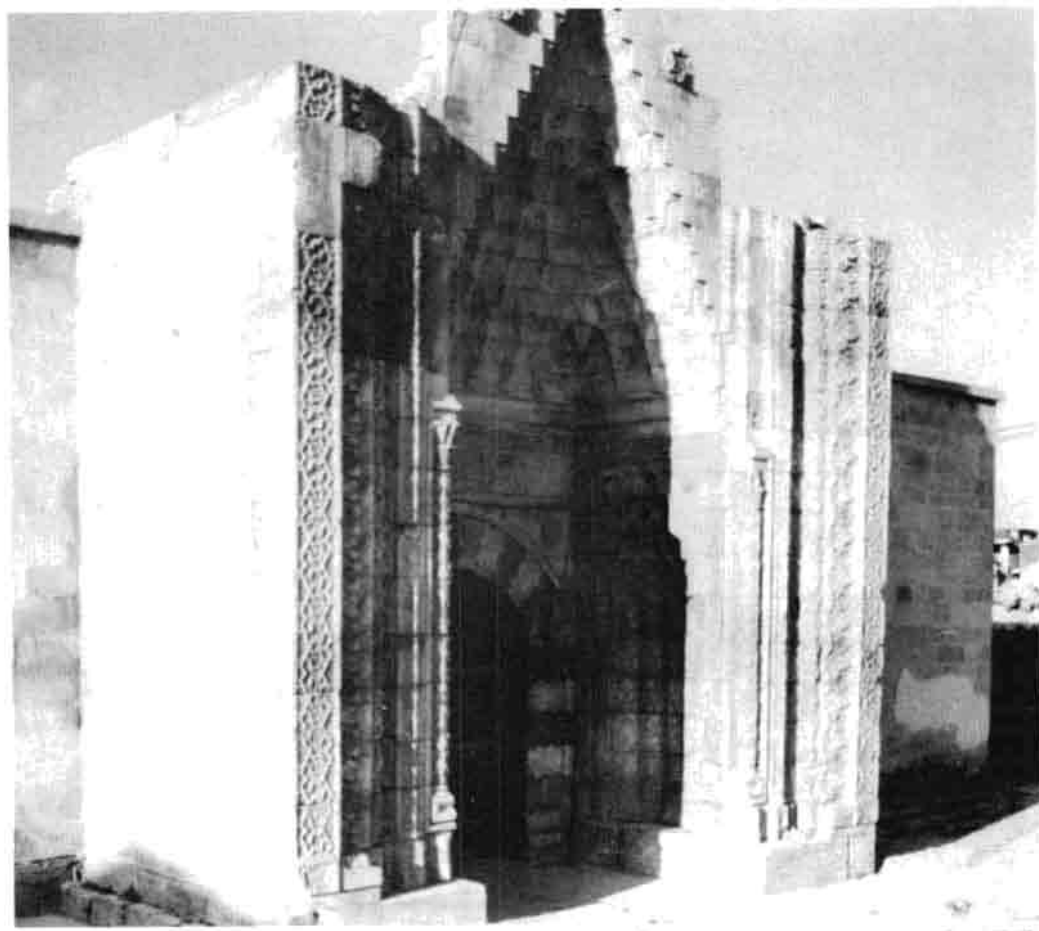
Fig. 4. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Main entrance. (J. M. Rogers 1978).

Fig. 5. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Interior. Door frame and *wakfiyya* excerpt, before restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem).

Fig. 6. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Façade, before restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem).

Fig. 7. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Detail of marble carving (J. M. Rogers, 1978).
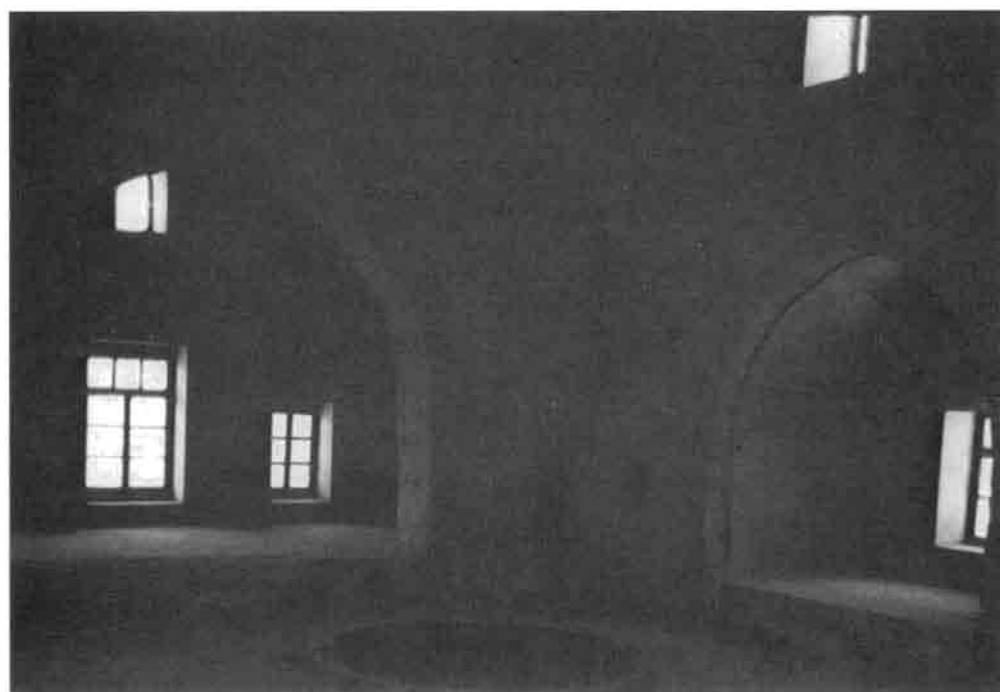
Fig. 8. Siyahser or Karabaş Veli (*ca.* 1460). Interior (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 9. Siyahser or Karabaş Veli (*ca.* 1460). Ruined canopy mausoleum (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 10. *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). General view (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 11. *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). Mausoleum. Entrance (F. Sarre courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum).

Fig. 12. *ʿImâret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). Mausoleum. Moulded plaster cenotaphs (F. Sarre Museum).

Fig. 13. ʿAlāʾ al-Din Türbe (14th century). General view. (F. Sarre, 9002 Museum).

Fig. 14. ʿAlāʾ al-Din Türbe (14th century). Entrance. (F. Sarre, 9003 Museum).

of attack. Situated on the main strategic route of the Upper March, Lārida was an obligatory transit point of armies and a site of the utmost importance in the defensive system of the Marches. Conquered by the Muslims at some time after the capture of Saragossa and Tarragona (whose inhabitants capitulated without resistance, if al-Rāzī is to be believed), the territory of Lārida underwent pillage and destruction, in the 2nd/8th century, at the hands of Franks—the armies of Louis—and of Cis-Pyrenean Christians and renegades. Governed by *wālīs* granted military prerogatives on account of its distance from Cordova, it succeeded on many occasions in eluding the authority of the *amīrs*. The Banū Ḳasī, the Banū Mūsā or Banū Lubb on the one hand, the Banū ʿAmrūs, and the Banū S̲h̲abrīṭ or Banū Ṭawīl, on the other, as well as the Banu 'l-Muhād̲j̲ir or Tud̲j̲ībīs [*q.v.*], dominate the entire history of Lārida and its region in the 3rd-4th/9-10th centuries.

The name of Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Ḳāsī who, in 270/883-4, reconstructed and fortified Lārida and its surrounding territory, deserves a special mention. His sons were obliged, in *ca.* 277/890, to fight against Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl of Huesca, who vied with them for possession of the Barbitania (Barbastro and Litera, in the Ribagorza). The *wālīs* of Lārida, with their own troops or with reinforcements from Cordova, fought on more than one occasion with the Christians of Pallars and of the Barcelona region. The superb Grand Mosque built by Lubb b. Muḥammad b. Ḳasī in the upper part of the fortress dates from the beginning of the 4th/10th century. In the final third of the 4th/10th century, the role of *ḳāʾid* appears to have been occupied by Ras̲h̲īd al-Barg̲h̲awāṭī, who was instructed to restore to Hās̲h̲im b. Muḥammad b. Hās̲h̲im al-Tud̲j̲ībī the district of Lārida, which continued to be controlled by his family for a number of years. In the 5th/11th century, the fate of Lārida and its region was linked to that of the Arab family of the Banū Hūd [see HŪDIDS], who in 431/1039 replaced the Tud̲j̲ībī family in controlling the valley of the Ebro and in the *ṭāʾifas* of Saragossa and Lārida. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Muẓaffar—like the *ḥād̲j̲ib* Mund̲h̲ir at a later stage—governed the town, from a time prior to the death of his father (438/1046) and was in disagreement with his brother Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir of Saragossa, who held him responsible for the loss of Barbastro in 456/1064 [see BARBAS̲H̲TURU]. Under the control of members of the family of the Banū Hūd, sometimes dependent on Saragossa and in a precarious state in the 6th/12th century in the face of the Christian advance, the town survived under the authority of *wālīs*. It was compelled, when the fortresses of the defensive perimeter were taken, and Armengol VI of Urgel and Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona entered into alliance with other Catalan chieftains, to capitulate on 19 D̲j̲umādā II 544/24 October 1149, when it was at that time being governed by the *wālī* al-Muẓaffar b. Sulaymān.

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(J. BOSCH VILÁ)

LARIN (P., *lārī*), a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the 16th and 17th centuries. It takes its name from the town of Lār [*q.v.*], the capital of Lāristān at which it was first struck; cf. Pedro Texeira (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc., London 1902, 341): "There is also the city of Lar... whence are called laris, a money of the finest silver, very well drawn and current throughout the East", and Sir Thomas Herbert speaking of Lār in 1627 (*Some years' travels*, London 1665, 130): "near this byzar the larnes are coyned, a famous sort of money." The larin weighed about 74 grains (4.9 grammes) and had a high reputation for the purity of its silver. It was worth ten pence in English money (Herbert) or one-fifth of a French crown (Tavernier) or 60 Portuguese reis.

The larin is in shape quite unlike any other coin. It is a thin silver rod about 4 inches long, doubled back and then stamped on either side with inscriptions from dies like any other coin. It is admirably described by William Barret in his account of the moneys of Baṣra in 1594 (Hakluyt, *Principal voyages*, Glasgow 1904, vi, 12): "The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round like all other current money of Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather where with we use to write and in length about one eighth part thereof, which is so wrested that the two ends meet at the juste halfe part and in the head thereof there is a stamp Turkesco and these be the best current money in all the Indices and six of the larines make a ducate".

The kingdom of Lār ceased to issue these coins after its conquest by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās the Great of Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, iii, 128), but its popularity led to this type of coin being adopted by other states of the Indian Ocean. The kings of Hormuz of the latter half of the 16th century issued larins, as did the S̲h̲āhs of Persia at S̲h̲īrāz and the Ottoman Sultans at Baṣra. In India, they

were struck in the 17th century by the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpūr and other rulers, and the frequent finds of larins in Western India show how extensive was their circulation there. In the Maldive Islands in the early 17th century, the king struck his own larins, as we know from the *Voyage* of F. Pyrard de Laval (Hakluyt Soc., 1887, i, 232-3). In Ceylon they were also struck, not only by the natives but also by the Portuguese merchants at Colombo; in this island they were twisted roughly into the shape of a fish-hook, whence the term "fish-hook" money. These pieces are either uninscribed or bear rude imitations of the Arabic script. In Ceylon the "fish-hook" money survived into the 18th century. A degenerate descendant of the larin existed till recently (H. St. J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii, 319) on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, in Ḥasā, where it is known as a *ṭawīla*, i.e. the "long" [coin]. It is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription. It is described by Palgrave (*Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, ii, 179) who adds that there is a proverb "like a Ḥasā *ṭawīl*", applied to any one who, like the local currency, is of no use away from home. H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, still registers in his *Glossary*, 643, the *ṭawīl* as a copper bar coin current in Ḥasā.

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(J. ALLAN)

LARISSA [see YENISHEHIR]

LAS BĒLA, a former native state of the British Indian empire. It lies in the south-east of Balūčistān, along the coast to the west of Karachi, between lats. 24° 54′ and 26° 39′ N. and longs, 64° 7′ and 67° 29′ E. It is bounded on the west by Makrān [*q.v.*] (of which western Las Bēla forms indeed a part), on the north by the Jhalāwān district of the former Kalāt native state [see KILĀT] and on the east by the former province of Sind; its area, both as a former native state and as a modern District of Pakistan (see below) is 6,441 sq. miles.

1. Geography. The central part of the state is a flat, arid plain (*las* = "plain"), but in the western part of the state there is the Makrān coastal range running parallel to the sea, and ranges like the Mor and Pab ones run north-southwards in the eastern part of the state and separate Las Bēla from the lower Indus plains. The central lowland area is drained by the Porāli, Tītiyān and other streams, and it is here that the main settlements lie. Much of the terrain of Las Bēla is desolate and scrub-covered, and because of the exiguous rainfall (7″/17.5 cm. per annum), agriculture depends essentially on irrigation from floods coming down from the hills after the summer rains; this water is collected by dams across watercourses, and *kārīzs* [see ḲANĀT] are used for conveying water to fields. The coastal population depends on a small amount of coastal navigation, and especially on fishing, the whole Makrān coastland being known in classical times as one inhabited by Ichthyophagoi; with the suppression of piracy in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea during the 19th century, these fisheries expanded considerably, and salted fish was exported from the Makrān coasts as far as Zanzibar, Bombay and the Malabar coast.

2. Ethnography. The main Lasī tribes claim descent from the Sūmrā and Sammā former rulers of Sind, and seem from their names (cf. the frequent element *potra*) to be of Indian Rādjput origin, Las Bēla being the only part of Makrān where an originally Indian ethnic element has apparently maintained itself against the Balūč incomers. There are five principal tribal confederations, of which the Rūndjha held the chieftainship of Bēla before 1742, and the Djāmots after them. A group called the Gadrās, of negroid features, clearly descend from an imported slave population, and another low-caste group is constituted by the Langas, mainly employed as domestic servants. The overwhelming majority of the population is Sunnī Muslim in faith, with some Khōdja Ismāʿīlī traders in the towns. The worship of local *pīrs* or saints is widespread, with especially important shrines, formerly visited by Hindus from quite distant parts of the subcontinent as well as by Muslims, at Hinglādj, Shāh Bilāwal and Lāhūt-i Lāmakān. Three-quarters of the population speak the Djadgālī or Djagdālī (lit. "Djat language") form of Sindhi, but Makrānī Balūčī is spoken generally in the west and Brahūī in the extreme north.

3. History. Las Bēla has virtually no separate history before the 18th century; for the history of the region before then, see in general MAKRĀN. Alexander the Great must, however, have passed through what became Las Bēla when in 326 B.C. he left Pattala on the lower Indus and marched westwards via the land of the Oreitae to Gedrosia or Makrān and then Persia.

Various local tribes exercised power in Las Bēla until in 1742-3 Djām ʿAlī of the Djāmot tribe (see above) established his authority there with the help of a Brahūī force from the ruler of Kalāt Maḥabbat Khān; the chieftainship henceforth remained with this family, who were known by the Rādjput title, formerly used in Sind, of Djām but who came to claim a spurious descent from the Arab tribe of Ḳuraysh. Las Bēla thus became a dependency of Kalāt, whose Khān at first drew half the revenues of Bēla as his share and later required on occasion a troop contingent in lieu; also, Las Bēla's northern frontier adjoining Jhalāwān remained for long undefined. Henry Pottinger passed through Bēla in 1810 and found that town enjoying considerable prosperity under the benevolent rule of Djām Mīr Khān I (1776-1818); a colony of 250-300 Hindu merchant families carried on trade there (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 14-29). It was during this Djām's reign that conflict arose over the Makrān port of Gwādar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which had been transferred to the sultans of ʿUmān in 1784 by Mīr Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt, but captured at one point by Mīr Khān I. In the middle decades of the 19th century, Djām Mīr Khān II (1830-69), who was beginning his reign as a child when Charles Masson was in Bēla in the 1830s (*Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 17-18, 25-30), came to covet the territories of his father-in-law Khudādād Khān of Kalāt, and allied on various occasions from 1865 onwards with the Khān of Khārān [*q.v.*] in north-western Balūčistān and the Brahūī *sardārs* or chiefs of Jhalāwān. After 1869 he lost the chieftainship of Las Bēla, however, and was an exile in British India; his son and ultimate successor as Djām ʿAlī Khān III in 1876 recognised the suzerainty of Kalāt

in the general settlement at Mastung arranged by Sir Robert Sandeman (T. H. Thornton, *Col. Sir Robert Sandeman, his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 46). Irreconcilable disputes within Las Bēla broke out between father and son, with Djām ʿAlī Khān exiled to Quetta in 1886. When Djām Mīr Khān II died in 1888, Sir Robert Sandeman, then Agent to the Governor-General in Balūčistān, in 1889 installed Djām ʿAlī Khān III in Bēla (*ibid.*, 199-203). After this latter ruler's death in 1896, there were disputes among his sons, but Djām Mīr Kamāl Khān assumed the chieftainship, and in the ensuing decades, events in Las Bēla were less eventful.

After British India was partitioned, Las Bēla, like Kalāt and Khārān, acceeded to Pakistan (1948), and after 1952 became part of the Balūčistān States Union, with the Djām no longer an independent ruler but receiving a privy purse from the central government. In 1955 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, with Las Bēla as a District of Kalāt Division under a Deputy Commissioner; but after 1960 Las Bēla District was transferred to Karachi Division. According to the 1961 census, Las Bēla District had a population of 90,826, excluding non-Pakistanis, and the town of Bēla one of 3,139 (*Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census report*, Las Bela, Karachi n.d.)

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], vi, 280, xvi, 144-9; *Baluchistan District gazeteer series*. viii. *Las Bela*, Allahabad 1907; M. Longworth Dames, *EI*[1] art. *Balōčistān*.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LASHKAR, the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *ʿaskar*, *djund* [*q.v.*], or *djaysh* [*q.v.*], and the term normally used by the Indian Muslim rulers for army. Though armies were generally organised according to the Perso-Turkish military traditions of the Ghaznawids and the Saldjūḳids, Mongol traditions were also assimilated later into the subsequent plans for the reorganisation of the *lashkar*.

Composition and organisation. The *lashkar* of the Dihlī Sulṭāns, that of the 9th/15th century provincial dynasties, and that of the Mughals was divided into the cavalry, infantry and the elephant corps, the cavalry forming its backbone. Following the Ghaznawid, Ghūrid and Saldjūḳid traditions, both the Sulṭāns and the Mughal emperors maintained a multi-racial professional cavalry, not neglecting to include even the leaders of the Hindu racial and ethnic groups.

In the 7th/13th century, the Dihlī cavalry, or the standing army at the capital, was variously known as the *ḥashm-i ḳalb*, *afwādj-i ḳalb*, *ḳalb-i sulṭānī*, or simply *ḥashm*. Some Sulṭāns also recruited a slave corps personally loyal to themselves, but they invariably proved disastrous to their successors. The *djāndārs* (king's body-guards) performed both military and police duties and were counted as members of the military force. Apart from the *ḥashm*, the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]-holders also recruited cavalry from the regions in which they were posted, or from the garrisons under their command. The army of the *iḳṭāʿ*-holders was known as the *ḥashm-i aṭrāf*, or later, as the *ḥashm-i bilād-i mamālik*.

A separate army was kept at strategic points, both in old and newly-built forts along the River Indus in order to stop the Mongol incursions. Sulṭān Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.] built strong forts even at Djalālī, Patiyālī, and in other predominantly Hindū areas east and north of Dihlī, in order to open up roads and communication with Oudh or Awadh [*q.v.*]. He manned these forts with Afghāns, who were given fertile land to farm. The commanders of the forts remained as *iḳṭāʿ*-holders, but the soldiers were encouraged to develop a personal interest in the land as landowners.

Bughrā Khān, a son of Balban, is said to have informed his own son Kayḳubād, who succeeded his grandfather Balban as the Sulṭān of Dihlī, that a *sar-khayl* should be in control of ten horsemen; a *sipah-sālār* should command ten *sar-khayls*; an *amīr* should be a commander of ten *sipah-sālārs*; a *malik* should have authority over ten *amīrs*, and a *khān*'s forces should control contingents of ten *maliks* (cf. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-2, 145). This is not to say, however, that the armies were organised according to a decimal system, but it was an ideal which the Sulṭāns wished to implement, because of their growing awareness of the decimal chain into which the Mongol army was divided. Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, however, did re-organise his army on that basis, and the Tughluḳs are known to have continued the decimal system, for we are told by al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* that, in Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's reign, the *khān* commanded 10,000 horsemen, the *malik* 1,000, the *amīr* 100, and the *sipah-sālār* less than 100.

The head of the military administration was known as the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*, or the *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i ʿarḍ* [see istiʿrāḍ, ʿarḍ]. As a minister, he was second only to the *wazīr* or the Prime Minister. In the reign of Balban, the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was known by the title *rāwat-i ʿarḍ*, the first word being of Hindī origin. Amīr Khusraw's maternal grandfather, ʿImād al-Mulk (pillar of the state), was Balban's *rāwat-i ʿarḍ*, and had a very keen sense of his responsibility. Later, in Fīrūz Shāh's reign, the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was given the title ʿImād al-Mulk.

The *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was the principal recruiting officer for the Sulṭān's standing army (*ḥashm-i ḳalb*); he inspected the armaments and horses of the cavalry at least once a year, kept their descriptive rolls (*ḥilyat*), and recommended promotions or punishments accordingly. The *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was also responsible for the internal organisation and the discipline of the *ḥashm-i ḳalb* and the commissariat. The leading *iḳṭāʿ*-holders appointed their own personal *ʿāriḍs*.

Fakhr-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] tells us how the *ʿāriḍs*' assistants were required to note down the name and *ḥilyat* of both the troopers and the foot-soldiers. As an inspection of the army was invariably held before its march to a campaign, the *ʿāriḍ* on such occasions was not expected to be too harsh, for disheartened troopers, according to Fakhr-i Mudabbir, were not very dependable (Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa*, ed. A.S. Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346/1966, 276-8).

It would seem that the system of *dāgh* (branding of horses) which was known in the reign of the Ghaznawids had been abandoned by Iltutmish. It was reintroduced by Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, but Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluḳ abolished the practice, as well as that of recording *ḥilyats*. The latter was reintroduced once again by Sikandar Lōdī, while Shīr Shāh also made *dāgh* compulsory [see dāgh u taṣhīḥa in Suppl.].

A remarkable change took place in the military organisation when Akbar introduced his monolithic military and civil service organisation, known as *manṣabdārī*. Although the system became more complex in

the reign of Shāhdjahān, the basic framework of the *manṣabdārī* system as instituted by Akbar endured. According to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the Emperor divided the *manṣab* (rank) of the *manṣabdārs* from the *dah-bāshī* (commander of ten) to *dah-hazārī* (10,000), reserving commands of 5,000 and above for his owns sons. He intended to limit the *manṣabs* to sixty-six, representing the value of letters in the name of Allāh, but in fact there were only ever thirty-three grades. Akbar himself relaxed the rule about higher ranks, promoting Prince Salīm to a *manṣab* of 12,000 and two nobles to the ranks of 7,000. All *manṣabdārs* were required to maintain horsemen, horses, elephants, camels and carts, as fixed by their respective *manṣabs*.By 1010/1602 the *manṣabs* were divided into *dhāt* and *suwār* and the institutions of *yak-aspah, dū-aspah* and *sih-aspah* were also introduced. *Manṣabdārs* of the rank of 500 were called *amīrs* and those holding higher ranks were given other appropriate titles. Later in Shāhdjahān's reign, only those who held the rank of 1,000 were known as *amīrs* (rendered as *Omrahs* by Bernier and other foreign authors).

The personal rank of *manṣabdārs* called *dhāt* was meant for calculating one's salary according to the sanctioned pay scale, and the *suwār* rank indicated the number of troopers and horses the *manṣabdārs* were ordered to maintain; for example, a *manṣabdār* with a *suwār* rank of 5,000 was ordinarily required to produce 1,000 horsemen at muster. Troopers who were required to provide one horse were called *yak-aspah*, while those who undertook to provide two horses were called *dū-aspah*. Those obliged to provide three were known as *sih-aspah*. The *manṣabdārs*' and *amīrs*' contingents contained all three types of troopers proportionate to the salaries they drew. Salaries were not allowed for the full twelve months; some drew them for much shorter periods. For example, a *manṣabdār* with a *suwār* rank of 5,000 drawing his salary for twelve months was required to muster a contingent of 1,000 troopers, of whom 300 were *sih-aspah*, 600 *dū-aspah* and 100 *yak-aspah*, i.e. a contingent containing 2,200 horses. If, on the other hand, he were to draw his salary for only five months in a year, he would need to muster only *yak-aspahs*.

The contingents of the *manṣabdārs* were multiracial, the number of recruits of different martial races being predetermined. Only the Rādjpūts and Mughals were allowed to recruit troopers exclusively from their own racial groups and tribes.

Troopers wishing to enter the army had first to find a patron who generally belonged to the same race as himself, but as the empire expanded, the racial exclusiveness in the *manṣabdār*'s contingents broke down. The candidates had to furnish their own horses of a standard breed, as well as armaments, but the patron *manṣabdārs* also gave them horses for which deductions were made from the troopers' salary. The *manṣabdārs*' troopers were known as their *ṭābīnān* ("followers").

The appointments of the *manṣabdārs* from the lowest to the highest rank were approved by the emperor, and all of them were technically speaking directly subordinate to him. The head of the military administration was called the *mīr bakhshī*, the Mughal name given to the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*. The *mīr bakhshī* also held the status of a minister, and in that capacity was next to the prime minister. However, even the ministers' contingents were examined by the *mīr-bakhshī*'s department and, the fact that their salary depended on the maintenance of those contingents meant that even the prime minister's salary was dependent on the *mīr-bakhshī*'s approval. The *bakhshī*'s department also recorded the descriptive roll (*čihra*) of the *manṣabdārs*, their troopers and horses. The breeds and the quality of their horses were examined and those that were approved were branded with different marks (*dāgh*). A muster of troopers and horses was held periodically for physical checking and verification (*taṣḥīḥa*). Those who failed to muster their troops forfeited their pay or were heavily fined. The *mīr-bakhshī* was assisted by two other *bakhshīs* who helped to check the evasion of rules, and to prevent fraud. The Mughal government, which depended mainly on the troopers of the *manṣabdārs* for their conquests and for the suppression of rebellions, remained efficient only so long as the monarchs were strong. Unfortunately, under the incompetent Mughal emperors who succeeded Awrangzīb, the government began to disintegrate.

There was a second group of troopers, superior to the *ṭābīnān*, who were known as *aḥadīs* (from *aḥad*, "one"). An *amīr* was commissioned especially to introduce suitable candidates for the *aḥadī*-ship, and a separate *bakhshī* was assigned to examine their horses, brand them, and compile their descriptive rolls. The *aḥadīs*' salaries were some 75% higher than those of the *ṭābīnān*, and their horses and arms were thus of a superior kind. During Akbar's reign, the *aḥadīs* acted as his immediate servants. They were also assigned to non-military duties. The *wālā shāhī* ("belonging to the exalted king"), referred to as the "emperor's slaves" by Manucci, worked as body-guards or defenders of the imperial person, and were also picked from amongst the *aḥadīs*.

Another category of horsemen were known as *bārgīr-suwārs*. They neither owned horses nor were enrolled as *ṭābīnān*. However, as they were fit for cavalry service, in times of emergency they were provided with horses and went into action. They were not, however, part of the regular cavalry.

Abu 'l-Faḍl also makes mention of a large army consisting of 384,558 cavalrymen maintained by the *zamīndārs* [*q.v.*]. Some *zamīndārs* made their contingents available to the emperors for suppressing rebellions; they also kept their localities free from robbers, and performed police duties in the villages, but in no way did this big army form a part of the Mughal regular fighting forces.

The foot-soldiers who were maintained within their infantry contingents by the Dihlī Sulṭāns were known as *pāyaks*, and were mostly Hindūs. They were good archers and were generally arrayed in front of the lines of horses, or around the elephants in order to prevent them from fleeing. As body-guards and palace-guards of the emperors and princes, the *pāyaks* were deeply loyal to their masters and are known to have rendered singular services to Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. Shīr Shāh presented them with matchlocks, and Akbar's infantry contained 12,000 matchlockbearers [see BĀRŪD. vi. India]. They were divided into four grades with different salaries. Akbar also recruited into the infantry a caste of Hindū highway robbers called *māwīs*, and named them *khidmatiyyas* (serving men). Their officer was called the Khidmat Rāy. The *khidmatiyyas* were required to guard the palace and to control highway robbery. Members of many other hill tribes and Hindū martial clans were also induced to join the Mughal infantry. The matchlockmen and the archers formed a formidable corps of the Mughal army. For administrative purposes. Akbar used to assign contingents of foot-soldiers, paid by the imperial treasury, to some high *manṣabdārs*. They were

known as *piyāda-i dā<u>kh</u>ilī* and were classified as *nīma-suwārān* (half-troopers) in the descriptive rolls. One-fourth of the *dā<u>kh</u>ilī* foot-soldiers, used matchlocks, and the rest were archers.

Auxiliary tradesmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths, cotton-carders, stonemasons, leather workers, firework-makers, turners, diggers, miners, axemen, farriers, and *kahārs* (bearers of different kinds of litters) were also classed as infantry. Indispensable as they were for constructing defensive works, pontoon bridges and helping in siege operations, they were also included in the infantry and trained in swordsmanship in order to defend themselves in times of need.

Elephants imported from India formed a formidable corps of the <u>Gh</u>aznawid army [see FĪL. As beasts of war, and ḤARB. v. Persia]. The Dihlī Sultans were also highly impressed with the utility of elephants in war. Balban considered each elephant as equal to 500 horsemen, and the Dihlī Sulṭāns lost no opportunity in obtaining the choicest elephants for their *pīl<u>kh</u>āna* (elephant stables). They also strove to keep those areas that supplied the best elephants, such as Bengal and Deccan, in their possession. One hundred and twenty war-elephants arrayed against Tīmūr's army by the feeble Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ Sulṭān are known to have struck panic even into that world-conqueror's army [see also ḤARB. vi. India].

Elephants were an asset to the army in battering the gates of strongholds. The warriors shot arrows or matchlocks from their positions on the elephants' back; the commanders who were seated on the elephants could be seen from a distance by the rest of the army and were able to instil confidence into their soldiers. However, when panicstricken, or severely wounded, the elephants became uncontrollable and would often trample their own army underfoot.

The Muslim rulers in India did not neglect the artillery [see BĀRŪD. vi. India]. The Deccan Sulṭāns of India, who had close contact with the Ottoman Turks, were pioneers in establishing firearm factories. The Gu<u>dj</u>arāt Sulṭāns followed their example, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Bahādur <u>Sh</u>āh made good use of the Turkish gunners in their service. Bābur, the founder of the Mu<u>gh</u>al empire in India, secured a decisive victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī, mainly due to the efficiency of his artillery. In India, he took a keen interest in having heavy guns cast by those gunners trained under the Ottoman Sulṭāns who were now in his service. Akbar also took a personal interest in casting guns, and recruited even Portuguese to develop his artillery. Many new types of guns were invented by the Persian Fatḥ-Allāh <u>Sh</u>īrāzī in Akbar's reign. From the middle of the 11th/17th century, European adventurers drawing exceptionally high salaries began to hold superior positions in the artillery of the Mu<u>gh</u>als and other rulers. In the 12th/18th century, the British and French gunners made radical improvements in the casting of cannons and heavy guns, but the blacksmiths invariably remained Indians.

All the heavy guns were given pompous names, and some of them were so heavy that it took as many as twenty oxen to haul and several elephants to push them. Naturally, they could not cross boat-bridges and were only with great difficulty transported along the rugged routes. The light artillery consisted of several types of guns, variously known as *gadjnāl* or *hathnāl* (guns transported on elephants), *<u>sh</u>uṭernāl*, *zambūrak* and *<u>sh</u>āhīn* (swivel-gun or wall-piece). A special type of light artillery known as the "artillery of the stirrup", which François Bernier mentions, consisted of "fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and hand somely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and one in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers" (*Travels in the Mogul empire*, ed. A. Constable, Oxford 1841, 217-18).

The *Dārū<u>gh</u>a-i tūp-<u>kh</u>āna*, or *mīr ātas<u>h</u>* ("head of the artillery department"), performed duties similar to those of the *ba<u>kh</u>s<u>h</u>ī*, insofar as the recruitment of artillerymen and the supervision of guns were concerned. With the growing importance of artillery, the *mīr ātas<u>h</u>* in the 12th/18th century became one of the most influential officers of the empire.

The Indo-Muslim rulers did not, however, take any interest in developing their navy. Maḥmūd of <u>Gh</u>azna is known to have fought against the <u>Dj</u>āts in 418/1027 by launching a flotilla of 1,400 boats on the River Indus. The Dihlī Sulṭāns used boats provided by Hindū chieftains only for transporting goods and men. The Gu<u>dj</u>arāt Sulṭāns fought naval battles against the Portuguese. Bābur had enormous boats constructed and Akbar also constructed an impressive flotilla of huge boats some being shaped in the forms of different animals. Bengal, Ka<u>sh</u>mīr, Thatta, Lahore and Allāhābād were the main boatbuilding centres. Akbar also employed seamen, had pilgrim ships built, but was unable to establish a genuine navy. Early in Awrangzīb's reign, Mīr <u>Dj</u>umla [*q.v.*] fought successful river battles against the races of Kūč Bihār and Assām, who had complete mastery over their rivers. The only navy that the Muslims possessed belonged to the Ḥab<u>sh</u>īs who ruled the rocky island of <u>Dj</u>an<u>dj</u>īra [*q.v.* in Suppl.], 45 miles south of Bombay. They were most daring seamen, and until 1730 were victorious both against the English and the Marāṭhās [see further ḤAB<u>SH</u>Ī].

Numbers. The strength of the army of the Dihlī Sulṭāns can only be roughly estimated and many of the figures in the sources seem to be exaggerated. We are told by Minhā<u>dj</u>-i Sirā<u>dj</u>-i <u>Dj</u>ūz<u>dj</u>ānī [*q.v.*], that in 658/1260, Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd had collected 50,000 troopers and 200,000 foot-soldiers from Dihlī and its vicinity to demonstrate his strength before Hūlāgū's ambassadors. Balban recruited a considerable number of trained soldiers into the corps of the *suwārān-i ḳalb* and made his standing army very strong. Troopers in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn <u>Kh</u>al<u>dj</u>ī's army numbered 475,000. Muḥammad b. Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ's cavalry is said to have consisted of 900,000 troopers, some being stationed in the capital and the others in the provinces. In 730/1329-30 he is known to have recruited 370,000 troopers for his <u>Kh</u>urāsān expedition. The army he sent against Ḳarā<u>dj</u>īl consisted of 100,000 troops and a large infantry. On his first Bengal expedition in 754/1353-4, Fīrūz Tu<u>gh</u>luḳ commanded 90,000 troopers. Again, Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āh marched against Bengal with 80,000 troopers, 470 elephants and an exceedingly large number of foot-soldiers.

According to Bābur, Ibrāhīm Lōdī had resources enough to have brought into the field 500,000 men, but actually took only 100,000 men and 1000 elephants with him. Bābur's army, on the other hand, consisted of only 12,000 men. Humāyūn fought the battle of Ḳanaw<u>dj</u> against <u>Sh</u>īr <u>Sh</u>āh with 100,000 troopers, while <u>Sh</u>īr <u>Sh</u>āh commanded only half that number.

The total strength of the army of <u>Sh</u>īr <u>Sh</u>āh consisted of nearly 300,000 horsemen and 100,000 infantry, comprising matchlockmen and archers. Of this army, 150,000 troopers, 25,000 horsemen and 5,000 elephants were commanded by the king himself, the

rest serving at cantonments and in strategic places. The contingents of *iḳṭāʿ*-holders were also requisitioned whenever needed.

The Persian sources do not help us in calculating the number of Akbar's *manṣabdārs*, but their number at the Emperor's death, given by De Laet as 2,941, seems approximately correct. According to Father Monserrate, there were "forty-five thousand cavalry, five thousand elephants and many thousand infantry, paid directly from the royal treasury" (J.S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerji (trs.), *The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, Oxford 1922, 89).

Bernier says that the total number of cavalry in India was incredible, but he considered that the effective cavalry commonly about Awrangzīb's person, including that of the *rād̲j̲ās* and Afg̲h̲āns, amounted to 35 or 40,000 which, added to those in the provinces, formed a total of more than 200,000 troopers.

In 1057/1647, S̲h̲ād̲j̲ahān's army consisted of 8,000 *manṣabdārs*, 7,000 *aḥadi* and *barḳ-andāz* troopers, and 185,000 troopers (*tābinān*) belonging to the princes, important *amīrs* and *manṣabdārs*. This army did not include the troopers under the *parganā* officers. Of the infantry of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān, which included matchlockmen and others who discharged heavy and light artillery, 10,000 were always with the Emperor.

Training and physical exercises, and uniforms. Before their admission into service, both the troopers and foot-soldiers had to pass a severe test of their competence. Fak̲h̲r-i Mudabbir gives the rules for training horses and for horsemanship in considerable detail, and works on archery as well as swordsmanship have also survived. This same author further discusses the advantage of different kinds of sports, such as wrestling, boxing, weight-lifting, disc-throwing and fencing for military training, and gives a detailed account of the advantages which the manoeuvering of stick, ball and horse in polo offered to the troopers. After entering into service, the soldiers had to maintain rather than improve their military skills through regular physical exercises, horse-racing [see FURŪSIYYA] and polo [see ČAWGĀN]. Balban took with him 1,000 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers, expert in archery, during his regular hunting expeditions; Fīrūz Tug̲h̲luḳ used to array his army in battle formation, even on his hunting expeditions. These expeditions and polo were an indispensable part of the life of the Mug̲h̲al soldiers, officers, princes and emperors. The military parades and proper battle array were not possible without some training in combined movements, but regular drills of the soldiers do not seem to have been common.

The troopers are not known to have worn any uniforms. In the miniatures depicting the reign of the Mug̲h̲als, they are seen wearing clothes of different colours, but in the 12th/18th century, some nobles seem to have introduced uniforms. The contingents were generally identified by the special marks with which their horses were branded.

Pay. Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna and his immediate successors paid their army in cash, but in the 7th/13th century the Dihlī Sulṭāns assigned *iḳṭāʿ*s (assignments of revenue of different regions) to their commanders for their personal maintenance and for that of the troops (*ḥas̲h̲m-i aṭrāf*) under them. Sulṭān S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Iltutmis̲h̲ assigned the revenue of the villages around the capital and in the Doʾāb to the *ḥas̲h̲m-i ḳalb*, and the latter were also called *iḳṭāʿ*-holders. By the time of Balban, the surviving troopers of the *ḥas̲h̲m-i ḳalb* and their descendants had become the hereditary owners of the villages. Balban ordered the resumption of the *iḳṭāʿ*s of old men, widows and orphans into the *k̲h̲āliṣa* [*q.v.*] (= territory whose revenue was reserved for the Sulṭāns' treasury), but later abandoned the scheme for emotional reasons. However, Balban's own *k̲h̲āliṣa* had expanded, and he was able to pay his own body-guards and troopers a handsome salary in cash.

The K̲h̲ald̲j̲īs and the Tug̲h̲luḳs reorganised their revenue system and determined the salary of the commanders and their troopers in cash. They then assigned its equivalent in the form of the revenue of territories in lieu of the salary. Al-ʿUmarī states that the Syrian and Egyptian *iḳṭāʿ* system differed from that of India in the mode of making payment to the troopers. In Egypt and Syria, commanders assigned land directly to their troops instead of salaries, while in India the troopers were paid in cash. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī resumed all the smaller *iḳṭāʿ*s into the *k̲h̲āliṣa* and paid cash to his large army, recruited to meet the Mongol threat to his kingdom and to ensure further conquests. Two hundred and thirty-four *tankas* [*q.v.*] were paid annually by the Sulṭān to a well-trained and equipped trooper with one horse, 78 *tankas* extra being granted to troopers with two horses. To ensure that the troopers lived satisfactorily on their low salaries, he fixed the prices of all commodities, from horses to articles of daily use, making sure that supplies were not withheld.

Sulṭān G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Tug̲h̲luḳ also paid his large standing army in cash, and issued strict orders to the *iḳṭāʿ*-holders to refrain from reducing the salaries of troopers fixed by him. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ made his commanders further dependent upon the local treasuries for their salaries, sometimes by appointing his own officers, and sometimes revenue farmers to collect the revenue from the *iḳṭāʿ*s. Fīrūz Tug̲h̲luḳ made all civil and military posts hereditary and paid them by assigning *iḳṭāʿ*s, the revenue from which was known as *wad̲j̲h*.

The Afg̲h̲āns found Fīrūz's policy highly compatible with their own tribal system, and assigned hereditary *iḳṭāʿ*s to their commanders, who in turn sub-assigned smaller areas to their subordinates, who then paid the troopers by making similar sub-assignments. However, the monthly salary of ordinary troopers was fixed and the *iḳṭāʿ*s were granted to the commanders on the basis of the total number of troopers and their monthly salary. S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh, who in his youth had managed his own father's sub-assignment, was fully conversant with the abuses of the system. He reverted to the system of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and paid his standing army in cash, personally supervising the recruitment and the fixation of the soldiers' salaries, which were paid in cash. Fraudulent practices were eradicated by making payment only to those whose horses were branded. The big *iḳṭāʿ*s corresponding to provinces were managed by the Afg̲h̲ān tribal chiefs, but they were also ordered strictly to enforce the central government regulations in their respective administrative charges, including monthly cash payments to the troopers and the branding of horses.

Akbar and his successors paid their *manṣabdārs* mostly by assigning them revenue from territories, called by the Mug̲h̲als *d̲j̲āgīr* [*q.v.*], although the term *iḳṭāʿ* was also used. Some *manṣabaārs* were paid in cash, others partly in cash and partly in *d̲j̲āgīr*. The salary schedules of *manṣabdārs* were carefully prepared on the basis of their *d̲h̲āt* and *suwār* ranks

(including *dū-aspah* and *sih-aspah*) [see further MANṢABDĀR]. The available pay certificates of the *manṣabdārs* of Shāhdjahān's reign explicitly mention the amount of salary which they were allowed to draw to maintain themselves, their families and their personal establishments (*khāṣṣ*), and the amount meant to be paid to the *ṭābīnān*. For example, in 1060/1650, Rā'o Karan was allowed to draw 4,700,000 *dāms* for his *dhāt* rank of 2,500 and 16,000 *dāms* for *ṭābīnān* in his *sūwār* rank of 2,000. His fixed salary totalling 20,700,000 *dāms* was to be drawn from the revenue of *parganās* [*q.v.*] mentioned in the certificate (*Selected documents of Shādjahān's reign*, Daftar Dīwānī Haydarābād 1950, 176-7). In Shāhdjahān's reign, the *manṣabdārs* from 5,000 to the lowest rank were subdivided into three grades in their *dhāt* rank, the *manṣabdārs* of the first grade drawing the highest salary.

The salary of the troopers was fixed according to the breed of horses they maintained. According to the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* a *yak-aspah* troopers was paid according to the following rates. If his horse was an ʿIrāḳī, he received 30 rupees *per mensem*: if *mudjannas* (nearly equal to ʿIrāḳī, half-breed), 25 rupees; if Turkī, 20 rupees; if a *yābū* (the Indian-bred offspring of Turki horses), 18 rupees; if a Tāzī (Indian cross-Arab breed inferior to *yābū*), 15 rupees; and if a *djangla* (Indian-bred, inferior to *tāzī*), 12 rupees. According to Bernier, early in the reign of Awrangzīb the troopers with one horse did not draw a salary of less than 25 rupees per month. However, the *manṣabdārs* could pay an even higher salary, and in order to attract efficient troopers into their service, many *manṣabdārs* did so Manucci strongly criticises discrepancies in payments to troopers, some of whom received 20 to 30 rupees, others forty, fifty, or a hundred. This inconsistency can be ascribed partly to the fact that Manucci's comments relate to the last years of Awrangzīb's reign, and partly to the fact that he does not appreciate the fact that troopers maintaining more than one horse naturally received a higher salary.

The *manṣabdārs* were authorised to deduct 5% from the salary of the *ṭābīnān* for miscellaneous administrative charges. A further deduction of one month's salary was made annually for the cost of horse and equipment supplied by the government to the troopers until the amount of the loan was paid off. The price of a trooper's horse charged by the government used to be 50% higher than their cost price, but since the government bought horses at competitive prices, the troopers did not suffer any loss, according to Abu 'l-Faḍl.

The *manṣabdārs*, *ṭābīnān* and other government servants received rewards for their good work in the form of increments in salaries, cash prizes and additions to the *djāgīrs*. Akbar introduced the system of granting loans to officers for their urgent needs. A rate of interest which doubled the original loan in ten years was charged. This usury was known as *musāʿadat* ("assistance"). The *manṣabdārs* who violated the rules and neglected their duties, for example by failing to muster horses of the breed for which they drew salaries, or by omitting to produce the number of horses stipulated for their *sūwār* rank, were fined according to a fixed schedule. Checks and counterchecks were introduced to prevent defalcation of government money through a machinery of rules and regulations requiring close co-ordination between the state departments and the department of the *mīr bakhshī*.

Since the armies of both the Dihlī Sulṭāns and the Mughals were paid by the state, they were not entitled to receive the four-fifths of the *ghanīma* (booty) sanctioned by the *Sharīʿa*. Fīrūz Tughluḳ is known to have distributed this portion of the *ghanīma* taken at Djādjnagar and Akbar took only one-fifth into the imperial treasury, requesting the officers (*fawdjdārs* [*q.v.*]) to distribute the rest equitably amongst the army. However, as the booty gained by the *fawdjdārs* in local wars was never very great, the amount received by the troops was minimal.

Horses and elephants. The Indian Muslim rulers maintained the superiority of their cavalry, not only by acquiring superior breeds of horses through sea and land routes, but also by devoting their full attention to improving Indian horse breeds. From the Persian Gulf, Baḥrayn and the ports of the coast of southern Arabia were imported ʿIrāḳī, Persian, Syrian and Arab horses. Overland trade brought in Tātārī or Central Asian horses from the territories lying between the steppelands of southern Russia and the Oxus. The horses from Ghazna to Peshāwar compared favourably with these animals. The territories between the eastern Pandjāb to north-western India, and from north-eastern India to upper Burma, contained the best horse-breeding grounds, although horses from these areas were considered inferior to those imported from foreign lands, and were sold at a lower price. Ibn Baṭṭūta says "The people of India do not buy them [horses] for [their qualities in] running or racing, because they themselves wear coats of mail in battle and they cover their horses with armour, and what they prize in these horses is strength and length of pace. The horses that they want for racing are brought to them from al-Yaman, ʿUmān and Fārs, and each of these horses is sold at from one to four thousand [silver] *dīnārs* (*Riḥla*, ii, 374, tr. Gibb, ii, 479). This same author states here that the price of the cheapest Tātārī horse in Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's reign was 100 silver *dīnārs*, while the exceptional ones were sold for 500. Racehorses were therefore very dear.

Akbar reorganised the purchase of horses of foreign breeds by providing improved living conditions for the merchants and the horses they came to sell. Horses from ʿIrāḳ, Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Turkistān, Badakhshān, Shirwān, the lands of the Ḳirghiz, Tibet and Kashmīr were acquired for the imperial stables. Soon, Indian breeding techniques were so greatly improved that the Indian horses could hardly be distinguished from ʿIrāḳī or Persian breeds. Among the new horse-breeding regions, Kaččh began to produce horses which exceed the Arab imports. Horses from the region between the Indus and the Jhelam were similar to those from ʿIrāḳ. The horses in Akbar's stables numbered 12,000; the imperial stables were classified into several categories and the quantity of the beasts' fodder, the quality of their outfits, and the salaries of officers and servants appointed to look after them were fixed.

Under the Dihlī Sulṭāns, the superintendent of the royal horses was known as the *ākhūrbeg*, there being one for each wing of the army. Under the Mughals, this officer was known as the *ātbēgī* or *ākhtabēgī*. Akbar appointed a noble of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān's [*q.v.*] status as the *ātbēgī*. *Manṣabdārs* from the rank of 5,000 down to the senior *aḥadīs* were appointed as the *darūghas* (superintendents) of different stables. A big staff, which included senior officers on the list of *aḥadīs*, was appointed to carry out miscellaneous duties related

to the maintenance and improvement of the stables [see further, IṢṬABL. v. India].

The Ghūrid conquest of India was achieved by the exploits of the cavalry. The elephants in the *pīlkhāna* (elephant stables) were acquired mainly as booty. However, it was after the Deccan conquests that the *pīlkhāna* of Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī came to consist of *ca.* 1,000 war-elephants. The numbers increased during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, and the elephants seem to have been bought even from Ceylon. Fīrūz also added to the number of elephants in his stable, but under his successors they were rapidly lost, to the extent that the last Tughluḳ Sulṭān faced Tīmūr with only 120 war-elephants. In Akbar's reign, elephants were hunted in the forests of Āgra and Allāhābād provinces, besides being acquired from Bengal and Orissa. The best elephants were to be found in the forests of Panna, near Būndī in Rādjasthān. Djahāngīr seized 69 elephants from Gudjarāt, but they could be bought from all over India; in Shāhdjahān's reign, the first white elephant was bought from Pegu. Akbar introduced the breeding of elephants, abandoning the ancient superstitious belief that to do so was unlucky, and his successors continued to follow his lead. He also classified elephants into seven categories, and framed rules for their feeding and general improvement.

Under the Dihlī Sulṭāns, the *shaḥna-yi fīl* was the supreme head of the *pīlkhāna*. Again, there was one for each army wing, and the *shaḥnas* were each assisted by a large staff. From the reign of Akbar, the elephants were classified into *ḥalḳa*s "circles" or "rings") of tens, twenties and thirties, and placed under the control of superintendents known as *fawdjdārs*, who were also ordered to train them to stand firm at the sight of fire and in the noise of artillery. Several *ḥalḳa*s of elephants were placed in the care of some important nobles, and 101 chosen elephants known as *khāṣṣa* elephants were placed in the care of one such person, with the expenses being met from the imperial treasury.

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(S. A. A. Rizvi)

LASHKAR-I BĀZĀR, the name given to a complex of military encampments, settlements and royal palaces in southern Afghānistān which apparently flourished in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. The site (lat. 31° 28′ N. and long 64° 20′ E.) is an extensive one, stretching along the left bank of the Helmand River [see HILMAND] near its confluence with the Arghandāb with the mediaeval Islamic town of Bust [*q.v.*], modern ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Bist, at its southern end, and the modern, new town (named after the mediaeval complex of buildings) of Lashkar-gāh at its northern one. The western edge of the complex is thus bounded by the river and also protected by a cliff running down to the water.

1. History. The existence of ruins on this site was vaguely known to H.W. Bellew in the mid-19th century, probably from hearsay when he was travelling in the region; but its existence was only made known to the academic world through the discovery in 1948 and the subsequent five seasons of excavations in 1949-51 by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.

The complex is not unmentioned in mediaeval geographical and historical sources. Al-Muḳaddasī, 304-5, says that "half-a-*farsakh* [from Bust], in the direction of Ghazna, there is something like a town, called al-ʿAskar, where the ruler (*al-sulṭān*) resides". Since al-Muḳaddasī completed his *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* in 375/985, although later additions may have been made to it, it seems that Lashkar-i Bāzār was an early creation of Sebüktigin, built to secure his newly-

acquired province of Zamīn-Dāwar and Bust—the founder of the Ghaznawid line had seized this from the Turkish *ghulām* ruler there, Baytuz, in 367/977-8 (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 37)—but it is not excluded that Baytuz himself had buildings on this site, and a coin of his dated 359/969-70 has been found there, see Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar*, ii, 170-1. Whether Muḳaddasī's *al-ʿAskar* is responsible for the form *al.y.n.* of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 110, § 24.11, "a small district between Bust and Zamīn-Dāwar", as suggested by Minorsky, comm. 345, is uncertain. However, our site must be that mentioned by the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], Tehran 1324/1945, 149, Russian tr. Arends[2], Moscow 1969, 221, when he speaks of the building operations of sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (421-32/1031-41): "At Bust, by the polo-ground of the military encampment (*lashkar-gāh*) of his father the *amīr*, he had several additional constructions made; some of these are still visible today" (sc. in *ca.* 451/1059).

The main, or southern palace, shows signs of two successive burnings; after the first one of these, there was a general restoration, but after the second, the whole palace was definitely abandoned. It seems reasonable to assume, with Schlumberger, that the first conflagration was the work of the vandalistic Ghūrid sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, called Djahān-sūz, in *ca.* 545/1150, when he sacked Ghazna, temporarily expelled the Ghaznawid sultan Bahrām Shāh to India, and then marched back to Ghūr via Zamīn-Dāwar and Bust; Djuzdjānī states that he devastated the palaces and public buildings of the Ghaznawids at Bust (see Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 118-19). When, soon after these events, the last Ghaznawid sultans abandoned their Afghān possessions and retreated to the Pandjāb, the Ghūrids or their governors doubtless restored the buildings at Lashkar-i Bāzār and installed themselves there in the Ghaznawids' stead. Schlumberger dates certain alterations even to the post-Ghūrid period, that of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs. The second and fatal burning thus probably dates from the ravages of the Mongols in southern Afghānistān in spring 617-18/1221; Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, 64-5, tr. 109-10, speaks of a siege by the Mongols of Ḳandahār at this time (doubted, however, by Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 438). Yet undeniably, life no longer continued on any discernible scale at Lashkar-i Bāzār.

2. The buildings. Lashkar-i Bāzār includes three palace buildings along the cliffs of the Helmand, the most impressive of which is the southernmost one, constructed of unbaked brick on foundations of fired brick and with wooden bonding; fired brick was also used in the reception hall and for doorways. The palace is built round a vast central rectangular courtyard with four *īwāns*. After the first burning of the palace, modifications and repairs were made to the palace and the fire-blackened remains of the original main entrance were masked by a new entrance with decoration of geometric panels and epigraphic bands, on one of which are the remains of a date, 55x/1155-64, probably indicating a reconstruction by the penultimate Ghaznawid sultan, Khusraw Shāh, the last of his family to reign in Afghānistān, or by his Ghūrid successors.

At the north of the palace, backing on to the Helmand, is the very interesting reception hall of the palace, the most monumental of the rooms in style and the most richly decorated, including with panels of brick ribbon work with stucco insets. But especially important from the viewpoints of cultural and artistic history is the fact that the friezes running round the inner faces of the brick piers in the hall contain mural paintings (these have now been removed, for safety, to the Kabul Museum). The remains of 44 figures are visible, and with those probably to be found on the missing north side, must have numbered some 60 all told. They depict frontal views of the bodies of what must have been the royal guards, the corps d'élite of Turkish military slaves of sultans Maḥmūd and Masʿūd [see GHULĀM. ii. Persia]. These warriors wear rich tunics and boots, and bear the shafts on their left shoulders of what may well have been maces, the mace (*gurz*) being a favourite weapon of Masʿūd himself, according to Bayhaḳī, and a weapon of heroes in the *Shāh-nāma*. The faces are unfortunately badly damaged, but a painted fragment found elsewhere in the palace shows a beardless, smooth-faced youth with what are generally regarded as "Mongolian" (here, of course, "Turkish") features. The appearance of these figures accords remarkably well with the literary descriptions in e.g. Bayhaḳī of the rich uniforms, bejewelled weapons, etc. of the royal *ghulāms* when paraded on ceremonial occasions such as the reception of envoys and ambassadors.

Leading to the southern palace was the street of the army bazaar, 500 yds./half-a-kilometer long and lined with shops; judging from the absence of post-Maḥmūd coins found there, this bazaar may well have been abandoned after that sultan's death. Also to the south of the palace was the great mosque (the southern palace itself contains a small, richly-decorated mosque, obviously for the private use of the sultans and their entourages), constructed originally from good-quality fired brick, but rebuilt, like the southern palace, after the first burning in a less careful manner. Schlumberger places the original mosque within the early Ghaznawid period, and it is of obvious interest as one of the very few pre-Mongol period mosques in Afghānistān.

The placing of all these buildings of the Lashkar-i Bāzār complex in their proper architectural and art historical contexts raises many problems, and a full evaluation can only begin to be made now that we have the long-awaited volume in the DAFA Mémoires series on the architecture of Lashkar-i Bāzār (see *Bibl.* below). Schlumberger was reminded of the plans of Sāmarrā palaces ("l'architecture de Lashkari Bazar apparaît, à plus d'un égard, comme un représentant provincial et tardif de celle de Abbasides"), but noted eastern Iranian features, such as courtyards with four *īwāns* and the ornamental use of brick (*Syria*, xxix [1952], 268-9). J. M. Rogers has noted the early appearance in the southern palace (the early Ghaznawid construction) of the angular, interlacing strapwork in stucco characteristic somewhat of Saldjūḳ decoration (*The 11th century—a turning point in the architecture of the Mashriq?*, in D. S. Richards, ed., *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, Oxford 1973, 221-3). The mural paintings reminded Schlumberger again of Achaemenid representations, but he observed also that the heritage of the Buddhist art of Gandhara and northern India, much nearer in place and time to 5th/11th century Zamīn-Dāwar, should clearly be taken into account. Finally, it should be noted that the pottery finds at Lashkar-i Bāzār give a valuable conspectus of

local artistic trends in this field for the period *ca.* 1000-1220.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-LĀT, name of one of the three most venerated deities of the pre-Islamic pantheon, the two others being Manāt and al-ʿUzzā [*q.vv.*].

The deep attachment felt by the Thaḳīf towards al-Lāt, the Aws and the Khazradj towards Manāt and the Ḳuraysh towards al-ʿUzzā, constituted the greatest obstacle in the path of the peaceful implantation of Islam in the regions of the Ḥidjāz. This obstacle was so difficult to overcome that the Prophet seems, for a brief period, to have consented to the continuation of the cult of these three deities, called *al-gharānīḳ al-ʿulā* (see T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 88-90, but cf. AL-ḲUR'ĀN, B, *in fine*).

The cult of al-Lāt, the deity of the Thaḳīf, descendants of the Thamūd (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 74, 76; al-Ṭabarī, i[2], 937), is attested over a vast area of the pre-Islamic Near East. She was at the same time the goddess of shepherds, from the Ḥidjāz to Ṣafā, and that of caravan-travellers, from Mecca to Petra and to Palmyra. Her name is recorded in the most remote antiquity, and it is to be found, in various forms, in the works of Herodotus (cf. *EI*[1] s.v. *Alilat*), also in Akkadian texts (*Al-la-tum*: Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 259; J. Bottéro, in *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, 56). Safaitic texts (R. Dussaud, *Pénétration*, 56 ff.), Palmyran texts (D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, 63, 71, 73), Nabataean texts (M. de Vogüé, *Palm.*, 119; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 292 ff.; J. Wellhausen, Reste[2], 32), Aramaic texts (Pognon, in *MFOB*, v [1911], 77-8). The Arabic form of her name dates back, at least, to the time of the Khuzāʿī ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the reformer of the idolatrous cult in Mecca at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., a period for which there is evidence of the cult of al-Lāt in Nabataea, in Ṣafā and in Palmyra. Now it is known that this reformer spent some time in the land of Moab, whence he would have brought back statues of various divinities, including that of Hubal [*q.v.*].

The precise meaning of the name of al-Lāt remains unclear. Two interpretations deserve consideration.

The first derives it from the root *l-t-t*. Arab lexicographers are unanimous in considering that al-Lāt is derived from the verb *latta*, "to mix, or knead, barley-meal (*sawīḳ*)." It has been shown, in *Panthéon* (112 ff.), that this interpretation emerges from a revealing association with the "idol of jealousy" erected in the temple of Jerusalem (Ezekiel, v, 15), which can be none other than Astarte (cf. II Kings, xxi, 7; xxiii, 6-7, 13-14; see Dussaud, in *Syria*, xxi [1940], 359-60; Ch. Virolleaud, in *JA*, ccxxxiv [1943-5], 418-19). The "oblation of jealousy", offered by the husband who suspected his wife of infidelity, was made with barley-meal. Now Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, 10, speaks of a *lātt al-sawīḳ*, "kneader of barley-meal", who was a Jew and after whom was named the square rock of Ṭā'if, symbol of al-Lāt. From this it may be deduced that a ritual similar to the Hebraic ritual of the "oblation of jealousy" was practised in the vicinity of the sacred stone, symbolising al-Lāt, and that the latter was regarded as one of the multiple incarnations of the Semitic Baʿla of which Astarte was the most eminent. This is further evidence of the Semitic tradition of the anonymity of gods, to whom epithets were given reflecting the sites or the forms of worship dedicated to them.

The second, treating al-Lāt as consort of Allāh or of his prototype Il or El, simplifies the problem, taking al-Lāt to be a feminine form of Allāh or al-Ilāh, unnamed god of the pre-Islamic Arab pantheon (*Panthéon*, 41-4).

Either of these etymologies is possible: the first responds best to Arab traditions, the second is more in line with Semitic tradition in general (cf. details in *Panthéon*, 111-20).

Al-Lāt is seen at Ṭā'if displaying the most primitive attributes of the Semitic Baʿla. Originally, she was represented by a white stone, in contrast to the black stone of Mecca; subsequently, she was associated with a sacred tree; then a sanctuary was erected for her, and this became a place of pilgrimage. But the rivalry between Ṭā'if and Mecca and the commercial and economic predominance of the latter prevented the goddess of the Thaḳīf from making Ṭā'if a centre of assembly for all the Arabs. The Mecca of Ḳuṣayy, the reformer of the pilgrimage and architect of the Ḳuraysh confederation, rapidly eclipsed the other metropolises of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus al-Lāt was unable to preserve anything of her former prestige other than the epithets *rabba* "mother of the gods", in her role as goddess of fertility, after the manner of Baʿla, of whom she is an incarnation, and *ṭāghiya*, "pre-eminent goddess", an epithet still reflecting the important cultic role that she had played among the Arabs of the Nabataean, Safaitic and Palmyran regions, as goddess of war (see refs. in *Panthéon*, 111, n. 2).

In order to consolidate the economic power of Mecca and to reinforce its role as holy city of the Arabs, Ḳuṣayy brought together in the Kaʿba all the divinities of Arabia. The triad which emerged, namely Manāt, goddess of the northern Arabs, al-Lāt, goddess of the Arabs of the Nadjd, and al-ʿUzzā, goddess of the Ḳuraysh confederation, represent the three political forces which co-existed in central and northern Arabia, from the period of Ḳuṣayy (5th century A.D.) to the advent of Islam. These three deities correspond to the theophanies of Venus, morning star and evening star, very often confused with the Semitic Baʿla and worshipped by the Arabs since time immemorial.

Although al-ʿUzzā was the last-born of the triad, she soon became the most important, in her role as tutelary goddess of the sanctuary of Mecca (see details in *Panthéon*, 118 ff.). In a parallel development, the three sacred trees (*samurāt*) which stood before the sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā at Nakhla, on the road leading towards ʿIrāḳ and Syria, were assimilated to the three divinities (*Panthéon*, 164).

The predominance of al-ʿUzzā over Manāt and al-Lāt is expressed by the dual al-ʿUzzatān[1], "the two ʿUzzās", which designated them (*Ḥamāsa*, 190, l. 15; *Panthéon*, 118, n. 3). This predominance is also apparent in the Nabataean region, where al-Lāt had been a favourite goddess, as a result of the

expansion of Meccan commerce inside Nabataea, the birthplace of Ḳuṣayy.

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LAṬĪFĪ, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Čelebi, a Turkish biographer, littérateur and poet who lived in the 10th/16th century. Born in Kastamonu in 895/1491, according to his own statement (*Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 135, 297), he belonged to an old and a noble family called the Khaṭīb-zādeler and his forefather, Ḥamdī Čelebi, was a poet who lived in the time of Meḥemmed II, the Conqueror. He states in his *Tadhkira* (298) that he started writing poetry when he was seven years old. He began to receive his education in Kastamonu, but soon gave it up (ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, *Mashāʿir al-shuʿarā*ʾ, ms. Istanbul Üniversitesi, TY. 2406, f. 132b), and worked as an accountant and a secretary. But at the same time, he spent much effort to educate and train himself, and acquired a considerable reputation in poetry, and especially in the high culture of his time. He came to Istanbul in his youth, and was at once appointed secretary to the ʿ*Imāret* (sc. the public kitchen for the poor) in Belgrade. After a long stay in Rumelia, he returned to Istanbul (950/1543), and served again as a secretary for some ʿ*imārets*. At that time Sehī had written his *Tadhkira*, which had aroused great interest among the literary circles, and with the encouragement of his friends (*Tadhkira*, 229) and following ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi's ideas, Laṭīfī completed his *Tadhkira*, clearly his most important work. In 953/1546 Laṭīfī presented this work to Süleymān the Magnificient, and as a result was appointed secretary to the *waḳf* of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the trustee of which was Tashlidjali Yaḥyā, the famous Turkish poet, and in 960/1553 he was occupying this post (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, Ist. Universitesi, TY. 9959, f. 416a). Later he worked in similar jobs in Rhodes and Cairo. ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, who completed his own work in 974/1566-7, relates that Laṭīfī spent his time composing poetry and belles-lettres, and above all in religious duties. Having changed the introduction of his *Risāla-yi awṣāf-i Istanbul*—which in fact had been composed in his youth—he presented it to Murād III in 982/1574, expecting some gifts, but it is not certain whether he was recompensed. Laṭīfī spent his declining years in Istanbul (Ḥasan Čelebi, *Tadhkira*, ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 1737, ff. 265 b, 266a). He must have died on 25 Ramaḍān 990/23 October 1582, probably on his way to Mecca for pilgrimage. He had been in Egypt, and his ship was wrecked on its way to Yemen (Kafawī, *Rāz-nāma*, ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 4098, f. 105a, and a letter written to Masīḥ-zāde, who survived the disaster). Laṭīfī says in his *Risāla-yi awṣāf-i Istanbul* (f. 60b) that he was 35 years old when he finished this book, i.e. this was in 931/1524-5; hence his birth date must have been 896/1490-1, making him 94 lunar years old when he died.

All through his life Laṭīfī complained that he had never been appreciated properly. He did not have a comfortable life, for he had never been pushing and sycophantic; but he expected that others would have realised his literary ability.

Although Laṭīfī mentions in his *Tadhkira* that he composed twelve books, treatises and literary compositions, only the following seem to be extant: (1) the *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā*ʾ; his most important work, generally considered as the second finest biographical work (after ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi's) in Ottoman literature. He states that ten biographical works were composed in his time, but none of them received attention and fame or were widely read (*Tadhkira*, 301). Probably they were all incomplete, pioneering attempts in this field. The *Tadhkira* consists of an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, he mentions poet-*shaykhs* of Anatolia who were brought up in or emigrated to Anatolia. In the second, he speaks about Ottoman sultans who engaged in poetry. In the third, the main part of the work, Laṭīfī mentions, in alphabetical order, the names of 300 poets (*Tadhkira*, 372) who lived from the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51) until 950/1543. The book is arranged alphabetically (*muʿdjam*), a method which Laṭīfī initiated in Turkish biographical works, whereas Sehī's and Nawāʾī's had been arranged by *ṭabaḳāt* or generations, so that Laṭīfī's *Tadhkira* became the bridge between the two types. Laṭīfī took this idea from ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, but applied it in his book before him. Some criticisms were, however, made about his work. One was that Laṭīfī did not include poets of his own time in the *Tadhkira*. From the early copies of the work (e.g. Kayseri, Râşid Efendi Libr. 1160, copied before 957/1550, and another one which stems from the above, Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 2564, copied in 968/1561), it can be deduced that two redactions of the work were in existence and that the early copies did not have Laṭīfī's autobiography. The author later included it, as well as notices of some other poets not previously included. By doing so, he improved the text and also replied to the criticisms of those whom he calls *ikhwān-i ḥikd u ḥasad*, "the hateful and the jealous ones". ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi relates that Laṭīfī's work also became nicknamed the *Ḳasṭamonu-nāma* (f. 133a), for the author found ways to connect some poets to Kastamonu, whether or not they had been born in the city; but he adds that Laṭīfī's *Tadhkira* is most valuable and quite different from Sehī's one. Ḥasan Čelebi regarded the style as rather dull (Ḥasan Čelebi, *Tadhkira*, f. 265b); Hence ʿĀlī took it upon himself to answer all unfair criticisms (*op. cit.*, 415b). The work is undoubtedly important, not only because of its form, but also because of the fact that, with this work, for the first time literary criticism and assumptions were dealt with in this Ottoman poetic biographical genre. It accordingly soon became a very popular reference book, considered to be reliable. It was edited by Aḥmed Djewdet under

the title of *Tadhkira-yi Laṭīfī* (Āthār-i aslāf series, no. 9, Istanbul 1314/1896); H. Theodor Chabert summarised it in German (*Laṭīfī oder biographische Nachrichten von vorzügliche Türkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werke*, Zürich 1800); another translation into German was done by O. Rescher (*Laṭīfīs Tadhkira*, Tübingen 1950; this last translator referred to 9 old mss. of the work, together with the edited text. (2) *Risāla-yi awṣāf-i İstanbul*. As the title indicates, the work is a brief description of the natural beauties, the historical buildings and monuments, etc. of Istanbul, in short, a physical description of the city and its spiritual life in the 10th/16th century, written in an artistic style. The work is quite valuable in that Laṭīfī's observations reflect the thoughts and the feelings of his youth. As he says in the *khātima* or conclusion, he was then spiritually in confusion; at times acting like a vagabond and at others behaving piously. The text is adorned with poetry, and Laṭīfī claimed that he had invented a new style in prose writing; Istanbul was the most proper topic for such a purpose, in order to display a successful sample of his creative style (*Tadhkira*, 300-1). He later revised the work, and with a new introduction, presented it to Murād III. (3) *Fuṣūl-i arbaʿa* (*Munāẓara*; *Muḥāwara?*), an artistic description of the specialities of the four seasons, written in a mixture of prose and poetry. It was first published in the *ʿAṣīr* newspaper in instalments and then as a book under the title *Munāẓara-yi Laṭīfī* (Istanbul 1287/1870). (4) *Ṣubḥat al-ʿushshāḳ*, a Turkish translation of 100 *ḥadīths*, composed in verse. (5) A Turkish translation of 40 *ḥadīths*, also in verse, having much subject-matter in common with the previous one (ms. in Şehid Ali Paşa Libr. 272, f. 99b-105a). (6) *Naẓm al-djawāhir* (*Laʾālī-i manthūra wa-djawāhir-i manẓūma*), a versified Turkish translation of 207 speeches of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Libr., 341, ff. 40b-66b). (7) *Asmāʾ suwar al-Ḳurʾān*, a poem giving the names of the sūras of the Ḳurʾān in 29 couplets (ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 902, f. 115b-116a). The following works are now known only by name: (8) *Dīwān* (*Tadhkira*, 300). (9) *Rabʿiyya-yi azhār* (ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, *op. cit.*, f. 133a, ʿĀlī, *op. cit.*, f. 415b), very likely the first chapter of the *Fuṣūl-i arbaʿa*. (10) *Aḥwāl-i Ibrāhim Pasha* (ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, *loc. cit.*), possibly the same work about the grand vizier Ibrāhim Pasha, *Waṣf-i Āṣaf-nāma*, which ʿĀlī enumerates. (11) *Anīs al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (*Tadhkira*, 301).

From the contents of his works, Laṭīfī was apparently not a first-class poet, but a very good critic who had the power of discernment, wide knowledge in his field and, above all, a fine literary taste. As he states in the *Tadhkira* (300-1), he brought into being a new style in prose by adorning the text with proverbs, parables and phrases, etc., just as Nadjātī had done in verse a century before. His works are in fact good examples of rhymed prose, displaying a mature style, with balanced sentences, ordered thoughts and fluent language, without such defects as *taʾkīd* or obscurity, *tatābuʿ* or concatenation and *ghayr-i maʾnūs* or unaccustomed words.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see ʿAhdī, *Gulshan-i shuʿarāʾ* (ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, no. TY. 2604, ff. 107b-108a); Bayānī, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* (ms. no. TY. 2568, ff. 75b-76a); Fāʾizī, *Zubdat al-ashʿār* (ms. no. TY. 3289, f. 96b); J. von Hammer, *Dewlet-i ʿOthmānliyye tārīkhi* (Turkish tr. M. ʿAṭā), Istanbul 1329/1911, i, 34; idem, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Budapest 1837, iii, 28-30; Smirnov. *Očerk istorii tyuretskoy literaturī*, St. Petersburg 1891, 456; Fāʾiḳ Reshād, *Tadhkira-yi Laṭīfī*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 375-81; E. J. W. Gibb, *HOP*; M. Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1316/1898-9, iv, 92; F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 110 ff.; Meḥmed Khālid, *Laṭīfī we tadhkiresi*, in *Ḥayāt medjmūʿasī*, Istanbul 1927, xvii, xix; *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları (şairler tezkireleri)*, Istanbul 1947, 597 ff.

(Nihad M. Çetin)

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE [see djughrāfiya, ḳubbat al-arḍ]

LAWĀTA, an important Berber ethnic group belonging to the family of Butr and whose eponymous ancestor was Lawā the Young, son of Lawā the Old. They are distant descendants of the Lebu (Lebou) of the Egyptian documents of the 13th century B.C., of the Lubīm or Lehabīm of the Bible, the Libues (Libyans) of the ancient Greeks, of the Laguantan of Corippus and the Leuathae of Procopius (6th century A.D.). It is probable that the Lebu (Lebou) of the Egyptians lived on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, between Egypt and the Gulf of Syrtes. As for the Libues, they were for Pindar (518-438 B.C.) natives of Cyrenaica, but later their name became among the ancients a name for all the indigenous peoples who lived in the littoral zone of North Africa, from Egypt as far as the Atlantic coast inclusive. However, it appears that the real Lebu (Lebou) survived in the tribe of the Liburakhae who lived, according to Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), in the north of Marmarica, immediately to the east of Cyrenaica. Another section of the Libues properly so-called, apparently Egyptianised, were the Libuaegyptii whom Ptolemy places in Mareotis, i.e. in the region of Lake Mareia in Egypt, Mariut (Maryout) on our maps. It should further be added that some Greek and Latin authors, such as Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy mention still another branch of the Libues, namely the people of the Libyphoenicians who were probably Libyans mixed with the Punic people, and who lived most probably, if one is to believe Pliny, in the province of Byzacena in present day Tunisia. Later on in the 6th century A.D. the Libues properly so-called appear under the name of Laguantan (*Lawatan), Ilaguas (*Ilawa-s), Hilagnas (*Ilawa-s) or Leuathae (*Lewatae) in Tripolitania and in Tunisia. Procopius speaks of the massacre of the chiefs of the Leuathae at Leptis Magna (Lebda) in 543 by Sergius, Byzantine governor of Tripolitania, and he speaks of the penetration of this people from Tripolitania into Byzacena and of its alliance with the Berber king of this land, Antalas. This time, the Leuathae advanced as far as the town of Lares (Larbous on our maps), which they besieged. Procopius also speaks of a second invasion of this tribe into Byzacena in 548. On this occasion, the Leuathae occupied southern and central Tunisia, as far as the confines of the Proconsulate.

According to the ancient Arabo-Berber traditions, the Lawāta first established themselves after their arrival from Palestine in the Maghrib, in the period of Biblical David (*sic*), in the territory of Barḳa (Cyrenaica). It was this land which they occupied at the time of the invasion of the Arabs (in 21/641-2), at the time when the Islamisation of the Maghrib began. The Arabic sources tell us of the peace treaty that ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ concluded in this year with the Lawāta of Barḳa. However, it is certain that some sections of this people, distant descendants of the ancient Libuarkhae and Libuaegyptii, also lived in

this period in Egypt, and it is very probable that other Lawātan sections, who were descended from these Laguantan or Corippus and the Leuathae of Procopius and were established in the 6th century A.D., in Byzacena, continued to live, in the 7th century, in the southern part of Tunisia. Later on, from the 8th century A.D., branches of the Lawāta expanded into some regions of Algeria and Morocco.

If we set aside the powerful peoples of Mazāta and Sadrāta, to whom some Berber genealogists attribute a Lawātī origin, but who already constituted, in the 9th century A.D., separate ethnic groups, the Lawāta properly so-called were subdivided in the Middle Ages into several branches of which we know the names, thanks especially to the works of al-Yaʿḳūbī and Ibn Khaldūn. They are as follows: 1. Māṣila or Māṣala ماصلة (al-Bakrī writes this name by error فاضلة Fāḍila); 2. Ḳaṭūfa; 3. Maghāgha; 4. Wāhila; 5. Marāwa (this name might be identifiable with that of the Libyan tribe of the Mareotae living in the south of Lake Mariut in Egypt); 6. مصعوبة Maṣʿūba (to be corrected as Maṣghūna; Ibn Ḥawḳal, Masghūna); 7. Zanāra; 8. زكودة Zakūda (Ibn Ḥawḳal: اكودة Akūda); 9. Maḳarṭa (al-Yaʿḳūbī, Mafraṭa); ʿAtrūza, and 11. Djadāna (this tribe was a branch of the Lawātan group of Kaṭūf or Kaṭūfa). It is also highly likely that the following Berber tribes of Barḳa belonged to the Lawāta: 12. فطيطة Faṭīṭa (Ibn Ḥawḳal, فرطيطة Farṭīṭa); 13. Siwa (al-Maḳrīzī, Sīwa) and 14. Masūsa. This constitutes the evidence concerning this collection of Lawātī groups and their geographical situation, going from east to west, evidence which the mediaeval Arab authors, of the 2nd to the 9th/8th-15th centuries, have bequeathed to us.

Egypt. The numerous Lawātī groups dwelt in a nomadic fashion near to Alexandria and Cairo, to the west of these cities. Among these groups who paid the *kharādj* to the Egyptian government, Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions, in the 4th/10th century, a branch of the Lawātī group of Māṣila (Māṣala). It was apparently these Lawāta whom al-Idrīsī mentions as a tribe who ravaged the western banks of the Nile to the north of al-Bahnasā. Later on, in the 8th/14th century, the plains extending from Alexandria to Cairo which constituted the province of al-Buḥayra were inhabited by another branch of the Lawāta, the Zanāra, a people who were nomadic, but who stopped in al-Buḥayra to sow their seeds at the approach of winter, as they passed through the environs of Barḳa. The Zanāra themselves paid a tax to the Egyptian government; Ibn Khaldūn says that, in a slightly later period (probably towards the end of the 8th/14th century), the chief of the Zanāra of al-Buḥayra called بذر Badr (or more likely يدر Yedder) b. Salām revolted against the Egyptian government, but after having been beaten by the Mamlūks, he took refuge in Barḳa. According to Ibn Khaldūn, some remnants of the tribe of Lawāta were also to be found, in his own time, i.e. towards the second half of the 8th/14th century, in Upper Egypt, where they pastured their flocks and cultivated the land. One should also note that the present locality of Maghāgha situated on the road leading from Cairo to Asyūṭ, 180 km. south of Cairo, probably owes its name to the Lāwātī tribe of Maghāgha. A numerous Lawātī population occupied, in the 4th/10th century, the oases of Egypt, where the Lawāta created a state. According to al-Masʿūdī, the Lawātan master of the oases in 332/943-4 was called ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; he had under his command several thousand riders on horses and camels. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, who wrote at a slightly later period than that of al-Masʿūdī, the kings of the oases who belonged to the tribe of Lawāta, mistress of this region, traced their origin to the dynasty of Āl ʿAbdūn (= ʿAbd al-Malik). Al-Bakrī also speaks of the Lawātī tribes established in the Egyptian oases. It appears that these Lawātī tribes of al-Buḥayra and the oases were distant descendants of the Libuaegyptii of the ancients. It is perhaps due to this Lawātī branch that Ibn Ḥazm attributes to the Lawāta a Coptic origin. Moreover, to the west of Alexandria, in Marmarica, al-Bakrī mentions the existence of about a thousand tents belonging to the Māṣila or Māṣala (al-Bakrī writes this name by error Fāḍila) and to the Banū ʿAḳīdān, a Berber tribe who probably belonged to the group of Lawāta. A section of the tribe of Siwa or Sīwa who probably belonged to the group of Lawāta lived, in the 9th/15th century, in the oasis of Sīwa, the oasis of Ammon of the ancients and Santariyya of al-Idrīsī. The oasis of Sīwa owes its name to this people.

Barḳa. This land was inhabited, in the 1st-4th/7th-10th centuries, almost exclusively by Lawātī groups. One of these groups, namely the tribe of Māṣila (Māṣala), was placed by al-Yaʿḳūbī in the eastern part of Barḳa; they lived, in the 4th/9th century, alongside other peoples, probably Berbers. They were also to be found in the coastal region, mixed with other Lawātī groups, such as Zanāra, *Masghūna, Marāwa and Faṭīṭa (Farṭīṭa), in the great *manzil* of Wādī Makhīl, which resembled a town and which may be identified with El-Mechili on our maps. The dwellings of the *Maṣghūna and some other groups of the Lawāta, such as Marāwa, *Maḳarṭa and Zakūda, were also to be found near the road which linked Wādī Makhīl to the town of Barḳa, el-Merdj on our maps. The tribe of Marāwa left its name to present-day Maraua, a locality situated about 50 km. to the east of el-Merdj. Further to the south-west, in the Djabal al-Gharbī (probably Dahar al-Ahmar and Dahar al-Abyad on our maps), al-Yaʿḳūbī also places Berber groups of the tribe of Lawāta. In the second of these chains of mountains lived, according to this geographer, the Lawātī tribes of Zakūda, *Maḳarṭa and Zanāra. It is also in this region that there lived a section of the tribe of Ḳaṭūfa which gave its name to Ḳaṣr Ketof, a locality mentioned by H. Barth (*Wanderungen*, 356). Further to the west, in the environs of Bernīḳ (ancient Berenike, Benghazi on our maps) lived three Lawātī tribes, namely Maghāgha, Wāhila and Djadāna, as well as the tribes of Siwa and Masūsa, who themselves traced their origin from Lawāta. The territory of the tribe of Masūsa extended from Benghazi towards the south and south-east. Indeed, the name of this tribe is to be connected with the Wādī Masūs mentioned by Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 337/948-8) and by al-Bakrī who wrote a century later. According to the latter, there are in this valley "several ruined vaults and cisterns, to the number, it is said, of three hundred and sixty." In our opinion, it is to be identified with Msous (Msus) on our maps, a centre of encampments situated near an homonymous *wādī*, about 80 km. east of Solouk. A section of the Masūsa also lived in the town of Adjdābiya (Adjedabia on our maps), alongside Lawātī groups of Zanāra, Wāhila, Siwa and Djadāna. The latter constituted the majority of the inhabitants of this town.

Tripolitania. The inhabitants of Adjdābiya constituted in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, if one can believe al-Yaʿḳūbī, the westernmost group

of the Lawāta of Barḳa. However, it appears that the ethnic situation of this part of Libya was a little different a century earlier, under the domination of the Ibāḍī Imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī who, in 140-4/757-62, was master of the whole of eastern Barbary. Indeed, it is known that an Ibāḍī chief belonging to the tribe of Lawāta, one named ʿUmar b. Imkaten al-Lawātī, lived at first near the great road which led, following the coasts of this country, to the town of Maghmadās (ancient Macomadas Syrtis or Macomades Selorum), i.e. in eastern Tripolitania properly so-called. Then he went to settle in the Djabal Nafūsa, in western Tripolitania. It is also known that he became governor of the province of Surt (Syrtis) in eastern Tripolitania on behalf of the Imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and that he commanded a Lawātī brigade, the only one in the army of this *imām*. It may be supposed that these Lawāta of eastern Tripolitania constituted, in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, the remnants of the Leuathae, whose chiefs had been massacred at Leptis Magna in 543 A.D., by Sergius, Byzantine governor of Tripolitania, and whole main body then retired towards the south of Tunisia.

Tunisia. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions the Lawāta (who are descendants of the Leuathae of Byzacena) in the town of Ḳābis (Gabès). According to al-Bakrī, the Lawāta were also found, in the 5th/11th century, in the environs of this town. Ibn Khaldūn places, in the 8th/14th century, some Lawātī groups in the mountain called Djabal Lawāta situated to the south of Ḳābis. It is to this branch of Lawāta that the family of Banū Makkī, who were rulers of Gabès in the 8th/14th century, traces its origin. Another group of the Lawāta lived in the district of Nafzāwa, whose Ibāḍī population remained, towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, under the government of Miyāl b. Yūsuf al-Lawātī. We know it thanks to al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century), who also mentions the existence of a section of the tribe of Lawāta in the town of Ṭurra (probably the ancient Turris Tamalleni) in the district of Nafzāwa. Another section of the Ibāḍī Lawāta lived, according to the same author, at Ḳanṭrār in Bilād al-Djarīd. The Lawāta were also found among the Berber tribes who were exterminated, in 224/838-9, by the Aghlabid general ʿĪsā b. Rayʿān al-Azdī. This took place between the towns of Ḳasṭīliya (Tozeur) and Ḳafṣa (Gafsa). Another branch of the Lawāta of Tunisia, probably the descendants of this branch of the Leuathae who appear alongside the Lares (Lorbous) from the 6th century A.D., were found among the Berber-Ibāḍī tribes who followed, in 144/761-2, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the old Ibāḍī governor of Ifrīḳiya, in his flight from al-Ḳayrawān (Kairouan) to the central Maghrib, before the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath.

Algeria. An important section of the Lawāta lived, if Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, in the vast massif of the Awrās (Aurès on our maps), alongside other semi-nomadic, semi-sedentary populations of shepherds and cultivators. They were already mentioned in the period of the Ibāḍī-Nukkārī chief Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād (d. 335/947), who rebelled against the Fāṭimid dynasty. Hence the Lawāta of the Aurès rallied to this chief. They continued to live in the Aurès until the 8th/14th century at least and, at this period, they kept in subjection the Berber groups of the Hawwāra and Ketāma who lived alongside them. At this time, they were able to put into the field a thousand cavalry and a large number of infantry. The Lawāta of the Aurès preserved their independence, apart from two sections of this branch, namely the Banū Riḥān and Banū Badīs, who for several years paid tribute to the dynasty of the Banū Moznī of the Zāb. Later on, the Banū Badīs seized plains in the environs of the town of Niḳāwus (Ngaous or N'Gaous in the plain of the Hodna, north-west of the Aurès). It is very probable that the Lawāta of the Aurès were simply the remnants of the Lawāta of southern Tunisia who succeeded in retiring to this massif after the extermination of the Berber tribes of this latter region by the Aghlabid general ʿĪsā b. Rayʿān al-Azdī which took place, as mentioned above, between Tozeur and Gafsa in 224/838-9.

Another section of the Algerian Lawāta occupied, according to al-Bakrī, the surroundings of the town of Madjdjāna (Medianae of the ancients) which was situated near Wādī Mallāḳ (Mellegue, south of the ancient town of Madauras (Mdaourouch on our maps), on the road which led from Ḳayrawān to Baghāya. The history of this group is unknown to us; however, it is not impossible that we are concerned here with descendants of these Leuathae who besieged the town of Lares (Lorbous) in 543 A.D.

Ibn Khaldūn mentions a branch of the Lawāta settled in the plain of Tagrert, in the environs of Bougie. This branch cultivated the land and pastured its flocks. In the 8th/14th century, it was subject to the government of Bougie.

There was no lack in the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries, if one can believe al-Shammākhī, of small groups of Lawāta in the oasis of Sūf (Souf) and in that of Rīgh. According to this author, a Lawātī settled in this latter oasis had come from Barḳa. However, it appears that the majority of these Lawāta traced their origin to Nafzāwa and the Bilād al-Djarīd in southern Tunisia.

An important group of Lawāta who accompanied, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the Ibāḍī governor of Ḳayrawān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam in his flight from Ifrīḳiya to the west in 144/761-2, settled to the south of Tāhert, capital of the Ibāḍī state founded by this emigrant. If Ibn Ṣaghīr is to be believed, the Lawāta already lived there towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and at the beginning of the 3rd/9th, in the reign of his successor, the Imām al-Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. They owned a fortress there and often involved themselves in the affairs of the Rustamid *Imāms*. According to al-Bakrī, the Lawāta inhabited, in the 5th/11th century, the region situated to the south of Tāhert and also the fortress of Izmāma situated on the road which linked this latter town with the town of al-Masīla. Ibn Khaldūn supplies us with several details on this section of the Lawāta. According to this historian, they frequented the valley of Mīnas. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the chief of this Lawātī section was in the service of the Fāṭimid ʿUbayd Allāh, but later these Lawāta revolted against al-Manṣūr, the third Fāṭimid caliph, who defeated them and drove them out into the desert. There were also wars between the Lawāta of Mīnas and a Zanāta tribe who lived on the other side of this valley. Following these wars, the Lawāta of Mīnas went to settle on the mountain called Darrādj, where they extended their settlements towards the interior of the tell and as far as the mountain which dominates the Mitīdja. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this branch of the Lawāta was, in the 5th/14th century, liable for tax.

Morocco. According to the early Arabic sources, there were also some Lawāta in Morocco. It is possible that they may have come from eastern

Barbary towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century, probably with the Ibāḍī and Ṣufrī chiefs who took refuge in the west of the Maghrib before the ʿAbbāsid armies. In any case, when Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh founded the state of the Idrīsids in the Maghrib al-Akṣā, among the Berbers of the north of Morocco who rallied to his cause (in 172/788-9) there was also a section of the Lawāta. This people probably lived to the south and west of Fās. Ibn Saʿīd al-Gharnāṭī notes there, in fact, the territories occupied by this people. These are probably the Lawāta settled on the Sebou River who owned the fortress called Lawāta Madyan. This fortress was situated on the road which linked the town of Sidjilmāsa to Fās, Another group of Lawāta lived in the north-west of Morocco, south of the town of Aṣīla (Arzila), the territory of which also belonged formerly to this people. In the province of Tādlā, south of the Oued Umm al-Rabīʿ, there lived, among the Arabs of the tribe of the Banū Djābir, the Lawātī tribe of Zanāra.

Mauritania. A certain number of people belonging to the tribe of Lawāta, probably merchants, lived in the south of Mauritania, in the town of Awdaghast which was an ancient centre of commerce. It is possible that they may have come from Tāhert, or more likely from southern Tunisia.

Sicily. According to Amari, the Berbers of the tribe of Lawāta appear in the Middle Ages in the diplomas of Palermo as amongst the inhabitants of this town. There was also in Sicily a colony of the Lawātī sub-tribe of Maghāgha. It is, indeed, from the name of this tribe that the name of the town of Magagi is derived (in Arabic al-Maghāghī), mentioned in a Sicilian diploma of 1182.

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AL-LAWĀTĪ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Miyāl b. Yūsuf, noted Ibāḍī-Wahbī historian, traditionist and biographer. He was descended from Yūsuf al-Lawātī, the vizier of al-Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the third Ibāḍī *imām* of the Rustamid dynasty (208-50/823-71). According to the biographical notices about him given in the works of al-Dardjīnī and al-Shammākhī, he was born in the first half of the 5th/11th century in the province of Barḳa (Cyrenaica). His *nisba* indicates that he was from the Berber tribe of the Lawāta [*q.v.*], of which several sections were adherents of the Ibāḍiyya. In 450/1058-9, when he was 18 years old, he left his natal Barḳa and went to settle at Adjlū, a town situated in the oasis of Arīgh (modern Oued Righ), and he apparently died there in 528/1133-4 at an advanced age. Nothing is known of his life, except that he travelled to the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād and that he had visited two places not very far from the Oued Righ, sc. Waghlāna (modern Ourlana) in the north, on the road from the Oued Righ to Biskra, and Wārdjlān (Ouargla) to the south of the Oued Righ. One may also note that his family had connections with the town of Sadrāta (the modern ruins of Sedrata) in the Ouargla oasis. Indeed, his maternal uncle, the learned *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Sadrātī, was probably a native of that town.

Ibāḍī tradition rightly accords al-Lawātī a place of honour. He was not only an eminent historian and traditionist, but also a remarkable poet. He wrote a work on the history of the North African Ibāḍiyya which was used by the anonymous author of the *Siyar al-mashāyikh*, who used al-Lawātī's autograph. He also taught Ibāḍī history and *siyar* to numerous pupils. One should mention three of these, who are accounted amongst the most celebrated historians and biographers of the 6th/12th century: Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Khalīfa al-Ṣūfī, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wisyānī and Abū Nūḥ, all of whom took from al-Lawātī many narratives, to be used in their own works or else to be transmitted to the traditionalists of the following generation. Amongst other works, whose authors used al-Lawātī's traditions and stories, may be mentioned, in addition to the *Siyar al-mashāyikh*, the *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Dardjīnī and the *K. al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī.

It is interesting to remark that Abū Muḥammad also devoted time to the explanation of collections of Ibāḍī traditions written in Arabic for adherents who were only Berber speaking. Thus for instance, in the course of an academic session at Adjlū in the Oued Righ, he gave an exposition of the Arabic text of the *Āthār* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, an Ibāḍī traditionist of the East who flourished in the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

Al-Lawātī was also a poet, and al-Shammākhī speaks of his poetic *dīwān*.

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LAWḤ (A.), board, plank; tablet, table. Both ranges of meaning are found in other Semitic languages such as Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic, and Jeffery thought that, whilst the sense "board, plank" might be an original Arabism, the second sense was almost certainly from the Judaeo-Christian cultural and religious milieu (see *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 253-4).

The word occurs five times in the Ḳur'ān. The first meaning is found in sūra LIV, 13, where Noah's ark is called *dhāt alwāḥ*. The second meaning is that of *lawḥ* as writing material, e.g. the tablets of the *lawḥ* (sūra VII, 142, 149, 153, where the plural *alwāḥ* is used; see *LA*, iii, 421). *Al-dawāt wa 'l-lawḥ* (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, sūra IV, bāb 18) correspond to our "paper and ink". The expression *mā bayn al-lawḥayn* "what lies between the two boards" is found in *Ḥadīth*, to describe the whole Ḳur'ān (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra IX, bāb 4; *Libās*, bāb 84); cf. *mā bayn al-daffatayn* (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, bāb 16). In modern Arabic, *al-lawḥ* also means a school-child's slate and a blackboard.

Al-lawḥ thus means the tablet kept in heaven, which in sūra LXXXV, 22 is called *lawḥ maḥfūẓ*, usually translated as the "safely preserved" tablet. But it is not certain whether the words in this passage are really syntactically connected. If we read *maḥfūẓ^un*, the word does not go with *lawḥ^in* but with the preceding *ḳur'ān^un* and the translation is: "Verily it is a Ḳur'ān, famous, preserved on a tablet" (see the commentaries); "safely preserved", i.e. against alteration.

In the commentaries on sūra XCVII, 1, the tablet is again mentioned: "We sent it down (sc. the Ḳur'ān) in the night of the decree"; this refers either to the first revelation made to Muḥammad or to the descent of the Ḳur'ān from that tablet which is above the seventh heaven, to the lowest. The tablet as the original copy of the Ḳur'ān is thus identical with *umm al-kitāb*.

The decisions of the divine will are also written on the *lawḥ* with the pen, *ḳalam* [*q.v.*], and the particulars contained as a whole in God's consciousness are transmitted by this last, so that on the *lawḥ* are inscribed the archetypes of all things, past, present and future. The popular mind represented the *lawḥ*, following an *ḥadīth* of the Prophet given by al-Bayhaḳī, as created from a white pearl, with its upper and lower surfaces of jacynth. We have therefore to distinguish two quite different conceptions:

a. The tablet as the original copy of the Ḳur'ān. This idea is found in the pseudepigraphical literature. In the *Book of Jubilees*, iii, 10, it is said that the laws relating to the purification of women after childbed (Leviticus xii) are written on tablets in heaven. Jub. xii, 28-9, says the same of the law regarding the "feast of booths" (Lev., xxiii, 40-3) and Jub., xxii, 15, of the law of tithes (Lev., xxvii).

b. The tablet as the record of the decisions of the divine will is also found in the *Book of Jubilees*. In Jub., v, 13 it is said that the divine judgement on all that exists on earth is written on the tablets in heaven. Enoch prophesies the future from the contents of these tablets (Book of Enoch, xciii, 2; lxxxi; ciii, 2; cvi, 19). The "scripture of truth" is mentioned as early as Daniel, x, 21, the contents of which Daniel announces in prophetic form. These ideas are connected with the Babylonian conception of "tablets of fate".

From these passages, it is evident that in the pseudo-epigraphic literature also, the tables in heaven are also regarded as the originals of revelation, sometimes as tablets of fate. This is sufficient to explain the double meaning of *lawḥ* in Muslim literature.

For other passages, cf. the index to Charles, *The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, s.v. "Tablets"; it cannot always be said definitely to which of these two conceptions a statement belongs.

In Ṣūfī mysticism and in esoteric philosophy and cosmology, the *lawḥ* has an important place. The pantheistic mystical writer ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [*q.v.*] (d. in the first half of the 9th/15th century) explains in his *al-Insān al-kāmil* how God's creation is first given shape occultly in the divine knowledge, and only later given objective individualisation by the pen or divine intelligence, which distinguishes the created from the Creator and imprints its form of existence on the tablet as the mind imprints ideas on the soul (R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 111-12 n.). Esoteric works identified various forms of the tablet with the primal intelligence (as above), the *ʿaḳl al-awwal*; with the expressive, universal soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiḳa al-kulliyya*) = the preserved tablet; with the particularising soul; and with the *lawḥ al-hayūlā* or material tablet, which receives the forms of the supersensory world (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 204). Mystically-inspired persons, it was held, might have glimpses of the entirety of God's decrees inscribed on the tablet and normally hidden from human comprehension, either by dreams or by a sudden flesh of divine revelation (*ilhām*), removing the veil (see D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude to life in Islam*, Chicago 1909, 253-4, 264-5). Finally, it may be noted that the 19th century Persian religious leader Bahā' Allāh [*q.v.*] promulgated, at different points in his career, various "tablets" containing homilectic counsels and prophetic instructions for his followers, such as the *lawḥ al-amr* "tablet of command" issued in 1280/1863 and ostensibly from the divine pen, giving an exposition of his mission (a document which contributed to the schism with his rival Mīrzā Yaḥyā Ṣubḥ-i Azal); the *lawḥ-i bashārāt* "tablet of good tidings"; etc. (see E. G. Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bābī religion*, Cambridge 1918, 17, 21-2, 29-31, 187).

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(A. J. WENSINCK-[C. E. BOSWORTH])

AL-LAWḤ AL-MAḤFŪẒ [see AL-LAWḤ]

LAWN (A.), "colour". One of the distinctive features of the Arabic language is the great richness of its chromatic vocabulary. It is as if the smallest detail, the most minute nuance, was deemed to require a nomenclature *sui generis*.

In the first part of this article, we shall undertake a morphological and semantic analysis of the names of colours. Subsequently we shall see how Muslim thinkers, theologians and philosophers, have analysed perception of colours. The final part will be devoted to the symbolic dimension of colours.

For a proper understanding of the subject, some clarifications and definitions are required, however: the colour of an object is observed, on the purely perceptive level, with its three sensory variants of tonality ("colour" in the strict sense), luminosity (the "quality", the extent to which the object reflects or transmits light) and saturation ("vivacity", "intensity" of the colour). White is an achromatic colour, as is black. Just as, in physics, a white body diffuses equally all the visible radiations that it receives, so a perfectly black body, for its part, absorbs all radiations totally and transmits none. The achromatic colours have a zero saturation. The complementary colours are those which neutralise each other and which when combined produce white: indigo/yellow, blue/orange, violet/yellow-green, red/blue-green. Finally, of the seven colours of the spectrum, only three, blue, yellow and red, are fundamental: they serve to elaborate the other colours.

Morphological study. The morphology of adjectives of colour is characterised by the fact that they are, in the majority of cases, formed on the diptote paradigm *afʿal* in the masculine, *faʿlāʾ* in the feminine. The *afʿal* theme is a theme of intensity, which also supplies the elative; this common formulation of the intensive and of the adjective of colour is apparently not coincidental, and it is asserted that, semantically, the latter may have been regarded, at a certain stage in the evolution of the language, as an intensive: that which we translate as "red" may, originally, have signified "more red than ...". The evolution of the language would have led to the ellipse of the second term of the comparison. (In this context see *LA*, ed. Beirut, ii, 122-3, root *b-y-ḍ*. As M. Guillaumont has commented (*Problèmes de la couleur*, 345), "it is a fact that in Semitic, there is a particularly narrow line separating names of colours and intensive themes. In Aramaic, names of colours are specifically formed on the pattern *fʿʿl*. In Hebrew there also exists a series of names of colours formed on an intensive pattern characterised by the doubling of the last two radicals (*fʿlʿl*) ...".

Alongside this *afʿal/faʿlāʾ* construction, which is not only that of the majority of adjectives of colour, but also that of all the fundamental colours, other forms are encountered, admittedly rare, to which we nevertheless, draw attention, while not forgetting that some of them are doublets of the form *afʿal*, or combine to form doublets of their own. We may mention the following themes: *fāʿil* (*ḥāniḍ*), *mufaʿʿal* (*mudjazzaʿ*), *faʿl* (*djawn*), *faʿīl* (*faḳīʿ*), *faʿal* or *faʿil* (*shahab*, *lahiḳ*) and *mufʿil* (*muḳrif*). Less common are adjectives of the patterns *faʿlūl*, *fuʿāl*, *fuʿālī*, *fuʿayl*, *fiʿāl*, *faʿālī*, *fāʿilī*, *faʿūlī* and *fuʿill*. There exists an undoubted link between certain of these themes and a certain chromatic nuance: *fāʿil* and saturation, *mufaʿʿal* and mixture, *faʿil* and blending. Others of these themes are in fact relative adjectives terminating in *ī*, an indirect manner of denoting colour to which Arabic frequently has recourse. Some adjectives of colour (often borrowed words) are defined by relation to an object which represents this colour and which serves as a support. Thus *wardī* derives from *ward* "rose", *banafsadjī* from *banafsadj* "violet", *kuḥlī* from *kuḥl* [*q.v.*] "collyrium". It is most probable that there exists a connection between the form of the adjective and its meaning. Thus, from the one root *f-ḳ-ʿ*, the following are derived: *faḳʿ* "of a simple yellow", *fuḳāʿ* "very red" (of human complexion), *faḳiʿ* "red or white', and *afḳaʿ* "very white"—so many bright nuances.

Nouns of colour are *maṣdars* which generally have the form *fuʿla*. This is the only abstract element in chromatic terminology. By *ḥumra* or *ṣufra*, Arabic expresses "the state of being red", "the state of being yellow". As with the adjectives of colour, but within a less varied spectrum, the nouns of colour, although being *maṣdars*, are capable of borrowing the following themes: *faʿal*, *faʿl*, *faʿāl* (the last applying, apparently exclusively, to white and black, of which the roots are "hollow"), *fiʿl*, *tafʿīl*, *fiʿla*. For nouns of colour of the theme *fuʿla*, and for these alone, it seems that these *maṣdars* cannot be called "verbal substantives", since, as we shall see, the verbs of colour which correspond to these *maṣdars* are denominative in origin.

Of the derived forms of the Arabic verb there are two—those of the paradigm *ifʿalla* and *ifʿālla*—which have a particular quality: they express states (colour or deformity); they do not derive from the "bare form" *faʿala*, but are denominative in origin, formed from adjectives of the paradigm *afʿal* expressing the states cited above; and they denote an intensive aspect which is illustrated by the doubling of the final radical. The XIth form (*ifʿālla*), less common than the IXth (*ifʿalla*) seems to be a doublet of it, still more intensive. Thus we have, besides *ibyaḍḍa* and *iswadda*, meaning respectively "to become white", "to become black", *ibyāḍḍa* and *iswādda*, for "to become pure white", "to become black as ebony". All verbs of the IXth and XIth forms are verbs of colour or of deformity. It does not, however, follow that all verbs expressing a notion of colour belong to one of these two forms. Besides the latter, which could be described as "essential verbs of colour", we encounter others which borrow all the verbal forms, "bare" or derived, and which in general express colour through derivation of sense.

Finally, attention should be drawn to non-triliteral forms and loan-words. The following paradigms are encountered: *faʿlal*, *fiʿlāl*, *fuʿlul*, *faʿlalī* and *fiʿlil* among the former. As for loan-words, the most used are: *ardjawān* "purple", *ziryāb* "yellow", *zardjūn* "red and gilt", *firfir* "violet", *samānghūnī* "sky-blue", and *nīladj* "indigo"; these are terms derived from Persian or Greek.

Semantic study. To express the concept of "colour", Arabic uses the general term *lawn* which, besides this precise sense, also denotes "shade", "aspect", "type", "dish (of food)", etc. In addition to this general term, we also have the following words: *būṣ* (stressing a notion of brightness, of clear colour), *ṣabīb* (liquid colour or tincture, also applied to the object which it colours) *suḥna* (applied to the colour of the complexion), *layṭ*, *naḍir*, *khuṭba* (applied to a dirty colour, a mixture of two blended colours); *kharadj*, *khaṣaf* and *naṣīf* (all three referring to a mixture, a combination of two colours sometimes regarded as opposites).

It would seem useful, as preliminary to a semantic survey, to discover how the Arabs perceived the colours of the rainbow [see ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ], and how they subsequently transcribed their perceptions. Since this atmospheric phenomenon displays a very wide spectrum of colours, it is of the utmost interest to determine, for each people, the names that they have given to what they have seen. We know that the Greeks and Romans attributed three colours to the rainbow. In his *Meteora* (iii, 4, 373) Aristotle lists red-brown (*alourgon*), green (*prasinon*) and purple (*phoinikon*) in which he sees a progressive weakening of the light. Plato shows, in the *Timaeus*, that it is possible to reconstitute all shades with

four fundamental colours: black, blue, red, and the colour of light. Comparative study of languages belonging to very diverse cultural areas show that the divisions of the spectrum are far from always coinciding. They are arbitrary, and differ according to situations and the existing resources of the language. The great dictionaries and encyclopaedias of classical Arabic present, under the heading *ḳaws ḳuzaḥ*, almost unanimously, the following formula: "the rainbow consists of strips in a circular arc, coloured yellow, red and green". Here too—green replacing blue with which it is often confused—we again find the three fundamental colours.

The primary term used to denote the colour white is the adjective *abyaḍ*. The same root supplies the word for "egg", *bayḍa*. *Al-abyaḍ* also denotes saliva, a sword, money, and, paradoxically, in Africa, coal. In the Ḳurʾān, the terms *abyaḍ* and *aswad* appear consecutively, expressing the contrast between light and dark, rather than that between white and black. Many examples could be quoted where *abyaḍ* refers to a tonality rather than a colour. There exists a host of other terms to denote white: *ādam*, *t͟hāg͟him*, *d̲j̲awn* (which denotes white as well as a dark tonality), *as͟hyab*, *ṣiḳlab*, *ẓalm*, *ag͟harr*, *faḳiʿ* (a bright white as well as a bright red), *aḳmar*, *ḳuhābī*, *ḥaḍḍī*, *aḥamm* (which displays the same peculiarities as *d̲j̲awn*), *ḥawārī*, *k͟hāliṣ*, *azhar*, *lahaḳ*, *amraḥ*, *nāṣiʿ* (brightness of white, yellow, red), *yaḳaḳ*, etc.

The principal term used to denote black is *aswad*, of which the root implies the notion of power, of might. The antonym of *abyaḍ*, sc. *aswad*, has the same characteristics: very often it applies to a dim or dark tonality, rather than to the colour black itself (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 187, III, 106, XVI, 58, XXXIX, 60, XLIII, 17). The substantive *al-aswad* can refer to such diverse objects and creatures as the snake, the scorpion, dates, etc. The *maṣdar* "*sawād*", referred, quite uniquely, to a region of ʿIrāḳ especially rich in palm-trees and orchards.

The range of terms used in reference to black is also extremely wide. Worthy of mention are *bag͟hs*, *mutaḥham*, *d̲j̲awn*, *aḥtam*, *ḥunbūb*, *ḥindas*, *ḥulba*, *ḥālik*, *aḥamm* (white, black, or dark red), *aḥwaz*, *aḥwā* (a perfect example of the concept of darkness: black, red, green; cf. Ḳurʾān, LXXXVII, 5) *adbas* (dark), *add̲j̲an*, *adʿad̲j̲*, *adkan*, *adlam*, *adham* (dark: cf. Ḳurʾān LV, 64), *asḥam*, *asfaʿ*, *muẓlim*, *g͟hudāf*, *g͟hirbīb* (the association between the crow and the colour black is very wide-spread; we may recall that the root *ʿ-r-b* serves to denote black in Hebrew and in Aramaic), *afḥam*, *ḳātim*, *ḳātin*, *ḳāḥim*, *akḥal*, etc.

Grey, a fusion of black and white, does not have a precise colour. It does not have a primary term in Arabic. We may mention the designations *s͟hāhib* and *as͟hhab*, *ag͟ht͟ham*, *aḳhab*, *adsam*, *arbad*, *armad*, *armak*, *ag͟hbat͟h*, *awraḳ*, *aṭḥal*, *ḳahd*, *aklas*, *anmas*, *amlaḥ*, *amhaḳ*, etc.

The Arabs rarely mention violet. The principal term, borrowed from Persian, is *banafsad̲j̲ī*. Also encountered are *k͟hubbāzī*, *samāng͟hūnī*, *firfirī*, evidently non-Arabic words, and all of them adjectives of relation. The same applies to indigo, of which the colouring material, a plant, is called *k͟hiṭr*, *sadūs*, *mus͟hayṭir*, *ʿiẓlim*, *nuʾūr*, *nīl*, *nīla* or *nīlad̲j̲* and *wasma*. On the rare occasions when the colour indigo is mentioned, it is through paraphrases: as the colour of the indigo, or through adjectives of relation ending in *ī*.

Blue, on the other hand, is one of the essential colours of nature. The usual word denoting it is *azraḳ*, a term which also has the sense of livid, haggard (cf. Ḳurʾān, XX, 102). The plural, *zarāḳim*, designates snakes. The terminology of this colour is relatively limited, and this could be connected with the symbolic nature of blue, which we shall examine in due course. We may cite *samāwī*, *kaḥl*, *as͟hhal*, *ʿawhaḳ* and *amḳah* (three terms of a pejorative nature), and *amlaḥ*.

Green is synonymous with nature. It is the basis of life. The usual term is *ak͟hḍar*, an adjective also associated with the notion of darkness, since it sometimes denotes black, dark, grey. We also find *al-k͟haḍrāʾ* as a reference to the sky: a further illustration of the link between blue and green, often confused in antiquity. The Greeks, the Chinese, the Melanesians, the New Caledonians, the Romans, among others, used the same term to denote these two colours. Without having the extreme richness of those of black and of white, the terminology of green is fairly extensive. We shall confine ourselves to mentioning *ḳāniʾ*, *aḥwā*, *ak͟hḍab*, *ak͟hṭab*, *adlas*, *raḳiḳ*, *ʿas͟hraḳ* and *ag͟hyan*.

Yellow is denoted, most often, by *aṣfar*, a word whose relationship with the name of the saffron plant (borrowed from Persian) is striking. Arab historians applied the designation *Banu 'l-Aṣfar* [*q.v.*, lit. "the Yellow Ones"] to the Greeks and the Byzantines, while they called themselves "the Blacks" (or "the Masters"?) and applied the designation "the Red ones" to all non-Arabs. The terminology of yellow is extensive. The principal terms are *ḥibr*, *d͟hiryab*, *zabraḳ*, *zabrad̲j̲*, *ziryāb*, *zahr*, *aṣham*, *afḳaʿ* (see *faḳiʿ* for bright white and red), *ḳalad̲j̲*, *amlad̲j̲*, *nāṣiʿ* (the same remark as for *afḳaʿ*) and *wāris*.

Orange, like violet and indigo, is indicated by means of the adjective of relation applying to the object which represents the colour: *burtuḳāl* "orange", supplies the adjective *burtuḳālī*.

Red evokes the notions of blood, flesh, fruits, life. The two "opposed" and complementary colours, green and red, are also the colours of all vegetable and animal life. Red has always occupied a position of particular significance, in almost every sector of humanity. It has always enjoyed a privileged status in vocabulary. All its shades are represented, in virtually all languages. Black, red and white form the trilogy of colours that are the best recognised and the richest in terminology and symbolism. The usual word, in Arabic, is *aḥmar*, deriving from a root with the sense of ardour, violence, intensity. Red is the colour for which Arabic terminology is the richest. We shall confine ourselves to citing *ādam* (already encountered as a word for white, and perhaps the term for red in ancient Semitic), *bat͟hag͟h*, *abḳam*, *t͟haḳīb*, *d̲j̲awn* (already encountered as a word for white), *aḥlas*, *ḥāniṭ*, *adbas*, *madmūm*, *adhas*, *adhan*, *arbad*, *rādinī*, *zabraḳ*, *zāhir*, *azhā*, *aslak͟h*, *aslag͟h*, *as͟hraḳ*, *ṣubāḥī*, *aṣhar*, *ṣayʿarī*, *ṣiḳlāb*, (already mentioned for white), *ṣamʿarī*, *aṣhab*, *adrad̲j̲*, *ʿānik*, *ʿanamī*, *g͟hasīḳ*, *g͟hadb*, *mag͟hlūḳ*, *fadm*, *fadn*, *firās*, *firṣad*, *afḍaḥ*, *faḳiʿ* (already mentioned for yellow), *ḳurrāṣ*, *aḳraf*, *ḳirmizī* ("crimson"), *ḳas͟har*, *ḳāniʾ* (especially denoting saturation), *akt͟haʿ*, *karik*, *kalf*, *kamit*, *mātiʿ*, *amʿar*, *mamkūr*, *nakaʿ*, *ward* (cf. Ḳurʾān, LV, 37) and *yāniʿ*.

Brown and pink have a limited vocabulary. It is logical, on the other hand that russet-fawn should be precisely observed and distinguished by a people whose origins lie in the desert. We may mention *bahram*, *aḥsab*, *ḥidār*, *as͟hk͟haḥ*, *as͟hḳar*, *aṣhar*, *aṣhab*, *aʿyas*, *aklaf*, *kumayt* and *ward* (already mentioned for red). Purple is denoted, in the principal Semitic languages, by terms deriving from one single quadriliteral root *r-g-w-n*. Arab lexicographers claim

that the Arabic *arghawān* is a loan-word from Persian. *Firfirī* and *birfirī* obviously derive from the same etymology as the Greek *porphyra* and the Latin *purpura*. For lessened colours other than brown, the terminology often relies on variants of terms designating dust, ashes and earth.

The vocabulary of mixtures and blendings of colours is very extensive. One is struck by the frequency of the consonant *sh* in the formation of terms designating flecked, mottled, striped, spotted colorations. In addition—which is scarcely surprising—the hides of horses and camels are differentiated, down to the slightest nuance, by dozens and dozens of term (see the articles by Hess and Shihābī, cited in the *Bibl.*). The striking fact, in this context, is the large number of terms (*adbas, addjan, adkham, adraʿ, adʿas, adghath, adgham, adlam, adhas, adham*, etc.) with *d* as the first radical.

We close this brief survey of the semantics of colour with the remark that doublets and loan-words are particularly frequent here.

Tonality, luminosity and saturation. The three psycho-sociological components which were cited at the beginning of this study are three unevenly-perceived sensory variants. It does not appear that tonality, in its sense of specific colour, was of fundamental importance to the Arabs when they evoked, in their literature, the colour of a landscape, a garment or any object belonging to their regular lives. It was rather a case of indistinct touches conferring a general impression. On the other hand—and this feature is determined by that mentioned above—luminosity, and saturation even more so, impressed them particularly. This is to be expected of a people living in a sun-drenched environment. These two notions of luminosity and of intensity seem in addition to be confused in the semantic quality of the innumerable adjectives which the Arabic language possesses, and which could be called "intensives of colour". The latter are used to qualify a "classical" adjective of colour, such as *abyaḍ, aswad, akhḍar* and *aḥmar*, and to indicate that this colour has attained its highest degree of luminosity or of intensity. While the substantives, *al-shabʿ, al-tashrīb, al-taḥkīk* and *al-yaḳīʾ*, specifically denote saturation; and while, on the other hand, brightness has the names *al-barīḳ, al-laṣīf* and *al-raʿfīf*; it is nonetheless true that the intensives *fāḳiʿ, nāṣiʿ, khāliṣ, nāḍir* and *ʿātik*, previously encountered in this survey, and all of them active participles: (a) imply, when they govern an adjective of colour, the notions of saturation and luminosity, indicating that the colour is intense and striking; and (b) are capable of being applied—originally at least—to any colour whatsoever. Apparently it was at a later stage that Arab grammarians assigned to each of these intensives a specific adjective of colour to qualify.

Colour in the works of Aristotle and his Arab translators. The Arab philosophers, in their analysis of the problem of colour and of its perception, were, to differing degrees, influenced by Aristotelian theory on the subject. It is important therefore to identify the major themes of the theses expounded by Aristotle, especially in his *De anima* (ii, 418a-419a) and his *De sensu et sensib.* 437b-440b).

The Greek philosophers were struck by the indissoluble link between light and colour on the one hand, and transparency on the other. The eyes, the most transparent part of the human body, are the meeting point of light or of external colour, and of their interior equivalent, a fact which favoured the theory of emanations. What is visible, says Aristotle, is colour; and colour is that which is on the surface of what is visible by itself. The basis of all the phenomena of colour is the transparent. The latter, represented especially by air and water, carries and determines colour, and colour is not visible without the aid of light, since it is only in the light that the colour of any object may be perceived. Where transparency is only potential, there is darkness. Light is like the colour of what is transparent, when the latter is realised in entelechy. The receptacle of colour must be what is colourless. The quiddity of colour is the ability to move the transparent in fact; and the transparent has the property of transmitting, instantaneously, the colour of the visual object to the eye, independently of any notion of time or space. One sees it; it is a qualitative and not a quantitative transmission. Aristotle rejects categorically the theory of emanations, developed by Empedocles, revised by Plato in his *Timaeus* (458 ff.) according to which we see by means of "rays of the nature of fire", which issue from the eye and meet the luminous emanation from the object perceived. Aristotle and all those who followed him, including the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], insisted on the aqueous and non-igneous nature of the eye. All the same, the Master rejected the idea, propounded by Democritus, Leucippus and Epicurus, that vision is only the reflection of an object, as in a mirror. Every object, even opaque, contains, in varying proportions, air and water; and to the extent to which bodies contain transparency, they are susceptible to being coloured. The colour of a solid body is the limit, the surface, not of the body itself, but of the transparency that is within it. The nature of transparency extends, in addition, throughout the whole of the body. Colours are the defined transparencies which reside in bodies and which approximate, more or less, to white or to black, according to whether they contain more or less fire (luminosity and active transparency), or earth (the opaque in the absolute), the shining element or the obscure element. The essence of colour is the act of determining a qualitative change in the light, which is, itself, active transparency. The intermediate colours—that is, those other than black and white—exist neither through juxtaposition of a white and black particle, nor by superimposition of one colour perceived over another. They result from a total, effective blending, of bodies entailing the blending of their colours. Such is the determinant cause for the existence of a multiplicity of colours. But their number is limited, since it is confined within the two extremes of white and black. Finally, Aristotle distinguishes between darkness and blackness. Darkness is the absence of actualisation of the transparent. It has no existence *per se*.

Some eminent Arab authors and translators, like ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. 240/855) and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873) were influenced by Greek theories of colour, as they became known to them through the medium of the commentators of the early Middle Ages. According to al-Ṭabarī, white is evidence of the predominance of the dry element over the humid within bodies; the exact converse applies to black. For him, red results from the synthesis of heat with dryness and humidity. Such are the three fundamental colours from which the others derive. Yellow is the intermediary between red and black, green the intermediary between red and white. In the former, humidity is greater than in the latter. Other chromatic nuances are determined by varying quantities of dryness, humidity and heat. Ḥunayn,

for his part, is complimentary towards Aristotelian theories regarding the perception of colours. He insists on the fact that light is neither a form of fire nor a rarified body, as some of Aristotle's predecessors had claimed, but a contingency borne by a body. Colour is the perfection (entelechy) of limpid and diaphanous bodies—namely, water, air and all other similar substances—which receive the real colour of the objects surrounding them. The transparent body has no colour *per se*; but it absorbs the colour of the object which it envelops: it thus has potential colour. Colours transform the transparent: from being potentially coloured, it becomes actually coloured. Light, by its presence in the air, renders it capable of receiving colour.

Colour according to the Muʿtazilīs. In its defence of the articles of faith by means of rational argumentation, the theologico-political school of the Muʿtazilīs was led to take an interest in the problem of physical bodies and of their perception; but they took divergent views on the problem of colour. While al-Naẓẓām (d. *ca.* 230/845), starting with the postulate that accidents cannot be visible, classed colours among the substances, the corruptible bodies, Bis͟hr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. *ca.* 220/835), his contemporary Muʿammar and the majority of the disciples of the school, considered colours as accidents due to the action of men alone, or produced by the very nature of the things that they affect. Thus they are not subject to divine creation, but God remains the determinant cause of the accidental determination of substances. God created substances (bodies, atoms), capable of producing, by their own nature, well-determined accidents, and colour is one of these. Directly following this reasoning, His͟hām al-Fuwaṭī (beginning of the 3rd/9th century) declared that colour does not constitute proof of the existence of God, but is a simple form of physical bodies. Muʿammar, the theoretician of *maʿnā* ("entity", "nature"), according to which "God creates a thing by virtue of a cause which, itself, derives from another cause, which is the fruit of another cause . . .", postulated that it is through the effect of a *maʿnā* that blackness differs from whiteness, and through another *maʿnā* that a certain body is black and another white. In fact, according to him, every "accident" (movement, colour, taste), requires the existence of an infinite chain of determining *maʿnās*, of which the initial cause is the Creator. "If God colours a body, it is because this body is by nature susceptible to colour. The same applies for other accidents" (Nader, *Système*, 161). Abū Hās͟him al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī (d. 321/933) classed colouration (*al-lawniyya*), like substantiality, corporality, and accidentality, among the real things which do not actually exist. He considered that substance is not coloured necessarily, but that any substance endowed with colour is incapable of losing it. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balk͟hī (d. *ca.* 319/931) declared, for his part, that substance has always been endowed with colour. But the two masters agreed in stressing the fact that substance and colour are two distinct things: the first depends on divine action, while the second is engendered by the substance which bears it.

In fact, the *Maḳālāt* of al-As͟hʿarī (392-3) echo the controversy which developed within the school concerning these questions. From the perception of a coloured object, can one abstract the colour, knowing that the latter cannot be perceived, but only known? Or indeed, can one at the same time perceive whiteness and white, blackness and black? Or again, does one see only the colour and not the object, as al-Naẓẓām suggested? Opinions differed on the above points. As regards sensible awareness of the exterior world, al-Naẓẓam borrowed from the pre-Aristotelian philosophers their sensualist thesis, and their theory of "pores" and "emanations". According to him, colour, form, flavour, taste etc., are each perceived only through the medium of an opening of a certain kind, by which the senses are affected. Each of these sensations is a rarified body: it emanates from a sensible object, penetrates through the specific apertures of the sensory organs, and thus reaches the consciousness of the being that senses it. Al-ʿAllāf (d. after 226/840) spoke of a divine intervention in the operation of man's awareness of sensible objects; but other Muʿtazilī theoreticians, like Muʿammar, regarded the perception of sensible objects as a natural act of the sensory organs, as an engendered act (*muwallad*), free from any divine initiative.

Colour according to the *falāsifa*. At the meeting-point of Muʿtazilism and of *falsafa*, of which he was one of the major initiators, al-Kindī (d. *ca.* 259/873) was greatly interested in the "physical sciences" and, consequently, in the theory of light, of colour, and of their articulation. In his work, as in that of his most eminent successors, the influence of Aristotelian theories, as they had been transmitted to the Arabs through the contemporary Neo-Platonism, is manifest. For "the philosopher of the Arabs", colour is a "general accident, since it affects numerous things". An accident perceived by the first of "the two noble sensory perceptions" (*al-ḥassayn al-s͟harīfayn*), sight and hearing. Just as the active intellect has the function of actualising potential intelligibles, the light which strikes opaque objects transforms potential colours into actual colours. The truly diaphanous body has no colour of its own, since it is the vehicle of the colour of the objects situated behind it. Of the four elements of the universe, only earth is not transparent: it is thus the only bearer of colour in this sublunar world. For an object to be affected by light and thus, a bearer of colour, it must be circumscribed, not fluid, compact, and it must form an obstacle (*yaʿtariḍ*) to visual rays. The colours which we believe that we perceive in fire are in fact the colours of terrestrial particles which are mixed with the fire. The latter—like air and water—is totally colourless. At the same time, our senses give us the illusion that the sky is azure (*lāzawardī*) in colour, although it is not so at all. In fact, the colour that we believe we see in the sky is an artificiality: it is the colour of the vaporous and terrestrial particles of which the air is full. The stars, on the other hand, are circumscribed and compact bodies, as is proved by the fact that they eclipse one another. That is why they may be coloured.

Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) was also interested in colours. The latter, he tells us, occur on the surface of bodies, under the effect of a luminous source, since they do not exist in themselves. They are thus accidents provoked by this source of light. The chromatic differences are provided by the different dispositions of the lighted bodies. Colours only affect the sublunar world, the world of generation and of corruption. The heavenly bodies, the primary elements (*usṭuḳus-sāt*), the simple bodies, have no colour. The colour of terrestrial bodies derives from the fusion of the elements composing each one of them. The presence of the fire element brings a tendency towards white, that of the earth element a tendency towards black. The intermediary colours result from the proportions in which these two primary elements are blended.

Repeating an Aristotelian formula, al-Fārābī defines colour as "the surface of the diaphanous body, in the measure of its transparency". White is not the negation of black, nor black that of white: these opposite do not annihilate each other.

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] (2nd half of the 4th/10th century) authors of a collective encyclopaedia clearly influenced by Neo-Platonian emanationism, considered colour one of the complementary attributes of the body. It is a "spiritual accident", a "form which the soul puts into the body". Light is bound up with the souls and spirits that circulate within it. While traversing diaphanous bodies ("the purest bodies are diaphanous") in the same way in which the soul circulates in the human body, light carries colours up to the pupil, preserving their purity intact. At the level of the pupil, the visual faculty perceives the colours, then transmits them to the imaginative faculty. Light and darkness are "spiritual colours". On contacts with bodies, they transform themselves, respectively, into white and black, which are "corporeal colours". Colours, defined as "the brightness of the rays of bodies" appear only on the surface of the latter. There exist seven simple colours: white, black, red, yellow, green, blue and "the dull colour" (*al-kudra*, violet?). Black derives from an earthy humidity which prevents light from reaching vision. Black is the absence of light. It causes convergence of the visual cluster. At the opposite extreme, white is the manifestation of light in its full purity. For its part, it entails a divergence of the visual cluster. The other colours are intermediaries between these two extremes; each one being characterised by the respective part played by the quantity of white and of black which it contains. An object appears yellow when an obstacle prevents light from appearing pure. Red can derive from "putrefactive causes" (through excess of humidity) or from "liquefactive causes" (through excess of heat). Green draws near to black, in the sense that, here too, an earthy humidity is dominant, constricting the passage of light and of the visual rays. Blue belongs to the chromatic family of green. God made the air blue and the plant green to accommodate the interest of His creatures. In fact, these two colours possess the virtue of being salutary for the vision. The colours of the rainbow are four in number: red, yellow, green and blue: each of these colours corresponds to one of the four primary qualities, namely, heat, dryness, humidity and cold; and to one of the four elements, namely, fire, air, earth and water. Finally, these authors reject the theory of emanations. Such a thesis, they declare, could only be supported by people having no "experience of the things of the spirit and of nature".

Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), like Aristotle, classed the psychology of the sensory apparatus among the physical sciences. He devoted an entire chapter of his *Shifā'* to the problems of vision and of colour. Light is a quality affecting diaphanous bodies; and colour, opaque bodies. The latter are coloured potentially. Colour can exist without being visible; but actual colour occurs only by virtue of its clarity. Colours do not exist, in fact, in bodies. A black, dark body, is potentially coloured. An object that is coloured when it is lit up, will be colourless in the dark: it is deprived of actualised colour. The actively transparent (air, water, the celestial sphere) is a diaphanous medium, and at the same time a vehicle. The illuminating body approaches the coloured body, without any change, any alteration, affecting the diaphanous medium. The existence of light makes the potential transparent an actualised transparent. As light increases, so the manifestation of colour increases also. Ibn Sīnā followed the views of Aristotle in regarding as absurd the theory of emanations, in rejecting the theory that assimilated vision to a reflection similar to that transmitted by a mirror, and in distinguishing between darkness and blackness. He rejected the theory according to which only whiteness is a colour, and blackness is darkness, since, he tells us, black is illuminated, and it gives light to things other than itself. Consequently, colour is not whiteness alone. Absolute, generic colour, is not light; but the latter is the cause for the apparition of the former, and the cause of its transmission. Light is thus a constituent part of the visible entity which we call "colour". Effective colour results from the encounter of light with potential colour. The intermediary colours result from the blending of black and white. White can turn into black in three different ways: (a) through grey of increasing darkness; (b) through red tending increasingly towards brown; and (c) through green and indigo. These diverse processes are the reflection of the diversity of composition of the intermediary colours.

Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039), in his *Optics*, took issue with those scholars who denied the real existence of colour, and declared that it was only an apparition situated between the eye and the source of light. According to him, if it is true that the appearance of colour is affected by the quality of the light which carries it, and that the same colour can be transformed according to the degree of light which it is given, it nonetheless remains a fact that colour has an existence of its own. His commentator Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (d. 720/1320) explored the fundamental connection between light and colour. In darkness, colours are presented, potentially, in coloured bodies. They are transformed into actual colours when light affects these bodies.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) devoted a paragraph of his *Fiṣal* to colour. Here we read that the air is invisible, because it has no colour; whereas water is visible, because it is white. Similarly, fire also is colourless in its sphere; the colour that we see in burning wood, in the wick of a lamp or in any other body that is consumed by fire, derives from the measure of humidity contained in these bodies. In burning, the latter is transformed into igneous air; and the colour which each of these burning bodies adopts is determined by the materials of which it is composed. It is also particles of humidity which give rise to the rainbow. The scholar of Cordova subsequently sets out to refute the theses of the "Ancients", according to whom white results from a divergence of the visual cluster, and black from a convergence of this cluster. According to him, black is invisible, because perception exists only through an extension of vision. Since the eye sees only that which is coloured, black is not a colour. It is, in fact, only darkness, the non-being, privation of colour and eye sight. When we believe that we "see" black, we are subject to an optical illusion. It is purely a matter of convention and metaphor when we describe a person, a crow or a garment, as black. In fact, each of these bodies has its own colour, which is not black. As for the difference between a matt black and a shiny, bright black body, this derives not from the black itself, but from the lustre, the brightness and the scintillation, which are distinct and constitute a colour in its own right, which affects all the chromatic nuances. We may recall that Plato counted

"the colour of light" among the four fundamental colours. One could, says Ibn Ḥazm, just as well say that the dull is a specific colour, since the vision perceives it. Such is also the case with brightness, with luminosity. It is evident that the Ẓāhirī master was particularly aware of the sensory variants of colour. He goes on to establish a hierarchy in the vividness of perception of colours, whose order is as follows: white, yellow, red and green. It is to be noted that he shows a great deal of circumspection in the declaration of his statements, since he is careful to follow them, invariably, with the formula "God alone knows!", or even "May God assist us!"

Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1139), elaborated a whole doctrine of colour in his *Treatise on the soul*. The influence of Aristotle, in particular of his *De sensu et sensib.* is evident; a fact which the author makes no attempt to conceal, as he quotes from the latter work on more than one occasion. The postulate is that the primary sensory element of vision is colour. The seeing soul (*al-nafs al-bāṣira*) is the faculty which exists in the eye and which enables it to perceive colour. It is localised in the vitreous humour, which the Arab philosophers called the glacial humour (*al-ruṭūba al-djalīdiyya*). Colour is, in substance, a form. It is perceptible only through the intermediary of the air; and when a coloured object is placed directly before the eye, the latter is incapable of perceiving it. The air only discharges its function as a vehicle for colour when it is lit by a luminous source. Two hypotheses could thus be formulated: (a) colours, in darkness, are potential only, and have no effective existence; (b) the air absorbs colours only through the influence of the optical image in which these colours reside. For Ibn Bādjdja, the potential existence of colour in darkness is in no doubt. Proof of this existence lies in the different tonalities of the same colour, depending on the quality of the surrounding light, which includes penumbra. He adds that this was demonstrated well by Aristotle (see *De sensu et sensib.*, iii, 440a, 7-13). As for the phosphorescence and the sheen of certain objects and animals, these are determined not by colour but by impressions affecting the eye. The property of colour, endowed by the fact that it derives from the blending of the lighted with the coloured body, is that of being, itself, a dispenser of light, and of moving the air. Colour therefore contains light. It promotes a movement in the lighted body, in that it is lighted; for this body is, itself, a vehicle for colour. In addition, colour puts the diaphanous into effect, by reason of the fact that the latter only accepts colour because it is lighted. Democritus was mistaken in declaring that vision in a vacuum would be purer than through the diaphanous. Just as colour cannot be perceived in the absence of light, so the latter is only perceptible when associated with colour.

The eminent commentator on Aristotle, Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), also undertook to expound a theory of light and of colour, as far as possible consistent with the spirit of the Peripatetic science, as transmitted through the intermediary of Alexander of Aphrodisium, Themistius and Jean Philiponus. He sets out his theory in his Great Commentary on *De anima* and his *Epitome* on *Parva naturalia*. Colour exists on the surface of a certain body. It is the entelechy (actualisation) of a limited transparency, in that it is a limited transparency, while light is the entelechy of an unlimited transparency. Resulting from a blending of fire with diaphanous body, colours find in the light, not the cause of their transmission of the visual organ, but a genuine essence and existence. We have seen that Ibn Bādjdja supported the theory according to which colours exist, *in potentia*, in bodies, whether the latter are lighted or not. Unlike his compatriot from Saragossa, the master of Cordova claims that they can exist effectively, even when they are not perceived. They only become visible under the effect of light. "It is evident that light is necessary for colours to be visible; whether because it gives to colours the form and the manner of being (*malaka/habitus*) by which they impinge upon the transparent; or because it gives the transparent the form by which it receives the action of the colours; or else both can be achieved" (*apud* L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd*, 133).

For his part, Averroes maintains the following connection: light gives to the transparent the manner of being which enables it to be influenced by colour. Light and colour coexist in the diaphanous milieu. They derive, the former from a body which is luminous in itself; the latter from a body which is coloured in itself. Light brings about the actualisation of potential colour, in such a way that it is capable of moving the diaphanous; which is transformed from the potentially diaphanous to the effectively diaphanous; and can, as a result, absorb colour and transmit it to the eye. Thus the objective existence of colours, and their effect on the eye, depends on light. But visibility is not a condition for the existence of colour. It follows that, contrary to the view of Ibn Bādjdja, colour as such does not contain light. When light acts upon the diaphanous, then, according to the intensity of this light, and its degree of transparency, different colours are produced. White derives from a blending of pure fire, that is, solar light (in its capacity as a luminous element) with air (in its capacity as the most diaphanous element). Black derives from a blending of turbid fire (that which is located above the elements and below the spheres) and earth (in its capacity as the most opaque element). The two absolute colours are thus "the primary elements" (*usṭuḳussānʿ*) of the colours. All the other colours are situated between these two extremes. They result from an infinity of proportioning of the chromatic pair white/black. To the extent to which an intermediate colour (green, red, yellow, etc.) tends towards white, it loses, in proportion, the ingredient of black which it contains, and *vice versa*. In common with Aristotle, his Arab commentator believes that the blending of colours consists, not in a juxtaposition or a superimposition, but in a total union of constituent elements, in the event, of fire and diaphanous bodies.

It is evident that, while the Arab theologians and philosophers did not neglect the subject of colour, they were concerned essentially with the manipulation of theories inherited from the Greeks and translated, since the 3rd/9th century, by men like Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn or Bishr b. Mattā. There was, strictly speaking, no Arab-Muslim doctrine of colour, and, as far as we know, no monograph devoted to this question.

A mystical vision of colour. It is hardly necessary to stress the universal nature of the spiritual experience of colours. In this context, the works of H. Corbin enable us to appreciate the interest which certain Muslim mystics, like Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1226) and al-Simnānī (d. 737/1336) took in the phenomenon of colours, and in the synchronism between them and the interior vision. Taking up the theory of "physiological colours" dear to Goethe, which the German master espoused in his *Farbenlehre* (1808), to refute the hitherto un-

challenged theses of Newton, the Iranian theosophist al-Kirmānī (d. 1870) laid stress on the difference to be established between the existence (*wudjūd*) and the manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of colour; a difference which has nothing to do with the classic distinction drawn by the *falāsifa* between potential and actual existence. His hermeneutic of colours "sets in motion ... a symbolism based on an integral spiritual realism" (Corbin). Colour is the language of souls. The eye—the meeting point between exterior light and interior light—does not reflect passively the world which is presented to it; it participates in the perception of things, and produces its own colour. Deriving support from certain verses of the Ḳur'ān which, like XIII, 16 and XXXV, 20, make forceful statements such as "Are the blind man and he who sees equal; are darkness and light equal ...?", al-Kirmānī considers that the colours perceived by our eye are those of bodies, not those of rays of light, and that they exist in the supra-sensible worlds. "Light is the abstract of colour, or colour in the abstract state ... Light is the spirituality of colour; and colour is the corporality of light ... It is through the medium one of the other that they enter our field of vision" (Corbin). Without light, colour is still present, but is similar to a body deprived of its spirit. Every compound, whether it belongs to the sensible or to the supra-sensible world, therefore has a colour. The colour of the world of Intelligence is white; that of the world of Spirit is yellow; that of the world of the Soul is green; that of the world of Nature is red; that of the world of Matter is an ashen colour; that of the Imaginary world is deep green; that of the material body is black. In the same spiritual context, we may recall the famous formula of Novalis: "Colour is an attempt by matter to become light"; and this comment by Rudolph Steiner: "Colour is not only a quality applied to the surface of objects, but a light flashing from the soul of things to reveal itself to our soul".

These reflections lead us on to the symbolism of colour.

The symbolism of colour. Colours are capable of acting, on the human being, independently of the optical system; and the sensation of colour, essentially, is an individual thing before it is a collective thing. The link between human perception, power of evocation and psychism, does not need to be proved. Also, since time immemorial, peoples have used colours as a system for the communication of thought, and as "signs" and symbols of abstract ideas. Although each colour does not denote, incontrovertibly, a universal quality, a number of invariants have been isolated by comparative study. Colours have played a role of considerable importance in ritual, in magic and in superstition. Nor are the psychological, physiological and physical effects of colour to be ignored: this "language of colour" in which is expressed, in art, the ineffable role of the chromatic nuances, whose faculty of interaction is essential for painting.

One quotation from the Ḳur'ān will suffice to prove that this was also the case with the Arabs. In XVI, 13 we read: "... in that He has disseminated various colours upon the Earth, here, truly, is a certain sign for a people that is edified ..." (see also XVI, 6; XXX, 22; XXXV, 27, 28; XXXIX, 21).

One of the most striking manifestations of the symbolic connotations of colours among the Arabs, is the phenomenon of opposites (*al-aḍdād* [*q.v.*]). We have seen, in studying the semantic value of certain adjectives of colour, that they were sometimes capable of embracing two diametrically opposite meanings. This phenomenon is particularly to be noted in the case of white and black, which have common adjectives. To signify wine, the Arabs used a number of euphemisms, of the type "the fair drink", "the golden one", etc. It seems to have been the same reasoning that led them, superstitiously, to avoid the use of certain terms, and to evoke them either by sufficiently eloquent imagery, or by antiphrasis, in cases where the context rendered the sense unequivocal. Even today, in certain parts of the Orient and the Maghrib, in order to avoid pronouncing the word "black" (the accursed colour, the colour of Hell), opposites are used. In Morocco, *al-abyaḍ* sometimes denotes tar or coal. It has been observed, in addition, that some adjectives occasionally qualify two colours which, while being different, nonetheless present certain affinities. In the collective unconscious where humanity's roots are laid, it does not seem that our ancestors felt the need to establish a tight partition between colours which may be regarded as being close, as they offer similar attributes of luminosity or of intensity, such as blue and green in the former instance, yellow and red in the latter. The same conclusion holds good for the Arabs. For them, the symbolic value of white, does not seem to have been much different from that which it was for the majority of peoples, for certain latent associations are universal. The colour of brightness, of loyalty, of royalty, sc. white, most often symbolises purity, joy, chastity and virginity in popular psychology. White, the confusion of all the colours, is unity, the very image of divinity. The body of the archangel Gabriel is snow-white. The white bird is the emissary sent from Heaven to tell good news. The white cock is held to be the incarnation of an angel. It was a white cock that Allah sent to indicate to Adam the times of prayer (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 13, 66-7, 126, 200). By reference to the white hand of Moses, when he accomplished the miracles recounted in the Ḳur'ān, the expression *yad bayḍā'* symbolises potency, power, authority. In the colloquial speech of Syria, "a white heart" designates a person of good companionship, of noble nature; "a white standard", a good reputation; "white tidings", a joyful message. In Egypt, a fine day is compared to milk or to a white flower. But, as in the Far East, and as in Europe for a long time, white can also be the colour of grief and of mourning. Death is livid and white in contrast to the redness of life. The shroud is white. White hair is the forerunner of death. In Spain, in Morocco, in eastern Persia, white was also the colour of mourning (cf. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 298-9). The popular subconscious has, furthermore, also been aware of this affinity between white and death, and the end of life is characterised by rhetorical figures such as "white death", sudden and natural death, death in which human knowledge is powerless towards the unknowable.

Aswad and *sayyid* present an etymological relationship that is loaded with meaning. The Arabs sensed that black was a dominant colour, exercising over them a fascination that was mingled with fear. Black, darkness, the night, mystery—all of these demand respect. The Black Stone of the Kaʿba is a pillar of spiritual influence. Black is the coat of "the unknown journey", of mourning and of all sadness. It is also the joint symbol of vengeance and revolt (cf. the black flag of the ʿAbbāsids). In the history of superstition in the lands of Islam, black occupies a privileged position. By a kind of homeopathic magic, it is used as a charm against "the evil eye". The black

cat is endowed with enormous magic power: it is a creation of Satan, and anyone who eats its flesh is immunised against illness; its spleen, when applied to a woman, stops menstruation. For the Muslims, as for so many other peoples, the black crow exercises a baleful influence; meeting the bird is an unfavourable omen, since the bird is the herald of separation; is it not assumed that the Prophet said that the crow must be killed, since it is wicked and perverse? The chains of Hell are black. A black cloud is a sign of divine wrath. Cain killed Abel with a black rock (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 8, 108, 121, 186-7, 193-4, 298). *Al-sawdā'* is the black bile, source of sorrow and fear. "Black liver" is a term applied to a sworn enemy; "black heart" is a degenerate and vulgar personality; "black news" denotes a calamity; "black life" is unfortunate; a "black face" belongs to a discredited person; "black death" is reserved for that caused by strangulation.

Blue, at the opposite extreme from red, is a cold, fleeting, profound, immaterial colour. The sky and the sea are blue; anyone who plunges into them is lost to infinity, since their depth is immeasurable. Metaphysical fear is a "blue fear". The Arabs considered this colour magical, inauspicious and disturbing. Blue eyes are a source of bad luck; and miscreants are depicted with them in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (117, 121, 123). In Egypt, as a defence against the "evil eye", blue-coloured grains of alum (*s͟habba*) are hung at the neck of children and adults. Blue stone possesses a share of the sacred force, by virtue of its celestial colour. The magical power of blue is at the same time the dispenser of ill fortune and a defence against it. The "blue enemy" is an inveterate and mortal enemy. In Syrian parlance, when it is said of a person that "his bones are blue", this means that he is of cunning, vindictive nature. Blue is the colour of haggard, livid, frightened people. In the only Ḳur'ānic passage where the root *z-r-ḳ* occurs (XX, 102), it is used to describe the guilty ones on the Day of Last Judgment. This is why, as with black, the Arabs took pains to avoid mentioning this colour. In certain regions of Egypt, one says "green" rather than "blue". A disagreeable or fretful day is also described as "a black day" or "a blue day". We may note that in Sanskrit, the term *nīla* serves to denote both blue and black, two colours regarded as maleficent. In Egypt, *nīla* (indigo) is a sign of misfortune, of failure.

Equidistant between infernal red and celestial blue, green has a medium role, a form of equilibrium dear to Islam. For the Arabs, as for many other peoples, it is the symbol of good luck, of natural fertility, of vegetation, of youth. For Islam, the green standard of the Messenger of Allah and the green cloak of ʿAlī have become the very emblems of the Religion. As a beneficent colour, green belongs so naturally to the popular spirit of the Arabs that their colloquial language is full of expressions where this colour symbolises joy, gaiety or success. In Syria, a "green hand" is used in describing a lucky person. To wish somebody a good year, one uses the expression "green year", and when one takes up residence in a new dwelling, green leaves of beet are hung there as a token of good luck. In Morocco, the expression "my stirrups are green" means "I bring the rain when I travel into an area where it is awaited". Muḥammad himself declared: "The sight of green is as agreeable to the eyes as the sight of a beautiful woman (cf. al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, 137). The archangel Gabriel has two green wings. The Heavenly Throne is carved from a jewel green in colour. Abraham is clothed, in Paradise, in green garments. The Preserved Tablet [see LAWḤ] is made of emerald (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 7, 13, 139, 220). The title "Green Bird" is the name given to a number of saints. One should not ignore the special place reserved by the doctrine of *d͟jihād* to the *s͟hahīd*, "the martyr in the Way of Allah"; while the corpses of these martyrs remain in their tombs, their souls, on the other hand, are entitled to privileged treatment: "Allah puts their souls into the bodies of green birds, which quench their thirst in the rivers of Eden, and eat of its fruits", says a famous *ḥadīt͟h*. In symbolism and the occult sciences, the emerald, a beautiful green stone, is seen as endowed with an esoteric significance and a regenerative power. The *Emerald table* is the title of a work, which appeared in the Middle Ages, containing all the laws of occultism and the Kabbala, and attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. "The colour green", said al-Simnānī, "is the most appropriate to the secret of the Mystery of Mysteries". In Islamic cosmology, *Ḳāf* [*q.v.*] the mountain encircling the terrestrial world, is made of green emerald, whose colour is reflected by the celestial vault. The image "green death" refers to the action of clothing oneself in rags or patched garments, as do the dervishes and the Ṣūfīs. It is thus the most gentle of deaths, accepted willingly and endowed with spiritual worth.

The colour of gold and of the sun, of butter and honey, but also that of sulphur and the flame that consumes, yellow presents a wide ambivalence on the symbolic level, and not only for the Arabs. It can, according to the nuances applied to it, refer just as easily to cowardice or treason as to royal power and glory. The sight of the Angel of Death gives to Adam sweat "the colour of saffron". At the time of the "descent of Jesus" and the Last Judgment, the guests of Paradise will have white faces, those of Hell black; as for the people condemned to undergo "the ordeals of the tomb" their faces will be "the colour of saffron" (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 75, 308). The link between bright yellow and youth, love, waiting, separation, is widespread in human psychology. For the Andalusian poets, the yellow of the narcissus is the symbol of the lover who pines away for unrequited love. The colour yellow symbolises the pain of separation. *Al-ṣafrā'* denotes bile. In the parlance of the Levant, "a yellow smile" denotes a smile full of envy. On the other hand, we may note that in the ʿAbbāsid period, the Muslim East displayed a definite predilection for yellow. Even food was coloured yellow through the use of saffron.

Red is the colour of fire and of blood, of passion, of impulse and of danger. It is fundamentally linked to the vital force, and to the warlike qualities. It is a gushing colour, hot and male, unlike blue and green The name of the first man, Adam, signifies "red" in Hebrew. As with yellow, its symbolism is ambivalent, both divine and infernal. The Burning Bush has its equivalent in the Furnace. The red sulphur (*kibrīt aḥmar*) of Islamic esotericism denotes Universal Man, the product of the action of hermetic red. It is said that at the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn, the angels who assisted the faithful against the infidels wore red turbans or belts. But, on the other hand, when the Eternal decreed the destruction of Saba' and of its dam, He sent red rats to undermine the edifice (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, 280, 286). The Arabs qualified with "red" the form of death caused by the emission of blood. In popular speech, an unlucky year is called "a red year". In Syria, the expression "his eye is red" applies to a cruel person; and "his wool is red" means that he is accursed.

We see that the problem of colours, of their transmission and their perception, is quite complex. There has been a definite evolution in chromatic perception since the origins of humanity. In early antiquity, man was, apparently, above all sensitive to the light, and very little to colour as strictly defined. Gradually, psychism—and, consequently, semantics—learned to distinguish the nuances and to designate them. The infinite richness of the colours emerged slowly in the course of the centuries. The apprenticeship of colour took place in the milieu surrounding each people. Language and perception have interfered, without ever totally covering all aspects of the question. Symbolism has entered into the element of subjectivity and ambivalence inherent in every perception of colour, while the human brain has extended its field of reflection, the range of its thought, and rendered its transsion more flexible, by learning how to nuance it.

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(A. Morabia)

LAWSHA, Spanish Loja, a small town of al-Andalus, 35 miles to the south-west of Granada, on the left bank of the Gemil at the foot of an imposing limestone mountain, the Periquestes. It has now rather less than 30,300 inhabitants, but was probably more important during the Arab period. It was the birthplace of the famous Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], who wrote an enthusiastic description of it. The walls of the *ḥiṣn* which commanded the town during the Arab period can still be seen. It was repopulated in 280/893 during the reign of the *āmīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. This "key of Granada" was besieged in 1486 by the Catholic kings, who captured it on 25 Djumādā I 891/29 May 1486.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

LAYL and NAHĀR (Ar.), two antithetical terms which designate respectively night and day, but do not have exactly the same status and are not parallel.

Layl is treated as a collective noun without dual (except in poetry where the use of this incorrect form is justified by the requirements of metre), or plural; it possesses, as would be expected, a noun of unity, *laylat*[un] "one night", of which the plural *layālī*[n] and the seldom used diminutive *luyayliyat*[un], are something of an embarrassment to philologists, who are inclined to consider them as formed either on **layliyat*[un] or on **laylāt*[un]. *Nahār*, for its part, applies to the "day" which extends from sunrise to sunset; like *layl*, it has neither dual, nor plural (since the forms *anhur*, *nuhur* and, in dialect, *nahārāt*, are secondary and judged inadmissible by the grammarians, who can only account for them as an aberrant transfer from the generic to the particular, from *djins* to *nawʿ*); but it is not a collective and, for this reason, it has no noun of unity and cannot itself supply this function. Thus the correlative of opposition to *layl*, *nahār*, cannot be opposed to *laylat*[un], of which the antonym is *yawm* (pl. *ayyām*), signifying "day" (of twenty-four hours). So one says *layl*[an] *wa-nahār*[un] "night and day, by night and day" (e.g. Ḳurʾān, LXXI, 5), but *yawm wa-layla*, "a day and a night" is twenty-four hours and not thirty-six; the famous battles of the pre-Islamic Arabs, which did not take place at night, are known by the expression *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*], generally translated as "the days of the Arabs". On the other hand, *nahār* is sometimes a substitute for *yawm*, as in Moroccan dialect where, in stories, "one day" is always *wāḥd ən-nhāṛ* and one even encounters *wāḥd ən-nhāṛ ... f-əl-līl* (e.g. G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 87). On the other hand, *ayyām* and *layālī* are, in certain cases, interchangeable. While the "borrowed days", each one of which effectively lasts twenty-four hours, are known in Arabic as *ayyām al-ʿadjūz* [*q.v.*], the very cold period which begins in December and ends

forty days later is always called *al-layālī al-sūd* "the black nights", while the forty "mottled" days which, in two series of twenty, immediately precede and follow it and during which the cold is less severe, are sometimes called *al-ayyām al-bulḳ* (e.g. in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, sometimes *al-layālī al-bulḳ* (especially by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 384).

Similarly, the distances which we express in "a days' journey" are measured by the Arabs in stages (*marḥala*, pl. *marāḥil*), translated either as "days" (*ayyām*) or as "nights" (*layālī*, even in reference to a country where day-time travel is practicable). While the day of the month can be expressed by means of *yawm* followed by an ordinal number up to 19, an ordinal and a cardinal from 20 upwards (*al-yawma 'l-thālitha wa 'l-ʿishrīna min Ṣafar* = 23 Ṣafar), a calculation based on nights is used in preference, most often with elision of the word *layla* or *layālī*, but with the feminine form of the numerical noun (whereas *yawm* or *ayyām* would demand the masculine), for example: *li-arbaʿa ʿashrata khalat/khalawna min Muḥarram* = "fourteen (nights) having elapsed of Muḥarram = the 14th of the month (not the 15th, since the official day begins at sunset), or: *li-ʿashr baḳiyat/baḳīna min Muḥarram* = "ten (nights) remaining of Muḥarram" the 20th of the month. (In this context, in calculating correspondence with the Julian or Gregorian calendars, it is important to know if an event dated on a certain day happened before midnight, in which case the corresponding date indicated by the tables should be put back one unit.)

Being accustomed to look to the sky for guidance while travelling at night, and to use the stars [see ANWĀʾ] and the phases of the moon [see ḲAMAR] for the measurement of time, the ancient Arabs divided the lunar month into ten periods of three nights bearing names chosen for the most part as references to the different shapes of the moon or to the degree of its brightness: 1-3: *ghurar* (or *ghurr*, *ḳurḥ*); 4-6: *nufal* (or *djuhar*, *shuhb*); 7-9: *tusaʿ* (or *zuhr*, *buhr*); 10-12: *ʿushar*; 13-15: *bīḍ*; 16-18: *duraʿ* (or *durʿ*); 19-21: *ẓulam*; 22-24: *ḥanādis* (or *nuḥs*, *duhm*); 25-27: *daʾādiʾ* (or *ḳuḥam*); 28-30: *ma/i/uḥāḳ*. These three last nights were qualified with, respectively, *daʿdjāʾ*, *dahmāʾ* and *laylāʾ*, but the 30th also bore the names *sa/irār*, *sarar*, *naḥīra*, *daʾdaʾ*, *falta*. The first and the last days of the month, in historical works and correspondence, are also designated by terms connected with the moon: *ghurra* for the first and *munsalakh* or *sarār* for the last. There also exists a different nomenclature in which nights from the 13th to the 21st bear the same names as those detailed in the scheme above, but the others are: 1-3: *hilāl*; 4-6: *ḳamar*; 7-12: *nufal*; 22-27: *ḥanādis*; 28-29: *daʾādiʾatānⁱ*; 30: *ma/i/uḥāḳ* (for all these names, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwāʾ*, § 159; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 429-31 = §§ 1316-18; *Calendrier de Cordoue*, 18; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, 63-4; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 30-1; Ibn al-Adjdābī, *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ*, 85-7; M. Rodinson, *La lune chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam* in *Sources orientales. La lune, mythes et rites*, Paris 1962 163-4).

The ancient Arabs possessed a host of epithets to describe a dark night but it is scarcely possible to establish a gradation between them. The majority of these terms, some of which are quite expressive (e.g. *mushankik*, *muṭlakhimm*), have fallen into disuse; we shall mention only the following: *layla ẓalmāʾ muẓlima*, *mudlahimma*, *daydjur*, "very dark"; *muʿlankisa*, *bahīm*, "where one can see nothing"; *ṭakhyāʾ*, *dādjiya*, "overcast and moonless"; *sadaf*, *ghaṭash* "penumbral"; *layl musdjahirr* or *mudjrahidd*, "long night" (see Ibn Sīduh, *op. laud.*, ix, 37-41).

From the whole of this rich vocabulary, attested in ancient poetry or compiled by *ruwāt* and reproduced scrupulously, though without much enthusiasm, by lexicographers, only the most current elements (in particular those derived from the root *ẓ-l-m*) figure in the Ḳurʾān, where day and night are items of considerable importance; we may in fact count a total of 57 occurrences of *nahār*, 79 of *layl*, 7 of *layla* and 4 of *layālī* (compared with 36 of *yawm*, 27 of *ayyām* and 69 of *yawmaʾidhⁱⁿ*). The day and the night, naturally created by God and put at the disposal of mankind (XIV, 37/33) are signs (XVII, 13/12, XLI, 37) of divine power; they are mutually concurrent (XXXI, 28/29, XXXIX, 7/5, LVII, 6), and God brings forth the day from the night (XXXVI 37; see also VII, 52/54); complementary (VI, 13, 60, XXV, 49/47, XXVII, 88/86, XXX, 22/23, XXXIV, 32/33, XXXVI, 40, XL, 63/61), they succeed one another regularly, with emphasis placed on this succession (*ikhtilāf al-layl wa 'l-nahār*, II, 159/164, IV, 187/190, X, 6, XXIII, 92/80, XLV, 4/5), which is sometimes treated by translators as a contrast between two creations which renew themselves constantly (hence the term *al-djadīdānⁱ*, "the two new ones"). The two words appear together in a total of 24 verses.

The word *sāʿa*, which occurs 47 times in the Ḳurʾān (in 33 cases to designate the [Last] Hour) meant nothing more than "a moment, a brief lapse of time", for the ancient Arabs apparently did not divide the day in 24 hours; this usage, a perfectly understandable one, is retained in the classical language, where expressions are encountered such as *summᵘⁿ sāʿatⁱⁿ* "instantly fatal poison". The concept of the hour was, however, introduced into Arab culture at an early stage, for it was indispensable to astronomers, who distinguished between equal or average hours (*sāʿāt muʿtadilāt*) and unequal or true hours (*zamāniyyāt* or *muʿwadjdjāt*, and Islamic civilisation was at quite an early stage familiar with various types of clock [see ḤIYAL, in Suppl.] which were evidently not at the disposal of the majority of peoples. However, references in historical texts to events which took place, for example, at the third hour of the day or of the night, lead one to suspect that this notion was more widespread than is generally thought; it is thus possible that in a period which cannot be precisely identified, the day and the night were divided into twelve hours, the relative proximity of the equator making fluctuations in their duration according to the seasons a matter of small account. This method of reckoning is still in use in Arabia, where, now that the possession of watches is widespread, it causes a certain amount of confusion.

The night begins immediately after sunset, which marks the start of the official day; this is why, when one talks of the previous night, the Arabic expression is *al-laylata* "this night", if the time is before midday (but *al-bāriḥata* "[the night] that has passed" if the time is after midday). The divisions of the night were not precisely defined, in spite of the rich vocabulary which is to be found, for example, in the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (ix, 44-8) of Ibn Sīduh who mentions, following Ḳuṭrub (ix, 37) five parts (*adjzāʾ*) named respectively: *khudra*, *mudḳa*, *sudfa*, *hadjma* and *yaʿfūr*; these expressions do not seem to have been in widespread use and, in any case, they are not defined in a satisfactory manner. However, the need to fix the hours of the three canonical prayers which take place during the night obliged the Muslims to interpret precisely

the meanings of certain ancient terms and to establish with accuracy the times to which they apply. Among the many words denoting the beginning of the night, *shafaḳ* has been sanctioned by usage; in the Ḳur'ān (LXXXIV, 16), Allāh swears by the *shafaḳ*, interpreted as meaning either "twilight" or "day", as opposed to the night which figures in the oath contained in the following verse, but it is agreed that this term designated "the evening twilight", the time at which the *maghrib* prayer should be performed [see MĪḲĀT]. Some authors distinguish two twilights, of which the first is characterised by the redness of the sky and the second by its pallor (e.g. Ibn al-Adjābī, *op. laud.*, 118), but this distinction is secondary. The astronomic twilight lasts for as long as it takes the sun to descend 18° below the horizon (or 1 hour, 12 minutes, since 15° = 1 hour), and Muslim scholars adopt the average figure of 17°; it is however quite certain that the real duration of the *shafaḳ* varies according to lattitude, season and meteorological conditions; this is why the calendars indicate it regularly to enable the faithful to perform the prayer within the required time; one might naturally ask on what observations are based the figures supplied for example by the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, where this duration (and that of the morning twilight, the *fadjr*, which is reckoned to be identical) varies from 1 hour 1/7 on the 1st of January to 2 hours 1/8 on the 21st of June. As regards the *maghrib* prayer, it is said in the Ḳur'ān (XVII, 80/77): *aḳimi 'l-ṣalāta li-dulūki 'l-shamsi ilā ghasaḳi 'l-layl*, and the end of the *shafaḳ* effectively marks the start of the *ghasaḳ* (which was also known by other names: *ẓalām*, even if the moon was shining, *iḳtiḥām al-layl*, etc.); the beginning of the latter period is the time for the prayer of *ʿishā'*, which some call incorrectly *al-ʿishā' al-akhira*, as opposed to a *ʿishā' ūlā* = *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, and which the Bedouins were reproached for calling *ṣalāt al-ʿatama*, after the first third of the night during which they customarily performed the milking (*istiʿtām*) of their camels. Although we know of a considerable number of terms designating any part of the night (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 45), only a few words seem to be at all precise, in spite of differences in interpretation; thus, *ʿashwa*, *siʿw*, *had'* and variants = 1/4 of the night; *ḳiṭʿa* and variants = 1/3; *dhuhl* and variants = 1/3 or 1/2; *hilā'*, *haziʿ*, *thabadj*, *mawhin* and variants = 1/2 approximately. The middle of the night was called *djawz*, *usṭumm*, *djarsh*, but astronomers rendered "midnight" simply by *niṣf al-layl* (in the same way they called "midday" *niṣf al-nahār*) and the modern language uses the expression *muntaṣaf al-layl*. The *ʿasʿasa* precedes the third third, the *saḥar* or *saḥr*, which matches the *ghasaḳ* and is immediately followed by the morning twilight, the *fadjr*; for the Muslim astronomers, this twilight begins at the moment that the sun is 19° below the horizon, but the real duration of it is indicated, as has been seen above, in the calendars. It is during this final part of the night that the morning prayer (*fadjr* or *ṣubḥ*) is performed. Since their territory did not extend as far as latitude 48°, the Arabs did not know that at the summer solstice there is no complete night (the *layl alyal* of the astronomers) at this latitude.

Night travellers experienced a certain relief when they observed the first lights of dawn, and they tended to include the *fadjr* in the *nahār*; a reflection of this conception is also found in the works of lexicographers who normally place the *ṣubḥ* (or *ṣabīḥa* or *ṣabāḥ*) at the end of the night and are furthermore inclined to make it the beginning of the day, calling *ghudwa* or *bukra* the time which elapses between the *fadjr* prayer and the sunrise (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 48-52). Although the prayers which punctuate the Muslim's life obliged the *fuḳahā'* to fix with a degree of exactitude the time of the *ẓuhr* and of the *ʿaṣr* (let alone the *ḍuḥā*), the divisions of the day lack precision. The *nahār* begins at the moment that the upper edge of the sun appears on the horizon, just as the night and the official day begin when the opposite edge, now uppermost, disappears. The first part of the day, up to the moment when the sun has traversed a quarter of the diurnal arc, is called *ḍuḥā*; the period corresponding to the sun's progress over the second quarter of the arc is known as *ḍaḥā'*; it comes to an end at midday (*zawāl*), which is marked, for the astronomers, by the sun crossing the meridian and, for the simple faithful, by the displacement of the shade which moves from the west (where it is called the *ẓill*) to the east (where it takes the name *fay'*). It is at this moment that there begins the period, varying according to the judicial schools [see MĪḲĀT], during which the midday prayer (*ẓuhr*) must be performed. A number of terms referring to the heat which then reigns are employed (*ẓāhira*, *hādjira*, *ḳā'ila*, *ghā'ira*), without designating a precise lapse of time. Some calendars indicate, at the beginning and the end of each month of the solar year, the altitude (*irtifāʿ*) in degrees of the sun at midday (e.g. the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, or, to enable the faithful to calculate for themselves the hour of the *ẓuhr*, the length of the shadow either in feet, as in the *Risāla* of Ibn al-Bannā', or in height (*ḳāma*), once again as in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, where the shade varies from a quarter of the height of an object on the 16th of June and the 1st of July, to one and five-sixths on the 16th of December. The period which follows that of the *ẓuhr* and also extends between limits determined by the length of the shadow, but variable according to the *fuḳahā'*, is that of the *ʿaṣr* (see I. Goldziher, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix 293 ff.; transl. in *Arabica* vii/1 [1960], 26 ff.); this term is thus precisely defined in Islam, although diverse and much less definite interpretations are retained. *Aṣīl* was used in reference to the time which elapses between the *ʿaṣr* and sunset, but this word tends to be employed, in the contemporary language, for the evening twilight; *masā'*, which had the same meaning, is today applied to the evening, as opposed to *ṣabāḥ*, "morning", and also comes to designate the period which begins at noon and encroaches upon the night; the word *ʿashiyya* (and variants) is also taken in the sense of "evening", although it used to be as precise as *maṣā'* and *aṣīl*, designated the end of the *nahār* and was the opposite of *ḍuḥā* (e.g. Ḳur'ān, LXXIX, 46: *illā ʿashiyyatan wa-ḍuḥāhā*).

The calendars to which reference has been made often attach importance to the length of the day and of the night, which some of them indicate twice a month, either in degrees of the sun's arc, or in hours. Since the authors who supply these figures are not usually astronomers, they give the impression of borrowing these numerical data from their predecessors, without perhaps taking account of differences in latitude, especially in view of the fact that, when addressing themselves to their fellow-citizens, they do not take the trouble to establish the name, and the position relative to the Equator, of the place concerned. It would nevertheless be possible to calculate the latitude of this place if one could rely on the accuracy of the data relating to the length of the longest and shortest days and nights of the year, but in this

respect great uncertainty remains. It is furthermore to be noted that the geographers, heirs to the Ptolemaic tradition, divide the zone reckoned to be inhabited in the northern hemisphere, as far as approximately latitude 50°, into seven climates [see IKLĪM], of which the lower and upper limits are constituted by parallels separated one from the other by a distance corresponding to a difference in half-an-hour in the length of the longest day of the year.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(CH. PELLAT)

LAYLĀ AL-AKHYALIYYA, Arab poetess of the 1st/7th century of the tribe of the ʿUḳayl (ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa group) whose *nisba* came to her from an ancestor, Akhyal, or from several of the Akhāʾil. Literary tradition attributes to her an elegy on the murder of ʿUthmān and speaks of her as having been familiar, late in life, with the caliphs Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik, and the redoutable governor al-Ḥadjdjādj: it follows that the pinnacle of her career should be placed at around 650-60 A.D. She is well-known for her romantic saga, of ʿUdhrite type, concerning her relationship with the bandit-warrior Tawba b. Ḥumayyir, also of the ʿUḳayl tribe. He loved her, and although he was prevented from marrying her, he always maintained a chivalrous devotion to her. When he was killed in the course of one of his raids, Layla mourned him in a number of touching elegies, fragments of which are available to us from literary sources (as far as is known, they were never collected in a *dīwān*) which show Laylā resembling a Muslim al-Khansāʾ [*q.v.*]. In fact, these funereal elegies, like those of the most famous poetess of the Djāhiliyya, are still imbued with a purely pagan spirit, lauding the warlike and beneficent virtues of their heroes (for al-Khansāʾ, her two brothers; for Laylā, her sweetheart Tawba), without any hint of faith or Muslim piety. The genre of the *rithāʾ* [see MARTHIYA], was henceforth perpetuated in an established form in the new milieu of Islam. As with the poetess of Sulaym, the sincerity of Laylā's sorrow and her fidelity to a long and unrequited love come through the conventional *topoi* of the elegy, as in the accounts of her conversations with the caliphs.

Besides these *marāthī*, there is attributed to Laylā a poetic exchange in *hidjāʾ* form, fairly coarse as is typical of this genre, with the poet al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī. This is all that is known of her life (she was married to a certain Sawwār b. Awfā al-Ḳushayrī). On the date and place of her death, there is conflicting evidence. According to a highly romantic tradition, she died very close to the tomb of Tawba, in circumstances which would corroborate certain well-known verses of her friend in this respect; more plausible perhaps are other traditions which put her death in Iran (at Sāwa or Rayy), in the course of a journey which she had undertaken in her old age through the *barīd* of al-Ḥadjdjādj, to visit her cousin Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], who was then campaigning in Khurāsān. In any case, the date would be in the early years of the 8th century A.D. (end of the 1st century of the Muslim era). Her historical authenticity is not in any doubt, unlike that of her more famous namesake, Laylā of Madjnūn.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 416-20; *Ḥamāsa* of Buḥturī, 269-71; *Aghānī*³, xi, 204-49; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 292; I. Filshtinskiy, *Arabskaya literatura v srednie veka*, Moscow 1977, 226-8.

(F. GABRIELI)

LAYLĀ KHĀNİM (? - 1847), Turkish poetess of the first half of the 19th century. Very little is known about her life. Born in Istanbul the daughter of the *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* Moralī-zāde Ḥāmid Efendi, she was educated by private tutors, particularly by her maternal uncle ʿIzzet Mollā [*q.v.*], whom she eulogised in an elegy. Her short-lived marriage and her gay and unscrupulous way of life gave rise to gossip about her being a lesbian. Her poems, not particularly original, are written in a comparatively simple and unadorned style avoiding the articialities and affectation of many of her contemporaries. She excelled in *münādjāt* and *merthiyes*. Her *dīwān* was printed at Būlāḳ in 1844, with second and third editions made in Istanbul in 1851 and 1883 respectively. Laylā Khānīm was a Mewlewī adherent, and is buried in the garden of the Galata Mewlewī convent.

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(FAHIR İZ)

LAYLĀ KHĀNİM (Modern Turkish LEYLA SAZ 1850-1936), Turkish poetess and composer. She was born in Istanbul, the daughter of Dr. Ismāʿīl Pasha (1812-71), originally a Greek from Chios, who served as imperial surgeon under Maḥmūd II and as governor, minister and Palace physician under ʿAbd al-Medjīd and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. From early childhood, Laylā Khānīm frequently lived in the imperial harem or in close association with it. She was privately educated and was married to a civil servant from Crete, Sirrī Efendi (later Pasha, 1844-95), who served as a governor in various parts of the empire. Laylā Khānīm, who accompanied him, included interesting travel notes in her famous memoirs (see below). She died in Istanbul on 6 December 1936.

As a composer, she followed the classical Turkish tradition, although the influence of Western music which had entered the Ottoman Palace in the mid-1800s is noticeable in her works. She is the composer of over 200 works to which she wrote the words, including some famous and very popular *sharḳ* and marches.

Her early poems published in the *Khazīne-yi ewrāḳ* in the 1880s are in the *dīwān* tradition. Later, she wrote in the manner of the *Tanẓīmāt* modernists, particularly of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥamīd. She occasionally used syllabic metre and a simple language for her *türküs*. Only a small portion of her compositions and poems survived the fire which destroyed her villa in Bostāndjī near Istanbul (see Mustafa Rona, *Yirminci yüzyıl Türk musikisi*², Istanbul 1970, 25-31, where 45 of her compositions are given). Her scattered poems were collected and edited by her son Yūsuf Rāḍī in 1928 as *Solmush čičekler* ("Faded flowers"). They seldom rise above the average.

Laylā Khānīm's most important contribution is her invaluable memoirs, which mainly cover her experiences in the harem. This is a unique first-hand report of Palace life from the inside. The memoirs describe in great detail everyday life in the Palace, its décor and furnishings, and particularly the harem, its customs, fashions, ceremonies, special occasions, training and life of princes, princesses and slave girls, etc., together with character studies and sketches of interesting types. She began to write her memoirs in 1897 and completed them in 1920 at the age of 70; and she published the first part, on the harem, in the daily *Waḳt* (beginning 20 January 1921) and the second part, on women's life, in the 19th century, in the daily *Ileri* (from 25 April 1921). As Istanbul

was under Allied occupation at the time and the press under strict control, some passages were omitted by the censor. The memoirs were translated by her son and published under a pseudonym, that of Mme. Adriana Piazzi (Delcambre), *Le Harem impérial et les sultanes au XIXe siècle: souvenirs*, adaptés au français par son fils Youssouf Razi. Préface de Claude Farrère, Paris 1925. Both parts of the memoirs have now been edited in one volume by Sadi Borak as Leyla Saz, *Harem'in içyüzü*, Istanbul 1974.

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LAYLĀ Ū MADJNŪN [see MADJNŪN WA-LAYLĀ]

LAYLAT AL-BARĀʾA [see RAMAḌĀN]

LAYLAT AL-ḲADR [see RAMAḌĀN]

AL-LAYTH B. AL-MUẒAFFAR, Arab philologist and jurisprudent, grandson of the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī al-Laythī (d. 131/748, 85 years old [*q.v.*]). Sometimes he is identified as the son of the latter or even as the son of an alleged third son of his grandfather, Rāfiʿ, who might be confused with the well-known Rāfiʿ b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār [see HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD].

The biographical information about al-Layth (or Layth) is meagre. He studied grammar and lexicography under the versatile scholar and *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa, Ḳāsim b. Maʿn (d. 175/791?), and was held in high repute as a secretary with the Barmakids. It seems that his relationship with the master of the *ʿarabiyya*, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791? [*q.v.*]), who was not much older than himself, was trustful and close. We learn that from traditions, some of which are embellished by anecdotes, and we furthermore learn that he revised and completed the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl, according to some sources after the latter's death. Al-Layth may have finished this work at the beginning of the eighties of the 2nd century A.H. (about 800 A.D.) and died soon afterwards, in other words, just before the fall of the Barmakids in 187/803. Later philologists consider him as the actual author—and recent investigations confirm this view, especially in regard to the bulk of the material—or else they leave this question undecided, speaking of the *ṣāḥib Kitāb al-ʿAyn*; whereas others attribute the misunderstandings and the mistakes which they thought to have discovered in the first Arabic dictionary mainly to that revision. (Concerning the works which have been written before the background of such criticism, cf. J. Kraemer, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 208 f.)

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the article KHALĪL B. AḤMAD, see G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862 (repr. Nendeln 1966), 39-42; E. Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 69 f., 85 ff.; P. Anastase (al-Karmalī), in *Isl.*, xv (1926), 296; S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAin und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965, 14, 16; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1375/1956, 97 f.; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1375/1955, 31; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964, 59, 279 f.; al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (Introduction), in *MO*, xiv (1920), 27 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1382/1962, 183 f. (cf. D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknereiliteratur*, Berlin 1965, 55 f.); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 222-227; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 42 f.; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Bulgha fī taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-lugha*, Damascus 1392/1972, 194 f.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 383 (Cairo 1384/1965, ii, 270); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha*, Cairo 1378/1958, i, 77. (R. SELLHEIM)

AL-LAYTH B. SAʿD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-FAHMĪ, ABU 'L ḤĀRITH, traditionist and jurisconsult, belonging to the class of the great *tābiʿūn*. He was born and died in Egypt (Ḳarḳashanda, Shaʿbān 94/May 713—Miṣr, 14 Shaʿbān 175/16 December 791. At the cemetery in Cairo, may be seen the tomb of "El Imam El Leis"). This "scholar of Egypt" (of Persian origin) is ranked unanimously among the leading authorities (*fuḳahāʾ al-amṣār*) on questions of religious knowledge in the early years of the Islamic empire, these being: Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Ibn Abī Laylā (Kūfa), Ibn Djurayḥ (Mecca) Mālik and Ibn al-Mādjishūn (Medina), al-Awzāʿī (Syria), and finally, al-Layth b. Saʿd (Egypt). With his vividly critical attitude towards the law schools (the Mālikī one in particular), the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm regards all these individuals as the worthy successors of Mālik in respect of erudition, intelligence and moral severity (*al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ii, 138). Al-Layth is also held in high esteem by the *imām* al-Shāfiʿī, in whose opinion the study of tradition rests, essentially, on the authority of these three masters Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Layth b. Saʿd.

Only fragmentary information is available concerning the career of al-Layth (cf. the article devoted to him in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 3-14). His training in the discipline of *ḥadīth* was both Meccan (with Ibn Shihāb, Nāfiʿ and ʿAṭāʾ b. Rabāḥ among others) and Medinan (Mālik). He travelled to Baghdād in Shawwāl 161/July 778, where his teaching of *ḥadīth* was an outstanding success and earned him the patronage of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His humility is said to have prevented him from soliciting honours and appointments of state. On returning to Egypt, he devoted himself to teaching and also to the management of what seems to have been a considerable fortune. He was credited with an annual income of the order of 25,000 *dīnār*s, which he utilised with such generosity that he was left with practically nothing which could justify the payment of *zakāt*. Al-Layth was, throughout his life, a much-courted and honoured man (no doubt because of his fortune). According to a man familiar with him over a period of twenty years, he was never seen lunching or dining unaccompanied by numerous associates. He lived in a grand scale and knew how to enjoy his wealth. If such a life-style allowed him a certain amount of leisure for participation in public life, or for daily sessions of *ḥadīth*, it was hardly compatible with long and exacting periods of work. In addition, the written work of al-Layth seems to be less than prolific (see *Bibl.*) in comparison with that of Mālik (93-179/711-95) who was able, in the rustic setting of Medina, to lead a much more productive scholastic life.

The biographers of al-Layth often compare him with Mālik, with the object of attributing superiority in numerous areas to the former. Without doubt, subjectivity plays a major part in these judgments, when dealing with an individual whose special success and munificence inspired much respect. In the doctrinal sphere as such, the personal contribution of al-Layth is far from comparable with that of the *imām* Mālik. It is significant in this context that classical authors discussed the legitimacy of whether al-Layth should be accorded the title of *imām*, taking into account not only his piety and his virtues, but also the importance and impact of his doctrine as measured on the scale of the *umma* (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*,

xiii, 13). The verdict of posterity is negative on this point; all that need be quoted here by way of a tribute is the opinion recorded by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071): "If Mālik had not existed, the superiority of al-Layth would have been universally recognised" (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 7). Having been a pupil of Mālik, al-Layth was in a position to assert his independence with regard to his eminent contemporary, while maintaining a relationship with him marked by courtesy and a willingness for intellectual co-operation (cf. his *Risāla ilā Mālik b. Anas*, in Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn*, iii², 94-100). If in the sphere of religious law (*fiḳh*), the influence of al-Layth is decidedly slight, his name nevertheless remains connected with the discipline of *ḥadīth*, where the classical authorities unanimously attribute to him a well-proven competence and integrity.

Bibliography: Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 520, no. 7, where the work of al-Layth (1. *Ḥadīth*; 2. *Madjlis min fawāʾid al-Layth*; 3. the above-mentioned *Risāla*) is to be supplemented by *Kitāb masāʾil fi 'l-fiḳh*, cited in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (199); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo-Baghdād 1349/1931, xiii, 3-14 (article no. 6960); Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī al-Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, Damascus 1380-2/1961-2, iii, 745; R. G. Khoury, *al-Layth ibn Saʿd (94/713-175/791), grand maître et mécène de l'Égypte, vu à travers quelques documents islamiques anciens*, in *Festschrift Nabia Abbott*, *JNES*, xl/3 (1981), 189-202.

(A. MERAD)

LAZ, a people of South Caucasian stock (Iberic, "Georgian") now dwelling in the southeastern corner of the shores of the Black Sea, in the region called in Ottoman times Lazistān.

1. History and geography. The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns in the ethnical nomenclature of the Caucasus generally; the same names in the course of centuries are applied to different units (or groups). The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the Rion, to the Čorokh (the ancient Akampsis), and even to the sources of the Araxes, also creates difficulties.

The earliest Greek writers do not mention the Laz The name Λαζοί, Λᾶζοι is only found after the Christian era (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, iv, 4; *Periplus* of Arrian, xi, 2; Ptolemy, v, 9, 5). The oldest known settlement of the Lazoi is the town of Lazos or "old Lazik" which Arrian puts 680 stadia (about 80 miles) south of the Sacred Port (Novorossiisk) and 1,020 stadia (100 miles) north of Pityus, i.e. somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tuapse. Kiessling sees in the Lazoi a section of the Kerketai, who in the first centuries of the Christian era had to migrate southwards under pressure from the Zygoi (i.e. the Čerkes [*q.v.*]) who call themselves Adighe (Adzighe); the same author regards the Kerketai as a "Georgian" tribe. The fact is that at the time of Arrian (2nd century A.D.), the Lazoi were already living to the south of Sukhum. The order of the peoples living along the coast to the east of Trebizond was as follows: Colchi (and Sanni); Machelones; Heniochi; Zydritae; Lazai (Λᾶζαι), subjects of King Malassus, who owned the suzerainty of Rome; Apsilae; Abacsi [cf. ABKHAZ]; Sanigae near Sebastopolis (= Sukhum).

During the centuries following, the Laz gained so much in importance that the whole of the ancient Colchis had been renamed Lazica (Anonymous Periplus, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, v, 180). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. 53, in the time of Diocletian (284-303), the king of the Bosporus, Sauromatus, invaded the land of the Lazoi and reached Halys (N. Marr explained this last name by the Laz word meaning "river"). Among the peoples subject to the Laz, Procopius (*Bell. Got.*, iv, 2, 3) mentions the Abasgoi and the people of Suania and Skymnia (= Lečkhum). It is probable that the name Lazica referred to the most powerful element and covered a confederation of several tribes. The Laz were converted to Christianity about the beginning of the 6th century. "In the desert of Jerusalem" Justinian (527-65) restored a Laz temple (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, v, 9), which must have been in existence for some time before this. The Laz also sent bishops to their neighbours (Procopius, *Bell. Got.*, iv, 2). In Colchis the Laz were under the suzerainty of the Roman emperors, who gave investiture to their kings, and the latter had to guard the western passes of the Caucasus against invasions by the nomads from the north. On the other hand, the monopolistic tendencies of the commerce of Rome provoked discontent among the people of Colchis. In 458 King Gobazes sought the help of the Sāsānid Yazdagird II against the Romans. Between 539 and 562 Lazica was the scene of the celebrated struggle between Byzantium under Justinian and Persia under Khusraw I Anūshirwān.

According to Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius on his expeditions, the Laz occupied both banks of the Phasis, but their towns (Archaeopolis, Sebastopolis, Pitius, Skanda, Sarapanis, Rhodopolis, Mochoresis) all lay to the north of the river, while on the left bank, which was desert land, the lands of the Laz only stretched for a day's march to the south. Nearer to Trebizond were the "Roman Pontics", which only means that the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings; from the ethnic point of view, the "Roman Pontics" could not have been different from the Laz. This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz.

In 1204 with the aid of troops lent by queen Thamar of Georgia, Alexis Comnenus founded the empire of Trebizond, the history of which is very closely connected with that of the southern Caucasus. Nicephoros (v. 7) says that the founder of the dynasty had seized "the lands of Colchis and of the Lazes". In 1282 John Comnenus received the title of "Emperor of the East, of Ivoria and of the lands beyond the sea". In 1341 the princess Anna Anakhutlu ascended the throne with the help of the Laz. The lands directly under the authority of the emperors of Trebizond seem to have extended as far as Makriali, while Gonia was under a local dynasty (cf. the *Chronicle of Panaretes*, under the year 1376).

In 865/1461 the Ottoman Sulṭān Meḥemmed II conquered Trebizond, and as a result the Laz came into contact with Islam, which became their religion in the form of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. The stages of their conversion are still unknown. The fact is that, even in the central regions of Georgia (Akhaltsikhe), Islam seems to have gained ground gradually from the 13th century onwards (N. Marr, in *Bull. of the Acad. of St. Petersburg* [1917], 415-46, 478-506).

In 926/1519 Trebizond, with Batum, was made a separate *eyālet*. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who went through this region in 1050/1640, the five *sandjaḳs* of the *eyālet* were: Djanikha (Djanīk = Samsun?), Trebizond, Güniya (Gonia) and Lower and Upper Batum. The modern Lazistān was governed from Gonia, for among the *ḳaḍāʾs* of this fortress we find Atina, Sumla, Witče/Biče (= Witse) and Arkhawi

(Ewliyā and the version of the Djihān-nümā in Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, in *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.* [1846]). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Čelebi, deceived by the similarity in sound of Caucasian names (as also was Vivien de St. Martin), proposed a theory of the identity of the name Lezgi and Laz. Ewliyā calls Trebizond the "former Lezgi *wilāyet*". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, after enumerating the peoples of the district of Lezgi as Mingrelians (Megril), Georgians, Abkhaz (Abaza), Čerkes and Laz, adds that the latter are those who live nearest to Trebizond. To the south-east of Trebizond in the Čepni mountains he mentions the Turks who "worship as their God (*ma'būd*) the Shāh of Persia (i.e. are extreme Shī'īs) and are associated (*mushtarik*) with the Laz". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā do not agree on the number of the fiefs of Trebizond; Ewliyā only says that the value of the *eyālet* has depreciated through the unruliness of many of its 41 *nāḥiyes* (*Djihān-nümā*, 429; Ewliyā, ii, 81, 83-5).

The first serious blow to the feudal independence of the *derebey* of Lazistān was only struck at the beginning of the 19th century by the Ottoman Pasha of Trebizond; but Koch, who visited the country after his expedition, still found most of the hereditary *derebeys* in power, although shorn of some of their liberties. He counted fifteen of them: Atina (two), Bulep, Artashin, Witse, Kapiste, Arkhawe, Kisse, Khopa, Makria (Makriali), Gonia, Batum, Maradit (Maradidi?), Perlewan and Čat. The lands of the three latter lay, however, on the Čorokh behind the mountains separating this valley from the river of Lazistān in the strict sense. On the other hand, among the *derebeys* of Lazistān was the lord of Hamshin, i.e. of the upper valleys of Kalopotamos and of Fortuna, inhabited by Muslim Armenians. According to the Armenian historian Levond, tr. Chahnazarian, Paris 1826, 162, the latter with their chief Hamam of the Amatuni family had settled in the district in the time of Constantine VI (780-97) (the old Tambur was given the name Hamshin < Hamamshen, "built by Hamam"). It is evidently this region that Clavijo (1403-6), ed. Sreznewski, St. Petersburg 1881, 383, calls "tierra de Arraquiel". He adds that the people, dissatisfied with their king Arraquiel (Arakel?), submitted to the Muslim ruler of Ispir. The Hamshin are now Muslims, and only those of Khopa have not forgotten Armenian. A Hamshin lexicon was published by Kipshidze.

With the institution of the *wilāyets*, the *sandjak* of Lazistān became part of the *wilāyet* of Trebizond. Its capital was at first Batum but, after the Russian occupation of Batum in 1878, the administration of the *sandjak* was transferred to Rize (Rhizaion), detached for this purpose from the old central *sandjak* of Trebizond. That part of Lazistān lying to the west of the Ottoman-Russian frontier occupied a strip of coast 100 miles long and 15 to 20 miles broad. The *ḳaḍā*'s of the *sandjak* were: Khopa, Atina and Rize, subdivided again into 6 *nāḥiyes* (Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳamūs al-a'lam*, v, 3966). Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 118-21, mentions Of as a fourth *ḳaḍā*' and gives 8 (7) *nāḥiyes* (Hamshin, Ḳaradere, Mapawri, Waḳf, Kurā-yi sab'a, Witse, Arkhawi). In 1880 there were in the *sandjak* 364 inhabited places with 138,467 inhabitants, of whom 689 were Orthodox Greeks and the rest Muslims (Laz, Turkicised Laz, Turks and "Hamshin"). The number of true Laz cannot be more than half the total population.

The term Laz is used in the west of Turkey to designate generally the people of the country round the south-east of the Black Sea, but in reality the people calling themselves by this name and speaking the Laz language now live in the two *ḳaḍā*'s, modern *ilçes*: Khopa (between Kopmush and Gurup) and Atina (between Gurup and Kemer). Laz is spoken in 64 of the 69 villages of the *ḳaḍā*' or *ilçe* of Atina. To these should be added the very few Laz who used to live in Russian territory to the south of Batum. These Laz were incorporated in Turkey by virtue of the Turco-Soviet treaty of 16 March 1921, which moved the Turkish frontier to Sarp (to the south of the mouth of the Čorokh). Rize and Batum are now outside the Laz country proper.

Due to its remoteness and to its proximity to the Russian frontier, Lazistān has only been marginally affected by the modernisation of Turkey in recent years. Communications are poor, and roads largely unmade. The ancient port of Hopa, which is the end of the line for passenger and mail steamers from Istanbul, has been equipped with a modern harbour which includes two massive artificial moles. At Sarp, which is only about 10 miles from the important Soviet port of Batum, there is a flourishing tea factory surrounded by the highly-productive plantations of this bush.

The Laz have traditionally been regarded as very conservative in their Islamic religion, and the old Turkish shadow theatre (Karagöz [*q.v.*]) and popular theatre (Orta oyunu [*q.v.*]) often portrayed the Laz as slow-witted rustics; a Turkish proverb stated that "a Muslim does not eat Laz jelly", ***Lazların termonu müsülman yemez onu*** (*termoni* < Greek θέρμος). In fact, despite a long-established reputation for brigandage and for smuggling goods across the Turco-Russian frontier, the modern Laz are highly intelligent. They are skilled tillers of the soil, and were in the past often to be found in the towns of eastern Turkey as gardiners. Today they are to be found in towns all over Turkey in their traditional calling of bakers and pastrycooks; before the First World War many Laz went to Russia to work as bakers, and often returned with Russian wives who became converts to Islam. They are shrewd and enterprising businessmen, and have secured a large portion of the real estate market in Istanbul. When modern educational opportunities are available to them, they readily respond to this stimulus. They are also excellent sailors, and form a large proportion of the crews of many Turkish vessels.

2. Language. The Laz language is closely connected with Mingrelian (which is a sister language of Georgian), but N. Y. Marr found in it sufficient peculiarities to consider it a Mingrelian language rather than a dialect. In the Lazo-Mingrelian group he believed that he could find resemblances to the more Indo-European elements in old Armenian (Grabar). There are two Laz languages, eastern, and western with smaller subdivisions (the language of the Čkhala). Laz is very full of Turkish words. It has no written literature, but there are local poets (Rashīd Ḥilmī, Pehliwān-oghlu, etc.). The Laz are forgetting their own language, which is being replaced by the Turkish patois of Trebizond (cf. Pisarev in *Zapiski VOIRAO* [1901], xiii, 173-201), in which the harmony of the vowels is much neglected (cf. a specimen in Marr, *Teksti i razīskaniya*, St. Petersburg, vii, 55).

The Georgians call the Laz Č'an, but the Laz do not know this name. "Č'an" is evidently the original of the Greek name Sannoi/Tzannoi, and it survives in the official name of the *sandjak* of Samsun (Djanīk). From the historical point of view, the separation of the Laz and Č'an seems to have taken place, in spite

of the close relationship between the two of them. In the time of Arrian, the Sannoi were the immediate neighbours of Trebizond. In an obscure passage in this author (cf. the perplexed commentary of C. Müller, in *Geogr. graeci minores*, ad *Arriani Peripl.*, 8), he places on the river of the frontier between the Colchians (Laz?) and the θυαννιαη (?). Koch mentions the interesting fact that the people of Of speak a "language of their own", and according to Marr, the people of Khoshnishin (near Atina) speak an incomprehensible language. Procopius places the "Sannoi who are now called the Tzannoi" on the area adjoining the mountains separating Čorokh from the sea (the Parayadres range, the name of which survives in the modern Parkhar/Balkhar). Marr's researches showed that the Č'an (Tzannoi) had at first occupied a larger area, including the basin of the Čorokh and its tributaries on the right bank, from which they were temporarily displaced by the Armenians and finally by the Georgians (K'art'li). The chronicles of Trebizond continue to distinguish the Laz from the Tzianids (ζιανίδες). The latter in alliance with the Muslims attacked the possessions of Trebizond in 1348, and in 1377 were punished by the Emperor. At this period the Tzianids must have been in the southwest of Trebizond (besides, the *sandjak* of Djanīk is to the west of this port). Thus the Georgian application of the name Č'an to the Laz may be explained by the confusion of the two tribes one of whom (the true Č'an living to the south and west of the Laz) was ultimately thrust to the west of Trebizond.

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(V. Minorsky-[D. M. Lang])

LAZARUS, the name in the Gospels of (1) the poor man who finds compensation in Abraham's bosom for the misery of this world (Luke, xvi, 19-31); and (2) the dead man whom Jesus raises to life (John, xi). The Kur'ān mentions neither the one nor the other, but among the miracles with which it credits Jesus is included the raising from the dead (III, 43/49). Muslim legend with its fondness for the miracle of resurrection is fond of telling of the dead whom Jesus revives, but rarely mentions Lazarus. Al-Ṭabarī in his *Ta'rīkh* talks of these miracles in general. According to him, Hām b. Nūḥ is revived by Jesus (i, 187). Al-Kisā'ī only mentions Sām son of Nūḥ amongst those restored to life by Jesus. Al-Thaʿlabī relates, closely following St. John's Gospel: "al-ʿĀzir died, his sister sent to inform Jesus, Jesus came three (in the Gospel, four) days after his death, went with his sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-ʿĀzir to arise; children were born to him". In Ibn al-Athīr the resurrected man is called "ʿĀzir", the *el* of Elaʿzar was taken for the article, as in al-Yāsaʿ (Elisha) and Alexander (al-Iskandar) or in Āzar, the father of Abraham in the Kur'ān, whose name Fraenkel derives from Eliezer. In Ibn al-Athīr we find Muslim legend endeavouring to increase the miracle; Jesus raises not only ʿĀzir (Lazarus) but also his wife (children are born to them), and Sām (son of Nūḥ), the prophet ʿUzayr and Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā (John the Baptist).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 187, 731, 739; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 122, 123; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325/1907-8, ii, 307. On the name Elʿazar, Eliezer, ʿĀzar, see S. Fraenkel, in *ZDMG*, lvi (1902) 71-3; J. Horovitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii (1925), 157, 161; idem, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 12, 85, 86. (B. Heller)

LEBANON [see LUBNĀN]

LĔBARAN, the name generally used in Indonesia for the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr [*q.v.*], originally means "end" or "close", in this case specifically the end of the fast (Indonesian *puasa*). Combining it with the Javanese word *garĕbĕg* ("procession"), people in Java also use the term *garĕbĕg puasa*, the court festival at the end of the fast. Ignoring the original meaning of the word *lĕbaran*, the expression *lĕbaran haji* is sometimes used for the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā [*q.v.*], the "major festival" according to Islamic law.

Just as in other Islamic countries, the festival after the month of fasting is also celebrated in Indo-

nesia as the greatest festival of the year. The way of celebrating it does not differ greatly from other countries [see ʿĪD and ʿĪD AL-FIṬR]. An exception must be made for the principalities of Central Java, where this festival has a special character because of its connection with the court and the influence of elements from pre-Islamic Hindu culture. For a description of the background and meaning of the ceremonials and practices surrounding the *garèbèg puasa* in Yogyakarta, the reader is referred to the literature mentioned below.

As a result of Islamic reformism, as well as the independence of Indonesia (with the Ministry of Religious Affairs trying to influence religious developments), Muslims have been encouraged to participate in Islamic observances in conformity with Islamic law, whereas ceremonials and practices such as those connected with the *garèbègs* in Yogyakarta are relegated to the sphere of custom and folklore.

Bibliography: Besides the passages on *Lèbaran* in the books by Juynboll and Snouck Hurgronje mentioned in the bibliography to ʿĪD, mention must be made of two monographs on the festivals in Yogyakarta, namely J. Groneman, *De garèbèg's te Ngajogydkartâ*, The Hague 1895, and R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, *De Garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta*, Jogjakarta 1931.

(B. J. BOLAND)

LEFF, an Arabic term used in the Berber-speaking regions of central and southern Morocco (a different term is used in a similar way in Berberophone regions of northern Morocco, and the term *ṣoff* appears to be its equivalent in Kabylia) to denote a kind of political alliance or party.

The term or the notion acquires its importance, however, from its prominence in the literature on the social and political organisation of the Berbers, notably in the work of R. Montagne, who extended it to the totality of North African, and eventually also to Middle Eastern societies, including even urban and minority ones; thus he later claimed to find similar institutions amongst urban Jewish communities in Morocco, and also in Arabia.

In Montagne's hands, the word in effect became a technical term of political analysis, though with the definite suggestion that the theory formulated by means of the *leff* (*lleff* in Berber) or by an equivalent was already present in the minds of, and above all put in practice by, the indigenous users of that word. According to this theory, and to the associated explication of the indigenous significance of the term, *leffs* were alliances with the following properties. They were very stable over generations. The units which entered into them were themselves communities, whether genealogically or territorially defined. They were binary; in a given region there would be two and only two such *leffs*. They were invoked, like military alliances, when violent conflict occurred: members of the same *leff* were expected to give support to each other, when any one of them became involved in conflict with opponents from the other *leff*. These alliances were hereditary, and transitive, in the sense that membership of the same *leff* by A and B, and by B and C, implied that A and C were likewise of the same alliance. Finally, these *lfuf* were supposed to be arranged in a kind of chessboard pattern on the map; a community (say a village or valley) would belong to an alliance other than that of its immediate neighbours but the same as that of its neighbours-but-one.

The significance of the notion of *leff* arises above all from the great importance of the theory based on it. The problem which this theory attempts to solve is that of the nature of the maintenance of order in areas in which central government is absent or ineffective, notably in the *blād es-siba*, the dissident regions of pre-colonial Morocco [see MAKHZEN], though also in other similar areas. The *leff* theory maintains that the crucial institution for furthering the maintenance of order in such conditions was, precisely, the balanced opposition of two moieties, deployed chequerwise over the countryside. This theory has a certain affinity to that of "segmentary opposition" as developed by E. Evans-Pritchard (and foreshadowed by E. Durkheim, partly on the basis of Algerian material), but differs from it in various important respects. Segmentation, as understood by Evans-Pritchard, was not necessarily binary, but it was of its essence that it operated at a number of levels of size: the "opposition" of "balanced" segments operated simultaneously between, say, intra-village lineages, entire villages, and clusters of villages grouped as "clans", etc. Conflict at one level did not preclude co-operation at another. By contrast, the *leffs* of Montagne were, in any one region, articulated at one level of size only. In Montagne's hands, the theory was combined with another important thesis: that this balance-of-moieties mechanism occasionally broke down, and was replaced by ephemeral tyrannies such as those of the "great caïds" of the Moroccan South, but that these temporary crystallisations of personal power in turn gave way to a re-establishment of the original system, in a kind of cyclical pattern.

The theory of the *leffs* has been subjected to various criticisms, both empirical and theoretical. Subsequent researchers have not always found them even in areas where Montagne claimed they were most at home (e.g. J. Berque), or have doubted whether they in fact contribute to the maintenance of peace (e.g. A. Adam); or they have pointed out that the problem posed, that of order-in-anarchy, is only solved by the theory for those units which are of the size at which these leagues are articulated, whereas in fact the problem also arises at all other levels of size at which conflict is liable to occur (and at those other levels, the theory offers no solution). There is also reason to suppose that in regions where groups were less stable, and territorial units less well-defined than in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas which inspired Montagne, *leffs* were more fluid and opportunistic than his work would suggest. Nevertheless, his work, which is heavily centred on the notion of *leff*, remains one of the high points of the political sociology of North Africa.

Bibliography: R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; idem, *La vie sociale et la vie politique des Berbères*, Paris 1931; idem, *La civilisation du Désert*, Paris 1947; A. Adam, *La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*, Paris 1951; J. Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas*, Paris 1955, expanded edition, Paris 1978; E. Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, Chicago 1969; Montagne, *The Berbers. Their social and political organisation*, tr. David Seddon, London 1973 (= a tr. of Montagne's 1947 work, which is an expanded version of his 1931 volume); Abdallah Hammoudi, *La vallée de l'Azzaden*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, doctoral thesis 1977, unpubl.; R. Jamous, *Honneur et baraka*, Cambridge 1980; Gellner, *Muslim society*, Cambridge 1981 (esp. ch. on Montagne).

(E. GELLNER)

LEFKOSHA, Grk. Leukosia, the town of Nicosia in Cyprus [see KUBRUS].

The town was under joint Arab-Byzantine rule from 688 A.D. to 965 when Nicephorus Phocas seized it (R. J. H. Jenkins, *Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688-965*, in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* ..., St. Louis 1953, ii, 1006-14). The Venetians occupied it in 1489, the Ottomans in 1571, the British in 1878, annexing it in 1914. The town was sacked by Mamlūk forces of Sultan Barsbay in 1426. The Ottomans captured the town after a fifty-day siege in 1570, after much suffering on both sides and thousands of casualties. There is a good account of this conquest in *Türk silahlı kurretleri tarihi*. iii. *Kıbrıs seferi (1570-1571)*, T. C. Genelkurmay Harp Tarihi Başkanlığı Resmi Yayınları. Seri no. 2, Ankara 1971.

Western visitors to Lefkosha during the Ottoman period report the town as being severely underpopulated and devoid of evidence of its former wealth and luxury. They attributed that plight to the tyranny and extortions of Ottoman officials whom the Porte would not or could not control, to plague, virulent fevers, and hordes of locusts, and to the fatalism and lethargy of Muslim and eastern Christians. Few knew that the town had reached the peak of its wealth and population late in the Lusignan period. Never under the Venetians or the Ottomans did it regain that fame and splendour, though both made sporadic efforts to revitalise and repopulate it.

By 1211 the Lusignan capital had become a first-class town. W. von Oldenburg said "It has inhabitants without number, all very rich, whose houses in their interior adornment and paintings closely resemble the houses of Antioch" (C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 14). By the end of the 13th century the town had fallen behind Maghōsha [*q.v.*] or Famagusta in wealth and trade, although the simple Westphalian priest Ludolf (1350) saw Lefkosha as "another great city ... in a fine open plain with an excellent climate", where lived the king, bishops and prelates, princes and nobles, barons and knights who in Cyprus "are the richest in the world" (Cobham, 20; *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii, 336. Cf. Jacobus de Verona [1335] in Cobham, 17; *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iii [1895], 176 f.). The pilgrim Martoni (1394) judged the town larger than Aversa, with many gardens and orchards, some six acres in size (Cobham, 26; *ROL*, iii [1895], 634).

In 1435 the astute Pero Tafur attested that Lefkōsha again surpassed Maghōsha: "This is the greatest and most healthy city of the kingdom where the kings and all the lords of the realm always live" (Cobham, 31; *Andanças é Viajes* ..., Pt. 1, 67, in *Coleccion de Libros Espanoles raros o curiosos*, viii, Madrid 1874). Lefkōsha had become the trading emporium of the eastern Mediterranean; the Dominican monk Felix Faber (1483) admired the "... great city ... surrounded by fertile and pleasant hills ... Here are merchants from every part of the world, Christians and infidels. There are stores, great and precious, for the aromatic herbs of the East are brought here raw, and are prepared by the perfurmer's art" (Cobham, 41f.; *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae*, ed. C. D. Hassler, in *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, iv [1849], 230).

The Venetian patrician Fra Francesco Suriano (1484) saw the town, "twice as large as Perugia", with palaces, houses, and churches, destroyed by a disastrous earthquake of 1480 (Cobham, 48; *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. P. G. Golubovich, Milan 1900, 219 n.), but by then it had passed its economic and demographic peak; to Peter Mésenge (1507) only a quarter of the town appeared occupied (C. Enlart, *L'art gothique*, ii, 523).

Savorgman (1562) found empty tracts and dusty disordered streets with no good houses (Sir George Hill, *A history of Cyprus*, iii, 811, 844 ff., 851 f.). However, the nobles had not given up their prerogatives, as the pilgrim Fureri (1566) perceived: in that town, "of some size and beauty", lived the French nobles who "... keep their vassals, who are called *Parici*, in the state of slaves ... The nobles are greatly given to amusements, especially hunting and hawking ... [with] solemn games and banquets with great cost and splendour" (Cobham, 78-9; C. Fürer von Haimendorf, in Cobham, 78-9; *Reis-Beschreibung*, Nuremburg 1646, 302).

The Lusignans had fortified their capital expertly. Early in the 13th century, walls 4, 7 or 9 miles in circuit were built high to resist attacks in the style of Crusader warfare. In 1567, to resist the heavy pounding of Ottoman cannon, the Venetians had large sections of the walls dismantled and rebuilt them thicker and lower, with a circumference of only three miles, yet apparently still large enough to accommodate the existing population. A deep moat was excavated around the circular walls; all structures outside the new walls were methodically levelled, the rubble being used as fill for the new walls. Writing in 1572 just after the Turkish conquest, the priest Étienne de Lusignan celebrated a town he remembered with 250 to 300 churches, 80 of which had been destroyed completely when two-thirds of the town was levelled. "In this city lived all the nobility of Cyprus, Barons, Knights and Feudatories, nearly all of whom died in this affair [i.e. its fall], with townsfolk to the number of twenty thousand: all men devoted to the service of God most High, and of their sovereign. The remnant of the souls ... were all made slaves." (Cobham, 120-1; *Description*, 32, 262).

Local agriculture and commerce, as well as local and international trade, boosted the economy of the town. In good times it produced a marketable surplus of cotton, wool, and silk, which were sold raw or processed or manufactured into a variety of cloths. As long as Cyprus remained close to the terminals of the silk and spice trades as the easternmost outpost of the western Christian world in the Mediterranean, Lefkōsha would remain a centre of trade. Nevertheless, the town could not escape the changes in the international socio-economic order which saw the Mediterranean world gradually lose its commercial and cultural pre-eminence to northwestern Europe.

Porcacchi (1576) reported that great quantities of camlet and cotton cloth were made in that "very pleasantly and beautifully situated" town "healthfully and pleasantly" supplied with running water. The camlets were good and the "cotton wolles" "the best of the Orient", according to Sandys (1610) (Cobham, 164-5; *L'isole* ..., Venice 1572, 22 f.; Padua 1620. Cobham, 208; *A relation of a journey*, London 1615, 220).

Pococke (1738), a careful observer of Cyprus, found the trade of Lefkōsha still substantial: "There is a great manufacture of cotton stuffs, particularly of very fine dimities, and also half sattins of a very coarse sort: they have here the best water in Cyprus ...". Cottons were sold to Holland, England, Venice and Livorno and "a great quantity of yellow, red, and black Turkey leather" to Istanbul (Cobham, 260, 268-9; Pinkerton, ed., *A general collection of ... voyages*, London 1811, x, 582-3). According to

Mariti, the covered market (*bedestān*), the former church of St. George next to Aya Sofya, was the gathering place of the chief Turkish, Greek and Armenian merchants, of whom the last were the richest. At large bazaars and *khāns* local villagers as well as townspeople sold the cotton that they had spun; dyeing skins and stamping cloth were other major industries (*Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, tr. C. D. Cobham, 42-5). W. M. Leake (1800) was completely negative: "The flat roofs, trellised windows, and light balconies of the better order of houses, situated as they are in the midst of gardens of oranges and lemons, give together with the fortifications, a respectable and picturesque appearance . . . at a little distance, but, upon entering it, the narrow dirty streets, and miserable habitations of the lower classes, make a very different impression upon the traveller; and the sickly countenances of the inhabitants sufficiently show the unhealthiness of the climate"; but W. Turner (1815) reported that every house had a well-cultivated garden with fig, olive, mulberry, orange, lemon and pomegranate trees; all the houses were of mud and the streets, though clean, were unpaved (Cobham, 339, 436-7).

Since the Lusignan period, Aya Sofya, as cathedral and mosque, had been the centre of the city, with the main bazaars adjacent. In the 19th century the entire road from Tahta Kale and Baf gate to Baghōsha gate was lined with merchants' booths; the Friday bazaar of women has existed at least since then. In the 1870s there were 25 quarters inside the walls, 14 Muslim, 7 Greek Orthodox, 1 Armenian, 1 Latin and 2 mixed (Bazar and Phaneromene) (Jeffery, *Cyprus monuments*, 32-3, with map).

Lefkōsha, located near the centre of the island, lies on the Pediyas, the longest and largest seasonal "river" in Cyprus, only 12 miles from the perennial springs of Deghirmenlik, the largest on the island, from where water is easily brought by aqueduct. The immediate hinterland is fertile grainland; its villages produced grain adequate for the town's needs except when drought or, more frequently, hordes of locusts appeared. The Lusignan rulers built summer palaces in the northern mountains for relief from the intense summer heat; many Latin nobles took refuge in the Trodos mountains, just as the British colonial government did later. Spring and fall are long and pleasant, while winter is short and mild. Lefkōsha was by no means free of the malaria and plague which long decimated the island's population, but those diseases were less severe there than along the marshy littoral. Stochove (1631) said the town had the best air in Cyprus, although Turner (1815) observed that even there "fevers" occurred constantly in the summer (Cobham, 216, 430, 436). According to J. Bramsen (1814), the fever season was June to October (*Letters of a Prussian traveller* . . ., London 1818, 304).

In 1571 Lefkōsha, with a *ḳāḍī* of the third class, was made the capital of a large *beglerbegilik* which included all of Cyprus and the Anatolian *sandjaḳs* of ʿAlāʾiyye, Ičel, Silifke, Ṭarsūs, and Sīs on the south side of the Taurus. Originally, Ṭarābulus al-Shām was included too. Despite several changes in administrative organisation which greatly reduced the importance of the province, Lefkōsha always remained the administrative centre. Foreign consuls lived at Larnaka or its port Tuzla, where they served foreign merchants at a comfortable distance from the *pasha*.

A study of the Lefkōsha judicial records (*sidjill*) surviving from the period 1580-1640 reveals some urban activities. Lists of official prices (*narkh*) indicate a busy market in comestibles. The rich and varied agricultural produce of Cyprus found its way to the bazaars of Lefkōsha, including yoghurt, cheese, meats, grapes and other fruits, and olives. Cotton cloth and raw cotton were the leading goods in commercial transactions, but wool and woollen cloth were important too. Lending and credit were an integral part of the town's economic life, both for Muslims and for the *dhimmīs* (i.e. Greek Orthodox). In intercommunal credit, the Muslims were disproportionately the lenders. Interest was openly charged (*ḳarḍ-i ḥasan*, or *ḳarḍ-i sherʿ*), although bankruptcy (*iflās*) seems to have been uncommon. Muslims and *dhimmīs* interacted frequently. They worked in the same quarters, bought and sold land and even houses from one another, and made business partnerships. About one-third of the judicial cases involved *dhimmīs*, and 20% of the cases were intercommunal. Conversion to Islam was very common, probably increasing in frequency between 1580 and 1600 but then falling off considerably; there is no evidence of wholesale conversion. Converts had to declare their conversion publicly in court. Besides the Greek Orthodox majority, a handful of Armenian Gregorians and of Maronites had churches, and there was a very small community of Jews. Women used the court very frequently (almost a quarter of all cases), where their property, inheritance, and domestic claims were apparently handled like those of men. More than 20% of the property mentioned belonged to women.

Although Lefkōsha has been the residence of the autocephalous archbishops of Cyprus since the Lusignan period, the office has never been associated with a particular town. Ottoman rule relieved the Orthodox clergy from their long subordination to the Latin hierarchy (cf. R. Janin, art. *Chypre*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xii, 791-819; J. Hackett, *A history of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, London 1901.

Most estimates of the town's population between 1510 and 1560 range between 15,000 and 20,000 people (Hill, iii, 875). Visitors to Lefkōsha during the Ottoman period often remarked about the population of the town. According to A. M. Graziani, 20,000 people were put to death in eight days of plundering when the town fell to the Ottomans; Porcacchi reported that all the people were "cut to pieces" and Sandys wrote of "an incredible slaughter" (Cobham, 170, 207). Dandini, who visited there in summer 1596 and spring 1597, estimated that the large, well-built town had at least 30,000 inhabitants, of whom only 4,000 or 5,000 were Turks (Cobham, 182), J. Cotovicus (1597-8) reported the town full of ruins, Sandys (1610) "defaced by the Turks"; for the latter, the town, once equal in beauty to the chief towns of Italy, is now half-destroyed (Cobham, 195, 207). In 1683 de Bruyn observed that the population was almost half-Greek (Cobham, 239; *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, Delft 1698, 371). Cyprianos gives a fairly official estimate of 755 Christian families for 1777 (Cobham, 366). In 1806 ʿAlī Bey estimated the town's population at less than 1,000 Turkish and 1,000 Greek families, although Lefkōsha could easily hold 100,000 people within its walls (Cobham 393; *Voyages*, Paris 1814, ii, 82 ff.). J. M. Kinneir (1814) reported on the authority of the archbishop 2,000 Muslim families, 1,000 Greek Orthodox families, 40 Armenian, and 12 Maronite (Cobham, 417; *Journey*, London 1818, 190 ff.). An estimate of 12,000, including 8,000 Turks, 3,700 Greek Orthodox and 50 Armenians was attributed to the governor

Ṭalʿat Efendi in 1841 (L. Lacroix, *L'Univers. Histoire et description des tous les peuples. Îles de la Grèce*, Paris 1853, 88). A census just before the island was handed over to the British in 1878 reportedly found 10,879 people, of whom 5,628 (52%) were Muslims (*Correspondence respecting the Island of Cyprus*. No. 3. Sir G. Wolseley to Marquess of Salisbury, 1879).

A census held in the third year of British rule (4 April 1881) showed the population of Lefḳōs̲h̲a at 11,513, of whom 5,653 were Greek Orthodox (49%), 5,397 Muslims (47%), 181 Roman Catholics, 78 Maronites, 88 Armenian Gregorians, 94 Church of England and Protestants, and 22 Jews. Although the population of the town had increased 9% to 12,515 in 1891, the number of Muslims declined slightly to 5,351, 43% of the population (*Cyprus Gazette*, 16 October 1891). A census of 1901 shows a population of 14,752, a 28% increase over 1881. The Muslims numbered 6,013, up only 11% in two decades, while the Greek Orthodox had increased 41% to 8,739 (*Cyprus Gazette*, 26 April 1901; 30 August 1901). Almost 40% of the population of the six leading towns lived in Lefḳōs̲h̲a. The town contained only 6% of the population of the island, although 12% of the Muslims lived there.

Initially, British policy in Cyprus was to preserve the existing Ottoman political, social and economic systems, except in a few specific areas of public health; extensive official English translations of recent Ottoman *waḳfiyyes* and cadastral records were prepared. In 1893, £662 of the £1,510 in municipal revenues from Lefḳōs̲h̲a were from slaughter house fees, £351 from market tolls and rents, and £246 from weighing and measuring taxes. The municipality established in 1884 even had a "censor of markets". *Awḳāf* still provided the water supply: 300 measures from the Arab Ahmet and 170 measures from the Siliktar aqueduct were sold annually, while another 100 measures were donated to mosques, churches and schools (*Cyprus Blue Book*, 4 January 1895. See also *Statute laws of Cyprus, 1878-1923*, 633-41, "Nicosia water supply"). Eleven Muslim schools, supported by *awḳāf*, mosque funds and grants from the Porte, had 574 students in 1889-90 and 633 students in 1892-3, about 23% of them girls (*Cyprus Blue Book*, year 1889-90). Cotton and silk remained the major industries. Nearly every village in the district had cotton looms, and many houses in the larger villages had hand looms for manufacturing cotton and silk stuffs. In 1889 the town also had a tannery, 3 tobacco factories, 3 steam-powered flour and cotton mills, calico printers, copper, silver, and goldsmiths, and 5 distilleries (*Cyprus Blue Book*, 1889-90, 1892-3). The proposed railway between Lefḳōs̲h̲a and Larnaka was never attempted, but in 1906 a railway connected Lefḳōs̲h̲a and the new harbour of Mag̲h̲ōs̲h̲a.

In 1946, 10,330 of the 34,485 inhabitants were Mulsims, including 9,314 of 24,967 within the walls and 1,016 of 9,518 outside them. Besides 20,768 Greek Orthodox, there were 2,252 Armenians, 160 Maronites and 30 Jews; each of the 24 quarters was mixed.

Monuments. The Venetians levelled much of the Lusignan town in rebuilding the walls. Although the town walls are essentially the creation of the Venetians, the Ottomans repaired them extensively in the 1570s. Virtually all the monumental buildings date from the brilliant Lusignan period; neither the Venetians nor the Ottomans added religious or other public buildings, for many already stood empty after the population began to decline (these are discussed with illustrations by C. Enlart, 67-187, and pls. 1-12). Cf. G. Jeffery, *Description*, 18-100, and *Cyprus monuments. No. 7. Historical and architectural buildings. The mosques of Nicosia*, Nicosia 1935; F. Çuhadaroğlu and F. Oğuz, *Turkish historical monuments in Cyprus*, in *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi*, ii (1975), 1-76; Oktay Aslanapa, *Kıbrıs'da türk eserleri*; Cevdet Çağdaş, *Kıbrısta türk devri eserleri*, Lefkoşa 1965. The finest Ottoman constructions are the Mawlawī *tekke* inside Girne gate (pre-1600), the Büyük K̲h̲ān (pre-1600), and the small ʿArab Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a mosque. Many aspects of the Ottoman town are preserved within the walls of the Turkish quarter: narrow streets, overhanging balconies, stone-walled houses and gardens, and bazaars. A very few stone-cut houses, or their foundations, survive from the Venetian period, as do several fine houses from the Ottoman period. Sadly, there is little appreciation of this cultural heritage, and they are gradually being eliminated.

Until this century, the town has been confined within the walls. The main buildings of the Ottoman period, like the Büyük K̲h̲ān and the so-called Ḳumārd̲j̲ïlar K̲h̲ān, date from early in the Ottoman occupation. Occupance of the town has been a conservative one, with few changes in the main centres and a preservation of old quarter names and locations from earliest times.

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iii, Madison 1975; T. S. R. Boase and A. H. S. Megav, *The arts in Cyprus*, 165-207, in *ibid.*, iv, Madison 1977; Costas P. Kyrris, *Symbiotic elements in the history of the two communities of Cyprus*, in *Kipriakos Logos*, viii (1976), 243-82; M. H. Altan, J. McHenry, and R. Jennings, *Archival materials and research facilities in the Cyprus Turkish Federated State: Ottoman Empire, British Empire, Cyprus Republic*, in *IJMES*, viii (1977), 29-42; H. F. Alasya, *Kıbrıs tarihi*², Ankara 1977; *Statute laws of Cyprus, 1878-1923*, 633-41, "Nicosia Water Supply"; R. Janin, art. *Chypre*, in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, xii, 791-819; *The Cyprus Blue Book*; *The Cyprus Gazette*. (R. C. JENNINGS)

LEGACY [see MĪRĀTH]

LEGEND [see ḤIKĀYA, ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀʾ, ḲIṢṢA]

LEGISLATION [see TASHRĪʿ]

LEH (له or ليه), the ancient Ottoman Turkish term for the Poles and Poland (from *Lęch*, Polish tribal name later extended to comprise all the nation, with the original nasal *ę* ousted by *e*, as in Byz. Λεχοι "the Poles" and Λεχία "Poland". In Turkish, Poland was also called *Leh wilāyeti* (*memleketi*), the Poles *Lehlü* and the Polish language *lehdje*. From the 12th/18th century, the Turks also called the country *Lehistān* (Pers. *Lahistān*, from which is derived Pers. *ahl-i Lahistān* "Poles" and *zabān-i Lahistānī* "the Polish language"). In the hitherto unpublished Crimean Tatar documents from the late 10th/16th century, the word for Poland is *Lakh* (the Ukrainian-Russian form of the Polish *Lech*) or *i-Lakh* (لاخ and ايلاخ; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawynch, Warsaw, Arch. Koronne, Dz. tatarski, kartony 60, 65). The term *Köräl*, which is attested in the same sources (كورل or كورال; from the Ukr.-Rus. *korol* "king"), means "the kingdom"—Poland, including her southeastern provinces, i.e. Ruthenia and the Ukraine (قورول *Korol* as it occurs in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi, 366, 368 *et passim*, wherever the lands, the Ruthenians-Ukrainians and their language are mentioned). (On *Köräl*, see also E. Schütz, *Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *AOrH*, xxix [1975], 164-5; this term is not so clear there as in the said documents.) The mediaeval Islamic authors called Poland by names derived from Lat. *Polonia*: Ar. *Bulūniya* (T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera" geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrīsiego*, i, Cracow 1945, 125 and 1); Pers. *Polōniya* (M. D'Ohsson, *Les peuples du Caucase ou voyage d'Abou el-Cassim*, Paris 1828, 269). The latter name was equally used by the Ottoman author Remmāl Khōdja (d. 975/1567-8) in his *Taʾrīkh-i Ṣāḥib Girey khān* (A. Muchliński, *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich . . .*, Vilna 1858, 9). Since the 13th/19th century, the terms *Polonya* (Ital. *Polonia*), *Polonyalı* and *Polonya dili* are in use in Turkey. In modern Arabic, Poland is called *Būlanda*, *Būlāndā* (Eng. *Poland*) and *Būlūniyā* (Ital. *Polonia*), the Poles *Būlūnī* and Polish *al-lugha al-būlandiyya* (*al-būlāndiyya, al-būlūniyya*).

Poland was known to Islamic peoples from the account written by Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb (if not earlier) about the Slavonic lands (354/965-6), which, however, contained no reference to the name of the country, mentioning only the Polish ruler MSHKH (from Pol. *Mieszko*). Poland has been long since connected with Islamic countries by animated trade relations, the numerous early Islamic coins found now on her territory bearing an undeniable witness to the fact.

With regard to political relations between the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy and the world of Islam, they appear to have been established first with the break-up of the Golden Horde and the khānates which arose from their downfall (see BATUʾIDS). After a period of peaceful and friendly contacts with the Crimean khān Ḥādjdjī Girey I and his successor Nūr Dewlet, the long years under Mengli Girey I were a period of unrest and strife. The khān vacillated between support for Poland-Lithuania and for Muscovy, which challenged the Jagellons in disputes over the regions of western Russia, Bĕlorussia and the Ukraine. Poland-Lithuania emerged successfully from this period, but it was under an obligation to the khānate to pay specified sums in return for military aid against Muscovy (see K. Pułaski, *Stosunki z Mendli Girejem chanem Tatarów perekopskich. 1469-1515*, Warsaw 1881; L. Kolankowski, *Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, xlix [1953], 279-300). But the Tatar attacks into the Polish region were endless. Invasions by the Tatar Cossacks (*Tatar ḳazaḳları*, *bizim ḳazaḳlar* of the Crimean sources) drew revenge from the Zaporozhians (*Özi/Özü ḳazaḳları*). The Crimea, which since 1475 had been a vassal state of the Porte, was often used in the political battles of the Porte against the Poles; the Tatars took part in Turkish invasions of Poland in 1498, 1521-4, 1620, etc. In 1628 khān Meḥmed Girey III and ḳalgha Shāhīn Girey Sulṭān took an oath of allegiance to Poland for her help in their struggle against the Porte and khān Djānībek Girey. The next year, however, Poland's striving to gain sway over the Crimea finally failed. The refusal of king Władysław IV to give the "presents" to the Crimea because of the Tatar violations of the peace led Islām Girey III into an alliance with the Zaporozhians and to the Crimean-Tatar-Ukrainian united war against Poland, 1648-54 (Hażzy Mehmed Senai z Krymu, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, ed. Z. Abrahamowicz, Warsaw 1971). The treaty between B. Chmielnicki and Moscow in 1654 made the Tatars change their standpoint radically. With renewed Tatar support for Poland in her war in the Ukraine, Meḥmed Girey IV was to undertake diplomatic intervention in Denmark in her favour after the Swedish invasion into Poland in 1655 (J. Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen . . .*, Freiburg 1976), and in 1656 his troops fought successfully in Poland against the Swedes. Pursuing them, the Tatars advanced as far as Eastern Prussia. These events are the historical roots of the "journey" narrated by Ewliyā Čelebi, *op. cit.*, vi, 364-78, to Denmark, Sweden, etc., with 40,000 Crimean Tatars after the Turkish conquest of Uyvar-Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) in 1663; there, he must have met some of the Tatar expedition against the Swedes fighting in Poland (see *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego. Wybór*, Warsaw 1973, 193-208, 423-7—a collective work by several authors, foreword by J. Reychman, translation of the relevant text and commentary by Z. Abrahamowicz). The Tatars took a part in the Turkish war against Poland in 1672, sometimes acting as mediators between Poland and Turkey. The plans of King John III Sobieski for a Polish-Russian war against the Crimea and for a joint division of the khānate proved impracticable. The danger presented by the Tsarist empire to Poland and the Crimea in the 12th/18th century reconciled the two countries once again.

Witold (*ca.* 1352-1430), Archduke of Lithuania, who played a prominent part in the domestic struggle which was going on within the Horde, then undergoing a process of disintegration, on his return in 1397 from an expedition to the banks of the Don brought a large number of Tatar families and settled them in his land. This gave rise to a strong Tatar colonisation in Lithuania, since 1385 united with Poland, and on Polish territory as well [see LIPKA].

The diplomatic ties between Poland and the Ottoman Empire extend back to 1410. When King Ladislas III of Poland (I of Hungary) disregarded the warnings of his Polish advisers, the tragedy of the Battle of Varna (1444) ensued; it was to be a terrible event for Poland to remember, and a pointer to her future association with the Turks. By this time, she was no longer disposed to engage in elaborate plans for a papal-imperial attack on Islam; she was at peace with the Turks and had a good defence against the territorial ambitions of the hostile Hapsburgs. After the Turkish attack on Kaffa [see KEFE] and the khānate of the Crimea (1475) and the Turko-Tatar conquest of the Black Sea ports of Kilia and Aḳkerman (1484), which were so vital to Poland, a ceasefire was arranged between King Casimir IV Jagello and Sulṭān Bāyezīd II (22 March 1489). The Moldavian campaign of King John Albert (1497) and the subsequent Turko-Tatar attacks on Poland (1498) had shown that there was a military equilibrium between the two powers, and peace was again restored between them in 1499. Following the armistice of 1525 and that of 1528, Süleymān the Magnificent made in January 1533 a life-long peace treaty and alliance with King Sigismund I and his son Sigismund Augustus who, in 1529, was crowned as his father's successor. This treaty, which Sigismund Augustus had renewed in 1553 with the old sultan, in 1564 with Sulṭān Selīm as the heir to the throne, and in 1568 had renewed with the Pādishāh Selīm II, was the basis of relations between Poland and Turkey in the 10th/16th century. During this period, these relations were on the whole favourable, but not without certain difficulties (C. Backvis, *La difficile coexistence pacifique entre Polonais et Turcs au XVI^e siècle*, in *Mélanges d'islamologie dédiés à la mémoire de A. Abel*, ii, Brussels 1975, 13-51). Poland did not concur with the insinuations made by Süleymān and his Ruthenian wife Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*] against the Hapsburgs, and in 1569 Sigismund Augustus also rejected the Turkish plan for a Polish-Turkish alliance against Moscow. During the first two elections of kings after the death of the last Jagellon king, the Porte intervented vigorously to prevent the choice of a Hapsburg. Moreover, Süleymān already appeared to be favourably disposed to Poland when he heard the false news of the death of both Polish kings in 1535 (Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959, no. 39; K. Beydilli, *Die polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien*, Munich 1975). The Polish-Turkish War of 1620 (Poland was defeated at Cecora) and 1621 (the victory for Poland at Chocim [see KHOTIN]) was not only caused by Poland's attempt to force the Ottomans out of Moldavia but also by the strife stirred up by the excesses of the Tatars and Zaporozhians (R. Majewski, *Cecora. Rok 1620*, Warsaw 1970). It ended with the peace of 1623. The self-willed assault on Kamieniec undertaken in 1633 by Abāza Meḥmed Pasha [see ABĀZA] did not lead to a deterioration of mutual relations. However, the borderland skirmishes steadily grew in number. This even led King Ladislas IV to construe, beginning from 1645, plans for joint Polish and Venetian attack against Turkey, with the support of the Zaporozhians (W. Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV*, Cracow 1895). These plans did not come to be fulfilled, as Ladislas IV died in 1648, and the war of the Cossacks and Tatars against Poland broke out the same year. The Porte very much valued Poland's role in maintaining the balance of power in their struggle against the Hapsburgs, and in 1648, when Poland was defeated in the war with Islam Girey III and the Zaporozhians, it intervened on Poland's side, thus provoking the anger of the Tatars (Abrahamowicz, *Katalog* ..., nos. 339-41; Senai, *op. cit.*, fol. 25-26). In view of her agreements with Poland, the Porte was also rather reluctant to adopt the plan suggested by B. Chmielnicki of placing the Ukraine under the sultan's patronage, even though this plan seemed to promise the liberation of Turkish lands from the threat of Cossack attacks. The theory of an alliance of the Porte with the Hetman in 1648 (O. Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)*, in *Oriens*, vi [1953]) cannot be supported, considering the carefully-guarded attitude of the Turks towards him in 1651 (J. Rypka, *Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmel'nyćkyj*, in *ArO*, ii, and Abrahamowicz, *Katalog* ..., no. 344). Even when in 1065/1655 Sulṭān Meḥmed IV had taken the Cossacks formally under his patronage, he hastened to declare to King John Casimir that he nevertheless wished to maintain his good relations with Poland (A. N. Kurat and K. V. Zetterstéen, *Türkische Urkunden*, Leipzig 1938, no. 1). In the years that followed, the period of the "Flood", Turkey lent Poland also considerable support against the threat to her by Carl X Gustavus of Sweden (1656) and George II Rákoczi (1657).

The balance of power was first destroyed by the Grand Vizier Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha [see KÖPRÜLÜ II] when, in 1669, he granted the Cossack Hetman P. Doroszenko, who since 1666 was in revolt against Poland, the supreme authority of the Pādishāh; as a result, the Grand Vizier directly attacked Poland in 1672. The splendour of his success included the capture of Podolia, compelling Poland to pay tribute, etc. But this faded quickly with the defeat of the Turks at Chocim in 1673 (J. Sobieski was still only Royal Chief Hetman) and then again at Żorawno in 1676 (Sobieski was then King; the attack was repelled, the tribute imposed in 1672 was repealed and it was never paid by Poland).

The Porte was now involved in a difficult war with Russia over the Ukraine. The successor of the Grand Vizier, Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], adopted an inflexible attitude to his next treaty with Poland (1678), and an additional threat to Poland came from the south in consequence of his 1682 alliance with E. Thököly. He had occasion to deplore his rash step when, at the battle for the relief of Vienna on 12 September 1683 and in the subsequent war in Hungary, the Polish king "was the first one to drive his horse against the Muslims and then to draw his sword" and "caused so much harm that it was he who gave the greatest help and support [for the Emperor Leopold I] and had many Muslims taken prisoner" (Djebedji Ḥasan Esīrī, and eyewitness of the events of 1683, in *TOEM*, iii, 1016; in general, see Z. Wójcik, *King John III of Poland and the Turkish aspect of his foreign policy*, in *Belleten*, xliv, no. 176 [1980]). The fruits of the victory of John

III, the commander-in-chief of the allied Christian armies in this battle, fell to Austria alone, and the territory taken from Poland in 1672 was only restored by the Porte in 1699.

The turning point in the relations between the two neighbours was the Treaty of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOVČA]. Poland, who had once been so proud of her epithet *antemurale christianitatis*—against Islam—was now, in the face of the common threat of Russia, drawing nearer to Turkey, particularly after the partitioning of the country by Catherine II with the help of Austria and Prussia (W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja. 1683-1792*, Warsaw 1936). A manifestation of the Turkish sympathies towards the Poles in this time can be found in the *Sefāret-nāme-yi Fransa* by Meḥmed Emīn Weḥīd Pas̲h̲a, the Porte's envoy to Napoleon I in 1807. Turkey never recognised the division of Poland, but offered Polish patriots continuing protection after the failure of their national uprising in 1831, and they supported Polish efforts to attack the empire of the Tsar from the south. The greatest Polish poet, A. Mickiewicz, had gone to Constantinople to organise the Polish Legion, and he died there in 1855. Countless Polish refugees performed all kinds of work there to further the modernisation and europeanisation of the country and of Ottoman society and the army. K. Borzcęki-Muṣṭafā D̲j̲elāl al-Dīn Pas̲h̲a was the first to rouse a spirit of national identity within the Ottomans (B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, Oxford 1961, 28, 339). S. Chlebowski, court painter to Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, painted a series of scenes from Ottoman history for the new Dolmabag̲h̲če Palace (A. Lewak, *Dzieje emigracji polskiej w Turcji (1831-1878)*, Warsaw 1935). Polish specialists and advisers even penetrated the intimate society of Kemāl Pas̲h̲a Atatürk. This resulted in friendly relations between the new Poland and the Turkish republic from its inception. In spite of its complicated political situation, Turkey gave Poland vital help during the Second World War. After the war, both countries developed their co-operation in economic and cultural fields. An active link between the two is Polonezköyü, founded in 1835 by Prince Adam J. Czartoryski, and thereafter called *Adampol* in Polish. It is a colony of Polish immigrants on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorous near Istanbul, who still maintain their national character.

Venetian-Persian attempts to win over Poland to the idea of an anti-Turkish coalition in 1474 and 1475 faded under the careful direction of King Casimir IV (J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, v, Cracow 1878, 601, 602, 626). Sigismund III Vasa (1536-1632) also remained deaf to similar suggestions from S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I; the dispute with Sweden and later with Muscovy was more important to him. The first delegation from the S̲h̲āh led by Sir Anthony Sherley had not been, incidentally, allowed by the Tsar Boris Godunov to enter Poland because of his hostile attitude to the king. Afterwards, in 1601, Sefer Muratowicz, an Armenian merchant from Warsaw, travelled to Kās̲h̲ān to buy carpets for the king (T. Mańkowski, *Wyprawa po kobierce do Persji w roku 1601*, in *RO*, xviii [1951]). In doing so, he came into personal contact with ʿAbbās I (see his travel narrative in A. Walaszek (ed.,), *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w pierwszej poowie XVII wieku*, Cracow 1980, 35-47), and then other Polish envoys travelled to Persia, though sometimes for the purpose of trade. Serious plans for an anti-Turkish alliance with Persia were cherished by the Polish Kings Ladislas IV and John III, but proved impossible (St. Chowaniec, *Z dziejow polityki Jana III na Bliskim Wschodzie*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, xi [1926]). In the 11th/17th century the kings of Poland supported the Catholic Mission to Iran, vainly hoping to convert her to Christianity. In the 13th/19th century, Poles also came to Persia, some as refugees from the army of the Tsar in Central Asia and some as political agents from Paris t owork among them, and some came as merchants and industrialists from the Russian-occupied regions of Poland. Friendly alli ances between Poland and Persia after 1918 won the help of the S̲h̲āh, Muḥammad Riḍā, who favourably received numerous Polish military and civilian personnel in Persia during the Second World War. This also led to active agreements between the two states after the war.

In May 1551 a legation from Buk̲h̲ārā was staying in Cracow. The business discussed there probably included the provision of experts in the production of gunpowder and also artillery advisers for these Sunnī allies of the Ottoman Empire which was peacefully co-existing with Poland. This was a difficult time for Poland, because the king was mourning the death of his beloved wife. The fact that there is no mention of any later similar delegation suggests that there was no favourable outcome for this mission (AGAD, AK, Rachunki poselskie, and information obtained from Professor B. Baranowski; the documents referring to this episode were partly destroyed in Warsaw during the last war).

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, there was Polish intervention in Moscow concerning the impostor Dmitri, and on this occasion a temporary rapprochement between the Poles and the Ḳāsimov [*q.v.*] Tatars took place. During the 13th/19th century, there was contact between those Poles who had been deprived of their state and the Islamic peoples of the Russian Empire; on the one hand, there were scientists and technologists, etc., employed by the Russians, and on the other hand the political outcasts, victims of Tsarist administration. Polish patriots from Paris had contacts, through Constantinople, with the anti-Tsarist insurgents in Dāg̲h̲istān under the leadership of S̲h̲amīl (L. Widerszal, *Sprawy kaukaskie w polityce europejskiej w latach 1831-1864*, Warsaw 1934).

Polish relations with Arabic countries had begun with pilgrimages to the Holy Land. In 1645 King Władysław IV made an endeavour to reach an agreement with Morocco. The reply by Sulṭān Muḥammad II, extant in an Italian translation only, the unique piece of evidence for these contacts, is too scanty a record to establish their purport. In any case, Poland's attempts, if there had been any, to gain Moroccan support in the struggle against Turkey, proved fruitless (B. Baranowski, *Próby nawiązania stosunków polsko-marokańskich w polowie XVII wieku*, in *RO*, xvii [1953], 212-19). It was not until the 13th/19th century that the contacts with the Arab nations grew closer. After 1918, those contacts had attained the status of diplomatic ties which again, after the Second World War, developed into a lively co-operation in economic, technical and cultural spheres with different states of that region.

Under the strong influence of Islamic culture, Poland was shown to be a borderland between the Christian West and the Islamic East. This was particularly evident in material culture, for the products of these Islamic craftsmen (Turkish, Persian and to some extent Crimean Tatar) reached Poland either by trade or as the spoils of war. They shed an oriental

influence on Polish national costume, domestic furniture, the conduct of war, and arms and equipment. These artifacts spread beyond Poland to other countries (e.g. Persian carpets were known in the West as "tapis polonais"), and they were later imitated in Poland (T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Cracow 1935; idem, *Le tapis persan dit cracovien-parisien de la cathédrale de Cracovie*, in *RO*, xvi [1953]). This attracted a number of Oriental words and terms into Polish (A Zajączkowski, *Studia orientalistyczne z dziejów słownictwa polskiego*, Wrocław 1953). Polish museums contain authentic art treasures from Islamic countries, especially weapons, Ottoman standards and tents. There are Persian carpets bearing the Polish eagle which S. Muratowicz brought from Kās͟hān for the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1602 and which are now in the Residenzmuseum, Munich. The activities of the art-loving Stanislav Augustus, the last Polish king (1765-95), of many Polish magnates in the 18th century as well as various Polish emigrants to the East in the 19th century, led to the formation of rich collections of Islamic art in Poland.

Moreover, Poland was not averse to the intellectual culture of the Islamic East. The most important work in this connection is the translation by Samuel Otwinowski of the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī in the mid-17th century (following an Ottoman version; it appeared in print only in 1879). The 18th and 19th centuries, the Romantic Period, brought new oriental influences to bear on Polish literature. These traditions are maintained by modern Polish orientalists of the post-war period, who translate into Polish the literature and historiography of the Islamic world.

The travel descriptions by many a Pole journeying to the Islamic East of the 10th/16th century have contributed much to the knowledge of that world in Europe (A. Broniovius, J. Łaski, Michalo Litvanus, A. Taranowski, M. Radziwiłł). Similarly, the career of Fr. Mesgnien-Meninski as an Ottoman scholar in part stemmed from his stay in Poland where, for some years, he was engaged as court-interpreter.

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LEMNOS [see LIMNI]

LEO AFRICANUS, the name by which the author of the *Descrittione dell' Africa* is generally known, who was in fact originally called al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī (or al-Fāsī). He was born in Granada between 894 and 901/1489 and 1495 into a family which had to emigrate to Morocco after that city's fall [see GHARNĀṬA], and was brought up in Fās, where he received a good education and very soon entered the service of the administration there. Whilst still a student, he was employed for two years in the mental hospital, which he describes in detail (*Description*, tr. Epaulard, i, 188 [see BĪMĀRISTĀN. ii]). He then accompanied to Timbuctu one of his uncles, who had been sent there as an ambassador (*Descr.*, i, 136), travelled across Morocco on various diplomatic and commercial missions on behalf of the sultan of Fās, Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī [see WAṬṬĀSIDS], and already displayed a precocious intellectual curiosity by collecting, in the course of his travels, funerary inscriptions, of which he made a collection (*Descr.*, i, 231). He later returned to Timbuctu, and from there, crossed by the land route to Egypt, whence he returned home by sea. In 921/1515 he undertook a last mission, which took him to the East, via Debdū, Tlemcen, Algiers, Bougie, Masīla, Tunis (where he gathered information on economic and social life there, see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafsides*, p. xxxv) and Tripolitania. From Cairo, where he found himself in 1517, he travelled up to Aswān, made the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and even claimed to have gone to Constantinople. During his voyage homewards by sea, he was captured at Djarba by Sicilian corsairs, who took him to Naples and then Rome, where they presented him to Pope Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici. By the end of the year, the Pope had persuaded him to become a Christian; he baptised him on 6 January 1520 and gave him his own name, Johannis Leo de Medicis (the latter rendered his name in Arabic as Yuḥanna al-Asad al-Gharnāṭī; the editor of the *Descrittione* calls him Giovanni Leone Africano, and current usage generally refers to him by the second of these Christian names).

Apart from the autobiographical details which can be gleaned from the *Description*, we know little of his life; all that is known is that, before 1550, he went to Tunis, and probably spent the last years of his life in his ancestral faith.

During his stay in Italy, he learnt Italian, taught Arabic at Bologna and, in addition to his *Description of Africa*, conceived the further plan of describing similarly the part of Asia which he claimed to have visited, and also Europe (see *Descr.*, ii, 537-8). He certainly put together in 930/1524, for the physician Jacob ben Simon, an Arabic-Hebrew-Latin vocabulary, of which the Arabic part is preserved in the Escorial (no. 598; see H. Derenbourg, *Cat. des manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Paris 1884, i, 410). He also left behind a treatise on prosody (see A. Codazzi, *Il trattato dell' arte metrica di Giovanni Leone Africano*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore de Giorgo Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, i, 180-98), and there is attributed to him a biographical work completed in 1527 and translated into Latin under the title *Libellus de viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes* (ed. J. H. Hottinger, 1664, and then by J. A. Fabricius, 1817). Nevertheless, his main fame rests on his *Descrittione dell'Africa*, completed on 10 March 1526; written in poor Italian on the basis of notes in Arabic, it was edited and published by G. B. Ramusio, in *Navigationi e viaggi*, Venice 1550, i, 1-130a (and several later editions). It was translated, as early as 1556, into French by Temporal (ed. Schefer, Paris 1896-8) and into Latin by Florian(us), as *J. Leonis Africani de totius Africae descriptione* (Antwerp 1556). On this latter translation were based an English version by John Pory (*Historie of Africa*, 1600; ed. Browne, London 1896), a Dutch one by Leers and a German one by Lorsbach. The original ms. of the *Descrittione* was rediscovered in 1931 and placed in the National Library at Rome (no. 953); it was to have been edited by Sra. A. Codazzi, put publication of this hardly seems worthwhile now that A. Épaulard has been able to compare it with the Ramusio edition and has brought to the *textus receptus* some improvements and corrections, utilised in his French translation, *Description de l'Afrique*, Paris 1956, which has been edited by H. Lhote, with a copious commentary by A. Épaulard, Th. Monod, H. Lhote and R. Mauny. It has been possible to identify the majority of the place-names, deformed in the Italian text, and the notes, which are generally accurate, throw useful light on the work's information.

The *Description* contains nine sections: (1) generalities about Africa; (2) south-western Morocco (in particular, Marrakesh, with errors—see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, p. xiv and index); (3) the kingdom of Fās (a very extended treatment, one more accurate and confident); (4) the kingdom of Tlemcen; (5) Bougie and Tunis; (6) southern Morocco, and the southern parts of Algeria and Tunisia, followed by Libya; (7) the land of the blacks; (8) Egypt; and (9) the rivers, animals, plants and minerals of Africa. This work remained for centuries a major source on the Islamic world, and is still cited by historians and geographers of Africa. Although it is not free from errors—certainly exusable if one takes into account the conditions in which it was put together—it provides first-hand items of information on the situation at the beginning of the 10th/16th century in the lands visited, on the ethnog-

raphy and the institutions of their various inhabitants, and in particular, on political, economic and social life in North Africa.

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LEON [see LIYŪN]

LEPANTO [see AYNABAKHTĪ]

LEPROSY [see DJUDHĀM, in Suppl.]

LERIDA [see LĀRIDA]

LESH (Ottoman لش, from the Albanian, Italian Alessio), a minor port, military stronghold and administrative centre in northern Albania, 30 km. to the south of Shkodër/Scutari, which was part of the Ottoman empire between 1478 and 1912.

Lesh, the classical Lissus, is one of the oldest urban centres of the country. It is built on the banks of the river Drin not far from its estuary, and is overlooked by two isolated hills, each carrying the ruins of ancient fortifications. This setting largely determined the history and the function of Lesh; it was a military strongpoint in periods of danger and a harbour in more peaceful times. During antiquity, both hilltops and the lower town on the river were surrounded by an enormous wall, parts of which still survive. This large city was destroyed during the invasions of the Barbarians (592 A.D.), and never recovered again. Anna Comnena mentions Lissus in her *Alexiade* as a strong Byzantine fortress and as fairly well-inhabited. In the 13th century, Lesh was included in the Serbian state, together with Shkodër. During the dismemberment of the Serbian empire, after the mid-4th century, Lesh became a part of the minor Albanian principality of Dukagin, but its lord ceded Lesh to the Republic of Venice in 1393. The citadel on the lower of the two hills (the old Acropolis on the higher hill had been left in ruins since classical times) was in ruins in the Venetian period. The Signoria decided only to rebuild the walls of the lower town on the river, which was done between 1404 and 1430. An enormous conflagration destroyed most of the settlement in 1440. In 1451 the new city wall was ready, partly paid for by Venice, partly by the local inhabitants.

In 1468 the famous rebel against the Ottomans and national hero of the Albanians, George Kastriotes Skanderbeg, died in Lesh and was buried in the Gothic cathedral of St. Nicolas in the lower town, an event described in detail by the chronicler Marin Barletius. Ten years later, during Sultan Meḥemmed Fātiḥ's campaign against Shkodër (known to the Ottomans as Iskenderiyye), Lesh was captured and incorporated in the Ottoman realm. Before they fled with wives, children and property to the ships that were waiting in the river, the inhabitants of Lesh set fire to the city. The conquest is related by Ṭursun Beg in his *Ta'rīkh-i Abu 'l-Fatḥ* and by Sa'd al-Dīn in his *Tādj al-tawārīkh*.

It was long before the ruined town recovered. At first, Lesh seems to have been included in the *sandjaḳ* of Elbasan, but later (after 1485 and perhaps after the Venetian interlude) it was added to that of Iskenderiyye. In 1501, during Bāyezīd II's short war with Venice, Lesh was taken by Venetian forces, who kept it for a short period. When they retreated, they had the town walls destroyed. The Ottomans recaptured a totally wrecked town. They decided to rebuild the citadel on the hill, a site which offered better chances for defence than the place along the river. The work was finished in 928/1522, as is attested by a monumental Ottoman inscription—now preserved in the Lesh Historical Museum—which mentions the name of Sulṭān Süleymān, the date in numbers and in the form of a chronogram, and the name of the architect as Derwish Meḥmed, the son of Skura. The latter must have been a member of the well-known Albanian noble family of that name.

In the first half of the 16th century, Lesh remained a small place. The Idjmāl defter no. 367 of 1530-6, preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, mentions it as a village in the *liwā'* of Iskenderiyye, having 144 households. The Mufaṣṣal defter T.K. 63 of the *liwā'* of Duḳagīn, preserved in the Tapu ve Kadastro Gen. Müd. in Ankara (fols. 5a-6b), from 999/1590-1 (dated by internal evidence), mentions Lesh as an urban settlement (*varosh*) in the *sandjaḳ* of Duḳagīn. The latter was set up in the thirties or forties of the 16th century and had Peć (Ipek) as its chef-lieu, although the *sandjaḳ-begi* resided sometimes in Lesh. Western sources mention in 1553 a figure of 80 houses of Turks in the castle on the hill (which is called "Castel Nova"). The lower town (il-Borgo) is described as a predominantly Christian place. The latter developed slowly into a centre of trade.

In the thirties of the 16th century, a strong impetus to this function of the town was given by the Ottoman governor of Shkodër (later also in Thessaloniki and Prizren), Ḳuḳli Meḥmed Beg of Prizren. At his expense, the caravan road through the mountains from Lesh to Prizren in the interior was safeguarded by a chain of caravanserais. Two of them were built in Lesh itself, together with 50 shops, which were part of the *waḳf* property of Ḳuḳli Beg's foundations in Prizren and its surroundings.

The Mufaṣṣal defter T.K. 63 mentions that a part of the inhabitants of Lesh were "outside the old register", which means that they had moved in from elsewhere. They gained their living as workers in the harbour and had the Filuri status as concerned taxes and paid only a lump sum of 52 *aḳčes* yearly. The register mentions 141 Christian households of them and six of Muslims, all living in the newly-founded suburb of "Ishula" (Ishull Leshë) which was formerly a *mezra'a*.

In or around 1580, the old cathedral of St. Nicolas was confiscated by the Ottomans and turned into a mosque, this being reported in the visitation report of the bishop of Bar (Antivari) Marino Bizzi in 1610. In 1614 the open town is said to have numbered 500 Turkish (read: Muslim) households. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions Lesh as a part of the *sandjaḳ* of Duḳagīn and situated near the district of Zadrima, whose inhabitants were rebellious Albanians. Ewliyā Čelebi visited Lesh in 1072/1661-2 on his way to Shkodër. At that time, Lesh was a *voyvodelik* in the *sandjaḳ* of Duḳagīn and the seat of the provincial administration of the area. In the castle, built on a steep rock, was a garrison under command of a *dizdār* and only a few houses of civilians. An Ottoman budget of the year 1079/1669-70 has 126 men as garrison for the "Castle of Lesh in the *liwā'* of Duḳagīn". The 17th century Lesh cannot have been very prosperous. Ewliyā mentions that its houses were rather poor. The church-mosque was deserted in the

thirties or forties of the century, and left in ruins for more than a hundred years.

In the last decades of the 18th century, Sulṭān Selīm III concerned himself for the reconstruction of the building. At that time, it received the form it stil had in our time (1978). The Armenian geographer Inciciyan describes Les̲h̲ in the last decades of the 18th century as a place with a thousand houses.

During the administrative reforms of the 19th century (1862), the old *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Duḳagīn was dissolved and added to the *wilāyet* of Shkodër. The *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3991, describes it towards the end of the last century as a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the above-mentioned *wilāyet*, with 5,300 inhabitants, 80 shops and four mosques. The *Is̲h̲kodra wilāyeti sālnāmesi* of 1310/1892-3, mentions Les̲h̲ as being the chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* with 32 villages with a total of 5,510 (male) inhabitants, of whom 1,500 were Muslims and 4,000 (Roman Catholic) Christians. The district contained 31 churches, and eight mosques but had only three schools, two for Muslims and one for Christians.

In the seventies of the 20th century, Les̲h̲ was still a minor town. Its centre was modernised, the old cathedral of St. Nicolas—Mosque of Sulṭān Selīm III, was restored. In the spring of 1978, the tomb of the legendary Skanderbeg was discovered by Albanian archeologists, as being situated in the middle of the old church, just as Barletius wrote. Shortly afterwards, the town and the church suffered badly during an earthquake. What remained of the church was consolidated into a huge, concrete-built memorial to Skanderbeg. The remains of the castle of Sulṭān Süleyman still overlook the little town.

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LETTER [see barīd, ḥarf, risāla]

LEVANTE [see s̲h̲arḳ al-andalus]

LEVKAS, Greek Leukas, Santa Maura, Aya Mavra, Turkish Levkada, the name of a mountainous (up to 1,158 m. above sea level) island on the coast of western Greece with a total surface of 304 km². It is also the name of the only town on the island. The name means "White Island" in Greek, and goes back to antiquity. The fortified part of the town, an Ottoman naval base which was since about 1550 [see ḳarlī-ili] a part of the province of the Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a and a much-feared pirates' nest, was situated on a small, flat island in a shallow lagoon between the mainland of Acarnania and the island. It is connected with both of these through causeways and bridges across the lagoon. Today the old walled town is an empty shell; the entire civil population of Levkas town (in 1961, 6,552) has been since the end of the Ottoman period (1684) concentrated on a sandy spit on the north-eastern tip of the island. The Ottoman geographers (Pīrī Reʾīs, Menemenli Meḥmed Reʾīs, Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi, etc.) called the island Levkada (لفكاده or لفقاده), and the town Aya Mavra (ايامورة). The history of the town and the island are inseparably connected with each other. In Ottoman times, the town of Levkas (Aya Mavra) was the largest urban settlement in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Ḳarlī-Ili. In the second half of the 16th and most of the 17th century it was an Islamic centre of some importance, and possessed two of the largest works of Ottoman civil and military architecture in the Western Balkans, viz. the aqueduct of Sultan Süleymān and Prince D̲j̲ihāngīr and the castle, re-built by Ḳilič ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a under Selīm II.

The history of the town of Levkas goes back to the 8th century B.C., when it was founded as a colony of Corinth. The town of antiquity lay a few miles to the south of the present site. It disappeared during the migration of nations through the Balkans into Greece. The island was a possession of the Despotate of Epirus until the extinction of the native house, after which it became a possession of the Frankish house of the Orsini. Around 1300, John I Orsini built a small castle on a small sandy island in the mud bay between the island of Levkada and the mainland of Acarnania in order to protect the settlement there, until that time an open one. In 1362 island and town were included in the possessions of the Italian ducal house of Tocco. Duke Carlo Tocco (1381-1403) made the town the capital of his dominions (which since around 1400 also included a part of the mainland). Carlo greatly enlarged the walled town. Open settlements are reported to have existed on both sides of the walled town. The open town of Levkas of today is of later origin. In 1430 the Ottomans placed most of Epirus under their direct rule. In 1449 they drove away the Toccos from the large city of Arta, only 50 km. from Levkas. The last Tocco, Leonardo, was maintained as a vassal of the Sultan and was connected

to him by family ties because of his marriage with Milica Branković, a niece of the much-respected stepmother of Meḥemmed II, Carica Mara (widow of Murād II). Milica died in 1464. In 1477 Leonardo remarried, this time with Francesca Marzano, a princess of the Aragonese house of Southern Italy, the bitter opponents of the Ottomans. Two years later an Ottoman fleet under Gedik Aḥmed Pas͟ha, then Bey of Avlonya (Valona), occupied the islands of Zakynthos (Zante), Cephalonia and Levkas (Cephalonia and Zante were lost to Venice in 1481; in 1485 the Ottomans re-acquired Cephalonia by treaty, but lost it definitively to Venice in 1500). Leonardo and Francesca, bitterly hated by their Greek subjects because of their ruthless exploitation, fled to Italy, where King Ferrante of Aragon gave them new possessions. Gedik Aḥmed is said to have deported the population of the islands, or at least a part of them, to Istanbul as part of Sultan Meḥemmed's policy of repopulating his capital Istanbul. Very likely there were also strategic grounds.

During the Ottoman-Venetian war over the last bases of the Signoria on the Greek shores [see ḳoron, modon, aynabak͟htī], the Venetians under Bernadetto Pesaro captured Levkas in August 1502. It was returned to the Ottomans as a result of the treaty with Venice, in which the Sultan recognised the Venetian occupation of Cephalonia. Levkas was to remain Ottoman for almost two centuries.

Ottoman Levkas (i.e. the town) became the seat of one of the two *ḳaḍā*'s into which the *sand͟jaḳ* of Ḳarlī-Ili was divided during the greater part of the 16th century. The town was the largest of the *sand͟jaḳ*, and possessed by far the most important castle, containing a strong garrison. The *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Aya Mavra was relatively thinly populated. An Ottoman census register (Tapu defter 367 in the BBA) from the years between 1523-36 shows that the town of Levkas/Aya Mavra numbered 194 households, 28 bachelors and 20 widows, perhaps giving a total civil population of a thousand souls. The *ḳaḍā*ʾ had at that time two towns (the second town was Vonitsa, with 90 households, 27 bachelors and 15 widows), and comprised 43 villages, five monasteries and a total population of 2,234 households, 309 bachelors, 199 widows (or a total population of about 12,000 souls). These notes from the census register make clear that the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Aya Mavra not only comprised the island of Levkas but also a considerable part of the mainland of Acarnania. The bulk of the population of the *sand͟jaḳ* of Ḳarlī-Ili lived in the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Engili-ḳaṣrī (= Angelokastro, Ottoman between 1460 and 1832), further inland. Engili-ḳaṣrī itself, which was officially the seat of the *sand͟jaḳ begi*, numbered according to the same register 144 households, but the *ḳaḍā*ʾ contained no less than 253 villages with 9,009 households, 290 bachelors and 954 widows (perhaps 46,000-47,000 souls). The register mentions that the garrison of Levkas town contained 111 soldiers and nine gunners. The castle of Angeli-ḳaṣrī, safely inland, had only 25 soldiers (*merdān-i ḳalʿe*), Vonitsa, more exposed than Engili-ḳaṣrī but less dangerously situated than Levkas town, had 25 soldiers and two gunners. Not a single Muslim household or individual is mentioned in the entire *sand͟jaḳ* of Ḳarlī-Ili. There were only three mosques in this province, those in the three castles, serving the needs of the garrisons. The register of 1523-36 mentions in the entire *sand͟jaḳ* only three *imāms*, two *k͟haṭībs* and two *müʾed͟hd͟hins*. Thus Islam in Levkas was in the first half-century of Ottoman rule only represented by the military and administrative machinery. This was to change notably in the subsequent years.

Because of the constant lack of fresh water in the fortified town, due to its setting on saltings surrounded on all sides by the waters of the lagoon, the Ottomans were forced to carry out important hydraulic works. Good drinking water was brought from the interior of the island to the fortified town by an aqueduct of 3 kms. long, which was carried over the lagoon for almost a mile on an aqueduct with several hundreds of arches (Ewliya Čelebi, viii, 636, gives 366 arches, Coronelli, *Mémoires, etc. de la Morée*, Amsterdam 1686, 146, has 360 arches; Henry Holland [in 1812], *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, London 1815, 61, has 366 arches). Over the aqueduct ran a narrow path offering a much shorter way to the island than that over the saltings. A note in Mühimme defter no. 6 in the BBA in Istanbul contains the extract of an order of the *ḳāḍīs* of Engili-ḳaṣrī and Aya Mavra that the aqueduct currently under construction in Aya Mavra had to bring the water firstly to the walled town and then to the open town on the island, and not to the walled town alone, as had previously been ordered. The inhabitants of the town had pointed out to the Porte that the open town (*varos͟h*) did not contain 200 houses, as was thought in Istanbul, but 700 to 800 houses. Hence the need for more water. The order states that the aqueduct was built by "His Majesty". It is dated 17 Rebīʿ al-Evvel 972/24 October 1564, thus in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. Mühimme defter no. 5, containing a part of the orders of the year 973 (*sic*), has an imperial order from 6 Red͟jeb to the Beg of Ḳarlī-Ili and the *ḳāḍī* of Aya Mavra requesting the repair of the fortress works and ordering the subject people from the nearby villages to assist the garrison in the work. An order of some months later (11 Ramaḍān 973) urges the *ḳāḍī* to begin the work and to finish it as soon as possible.

During the crisis of Lepanto (1571), the fortress of Aya Mavra was besieged but held out. After the siege the Ottoman government ordered the total reconstruction of the old fortress works. This work was carried out under supervision of Ḳapudan Ḳīlīč ʿAlī Pas͟ha between the years 980-1/1572-4. The Mühimme defters 19, and 21 contain some dozen of orders demanding carpenters and masons from Tirhala, Aynabak͟htī and Yanya to go to Aya Mavra, and Yürüks and Tatars from Selānīk and Tirhala and timariots from Üsküb (Skopje) to assist with the work. This new fortress has the form of an irregular hexagon which is at its longest 220 m and 150 m wide. It is strengthened by nine round bastions of various sizes, all equipped with domed and vaulted casemates for guns and an open artillery platform on top. The mediaeval castle of the Orsinis was maintained at the north-eastern corner, as a kind of Ič Ḳalʿe.

The works of the Ottoman geographers contain little information about this outpost of Islam in the far west of the Balkans. Pīrī Reʾīs in his *Baḥriyye* describes in a few lines the setting of the fortified town, as being situated on an island in a shallow lagoon and accessible only by two drawbridges that only opened to let ships pass through. Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna geographisch beschrieben*, Vienna 1812, 128) merely copies this information. Meḥmed ʿĀs͟hīḳ in his *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim* does not discuss this section of the Balkans. A wealth of information, on the other hand, is found in the *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi (viii, 631-7). Ewliyā visited Levkas in 1081/1670-1, at a time when Islam

had made considerable progress. After a detailed and fairly correct description of the works of fortification, he tells us that there were five Friday Mosques in the town, among which was the Khünkār Djām'i, a converted old church (this church-mosque was seen in 1863 by D. T. Ansted, *The Ionian Islands*, London 1863, 139-40, but has since disappeared). Besides these mosques there was a fine newly-built *mesdjid*. Other Muslim buildings were a *medrese*, two *mektebs*, a *ḥammām* and six *česhmes*, of which one was erected by a certain Aḥmed Agha in 1028/1619, with an inscription in Turkish giving the date in numbers in the form of a chronogram. In the walled town were 200 stone-built houses remaining from the times of the unbelievers. These houses were exclusively inhabited by Muslims. Due east of the walled town as an open suburb called "Shehīdlik Varoshī", with forty or fifty wooden houses inhabited by Muslims and Christians. Just outside the west gate of the walled town, on the sandy flats stretching towards the island, was a larger suburb, called "Ṭashra Varosh". It contained 300 houses built of wood (for strategic reasons). In this suburb was a wooden mosque with a stone-built minaret, a *mesdjid*, a *tekke*, a *mekteb* and two *khāns*. The Christian inhabitants of this suburb possessed seven tiny churches. This part of town was full of winehouses, frequented by the irregulars of the garrison and the fleet.

At a distance of two miles across a shallow sea was the island of Lefkada, whose fertility was praised by Ewliyā. It had innumerable gardens and orchards and twenty prosperous villages, all inhabited by unbelievers. The island was reached by a path on top of the aqueduct which Ewliyā attributes to "the brother of Sultan Selīm II, prince Djihāngīr" (1531-53). It is possible that there is a confusion with the son of Selīm II, also called Djihāngīr, who must have reached manhood at the time when the order in the Mühimme defter 6 was written. This Djihāngīr died in 983/1575 (cf. *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, i, 29).

The fourth part of the "agglomeration" of Levkas was the "Varosh-ī Lefḳada" containing no less than 700 prosperous houses, all inhabited by Greeks, and having 20 churches. This information is in blatant contradiction to what we find in the *Megale Ellinike Enkyklopeideia*, xvi, 28, art. "Leukas", where a pitiful story of decay and stagnation is told and the great suburb on the island is said to have been "a few fisherman's huts." This part of town was long known as Amaxiki, a name that slowly fell into disuse in the 19th century.

The whole urban settlement of Levkas thus had 1,250 houses, or about 6,250 inhabitants. Six years after Ewliyā, Jacob Spon and George Wheler (*Italienische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen*, Nürnberg 1681, i, 29 [also tr. into English and French]) noted that in the citadel and the suburbs together lived 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants, mostly Greeks and Turks.

The strength of the garrison of Aya Mavra as given by Ewliyā (633), is perhaps exaggerated. He mentions 1,085 *ḳal'e neferān*, but an official Ottoman budget of the same year as his visit (published by Ö. L. Barkan in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii [1955-6], 278) has only 285 *ṭopčīyān ve rü'esā ve 'azabān ve suvāriyān-ī ḳal'e-yi Ayamavra* ("gunners, captains, soldiers and cavalry of the castle of A.") on the pay list.

The halcyon days of Muslim Levkas ended during the war of 1683-99 against the Christian coalition. In the summer of 1684 the Venetian fleet under Morosini captured the town after a bombardment of 16 days. The garrison and the Muslim civil population got a safe conduct to the Ottoman mainland. Morosini turned the walled town, denuded of its inhabitants, into a citadel and removed its houses. He also evacuated and demolished the two suburbs just outside the castle and turned them into a glacis for the fortress. The deported inhabitants were helped building new houses on the island. Since that time the town was solely confined to the former Varosh (= Amaxiki) on the island itself. All the Muslim buildings except the fortress works and the aqueduct were removed by the Venetians.

The Treaty of Karlowitz (Ḳarlofča [*q.v.*]) assigned the town and the island definitely to Venice, which in the first years of the 18th century modernised the Ottoman castle. On that occasion, the Ič Ḳal'e of 1300 disappeared and the east front of the castle, facing the mainland that had remained Ottoman, the ramparts and bulwarks, were replaced by modern works, including two bastions, a ravelin and a couvre-face in the wet moat and an enveloppe all around. Two separate works came to cover the flanks. Some Latin inscriptions mention the name of the commander under whom the work was carried out and the date of completion, viz. Augostino Sagredo, 1713.

During the Corfu compaign of the Ottomans against Venice (1716), the modernised fortress was strongly defended. It was captured by the Ottoman army but was to return to the Venetians a year later. The Venetian rule lasted until 1797 (Treaty of Campo Formio) and was only interrupted by a revolt of the Greeks in 1769, after which date the fortress was again repaired (long Latin inscription.). In 1797 the island was occupied by the French, who kept it till 1800, when after a brief action of the combined Ottoman-Russian forces the island became part of the so-called Republic of the Seven Islands. The French returned in 1807, but were driven away from these islands by the British in 1809-10. In the first decade of the 19th century, the mainland of Acarnania was controlled by Tepedilenli 'Alī Pasha, the able but treacherous Vizier of Yanina (Yanya), who in 1807 invested Lefkas unsuccessfully. On a rocky foreland commanding the only road from the mainland to the island he erected in the year a strong fortress. This was the site of the Khalwetiyye *tekke* of Dizdār Ḥasan, extensively described by Ewliyā in 1670. Hence the name of that new work, *Kastro tis Tekkes*. Six km. further south, on a cape commanding the southern entrance to the lagoon of Levkas, 'Alī Pasha constructed another, large, castle, now called "Castle of St. George". Both forts still exist today.

The mainland of Acarnania was included in the new Greek kingdom in 1832. In 1864 the British ceded Levkas and the other Ionian islands to Greece. The repeated changes of master did not stimulate the expansion of the town. When Henry Holland visited it in 1812, the town numbered but 5,000 inhabitants. Until the sixties of the present century, the populations of island and town have remained stationary (the island in 1863, 24,000; in 1961, 26,000). The great Ottoman aqueduct was wrecked during an earthquake in 1825, together with most of the town (Ansted, *Ionian Islands*, 144). It was not rebuilt, but served further as road until in this century it disappeared completely under the modern causeway. The town was rebuilt with wooden houses to minimise the damage of the very frequent earthquakes (list

of dates in *M. E. Enkykl.*, xvi, art. "Leukas"). The now decayed and deserted three Ottoman castles remain the only visible link with the Islamic past.

Bibliography: The Ottoman sources mentioned in the article are unpublished. A comprehensive history of Ottoman Levkas, based on Ottoman and Western sources, is still a task for the future. Fragments of information can be pieced together from *inter alia*, E. Kirsten and W. Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde. Ein Führer zu Klassischen Stätten*, Heidelberg 1962; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Orient*, London 1908 (repr. 1964); idem, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, London 1921; idem, *The Ionian Islands under Venice*, in *EHR*, xliii (1928); F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, Munich 1953, 421-3; idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-eli vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen* (most accessible in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, Munich 1962, 370-7); D. N. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*, Oxford 1957. For the confused accounts in the Ottoman chroniclers, see KARLÎ-ILI above. It should be added that the chronicler Oruč Beg (German tr. R. F. Kreutel, *Der fromme Bayezid*, Graz 1978, 152), has little-known details on the Ottoman capture of 1502. A Western travel account contemporary with Ewliyā Čelebi (1675-6) is J. Spon-G. Wheler, *Italienische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, Nuremburg 1681 (also in English, *A journey into Greece*, Amsterdam, 1686); cf. also H. Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly and Macedonia*, London 1815 (repr. New York 1971), 58-64; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835, i, 10 ff.; Leake has also accounts of the actions of ʿAlī Pasha on the mainland and his endeavour to capture Levkas fortress (with a good topographical sketch-map of the various parts of town, the forts and the aqueduct); D. T. Ansted, *The Ionian Islands in the year 1863*, London 1863 (Santa Maura on 125-228, with much on history, economy, topography, etc.). See also K. G. Machairas, *I Levkas epi Enetokratias (1684-1797)*, Athens 1951, and idem, *I Levkas, 1700-1864*, Athens 1958; P. Rontogiannis, *Istoria tis nisou Lefkados*, i, Athens 1980.

The first detailed plan of the Ottoman castle of Selīm II and Ḳîlîč ʿAlī is given in the work of Vincenzo Coronelli. For an old drawing of the aqueduct, see A. Grasset St. Sauveur, *Voyages dans les îles et possessions ci-devant vénétiennes du Levant*, Paris 1800, 337 ff. For details on the fortress, see Machairas, *To en Levkádi frourion tis Aghias Mavras*, Athens 1956 (100 pages, but nothing serious on the Ottoman actions. Very good plans of the walled town before and after the Venetian reconstruction and large-size map of the area). For the Ottoman aspects of the castle, see for the time being, M. Kiel, *Leukas/Santa Maura, een Turks-Venetiaanse grensvesting*, in *Jaarboek Stichting Menno van Coehoorn*, 1976, 58-64 (with photographs and plan of the castle).

For a modern survey of the history of the entire Ionian archipelago, see M. Pratt, *Britain's Greek empire*, London 1978. (M. KIEL)

LEWEND, the name given to two kinds of Ottoman daily-wage irregular militia, one sea-going (*deñiz*), the other land-based (*ḳarā*), both existing from early times.

The word may derive in its maritime sense from the Italian *levantino* (Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*), used originally by Venetians for soldiers recruited from their Levantine possessions, and then passing into Ottoman Turkish as a term for mercenaries recruited from the Mediterranean regions, especially the eastern lands and islands of Greece, Dalmatia and western Anatolia. Some claim its more common use as "a rough-and-ready cavalryman" came from Persia (cf. Redhouse, *Turkish and English lexicon*, s.v., and Uzunçarşılı, 46). By 966/1558 the Ottoman government clearly distinguished mounted *lewends* from corsairs (*Mühimme defteri*, iii, 163, and *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, i, 152).

1. *Deñiz lewend*. In the hey-day of Ottoman maritime expansion, demands for unskilled labour could be met by hiring Muslim or Christian (Rūm) *lewends* for a period of the campaign, paid in early times by booty, in later times a daily wage through the admiralty. These *lewends* acted as rowers, guardsmen, marines for shore invasion, but above all as seagoing musketbearers. Muslim *deñiz lewends* wore distinctive blue baggy trousers with a yellow sash; *Rūm lewends* a cloak with cowl, a blue-and-white sash, and white baggy trousers. For those whose labour the Admiralty needed during the winter in the Bosphorus arsenal, special quarters (*khān*) were built on the Rūmeli side in the early 12th/18th century, known to this day as *Lewend čiftligi*. By the mid-12th/18th century, Muslim *lewends* took over many of the specialised naval duties previously pursued by *Rūm lewends* (who no longer enjoyed absolute trust), to serve permanently as *ḳālyondju* or galleon sailors. Their apparently exciting life as semi-official pirates, corsairs, and adventurers on the sea lived on into the modern Turkish language, in which *levend* still means a bold, good-looking, dashing young man.

2. *Ḳarā lewend*. Trained musketmen, discharged from Ottoman armies or the fleet, acting in concert with other jobless and homeless personnel (such as *sekbān*, *gönüllü*, and *ʿazab* [*q.vv*]), created mischief in Ottoman lands. Those who acted as cavalry were called *ḳarā lewend*. Any man with a horse might join one of the many official or outlaw bands which swarmed in Anatolia, particularly after the 10th/16th century. *Ḳarā lewends* fell into three categories: (a) *ḳapîlî lewend*: irregular cavalry attached and paid by a *beglerbegi* or a provincial *wālī*, for special services in peace or war, such as guarding fortresses, civil police duty, and honour guards. *Ḳapîlî lewends* generally followed Ottoman military rank-order, led by a *bölükbashî*, and included Anatolians, sc. Arabs, Kurds (Rafeq, 37) and Turks, together with Rumelians, sc. Albanians (Turan, 168), Hungarians (Orhonlu, 100) and probably many others. *Ḳapîlî lewends* wore colourful but not particularly uniform apparel, their respective employers supplying clothing suitable to their particular affectation (Cezar, 294-6); (b) *ḳapîsîz lewend* (sometimes *bashî-bosh*, "independent"): any *lewend* discharged from the service of his *beglerbegi* or *wālī*, who in theory returned to civilian pursuits. Anatolian social and economic conditions being in serious dislocation after the 10th/16th century, most *ḳapîsîz lewends* moved quickly into wandering groups of brutal marauders, many of whom took part in the Djalālī revolts [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; and (c) *mīrī lewend*: those hired by the government as musketmen or cavalry for a specific campaign and paid for by the central treasury.

To the end of the 12th/18th century, *lewends* found employment in Anatolia and Rūmeli, often terrorising rather than protecting those officially in their charge. In Dubrovnik in 1000/1592 they were "brigands" (*ehl-i fesād ve lewendāt*) (Biegman, 82); in Cairo in 1008/1599 a visitor called them "unscrupulous scum"

(Tietze, 40); an observer in Ankara in 1029/1619 saw them as tyrants over the citizens (Andreasyan, 162); in 1069/1658 they supported Abāza Ḥasan Pasha's [*q.v.*] massive rebellion, crushed by Köprülü Meḥmed Pāshā (Naʿīmā, vi, 347-9). By 1131/1719 a *fetwā* had abolished the *lewends* from the empire, but a new war with Persia demanded an extension of their enrolment by eastern frontier governors until 1136/1726 (Uzunçarşılı, 47). Two decades later, 10,000 *lewends* deserted Yegen Meḥmed Pasha in his ill-fated battle against Nādir Shāh (*ibid.*); the Ottomans reacted angrily and those caught were executed, but many continued the sale of their services to any provincial officer or man of wealth (*aʿyān* [*q.v.*]) who could pay. By 1190/1776 the government again ordered the *ḳarā lewends* to be abolished; most were absorbed into acceptable military units by the turn of the century. Others fled to Syria, where they found employment with Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha of Sidon, Muḥammad Pasha al-ʿAẓm of Damascus, acceptance among the local Kurdish *lewends* (*lewend al-aḳrād*, Rafeq, 37), and work in Palestine as mercenaries (Cohen, 282). By the beginning of the 13th/19th century, most *ḳarā lewends* had been eliminated from the empire or had been absorbed into the modernised armies of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II.

Bibliography: References to *lewends* may be found in many official documents (*Mühimme defterleri*, the *İbnülemin tasnifi*, the *Cevdet tasnifi*: *askeri*, *dahiliye*, *maliye*, and others) in the Baş Vekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul. Many references occur in standard Ottoman historians like Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863, and *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1317/1899, as well as the other chroniclers of the period, both published and manuscript. The emphasis on *lewends* as seagoing irregulars may be studied in Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 234 ff.; Zinkeisen, iii, 307 f.; and M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, iii, Paris 1825, which includes pictures, 416, 432. Several encyclopaedias and dictionaries give pertinent information, the best being İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, art. "Levend", in *İA*; also M. Pakalın, art. "Levend", in ii, 358-9; and Midhat Sertoğlu, art. "Levend", in *Resimli Osmanli tarihi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1958, 188-9. The only major work devoted to the subject is Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı tarihinde levendler*, Istanbul 1965, which follows Uzunçarsılı's general outline and includes many useful photographed archival materials and their transliteration into modern Turkish. The major work explaining the social conditions of Anatolia (990-1020/1582-1611) in which *lewends* flourished is Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları*, Ankara 1963. Translations of contemporary observations of *lewends* as well as documents include H. D. Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un seyahatnâmesi, 1608-1619*, Istanbul 1964; N. H. Biegman, *The Turko-Ragusan relationship, according to the firmāns of Murād III (1575-1595) extant in the State Archive of Dubrovnik*, The Hague 1967; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine âid belgeler telhîsler, 1597-1607*, Istanbul 1970; A. Tietze, *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's description of Cairo of 1599, text, translation, notes*, Vienna 1975. Münir Aktepe, *Patrona isyanı, 1730*, Istanbul 1958, related the history of a *lewend* who precipitated the downfall of an Ottoman sultan and his government. General works referring to the activities of *lewends* include Şerafettin Turan, *Kanunî'nin oğlu Şehzade Bayezid vak'ası*, Ankara 1961; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The province of Damascus, 1723-1783*, Beirut 1966; A. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century, patterns of government and administration*, Jerusalem 1973; V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, eds., *War, technology, and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, esp. chs. by H. İnalcık, 195-7 and by A.-K. Rafeq, 285, 291; and S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey. i. Empire of the Gazis: the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808*, Cambridge and New York 1976, index.

(J. H. Kramers-[W. J. Griswold])

LEXICOGRAPHY [see ḲĀMŪS]

LEZGH (self-designation: Lezghi, pl. Lezghiar; Russian variants: Lezgintsy, Kyurintsy; others: Lezg, Lezgin, Kürin), a Muslim people of the Caucasus.

The Lezgh language belongs with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Khinalug, Ḳrīz, Dhzek, Khaput and Udi to the Samurian group of the Northeast-Caucasian (Čečeno-Lezgian) language family. The Lezgh language is comprised of three closely-related dialects, all of which have been strongly influenced by the Azeri Turkish language, sc. Kürin (Günei) and Akhtī, spoken in southeastern Dāghistān, and Ḳuba, spoken in northeastern Ādharbāydjān. The Kürin dialect forms the basis of the Lezgh literary language, since it is the most widespread of the three, and since it is the dialect spoken in Ḳurakh (the most important cultural and economic centre in the Lezgh territory, and former seat of the Khānate of Kürin.

Lezgh became a written language in the late 19th century (using the Arabic script), although it did not replace Arabic as the common literary language among the Lezghs until after the Russian Revolution (in the late 1920s). Early attempts at using the Cyrillic script (1904-5) for writing the Lezgh language met with utter failure. In 1928 the use of the Arabic script was abolished, and writing in Lezgh was changed to the Latin, and in 1938, to the Cyrillic script. Lezgh is at present one of the nine official languages of the Dāghistān ASSR, although it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in the schools. Formerly (between the late 1920s and 1960s) Lezgh served as a language of instruction among the Lezghs of Dāghistān (and between the late 1920s and 1939 among the Lezghs of Adharbāydjān) up to the 5th grade. Lezgh was also the official language used among the Aguls between the late 1920s and 1950s. Since that time, all education among the Lezghs has been in Russian in Dāghistān, and in Azeri in Ādharbāydjān. The term "Lezgin" had been used by Russian authors to refer not only to the Lezghs proper, but also at times to all mountaineer Dāghistānīs, or only the southern Dāghistānīs (including all the peoples in the Samurian group).

The Lezghs inhabit for the most part the southeastern portion of Dāghistān (Akhtī, Doḳuzpara, Ḳasumkent, Ḳurakh, Magaramkent and Rutul *rayons*) and contiguous northeastern Ādharbāydjān (Ḳuba, Nukha and Shemākha *rayons*). The 1970 Soviet census listed 323,829 Lezghs residing in the USSR. Of them, 50.2% lived in the Dāghistān ASSR and 42.4% in the Ādharbāydjān SSR. Of the Lezghs, 93.9% considered Lezgh their native language, while 3.7% considered it to be Russian and 2.4% other languages (mainly Azeri).

According to legend, the Islamic religion was originally introduced among the Lezghs by Arab conquerors in the 7th and 8th centuries. The final conversion of the Lezghs to Islam came in the middle of the 15th century with the conquest of the Lezgh territory by the Shāh of Shirvān-Khalīl Ulloi.

Although the bulk of Lezghs are Sunnī Muslims of the Shafiʿī school, there is a sizable minority of Shīʿīs in Ādharbāydjān.

As a result of the long influence of the Turkish Khānates of Ādharbāydjān on the Lezghs, a Lezgh feudal principality—the Khānate of Kürin—was formed in 1775 with its centre in Kurakh. This Khānate, however, included only a relatively small part of the Lezgh territory and exerted only a minor influence on the Lezghs. The majority of Lezghs continued to live in free societies, while others lived at different times under the Khanates of Kuba, Derbend and Kazikumukh. In 1812 the Kürin Khānate became a Russian protectorate, and in 1864, with its abolition, the Lezgh territory became an integral part of the Russian Empire. In the mid-19th century, under the leadership of Shamīl and his Murīds, the Lezghs took part in the Caucasian wars against the Russians.

Although a weak feudal structure had developed in the region of Kurakh, the majority of the Lezghs lived in free societies made up of patriarchal clans and extended families. These free societies were ruled by the village *ʿādat*. Within the clan or extended family there was mutual help in work and family affairs, as well as group responsibility in vendettas, which were under the jurisdiction of the *ʿādat*. The Lezghs maintained a strict clan endogamic marriage system.

The traditional economy of the Lezghs was based primarily on home industries (weaving, rug making, leather working, pottery, smithing, etc.) and transhumance sheep and goat raising. These activities still play a major role in the village economy. In the foothill and lowland areas, cereal crops, gardening and horticulture are important. Winter pastures of the Lezghs were found primarily in Ādharbāydjān, and there was a long tradition of seasonal (winter) migratory labour among the Lezgh men to the cities of Bākū, Shemākha and Kuba (all in Ādharbāydjān). As a result of this migration, as well as the long cultural and political ties with Ādharbāydjān, the Lezgh culture and language have been profoundly influenced by the Ādharbāydjānīs; but this strong assimilatory force exerted on them has been sharply weakened during the Soviet period.

The Lezghs have a relatively long literary tradition though little pre-Revolutionary literature was written in the Lezgh language, since the dominant tongues here were Arabic or Azeri or Persian. Among the more renowned writers of Lezgh origin are the theologian Saʿīd of Kočkhur, the mystical poet Etim Emīn, the Azeri historian Ḥasan Alkadari and the poets Sayfullāh Čobānzāde, Emīr Arslān and Ḥādjdjī of Akhtī. Soviet literature began with Sulaymān Stal'skii (the "national poet of Dāghistān"), and he has been followed by Ṭāhir Alimov of Khurug, ʿAlībek Fatahov, Shāh Emīr Maradov, etc.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Une république musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 1-55; *Mladopis'mennie yazīki narodov SSSR*, Akademiya Nauk, Moscow 1955; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; Bennigsen, *The problem of bilingualism and assimilation in the North Caucasus*, in *Central Asian Review*, xv/3 (1967), 205-11. (R. Wixman)

LIʿĀN (A.), in Islamic law, an oath which gives a husband the possibility of accusing his wife of adultery without legal proof and without his becoming liable to the punishment prescribed for this, and the possibility also of denying the paternity of a child borne by the wife. "In the language of the *Sharīʿa*, evidence given by the husband, strengthened by oaths, by which the husband invokes the curse (*laʿna*: from this the whole process is *a potiori* named) and the wife the wrath of Allāh upon themselves, if they should lie; it frees the husband from *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] (the legal punishment) for *ḳadhf* [*q.v.*] (accusation without proof of infidelity by persons "of irreproachable character") and the wife of *ḥadd* for incontinence" al-Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans*, ed. Sprenger and Lees, Bibl. Indica, Old Series, ii, 1309). On the technical use of the related verbal forms, cf. the Arabic lexica and Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict. arabes*, s.v.; al-Ḳasṭallānī, commentary on al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, 25, at the beginning; al-Zurḳānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Bāb mā djāʾa fi 'l-liʿān*, at the beginning.

1. The following Ḳurʾānic passage is the basis for the regulations regarding the *liʿān* (XXIV, 6-10): "As to those who accuse their wives [of adultery] without having other witnesses than themselves, the man concerned shall swear four times by Allāh that he is speaking the truth and the fifth time that the curse of Allāh may fall upon him if he is lying, but the woman may avert the punishment from herself if she swears four times by Allāh that he is lying and the fifth time that the wrath of Allāh may fall upon her if he is speaking the truth. If Allāh were not gracious and merciful towards you and wise and turning lovingly towards you . . .".

These verses belong to a part of the Ḳurʾān, apparently composed at one time, containing various regulations about adultery and consisting of XXIV, 1-10, 21-6; verses 11-20, which certainly belong to the year 5, were inserted later, so that our verses must therefore be older (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, i, 210-11; H. Grimme, *Moḥammed*, ii, 27, puts the sūra between the battles of Badr (2 A.H.) and Uḥud (3 A.H.)).

They form a regulation in favour of the husband, an exception to the punishment strictly laid down in Ḳurʾān XXIV, 4 (cf. also verses 23-5) for *ḳadhf* and are therefore, like this penalty, primarily Muslim and have no affinities in Arab paganism, in which an institution like the *liʿān* had no place at all (contrary to D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, i, 221 below). The word *liʿān*, which comes from the Ḳurʾān, is unknown to pre-Islamic poetry.

The *ḥadīths* concerning *liʿān* are almost entirely (the oldest probably exclusively) exegetical, and profess to give the occasion of the revelation of the Ḳurʾānic verses in question; they are to some extent contradictory (attempts to harmonise them are found in al-Zurḳānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Bāb mā djāʾa fi 'l-liʿān*), systematised and unreliable (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, etc., where further references are given, to which may now be added those in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, 55-7 [to 56 ult. may be added, Tir. 44, sūra 24]). Four types may be distinguished among them: (1) the husband (unnamed) laments his sad case to the Prophet in covert language, whereupon the verses are revealed (oldest form); (2) ʿUwaymir b. Ḥārith asks in the same way, first through the intermediary of a friend and then directly of the Prophet (a development of the first type); (3) Hilāl b. Umayya accuses his wife of adultery and is to be punished with *ḥadd* for this, when Allāh saves him at some point by the revelation of the verses (this type, probably a development of the first, in which Saʿd b. ʿUbāda also

is often involved, who had previously with scornful criticism called attention to the possibility of the dilemma which has now actually happened, has of the three the most schematic and unoriginal appearance); and (4) someone marries a young woman and finds her not a virgin, while she disputes his assertion; the Prophet therefore orders *liʿān* (not exegetic). There are of course other transitional and mixed forms. In so far as the *ḥadīth*s yield nothing new about *liʿān*, this brief outline is sufficient; they are only of importance when they afford evidence for the oldest juristic adaptation of this Ḳur'ānic institution.

2. The first subject of the earliest legal speculation was the question, not touched upon the Ḳur'ān, whether *liʿān* makes separation between the husband and wife necessary. In many *ḥadīth*s this question is so expressly (sometimes polemically) affirmed that there must have been a school which approved the continuity of the marriage after the *liʿān*. The statement that al-Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr is said to have held this view (Muslim, Nasā'ī) is, however, based only on an inadmissible interpretation of another *ḥadīth*, in which he appears as a contemporary; on the other hand, that ʿUthmān al-Battī held it may be considered sufficiently proved (al-Zurḳānī on the *Muwaṭṭa'*). Among the oldest representatives of the other view, which later became predominant, that a continuance of the marriage was impossible after *liʿān*, may be included with some probability ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and with certainty al-Zuhrī, in whose time it was already *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*); the tracing of this opinion back to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, which we find in the *ḥadīth*s, must however be regarded as unhistorical.

Next arises the question how this annulment of the marriage as a result of *liʿān* is to be carried through, whether by a triple *ṭalāḳ*, which the husband has to pronounce against his wife, or by the decision of the judge before whom the *liʿān* is taken, or by the *liʿān* itself. The first view is undoubtedly based on a large number of traditions, while no trace of its use in law has survived; these traditions are rather interpreted in favour of the second view (cf. the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, *bāb* 30 and *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 43; the tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 330-1, forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception; a polemic against the first view in al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2667). The second opinion survives in the later legal *ikhtilāf*; apart from the ample testimony to it in *ḥadīth*, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar; al-Zuhrī, in whose time it appears as *sunna*; and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*); its ascription to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās is again not historical. For the third there is no evidence in tradition; it is only found after the rise of the *madhāhib*. We seem therefore to have a tendency to development in a particular direction.

Other prescriptions about *liʿān* in tradition going beyond what is laid down in the Ḳur'ān, are of less importance. Thus when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can never marry the wife again at a later date, that a *liʿān* may take place during pregnancy (legal *ikhtilāf* is later attached to their interpretation of this *ḥadīth*), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance, i.e. is considered illegitimate. Other *ḥadīth*s say that the *liʿān* must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the *ḳāḍī* to the Prophet. We are also brought into contact with questions of detail, which play a part in the latter *ikhtilāf* by a tradition according to which the Prophet did not allow *liʿān* unless the husband and wife were on equal terms as regards Islam and freedom; a series of older authorities who held the contrary view is quoted in the *Mudawwana*.

Details of the further teaching of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī on *liʿān* are given in the *Kitāb al-Āthār*. Two more general pronouncements in Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī bring us to the period of the rise of the *madhāhib*. Mālik states definitely that it was the *sunna* of Medina, about which there is no doubt and no *ikhtilāf*, that the husband and wife after the *liʿān* has taken place could never marry one another again, and al-Shāfiʿī says that with *liʿān*, divorce of the pair and denial of the paternity of the child was *sunna* of the Prophet.

3. The teachings of the separate *madhāhib* develop the views of their earliest representatives, not entirely on the same lines (e.g. from the *Muwaṭṭa'*; it is to be assumed with probability that Mālik followed the second view regarding the element in *liʿān* which annulled the marriage (cf. above), while his school later held the third opinion entirely). The most important regulations of *fiḳh* regarding *liʿān* that go beyond what has been so far discussed are as follows; if the husband accuses the wife of adultery or denies the paternity of his child without being able to prove it in the legally-prescribed fashion and she denies his charge, recourse is had to the process of *liʿān*. If the husband refuses to pronounce the formulae prescribed to him, he is punished with the *ḥadd* for *ḳadhf*; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, however, he is imprisoned until he pronounces the formulae, whereby he is set free or is declared to have lied, whereupon he is liable to *ḥadd*. If the wife refuses to pronounce the corresponding formulae, she is punished with the *ḥadd* for adultery; but according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, she is imprisoned until she pronounces the formulae, whereupon she is set free or confesses her transgression and is then liable to *ḥadd*. On the question whether *liʿān* is possible if one partner is or both are not Muslims or not free or not *ʿadl*, there is a wealth of *ikhtilāf*, which cannot be detailed here; the same applies to the possibility of *liʿān* during the pregnancy of the woman, with the object of denying the paternity of the child. On this point, the strength of the principle that the marriage decides the descent of the child, is remarkable, as is the distinction between two objets of *liʿān* (accusation of the wife of adultery and denial of paternity), which is only a result of later developments. In the whole of the earlier period these two objects coincide from the juristic point of view. The divorcing element in *liʿān* is, according to the Mālikīs (on their presumed divergence from Mālik himself on this question, cf. above), and a tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the *liʿān* of the wife, according to al-Shāfiʿī that of the husband; but according to Abū Ḥanīfā and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, it is the verdict of the judges pronounced after the *liʿān* of both. Opinions also differ regarding the legal consequences of a later withdrawal of the *liʿān* by the husband; according to Abū Ḥanīfa and one tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, a new marriage of the two people is possible in this case, but according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, it is not; among older authorities, only Saʿīd b. Djubayr is in favour of the first view, while ʿUmar, ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, ʿAṭā' and al-Zuhrī are quoted as in favour of the second (not all have historical

confirmation), which was also held by al-Awzāʿī and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Finally, it is a disputed question whether the *liʿān* can only be performed orally or (in the case of a dumb person) by gestures; al-Bukhārī devotes ch. 25 of his *Kitāb al-Ṭalāḳ* to the discussion of this question and the reasons for his attitude to it.

4. It is easy to understand that the resort was only had to the *liʿān* in extreme cases. Thus we find a scholar of Cordova in the 4th/10th century pronouncing the *liʿān* against his wife simply in order to revive this *sunna* of the Prophet, which had fallen into oblivion (I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 21, Eng. tr. ii, 33). But it has only begun to fall into disuse with the introduction of modern legal codes into the Islamic countries and the creation of legal mechanisms for the adjudication of disputes over paternity. Thus the natural substitute for it, proof of non-access at the time of the child's conception, was introduced into Egypt in 1929 by the device of restricting the competence of the Sharīʿa courts in questions of maintenance and paternity; hence the courts were forbidden to entertain disputed paternity suits where either non-consummation of the marriage, or the birth of the child more than one year after the last physical access between wife and husband, could be established. In some countries, e.g. Tunisia or Morocco, procedures have been introduced whereby a husband can repudiate a child with which his wife is pregnant, or has already given birth to it, without recourse to the *liʿān* procedure. In the Arabian peninsula, however, it remains in force, whilst in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent it still provides a way by means of which a wife who claims to have been falsely accused of infidelity by her husband can go to court and claim dissolution of the marriage.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted, the *fiḳh*-books and works on tradition; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 73 ff.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 192; idem, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, 216-17; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, 219 ff.; T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 293-4, s.v. *Liʿān*; Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Eng. tr. C. Hamilton, repr. Lahore 1957, 103, 123, 136; Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1971, vi, 64-8; *Muʿdjam al-fiḳh al-Ḥanbalī*, Kuwayt 1973, ii, 848-56; S. Vesey-Fitzgerald, *Muhammadan law, an abridgement according to the various schools*, Oxford 1931, 82-3; N. J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 176-7; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 165, 179; A. al-Kubaysī, *al-Aḥkām al-shakhṣiyya*, Baghdad 1971, 272-80; J. N. D. Anderson, *Law reform in the Muslim world*, London 1976, 136-7, 141.

(J. Schacht*)

LIBĀS (A., pls. *lubus*, *albisa*) like its cognate counterpart in most Semitic languages (cf. Akk. *lubūshu*; Heb. and Aram. לבוש; Syr. ܠܒܘܫܐ), is the general Arabic term for clothing or apparel. The dictionaries define it as "that which conceals or covers the pudenda", for which the Ḳurʾānic verse is cited, "O Children of Adam! We have revealed unto you clothing to conceal your shame, and finery, but the garment of piety, that is best" (VII, 26). In addition, "it is for self-beautification and adornment and for protection against heat and cold" (*Ḳāmūs TA*, s.v.). In addition to the form *libās*, one finds *libs*, *malbas*, *milbas*, *malbūs*, *labūs* and *labūsa* also signifying clothing.

A detailed history of Islamic costume has yet to be written. There have been of late ever-increasing studies of modern and late pre-modern attire for various Islamic countries (cf. *Bibliography*), but with the exception of R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam 1845) no comprehensive work covering all Arab —much less Islamic—lands in all periods has been produced. Dozy's pioneer work was based solely on literary references which were mostly in manuscript at that time. His literary references were somewhat supplemented by R. Levy, *Notes on costumes from Arabic sources*, in *JRAS* (1935), 318-38. R. B. Serjeant's monograph *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest* (Beirut 1972), although not dealing specifically with costume, has brought forth a great deal of important ancillary material. Recent attempts to coordinate literary, sources with representations of costume in Islamic art and with actual relics of garments preserved for specific periods are those of L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva 1952, and Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt, according to the trousseau lists and cognate material from the Cairo Geniza*, unpubl. diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1972.

We shall limit ourselves here to a general survey of costume history in the Arab world during the classical period, with some brief notes on pre-Islamic and modern times.

i. — In the Central and Eastern Arab Lands

1. Clothing of the pre-Islamic Arabs Despite numerous references to the Arabs in classical geographical and historical literature, there is only scattered and scanty information concerning their attire. Herodotus mentions that the Arabs wore the *zeira*, a sort of long flowing garment caught in with a belt (*Hist.* vii, 66). This most certainly is the *izār* (also found in the forms *azr*, *miʾzar*, and in Middle Arabic texts and vernaculars *izār*), a large sheet-like wrap worn both as a mantle and a long loin cloth or waist cloth (comp. late bibl. Heb. אזור). This is corroborated by Strabo, who says of the Arab Nabataeans that "they go without tunics, with girdles about their loins, and with slippers on their feet" (*Geog.* xvi, 4, 26). The mode of wearing the *izār* by the Muslim pilgrim in a state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] reflects this ancient fashion.

The earliest evidence for the clothing worn in ancient Arabia is the rupestrean art of prehistoric Arabia (second and first millennia B.C.). These show men wearing relatively little clothing aside from a *cache-sexe* and a variety of headdresses (see E. Anati, *Rock-art in Central Arabia*, i, Louvain 1968, 159, 163, and *passim*). Already at this very early time some women are depicted in enveloping wraps (*ibid.*, 195). Some sort of slippers or sandals were also worn by both sexes (*ibid.*).

Those Arabs who lived within the cultural sphere of one or another of the great empires could not help but be influenced by the fashions of the higher civilisations, clothing being a manifestation of culture, no less than art, architecture, literature, etc. Thus we find statues of the Arab rulers of Hatra in Mesopotamia which depict them wearing Parthian-style dress. Some wear a sleeved mantle and chiton, and others Persian trousers and military festoons (see F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* ii, Berlin 1965, 227). Those Arabs who inhabited the oasis towns of the Syrian desert apparently dressed in the fashion of the eastern Hellenistic world (see

R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, figs. 20-3, *et passim*).

Because of their conservative existence beyond the pale of sedentary civilisation, the Bedouin have maintained a fairly constant style of dress from pre-Islamic times down to the present. Throughout the Muslim world loose wraps have always been an extremely common feature of dress for both men and women. Ibn Khaldūn noted that wraps, as opposed to tailored or fitted clothing, were the mark of non-urban dwellers (*Muḳaddima*, repr. Beirut 1900, 411). Ibn Khaldūn's observation, of course, needs some modification. City-dwellers wore wraps also. To be sure, these were of finer quality, often ornate, and were worn over fitted clothing. The Bedouin have always shown a preference for dark garments. The Babylonian Talmud cites the dark garments of an Arab as an example of a blue-black colour it is trying to define with precision (*Niddah*, 20a). Clothing is frequently mentioned in Djāhilī poetry, especially the many kinds of outer mantles such as *burd*, *izār*, *ridā'*, and *shamla* (apparently similar to the bibl. Heb. שמלה). Tertullian mentions that Arabian women appeared in public totally enveloped in their mantle in such a way so that only one eye is left free (*De virg. vel.*, 17). This fashion continues in places as far apart as Iran and southern Algeria and Morocco.

The use of footwear in Arabia goes back to prehistoric times and was certainly necessitated by the harsh landscape. Many of the figures in the ancient rupestrean engravings wear some sort of distinctive shoe or sandal (Anati, *Rock-art*, *passim*). The Talmud specifically mentions that the sandals worn by the Arabs are "close-fitting" (*Yevamot*, 102a) and that they "are knotted tightly by the shoemakers" (*Shabbat*, 112a).

2. The time of the Prophet and early Islam. The fashion of dress of the earliest Muslim community was on the whole an extension of the preceding period, with certain modifications for the new moral sensibilities. It is interesting to observe that many of the garments worn by the Prophet and his contemporaries continued through the centuries as the basic clothing of villagers and Bedouin, being simple, functional, and suitable to the ecology. The urban dweller, though perhaps far more conscious of *sunna* [*q.v.*] than his rural or nomadic cousins, has since Umayyad times been constantly modifying his wardrobe. Nevertheless, the basic outlines of the Islamic vestimentary system have remained remarkably constant even in the city.

The basic articles of clothing at the time of the Prophet for both sexes consisted of an undergarment, a body shirt, a long dress, gown, or tunic, and an overgarment such as a mantle coat, or wrap, footgear consisting of shoes or sandals, and a head covering. A person might wear many garments or only one depending upon a variety of factors including weather, occasion, economic means, etc. Many of the items of clothing worn by men and women were identical. Indeed, many of the articles were simply large pieces of fabric in which the wearer wrapped himself. What must have set off male from female fashion in many instances was the manner of draping, the accessories (jewelry, head- and footgear, and veils), as well as colours, fabrics and decoration.

The basic undergarment was the *izār* (sometimes referred to as *ḥaḳw*), the loincloth which goes back to prehistoric times. It may well be—although there is dispute over this point in the Muslim traditions as well as in Western scholarship—that *sirwāl* (from old P. *zārawāro*; modern P. *shalwār*) or underdrawers were already in use by this time before the conquest of Iran. Persian cultural influenced had filtered down into Arabia through the Lakhmid kingdom of Ḥīra and perhaps up through the Yemen. There are *ḥadīths* both claiming and denying that the Prophet wore them. From many *ḥadīths*, however, it would seem that there were women who were certainly *mutasarwilāt*, i.e. wearing the *sirwāl*, at this early period. In one well-known story the Prophet averted his glance out of modesty from a woman who had fallen from her mount until he was assured that she was wearing a *sirwāl*. How these early *sirwāl* looked cannot be ascertained. In later Islamic times they differed greatly from country to country and included all sorts of pantaloons, kneebreeches, long trousers, and close-fitting drawers. It is reported that the men who bore ʿA'isha's litter on the pilgrimage wore *tubbān*, small *sirwāl* or briefs (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb* xxv, *bāb* 18). Not everyone could afford a separate undergarment, and there are numerous *ḥadīths* in which men without underwear are forbidden to sit or squat publicly, truss up their garments while working, or to drape themselves in the fashion known as *al-ṣammā'* whereby one end of the mantle is pulled up on the shoulder leaving the other side of the body exposed—apparently in the style of the Greek chiton (cf. e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 8; viii, 10, 1; lxxvii, 20, 2; and most of the other canonical collections).

The basic body shirt was the *ḳamīṣ* (from late Latin *camisia*; cf. Jerome, *Ep. vest. mul.*, 64, no. 11). Like so many items of Islamic attire, it was worn by both sexes. Just as in the Arab world today, the *ḳamīṣ* was frequently worn by children. The Prophet supposedly covered his uncle al-ʿAbbās with a *ḳamīṣ* when the latter was taken prisoner naked at Badr. Any variety of robes or tunics might be worn over the *ḳamīṣ*. These include the *thawb* which in addition to being a gown was also a general word for garment (the pls. *thiyāb* and *athwāb* designate clothes) and fabric, since many garments were no more than a piece of cloth (*shiḳḳa*). Also worn over the *ḳamīṣ* were the *djubba*, a woollen tunic with rather narrow sleeves which was imported in the Prophet's time from Syria (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lvi, 90 and lxxvii, 10), and perhaps elsewhere in the Byzantine empire (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, xxxii, 4); the *ḥulla*, a long, flowing coat which the Prophet wore tucked up when he went out (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 3) and of which he is reported to have worn on occasion a red one of great beauty (*ibid.*, lxi, 23, 11); the *ḳabā'*, a luxurious, sleeved robe, slit in front, with buttons (*muzarrar*), made of fabrics such as brocade (*dībādj*), and apparently of Persian provenance; the *farrūdj*, a robe similar to the *ḳabā'*, but slit in the back. The Prophet is reported to have received a silk *farrūdj* (*farrūdj ḥarīr*) as a gift, to have worn it, prayed in it, and finally to have thrown it off as if it were suddenly loathsome, saying that it was not fitting for the God-fearing (Bukhārī, Muslim, Nasā'ī, and elsewhere). The custom of wearing several layers of tunics and robes continued through the Middle Ages and still persists in traditional areas today. In Morocco, for example, one frequently sees a man wearing two and even three *djallābas* (hooded outer robe) over two or more tunics.

The principal form of armour was the coat of mail known as *dirʿ* or *dirʿa* which Nöldeke thought to be of Ethiopic origin (*Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1910, 53), but as Bosworth has shown, was borrowed from Persia (ch. *Iran and the Arabs*, in *Cambr. hist. of Iran*, iii, ed. E. Yarshater,

Cambridge 1983). Also mentioned in the early sources is a *djubba min ḥadīd* or tunic of mail.

Arabian fashion required both men and women to wear a mantle of some sort over everything else when appearing in public. In the case of the less well-to-do, the mantle or outer wrap might be the only garment over the underwear, and there are numerous *ḥadīth*s dealing with questions of public modesty which arose because of the common presence of men dressed in a single wrap at prayer. Once again, it is the ubiquitous *izār* which was the fundamental garment in this category for both sexes. Another basic one was the *shamla*, which like *izār* simply means "wrap". These were usually white or some other light colour. The *khamīṣa*, on the other hand, was black with ornamental borders (*aʿlām*). In a frequently repeated *ḥadīth*, the Prophet found himself distracted by the decoration on a *khamīṣa* he was wearing at prayer and called for a simple woollen cloak known as an *anbidjāniyya* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 14, 1, *et passim*; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan* xxxii, 1). Like many wraps, the *khamīṣa* also served as a sleeping garment. Some wraps and mantles at this time seem to have been associated with one sex or other, although these were in the minority. The *ridāʾ* was a man's mantle par excellence, and for the man of honour, in the words of the Djāhilī poet al-Samawʾal, "every *ridāʾ* he wears is becoming". The *djilbāb*, *khimār*, and *mirṭ* were primarily for women. Tirmidhī, Muslim and Abū Dāwūd all repeat a *ḥadīth* about Muḥammad wearing a black *mirṭ*, but all other references to this garment are solely in a feminine context (e.g. Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Muʿallaḳa*, 28; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lii, 15). Then, as now, there were many names for wraps and mantles, and these were often synonymous, perhaps reflecting earlier usages of regional dialects. That the terms were frequently interchangeable is clear from a *ḥadīth* where a woman brings the Prophet as a gift a woven *burda* with a border (*burda mansūdja fīhā ḥāshiyyatuhā*) which she herself had made and asks the people assembled if they know what a *burda* is. They answer "a *shamla*". The story continues that Muḥammad wore it as his *izār* [*sic*] and gave it upon request to a man who wanted it for a shroud (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xxiii, 29; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, xxxii, 1; and with variations elsewhere). Many wraps and mantles were known by their fabrics. Thus the *namira* was a man's wrap with stripes of varying colours which gave it the appearance of a tiger's skin, whence its name. The *mulabbada* was simply a felted *kisāʾ* (the generic word for wrap; cf. Assyr. *kusītu*, bibl. Heb. כסות, both general terms for garment or covering). The *burda* or *burd* [*q.v.*] was a wrap of striped woollen cloth produced in the Yemen. The Prophet wore a Nadjrānī *burd* with a wide border. He gave one such mantle of his to the poet Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] which became legendary. The distinction between fabric and garment is often not clear. The *ḥibara* was a striped garment similar to the *burd*, and according to Anas, it was the favourite garment of the Prophet. Yet we also read of *ḥibara* garments, and thus, in a tradition to ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet was wrapped in a *burd* of *ḥibara* fabric when he died (*sudjdjiya bi-burd ḥibara*). The *siyarāʾ* was both a mantle of Seres (Gk. Σηρες; Aram. שירא and ܫܝܪܐ) or Chinese silk and the fabric. Thus we find *ḥulla siyarāʾ*, *burd siyarāʾ*, and *ḳamīṣ ḥarīr siyarāʾ*.

Precisely how these mantles and the many others mentioned in the traditions were draped we cannot know, but it is quite clear from the sources that there was a wide variety of styles. This is further corroborated by the fact that in those parts of the Islamic world where traditional wraps and mantles are still worn today there is considerable variation from one locale to the other in draping style. The canonical *ḥadīth* collections are almost unanimous in citing condemnations of the practice of ostentatiously trailing one's garment along the ground (*djarr min al-khayulāʾ*). Ankle-length garments were considered proper in the early *umma*. Shorter garments became the mark of an ascetic, longer ones the mark of a libertine.

Already in the Prophet's time the ancient Near Eastern practice of covering the head out of modesty and respect was the norm for both men and women. It is for this reason the Muslims and Jews customarily cover their heads when praying, rather than baring them as in the West. The Ḳurʾān warns that the wicked man will be dragged down to hell by his exposed "lying, sinful forelock" (XCVI, 15-16). Of course, a man or woman could draw his or her long mantle or ample wrap over the head, and in the case of women this was and still is the most common fashion even when some sort of hat or veil is worn under it. The Prophet is reported to have visited Abū Bakr while wearing the border of his *burd* over his head with a black headband (*ʿiṣāba dasmāʾ*) (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 16). In his last public appearance before his death, Muḥammad supposedly wore his *milḥafa* (a wrap similar to the *izār*) over his head, again held in place with a black headband (*ibid.*, lxi, 25, 51).

The *ʿimāma* or turban has been worn by the Arabs since pre-Islamic times. The word turban which is used in one form or another in all western languages derives from Persian *dūlband* via vulgar Turkish *tulbant* or *tolibant*. The *ʿimāma* of Djāhilī and early Islamic times was probably not the composite headgear of the mediaeval and modern periods consisting of one or two caps (*ṭaḳiyya* or *ʿaraḳiyya* and/or *ḳalansuwa*, *kulāh*, or *ṭarbūsh*) and a winding cloth, but merely any strip of fabric wound around the head. G. Jacob has suggested that the later turban is a synthesis of Arab and Persian styles (*Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 237). In the early *umma*, the *ʿimāma* certainly did not have any of the significance it was later to have as a "badge of Islam" (*sīmā al-Islām*) and a "divider between unbelief and belief" (*ḥādjiza bayn al-kufr wa 'l-īmān*). Nor was it yet—in the words of a proverb still heard in Morocco, at least—the "crowns of the Arabs" (*tidjān al-ʿarab*). The many *ḥadīth*s which provide detailed descriptions of the Prophet's *ʿimāma* are clearly anachronistic. For later generations, Muḥammad was "the wearer of the turban" (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*), and like many of the accoutrements associated with a hero of epic proportions, his turban had a name—*al-siḥāb* or "the cloud". According to a Shīʿī tradition, he willed it to ʿAlī. This *ḥadīth* may have been circulated in order to counteract any prestige accruing to the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs by their possession of the Prophet's *burda*. One of the few reliable facts we know about the *ʿimāma* in early Islamic times is that it is one of the garments specifically forbidden to a person in a state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*]. The *ʿimāma* must have consisted of a very long strip of fabric as in later periods, since there are reports of its being used for bandaging (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxiv, 16, 2).

The hats worn in the Prophet's time included the *ṭaylasān*, which though worn by Muslims was considered a typically Khaybarī Jewish hat (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxiv, 38, 13), the *ḳalansuwa* which originally designated a close-fitting cap, and the *burnus*, a

sort of high cap or bonnet. Already at this early time the *burnus* must have also designated by extension a cloak with hood, despite Björkman's view to the contrary (art. "Turban", *EI*[1], iv, 889) since ʿUmar's assassin was prevented from escaping by a Muslim who threw a *burnus* over him (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxii, 8). The word *ḳalansuwa* apparently also could designate a hood or cowl, since it is mentioned along with the *ʿimāma* as one of the garments which a man might spread under him for prayer when the ground was too hot (*ibid.*, viii, 23). The high cap known as *ṭarṭūra* or *ṭurṭūr*, though not mentioned in the early traditional literature, appears already in a 7th-century papyrus (J. von Karabaček, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, in *Denkschr. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissen.*, Bd. lxii, Abh. 1, Vienna 1918, 67). The 16th-century traveller Belon suggested a connection between this cap and the ancient Egyptian headcovering called by the Latin writers *turritum capitis ornamentum* or *turritam coronam* (cited in Dozy, *Vêtements*, 263). S. Fraenkel's suggestion that the word is derived from Aramaic טרטן (*Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 53) seems more probable, since such hats were worn in the Aramaic-speaking regions in the period just prior to the advent of Islam. They are depicted in several murals from Dura-Europos and elsewhere (see e.g. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Mayer Memorial Studies iii, Leiden 1972, Pl. xix, no. 65). On military expeditions, men wore a *mighfar* or *ghifāra*, a cap or headcloth of mail over which was worn a *ḳalansuwa* or a helmet known as *bayḍa* (so-called because of its resemblance to an ostrich egg). The Prophet was wearing a *mighfar* on the day Mecca surrendered.

Women in early Islamic times normally covered their head and face with any of a variety of veils when appearing in public. In addition, they were usually entirely enveloped in the large *djilbāb* from head to foot leaving only one eye free. A common head veil was the *mandīl* or *mindīl* (ultimately derived from Lat. *mantellum*; cf. Sp. *mantilla*). The word may also have already been used at this time for "handkerchief" or "hand cloth" (see the detailed discussion on the *mandīl* in F. Rosenthal, *Four essays on art and literature in Islam*, Mayer Memorial Studies ii, Leiden 1971, 63-108, and MANDĪL). The two most common face veils were the *lithām* [*q.v.*], a rectangular cloth covering the nose and the lower half of the face, and the *burḳuʿ*, a harness-like affair consisting of fabric suspended from the centre front of the headband (*ʿiṣāba*) to cover the face. The lower corners of the *burḳuʿ* were attached to the sides of the headband by a string creating a mask-like effect. The *burḳuʿ* is still worn by married women amongst the Sinai Bedouin. ʿĀʾisha wore neither of these veils when she was a *muḥrima* (*lā talaththamu wa-lā tabarḳaʿu*). Another veil worn by women at this time was the *niḳāb*. Oddly enough, there is no mention of any sort of hats or head-dresses for women at this early period, despite a veritable plethora of such items from the High Middle Ages to modern times.

Men did veil on occasion, normally by wearing the outer mantle (*izār*, *ridāʾ*, *burd*, *milḥafa*, etc.) in such a way as to cover both head and face). The Prophet is described on more than one occasion as being *mutaḳanniʿ*. This does not necessarily imply that he was wearing the face veil known as *ḳināʿ* or *miḳnaʿa* (cf. for example, Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 16). Very handsome young men sometimes veiled their faces, particularly at feasts and fairs, in order to protect themselves from the evil eye (*Aghānī*, vi, 33; xi, 28; xiii, 137; xv, 157; also J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], repr. Berlin 1961, 196). The free end of the turban cloth frequently served as a face veil to protect the wearer against dust while riding. It was veiled in this fashion that al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] entered into the mosque at Kūfa, mounted the pulpit, and dramatically bared his face as he began his famous sermon with the lines "I am the son of splendour, the scaler of the high places/When I take off my turban you know who I am".

Footwear for both sexes fell into one of two catagories—the *naʿl* or sandal which could be of palm fibre, smooth leather, or leather with animal hair, and the *khuff*, a sort of shoe or boot made of leather. The various kinds of slippers which are popular throughout the modern Islamic world under a variety of names (*bābūdj*, *tāsūma*, *surmūdja*, *bulgha*, etc.) came into vogue after the conquests.

3. Early Islamic laws and customs regarding clothing. The austere nature of the early Medinese *umma* did not encourage luxury of any kind. The Ḳurʾān promises the righteous garments of silk [see ḤARĪR] in Paradise, but the Prophet felt that such clothes were inappropriate in this life for men, although apparently not for women. According to a frequently-repeated *ḥadīth*, Muḥammad forbade seven things: silver vessels, gold rings, garments of *ḥarīr*, *dībādj* (brocade), *ḳassī* (a striped fabric from Egypt containing silk), *istabraḳ* (satin), and *mayāthir ḥumr* (tanned hides). Actually, there are many more fabrics mentioned in the traditional literature which he supposedly proscribed. It would seem that he did make exceptions in the case of individuals suffering from some pruritic skin condition or lice. With the development of the empire and the rise of a leisured class, there came into being a wealth of counter-traditions expressing the permissibility of wearing clothes of silk and other luxury fabrics.

Many of the earliest and most reliable traditions regarding clothing deal with *iḥrām* and questions of ritual impurity caused by menstrual flow or the ejaculation of semen. Each of the Prophet's wives had a special menstrual garment. Garments defiled by menstrual flow need only to be washed to be worn for prayer (e.g., Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, i, 130), and if not stained, a menstrual garment may be worn for prayer without washing. For these and related laws, see DJANABA, GHUSL, ḤAYḌ and WUḌŪʾ. It is not certain whether or not women in the early *umma* had special clothes for mourning. During the Djāhiliyya, a woman wore her worst clothes when in mourning (*wa-labisat sharra thiyābihā*—Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxviii, 46, 47). The Prophet forbade women in mourning to wear dyed clothing except for garments of *ʿaṣb*, a Yemenite fabric with threads dyed prior to weaving (*ibid.*, 48, 49). The technical term for "mourning garment" (*thawb al-ḥidād*) only appears in Ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad* vi, 438) and seems to be a later development. The name implies a garment dyed to a dark iron black.

As already noted, many of the garments worn in early Islamic times were the same for both men and women, especially tunics and wraps. There were, nonetheless, distinct stylistic differences. Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, strictly condemns transvestitism (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 61). However, in Islam this prohibition clearly refers to overall conduct as much as dress.

Clothes have always been considered objects of significant material value in the Middle East. They

are mentioned as valuable gifts, a medium of payment, and items of booty. A man who had worked in the Prophet's baggage train supposedly went to Hell for taking a single *ʿabāʾa* (a sleeveless robe) from the *khums* of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lvi, 190). Garments could also be used for the payment of the *zakāt* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 33). As had been the custom of oriental rulers since ancient times, Muḥammad bestowed valuable garments upon members of his entourage as a mark of favour (cf. e.g. Genesis, xxxvii, 3 and xli, 42).

Many customs were associated with clothes. Then as now, pious wishes and felicitations were appropriate for someone with a new garment. Muḥammad wished Umm Khālid *ablī wa-akhlifī*! ("wear it out and exchange it!"), when he presented her with a small black *khamīṣa* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 22, 1). In more recent times, the wishes have become less eloquent, and one simply says *mabrūk* ("congratulations") or *naʿimman* ("how nice!"). In accordance with an ancient custom going back to pagan times, the Prophet reversed his *ridāʾ* when he went out to make the prayer for rain. He did not reverse his cloak, however, when making the *istiskāʾ* [*q.v.*] on Friday (*ibid.*, xv, 11). The act of reversing the garment was apparently symbolic of the change in weather sought. It was still practiced in Tunis at the end of the 19th century (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 197). The custom of baring the head in extreme humility during the *istiskāʾ* ritual also probably goes back to this period, though it is not mentioned in the literary sources until the later Middle Ages (see I. Goldziher, *Entblössung des Hauptes*, in *Isl.* vi [1916], 301-16, esp. 304).

Many customs regarding clothes which most certainly have their roots in ancient Near Eastern superstition and are found also in the Talmud are ascribed to Muḥammad in the Muslim traditions. Thus the believer should always put the right shoe on first. He should not go out with only one shoe on—either both or barefoot (cf. the ill omen for Pelias of anyone shod in only a single sandal, in the Greek myth of Jason). Furthermore, shoes should never be left with the soles facing heavenward.

4. **The Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids and the *ṭirāz* system.** Judging by the rather scattered and scanty literary evidence, most of the Arabian garments of early Islamic times continue into the Umayyad period, although some items become more and more restricted to Bedouin use (e.g. the *mirṭ*). The most significant change that came with the rise of an Islamic empire is the use of clothing made of luxury fabrics by the Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers. ʿAbd al-Malik is reported by al-Maḳrīzī to have worn embroidered garments (tr. E. Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, viii [1900-1], 175). Sulaymān and his retinue wore only garments of *washy* or variegated silk, including the *djubba*, *ridāʾ*, *sirwāl*, *ʿimāma*, and *ḳalansuwa* (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 400). There is one report specifically mentioning the so-called "caliphal garments" (*thiyāb al-khilāfa*) being worn by al-Walīd II (*Aghānī* vii, 83). Later under the ʿAbbāsids, the caliph wore special robes of office with embroidered borders and which were called by this name. It is only stated of al-Walīd's "caliphal garments" that they were white. The ʿAbbāsid robes of state were normally black. Their custom of wearing black garments on official occasions was established by al-Manṣūr and was only abandoned for a brief period in favour of ʿAlid green under al-Maʾmūn (Ṭabarī, iii, 1012 f.).

Two of the most significant phenomena of Islamic costume history originate in the Umayyad period—the sumptuary laws requiring distinguishing clothing for the non-Muslim subject population, and the production of regal embroidered fabrics for clothing.

The laws of differentiation or *ghiyār* [*q.v.*] most probably do not go back to the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, since at that early period the *ahl al-dhimma* [*q.v.*] and the Arabs did not dress alike anyway. Although these laws were to be minutely detailed only in later centuries, they go back in general outline as well as in spirit, at least, to the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. *Dhimmīs* were forbidden to wear Arab-style headgear, including the *ʿimāma*, *ʿaṣb*, and *ṭaylasān*, Arab military dress, and certain robes, as for example, the *ḳabāʾ*. They also had to wear a distinguishing belt called *minṭaḳ* and more frequently *zunnār* (cf. Gk. ζωνάριον). This ordinance may have applied at first only to Christians. By the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, these rules governing *dhimmīs*' dress were well-refined and were ascribed back to ʿUmar I [Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1382, 127 f.). For a detailed discussion of the restrictions on *dhimmī* dress and the sources for Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times, see A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, repr. London 1970, 115-26.

The production of special embroidered fabrics in palace textile factories also began in Umayyad times and became a standard feature of mediaeval Islamic material culture. The fabrics were known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*], which in its narrowest sense meant "embroidery", especially embroidered bands with writing in them, and in a wider sense, indicated an elaborately embroidered robe, such as might be worn by a ruler of his entourage. *Ṭirāz* garments were bestowed as tokens of royal favour and were among the standard gifts brought by diplomatic embassies to other rulers as part of foreign policy. In the view of many scholars, the Umayyads most likely took over Byzantine state factory establishments and adapted them to their special needs and tastes (e.g. E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of dated tiraz fabrics*, Washington: The Textile Museum, 1952, 1). However, most mediaeval Arab historians believed the production of *ṭirāz* garments to be derived from a Persian institution, and there is some evidence that garments with royal insignia were worn in Sasanian times (see S. D. Goitein, *Petitions to Fatimid caliphs from the Cairo Geniza*, in *JQR*, NS, xlv [1954-5], 34 f., where Talmudic evidence is cited). The truth as to the origins of the *ṭirāz* system would seem to combine both views.

The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had *ṭirāz* factories was Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1938, 60). In any event, it is clear that by late Umayyad times the *ṭirāz* system extended across the caliphate, and continued to flourish under the ʿAbbāsids, Būyids and Saldjūḳs. The production of such luxurious fabrics was a highly profitable business, and there was considerable government control. The state was also responsible for the prices in Ashtor's view (E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 75). This is perhaps an oversimplification.

To the mediaeval Middle Eastern bourgeoisie, *ṭirāz* garments were status symbols as well as valuable pieces of real property. Clothing formed part—sometimes a considerable part—of a family's investment, being transmitted from parents to children, to be converted into cash in case of emergency. Clothes also

formed an important element of the state's assets. Thousands of garments are listed among the annual treasury receipts under Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, 179-182). In addition to their socio-economic importance, garments of *ṭirāz* fabrics were of great socio-political significance. The ʿAbbāsid caliphs and, at a later date, other Muslim rulers, were wont to bestow robes of honour (*khilaʿ*, sing. *khilʿa* [*q.v.*]) upon those of their subjects—Muslim and non-Muslim, male and female—whom they wished to reward or for some reason mark for distinction. The *khilʿa* was often not a single robe, but an entire outfit. This suit consisting of two or more garments was known as a *ḥulla*. (The word today means a "western suit of clothes".) The vizier Ḥamīd b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 311/923), for example, received two such outfits each consisting of a lined coat (*mubaṭṭana*), a sleeved robe (*durrāʿa*), a body shirt (*ḳamīṣ*), drawers (*sarāwīl*), and turban (*ʿimāma*) (Hilāl al-Sābi', *Ta'rīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176).

With the rise of the bourgeoisie during the ʿAbbāsid period and the dissemination of the polite educational ideal of *adab* [*q.v.*] by the Persian secretarial class, many new garments and fabrics came into use, and people became ever more fashion-minded. The early aversion from silks and satins was forgotten or ignored by all but a pious few, and only the most ascetic and the poor wore the rough woollen robe known as the *khirḳa* [*q.v.*] (the latter use of this word to designate "rag" or "dishcloth" is instructive). Another wool garment worn only by the very poor was the sleeved tunic known as *midraʿa*. Cultured gentlemen and ladies, on the other hand, were very much concerned with their appearance. The *adīb* al-Washshā' [*q.v.*] (d. 325/936) devoted several chapters of his book *On elegance and elegant people* (*K. al-Muwashshā aw al-ẓarf wa 'l-ẓurafā'*, ed. Brünnow, Leiden 1886; ed. cited here is that of Cairo 1362/1953) to describing the types of clothing worn by his contemporaries, as well as the acceptable canons of taste. The fashionable man, according to al-Washshā', outfitted himself in several layers of clothing, beginning with a fine undershirt (*ghilāla*), over which was worn the heavier, lined (*mubaṭṭan*) *ḳamīṣ*. Both of these ought to be of fine linen, such as Dabīḳī or Djannābī (produced in Egypt and Fārs, respectively). Over these tunics was worn a lined robe (*durrāʿa*) or *djubba* of linen, silk, or *mulḥam* (a fabric with a silk warp and a woof of some other stuff). Finally, when going out, the fashion plate would drape over these his *ridā'* or another cloak known as *miṭraf* (also *muṭraf*) which had decorative borders at each end (*ṭaraf*) and cover his head, or turban rather, with a *ṭaylasān*, which at this time was probably a cowl (*K. al-Muwashshā*, 160 f.). Making a good appearance also meant not wearing unpleasant or clashing colours, dirty clothes, or clothes perfumed like those of slave girls. Shoes and sandals could be of any of a number of leathers, colours, and designs; and it was permissible to wear shoes in such colour combinations as black and red and yellow and black (*ibid.*, 161). The wearing of stockings (*djawrab*, from Pers. *gūrab*), a fashion adopted from the Persians, was by now well-established.

Al-Washshā' does not provide as much detail in his chapter on female attire which is devoted specifically to "those clothes which differ from those of fashionable men". The elegant woman's lingerie consisted of a smoky-grey coloured *ghilāla* and *sirwāl*. White garments of any kind—except for the *sirwāl*—were considered masculine and were to be avoided. Exactly what kind of dress was worn over the undergarments at this time is not specified. Al-Washshā' does mention, however, that it should be wide-sleeved (*akmām maftūḥa*) and that the collar should have a drawstring (*wa 'l-djurrubānāt al-mukhāniḳiyya*). For her wraps, the woman was to wear a Rashīdī or a Ṭabarī *ridā'* (from Rosetta and Ṭabaristān, respectively). She might then totally envelop herself in a Khurasānī *izār* or *mulḥam*. On her head she wore a black *miʿdjar*, which seems to have been the female equivalent of the *ʿimāma* both in form and use. Black was particularly stylish at this time. The *miʿdjar* was worn together with a face veil (*miḳnaʿa* or *miḳnaʿ*). The Nīshāpūr *miḳnaʿa* was held in particular esteem (*ibid.*, 163 f.).

Persian cultural influences became more pronounced under the ʿAbbāsids. In addition to those garments of Persian provenance already mentioned (*sirwāl* and *djawrab*), there was introduced at this time the distinctive, tall, conical Persian hat called the *ḳalansuwa ṭawīla* or simply *ṭawīla* (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'* vi, 59). This hat was also called *danniyya* because of its resemblance to a long amphora-like wine jar known as a *dann* (*ibid.*, i, 373, and *Aghānī*[1] x, 123). The top of the *ṭawīla* was pointed (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 377 = § 3537, where it is described as *maḥdūda*). This hat consisted of a wicker or wooden frame covered with fabric such as silk. R. Levy has suggested that it may also have been shaped like "a truncated cone worn base upwards after the fashion of the cumbrous headgear of the modern Lurs" (*Notes on costume from Arabic sources*, in *JRAS* [1935], 324); however, this suggestion is not borne out by the evidence of illuminated manuscripts. Abū Zayd of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* is frequently depicted wearing a pointed *ṭawīla* (e.g. Bibl. Nat., Paris, ms. arabe 3929, f. 69). Hārūn al-Rashīd is supposed to have worn such a hat inscribed on one side with the word *ḥādjdj* and on the other with *ghāzin* for the duties which he undertook on alternating years of leading the pilgrimage and the war against Byzantium (Ṭabarī, iii, 709). Another Persian garment which was introduced at this and which became extremely popular throughout the Arab world is the *khaftān*, a fine robe with sleeves that buttons down the front (the original Persian word designates a cuirass). The caliph al-Muḳtadir wore a *khaftān* of Tustarī silk brocaded with silver when he set out on his fatal march against the rebel Mu'nis in 320/932 (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 162 f.; Levy, *JRAS* [1935], 331-2, and the sources cited by both). Since the later Middle Ages, the form *ḳafṭān* (variant *ḳufṭān*) has been used exclusively throughout the Arabic-speaking world, due to the influence of Turkish.

Fine garments were brought to Baghdād from all over the Muslim world, as well as being imported from abroad. From India came the *fūṭa*, a long piece of sari-like cloth which served a variety of functions: as a loincloth, apron, and a variety of headgear (Stillman, *Female attire*, 214 ff.). From China during this period there came oilcloth raincloaks (*mimṭara*) (Thaʿālabī, *Laṭā'if al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1960, 221; Eng. tr. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1968, 141; Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 390). Fine garments for men in 3rd/9th century ʿIrāḳ ranged in price from 5-30 *dīnārs*, and even more (Ashtor, *Prix et salaires*, 53). However, some of the prices cited by Arab writers for fabulous garments and fabrics are clearly anecdotal, as for example, the 50,000 *dīnārs* that al-Khayzurān [*q.v.*] is reported to have paid for a piece of *washī* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* viii, 298). Still, it is quite apparent both from the literary and documentary sources that throughout

the Middle Ages clothing was very costly in comparison with the other necessities of life.

5. The Fāṭimids. Perhaps no period in the history of the Arab East was more clothes-conscious than that of the Fāṭimids. Fāṭimid pomp and ceremony exceeded anything known in Bag͟hdād, and clothing played a major part in creating the splendid effect.

The first Fāṭimid caliph in Egypt, al-Muʿizz (d. 365/975), founded a special government costume supply house known as the *dār al-kiswa* or *k͟hizānat al-kiswa* with an outlay of 600,000 *dīnārs*. An official bureau (*dīwān*) oversaw the production, storage, and distribution of costumes. Every official and functionary from the caliph down to government clerks was supplied with a ceremonial costume (*badla mawkibiyya*) for public occasions. According to al-Maḳrīzī, who is the almost exclusive source of information for Fāṭimid ceremonial costume, each person was provided with an entire wardrobe "from the turban to the underdrawers" (*K͟hiṭaṭ* ii, 409). The *k͟hizāna* provided different weight clothes for summer and winter. A complete costume (*badla mukmala*) could consist of as many as a dozen articles, most of which have been mentioned in the preceding sections.

Naturally, these ceremonial costumes were made of the most costly fabrics. The most popular were *ḥarīr* (fine silk), *sūsī, dabīḳī, s͟harāb, dimyāṭī* (all linens), *k͟husrawānī* (kingly brocade), and *siḳlāṭūn* (siglaton). Most of the ceremonial costumes were white and embroidered with gold and silver threads in accordance with the official Fāṭimid imagery of luminous splendour and divine light. The selection of the caliphal costume was itself a ritualised event before every holiday.

Each rank and office was distinguished by its costume. The most outstanding item of the caliph's attire was his enormous turban which consisted of a cap (*s͟hās͟hiyya*) around which was wound a *mandīl* in a fashion unique for the ruler in the shape of a myrobalan. This special manner of winding the caliphal turban was called "the winding of majesty" (*s͟haddat al-waḳār*). The entire turban was ornamented with jewels. An enormous solitaire (*yatīma*) mounted on a silk band was centred on the caliph's forehead (*K͟hiṭaṭ* i, 449). The entire headgear was called "the noble crown" (*al-tād͟j al-s͟harīf*).

The rest of the imperial retinue wore a variety of less splendid headdresses. The chief eunuchs of the court who were the *amīrs* of the palace, all wore turbans which were distinctively wound under the chin —the so-called *taḥnīk al-ʿimāma* or simply *al-ḥanak*. Thus, they were known as *al-ustād͟hūn al-muḥannakūn*. The caliph al-ʿAzīz became the first ruler to appear with the *ḥanak* (*K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 285) and eventually so did the vizier and the *amīrs* (*ibid*., i, 440, 449). This fashion was introduced into the east by the Fāṭimids from the Mag͟hrib, where it still may be seen, especially in southern Algeria and Morocco.

Another head covering which is first mentioned during this period is the *kalawta* or *kalūta* (cf. Lat. *calautica*, Fr. *calotte*, Pers. *galūta*) which was a kind of cap (*K͟hiṭaṭ*, i, 413). It was to become a standard item in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (see e.g. al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͟hā*, iv, 39, 52-3; al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 98).

The various modern studies dealing with Fāṭimid ceremonies draw mainly upon al-Maḳrīzī and to a lesser extent, on al-Ḳalḳas͟handī and on Ibn Tag͟hrī-Birdī, all three of whom depended upon the lost work of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. See K. A. Inostrantsev, *Toryestvenii viezd Fatimidiskikh k͟halifov* ("The solemn entry of the Fāṭimid caliphs"), in *Zapiski Vost. Otdyel. Imp. Russ. Ark͟heol. Obs͟hčestva*, xvii (St. Petersburg 1904); M. Ḥ. Zakī, *Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1937; M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin: essai de comparison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi/2 (1951), 355-420; idem, *La procession du nouvel an chez les Fatimides*, in *AIEO*, x (1952), 364-98; ʿA. M. Mād͟jid, *Nuẓum al-Fāṭimiyyīn wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, ii, Cairo 1955.

6. The Geniza as a source for mediaeval Islamic attire. The Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*] manuscripts are an important and till recently, untapped source for the costume history of the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and—to a lesser extent—the Mamlūk periods. In particular, the some 750 trousseau lists from the Geniza, in combination with ancillary Geniza records, offer a wealth of information on the attire of Jewish women in mediaeval Egypt, and by extension, the attire of Muslim women as well. Information for male costume comes from commercial documents, but is by no means as extensive or as detailed.

One fact stands out clearly—that Jewish and Muslim women dressed alike during the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. The Geniza trousseau lists give every indication that the restrictive laws of *g͟hiyār* were not enforced. The same garments are mentioned as in the Islamic sources. There is no limitation in the Geniza as to colour and textile, rather there is the greatest variety of hues and diversity of fabrics. Jewish women, like their Muslim counterparts (and most likely Copts as well) went veiled.

The Geniza documents show that the bourgeoisie consciously or unconsciously tried to imitate the modes and mores of the ruling class. Merchants, for example, bestowed *k͟hilaʿ* and *ṭirāz* garments upon relatives and friends. People of means wore all the precious fabrics known to us from the descriptions of the Fāṭimid ceremonies. Over sixty fabrics are mentioned in the Geniza. Of these, forty-six are known from the literary sources collected by Serjeant. Under the Fāṭimids and Ayyūbids, the mercantile class indulged itself in many types of garments. The Geniza trousseaux mention almost seventy items for women alone.

The Geniza has revealed the names and considerable data for more than two dozen garments which were hitherto unknown or only mentioned in isolated literary sources without any explanation or description. Among these are the *d͟jūkāniyya* and *mak͟htūma*, both fine dresses; the *ḳad͟jīd͟ja*, a dress which first appears in late Ayyūbid trousseaux and became popular in Mamlūk times, after which it seems to have disappeared; the *ʿaḳabiyya, ʿarḍī, mukallaf*, and *radda*, all head scarves or shawls; and the *wasaṭ* and *k͟haṣī*, both belts or cummerbunds.

In addition to new names of garments and textiles, the Geniza has provided an entirely new vocabulary of patterns and adornments. Many of these designs can be correlated with those in manuscript illustrations (see Stillman, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of mediaeval female attire*, in *IJMES* vii/4 [1976], 579-89).

There is also considerable new information on garments already known. For example, the *safsārī* and the *barrakān*, both mantles, which have been in attested use in the Mag͟hrib from mediaeval to modern times (al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mus͟htāḳ*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, Leiden 1866, 59; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 125) are shown to have been worn in Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Egypt as well. No doubt they were brought

into the east after the Fāṭimid conquest in 358/969. The *badan*, a short, sleeveless tunic, worn by both sexes and usually associated with the Arabian Peninsula (Dozy, *Vêtements* 56-8), is shown to have been a fairly common article of feminine attire in mediaeval Egypt.

For the information provided by the Geniza on costume, see Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of Mediaeval Egypt*; idem, *The wardrobe of a Jewish bride in mediaeval Egypt*, in *Studies in Marriage Customs*, ed. Ben-Ami and Noy, Folklore Research Center Studies, iv (Jerusalem 1974), 297-304; eadem, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of mediaeval female attire*; eadem, *Ketūbbot ha-Genīzā ke-Māḳōr liLvūsh hā-Ishshā bīmē ha-Bēnayim*, in *Ḥikrē Genīzat Ḳāhir*, ed. M. Friedman, Tel Aviv 1980, 149-60.

7. The early Turkish dynasties: Saldjūḳs, Ayyūbids, Mamlūks. The Turkish military dynasties that controlled one part or another of the Middle East from the late 5th/11th to the early 10th/16th centuries brought with them many Central Asian styles, particularly in military and ceremonial attire. These, however, were the distinguishing costumes of the military élite. The fashion of dress of the native Arab population was little affected at first. M. V. Gorelik (*Blizhnevostočnaya miniatyura XII-XIII vv. kak etnografičesky istočnik*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografya*, clxxii/2 [1972], 37-50) has attempted to distinguish between two broad complexes of dress throughout the Arab east at this time—the western, based on the fusion of Arabian styles with those derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean prototypes, and the eastern, derived from Iranian, Turkish, and Inner Asian styles. Syria and ʿIrāḳ during this period fell generally into the latter category, while Egypt, with the exception of the military, fell into the former.

Throughout much of this period, the typical outer garment for a member of the ruling class was any one of a variety of coats (*aḳbiya*). These were worn over the usual layers of undershirts, the most common of which was the *ḳamdjūn*. The undershirt was normally hidden by the outer garments, except in southern ʿIrāḳ where it was cut long to extend below the coat above it.

The Saldjūḳs and Ayyūbids preferred the so-called Turkish coats (*al-aḳbiya al-turkiyya*), the hem of which crossed the chest in a diagonal from right to left. The Mamlūk *amīrs* wore the Tartar coats (*al-aḳbiya al-tatariyya*) with the hem crossing the opposite way. Over the coat was worn a belt of metal plaquettes (*ḥiyāṣa*) or a sash (*band*). Al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ* ii, 99) identifies the *ḥiyāṣa* with the ancient *minṭaḳa*, and states that there was a special market in Cairo (*sūḳ al-ḥawāʾiṣiyyīn*) devoted to the sale and manufacture of these belts. (For a finely preserved specimen of the *ḥiyāṣa*, see Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Pl. IX.)

For members of the upper classes, the sleeves of their coat were frequently indicative of rank and social status. The longer and more ample the sleeves, the higher the standing of the wearer.

The illustrations from *Maḳāmāt*, *K. al-Aghānī*, and *K. al-Diryāḳ* manuscripts from this period attest a wide variety of caps and turban styles. The normal headgear of the military class was a stiff cap with a triangular front. It was sometimes trimmed with fur (*sharbūsh*), and sometimes had a small kerchief bound around it to form a sort of turban (*takhfīfa*). The other most common cap was the *kalawta* which was usually yellow under the Ayyubids, yellow and red under the early Mamlūks, and later red only (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 29).

The *ḳabāʾ* and the *sharbūsh* were so much the distinctive mark of a Muslim knight that even a Crusader was prepared to wear them as a gesture of friendship to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 51-2).

Under the Mamlūks, two popular short sleeved coats were the *bughluṭāḳ* (also *bughlūṭāḳ*) and the *sallāriyya*. These were made of a variety of fabrics and frequently were lined with fur. Such a coat was sometimes worn under an ample outer robe (*faradjiyya*).

Eventually, some of the garments which were at first the mark of the military aristocracy were imitated by the middle classes. The *bughluṭāḳ*, for example, appears in several Geniza documents.

The only comprehensive study of the attire of any of the dynasties of this period is L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, where there is an extensive bibliography. Shorter, general studies include: Mayer, *al-Azyāʾ fi ʾl-ayyām al-wusṭā*, in *al-Kulliyya* (1932), 438-49; idem, *Saracenic arms and armor*, in *AI*, x (1943), 1-12; M. V. Gorelik, *op. cit.* (men's dress only). ʿA. M. Mādjid, *Nuẓum dawlat salāṭīn al-Mamālīk wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, ii, Cairo 1967, 64-87, has a chapter on Mamlūk attire which, however, adds little to Mayer's work.

8. The Ottoman period (to early modern times). As far as the costume history of the region is concerned, the Ottoman conquest of the Arab East in the early 10th/16th century marked a continuation of the preceding period, rather than an abrupt change. Ceremonial and military dress remained Turkish (see below, section iv). Some Ottoman fashions were adopted by members of the urban élite, as for example, the Turkish-style *ḳafṭān* for men and the long, tightly-fitted coat known as the *yelek* for women. Turkish synonyms came into common use for certain items of clothing alongside, but not necessarily replacing, the native Arabic equivalents (e.g. *čaḳshīr* for *sirwāl* and *yashmaḳ* for *burḳuʿ*). But on the whole, Arab styles and Arabic terminology prevailed. The vestimentary system remained essentially the same.

Outside of the principal, metropolitan seats of administration, distinct regional styles predominated. These regional distinctions were of minor differences in cut (e.g. sleeves, opening for the neck, ampleness, and length) and not-so-minor differences in decorative details such as embroidery, colour, fabric pattern, fastenings, trimming, etc., rather than in the basic garments themselves. The extent of the fine details in variation in basic costumes throughout the Ottoman East in the last century is apparent from the important photograph album of Hamdy Bey and M. de Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople 1873.

Regional distinctions were—and this remains true today in those places where traditional costumes are still worn—most striking in female attire. Men's clothing was more or less uniform throughout much of the Middle East during the Ottoman period. This was due in part to the fact that men were physically and socially more mobile than women and came to have a more pan-Middle Eastern style of dress. Thus when a plate from E. W. Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (London 1836) appeared in a book on Syria with the added caption "A Syrian gentleman with pipe and inkwell, *ca.* 1860", the inaccuracy was only minor.

9. The last one hundred years: the impact of the West on traditional Middle Eastern

dress. The ever-increasing Western economic, political, and cultural penetration into the Middle East in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century had a marked impact on the costume history of the region. Over the past hundred years a gradual abandoning of traditional, loose-flowing garments has been taking place in favour of Western tailored clothes. The transition was slow at first and did not take place in every place and among all groups at the same time.

The first group in the Arab East who began in large numbers to abandon traditional attire were the westernised Christian and Jewish protégés of the foreign powers. The civil emancipation of non-Muslims during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period and the expansion of missionary schools and European businesses accelerated the process.

Most Christian and Jewish women abandoned the veil a full generation or more before their Muslim counterparts. One factor which facilitated their abandoning the veil so much earlier was that the segregation of women in the non-Muslim communities was never as strict as it was among Muslims, nor was the non-Muslims' style of veiling quite as total even in the preceding centuries (see e.g. Y. K. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, in *Aspects of Jewish folklore*, ed. D. Noy, Cambridge, Mass. 1979).

By the end of the 19th century, the "to veil or not to veil" question had become one of the burning issues for modernist reformers such as Ḳāsim Amīn (see his *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, Cairo 1901). It also became a burning issue for the small but growing Egyptian feminist movement. Hudā Shaʿrāwī, the famous Egyptian feminist, is supposed to have solemnly cast her veil into the Mediterranean as she returned home in 1923 from a women's congress in Rome (A. H. Hourani, *The vanishing veil: a challenge to the old order*, in *UNESCO Courier* [January 1956], 37). Her symbolic action was soon followed by many upper and upper-middle class women, but not by women of the lower-middle class, which remained the last stronghold of tradition (see Y. K. Stillman, *Attitudes toward women in traditional Near Eastern societies*, in *S. D. Goitein Festschrift*, i, ed. S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami and N. A. Stillman, English-language volume, Jerusalem 1981, 345-60).

Muslim men abandoned traditional attire more rapidly than Muslim women. This is due to the male's greater physical and social mobility, as noted above. The first Muslim men to adopt the European mode of dress were members of the bureaucracy and the upper class who were in direct contact with westerners and who, in many cases, had visited Europe. Such individuals were referred to as "westernisers" (Ar. *mutafarnadjūn*) and "westernised gentry" (Turk. *alafranga čelebiler*). Throughout the 19th century they remained a small minority. However, after the First World War the change became rapid (see e.g. R. Tresse, *L'évolution du costume des citadins syrolibanais depuis un siècle*, in *La Géographie*, lxx [1938], 1-16, 76-82; idem, *L'évolution du costume des citadines en Syrie depuis le XIXe siècle*, in *La Géographie*, lxxi-lxxii [1939], 257-71, 29-40).

One aspect of the male wardrobe that has resisted change even where the transition to Western attire has been more or less complete is the headgear. It is still common to see men dressed in a Western suit, wearing a *ṭāḳiyya*, a *tarbūsh*, or a *kāfiyya*. This is due to the traditional importance of covering the head and to the fact that the headcovering (originally the turban) was considered a badge of Islam. The *kāfiyya*, which was in the last century most commonly worn by Bedouin and peasants in many parts of the Middle East, has in recent years taken on a nationalist connotation comparable to that of the fez in Ottoman Turkey under the Young Turks. The chequered *kāfiyya* is today the badge of the Palestinian commandoes (see Y. K. Stillman, *Palestinian costume and jewelry*, Albuquerque 1979, 16). The traditional *ʿimāma* is now worn almost exclusively by members of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the Middle East (although in the Maghrib, and in particular in Morocco, it is still commonly worn even by men who have adopted Western dress. See below, section ii.

Outside the major cities, traditional costumes are still commonly worn, but they are loosing ground rapidly in many places. Even among some Bedouin, European garments are gradually displacing traditional clothing (see L. Stein, *Beduinen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* [1962], 41-2). The one area which has successfully maintained its traditional style of dress in all levels of society is the Arabian Peninsula.

Any sort of country-by-country survey of the traditional garments still worn—or worn until recently—in the Arab East would be outside the scope of this article. Western travellers to the Middle East over the past two-and-a-half centuries have provided lengthy and detailed descriptions of native costumes. In addition to these, there have appeared in recent years a number of scholarly monographs on various aspects of Middle Eastern costume (see *Bibl.*).

What follows is the alphabetical glossary of some of the more common articles of clothing still worn in the Arab East in the 20th century:

GLOSSARY

ʿabāʾ, *ʿabāʾa*: coat, shoulder mantle, worn by both sexes (Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria-Palestine)

ʿaḳāl: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, worn by men (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ʿantarī: a lined vest ranging from short to knee length, worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ʿaraḳiyya: skull cap, often embroidered, worn by both sexes by itself or under the head-dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.); called *ʿaraḳčīn* in ʿIrāḳ

ʿaṣba: folded scarf worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

bābūdj, *bābūsh*: oriental slippers of soft leather (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

badan: cotton or silk man's gown (Ar. Pen.)

banish, *banīsh*: a wide-sleeved man's coat (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

bisht: mantle, jacket, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

brīm: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, syn. with *ʿaḳāl* (Syr.-Pal.); binding for loin cloth, syn. with *ḥakw* (Ar. Pen.)

burd, *burda*: heavy woollen wrap usually worn by men (Ar. Pen., Eg.)

burnus: woollen hooded cloak worn by men, imported from the Maghrib (Eg.)

burḳuʿ: woman's face veil (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

būsh: variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in N. Syria (Syr.-Pal.)

būshī, *pūshī*: black face veil worn by women (Ir.)

čaḳshir, *shaḳshir*: Turkish-style pantaloons, underdrawers, worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

dāmir: a woman's jacket with short sleeves, syn. with *taḳṣīra* (Syr.-Pal.)

diffiyya: a heavy winter cloak for men (Eg.)

dilḳ: the patched garment of Ṣūfīs, also worn by clowns (Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

djallābiyya: the loose body shirt still commonly worn by men in Egypt.
djillāya: embroidered *djubba*, a wedding costume may be a dress or a coat depending upon the region, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.); a man's marriage *ḳaftān* (Yemen)
djubba: a coat-like outer garment worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
djūkh, djūkha: a wide-sleeved coat worn by men (Syr.-Pal.)
durrāʿa: a woman's outer coat, open in front, sometimes syn. with *djubba* (Syr.-Pal.)
faradjiyya: a long-sleeved man's robe (Eg.)
farmaliyya: a woman's dress (Syr.-Pal.)
farūdiyya: a square kerchief bound around the cap by women (Eg.)
fās: the Turkish fez, synonym for the red *ṭarbūsh* (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
fustān: a woman's dress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
fūṭa: embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men (Ir.)
ghabānī, ghabāniyya: head scarf with an embroidered pattern of lozenges, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
ghudfa: large head shawl for women, worn in the Hebron area (Syr.-Pal.)
ḥabara: dark, silky enveloping outer wrap for women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
ḥakw: binding for waist wrapper worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen.)
ḥiyāṣa: cloth belt with silver plaque in the centre, worn by men (Syr.-Pal.)
ḥizām: a belt or sash worn about the waist by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
ḥulalliyya: a large dark wrap wound around the body with the upper parts pulled down over the shoulders and secured with pins (Eg.)
iḥdāda: a white *kāfiyya* worn in summer (Syr.-Pal.)
ʿiṣāba: headband worn by women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
ishdād: woven, woollen belt, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
itb: a loose gown worn by women (Ar. Pen.)
izār: a large, enveloping body wrap for women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
kāfiyya, kūfiyya: head scarf worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
ḳaftān, ḳuftān: ample, full-length robe, buttoned down the front, with long sleeves, worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
kamar: a broad belt often red in colour, worn by men (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
ḳamīṣ, ḳamīṣa: shirt-like dress worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
khalaḳa: a woman's dress (Ar. Pen., Syr.-Pal.)
khalwātiyya: a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Ḥasbaya (Syr.-Pal.)
khirḳa: veil, head scarf, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.); also syn. with *dilḳ* of Ṣūfīs
khuff: short boots or leather outer socks (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
khumr: a man's belt (Ir.)
kibr: a variety of *thawb* (Syr.-Pal.)
kubrān: a jacket with long, wide sleeves, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
ḳumbāz: overgarment, gown, made of striped silk, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
ḳurṣ, ḳirṣ: a metallic cap or crown, often studded with jewels, worn on top of a woman's headdress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
laffa: man's turban cloth (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
lafāʾif: long bands of cloth attached to a hat and in which woman's hair is wrapped (Syr.-Pal.)
lāsa: a woman's head scarf of white silk or cotton net into which flat metal strips have been decoratively hammered (Syr.-Pal.)
libās: pants, underpants, worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
libda, labbāda: a felt cap worn by men (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
madraḳa: a variety of *thawb* worn by Jordanian women (Syr.-Pal.)
makrūna: head scarf worn by Bedouin women (Ar. Pen.)
mandīl: a woman's head scarf, veil (Syr.-Pal.); an embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men (Ir.)
maʿraḳa: syn. with *ʿaraḳiyya* (Ar. Pen.)
markūb: pointed men's shoes of thick red morocco (Eg.)
mashla: a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Baghdad (Ir.)
mast: long stocking of soft, yellow leather, inner shoe worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
masūmī: a fine *ʿabāʾ* of white wool for men, produced in Baghdad (Ir.)
mazz, mazd, mizz: syn. with *mast* (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
milḥafa: a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
minshafa: a large, white head veil for women (Syr.-Pal.)
mintiyān: a jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
muḍarrabiyya: a peasant woman's jacket (Syr.-Pal.)
muḳla: a very wide turban worn by *ʿulamāʾ* (Eg.)
mulāʾa: a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
musayyaḥa: a silk *kāfiyya* (Syr.-Pal.)
naʿl: a general word for shoe used throughout the Middle East
sabla: a loose gown worn by women, synonymous with *thawb* (Eg.)
ṣaffa: a small embroidered bonnet trimmed with coins, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.)
sākw: a woollen or velvet coat for women (Syr.-Pal.)
salṭa: a jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)
shabābliḳiyya: a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Ḥasbaya (Syr.-Pal.)
shadda: a man's leather belt (Syr.-Pal.)
shāl: a woman's shawl, usually of wool (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
shalwār: synonymous with *sirwāl* (Ir.)
shambar: a large veil common to the Hebron area and southern Palestine
shaʿriyya: a black face veil of goat's wool or horse hair, worn by women (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
shāsh: the winding cloth of a turban (Syr.-Pal.)
shāshiyya: a variety of *ṭarbūsh* (Eg.); a skull cap worn beneath the *ṭarbūsh* (Syr.-Pal.)
shaṭwa: Bethlehem married woman's hat
shawdar, shawdhar: a black, enveloping outer wrap for women (Ar. Pen., Ir.)
shintiyān: woman's pants or pantaloons (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)
shutfa: a head scarf of Bedouin women (Ar. Pen., Syr.-Pal.)
shuwayḥī, shuwayḥiyya: woman's belt, usually woven of goat's hair, quite ornate, worn mainly in Southern Palestine
ṣidriyya: sleeveless vest worn by both sexes (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
ṣimāda: bonnet-like hat trimmed with coins most common to women of Ramallah (Syr.-Pal.); a man's headcloth (Ir.)
ṣudayra: a short, sleeveless vest, worn by men (Eg.)
ṭāḳyya: the common skull cap worn by both sexes alone or under the head dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

taḳṣīra: short-sleeved jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ṭanṭūr, ṭarṭūr: a high conical cap resembling a mitre, worn by Ṣūfīs (Eg., Syr.-Pal.); a high pointed woman's headdress of wood, horn, or metal, once very common among the Druze (Syr.-Pal.)

tarbiʿa: a woman's head scarf or veil (Syr.-Pal.)

ṭarḥa: a large, dark head veil that hangs all the way down the back, worn by women (Eg.)

thawb: basic tunic worn by both sexes throughout the Middle East; a woman's dress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

tikka: draw-string for *sirwāl*, used throughout the Middle East

wuḳā, wuḳāya, awḳā: terms designating a variety of women's bonnets, usually decorated with coins (Syr.-Pal.)

yashmaḳ: Turkish-style veil, frequently syn. with *burḳuʿ* (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

yelek: a woman's long coat, tightly fitting (Eg., Syr.-Pal.); a long vest worn by both sexes (Ir.)

zunnār: a belt, usually made of a folded scarf, worn by both men and women (Syr.-Pal.)

Bibliography: For a detailed bibliography on Middle Eastern costume that includes both travel and scholarly literature, see Y. K. Stillman, *Palestinian costume and jewelry*, Albuquerque 1979, 130-8; in addition: R. Arié, *Notes sur le costume en Égypte dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle*, in *REI*, xi (1968), 201-13; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827; idem, *Egypt and Palestine*, New York 1838; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822; idem, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1830; idem, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829; M. Chehab, *Le costume au Liban*, in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, vi, no. 6 (1942-3), 47-79 (useful historical survey); G. Cyr, *Lebanese and Syrian costume*, Beirut, n.d.; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 7 vols., repr. Hildesheim 1964 (vol. v is a basic source for information on costume); W. al-Djādir, *al-Malābis al-shaʿbiyya fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Silsilat al-Funūn, i, Baghdād n.d. (valuable study, with good sketches); W. A. Fairservis, *Costumes of the East*, Riverside, Conn. 1971 (a popular introduction, but still useful for the scholar); M. C. Keatinge, *Costumes of the Levant*, Beirut 1955; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, (contains some of the most detailed descriptions of traditional costumes to be found anywhere, fine engravings); J. Lecerf, *La crise vestimentaire d'après-guerre en Syrie d'après la littérature populaire*, in *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, Renseignements coloniaux*, xlviii (1938), 45-7; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Kais. Akad. der Wiss., Ethnol. Reise, iii (Vienna 1908); L. Stein, *Abdallah bei den Beduinen*, Leipzig 1964; R. Stein, *Frauen im Irak*, in *Mitteil. aus dem Mus. für Völkerkunde*, Leipzig 1962 (superficial); M. Tilke, *Oriental costumes*, London 1922 (a fundamental study); idem, *Kostümschnitte und Gewandformen*, Tübingen 1948. (Y. K. STILLMAN)

ii. — THE MUSLIM WEST

The Muslim West, which in the Middle Ages included Spain and Sicily as well as North Africa, belongs generally to the Arabo-Mediterranean vestimentary system, whose common unifying factors are rectangular tunics and loose outer wraps. Within this system, however, there has always been a great deal of regional, ethnic, and socio-economic variation. The Maghrib has been noted since the time of the Arab conquest in the second half of the 1st/7th century for its own particular styles in dress, as in other aspects of material culture. The reasons for this can be conveniently summarised as follows: (1) the physical distance of the Maghrib from the Muslim-Arab heartlands; (2) the indigenous Berber element, which always remained strong; (3) in the case of Spain, the large native Iberian population and the propinquity of Christian territory; (4) the absence of the Persian *kātib* class; and (5) the very late arrival of the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria (and their total absence from Morocco).

Since much of the information concerning mediaeval Arab costume—nomenclature, style, customs and institutions—applies to the Maghribī centres of urban culture in the Middle Ages, this article will deal only briefly with this period, concentrating on the uniquely Maghribī aspects of its costume history. Most of the article will deal with the period extending from the later Middle Ages to modern times, or approximately the last 700 years, which, it should be pointed out, has been the subject of more study than that devoted to Middle Eastern costume history for all periods combined. A glossary and an extensive bibliography by country follow at the end.

1. Pre-Islamic foundations of Maghribī costume. When the Arabs conquered North Africa, Punic and Byzantine influences were still alive in the cities and towns. The countryside may also have had some Punic elements, but was overwhelmingly—if not exclusively—Berber. Even in Classical times, North Africa was noted for its distinctive style of dress. Greek and Roman authors considered the natives to be barbarians because they wore only an animal skin draped over the left shoulder covering the front and back. Garments of soft leather reminiscent of *filālī*, the soft leather from goatskin (which in European languages is called morocco, maroquin, etc.) were also mentioned as being worn, and indeed, some archaeological remnants have been found (see S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1927, 22-38, where numerous sources are cited). Both this simple style of draping and the use of leather garments continued among the Berbers well into modern times.

The most striking feature of North African clothing in Roman eyes was the flowing, unbelted tunic. Roman and Byzantine sources mention the uncinched tunic frequently and in the same attributive way that they note the trousers of the European and Asiatic barbarians. Thus, for example, Virgil speaks of *hic nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros* (*Aeneid*, viii, 724), and Corippus, the 6th-century poet of the Byzantine reconquest, says even more explicitly: *Nec tunicae manicis ornant sua brachia Mauri/Insita non ullis stringuntur cingula bullis/ Distinctique ...* (*Johannidos*, ii, 130-2). The basic Maghribī tunics such as the Tunisian *ḳmadjdja*, the Algerian *ʿabāya*, and the Moroccan *gandūra* all fit this type. Though ample and uncinched, the tunics of the pre-Islamic period seemed to have been short, not falling below the thigh. Similar short, simple garments were common in Berber areas such as the Moroccan Rīf and the Algerian Mzāb into the early 20th century.

Another distinctive feature of North African attire which continued to be a hallmark of Maghribī style in the Islamic period is the hooded cloak, called *burnus* (*bərnūs*) in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and *səlham* and *akhnīf* and less commonly *bərnūs* in Morocco. Gsell (*op. cit.*, p. vi, 24-6) sees the origin of the *burnus* in the *sagum*, the simple wool cloak worn by the

Roman legionnaire. E. F. Gauthier (*Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs*, repr. Paris 1952, 148 f.) point to an even more similar garment, the *paenula*, a travelling cloak to which a hood (*cucullus*) was generally attached. Philologically, the word *burnus* is probably derived from Greek and Latin *birrus* (S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 50 f., where an interesting connection is made with *sagum* on p. 51, n. 2). The term *burnus* existed in early Islamic Arabia, where it usually designated a bonnet [see LIBĀS. 1]. The North African *burnus*-cloak was palpably different. When the Arabs invaded the Maghrib, they distinguished between two great Berber groups, whom they called the Barānis and the Butr (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89 f.). W. Marçais (*Articles et conférences*, Paris 1961, 74) has suggested very plausibly—albeit with caution—that these names might reflect not genealogical or ethnic groups, but rather physical appearance; i.e., those Berbers who wore hooded garments (*barānis*), and those who wore short garments (*butr*), most likely without hoods. The ubiquity of *burnus* in the Maghrib may originally have been due to the fact that the Berbers in Antiquity and for the first few centuries under Islam wore no caps or headcloths (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89; *wa-ruʾūsuhum fi 'l-ghālib ḥāsira*). Furthermore, some Berbers shaved all or part of the head (Gsell, *op. cit.*, 16-18, for classical sources; cf. also Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89; *wa-rubbamā yataʿāhadūnahā bi 'l-ḥalḳ*).

One last distinctive feature that may be traced back to pre-Islamic times is the large wrapping cloth used as an outer garment by both men and women (albeit in quite different ways) from Libya to Morocco. This wrap which is known by various names, the most common in Arabic being *ḥāʾik, ksāʾ*, and *barrakān*, and in Berber *aʿaban, akhuṣi, afaggu, taḥaykt*, and many others. Gsell suggests that this primitive garment has its origins in two wraps commonly worn in Roman North Africa, the *lodix* and the *stragula* (*op. cit.*, 29, n. 6). The poet Corippus speaks of the rough wrap which the natives of North Africa wore thrown over the shoulder and enveloping the arms (*Johannidos*, ii, 134 f.: *Horrida substrictus dependens stragula membris/Ex umeris demissa iacet* . . .). Ibn Khaldūn also says that most Berbers wrap themselves with a *kisāʾ* that is thrown over the shoulder (*ʿIbar*, vi, 89: *yashtamilūna 'l-ṣammāʾ bi 'l-aksiya*). Later European travellers also took note of this rather incommodious fashion (see G. Marçais, *Costume d'Alger*, 25-30, where numerous sources are cited). In Islamic times, the ancient Berber wrap came to be associated with its Arabian counterparts, the *izār, milḥafa*, etc. Insofar as it was used as a veil for women, it overlapped with eastern fashions. However, it seems clear from the sources and from the modern witness that the Maghribī man's was, and remained, quite different in the way it was draped.

2. Maghribī costume during the early and high Middle Ages. The Arabs looked upon the Maghrib as a colonial territory even more than they did the conquered lands of the Middle East. There was almost nothing in the cultures of North Africa or Spain to command even their grudging respect or to stimulate a desire for emulation. They therefore adopted little or nothing from the native costume during the first century or so of their rule. The fashion of the urban élite was Arab. A child's tunic dating back to the earliest Islamic period which is now in the possession of the Bardo Museum in Tunis is very similar to garments from the same time in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (see M. Fendri, *Un vêtement islamique ancien au Musée du Bardo*, in *Africa*, ii [1967-8], 241-71). The 4th/10th-century geographer al-Muḳaddasī (239) observed that Maghribīs dressed in the Egyptian fashion (*wa-bi 'l-Maghrib rusūmuhum miṣriyya*—that *rusūm* here refers to custom in dress is clear from the continuation of the text). The many references to clothing in Ifrīḳiya collected by H. R. Idris for the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries correlate fairly well with what is known of Middle Eastern attire during that period (Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, ii, 594-600). The only items that were distinctly Maghribī were the *kisāʾ*, the *kurziyya* (from Berb. *takerzit*; see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 380-2) which was a simple winding cloth for the head, and *aḳrāḳ* (sing. *ḳurḳ*), native cork-soled sandals (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 362 f.; idem, *Suppl.*, ii, 334; Idris, *op. cit.*, 597; cf. Sp. *alcorque*). According to al-Muḳaddasī (*op. cit.*, 239), even the traditional Arab *ridāʾ* was worn draped like a *kisāʾ* or *burnus*.

The early Umayyad *amīrs* in Spain tried as best they could to maintain the material culture of Syria, and it may be safely assumed that the dress of the small Arab élite and their epigones (*mustaʿribūn*) remained generally faithful to the styles of the Damascus caliphate. The newer Islamic styles with their oriental influences became the fashion of the upper classes when the ʿIrāḳī singer Ziryāb [*q.v.*] arrived at the court of Cordova in 207/822, where he established himself as the Andalusian Petronius. He was not only the *arbiter elegantiarum* in regard to the cut, colour, and fabric of clothes, but established the proper season for each outfit (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 88, citing Ibn Ḥayyān). It was he who established the *djubba* as the standard robe for both sexes. One eastern fashion which only took limited root in Spain was the wearing of the turban (*ʿimāma*), which was reserved mainly for the *fuḳahāʾ*. Bare heads or heads crowned with a red or green wool cap (*ghifāra*) were commonplace for much of the Spanish population of all classes. Most of the figures that appear in the genre scenes on carved ivory pyxes from Umayyad Spain appear to be bareheaded (see e.g. E. Kühnel, *Islamic art and architecture*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1966, Pl. 12a; W. M. Watt and P. Cachia, *A history of Islamic Spain*, Edinburgh 1965, Pls. 5 and 7). The *ḳalansuwa* and the *ṭaylasān* were also in vogue after the arrival of Ziryāb (for details on both, see LIBĀS, section 1). The last ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo increased his already great unpopularity in 399/1009 by ordering courtiers to wear turbans in the style worn by the Berber military (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 48). The style was soon abandoned when two months later his rule came to its violent end.

There was with the passage of time considerable intermingling of styles between the Christian North and the Muslim South. The Spanish peasant's frock, *sayo*, in Ar. *shāya* (from Lat. *sagum*) was commonly worn in the countryside (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 425; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 212 f.). Soldiers wore a scarlet cape (*ḳabāʾ*) similar to that worn in Christian territory (Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 429; Dozy, *op. cit.*, 360; obviously derived from Sp. *capo* or *capa* and not from Pers. *ḳabā*, concerning which see LIBĀS, sections 1 and 3). Oriental fashion progesssively gave way—perhaps as a partial corollary to the Reconquista—to a uniquely Andalusian style or cut (*tafṣīl*). By the 7th/13th century, an Easterner in the turban and robes of the Levant was regarded as a curiosity (Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 492).

It is interesting to note that although Muslim

women in Spain wore the various veils used in the Middle East, such as the *khimār*, *burḳuʿ*, *miḳnaʿa*, and *izār* (see e.g. H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en Arabe classique au XIe siècle*², Paris 1953, 179, 180, 329), they were not always too strict about it. The poet al-Ramādī saw the beautiful Khalwa at the Bāb al-ʿAṭṭārīn, a popular gathering place for women in Cordova, and fell in love with her at first sight. Although she was unveiled, he did not know whether she was slave or free (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo n.d., 22 f.). The roguish Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*] tells of a married Berber woman he met and with whom he had an affair. She is described as wearing only a garland on her head (J. T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974, 265). Jurists complain of the heretical innovation among the common people whereby a man allows his wife or fiancée to unveil in front of someone other than an immediate male relative (Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, *Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥisba wa 'l-muḥtasib*, tr. R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i [1960], 32). This laxity may have been due to the influence of the large non-Muslim population or of the considerable Berber element, or both. Even women who were normally veiled would bare their faces when in mourning (see e.g. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 103; also Ibn ʿAbdūn, *Risāla fi 'l-ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-ḥisba*, tr. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XIIe siècle*, Paris 1947, 59, para. 53).

3. The Berber Empires and their successor states. Middle Eastern influences in Maghribī dress — as in other aspects of material culture—declined greatly from the late 5th/11th century onward. Indigenous Berber and Spanish influences became stronger than ever. The major factors in the increasing "Berberisation" and "Andalusianisation" were the rise of extensive Berber empires that united the Maghrib with what remained of Muslim Spain. This occurred at a time of growing isolation, when the Arab East was coming under the rule of Turkish military régimes with their own language, customs, and style of dress [see LIBĀS, section 1] and when the arteries of communication between Maghrib and Mashriḳ, though by no means cut, were not as smooth as in preceding centuries, because of the war, instability, and the overall decline of Muslim sea power. Lastly, the urban centres of high culture in Ifrīḳiya which had set the fashion for much of North Africa were in ruins after the invasion of the Banū Hilāl Bedouin. Further west, Morocco was a centre of power and Spain a centre of culture. Once united, they would become the focal point of style for the rest of the Maghrib.

The rise of the Almoravids paralleled in a sense a contemporary phenomenon in the East. They were a non-Arab ruling élite who wore their own distinguishing uniform. They dressed in Saharan Berber fashion, and are described as being untouched by Mediterranean civilisation (al-Bakrī, *K. al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 164 f.; also Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 181). The main feature setting the Almoravids apart from their subjects was their face veil (*lithām* [*q.v.*], which masked the lower half of their face), hence their nickname of *al-mulaththamūn*. Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, vi, 197 f.) notes that many Saharan people were *mulaththamūn* even in his own day. The style was essentially the same as that of the modern Tuaregs. Almoravid dress was not for the subject population. In fact, Ibn ʿAbdūn (*op. cit.*, 61 ff., para. 56) warns against permitting even the other Berbers in the service of the Almoravids to wear the *lithām* in the streets of Seville because of the fear it struck in the population. The Almoravids also wore the *ʿimāma* and *bərnūs*. There were some Andalusians who donned these items in order to ingratiate themselves with their new masters, even though their own compatriots laughed at them (Ibn Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, in Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, p. li).

The Andalusians found little to copy from the Almoravids. However, the latter found a great deal worthy of emulation in Spanish civilisation. Under Almoravid rule, Andalusian culture spread into Morocco together with, certainly, Andalusian fashions. This movement of styles across the Straits of Gibraltar mainly from north to south would continue under the Almohads and in varying degrees under their successors.

The rise of the Almohads had a more direct and lasting influence on Maghribī costume history. The Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's [*q.v.*] puritanism extended to matters of dress. His biographer al-Baydhaḳ relates that on his return home from the East, the Mahdī upbraided the people of Bidjāya for wearing sandals with gilded laces (*al-aḳrāḳ al-zarrāriyya*) and turbans not in the Muslim fashion (*ʿamāʾim al-djāhiliyya*), and for men wearing *futūḥiyyāt*, which was apparently a tunic normally for women (*Taʾrīkh al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, ed. in Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 52, Ar. text). The prudish Mahdī had to cover his face when passing adorned and unveiled female *laban* vendors in the streets of Tlemcen (*ibid.*, 61). His full wrath was heaped upon the Almohad rulers themselves. In the Friday mosque of Marrakesh, he called the veiled *amīr* and his retinue "veiled slavegirls" (*ibid.*, 68; *djawārī munaḳḳabāt*). When he encountered the princess al-Ṣūra unveiled as was customary among Almoravid women, he reprimanded her so severely that she went crying to her brother the *amīr* (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 227).

Like all Berbers, the Almohads wore the *burnus* (also *burnūs*) and the *kisāʾ* (al-Baydhaḳ, *op. cit.*, 72 f.). They normally wore the form of turban known as *kurziyya* (*ibid.*, 81). Under the Ḥafṣids, the descendants of the great Almohad families wore the *ṭaylasān* with the ends criss-crossed in front like the Arabic letters *lām-alif* (R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1947, ii, 278. It was not long before the early Almohad simplicity in dress gave way to the luxuries of al-Andalus. They bestowed magnificent robes of honour (*khilaʿ saniyya*) upon their favourites (al-Marrākushī, *K. al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1881, 175, 184, 230).

From the Almohad period onwards, veiling for women was more strictly observed throughout North Africa and Muslim Spain. The Almohads also instituted one of the most unusual applications of the laws of *ghiyār* [*q.v.*]. Suspecting the sincerity of the large number of Jews who had converted to Islam under duress, the caliph Abū Yūsuf ordered that all these neophytes should wear distinguishing clothing consisting of blue-black garments (*thiyāb kuḥliyya*) with exaggeratedly wide sleeves (*akmām mufriṭat al-saʿa*) which reached to the ground, and ludicrous caps (*kalawtāt ʿalā ashnaʿ ṣūra*) that resembled pack saddles (*ka-annahā 'l-barādiʿ*) which extended below the ears (al-Marrākushī, *op. cit.*, 223). His son and successor Abū ʿAbd Allāh changed the uniform to yellow garments and yellow turbans (*ibid.*). It may be considered part of the Almohad heritage that in Morocco throughout the later Middle Ages and until modern times, the dress code for Jews was one of the most strictly applied in the Muslim world (see N. A.

Stillman, *The Jews of Arab lands*, Philadelphia 1979, 83, 304, 312, 367).

There were no great changes in Maghribī fashion with the passing of the Almohads. The Ḥafṣids in Tunisia, the Zayyānids in Algeria, and the Marīnids in Morocco were all in a sense successors rather than supplanters of the Almohads. The information on Tunisian dress culled by Brunschvig (*Ḥafṣides*, ii, 276-82) correlates well with what is known from the preceding period. Local names for special varieties of garments appear more frequently now, as for example, *barrakān*, the heavy wrap for men and the *safsāri*, the light wrap for women. Both are mentioned as being commonly worn in Tunisia (*ibid.*, 276, 280), and both are known from earlier centuries as well (see Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt*, 42 f., 62 f.). Leo Africanus's [*q.v.*] description of clothing worn in Marīnid Fez also shows considerable continuity in the general outlines (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 207 f.). He does note that the learned doctors and gentlemen wore jackets with large sleeves like upper-class Venetians. He also mentions that women's trousers for outdoor covered the entire leg. He further notes that the latter are always veiled with a large wrap covering the head and the entire body (*ḥāʾik*) as well as with a face veil (*lithām*) covering all but the eyes (*ibid.*, 208).

Clothes are mentioned by the Marīnid historian Ibn Aḥmar (*Rawḍat al-nisrīn fī dawlat Banī Marīn*, Rabat 1382/1962, 15) in connection with the popular Moroccan belief in *baraka*, the blessedness of a charismatic individual. The Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Maḥyū was considered by the Zanāta to be a possessor of *baraka* and a *mudjāb al-duʿāʾ* (one whose prayers are answered). His *ḳalansuwa* and *sarāwīl* would be sent to women in difficult labour to ease the birth.

With the passing of the Almohads, the Muslims of Spain abandoned the turbans they had briefly worn (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 234). Multi-coloured garments were popular. The wealthy wore garments of the fine gilded silk (*al-washy al-mudhahhab*) produced in Almeria, Murcia, and Malaga or special silken clothes (*al-libās al-muḥarrar*) called *mulabbad mukhaṭṭam* ("felted, checked") made in Granada and Basta (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 123). R. Arié has noted that fashions of the neighbouring Christian kingdoms already influenced the mode of Andalusian dress in the early days of the Naṣrids (*L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, 382). The *sayo* (Ar. *shāya*) mentioned above was worn not only by peasants, but even by the Naṣrid monarch when out riding (*ibid.*). The *marlota* (Ar. *mallūṭa*), a sleeved outer garment whose precise details are vague, and the *capellar* (Ar. *ḳābillār*), a hooded cloak shorter than the *burnus*, were among the new fashions (*ibid.*, 386).

4. From the end of the Middle Ages to modern times. The basic outlines of Maghribī costume remained quite constant from the end of the Middle Ages up to and well into the period of colonial domination. Certain new fashion elements were brought into the region by the Turks in Ṭunisia and Algeria and by the Moriscos and Jewish refugees from Spain in these countries and Morocco as well. Most of the clothing innovations which they introduced remained particular to their own ethnic group. Thus, for example, the *djalṭīṭa* (Sp. *giraldetta*), a whirling skirt, was worn in Morocco only by Jewish and Andalusian women (see Y. K. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, in *Studies in Jewish Folklore*, ed. Talmage, Cambridge, Mass. 1980, 350, 355, l. 30). The high, brimless hats known as *ṭarṭūr* and *ṭarṭūra* in Algeria were part of the uniform of the Turkish military élite (Marçais, *Costume d'Alger*, 53-8), and as late as the 18th century, the Turkish-style *dulband* was not permitted to native North Africans (*ibid.*, 53). Nevertheless, Ottoman modes of dress did make themselves felt in the urban centres of Algeria and Tunisia. The *jaleco* (Turk. *yelek*) was very popular in Algeria, and the high, split cone, metal head piece, known as the *ṣārma*, became a general fashion for women in Algeria and Tunisia (*ibid.*, 116-119, and Pls. xxix, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv). Likewise, the *djabadūli*, or *djabadōr*, a short coat brought by Jews and Andalusians became widespread in the cities of Morocco and Algeria, and in Morocco was manufactured exclusively by Jewish tailors (see Brunot, *Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, i, 97 f.).

Most remarkable is the conservative nature of draping patterns in men's clothing, which as we have seen goes back to the world of Antiquity. Also interesting to note is the widespread use of fibulae to fasten garments. The Maghribī fibula, called *bzīma*, *khellāla*, *kitfiyya*, and in Berber *tabzimt*, *tizerzay*, and *tazerzit*, has been shown to go back to Antique prototypes (H. Camps-Fabrier, *L'origine des fibules berbères d'Afrique du Nord*, in *Mélanges Le Tourneau* = *ROMM*, nos. 13-14 [1973], 217-30). However, traditional attire is—as in the case of the Middle East—losing ground rapidly to Western dress, particularly in the major cities and towns where more than half the population now resides.

GLOSSARY

aʿaban: large outer wrap for Berber men (Mor.)
ʿabāya: a sleeveless, long overblouse for men; a sleeveless, flowing dress for women (Alg.)
ʿabrūḳ: bandana for women (S. Mor.)
akhnīf, *khnīf*: Berber cape, hooded for men, unhooded for women (S. Mor.)
ʿarrāḳiyya: skull-cap for men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
bābūshāt: flat slippers for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
bakhnūḳ: embroidered head shawl for women (Tun.)
barrakān: large enveloping outer wrap for both sexes (Lib.)
bədʿiyya: sleeveless vest for men (entire Maghr); a sleeveless *ḳafṭān* for women (Mor.)
bəlgha: flat slippers, usually pointed at the toe, but sometimes rounded, worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
bərnūs: large hooded cape for men (entire Maghr.)
bhīḳa: woman's hat (entire Maghr., but different in each country)
čāmir: body shirt for both sexes (Mor.)
dāmī: jacket for men (Alg.)
dərbāla: a vest (Lib., Tun.); an old threadbare garment (Mor.)
djābādūli, *djābādōr*: a full-length, caftan-like garment with either no buttons, or a single button in front (Mor., Alg.)
djarāʾid: a pair of men's leather leggings (Tun.)
djellāba, *djəllābiyya*, *djəllāb*: Hooded outer robe with long sleeves, originally worn by men only, now by both sexes (mainly Mor., also W. Alg.)
djubba: full-length, sack-like chemise without sleeves (Tun.)
djūkha: a long, woollen outer robe without sleeves or collar which is closed by a single button at the neck; worn by men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
dūka: a pointed bonnet for women (Tun.)

durrāʿa, dərʿa, dirra: long robe with sleeves for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
falṭīṭa, djalṭīta, djanṭīṭa: a skirt of Spanish origin worn mainly by Jewish and Andalusian women (Mor.)
faražiyya (Berb. *tafaražit*): a very light gown with a deep slit at the breast which may or may not have sleeves and is worn under the *ḳafṭān* or garment by both sexes (Mor.). It also comes in a half-length version called *nuṣṣ faražiyya*
fərdja, fradja: garment similar to the *faradjiyya* for men only (Alg., Tun.)
fərmla: vest for elderly men (Alg.)
fishtūl: shawl and headscarf for women (Mor.)
frīmla, furmayla: corselet for women (Alg.); embroidered bolero (Lib.)
fūṭa: outer wrap; loin cloth for women (entire Maghr.)
fūḳiyya: a body shirt for men worn under the *djallāba* (Mor.)
gandūra: full-length tunic with short sleeves for men (S. Mor.) and for both sexes (Alg.)
ghlāla: sleeveless outer robe for women (Mor.)
ghlīla: vest for both sexes (Alg.)
gnīdra: a light, lacy chemisette for women (Alg.)
haddūn, ahaddūn: a variety of heavy *burnus* (Mor.)
ḥāʾik, ḥāyk, taḥaykt: large outer wrap, usually white, worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḥzām: general designation for belt, especially a sash (entire Maghr.)
iburegsen, idūshsha, iherkas: all names for a simple Berber sandal (Mor.)
ikerzī: a Berber turban consisting of a white cloth wound about the head leaving the crown uncovered (Mor.)
ʿimāma: standard turban (entire Maghr.)
ʿīsāwiyya: a simple, wide tunic consisting of a hole in the centre for the head and one at each side for the arms, made of striped wool and worn by men; also a very ample blouse of strong cotton worn over other clothing (Mor.)
izār: large outer wrap for both sexes (entire Maghr.); fringed shawl worn by Jewish women (Mor.)
kabbūṭ: a coat for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḳabḳāb: wooden clogs for women (Alg. Tun.)
ḳafṭān: caftan, originally worn by men and women, now only by women (Mor., Alg.)
ḳalansuwa: pointed bonnet for men (Alg., Tun.)
ḳamīṣ, ḳamīdjdja, ḳamīdja: long body shirt for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḳashshāba: long sleeveless outer gown for men; long-sleeved flowing tunic with a deep slit down the breast for women (Mor.)
kbāya: sleeveless vest for men (Alg.)
khlālī: a red wrap for women (Mor.)
kəswa kbīra: elegant wedding and festivity dress of Jewish women consisting of several parts, derived from 15th century Spanish dress style (Mor.)
ḳmādjdja: fine embroidered tunic for both sexes (Tun., Lib.)
ksā: large outer wrap for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
ḳṭīb: headscarf for women (Mor.)
kurziyya: belt for both sexes (Mor.)
lithām: veil for lower half of the face, worn by married women (Mor., Alg.)
malūsa: large Turkish style turban worn by religious dignitaries (Tun.)
maryūl: short, embroidered shift for women (Lib.)
mḍamma: leather belt worn by men, women and children (Mor.)
milḥafa, mlaḥfa, taməlḥaft: large outer wrap worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
məntān, məntāl: man's waistcoat with long, straight sleeves (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
naʿl, nʿāla, nʿāyl: sandals (entire Maghr.)
nḳāb: face veil for married women, often synonymous with *lithām* (Mor., Alg.)
riḥiyyāt: flat leather slippers worn by both sexes (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
rezza, rrəzt: small, rather flat turban (Mor.)
safsāri: large outer wrap for women (Tun., Lib.)
sāya: a skirt (N. Mor.); a dress (S. Mor.)
səbbāṭ: closed shoes for either sex (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
sərbīl, sherbīl: flat slippers for both sexes (Mor.)
shədd, shədda: turban (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
shāl, shān: head scarf for both sexes (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
shāshiyya, shāsh: brimless soft hat worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
shḳūfiyya, ḳūfiyya: woman's bonnet (Tun.)
səbniyya: woman's headscarf (Mor., Alg.)
sədriyya (= *ṣadriyya*): a man's waistcoat (entire Maghr.)
səlhām (Berb. *āsəlhām*): man's hooded cape (Mor.)
sərwāl: trousers for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
taʿdjīra: large embroidered shawl for women (Tun.)
takayda: pointed woman's bonnet (Tun.)
ṭāḳiyya: skull cap for men (entire Maghr.)
ṭarbūsh: hats of various types for men (entire Maghr.)
taraza, tarazala, tarazal: wide-brimmed straw hat for both sexes (Mor., Alg.)
təstmal: fringed head scarf for women (Lib.)
tḳāshər: stockings for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
tmāḳ: riding boots (entire Maghr.)
ṭrābaḳ: leather leggings worn by women (Mor.)
wiḳāya: woman's head scarf (Mor., Alg.)
žəllāba: see *djellāba*
zərgūta: a simple, sleeveless, square-cut man's tunic (S. Alg.)
zibbūn: a man's jacket with long sleeves (Lib.)
zzīr: a Berber scarf for both sexes (Mor.)

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et Tech. d'Afr. du Nord, vi (1960-1), 57-72; J. Jouin, *Le costume de la femme israélite au Maroc*, in *JSA*, vi (1936), 167-85; E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 123-37; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911 (contains much linguistic and historical material on costume); B. Meakin, *The Moors*, London 1902, 51-67; A. Muller-Lancet, *Markīvīm meyuḥadīm li-levūshām velā-ʿadēhem shel Yehūdē Mārōḳō*, in *Ḥadashōt Mūzēʾōn*, xi (1976), 46-50; E. Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm*, Wiesbaden 1958, 44-48 and Pls. ix-xlvii; idem, *El traje musulman femenino en Africa del Norte*, Madrid 1953; G. Rousseau, *Les costumes au Maroc*, Paris 1938 (primarily an album of Pls.); Y. K. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, in *Studies in Jewish folklore*, ed. F. Talmage, Cambridge, Mass., 343-75; eadem, *ha-Hashpaʿa ha-Sefaradīt ba-tarbūt ha-ḥomrīt shel Yehūdē Marōḳō*, in *Procs. of the First Int. Congr. on Sefardic and Oriental Jewry*, Hebr. vol., ed. I. Ben-Ami, Jerusalem 1981; H. Uplegger, *Djellaba und Litham: zur Verschleierung der arabischen Frau im Marokko*, in *Bustān*, ix/1 (1968), 22-27; E. Westermarck, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, passim. The most extensive and detailed pictorial survey of Moroccan costume and jewelry is J. Besancenot, *Types et costumes du Maroc*, Paris 1942; and idem, *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc*, Paris 1953. The texts of Besancenot's ethnographic notes remain in manuscript. (4) For Tunisia: L. Ginestous, *La tunique brodée de Rafraf*, in *Bull. des agents de l'Office des Arts tunisiens*, n.v. (1955), 12-21; idem, *Le vêtement féminin usuel à Bizerte*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 28 (1959), 519-35; J. Jouin, *Le taref des Kerkeniennes*, in *REI*, x (1948), 51-3; N. Mahjoub, *Le costume des hommes de religion et de justice à Tunis*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions populaires*, i/2 (Tunis 1968), 79-92; D. Paphilet, *Le vêtement masculin en Tunisie*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 2 (1954), 108-11; M. Poncet, *Les bijoux d'argent de Tunisie*, Tunis 1977; S. Sethom, *La confection du costume féminin d'Hammamet*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires*, i/1 (1968), 101-11; idem, *La tunique de mariage en Tunisie*, in *ibid.*, i/2 (1968), 61-78. (5) For mediaeval Spain: R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 382-7; eadem, *Miniatures hispano-musulmanes*, Leiden 1969; eadem, *Quelques remarques sur le costume des Musulmans d'Espagne au temps de Naṣrides*, in *Arabica*, xii/3 (1965), 244-61; J. Jouin, *Documents sur le costume des Musulmans d'Espagne*, in *RA*, lxxv (1934), 43-6; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 422-33; J. Olivier Asin, *«Quercus» en la España musulmana*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxiv/1 (1959), 125-81; R. Ricard, *Espagnol et Portugais «marlota». Recherches sur le vocabulaire du vêtement hispano-mauresque*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, liii/2 (1951), 131-56. (6) For mediaeval North Africa: R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 276-82; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrides*, ii, 594-600; M. Talbi, *Les courtiers en vêtements en Ifrīqiya au IXe-Xe siècle*, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 160-94.

(Y. K. Stillman)

iii. — Iran

Iranian costume belongs to a completely different vestimentary system than does Arab costume. The most salient features have shown remarkable consistency from pre-Achaemenid to modern times. Whereas Arab costume (see i. above) is marked by rectangular tunics and loose wraps, Iranian clothing has traditionally featured tailored garments that include a sleeved coat of varying length and ampleness (*ḳabā*), long, straight trousers (*shalwār*) or leggings (*pāy-tāba* or *rān*), close-fitting boots (*mūza*, *kafsh*, *khifāf*, or *čaḳma*), and a high or medium high soft cap (*kulāh* or *ḳalansuwa*, the latter perhaps a descendant of the ancient *kyrbasia*). This type of attire is typical of other equestrian peoples from the steppes of Inner Asia, such as the Scythians, and also of the Phrygians, and is consistent both with the harsh and highly variable climate and their pastoral way of life. It also shows strong affinities with the clothing of other Indo-Aryan peoples who moved further west, such as the Germans. This sort of clothing was also convenient to the calvary warfare practised by these peoples. Flowing robes were also worn, but mainly as royal or priestly dress for ceremonial occasions. Women, like men, wore coats or jackets (*ḳabāča* or *nīm tana*) and trousers or a skirt (*dāman*), with however, a chemise (*pīrāhan*) or tunic (*djāma*, a word which like Ar. *thawb* also designates an unspecified garment and cloth in general).

For convenient surveys of pre-Islamic Iranian costume, see H. Goetz, *History of Persian costume*, in *Survey of Persian art*, ed. A. Pope, London-New York 1938, 2227-36; Georgina Thompson, *Iranian dress in the Achaemenian period*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, iii (1965), 121-6; Dj. Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Pūshāk-i zanān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1347/1968, 4-125.

1. The Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods. During the Umayyad period ʿIrāḳ, which had for centuries been part of the Persian cultural sphere, became arabised. Traditional Iranian modes of dress remained in the Iranian heartlands and in Transoxania. Despite the fact that Umayyad rulers adopted elements of Iranian costume for themselves and their court (see e.g. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 21, 30-3), they did not permit the Arab fighting men on duty in the Persian territories to don Iranian clothing. Soldiers who put on the Persian-style cuirass (*khaftān*) and leggings (*rān*) were punished (B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 515). However, by late Umayyad times the Arabs settled in Khurāsān were becoming increasingly assimilated into the local culture, and, it may be assumed, had adopted many elements of native attire.

The rise of the ʿAbbāsids, the founding of Baghdād, and the increasing importance of Persian *mawālī* in the civil service, made ʿIrāḳ a zone of osmosis where Iranian and Arabo-Hellenistic styles fused, with Iranian elements passing westward and Arab styles and terminology eastward. There is a frequent overlap in the New Persian vestimentary vocabulary of Arabic and Iranian terms (e.g. Ar. *libās* becomes a common synonym for Pers. *pūshāk*). Nevertheless, native Iranian styles remained distinctive well into the ʿAbbāsid period, as noted by the Arab geographers (e.g. al-Muḳaddasī, 326-7. For other sources, see P. Schwartz, *Iran in Mittelalter*, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 140-2, 404-5, 424-6, and 834-5). Among the more particular Iranian fashions in Arab eyes were the wearing of boots (*khifāf*) in summer as well as in winter (al-Muḳaddasī, 327), the unique cold weather clothing (*ibid.*, 328), and the extensive use of the *ṭaylasān*, or headshawl worn over the turban, by religious scholars and notables in the northern and eastern parts of Iran and even by the common folk in Fārs (*ibid.*, 327, 440).

Throughout the ʿAbbāsid period—as in earlier and later times as well—Iran was noted for its fine textiles. For a thorough survey of Persian textile production in this period, see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, *passim*. Iran was also noted for the special garments produced there. Āmul and Ḳūmis were famous for their wool *ṭayālisa* (ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Cairo 1935, 30-1), Gurgān and Rayy for their excellent variety of soft wool cloaks known as *narmaḳ* (from Pers. *narm* "soft", *ibid.*, 29-30), and Bam for its fine kerchiefs and turban cloths (*dastār-i bamī*, anon., *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, rev. ed. V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth, London 1970, 125). Ādharbāydjān, Armenia, and Arrān produced the best quality trouser cords (*shalwār band*, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 142-3). Kāth, the capital of Khwārazm, was noted for its quilted jackets (*ḳazhāgand*, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 121).

Artistic representations from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries invariably show both men and women in a full-length sleeved coat (*ḳabā*) with arm bands (*bāzū band*) either with or without *ṭirāz* inscriptions. In a 6th/12th century stucco relief from Rayy, each of the women in the courtly scene is depicted in a brocade coat (*ḳabā-yi dībā*) with a bordered edge (*ḥāshiya-dār*). Each woman wears a fillet (*pishānī band*) in the centre of which is an aigrette (*djiḳa*). Most of the women wear a necklace (*gardan band*) and earrings (*gūshwārahā*) (the relief is included in Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 517 and Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Pūshāk-i zanān-i Īrān*, Pls. 106 and 107. For a survey of Persian jewelry during this period, see Dj. Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Ziwarhā-yi zanān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1347/1968, 331-62).

The Saldjūḳ period did not mark for Iran the introduction of totally new styles of dress as it did in the Arab East (see section i, above, 8) since the Saldjūḳs were themselves under the influence of Persian culture. There were, however, some new fashions that were introduced at this time, particularly in head coverings. At least three distinctive caps were introduced at this time, all of Inner Asian, Turkish origin (for examples of Saldjūḳ caps, see ill. no. 7; also Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 643B, 652, 655, 686, 687, 688A, 692, 694, 706, 708, 714A, 813). Men of high rank wore a crown-like hat with a pointed rim on either side (*dūshākh*, Spuler, *Iran*, 365). The so-called Saldjūḳ crown (*tādj*, *tādj kulāh*, or *afsar*), which shows affinities both to one of the Mongol caps and to the ancient Sāsānid crown, remained for centuries the headdress of rulers and princes depicted in Persian paintings. It is perhaps to this sort of "crown" that the poet Saʿdī refers in the expression *kulāh khudāwandī*, or "cap of lordship" (*Būstān*, Introd., 1. 212, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, ed. M. ʿA. Farūghī, Tehran 1964, 12). These various hats were apparently known by regional and ethnic names, such as *kulāh-i khwārizmī* (al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, Tehran 1333, 385) or *kulāh-i tatarī* (Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, 62). The Saldjūḳs also introduced new military garments.

2. The Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid Periods. The Mongol conquests brought with them many totally new fashions from the Far East. Court styles were those of China: mandarin robes with elbow-length sleeves are most commonly depicted. These were decorated with heraldic designs on the breasts and back—usually Chinese clouds, scrolls, and vegetal motifs. Beneath the robe was worn a long-sleeved tunic. Men wore a variety of hats with brims turned up or down, and even with double brims (for examples of these different hats, see Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2239, Fig. 746a-h; and D. T. Rice, *The illustrations of the "World history" of Rashid al-Din*, Edinburgh 1976, 21, Fig. 10a-f).

Military attire was also of the Far Eastern variety, consisting of long coats of link mail arranged in horizontal bands (*djawshan-i ḳabā*) or cuirasses (*zira*) of mail (Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 186, 176. For examples of the Mongol long mail coat, see Rice, *Illustrations ... of Rashid al-Din*, Pls. 38, 44, 48, 49, 53. For the mail cuirass, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 834B, 839, and 842A). The latter could be worn under a robe (*zira dar zir-i djāma*, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. E. Quatremère, repr. Amsterdam, 1968, 122).

Also typical of Mongol armour were their close-fitting helmets with ear-flaps and a small spike at the top (for examples, see Rice, *Illustrations ... of Rashid al-Din*, Pls. 22, 38, 39, 40, 43).

During the Īlkhānid period, women's clothing seems not to have undergone any major change, except with respect to the head gear. The head scarf (*sar band*) was worn for the most part as a wimple (see e.g. Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 836B) by non-Mongol women. The Mongol princesses, however, wore a special bonnet consisting of a light wood frame covered with silk and from the top of which protrudes a long feather (see Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2241, Fig. 747a-b). This bonnet is frequently mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Histoire des Mongols*, ed. Quatremère, 102, 106, 107), and is called *bughtāḳ*. The *bughtāḳ* could be ornamented with gold and precious stones and sometimes had a long train (*dhayl-i bughtāḳ*) which hung down behind. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the girls who attended the Mongol ladies wore "a *kulāh* that looked like an *aḳrūf* (fez) with a gold band encrusted with jewels around the upper part, topped with peacock feathers" (Ibn *Baṭṭūṭa*, ii, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Cambridge 1958, 485).

Despite Tīmūr Lang's partiality to Mongol ways, there is a noticeable decrease in Mongol influence as far as Persian costume is concerned under the Tīmūrids. The bulky mandarin robes give way to close-fitting garments which follow the body's own lines. The outer *ḳabā* was often left entirely open or was left partially-open at the neck and below the waist revealing another coat below, beneath which a long body shirt (*ḳamīṣ* or *pīrāhan*) was worn. The *kamar band* which, except for a military belt over the armour, had all but gone out of style in the Īlkhānid period, became once again a regular part of male attire, worn on either the inner or the outer coat. The distinctive caps and hats of the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods were gradually replaced during the Tīmūrid period by turbans, which at first were small, but became progressively larger throughout the 9th/15th century (for examples of the caps and turbans of the period, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 851, 860, 865, 878, 880, 882). The reason for the gradual disappearance of the Mongol caps is that they came to be considered as symbols of paganism, in contradiction to the *dastār* which was symbolic of Islam (see e.g. Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, tr. E. D. Ross, repr. New York 1970, 58). One new head-covering that appears at this period is the *ḳalpāḳ*, a fur-trimmed cap of Turkoman origin. As in earlier periods, both men and women wore fur cloaks (*pūstīn*, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Dhayl-i Kitāb-i Ẓafar-nāma*, Tehran n.d., 25) and fur-trimmed robes (*ḳabā pūstīnī*, Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, 119; and idem, *Būstān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*,

213). For illustrations of fur-trimmed coats, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 842B, 878; also Ḍiyā' Pūr, *Pūshāk-i zanān-i Īrān*, Pls. 129, 132.

Female attire during the Tīmūrid period also consisted of several layers of long, close-fitting robes. The *pīrāhan* covered the entire body down to the feet and was long-sleeved. A wide variety of outer coats were worn by women at this time. Although some had long, narrow sleeves, most were short-sleeved (*āstīn-i kūtāh*), and some were sleeveless. The woman's *ḳabā* depicted in Tīmūrid paintings came in both long and three-quarter length versions (For the feminine *ḳabā* in all its variety, see Ḍiyā' Pūr, *op. cit.*, 143-65, Pls. 113-32.) The short coat is perhaps the *ḳabāča*, mentioned in earlier literary sources (e.g. al-Kātib al-Arradjānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, Tehran n.d., i, 50), but does not appear in artistic representation until this time.

Most of the women's head-dresses depicted in Tīmūrid paintings are simple, consisting in the main of a white *sar band* worn in the simple fashion of the preceding periods or allowed to flow down behind. Some women are depicted wearing a close-fitting bonnet-like cap which is usually dark in colour. The bonnet has wide flaps that come down in front of the ears, and is held in place with a chin strap. On the top of the bonnet is a small flat plaque to which the face veil is attached (see Ḍiyā' Pūr, *op. cit.*, Pls. 119-20; also J. M. Scarce, *The development of women's veils in Persia and Afghanistan*, in *Costume*, v [1975], 6, Pl. 4, where, however, this headdress is interpreted somewhat differently).

European travellers report that women appeared in public at this time in an all-enveloping white wrap (*čadār-i safīd*), their faces hidden behind a black net of woven horsehair (*pīča*) (e.g. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy . . . to the court of Timour*, London 1859, 89). Another sort of face veil worn at this period was a small, white mask covering only the mouth and chin (*dahān band*, Ḍiyā' Pūr, *op. cit.*, 155, Pl. 212).

3. The Ṣafawid period. The establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty marks not only a watershed in Iranian political and religious history, but a turning point in its costume history as well. During this period, Far Eastern influences in Persian costume cease to be important, and there is a reassertion of native Iranian styles.

The most immediate change came in the man's turban (*dūl band*), which was wrapped around a cap with a high, spiked protrusion that extended straight up through the middle of the headdress (see e.g. Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 893A, 895, 896, 898, 900, 901B). The cap which forms the centre of the turban was known as the *tādj Ṣafawī*. It was normally red, although occasionally blue. Because of the red caps which distinguished the Shīʿī Ṣafawids and their followers, they were referred to by the Sunnīs as *kulāh-i surkh*, or "red caps" (see Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, ed. and tr. P.I. Desmaisons, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 209, n. 1), which was the Persian equivalent of Tk. *ḳïzïl bash* [*q.v.*]. The symbolic importance of the Ṣafawi *tādj* was such that in an allegorical painting showing the religions of the world, the Shīʿīs, as well as Muḥammad, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn are all depicted wearing it (the illustration is in the Houghton *Shāh-nāma*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and is reproduced in B. Lewis (ed.), *The World of Islam*, London 1976, 257).

Ṣafawid costume became extremely sumptuous with the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76). Clothes were more closely-fitted than ever before. The *ḳabā* for both sexes became somewhat shorter. It was now fastened in front by a row of shiny buttons or golden frogs. The waist was cinched with a narrow belt decorated with large bejewelled gold discs spaced at equal intervals (for surviving examples of such belts, see Ḍiyā' Pūr, *Zīwarhā-yi zanān-i Īrān*, 365, Pl. 274, and Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pls. 1394B-C; for detailed depictions in miniatures, see *ibid.*, v, Pl. 901). The most outstanding feature of the Persian wardrobe for the next century-and-a-half is the great richness of the fabrics in both colour and pattern (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 896, 898-900, for illustrations; and *ibid.*, vi, Pls. 1006, 1011, 1012, 1015, 1028, 1034, 1041, 1042, 1046, for actual textiles and garments).

Ṣafawid costume reached its most distinctive development in the 11th/17th century. The *ḳabā* remained close-fitted about the trunk, but was now often flared below the waist. Over the *ḳabā* was worn an overcoat (*bālāpūsh*) which could be short and sleeveless (*kurdī*) or long and with sleeves (*kadabī*). The turban (*mandīl* or *dūl band*) became even larger than before, but no longer had the long stick protruding from the top. A large scarf or sash replaced the belt with roundels. It was usually tied with a large knot in front (for surviving examples of such silk sashes, see Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pls. 1074A-E). Ṣafawid clothing has been described in detail by the European travellers Herbert for the first half of the 17th century (T. Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, London 1928, 79-80, 230-3) and Chardin for the second half (Sir J. Chardin, *Travels in Persia*, London 1927, 211-15, and the engravings between 212 and 213).

Female attire during this period was very sensuous. The dress (*ḳamīṣ*) was buttoned or tied below the neck, but slit open down to the navel to expose the bare flesh (Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, v, Pl. 918A). The items of underwear (*tunbān*) were straighter than male drawers and were often decorated with flower motifs. Over these were worn embroidered leggings (*zangār*) that went from several inches above the ankle to slightly above the knee (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 918, where a reclining female is shown with her dress rolled up to expose her underwear). A loose shawl (*čārḳad*) which was held on the head by a tiara, an embroidered band, or a pointed *kulāh*, fell down on to the back and shoulders (see e.g. J. M. Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, ii [1929-30], 206, Fig. 2; 214, Fig. 13; and 219, Fig. 21). As in the previous period, the favoured *čādur* for outdoor was white. One new innovation that came into use at this time was the *rū band*, a rectangular white veil that was fastened over the *čādur* and fell down over the face. The *rū band* had a small slit covered with netting over the eyes to permit vision (Scarce, *Women's veils*, in *Costume*, v, 7, Pl. 7).

Two major trends can be detected in Persian costume during the 17th century. One is a bohemianism that appears in the increasingly casual and suggestive style of dressing, at least in the court circles depicted in paintings (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 917B, 918A-B, 921B, 924B; and Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes*, 217, Fig. 18). The other is a noticeable, albeit still minor, Western influence in clothing styles. At first this influence was more Georgian than truly European (Chardin, *Travels*, 212), but later the influence of the clothing of European traders and diplomats become stronger (Upton, *Notes on Persian costume*, 217).

4. The Ḳād̲j̲ār period. There was little discernible change or development in Iranian costume during the half-century of instability between the end of Ṣafawid rule and the establishment of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty, except for a decrease in the elegance of upper-class attire and an increase in words of Turkic origin in the vestimentary vocabulary.

The second ruler of the Ḳād̲j̲ār House, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (1212-50/1797/1834), attempted to recreate the glories of the Iranian past with a revival of ancient artistic traditions and styles, including in court dress. He adopted for himself a modified version of one of the Sāsānid winged crowns (see Lewis, *World of Islam*, 270, Pl. 27, and 272, Pl. 32). Wide shoulder capes and diadems in imitation of Tīmūrid prototypes were also revived for a short while (Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2254). However, under his successors this artificial renaissance came to an end.

There was growing European influence in Persia already during the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh. During the 19th century these influences became increasingly dominant in court and military dress. Popular costume came under foreign influence more slowly. The many European travellers, missionaries, and diplomats who visited Persia in the 19th and early 20th centuries have left detailed descriptions of clothing of the period. Male costume was composed of loose drawers (*zīr d̲j̲āma* or *s̲h̲alwār*) of white, blue, or red cotton, a collarless shirt (*alkalūk* or *ḳamīṣ*), a tunic (*kamarčīn*), a vest (*kulīd̲j̲a* or *kurdī*), one of a variety of outer coats (*bālāpūs̲h̲, bīrūna, ḳabā, d̲j̲ubba*—the latter favoured by government secretaries), or jackets (*nīm tana*). The principal hat for all classes was the high *kulāh* of felt (*namad*) or lambskin (*pūstī*) which was dented in on one side. Footwear consisted of boots (*sarmūza*) of Russian leather (*bulg̲h̲ār*) for the upper classes, and leather sandals (*čārūḳ*) or cotton shoes (*gīva*) for the common people. The belt for all classes was most commonly a large shawl tied round the waist (*s̲h̲āl kamar*). The mullas commonly wore the *ʿabā* (see section i, above), and *sayyids* the green *ʿimāma* (among the numerous descriptions of male attire, see J. B. Fraser, *A winter's journey: Constantinople to Teheran*, ii, London 1838, 77-103, 151-7, and C. J. Wills, *In the land of the Lion and the Sun, or modern Persia (1866 to 1881)*, London 1893, 317-22).

Female attire for the upper and middle classes consisted of a transparent *pīrāhan* of gauze and pantaloons (*čāḳčūr*). Over these were worn a short frocked coat or jacket and a pleated skirt (*s̲h̲alīta*). The head was normally covered with an embroidered scarf of cotton, silk, or cashmere (*čargāt*). Upper-class women are depicted in contemporary paintings wearing a jewelled tiara (*nīm tād̲j̲*). Out of doors, women wore a white or black *čādur* and one of a variety of face veils (*rū band, pīča, burḳuʿ, niḳāb*) (see Fraser, 322-5; E. C. Sykes, *Persia and its people*, London 1910, 196-203.)

5. Recent years. Urban dress is overwhelmingly that of the modern West. Recently however, there has been a return to the *čādur* even among educated women for political as well as religious reasons. Outside the major cities, and especially in tribel regions, traditional costumes are still worn (for a comprehensive survey, see D̲j̲. Ḍiyāʾ Pūr, *Pūs̲h̲āk-i ilhā, čādurnis̲h̲inān wa-rustāʾiyān ba-rūzigār-i S̲h̲āhans̲h̲āh-yi Muḥammad Riḍā S̲h̲āh-i Pahlawī*, Tehran 1346/1967).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the text, see: Capt. L. W. Hart, *Character and costumes of Afghanistan*, London 1843; Lt. J. Rattray, *The costumes of the various tribes, portraits of ladies of rank, celebrated princes and chiefs . . .*, London 1848; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia past and present: a book of travel and research*, New York 1906; H. Goetz, *Persians and Persian costumes in Dutch painting of the seventeenth century*, in *The Art Bulletin*, xx/1 (March 1938), 280-90; C. G. Feilberg, *Les Papis: Tribu persane de nomades montagnards du sud-ouest de l'Iran*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Roekke, iv, Copenhagen 1952; H. E. Wulff, *Traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966; A. Tual, *Variations et usages du voile dans deux villes d'Iran*, in *Objets et Mondes*, xi/1 (Spring 1971), 95-116; J.-P. Digard, *La parure chez les Baxtyari*, in *ibid.*, 117-32.

(Y. K. Stillman and N. A. Stillman)

iv. — Turkey

1. Old Turkish costume of the 6th/12th to the 13th/19th centuries. After having settled in Anatolia, the Turks remained faithful to their customs and cultural traditions and preserved their traditional costume. The latter, tracing its origin to Central Asia, was enriched from the 5th/11th century, in Iranian territory, by a certain number of new elements. To judge by the iconographic documents of the 12th to 15th centuries, Turkish costume was inspired to a great extent by Persian costume. But Persian costume evolves, new designs and types of clothing appear in it, whereas Turkish costume, whose style remains almost unchanged for several centuries, retains its specificity and its national character.

Synthesised studies of an historical and comparative character are not always to be found on this subject. The only materials which we have at our disposal, apart from illustrations, are the articles which have come to light and which relate to certain types of clothing in the different periods that Turkish costume has evolved in its history. The question which invariably arouses the largest number of problems and controversies is that of terminology, especially concerning the clothing and the small clothing items of which nothing more has remained. In order to reconstitute the cut of an old costume, its original parts, those which have been preserved, have in the first place to be positioned. Turkish costumes are to be found at present in vary large numbers in the collections of Turkish museums, especially in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi of Istanbul. They are also to be found, although in a smaller quantity, in European and American museums, notably in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Islamisches Museum, Berlin, and some others. The oldest pieces of these collections date back to the 15th century, but it is impossible and risky in many cases to establish the exact date of their fabrication. The costume of the 16th century possesses, on the other hand, a documentation which seems credible. This comprises especially the Turkish miniatures and, notably, the special albums with the miniatures of costumes (*ḳīyāfet-nāme*) which constitute in this respect a very rich source of information. Failing originals, we can also derive help in our comparative studies from various iconographic materials originating from Europe, such as prints, engravings, paintings or further representations of Turkish costume on objects in ceramic, metal and other materials.

Another source of information on old Turkish costume is constituted by the writings of travellers,

explorers; the descriptions left by European ambassadors; as well as the documents of Turkish archives speaking of the organisation of corporations of tailors, of sewing workshops and of registers of costumes.

The classification of costumes can be established according to the use for which they were destined. We may distinguish: (1) the civilian costumes, (2) the military ones, and (3) the religious ones (of *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes). The civilian costumes are divided into (i) costumes of the court (costumes of ceremony, state, household) and (ii) costumes of the bourgeoisie, each having its masculine and fremminine variants.

A complete costume is composed of some basic elements (whose number varies in accordance with needs and whose importance is not always the same): (a) head-gear, (b) outer garments, (c) inner garments, (d) belt, (e) shoes and (f) accessories.

In Ottoman Turkey, there were registers of laws which also contained the precepts of etiquette. These laws regulated notably dress, i.e. head-gear, clothing, the kind and colour of the material, the shoes, all in accordance with the rank occupied in the social and administrative hierarchy, of the religion or race of the person in question. The most important regulations of this kind date back to the period of Süleymān I (1520-66), Aḥmed III (1703-30) and ʿUthmān III (1754-7).

Head-gear. It was the head-gear, masculine as well as feminine, which, in Turkish costume, was characterised by the greatest diversity and mobility of forms.

a) Masculine turbans. The Turkish *ḳavuḳ* was a head-dress of felt or woollen cloth of different thickness around which was wrapped a turban (a long band of material) called in Turkish *sarïḳ* or *dülbend* (current pronunciation *tülbent*). It is from the form of the *ḳavuḳ* and the way in which the turban was tied that there derive different types and names of head-gear known in Europe as turbans. The *ḳavuḳ*s, whose height varied, normally had the form of a contracted or enlarged cylinder, flat or bulging; but there were also those which resembled a truncated cone or a cupola. The highest *ḳavuḳ*s (40 to 60 cm.) were kept rigid by means of a construction of metal bars or a kind of basket. They had a smooth or quilted (*terk*) surface and were trimmed with cotton to give the effect of relief or a dome shape with the quilting (*dilim*). To make the turban, lengths of material (*sarïḳ*) were used which were folded or made into rolls (*burma*). Fine materials such as cotton, gauze, muslin, fine wool, silk or brocade were chosen for this. Under the *ḳavuḳ* was placed a skull-cap (*takke*) which could also be worn alone. Sometimes small braids (*zülüf*) or pendants (*püskül*) were attached to the *ḳavuḳ*s, allowing the end of the *sarïḳ* to fall on the back or the shoulders (*ṭaylasān*). To give protection from the rain, a kind of small umbrella or covering (*yaghmurluḳ*) was carried.

*Ḳavuḳ*s included: *khorāsānī*—of cylindrical shape, growing broader at the top, worn with a white turban rolled slantwise on two sides; *selīmī*—of cylindrical shape, introduced by Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), some 65 cm. high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around and bulging at the sides; *kātibī*—also called *pashalï ḳavuḳ*, is the most widespread type of turban, worn from the 18th century by functionaries and civilians. It is a *ḳavuḳ* of cylindrical shape, quilted, worn with a white turban not too long, rolled at the base and tied in front; *müdjewweze*—a head-dress reserved for the Sultan and the highest dignitaries, a *ḳavuḳ* of cylindrical shape, growing slightly broader towards the top, about 45 cm. high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around; the end of the turban was fastened with a small roll of red felt; *ḳallāvī*, a head-dress reserved for dignitaries with the rank of *pasha* which, from the 18th century, became official headgear, a *ḳavuḳ* with the body of a cone, worn with a white turban rolled around, draped and bulging in flour places, decorated with a gold band; *ʿörf* (*ʿörfī*), worn from the 18th century by the religious classes, a large, dome-shaped *ḳavuḳ*, worn with a white turban rolled around and which, draped, forms harmonious folds; *ḳafesī* (*ḳubbeli ḳalāfat*), worn from the 17th century by the functionaries of the Defter, a dome-shaped *ḳavuḳ*, worn with a long turban forming folds fastened towards the base with a fine thread or pin; and *kharlāwī*—worn from the 17th century, a high, pointed *ḳavuḳ*, worn with a turban rolled around whose end was often left free.

Another quite widespread head-dress was the turban worn on a small skull-cap (*takke*), often folded in large rolls (*burmalï*) or particularly the *ḳavuḳ* worn with a small turban (*muʿaḳḳad*) rolled around; the *ḳavuḳ* without a turban was called *dal ḳavuḳ* or *dal ḳalāfat*.

b) Külāh (cap, hat). *Külāh*s were a very widespread masculine and feminine head-gear, worn by soldiers, dervishes, functionaries and civilians. This head-gear, of which several dozen variants existed, could be made from felt or woollen cloth combined with other materials such as cotton cloth, fur, small turbans, scarves and trimmings. As to their shape, the most common were caps, head-dresses in the shape of a dome, cone, cylinder broadening towards the top, tube, helmet, brimmed hats with flaps and straps. Among the *külāh*s most frequently worn by servants of the court and soldiers there were: the *zerrin tas*, worn by the pages; a high, cylindrical *külāh* trimmed with brocade and decorated with *zülüf*; the *börk*, which was the most widespread head-gear, in a cone or helmet shape, raised in front, decorated at the base with gold braid; officers wore it decorated in addition with a plume; the *üsküf* (*kečeli külāh*) of the Janissaries, a high *külāh* whose rear part fell in the form of a covering (*yatïrma*) on the back, a ribbon ornamenting it at the base where a metal case for the officer's spoon or plume was also fixed; and the *barata* of the palace domestics, a *külāh* of woollen cloth in the shape of a sleeve whose rear part fell on the back.

The *külāh*s worn by the dervishes most frequently had the form of a cone, a helmet or a cylinder widening towards the top and they were normally quilted (each order or *ṭarīḳa* had the right to a defined number of *terk*). There were also *külāh*s bordered with fur (*müzhgānlï*). Only *shaykh*s had the right to put a turban on the *külāh*. The *külāh*s worn by dervishes also had other names: *sikke*, *tādj* and *elifli tādj*.

In the 19th century, the *fez* became a current head-dress, as did the *shubara* in the army.

c) *Ḳalpaḳ* (busby), a kind of bonnet of lamb's fleece or woollen cloth decorated with lamb's fleece, worn by men and women.

d) Feminine headgear: *külāh*s of various shapes, scarves with a flap or a peak (*siper*); a veil (*čarshaf*); a scarf called a *yashmaḳ*, and the *khotoz*, the most popular head-gear, in the form of a conical *külāh* or hood decorated with a fine scarf or shawl

and trimmed with feathers, precious stones and ribbons.

Outer garments. The most characteristic and widespread outer garment in Turkey (known since antiquity in Central Asia and the Near East) was the *ḳaftān* (caftan), a long, full robe with sleeves. Its cut varied according to the period and area. The Turkish caftan had several variants which were distinguished from one another by the length and width of the skirts and sleeves, the buttoning, the use of slit or supplementary sleeves of a decorative character. It was these elements and the cut which decided the type of caftan. The *khilʿat*, for example, was a ceremonial caftan, made with sumptuous materials, quite full, with skirts side by side or crossed over. Caftans had skirts descending as far as the ankle, covering the knee, descending as far as the ground or even trailing on the ground. They were slightly-fitting, flared or close-fitting, most often with a collar or bottom of a collar buttoned up to the neck and with a rounded or pointed scooped neckline, with crossed over, buckled or buttonless skirts; fitted or more or less flared sleeves, descending as far as the wrist or short, elongated slit or falling on the back, double sleeves. Caftans were made in brocade, velvet, *kemkhā*, satin, cotton, silk, cotton satin and wool. They were often embroidered, laced with frogs and loops, edged with fur and with the lining.

Outer garments. These included the *dolama*, a caftan worn by the least important palace servants, which has a long robe, fastened in front, with narrow sleeves; *entārī*, a kind of caftan, the most widespread of all the garments, worn under the real caftan and fur, descending as far as the ankle or covering the knee; *ferādje* (a man's garment), a long, full robe, with rather wide, short sleeves, sometimes edged with sable, sometimes with a collar; *djübbe*, a full caftan; *kerāke*, a kind of *djübbe* in fine wool; *khirḳa*, a full, short caftan with sleeves; *ʿabā* (really the name of a thick material), a garment of thick woollen cloth, stopping at the knee; *setre*, a military garment covering the knee and fastened at the front; *čepken* (or *čebken*), a short caftan with sleeves, buckled and bordered; *salta*, a kind of *čepken* worn by the working classes; *yelek*, a waistcoat without sleeves formerly worn as an outer garment; *djāmedān*, a short, trimmed waistcoat without sleeves; *mintān*, a short caftan without sleeves, stopping at the waist; *binish*, a kind of very full caftan with wide sleeves, worn most frequently as a travelling or riding garment. Dervishes' garments: *tennūre*, a long robe without sleeves; *ḥayderī*, a kind of short garment, without sleeves, stopping at the waist; *khirḳa*, a short caftan with flared sleeves; *etek*, a skirt; and *mintān*.

To go out, particularly in the rain, a kind of cape was put on, called a *ḥarmāniyye*, *barānī*, *ḳāpūt* or *yaghmurluḳ*. Furs were an important element in the costume worn at court. Fox, squirrel, ermine, sable, lynx and marten furs were covered with the most varied materials (brocade, wool, velvet, silk, cotton satin and satin). They were characterised by a great diversity of styles, but the caftan was also dominant there. The most sumptuous fur was the *ḳapanidja* of the sultan, with a large fur collar, narrow or short sleeves, decorated with fur below the shoulders, with straight supplementary sleeves, laced with frogs and loops in front; *ferve-i beyḍā*, a fur of white sable covered with green cotton satin; and *kontosh*, a fur (or caftan) with straight sleeves, with a collar. Full furs edged with fur in front and in general with a collar were worn during ceremonies, gala receptions, etc. These were the *üst kürk*, the *dīvānī kürk*, or the *dört ḳollu kürk* (when they had supplementary sleeves), or further the *bol yeñli kürk* (when it was a fur with wide sleeves).

The outer garments most often worn by women were: the *ferādje*, the *entārī*, the *yelek* and capes (*ḥarmāniyye*); *ferādje*, a kind of full cloak with sleeves and a collar, sometimes with cuffs; *entārī*, a long robe whose cut varied, normally with a low neckline, fitting at the waist and flaring from the hips, buttoned in front as far as the waist, trimmed, laced with frogs and loops, with narrow sleeves, sometimes long or turned up. Women also wore short caftans or short *entārī*s stopping at the hips with wide skirts. Their furs had long sleeves or short ones or were without sleeves. They put a long robe under the *entārī* or over baggy trousers.

Inner garments. Among these are counted shirts (*gömlek*, *pīrāhen*); a long robe worn under the *entārī* or caftan, *dolama* or *ičlik*; baggy trousers (*shalwār*) of varying fullness, fuller and in finer materials for women; men's trousers (*čaḳshīr*), reaching down to the ankle or below the knee; the *potur*, full trousers as far as the knee and straight from the knee to the ankle; the *tozluḳ*, breeches worn by men as an outer garment; pants (*don*). All the parts of the trousers were held with a special belt called *učḳur*.

Belts were an indispensable element of old Turkish costume. They were of two kinds: material belts (*ḳushaḳ*), supple, knotted, with the ends hidden under the trousers; and leather belts (*kemer*), fastened with a buckle, often decorated, gilded, in hammered leather, embellished and encrusted with precious stones.

Shoes were divided into indoor shoes with a supple sole and town shoes with a thicker sole: *čizme*, the most widespread shoes for several centuries, with a high leg reaching up as far as the knee and a supple sole; women's boots bore the name *pashmaḳ*; *čedik* (an older form *içedik*), with a low leg, most often made in yellow Moroccan leather, with a supple sole; *mest*, a kind of *čedik*; *shipship*, a mule without heels with the end slightly raised and a supple sole; *terlik*, the most popular shoes, worn by men and women, without heels or quarters slightly raised at the end, in leather or material, often decorated; shoes for women had a low heel. To go out in the town the *pabuč* was slipped on over the supple shoes (*čedik*, *mest*). Sandals with a compensatory sole called *nalin* were also worn. The shoes of the sultan, dignitaries and women were often richly decorated, in accordance with various techniques, with plant motifs (appliqués, embroidered, hammered leather).

Accessories decorating the head-gear: plume (*sorguč*, *süpürge*), crest (*čelenk*), feathers, ornaments, scarves, shawls, ribbons, tassels, small braids and plumes. Accessories decorating outer garments: shawls, trimmings, buckles, small buckles and metal badges. Jewels and side arms completed the costume.

2. The modern period. In the 19th century, in the period of the army reforms, a new military uniform was introduced, combining modified forms of old Turkish costume with some elements of European uniform. This new uniform became common during the second half of the 19th century. Later on, modern European uniform was introduced.

Regional costume is not made the object of this study: there only exist a few studies in depth on this subject (see Hamdy Bey and Marie de Launay,

Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873, Constantinople 1873).

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(T. Majda)

LIBERIA, an African republic in which, according to the sources, Muslims account for no more than 15 to 20% of the population. They are concentrated mainly between Monrovia and Robertsport on the frontier of Sierra Leone as well as on the frontier of Guinea. Their number is estimated at 300,000, but because the censuses take no account of religious allegiance, there exists no precise figure for a Muslim population whose Islamic culture was until recently extremely primitive.

Islam was a late manifestation in Liberia. Certain groups related to the Mandingo peoples and arriving, in the 16th century, from the region of Kankan were probably the first Muslims to penetrate what was to become Liberia. After the Vaï, other Mandingo groups like the predominantly merchant tribe of the Gbande were totally Islamised, while the Loma (or Bouzi) the Kpelle, the Mano and the Sumba were only partially converted. These peoples, impelled by military and commercial forces, included in their ranks Islamised elements. But the expansion of Islam could only begin to take shape from the 19th century onwards when the Afro-American emplorers had crossed the forest zone.

Since Liberia was governed until the coup d'état of 12 April 1980 by Liberians of Negro American origin, mostly of the Protestant faith, Muslims enjoyed no political representation. Moreover, the Liberian constitution of 1847 had a significant preamble: "Our People recognises with pious gratitude the goodness of God who has accorded us the blessings of the Christian religion and granted us political and religious liberties ..."; but the first clause declared that all religions would be tolerated and that no religious conditions would be attached to the holding of public office.

In 1953, President Tubman enacted a law pledging to the Muslims of Liberia full recognition of their rights. In 1965, the same president attended the mosque for the beginning of Ramaḍān and delivered the address. It was his government which, after consultation, gave to the leading *Imām* the title of *Muslim Bishop*.

Since 1974, the National Muslim Council of Liberia has united the principal groups. It comprises the following organisations: *The Council of the Muslim Community*, founded in 1949 by Alhaji Varmunych Shariff who, in 1953, built the capital's first mosque (inaugurated by President Tubman); *The Muslim Congress of Liberia*, founded in 1965 for cultural and scholastic objectives; *The Muslim League of Salefiya*; and *The Liberia Muslim Union*, established in the north, in the province of Nimba, and providing bursaries for academic students to be educated abroad.

The majority of the Muslims are orthodox Sunnīs of the Mālikī rite. Since 1957, the "Caliph" Mīrzā Nāṣir Aḥmad, who came in 1970 from Pakistan, has established himself and gathered around him a group of about a thousand disciples belonging to the Aḥmadiyya sect. In addition, an autonomous and syncretist Bahāʾī sect, which arrived in the country in 1957, has founded at Bomi Hilla a school capable of accommodating between 25 and 30 pupils.

In a land where the level of literacy is low (15 to 20%), the contribution made by the Muslim schools is feeble. The National Muslim Council sponsors one primary school in Monrovia and three high schools of which one, at Kakota, comprises 300 pupils. There is one elementary school at Robertsport (province of Cape Mount) and a secondary school in the province of Bong (40 pupils). Instruction is given partly in Arabic, partly in English.

Some rare Arabic books feature in the libraries of the capital, including some that have no religious content. There are certain Lebanese newspapers, of no interest other than to nationals of that country. The Aḥmadiyya broadcast a five-minute television programme every Friday.

Each year, between 100 and 200 Liberian pilgrims make the journey to Mecca. Only *al-ʿīd al-kabīr* at the end of Ramaḍān is celebrated with any kind of vigour. Despite these modest activities, the role of the Muslims seems to be steadily growing.

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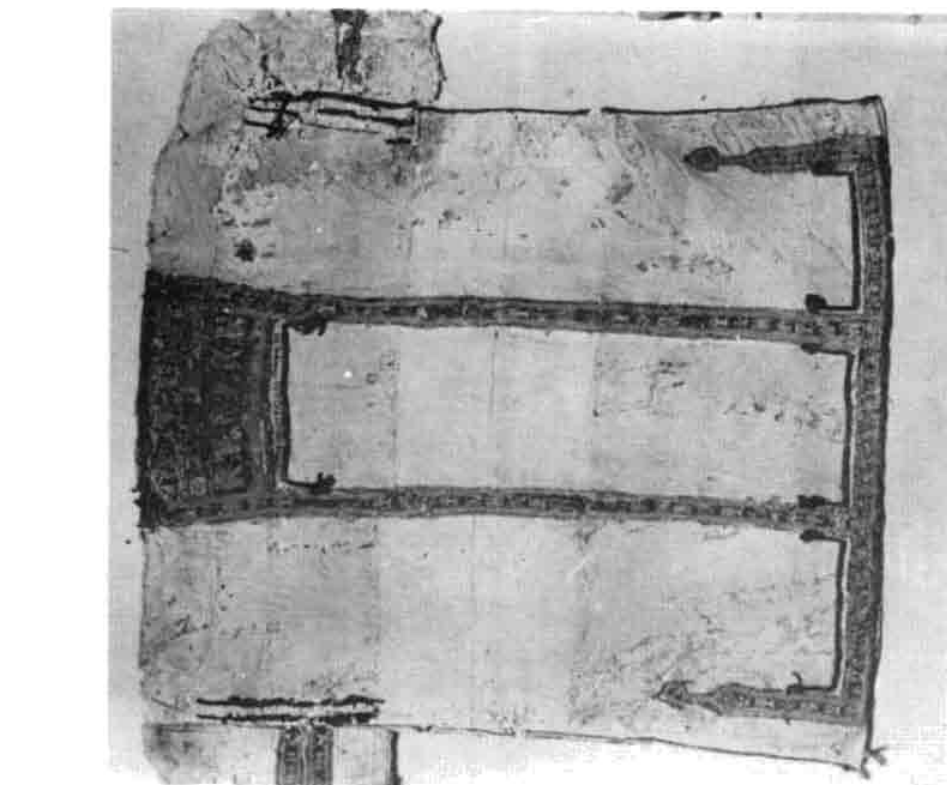
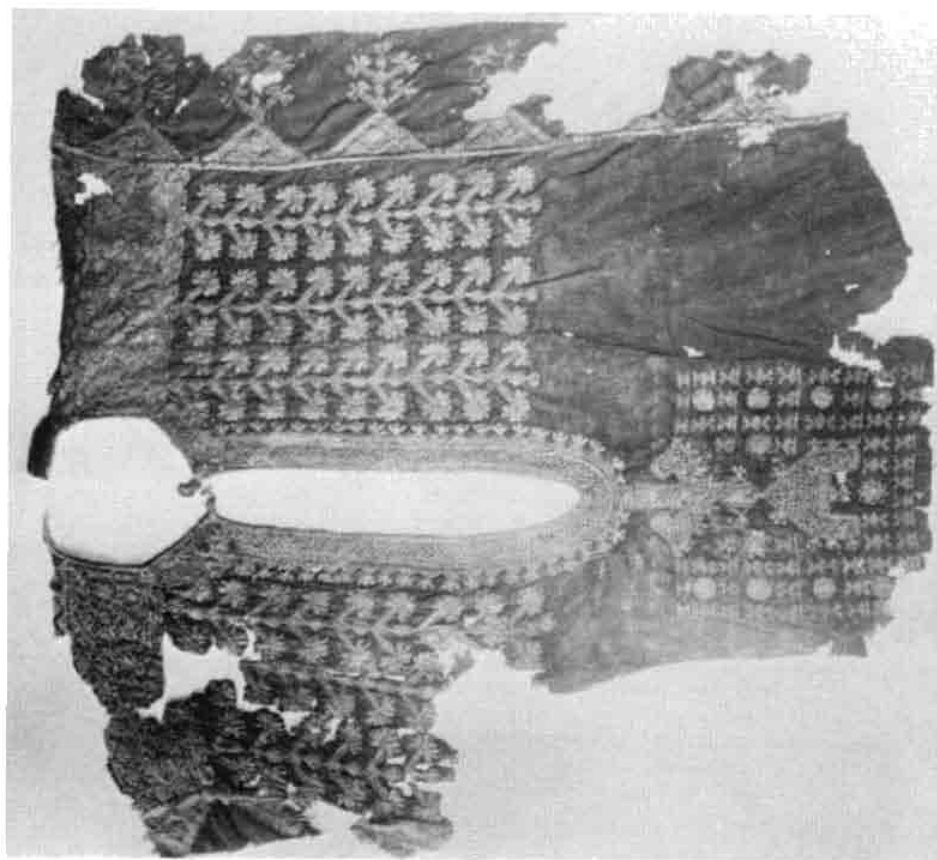
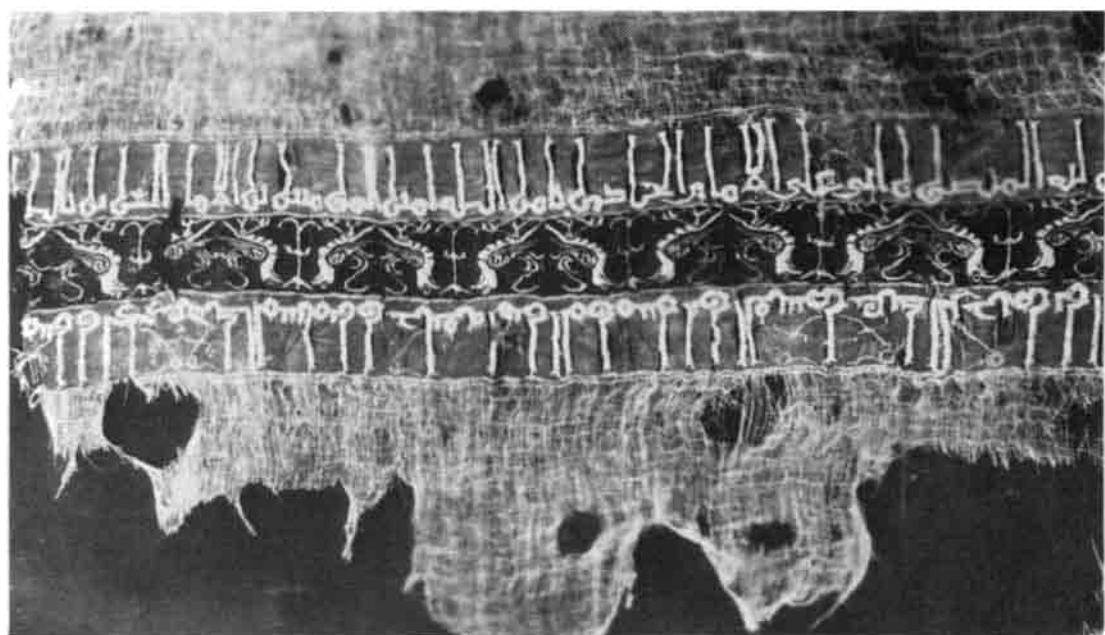
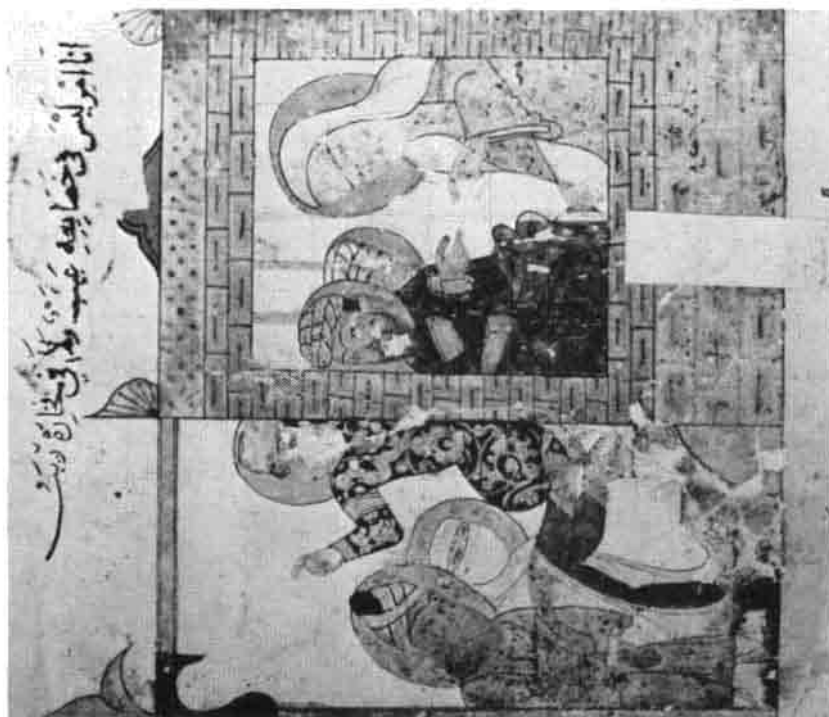
(R. Cornevin)

LĪBIYĀ, an Arabic form based on the Italian Libia, which in turn derives from the ancient Greek Λιβύη/Λυβύα.

1. The name. The name first appears in ancient Egyptian writings in the form RBW or LBW, perhaps representing Lebu or Libu. It was also known to the ancient Israelites and occurs several times in the later books of the Old Testament in the form Lubim.

1. Egypt, Fāṭimid period. *T͟hawb* with decorative bands and border. (Courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo).

2. Egypt. Fāṭimid period. Fragment of an embroidered garment. (Courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo).

3. Egypt, 1007-21. *Ṭirāz* silk fragment inscribed with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim and decorated with birds (*muṭayyar*). (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

4. Egypt. Fāṭimid period. Dancing girl in what appears to be a *sirwāl*. She holds a *mandīl kumm* in each hand. (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

5. N. ʿIrāḳ (?), second quarter of the 13th century. Woman wearing a *ṭirāz faradjiyya*. On her head is an *ʿiṣāba māʾila*. From the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. (Bibl. Nat. Paris, ms. Arabe 3939, fol. 151r).

6. Syria (?), *ca.* 1300. Group scene: The seated figure on the right is wearing a *ṭaylasān* or *ṭarḥa* over his turban. The fourth figure is wearing a printed robe (*makhtūma*), the woman standing below him is veiled by an *izār*, and the man on the left wears a turban wrapped around a *ḳalansuwa*. From the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. (Brit. Mus. Add. 22.114, fol. 15).

7. N. ʿIrāḳ, *ca.* 1218-19. Ruler wearing a *ḳabā' turkī* with *ṭirāz* bands. On his head is a *sharbūsh*. His attendants also wear Turkish costs. Most wear the cap known as *kalawta*. From the frontispiece of the *K. al-Aghānī* (Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol. 1b, Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul).

8. Syria. Two women of Lattakia: The standing figure is veiled with a *burḳuʿ* and *ḥabara*, the reclining figure with a *yas͟hmaḳ* and *mulāʾa*. From Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1884, plate facing p. 48.

9. Tripolitanian merchant. From Hamdy Bey and Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople 1873, Fig. XLII.

10. Egypt. Men of the bourgeoisie in *d͟jubba* and *banīs͟h*. From Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1898, 47

11. Transjordanian villager wearing a *thawb*, *kibr*, and *ʿabāʾa*. On his head a *kāfiyya* and a *ʿaḳāl*. From Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, fig. 29.

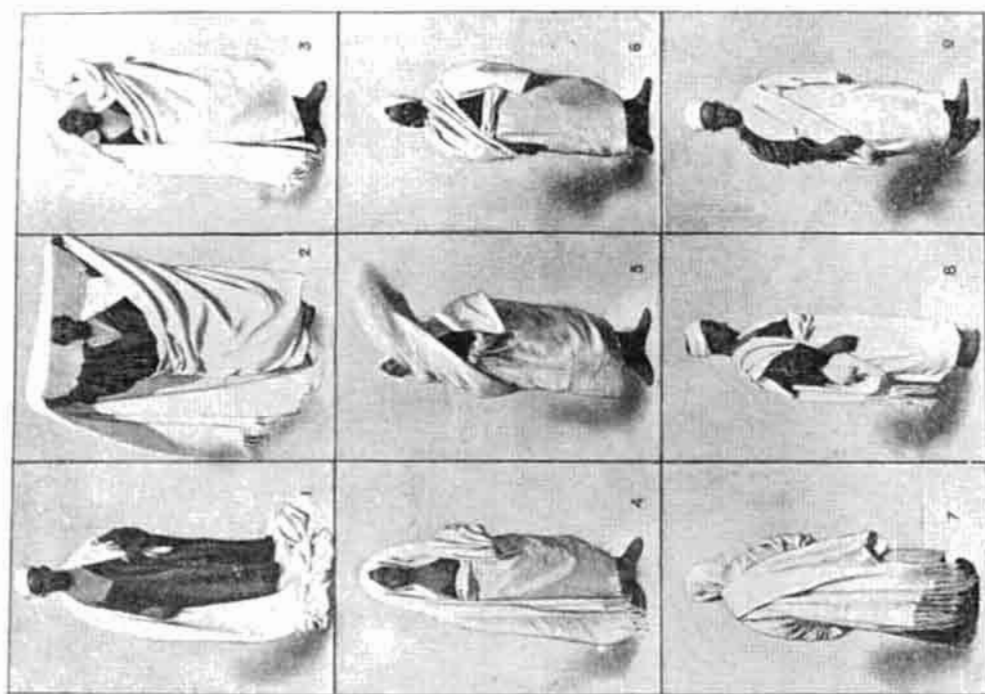
13. Palestine. *Shaṭwa* worn by married women. Bethlehem, late 19th century. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

12. Palestine. *Taḳṣīra* for a woman. Bethlehem, late 19th-early 20th century (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

14. Syria, early 20th century. *Libās* or *sirwāl* for a woman. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

15. Syria. *Yelek* for a woman. Aleppo, *ca.* 1850. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

17. Morocco. A boy's striped woollen *djallāba*. (Courtesy: Moroccan Ministry of Tourism).

16. Morocco. Draping of the man's *kisā'* or *ḥā'ik* in the national fashion. (From E. Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, 254).

18. Morocco. High Atlas Berbers wearing the heavy black woollen *akhnīf*. (From G. Rousseau, *Le costume au Maroc*, Paris 1938, fig. 1).

19. Algerian *mufti* wearing long Andalusian *sərwāl* and a *ḳafṭān* over which is a *ḳabā'a* and a white *səlhām*. On his head is a Turkish-style turban called *ʿimāma mboṛṛdja* over which is the scarf known as a *muḥannaka*, similar to the ancient *ṭaylasān*. (From G. Marçais, *Le costume musulman d'Alger*, Paris 1930, Pl. XIII-Bibl. Nat. Estampes O f 2 a)

20. Tunisia. Woman's wedding dress known as *ḳmādjdja kabīra* from Nabeul. (From S. Sethom, *La tunique de mariage en Tunisie*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions populaires*, no. 3 [Tunis 1969], fig. 9).

21. Southern Morocco. Guedra dancer wearing an indigo *izār* pinned at either side of the bosom with silver fibulae called *khallāla, kitfiyya* or *bazīma*. (Courtesy: Moroccan Ministry of Tourism).

22. Iran. Men and women in Tīmūrid attire (from the *Shāh-nāma* of Bāysunḳur, Gulistān Palace, Tehran, dated 833/1429-30).

23. Iran. Scene from the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī depicting Alexander meeting the *Khāḳān* of China. All are dressed in Ṣafawid attire and wear the distinctive turban with the protruding spike known as the *tādj Ṣafawī* (from a ms. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, painted in Tabrīz, 931/1524-5).

24. Iran. Ḳādjār court scene showing Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh receiving tribute. Figures in the foreground wear frocked coats and *kulāh*s, while the enthroned Shah wears a modified version of the ancient Sāsānid crown (from Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. Elliott 327, f. 265b, *ca.* 1810).

25. Iran. Women in black *čādur* and white *rū band* (from E. C. Sykes, *Persia and its people*, London 1910).

The Lehabim of Genesis, x, 13 may possibly represent the same name. The term passed into later and modern usage through the Greeks and subsequenly the Romans. In Greek geographical writings, it was most commonly used—along with Africa, which later replaced it in this sense—as the name of one of the three continents or, occasionally, as the name of the region in North Africa west of Egypt. Transmitted by the Greeks to the Romans in both senses, it was first made the name of a specific political entity by the Emperor Diocletian, who established the adjoining provinces of upper and lower Libya west of Egypt. The authenticity of a *ḥadīth* quoted by al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*[2], ed.—French tr. M. G. de Slane, Paris 1965; Ar. 8, tr. 23) according to which the Prophet is supposed to have said "He whose sins are numerous must place Libya (Lūbiyā) behind him", i.e. go to fight the infidels in Ifrīḳiya, is doubtful; moreover, the same author (Ar. 21, tr. 49) states that Ifrīḳiya is really called Lībiya, from the name of the founder of Memphis, who reigned over the land.

The term passed, along with much other Greek geographical knowledge and terminology to the Arabs, who normally wrote it in the form Lūbiya (لوبيا or لوبية). The earliest Arabic geographical writers name Lūbiya as one of the four quadrants into which the world is divided, the others being Europe, Ethiopia and Scythia (al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, text iii, Rome 1899, 27, tr. 19; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 155, cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 6-7, 197; Agapius of Manbidj, *K. al-ʿUnwān*, ed. A. Vasiliev in *Patrologia Orientalis*, v, Paris 1910-12, 612; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, i, Leiden 1884, 32; Yāḳūt, s.v., citing al-Bīrūnī who ascribes this classification explicitly to the Greeks). Lūbiya consisted of "Egypt, Kulzum, Ḥabash, the lands of the Berbers and adjoining countries, and the southern seas." In addition to this vague use as the name of a quarter, Lūbiya also occurs, more specifically, as a place-name in northern Africa. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. and partial French tr. A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, Algiers[2] 1947, 35, 77), probably copied by Ibn Khurradādhbih (ed. and partial French tr. M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghrib et de l'Europe au iii*e*/ix*e *siècle*, Algiers 1949, 13 and n. 172) makes Lūbiya a province of western Egypt. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 242 = § 1106), copying in his turn Ibn Khurradādhbih, speaks of a place (*mawḍiʿ*) named Lūbiya wa-Marāḳsiya (Marmarica) and cites in the *Tanbīh* (20) the region (*nāḥiya*) of al-Iskandariyya, Lūbiya and al-Marāḳiya. Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 74, French tr. Massé, 90) makes Libya a locality of Egypt. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 339, 342, tr. Wiet, 197, 201) speaks of Lūbiya as one of the districts (*kūra* or *ʿamal*) dependent on Alexandria, while Yāḳūt (iv, 368) places Lūbiya between Alexandria and Barḳa. Most of the mediaeval Arab geographers see North African Libya as administratively part of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 56, 309, 311; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 43; al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 386-7, 390-1, citing the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* and al-Ḳuḍāʿī; see further J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égpyte*, Mém. IFAO, xxxvi, Cairo 1919, 163; A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung der frühmittelalterlichen Agypten*, Vienna 1959, 8-9). The name also occurs as that of a mountain vaguely situated west of the Nile Valley. The passage in al-Bīrūnī, (*K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Hyderabad 1355, 100) naming Lūbiya as a source of precious stones south of Egypt, is certainly a misreading for Nubia. The form Lībiya is used, exceptionally, by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 52), citing the Arabic version of Orosius, and therefore following the Latin form of the name. By late mediaeval times, the name Lūbiya seems to have passed out of use in Arabic. It reappears in the 19th century when it is clearly derived from European sources. A late Ottoman work of reference, the historical and geographical dictionary of Aḥmed Rifʿat (*Lughāt-i taʾrīkhiyye ve djughrāfiyye*, vi, Istanbul 1300, 151) lists Libya in the form Lībī, obviously transcribed from the French, and defines it as "the Greek name of Africa". The entry goes on to explain the different senses in which the word was subsequently used ends by noting that, in the writer's own day, the term was confined to the regions "beyond Tripoli, Tunisia and Egypt and northeast of the Great Sahara Desert." ʿAlī Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ*, xv, 41), no doubt following European practice, also uses the form Lībiya for the region west of Egypt.

The name Libya continued in occasional use in Europe, mainly in the context of ancient history. It was given greater precision and popularity by the Italian geographer F. Minutilli, whose *Bibliografia della Libia* was published in Turin in 1903, and who applies the term specifically to the two Turkish *sandjaḳs* of Cyrenaica (Barḳa [*q.v.*]) and Tripolitania (Ṭarābulus al-Gharb [*q.v.*]), the only parts of the North Africa littoral that had not yet fallen under European control. Libya remained a geographical expression until the Italian invasion and the Italian decree of 5 November 1911, proclaiming Italian sovereignty over the two Turkish *sandjaḳs*. It was made the official name of a country—for the first time since Diocletian—by the Italian royal decree of 1 January 1934, which created a new colony, formed by the union of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and called Libya (Arabic Lībiya). This form was retained by the independent state established after the ending of Italian rule.

Bibliography: For the earlier history, the reader is referred to the articles BARḲA, FAZZĀN and ṬARĀBULUS. Languages: On the Arabic spoken in Libya, see ʿARABIYYĀ iii, 3. The Western dialects. On Berber, see BERBERS, v, as well as A. Basset, *La langue berbère*, in *Handbook of African Languages*, i, London-New York-Toronto 1952, 69-70. (ED.)

2. Libyco-Berber inscriptions. The Maghrib and the Sahara possess a large number of inscriptions using a script peculiar to the North-West of Africa, which was given the name Numidian and later Libyan. The first name, which has fallen out of use, was, however, to be preserved to designate one of the forms of this script, known as Eastern, which is widespread in Tunisia and Eastern Algeria.

The Libyan inscriptions published up to now and regarded as ancient, let us say pre-Islamic, can be estimated at some 1,200, but the Sahara possesses thousands of more recent graffiti and inscriptions carved on weathered rocks in the same script, still used by the Touareg, who call it *Tifinagh* [See BERBERS. VI].

These inscriptions, whether the monumental texts of Dougga from the 2nd century B.C. or the simple Touareg graffiti, use only signs of a strictly geometrical form, based for preference on the straight line. Also, the alphabet of Dougga which contains 23 or 24 signs only uses the circle for two letters: ⨀:

B and ◯: R and the curve exceptionally) for M, more often written ⊐, and (for S, more often rendered by ⴳ.

The other Libyan alphabets make more use of the curve, which appears for example in five or six *Tifinagh* signs. The dots, only present in the composition of two Eastern Libyan signs, are more frequent in *Tifinagh* (seven signs) where they sometimes replace the straight portions of the Eastern signs, also = in Eastern is rendered by: W in *Tifinagh*. The Libyan scripts seem to have failed to appreciate any cursive form; the signs are clearly separated in the ancient scripts, which know nothing of connections and ligatures, which are not so rare in *Tifinagh*, where the initial *n* and final *t* are joined in about twenty cases according to K. Prasse.

Another characteristic is that the Libyan script, like the *Tifinagh*, remains essentially consonantal. The vowels are not transcribed graphically except at times with a dot in *Tifinagh*, at the end of certain words. The sign ☰ seems to have had a separate function in the Eastern script, and the dot to have been the equivalent of *alif*.

The Libyan script, moreover, has no doubling of consonants and does not indicate stress; also, the alphabet is limited. In fact, 24 signs are known in the so-called Eastern form, of which one is doubtful, which agrees with the information given by an African writer of the 5th century, Fulgentius, according to whom the Libyan alphabet contained 23 signs.

The Libyan inscriptions, the ancient Libyco-Berber or *Tifinagh* and the modern *Tifinagh* inscriptions, occupy a vast area which seems to correspond to the ancient domain of the Berber language. Roughly, the signs of this script are to be found in use from the Mediterranean as far south as the Niger and from the Canary Islands to Libya. It is towards the east that the limit of this script's use is least known.

In Libya it was in common use in the Fezzān and Tripolitania. Recently, at the time of his excavation of Bu Ngem, R. Rebuffat noted that the Libyan inscriptions and graffiti there were influenced by Latin writing. Beyond there the evidence is less certain; nevertheless, a rock inscription found at Khor Kilobersa in Nubia was published recently. The signs of this inscription are sufficiently close to ancient *Tifinagh* for Alvarez Delgado to suggest a transcription and translation. Another author, Zawodowsky, even considered recognising in it a contamination of Meroitic script by Libyan, but this hypothesis was rejected by the majority of specialists. In this vast area, the density of inscriptions is highly variable and they are, furthermore, of different periods.

The zone with the highest concentration of Libyan inscriptions, their *locus classicus*, is undoubtedly North-West Tunisia and the part of Algeria adjacent to it; of the 1,124 published by J.-B. Chabot in his *Recueil des inscriptions libyques*, 1,073 come from this region. It is in fact the land of the Numides Massyles, cradle of the Numidian kingdom, where the Libyan language and script remained alive for a long time. In this district a large number of inscriptions are, moreover, from the Roman period. The rest of Algeria, as well as Northern Morocco, contains a low density of inscriptions. Despite the discoveries made since the *Recueil* of J.-B. Chabot appeared in 1940-1, the number of these inscriptions has only risen to 27 in Northern Morocco (L. Galand), and those in Algeria to the west of Sétif can be estimated at around fifty, of which about ten are in Kabylia alone.

Things are less clear on approaching the Saharan regions. Exploration is incomplete and above all very unevenly conducted. Furthermore, geological and topographical conditions are very influential factors in distribution. It is quite understandable that the flat regions, such as the Hamada or the basins occupied by dunes like the Western Great Erg, the Edeyen of Marzouk, contain very few inscriptions, while the rocky regions are infinitely richer. In the present state of our knowledge, which does not necessarily reflect the reality, the richest Saharan regions are the Hoggar and Tassili n'Ajjer, as well as its Libyan extension formed by the Acacus, the Air, the Adrar of the Iforas and the southern edge of the Atlas chain, particularly the south of the High Atlas, the Anti-Atlas and the Rio de Oro.

Inscriptions whose signs are close to the Saharan alphabet are not exceptional in the Canary Islands.

Periodically, "Libyan" inscriptions are mentioned outside the Berber domain, such as those of the Grotto Regina at Palermo, which, if their relationship to Libyan is confirmed, can be explained by the presence of Numidian mercenaries in the Punic contingents of Sicily. Others have been shown to be bad readings of Latin inscriptions (an inscription of La Garde Freinet, Var, attributed to the "Saracens") or the most fantastic interpretations, such as inscriptions found in Mexico or even Chile.

Traditionally, there are several distinguishable "alphabets" in the Libyan script. Some are contemporaneous with each other, such as the so-called Eastern and Western alphabets. The Libyco-Berber scripts of the Northern Sahara and the ancient *Tifinagh* preceded the *Tifinagh* used at the present day by the Touaregs, who are unable to read the ancient *Tifinagh*. Modern *Tifinagh* can undergo regional variations which are still little known.

The Eastern alphabet covers the north of Tripolitania, Tunisia and Eastern Algeria; the western limit of its use is to the east of Sétif, although two western-type inscriptions may be seen at Guelma and some eastern-type inscriptions may exceptionally be found in Kabylia: such is the case of the decorated stele featuring a person standing found at Lakhdaria (ex-Palestro), which bears on its main face, on either side of the person, an inscription with eastern signs. This inscription mentions offices and titles similar to those in use in Dougga in the 2nd century B.C. This detail allows us to put forward the hypothesis that it may well be an official inscription of the Numidian Massylian kingdom and somewhat "foreign" in a land that was in ancient times Masaesylian and the later Mauritania. This hypothesis may be strengthened by the existence on the reverse of the stele of graffiti using the Western script, which is that of the other inscriptions of the region. In the present state of our knowledge, the stele of Lakhdaria is the westernmost evidence of the Numidian or Eastern alphabet which seems to us to be more precisely Massylian.

The Western Libyan alphabet covers the lands peopled by the Masaesylians and Moors. It contains a greater number of signs than the Eastern, but also presents more variations; some signs known in Algeria are unknown in Morocco, and vice-versa. This script thus occupies a vast region, for all the Libyco-Berber inscriptions of the Northern Sahara and the Atlas belong to it to a greater or lesser extent. A great many of the Canary Islands inscriptions have the same signs, whose value is unfortunately not known with any certainty; besides, it is hardly likely that the Western script and that of

the Libyco-Berber inscriptions can be transcribed in the same way everywhere. This does not prevent three signs + ⊐ V (read from right to left) being found throughout the western area, from Guelma to the Atlantic, and is evidence of a certain unity.

Modern *Tifinagh* signs, current or sub-current, whose use goes back at least to the 5th century A.D. (tomb of Tni Hinan in Hoggar), are known throughout the Touareg world and go beyond it on the north-west, to Touat and Gourara, where they were even in use among the Judaised Berbers.

In some regions such as the Anti-Atlas, particularly in the Tinzouline, the signs of the Western script are sometimes mixed with small animal figures (horse, dog, oryx) which appear to act as pictograms; they are so closely linked that it makes it hard to believe that they do not have the same semantic content. The presence of dromedary figures in the same scenes prevents these inscriptions from being regarded as very ancient. These pictograms, if they really play this role, cannot serve to support the hypothesis of the Libyan alphabet coming into being through transformations of ancient marks of ownership and other traditional drawings, such as those which still figures in tattoos.

However, it should be noted that *Tifinagh* has two signs: ⵊ, a sign which has the value DJ, and ⵣ, which has the value Z, the two of which seem to be derived from signs of a figurative, more or less anthropomorphic, character. More frequently, Libyan *Tifinagh* is written in horizontal lines, but the meaning of the reading is highly variable; sometimes it is from right to left, sometimes from left to right, from top to bottom and in boustrophedon. K. Prasse noted that the use of a movable support, such as a sheet of paper, actually favoured this tendency. There are even some inscriptions known which describe almost closed curves.

Only the current form of *Tifinagh* and the Eastern Libyan alphabet can be transcribed, the former because the script and language are still in use among the Touareg, the latter because we have at our disposal several Libyco-Punic inscriptions, in particular that of Dougga, where we know that the Libyan text corresponds quite closely to the Punic text. This last has also transcribed, without translation, some Libyan titles or municipal offices, such as LOGMIL or GZB, which, it seems, had no equivalent in the Punic towns. Unfortunately, while the value of the signs is basically known and only requires some verification or points of detail, the language of the Libyan inscriptions is still unknown to us.The little that is known of Libyan,some elements of vocabulary and some presumed grammatical functions, show clearly that this language belongs to Berber; an ancient Berber, certainly, and imperfectly transcribed by a strictly consonantal alphabet, but which cannot be fundamentally different from the numerous current Berber dialects.

However, since the composition of the famous *Recueil* of Chabot, the very few specialists in this field have in general refused to suggest any translation of the texts, which are indeed very short, of the majority of the Libyan inscriptions; some even go so far as to pose the question of whether Libyan belongs to Berber. This carefulness contrasts with the adventurous attempts of G. Marcy, who, relying on Berber, particularly Moroccan *Tamazight* and Touareg *Tamahaḳ*, suggested a translation for most of the Libyan inscriptions known in his time. This attempt was followed by M. Alvarez Delgado, who extends it to some Canary Islands inscriptions.

Between the possibly exaggerated carefulness of the former, and the certainly dangerous enthusiasm of the latter, there has to be a middle position which accepts at the same time both the most serious checking and control and the minimum of hypothesis indispensable for the progress of all-knowledge.

The Western alphabet contains some supplementary signs which are absent in the Eastern and whose originality has been demonstrated by L. Galand in his ***Inscriptions antiques du Maroc***. The use of these two ancient alphabets was certainly contemporaneous, and it would be a mistake to believe, following a historicising logic, that the Eastern alphabet is the older because the script came from the East. Personally, adopting a hypothesis of J. Février, the author of the present article would carry it so far as to think that the Eastern form of the Libyan script (Numidian or Massylian alphabet) is a recast and simplified form of the original script due to contact with Punic, whereas outside the Massylian territory the old forms continued to be employed and to evolve until they became modern *Tifinagh*, which itself affords variations. His only disagreement with the hypothesis presented by J. Février is over the age of this adaptation, which Février placed in the 3rd century or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., whereas it seems to be much earlier.

Among others, the hypothesis has for long been prevalent that the Libyan alphabet derived directly from the Punic alphabet, as the name *Tifinagh* given to the present form of this script implies. But it is widely recognised that an origin derived from etymology can be fallacious. Nevertheless, the Libyan alphabet has several signs in common with the Punic script where they have the same value (G, T, SH). S. Gsell, however, raised considerable objections to this opinion. The writing of the Punic characters, as they are transmitted by numerous steles from Carthage, Utica, Hadrumeta and Cirta, is radically different from those of all the Libyan alphabets. Not only do nearly all the Punic signs have a cursive form, while the Libyan signs are angular and geometrical, but even the meaning of the script differs. All the Punic inscriptions, like every Semitic text, are written in horizontal lines from right to left, while the Libyan inscriptions are generally written from bottom to top in vertical columns, particularly those which we have every reason to believe the most ancient. It is only at Dougga for several decades, during the reigns of Massinissa and Micipsa, that some inscriptions of an official character were written in horizontal lines. These inscriptions number eleven, which represent a hundredth of the texts gathered by J.-B. Chabot. This proportion would be even smaller if we were to take account of the inscriptions discovered since. The case of the texts inscribed at Dougga is thus highly original and denotes a very powerful Punic influence, but this appears to be only a factor of modernisation and not as an especially determining original element.

If we are to look, as is most likely, among the Near Eastern scripts for the forms from which the Libyan alphabet derives, it is not to the Phoenician of Africa as it is known at Carthage, but to a more archaic script that we should turn, which would explain the similarities remarked with the South Arabian scripts (Ḥimyarite, Sabaean), but also with the Turdetan alphabet of Southern Spain.

The script did not necessarily penetrate Africa by sea, and it is actually more likely that it crossed the continent and that the Numidian Massylian form (the most recent of the ancient Libyan alphabets) may have arisen out of a transformation of the archaic forms in contact with the Punic world.

As far as this alphabet itself is concerned, two old hypotheses may definitely be rejected. The first is that of Meltzer, according to whom the Eastern alphabet was wholly invented by Massinissa, for we know today that some Libyan inscriptions are earlier than this king and, further, that the Numidian royal administration employed Punic exclusively in its official inscriptions, as it did in the legends on its coins. The other hypothesis, that of Lidzbarski, who wanted to link Libyan with Neo-Punic, is even more improbable, for it is based on a totally outdated chronology of the Neo-Punic script.

If the origin of the Libyan alphabet poses some insoluble problems, it is even more difficult to date its invention or introduction.

Contrary to the views of several authors (D. Blanchet, S. Gsell), the Libyan inscriptions or signs which are found on some rock carvings as at Kef Mektouba, Chaba Naïma and Khanguet el Hadjar, cannot be contemporaneous with these latter. It is now known that these carvings are for the most part Neolithic and thus very much earlier than every script. Careful examination reveals in every case that the inscriptions are superimposed on the carvings.

However, this is not the case with the inscription from the Azib n'Ikkis (High Atlas, Morocco). This inscription occupies a vertical cartouche delimited in an anthropomorphic figure of which it forms an indisputable part. It is certain that this inscription, which contains fifteen or sixteen signs not belonging to the Saharan alphabet, is contemporaneous with the carving. The technique of the lines, the patina, style and details such as the representation of the sex and the lateral fringes, which accompany the figure, are identical with other carvings which are usually attributed to the Old Bronze Age (El Argar civilisation in Spain). Even assigning it as late as possible within the archaeological context, this inscription seems to us clearly earlier than the 6th-5th century B.C.

In Morocco, we also have the inscription of Sidi Slimane of the G͟harb which refers to the tumulus that it adjoins and with which it is consequently contemporaneous; the funerary furniture of this monument belongs to the 4th-3th century B.C.

In Eastern Algeria the bazina (Palaeo-Berber dry-stone burial chamber) at Tiddis contained pottery, a piece of which has three Libyan letters painted on its belly. The bones contained in the pottery of this tomb have been dated from 2200 ± 100 years to 250 ± 100 B.C. So this inscription is quite likely to be older than the bilingual dedication of the Temple of Massinissa at Dougga, dating from the tenth year of the reign of Micipsa, i.e. 138 B.C. This inscription was for a long time the only Libyan text reliably dated, and there was also an unconscious tendency to regard it as the oldest. A study by J. G. Février of the inscriptions of Dougga, mentioning municipal offices, allows us to reconstruct the genealogy of an important person, Sefot, who was twice (during one year?) prince of the city. Taking account of this genealogy, it is possible to date back two other inscriptions (*RIL*, 10, 11) to a generation preceding the dedications of 139; these inscriptions would date from the decade 170-180 B.C.

In the Sahara, the datable documents are rarer, but a preliminary investigation has shown that *Tifinag͟h* is very much older than the historians, who believed that the Berbers only conquered the Sahara in the 3rd century of our era following the pressure exerted by Rome on the land routes of the north, formerly thought. In Fazzān, some *Tifinag͟h* scripts are carved on amphora found at Germa which date from the 1st century of our era. Among these graffiti figures sign ⵣ, which exists only in the Saharan alphabet. The Fazzān necropolis thus proves that in the 1st century of our era, *Tifinag͟h* was in use in the heart of the Sahara.

In the massif of the Hoggar, the stele of Assekrem, whose inscriptions and carvings appear very ancient (H. Camps-Fabrer), is worth citing, and especially the carved blocks of the funerary monument of Ti n Hinan at Abalessa. These blocks which bear *Tifinag͟h* script have been cut so as to form part of the construction of the monument, of which they constitute the lower courses. The cutting has mutilated or interrupted some carved texts. This *Tifinag͟h*, which belongs, however, to the modern alphabet, is thus at least contemporaneous with the monument and probably older; the funerary furniture and the isotopic date calculated from the wood of the bed or stretcher on which Ti n Hinan reposed, date the construction of the monument back to the 5th century of our era.

Such are the chronological pointers which allow us to assert the great antiquity of the Libyan script in the Mag͟hrib, where it is clearly earlier than the reign of Massinissa, i.e. at the emergence of the Numidians and Moors into history. As for the Sahara, the use of *Tifinag͟h* goes back to at least the beginning of our era and probably much earlier.

Bibliography: It is not possible to present a complete bibliography of the Libyan inscriptions. The various histories of the alphabet and of writing should be consulted, particularly that of J. G. Février, Paris 1948, and M. Cohen, *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution. Documentation et index*, Paris 1958, 90-1. A very complete bibliography, for the period, is given by J.-B. Chabot in the *Recueil des inscriptions libyques*, Paris 1940-1. See also C. Meinhof, *Die Libyschen Inschriften. Eine Untersuchung*, Leipzig 1932-5; L. Galand, *Inscriptions libyques*, in *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, Paris 1966; J. Alvarez Delgado, *Inscripciones libicas de Canarias, ensayo de interpretacion libica*, La Laguna, Tenerife 1964. The greatest caution should be exercised in using G. Marcy, *Les inscriptions bilingues de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1936, and the numerous articles of this author which appeared in *Hespéris* (1934-7), *AIEO Alger* (1936) and *R. Afr.* (1937).

L. Galand provides annually a report entitled "Les Études de linguistique berbère" in the *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord.* In these chronicles the discoveries and analyses of Libyan inscriptions are mentioned regularly. These reports have been collected in a volume entitled *Langue et littérature berbères. Vingt-cinq ans d'études*, Paris 1979. For the chronology of the inscriptions, see G. Camps, *Recherches sur les plus anciennes inscriptions libyques de l'Afrique du Nord et du Sahara*, in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques*, N.S., x-xi (1974-5), 146-66.

(G. Camps)

3. Modern history. — On 29 September 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey and started its long-planned invasion of the Libyan littoral. Italian troops did not succeed in penetrating beyond the coastal strip due to stiff resistance by combined Turkish-Libyan Forces. Negotiations between Italy and Turkey resulted in the Peace Treaty of Ouchy (17 October 1912). On the battlefield, however, Libyan resistance did not subside. During World War I the Italians were virtually besieged in their coastal strongholds. In Cyrenaica, Fazzān and the Sirtica, resistance was led by Aḥmad al-Sharīf (1873-1933), head of the Sanūsī order, with support from Turkey and Germany. It was under their influence that he decided to attack British Forces in Western Egypt in November 1915. Defeated, he transferred all political and military control of Cyrenaica to his cousin Muḥammad Idrīs al-Sanūsī (born 1882). In April 1917 agreements were reached between Idrīs and the British and Italians (the Accords of ʿAkrama). The Sanūsī-Italian accord was superseded in October 1920 by the Accord of al-Radjma, in which Idrīs was recognised as the independent ruler (*Amīr*) of the interior oases.

In Tripolitania, leadership was divided. Though a number of tribal leaders (*inter alios* Ramaḍān al-Shtaywī (or Suwayḥilī) and the Ibāḍī Berber Sulaymān al-Bārūnī) agreed on establishing a Tripolitanian Republic (*Djumhūriyya Ṭarābulsiyya*) in 1919, fighting soon broke out between tribal factions. To overcome dissensions and to strengthen their position vis-à-vis the Italians, they decided to offer Idrīs al-Sanūsī the amīrate of all Libya. This put him in a predicament, for he was bound to the accords with the Italians. On the other hand, refusal of the offer would undermine his position with his adherents. Finally, he decided to accept the offer, but subsequently fled the country to Cairo (1922).

Full-scale war in Libya was resumed after Mussolini's take-over in Rome in 1922. Due to its internal divisions, resistance in Tripolitania was soon crushed, but in Cyrenaica the charismatic leadership of the Sanūsī representative ʿUmar al-Mukhtār inspired Bedouin resistance for almost ten years until at last he was injured in battle, imprisoned and publicly hanged on 16 September 1931. Pacification of Libya being completed, the Italians started extensive agricultural colonisation schemes in the fertile coastal plains. In 1935 they completed the strategic coastal road connecting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The onset of World War II impeded further Italian development plans. After severe fighting between Germany and the Allied Forces, in January 1943 all of Libya was occupied by British and Free French Forces. Idrīs al-Sanūsī had assisted the British war effort from Cairo, and an army of Libyan exiles under the Sanūsī flag had participated in the liberation of Cyrenaica.

After World War II the future fate of Libya was put before the General Assembly of the United Nations. On 21 November 1949 it was decided that Libya should become an independent state before 1 January 1952. A UN Commissioner, the Dutchman Adriaan Pelt, was appointed to supervise the power-transfer from British and French military governments. The UN decision stimulated political debate on the future form of an independent Libya. Two opposing groups emerged. The older tribal and religious leaders, mainly concentrated in Cyrenaica and Fazzān, supported a federation under the Sanūsī crown. The younger generation, influenced by Arab nationalism, advocated a unitary republic. This no doubt would lead to the preponderance of Tripolitania, with its larger population and its better-developed economy and thus reduce the influence of Idrīs's supporters. They were wary of Idrīs's close bonds with Britain. The outcome of the debate, however, was anticipated by the proclamation of Idrīs al-Sanūsī as head of an independent amīrate of Cyrenaica, while control of foreign affairs and defence remained with Britain (1949). After this, Idrīs would not support the independence of a united Libya unless under his own crown.

Libyan independence was declared on 24 December 1951. (Due to peculiar international circumstances it was only in 1955 admitted to the UN.) The constitution provided for a hereditary monarchy under a Sanūsī King and a representative federal government consisting of two houses (a Senate and a House of Representatives). The King was endowed with extensive powers, including the right to select and dismiss the Prime Minister, to appoint half the Senate and to dissolve the elected parliament. The political system never matured. The first elections to be held on 19 February 1952 resulted in a victory for government candidates, but voting results were contested by the opposition parties. Demonstrations ended in violent clashes with police forces. As a result, all political parties and programmes were suppressed. From that moment, Libyan politics gradually degraded into the assertion of family, tribal and parochial interests.

The next two decades witnessed increasing pressure on Libyan society. An unprecedented oil boom was the main cause. Libya's first oil was struck in 1955; in 1962 it joined OPEC; and in 1969 Libya had already become the world's fourth largest oil producer. Oil revenues ended Libya's dependency on foreign financial aid and allowed a more assertive policy. In order better to cope with the exigencies of oil exploration, in 1963 the cumbersome federal system was abolished. Social changes set in with developing oil industry. Urbanisation and industrialisation gave birth to a new stratum of traders, service-men and technicians; petroleum and dock workers started to organise in trade unions. The new social groupings were denied political expression. Subsequent tensions were heightened by foreign politics. During the Suez crisis (1956) and again in 1967 there were violent outbursts of Arab nationalist feelings. But Libya, a member of the Arab League since 1953, was tied to the West in its foreign policy by the presence of British and US military bases. The government, though briefly joining the Arab oil embargo of 1967, had no means adequately to meet widespread popular support for a Nasserist policy. This undermined the King's authority.

On 1 September 1969, Idrīs was deposed. In spite of an initial wave of popular enthusiasm, the revolution remained entirely an army affair. It had been planned and implemented by a movement of "Free Officers" modelling itself on the Nasserist revolution. A Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) took control of affairs. It consisted of twelve officers under the general leadership of Colonel Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī (Gaddafi). Political parties remained suppressed. An attempt at broadening the RCC's political base was made by creating the Arab Socialist Union (1972). Lack of cadre, apathy and hostility from traditional leadership caused its failure. Another attempt was made in 1973 by the proclamation of the popular revolution. Its ideology was set forth by Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī in his *Green books* (see *Bibl.*). In these, he propagated his Third World

theory which refuted parliamentary democracy as well as class domination. Libya was to be governed by Popular Congresses (*mu'tamarāt sha'biyya*) and Popular Committees (*lidjān sha'biyya*) in every section of society. On 2 March 1977, power was officially transferred to the people and the country renamed the *Djamāhīriyya* (Masses' Republic).

In oil policies, republican Libya took a nationalistic stand, leading to a sharp price increase and a major share in production. On the international scene, the theme of Arab unity was paramount, though al-Kadhdhāfī's Third World theory has universalist aspirations.

Bibliographical: Indispensable bibliographical materials are to be found in H. Schlüter, *Index Libycus. Bibliography of Libya 1957-1969 with supplementary material 1915-1956*, Boston Mass. 1972, and *Index Libycus. Bibliography of Libya 1970-1975 with supplementary material. Vol. I. Titles.* (*al-Fihris al-Lībī 1390 ilā 1395-1970 ilā 1975*), Tripoli n.d. On the colonial period, a lot of material is available, especially in Italian. A good short account is to be found in E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1949. For the period 1943-1960: Ismail Raghib Khalidi, *Constitutional Development in Libya*, Beirut 1956; Majid Khadduri, *Modern Libya. A study in political development*, Baltimore 1963; and the account of UN-Commissioner Adriaan Pelt, *Libyan independence and the United Nations. A case of planned decolonization*, New Haven and London 1970. On revolutionary Libya: Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Zaydān, *Īdiyūlūdjiyyat al-thawra al-Lībiyya*, Benghazi 1973; Ruth First, *Libya. The elusive revolution*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1974; *La Libye nouvelle. Rupture et continuité*, Paris 1975; Henri Pierre Habib, *Politics and government of revolutionary Libya*, Ottawa 1975; Omar I. El-Fathaly, M. Palmer and R. Chackerian, *Political development and bureaucracy in Libya*, Lexington Mass. 1977; Omar I. El-Fathaly and M. Palmer, *Political development and social change in Libya*, Lexington, Mass. 1980; C. Kooij, *Islam in Qadhafi's Libya: religion and politics in a developing country*, Amsterdam 1980; Ḥabīb Wadā'a al-Ḥusnāwī, *Min al-Djumhūriyya ilā 'l-Djamāhīriyya. Dirāsāt fī thawrat al-Fātiḥ min Sibtimbir fī Lībiyā*, Tripolis 1982. On oil: F. C. Waddams, *The Libyan Oil industry*, London 1980. Yearly economic, political, social and cultural surveys, besides documents and studies, in: *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris. A good general history is J. Wright, *Libya*, London 1969, and also idem, *Libya. A modern history*, London n.d. Mu'ammar al-Kadhdhāfī's ideology is to be found in his *al-Kitāb al-Akhḍar al-Faṣl al-awwal: Ḥall mushkilat al-dīmūkrāṭiyya "Sulṭat al-sha'b". al-Faṣl al-thānī: Ḥall al-mushkil al-iktiṣādī "al-Ishtirākiyya". al-Faṣl al-thālith: al-Rukn al-idjtimā'ī li 'l-naẓariyya al-'ālamiyya al-thālitha*, in many editions and translations.

(R. J. I. TER LAAN)

4. Ethnography and demography. Since the early 1860s, when Libya began to export oil on an international scale, the social and economic structure of its population has been undergoing a continuous process of accelerated and extensive change. Nonetheless, studies of Libyan culture and society and its institutionalised forms—the family, kinship systems, political organisation, legal procedures, religious beliefs and practices, etc.—must still take into account geographical and historical diversities within the country and among its inhabitants. The three regions of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica (Barka), and the Fazzān have had different economies, varying external connections, and experienced specific historical and cultural influences; and internally, each of these regions has been diversified in particular ways.

Along the Mediterranean coastline of 1,200 miles lies a fertile coastal strip nowhere broader than 50 miles. The barren Gulf of Sirte, an arc of some 300 miles where the desert comes right down to the sea, separates the settled coastal areas of Tripolitania from those of Cyrenaica. These areas are well-watered, enjoy a Mediterranean climate and contain the principal cities, towns and villages inhabited by the overwhelming majority of the country's population. The western coastal zone includes the capital city of Tripoli; the inland hills of Djabal Nafūsa, with sufficient rainfall for habitation, and ancient olive groves surrounding small Berber-speaking towns and troglodytic settlements formerly inhabited by Libyan Jews; and, between the fertile coast and the hills, the arid plain of Djafāra. The eastern zone contains the country's second largest city, Benghazi, and the Djabal Akhḍar mountain range which runs in an arc parallel to the coast from Derna to south of Benghazi and whose uplands, rising to 2,000 feet, receive plentiful rainfall.

To the south of this strip lies a second zone which in the past has been too arid for permanent settlement, but which is sufficiently watered to provide grazing and crops of barley for nomadic herders. Although rains were uncertain and the hot wind from the south (*giblī*) could "shrivel plants like a flame", this was the country's main barley-producing area.

Beyond this zone was an absolute desert with the exception of four oasis groups in Cyrenaica—Djaghbūb [*q.v.*], Djala, Marada and Kufra [*q.v.*], and the spare half-dozen oases of the Fazzān [*q.v.*]. Only about one-twentieth of the country's total population lived in this area of extreme desert climate.

The divisive geographical features of Libya were mitigated by trade, religion and, finally, by the political unity created by Italian colonisation, beginning in 1911 and furthered by the Second World War. Before the opening of West African ports in the 19th century, a good proportion of the wealth of tropical Africa had reached Europe by way of Libya. From the Fazzān and Cyrenaica, gold, ivory, ebony, ostrich feathers and slaves transported to the emporia of Tripoli and Benghazi had sustained oasis-dwellers, camel-herders and merchant townsmen. The Fazzān had been a wealthy community of slave-owning merchants, Berber-speaking Tuaregs with trading networks as far as Timbuctu, in parts of the Sahara and into the Western Sudan; while Cyrenaica had controlled the caravan route through Kufra to Wadai. When this commerce ceased, the Tuareg moved further west while the former Tebu-speaking slaves remained in the oases, subsisting as crop-sharing peasants until the oil boom of the 1960s. Most of these areas, as well as the Djabal Akhḍar and the tribes in the plain of Djafāra, were more or less autonomous and maintained their own locally-based social structures.

Until the 1950s, at least four-fifths of the population of Tripolitania lived from agriculture and animal-rearing. In the Djafāra, a number of tribes, integrated in a complex social and economic pattern that included sedentary peasants, transhumants, and oasis cultivators, were linked by *ṣuff* [*q.v.*] relations of alliance which transcended other loyalties.

In Cyrenaica, as well, the combination of nomadism, pastoralism, and some cultivation, along with the significant seasonal variations in climate, assumed a characteristic form of social organisation, viz., the segmentary tribal system. Throughout Libya (and elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East), the disposition of non-urban groups reflected the distribution and exploitation of natural resources, and the usage of common concepts, especially that of the segmentary tribal system, was widespread and of central importance. Nonetheless, these shared concepts often glossed over diverse adaptations to different types of ecologies. Thus, for example, in Cyrenaica the virtually sedentary cow and goat herders of the Djabal Akhḍar and the camel and sheep pastoralists of the semi-desert area differed significantly in the pattern of their social relationships. The idiom of "tribe" also nominally existed in the cities of the coastal area, but the urban élites with their cosmopolitan values and social structure had more resemblances and affinities with their urban counterparts in the Arab and Muslim world than they did with the tribesmen of their hinterlands.

Libya, like the rest of predominantly Berber North Africa, had been invaded in the 5th/11th century by the Banū Hilāl [q.v.] and Banū Sulaym [q.v.], some of the former settling in Tripolitania, and the latter in Cyrenaica. These tribal movements from the east accelerated the process of Arabisation and the spread of Islam and produced a fusion of cultures and races. Only small pockets of Berber-speakers have resisted. In Tripolitania there are communities of sedentary agriculturalists along the northern fringes of Djabal Nafūsa between Yefren and Nalut, and on the coast at Zuara; these Berber-speakers, who are further distinguished by their adherence to the Ibāḍiyya [q.v.] sect, constitute an estimated 4% of the population of Tripolitania; in addition, there are in the oases of Ghadamès and Ghat Berber-speaking Tuareg. To complete the linguistic description, mention should again be made of the Tebu of Fazzān and southern Cyrenaica who speak their own language, a Sudanic dialect. Finally, amongst the Arabic-speaking population, the Libyan Jewish communities deserve inclusion: before emigrating *en masse* during the decade following the Second World War, the Jews numbered some 30,000, most of them in Tripolitania. Their communities had their own internal social structures and values, and they played an important role in economic life, particularly trade.

In regard to religion, the overwhelming majority of Libyans have long adhered to the Sunnī creed and followed the Mālikī school of law. Yet neither their beliefs, nor the history of the country, may be understood without taking into account the revivalist movement of the Sanūsiyya [q.v.], a neo-Ṣūfī order established by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859). The order, founded on a network of lodges, spread along the desert oases from Tripolitania to the Sudan. With his headquarters in the interior at Djaghbūb, a strategic centre for consolidating power and spreading the creed among tribes along the caravan routes, the head of the order created a political-religious organisation that was to lead the opposition to Italian penetration and eventually become transformed into the Libyan Kingdom under the rule of a descendant of the founder, King Idrīs. The Sanūsī order, as an Islamic revivalist movement, gave the population of the country a religious zeal and, aroused by Italy's attack, a sense of unity that developed into Libyan nationalism.

During the period of Italy's colonisation of Libya, a large number of agricultural estates belonging to Italian individuals and development companies were established: a programme of state and land-grant colonisation in the 1920s was followed by large-scale agricultural settlement by Italian peasant families in the 1930s. The invasion and the colonial occupation disrupted and influenced the economic and social life of the indigenous population in a myriad of ways: e.g. there was an increase in sedentarisation among nomads, the breakdown of corporate groups, the spread of education, and a massive exodus of poor rural pastoralists and agriculturalists to take up wage labour in the cities and towns of the coastal region, especially after the Second World War.

Since independence in 1951, the government has created a new group of Libyan farmers by transferring to them former Italian lands (and eventually nationalising those lands in 1971) and establishing a National Agricultural Settlement Agency. Moreover, it has instituted policies for land use, irrigation, rural settlement (and, since the revolution of 1969, a state policy for rural development with projects planned for the Djafāra plain, Djabal Akhḍar, Kufra, Serir and Fazzān), and has generally sought to raise the contribution of agriculture to the national economy. But because of the phenomenal development of oil and the growth of industry and services, agriculture has declined significantly since the pre-1961 period when it involved 70% of the labour force.

In 1964 oil in Libya began to flow on an international level. Since then it has transformed the country from a poor agricultural and desert backland to a land of affluence and one of the biggest oil exporters in the world. With an estimated annual average income of $ 8 billion per year (1978) and a per capita Gross National Product of $ 6,310, Libya has become the richest country in Africa and the fifteenth richest country in the world (1977 World Bank Report). The national economy now depends on the oil sector, which accounted for about 62% of Gross Domestic Product in 1980. The government (renamed since 1973 the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to replace the Libyan Arab Republic established following the *coup d'état* led by Colonel Muʿammar al-Ḳadhdhāfī (Gaddafi) in 1969) has concentrated in its latest Development Plan (1976-80) on the needs of electricity, water supplies, sewage and housing, and the creation of three major industrial complexes. It is the urban sector, where one-third of the labour force are foreigners and less than 3% women, which now receives governmental priorities.

Libya is on the way to becoming a highly-urbanised society. About half of its population in 1978 of 3,014,100 (of whom 2,597,600 are Libyans) live in towns of 20,000 or larger. Its accelerated urban growth results from migration, natural increase and immigration of foreign labour. Between 1966 and 1973, towns of 25,000 or more population grew by 20% annually, one of the highest rates in the world. (Natural increase for the same period was 4.2%.) The urban regions of Tripoli and Benghazi (10% of the country's total area) contain 92% of the total population, include fourteen of the fifteen towns with a population of at least 10,000, and are responsible for 86% of Libya's agricultural production. The city of Tripoli has grown from a population of some 30,000 at the beginning of the century, to 110,000 (1931), to 240,000 (1954) and to an estimated 820,000 in 1980; while Benghazi, according to the 1980 estimate, has some 400,000 inhabitants. By the end of this century, it is expected that of Libya's

population of 5.5 to 7 million, 67% to 74% will live in cities of 20,000 or more, i.e., that the number of city-dwellers will triple or quadruple. The study of social and cultural changes consequent to these processes greatly increases the challenges to Libyan ethnography.

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LIḤYA-YI SHERĪF, the hairs of the Prophet. In imitation of the Prophet's practice shaving of the hair and beard later became a *sunna*. According to al-Bukhārī, during his penultimate and last pilgrimages, Muḥammad permitted people who wanted to get his hair when he was being shaved (Ahmet Zebidi Zeynüddin, *Sahih-i Buhari muhtasarı tecridi sarih tercemesi*, tr. Ahmed Naim-Kâmil Miras, Istanbul 1926-46, vi, 193-8, x, 442). The hairs of his head and beard, thus obtained, were preserved and later circulated in all Islamic countries. People kept this hair in a bottle, wrapped in layers of green cloth, in mosques, palaces, etc., opening this on public festivals such as during the days of Ḳandīl, Bayram, and in the second half of Ramaḍān. In the houses of the rich, the Liḥya-yi Sherīf was regarded with respect and placed in an honoured, elevated position. In the mosques it stood on a high stool on the landing above the last stair of the pulpit (Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1939-43, i, 172; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, ii, 366).

Although it means properly a hair from the head of beard of the Prophet, it is called Saḳal-ı Sherīf incorrectly by the public in the Turkish-speaking countries, meaning the Prophet's beard only.

The Liḥya-yi Sherīf is today kept in a silver box at the Topkapı Palace, together with the other relics of Islam, in the Imperial Chamber (*Khāṣṣ Oda*), in the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle (*Khirḳa-yi Saʿādat Dā'iresi*) (Kemal Çığ, *Relics of Islam*, Istanbul 1966, 7). Two other examples which belong to the Yıldız Palace, now transferred with other objects to Istanbul University Library, are however in boxes encrusted with mother-of-pearl on which verses from the Ḳur'ān are written. As well as green cloths, these are wrapped in a kind of gauze with inscriptions printed on it, called *destimal* ("napkin"), specially made (İsmail H. Baykal, *Enderun mektebi tarihi*, Istanbul 1953, 148) for the visits to the Holy Mantle organised by the Sultan-Caliph on 15 Ramaḍān and then distributed to the courtiers and other people invited to the ceremony [see KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF].

The ceremony of visiting the Holy Mantle is explained at length in many Ottoman writers. Although the Liḥya-yi Sherīf is kept with the other relics there, it is never mentioned, and the Mantle of the Prophet occupied the most important place in these ceremonies (H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1966, 223; Leylâ Saz, *Haremin içyüzü*, Istanbul 1974, 125). It is interesting to note that in histories such as those of Silāḥdār or Selānīkī, we find much information about the Holy Standard and the Holy Mantle's being removed from their places and sent away in times of crisis, and about help being expected from them when the sultans or the Ottoman army were in trouble; butn one of these authors writes anything about the Liḥya-yi Sherīf (İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı devleti'nin saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 250-60).

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LIḤYĀN, people and State of early Arabia.

1. Liḥyān and Liḥyānite in epigraphy. Inscriptions discovered in the north of the Ḥidjāz and speedily identified as "Liḥyānite" have preserved the names of at least six kings of Liḥyān, a kingdom which must have existed for several centuries in pre-Islamic times. The great majority of the Liḥyānite inscriptions are found in the valley of al-ʿUlā and its immediate surroundings, especially in the neighbourhood of al-Khurayba, the site of ancient Dedān, not far to the south of the great Nabataean centre of al-Hidjr [*q.v.*], i.e. modern Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. Not only Liḥyānite, but also other inscriptions are found in more or less considerable numbers in the same area: Dedānite, Minaean, Thamudic,

Nabataean, Hebrew and Arabic. C. M. Doughty, Ch. Huber and J. Euting were the first travellers to copy Liḥyānite inscriptions and to report on the archaeological remains in their vicinity.On the basis of Euting's documents in particular, D. H. Müller presented a first interpretation of the texts. Close to 400 Liḥyānite inscriptions and graffiti were subsequently published by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac in their monumental *Mission archéologique en Arabie*. In recent years, many more have come to light, for instance those included in some of A. Jamme's publications, particularly in various volumes of his *Miscellanées*. Most important was the discovery, in a mountain gorge near Biʾr al-ʿU<u>dh</u>ayb, to the west of al-<u>Kh</u>urayba, of a group of texts connected with a place of worship of <u>Dh</u>ū-<u>Gh</u>ābat, the principal deity of Liḥyān at the time.

The Liḥyānite inscriptions are written in a South Semitic alphabet, related to but distinct from the South Arabian, Dedānite, Thamudic and Safaïtic scripts. Although the evolution of the South Semitic letter forms is not yet sufficiently clear in all its details, it has become generally accepted, since H. Grimme (1930, 1932), that the Dedānite inscriptions are older than the Liḥyānite ones. On both historical and palaeographic grounds, these Dedānite inscriptions are usually dated, with F. V. Winnett (1937, p. 50), to the sixth century B.C., or slightly later; cf. Winnett, in Winnett and W. L. Reed (1970, pp. 114 ff.). It is not known when the Dedānite supremacy in the region was replaced by the Liḥyānite one and after how long an interval, if any. It seems certain, however, that the kingdom of Liḥyān flourished at least throughout the 3rd century B.C.; the Minaean inscription found in Dedān and now dated to approximately this period points to the presence of a colony of Minaean traders without implying, contrary to what was previously believed, Minaean political domination, cf. A. van den Branden (1957, p. 16) and J. Ryckmans (1957-8, p. 243; 1961, pp. 54 ff.). The name of certain kings of Liḥyān, *TLMY*, may be another indication that the Liḥyānite rulers were to some extent contemporaries of the Ptolemies of Egypt, if the identification of that name with Ptolemy, suggested by E. Littmann, in J. Euting, *Tagbuch*, ii, 225, and W. W. Tarn is correct. But the name could be Semitic, and it has been compared, most recently again by al-Ansary (1970), with that of Talmay, king of Geshur (II Sam. iii, 3 and xiii, 37; I Chron. iii, 2). The southward advance of the Nabataeans probably caused the downfall of the Liḥyānite kingdom. In this connection, three short Nabataean inscriptions, found south of Taymā and written by a certain Masʿūdū, who calls himself king of Liḥyān, are often quoted. Various dates have been ascribed to these inscription: the 2nd century B.C. by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (*Mission*, ii, 221), the middle of the 1st century B.C., "but before the final Nabataean conquest of Dedan", by W. F. Albright (1953, p. 7) and, less likely, the 1st century A.D. by W. Caskel (1954, p. 42). Among the deities worshipped by the Liḥyānites, the inscriptions mention, in addition to <u>Dh</u>ū-<u>Gh</u>ābat, Hallāh, Lāt, Han-ʿUzzay, Han-ʾAktab, Ha-Kūtbay, Baʿalsamēn, Ḥumām, Ha-Mahr, <u>Kh</u>ar<u>dj</u>, Salmān and Wadd (the vocalisation is purely conventional). These and other deities are also encountered in composite proper names such as Zēd-<u>dh</u>ū-<u>Gh</u>ābat, Wahb-Allāh, ʾAmat-ʿUzzā, <u>Dj</u>aram-han-ʾAktab, <u>Dj</u>aram-Kutbā ʿAbd-Manāt, etc. The site of a temple was discovered in al-<u>Kh</u>urayba by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (*Mission*, ii, 56 ff.). Its walls were probably ornamented on the inside with large statues; parts of several of these statues were found lying in the débris. In the central court of the temple, there was a stone basin, circular in form and more than four metres in diameter.

The language of the Liḥyānite inscriptions is an early form of Arabic. Some differences with Classical Arabic are easily observed. The defective spelling of words like *bt* (cf. Classical Arabic *bayt*) and *ʾs* (cf. Classical Arabic ʾAws) shows that the Liḥyānite phonemic system comprised the vowels *ē* and *ō*. After nasals, *t* may have been realised as *<u>th</u>* and is occasionally spelled conformingly, e.g. *bn<u>th</u>* instead of *bnt*—daughter. The article has the form *h-*; *hn-* before ʾ, ʿ and, optionally, *ḳ*; *hl-* occurs in one inscription. The dual pronominal suffix *-hmy* (cf. Classical Arabic *-humā*) did not end in *-ā* because, in Liḥyānite orthography, final long *-ā* is written with the letter *-h*. The nominative dual *status constructus* is also spelled with final *-y* and, for that reason, cannot have ended in *-ā*. The perfect, third person m. sg. of the causative stem of verbs with identical second and third radicals is frequently not contracted, *ʾfll* or *hfll*; but contracted forms are also found on occasion. A systematic analysis of the inscriptions will undoubtedly reveal other peculiarities of Liḥyānite Arabic.

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(A. J. DREWES)

2. In Islamic sources. The Islamic historical and genealogical sources consider the Arab tribe of Liḥyān to be a branch of the Hudhayl [*q.v.*], and ascribe to it the genealogy Liḥyān b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. al-Yās b. Muḍar, i.e. Liḥyān was attached to the North Arab stock. When and how the Liḥyān came to the position in which we find them in the 6th century A.D., forming part of the Hudhayl and established in a territory considerably to the south of their original home, sc. now in the country to the north-east of Mecca, we cannot tell, on account of the complete absence of documents. Muslim tradition has lost all memory of them and confounds them apparently under the general designation of Thamūd [*q.v.*] with the Thamūd proper and the Nabataeans of al-Ḥidjr: a memory, but a very vague one, of the old kingdom of Liḥyān may perhaps have survived in the isolated mention in a tradition that the Liḥyān were "remnants of the Djurhum", who later became part of the Hudhayl (Ṭabarī, i, 749, 11-12 [see DJURHUM], following Ibn al-Kalbī; *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, x, 324, 1-2, following al-Hamdānī, probably in *al-Iklīl*, since the passage is not found in the text of the *Djazirat al-ʿArab*).

In the period just before and after Islam, the Liḥyān do not seem to have had a history independent of their brethren of Hudhayl; it is only rarely that they are mentioned apart from them, e.g. in *Ḥamāsa*, 34, à propos of their battles with the warrior-poet Taʾabbaṭa Sharran; Yāḳūt, Buldān, ii, 272, iv, 104 (cf. the *Ḥamasā* of al-Buḥturī, 80-1; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, ed. H. H. Bräu, no. 86 = *SBWAW*, cciii, no. 4, 1927, 31), ii, 614, of a battle with the Khuzāʿa. The poets of this tribe are as a rule reckoned among those of the Hudhayl—e.g. Mālik b. Khālid al-Khunāʿī, al-Mutanakhkhil al-Khunāʿī, etc. At the time of the preaching of Islam we find them, like the rest of the Hudhayl, under the political influence of the Ḳuraysh. This explains their hostile attitude to Muḥammad, which resulted in the murder of their chief Sufyān b. Khālid b. Nubayh by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmays at the instigation of Muḥammad. This murder was cruelly avenged by the Liḥyān, who slew several Muslims in their turn (the *yawm al-Radjīʿ*, 4 A.H.). As there is no further mention of hostile relations between the Muslims and the Liḥyān, it is probable that the latter were included in the submission which the Hudhayl made to Islam [see HUDHAYL].

After the triumph of Muḥammad, and in the periods following, there is an almost complete lack of information about the Liḥyān, and there are very few persons of note belonging to this tribe: the grammarian al-Liḥyānī, whose full name was ʿAlī b. Ḥāzim (Khāzim) or b. al-Mubārak, d. in 222/837 or 223/838 (cf. al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt*, ed. Krenkow, in *RSO*, viii, 145, no. 125, with bibliography; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, 51) perhaps belonged to it, but other sources (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 229; *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, x, 324, 19) trace his *nisba* "al-Liḥyānī" to the unusual length of his beard (*liḥya*).

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA *)

LĪM, LĪMŪN [see MUḤAMMAḌĀT]

LIMASSOL [see ḲUBRUṢ]

LIMNI (Turkish form of the Greek Λῆμνος, in older Ottoman historical works Limoz and Ilimli, in older Greek sources also Λῆμος, Stalimene in mediaeval western sources, Lemnos in modern usage) an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, 80 km. west of the entrance of the Dardanelles (*Čanaḳḳalʿe Boghazi* [*q.v.*]) halfway between Mount Athos and Tenedos (*Bozdja-Ada* [*q.v.*]). The island, of *ca.* 470 km², has been virtually treeless since long before Ottoman times. Agriculture is of local importance only. Its famous export product since antiquity is a sort of volcanic earth which had reputedly medicinal power, *terra limnia, ṭīn-i makhtūm*, which used to be dug once yearly with some ceremony. Lemnos today has a Greek population of about 25,000 which is constantly decreasing. Myrina (formerly Kastro, Turkish Limni) on the western coast is the capital of the island that forms a part of the province of Lesbos of the Republic of Greece. There is a military air base at Mudros. The large harbours of Purnia in the north and Port Mudros in the south, almost cutting Lemnos in two halves, are not much used any more.

Lemnos in the Middle Ages was part of the Byzantine Empire. It suffered the depredations of corsairs, Arabs from Crete (*Iḳritish* [*q.v.*]) in the 10th century, and those of Saldjūḳs from Anatolia in the 11th century. With the partition of the Empire after the Latin conquest (1204), Stalimene became an imperial fief granted to Filocalo Navigajoso and to his descendants in 1207. Byzantine rule was restored by the Emperor Michael Paleologus between 1276-8. Prisoners of state were held in the island, e.g. the Ottoman pretender Düzme Muṣṭafā in 823-5/1419-20. Shortly before 1453, Dorino I Gattilusi (1426-55), Lord of Lesbos (Turkish Midilli [*q.v.*]), acquired the whole of Lemnos as a fief. After the fall of Constannople (29 May 1453), the Byzantine authorities fled. Thanks to the diplomatic activities of Critobulus, the Byzantine-Ottoman historian, who was a judge in nearby Imbros (Imroz [*q.v.*]), the Gattilusi dynasty of Lesbos was granted Lemnos and Thasos (Ṭashöz [*q.v.*]) as fiefs by Sulṭān Meḥemmed II, subject to a tribute of 2,325 gold pieces a year. Domenico Gattilusi, son and successor of Dorino I, was in 1455 granted Lemnos only. In 1456, however, the inhabitants appealed to the sultan to be directly governed by him. From this time, the first *ḳānūn-nāme* of Imbros, Lemnos and Thasos must be dated, and this was revised by Selīm I in 1519 (cf. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 237-40).

A papal war fleet commanded by Ludovico, Cardinal Scarampi, captured the island in 1457, but in 1459 the Ottoman admiral Khādim Ismāʿīl Bey retook it. Critobulus intervened once more to maintain its special status, which led to the grant of Lemnos (plus Imbros and Enos on the mainland

(Turkish Enez)) in 1460 to the ex-despot of the Morea Demetrius Paleologus in return for a tribute of 3,000 gold pieces a year. A Venetian force conquered the island in 1464, and held it till the peace was concluded in 1479. Gedik Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], *ḳapudān pas̲h̲a*, had the fortresses repaired and Anatolian subjects were settled there. A regular administration was now set up with a *voyvoda*, a *ḳāḍī* and *ḳod̲j̲abas̲h̲ïs* in charge of the native Greek population. Limni became later a part of the province of the *sand̲j̲aḳ begi* of Gelibolu (i.e. of the Ottoman admiral). Towards the end of the 16th century, Lemnos, together with Chios (Saḳïẓ [*q.v.*]), was the only prosperous island of the Archipelago, with 74 villages, including 3 Turkish Muslim ones.

Its strategic position led to repeated Venetian attacks and its conquest in 1656, undone a year later by Topal Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a after a 63 days' siege of Kastro. Following the destruction of the Ottoman fleet near Čes̲h̲me on 5 July 1770 by the Russian fleet of Count Alexis Orlov, Lemnos suffered a Russian attack. An Ottoman squadron defeated the Russians in Mudros Bay, and this success brought D̲j̲azāʾirli Ḥasan Bey [*q.v.*] the titles of *g̲h̲āzī* and *pas̲h̲a*. After 1774, Ottoman authority in the Archipelago had to be reinstated, which led to a harsh régime and subsequent popular unrest.

During the Russo-Ottoman war of 1806-12, a division of Admiral D. Senyavin's fleet occupied Lemnos in 1807. In the same year the *ḳapudān-pas̲h̲a* Seydī ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a confronted the enemy in the battle of Athos, west of Limni (30 June 1807). Lemnos did not play an active role in the Greek War of Independence. When the Ottoman administration underwent the reforms of the *tanẓīmāt*, Lemnos in 1283/1866 became one of the 4 *sand̲j̲aḳ*s of the *vilāyet* of the *D̲j̲azāʾir-i baḥr-i sefīd* [*q.v.*], with the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of *Bozd̲j̲a-Ada*, Imroz and "*merkez*", the latter subdivided into the *nāḥiye*s of Bozbaba (Strati or Aghios Eustratios Island) and Mudros. An Orthodox bishop resided at Kastro. There was a small garrison, and a government steamship had its station there. In 1312/1894 the population consisted of 23,499 Ottoman subjects and 192 foreigners (in the 1310/1892 statistics, there were 34,451).

During the Macedonian crisis, the Powers sent a naval force to occupy Lemnos's castle, customs house and telegraph office (5 December 1905) in order to press the Porte to introduce reforms. At the outbreak of the Balkan War, the main division of the Greek fleet under the flag of Admiral Paul Koundouriotis steamed straight to the island (19 May 1912). The next day, 1,500 troops were landed and these occupied Lemnos after a short fight with the 30-man-strong Ottoman garrison. The *muteṣarrif* and leading Muslim civilians were deported. A Greek naval base was established at Port Mudros.

The Treaty of London (that of St. James) of 30 May 1913 confirmed the Greek annexation. During World War I, the Venizelos government lent Lemnos to the Allied Powers. An Anglo-French naval base and army camp were established at Port Mudros, from where the Gallipoli campaign was directed. It was here, aboard the British battleship HMS *Agamemnon*, that an Ottoman delegation led by the Minister of Marine Hüseyn Raʾūf [Orbay] negotiated with the British plenipotentiary Admiral Arthur Calthorpe and concluded the armistice of 30 October 1918 ending hostilities between the Allied Powers and Turkey.

At the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) the new Republic of Turkey recognised formally the loss of Lemnos and other islands. With Samothrace (Turkish Semadirek), Imroz (Gökče-Ada) and Tenedos (Bozd̲j̲a-Ada), the last two having been restored to Turkey, Lemnos formed part of a demilitarised zone. The 2,500 Muslim-Turkish inhabitants of Limni had already left their island in 1920, and Greek refugees from Anatolia took their places in 1923.

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(A. H. de Groot)

LINEN [see ḳaṭṭān]

LINGA, a minor seaport, modern Bandar-i Linga, on the northern shore of the Persian or Arab Gulf, in lat. 26° 34′ N. and long. 54° 53′ E., to the south of Lāristān [see LĀR, LĀRISTĀN] and facing the islands of Ḳishm [*q.v.*] and the Ṭunbs. Linga has a harbour of some depth, allowing traffic by dhows and coastal craft; behind the town lies a salt marsh, and then the Band-i Linga mountains, which rise to 3,900 ft./1,190 m. The population, formerly largely Arab, is now predominantly Persian, but with strong admixtures of Arabs, Baluchis, Indians and the descendants of black African slaves, these comprising both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs.

The old port was at Kung, 8 miles/13 km. to the east, where the Portuguese retained a footing till 1711, long after they had lost Hurmuz [*q.v.*]. In 1760, the Ḳawāsim Arabs [*q.v.*] under Shaykh Ṣāliḥ came from Raʾs al-Khayma and established footholds at Linga, which they seized from the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of the Djahāngīrī district, at Shinās and on Ḳishm island, till they were in 1765 expelled by Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*]. In 1809-10 the British naval expedition from Bombay which attacked the Ḳāsimī pirates at Raʾs al-Khayma went on to take Linga and other Ḳāsimī-held ports on both the Arab and the Persian shores of the Gulf. In 1887 the Persian imperial government extended its control over Linga and deposed the last hereditary *shaykh* of Ḳadīb, carrying him off in chains to Tehran.

Linga was at this time still a flourishing port, a centre for pearl-fishing, with Indian merchants residing there; an import centre for textiles coming into Persia; and an export centre for Persian tobacco. There was still some slave-running of Persians and Baluchis into the Arabian peninsula and of Somalis and black Ḥabashīs into Persia which the Persian authorities in Shīrāz were unable or unwilling to stop. Curzon in 1890 estimated the population of Linga at 10,000. After the assertion of Persian central government control, and the inclusion of Linga within the reformed government customs administration, many of the old-established merchant families moved to the Arab shores, e.g. to Dubayy, Baḥrayn and ʿUman, and in recent times, Linga has been only a shadow of its former self, completely overshadowed by such ports as Bushire and Bandar ʿAbbās. The population in the 1970s was 9,404. Linga is also administratively one of the five *bakhsh*s in the *shahristān* of Lār in the *ustān* of Fārs, the population of the *bakhsh* being *ca.* 41,000.

Bibliography: L. Pelly, *A visit to Lingah, Kishm and Bunder Abbass*, in *JRGS*, xxxiv (1864), 251-8; idem, *Remarks on the port of Lingah, the island of Kishm and the port of Bunder Abbas and its neighbourhood*, in *Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, xvii (1864), 32-112; the Hon. G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 407-10; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, i, 184, 2063-5, ii, 1088-1100; S. B. Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, repr. London 1966, 415; Sir A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf, an historical sketch*, London 1928, 201, 205-6, 223; *Admiralty handbook. Persia*, London 1945, 130-1, 506-7; Hydrographic Office, London, *Persian Gulf pilot*, 10th edn., London 1955; H. Moyse-Bartlett, *The pirates of Trucial Oman*, London 1966, index; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 119, 161-2; *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 2535 *shāhanshāhī*, vii, 211-12; M. Izzard, *The Gulf, Arabia's eastern approaches*, London 1979, 242-3.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LION [see AL-ASAD; MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ]

LIPḲA or Lubḳa, Lupḳa, the name given to the Tatars who since the 14th century inhabited Lithuania, and later the eastern and south-eastern lands (Belorussia, Volhynia) of old Poland up to Podolia, and after 1672 also partly Moldavia and Dobrudja. Derived from the old Crimean Tatar name of Lithuania, the record of the name in Oriental sources (ليبقا in 926/1520, later لبقه: V. Véliaminof-Zernof, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, 3, 4, 720; also ليبقه and لبقه *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, i, Istanbul 1928, 615, 638, and C. Orhonlu, *Lipkalar*, in *TM*, xvi [1971], tables I, VI) permits to infer an original *Libḳa* > *Lipḳa*, from which Pol. *Lipka* was formed (contamination with Pol. *lipka* "small lime-tree"; this etymology was suggested by the Tatar author S. Tuhan-Baranowski, *Skąd powstała nazwa Lipków*, in *Wschód*, iii [1932], 96-8). A less frequent Polish form, *Łubka*, is corroborated in (*Lubḳa* >) *Lupḳa*, the Crimean Tatar name of the Lipkas up to the end of the 19th century (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Kniga puteshestviya*, ed. by A. S. Tveritinova, i, Moscow 1961, 254, n. 3).

The Tatar settlements in Lithuania date back to the first quarter of the 14th century. Lithuania was also to provide a refuge for various exiles from the Golden Horde in later years. However, Tatar colonisation on a mass scale in Lithuania is commonly associated with the person of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Witold (*ca.* 1352-1430), a supporter of the Khān Tokhtamīsh and his sons in their struggle for power within the Horde. Witold's expedition to the banks of the Don in 1397 gave a rise to a voluntary and long-lasting immigration of large masses of Tatar population from the steppes to Lithuania. The newcomers, who were brought to settle at the very centres of power (Vilna, Troki and others), while maintaining their tribal organisation and freedom of the Islamic cult, were enlisted to do military service in separate units, and were endowed for this with land and exemption from the taxes. The nobility came in time to be put on a par with the Lithuanian and Polish nobility, whereas the former *tamgha*s performed the function of coats-of-arms (S. Dziadulewicz, *Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce*, Vilna 1929). The poorer part of the Tatar population engaged in various activities such as waggon-driving, trade with the East and tanning, a craft traditional with Turkic peoples. Certain of the Lipkas also provided some dispatch-riders sent to the Crimea, and official interpreters for mutual contacts with Turkish and Crimean embassies. The privileges granted to the Lipkas by Witold were to be later re-affirmed by the successive Grand Dukes of Lithuania and Kings of Poland. Nevertheless, they were exposed to the envy of the magnates and nobility and of the Roman Catholic clergy as well, which in turn provoked the first manifestations of ill-will among these Muslims towards their adopted land. Their complex situation was adequately depicted in the anonymous *Risāle-yi Tatar-i Leh* by one of the Lipkas who, during a stay in Istanbul in 965/1557-8 on his way to Mecca, wrote his account for Süleymān the Magnificent (from a 18th century copy thereof, no longer extant, the Turkish text with Polish translation and commentary was published by A. Muchliński, *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich* . . ., Vilna 1858). The rule of the fervent Catholic Sigismund III (1587-1632) and the Counter-Reformation movement brought a number of restrictions to the liberties granted to non-Catholics in Poland, the Lipkas

among others. To this can be attributed the intervention by Sultan Murād III with the King in the matter of liberty of religious cult for the Lipkas, undertaken in 1000/1591 upon the request of two Muslims who had accompanied the King's envoy to Istanbul (Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959, no. 236). In 1609 the mosque at Troki was destroyed and some Tatar women were accused of witchcraft and burnt. P. Czyżewski, in retaliation for his father's death at the hands of a Lipka, published a pamphlet, *Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy* ... (1616), abusive towards the Muslim creed and its believers. It gained wide popularity (republished 1640, 1643) despite the *Apologia Tatarów* by Azulewicz (1630). The Lipkas who had defended their new land in the wars against the Teutonic Order and Muscovy, and even the borderland territory of Poland against the attacks of Crimean Tatars, on the other hand, as early as in 965/1557-6, having the author of the *Risāle* for their mouthpiece, had expressed their wish to be reintegrated with the world of Islam and even of having their land subjugated by the Pādishāh. Now, ostracised as they were and in view of the material difficulties in the Polish army, they partly joined the Turks when the latter invaded Poland in 1672. Köprülüzāde Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha made Poland, by the Buczacz treaty of 1083/1672, refrain from putting any obstacles to their emigrating to Islamic lands; however, their pro-Turkish enthusiasm was soon to abate. A. Kryczyński, who had once served in the Polish army, and later was made commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) at Bar, the centre of one of the four *sandjaḳ*s within the new *wilāyet* of Podolia, and a fervent promoter of the idea of serving the Ottomans, perished at the hands of other exiles in October 1673 (*Silāḥdār ta'rīkhi*, i, 638; S. Kryczyński, *Bej barski*, in *RT*, ii, 229-301). Some of the Lipkas availed themselves of the Amnesty Act and returned to Poland (K. Grygajtis and J. Janczak, *Powrót Lipów pod sztandary Rzeczypospolitej*, in *Sobótka*, 1980/2, 181-9). They also took part in the battle of Chocim on the Polish side under the command of John Sobieski (1673). The reign of John III, a protector and patron of the Lipkas, was also noted in their history by a wave of conversions to Roman Catholicism, a fact which roused the displeasure of Khān Selīm Girey I in 1095/1683 (Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *op. cit.*, 720). The Lipkas fought in 1683 under King John III at Vienna, and their merits were recognised and rewarded at the 1684 Diet. Nevertheless, there were as many of them as 472 at Kamieniec Podolski, and lesser numbers were stationed at other Podolian castles occupied by the Turks (Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 71; Lipḳas are also to be found in the *Defter-i rūznāmče-yi zu'amā we erbāb-i timār-i eyālet-i Ḳamaniče ber mūdjib-i taṣḥīḥ fī sene 1098* [= 1682] at the Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe, Poznań).

The next considerable emigration of the Lipkas to Turkey took place early in the 18th century, in connection with the victory won by King Augustus II over the Polish-born King Stanislas Leszczyński, whom the Lipkas had supported in his war against the Saxon King. Those of the Lipkas who stayed on in Turkey after 1673, as well as the new emigrants, were settled in Moldavia (the "Puste Pola Tatarow Lipkow Libka Tatarlerinugn (*sic!*) Topraghi ابقه تاتارلرینک طپراغی in J. A. B. Rizzi Zannoni, *Carte de la Pologne divisée par provinces et palatinats* ..., Paris 1772, no. 23), Dobrudja, and even Anatolia (in the *sandjaḳ* of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*] and on the Ḳīzīl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*]). Formerly a constant threat to Polish borderland areas, after 1699 they served the borderland *pasha*s as interpreters in the peaceful relations with Poland. In Poland they enjoyed the favour of the last King Stanislas Augustus (1765-95), and later had their shares in the national Polish uprisings against the Tsarist government; they also served with the Poles in the Napoleonic army. On the other hand, the Russian Empire opened to them a way to a lawful career and education; what was more, the Lipkas owed to it a stimulating contact with the other Turkic Islamic peoples (those of the Crimea and of Ādharbāydjān). This atmosphere of religious and national revival, of animated contacts with Turkey and the other Muslim lands, as well as with the centres of Muslim learning (Sarajevo, Cairo), distinguished also the activities of the Lipkas in restored Poland (after 1918). An important part was performed by the Cultural and Educational Association of the Tatars in the Republic of Poland (established 1926) and personally by Dr. J. Szynkiewicz, *muftī* since 1926, an orientalist who was in close contact with the Polish Islamist T. Kowalski (Cracow) and two Karaim Turcologists, S. Szapszał (Vilna) and A. Zajączkowski (Warsaw). In Vilna, where the *muftī* had his seat, a Tatar National Museum was founded in 1929, and the Tatar National Archives in 1931. Several journals were published: *Przegląd islamski* (1930-34), *Zycie tatarskie* (from 1934), and the *Rocznik Tatarski* (= *RT*) dealing with scientific research (i-iii: Vilna 1932, Zamość 1935, Warsaw 1938; vol. iv, destroyed by the Nazis, was never published). In 1936 a Tatar cavalry unit was founded within the Polish Army; they wore the traditional horse-tails (*tugh*). The forms of Muslim religious activities in Poland were finally established by the relevant Act passed on 24 April 1936. The outbreak of the Second World War did not permit completion of the building of the mosque in Warsaw. Tatars participated in the Polish resistance movement and fell victims to the Nazis during the occupation. The westward shift of Poland's frontiers after the war, and the emigration of the *Muftī* Szynkiewicz, who had not left any followers of his stature, were detrimental to the general situation of the Lipkas. Some of the Tatar intellectuals, however, supported by the Polish state, have focused their attention on religion, contacts with the Muslim world, history, mosques, burial grounds and other monuments of the Tatar past in Poland (M. Konopacki, *Les musulmans en Pologne*, in *REI*, 1968/1; A. Miśkiewicz, *Tatarzy polscy w latach 1918-1980*, in *Novum*, 1980/8, 83-109).

The author of the *Risāle* reckoned that there were a hundred settlements of the Lipkas, with a corresponding number of mosques, in Poland, and numbered their population at 200,000, which seems greatly exagerated. Ibrāhīm Pečewī, quoting the statement made by a messenger of the Lipkas to the *muftī* at Aḳkerman, mentions sixty villages with mosques (*Ta'rīkh*, i, Istanbul 1283, 472, quoted by A. Muchliński, *Izsledovanie o proiskhozhdenii i sostoyanii litovskikh tatar*, St. Petersburg 1857, 60-1, and Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 63). In 1932 there were about 6,000 Muslims in Poland, with 16 mosques and one under construction, and two prayer-houses (*RT*, i, 323). At present, their approximate number in Poland exceeds 2,000. There are only two mosques, in the villages of Bohoniki and Kruszyniany (*Boghonuḳ*, *Ḳurshun* among the Tatars), of which the former, devastated by the Nazi troops, has been rebuilt on a government grant. Since the 19th century there has also been a Muslim community in Warsaw

with an old burial ground; two new ones were established after the last war in Gdańsk and Szczecin, where the Tatar repatriates from the East had come to settle.

The author of the *Risāle* reports that the *imāms* were brought by the Lipkas partly from the Crimea and the Horde. Pečewī relates that litigious matters of religious and legal nature were submitted by them to, e.g., the *muftī* at Aḳkerman (*loc. cit.*). Their contacts with the Muslim clergy in Turkey (also attested by the references in contemporary Turkish authors; Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 66) are recorded still in the 18th century (Czartoryski Library, Cracow, no. XVII/1080). The author of the *Risāle*, a fervent Muslim himself, had deplored the fact that some of the Lipkas assumed the Christian creed, that the knowledge of Arabic was dying out among them and that, still worse, they tended to forget their own language, so that *yerlüler lisānī ile söylemeye bas̲h̲ladïlar* and nobody but the newcomers knew the "Ottoman" language. Pečewī's informant had equally stressed that the Lipkas on copying the Ḳurʾān *ʿarabī k̲h̲aṭṭ ile* commented upon it *Leh keferesi lisānī ile* (*loc. cit.*). Ewliyā Čelebi had at first called them soberly *Leh ḳrallïna tābiʿ ümmet-i Muḥammed'den Libḳa ḳawmī*, and numbering them into the "Tatar" nations, justly regarded their language as belonging to the Slavonic family (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 99; v, 138, 146). Later, however, when the name of the Lipkas was cited to him at Ūjvár-Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) by the Crimean Tatar adversaries of the Swedes in Poland in 1656 [cf. LEH], he wrote how in that "Sweden" which he had allegedly visited along with the Tatars in 1663, he found 800,000 (vi, 368) or 1,000,000 (x, 77) *göčer ewli* Tatar, adding to this that they did not know Tatar at all and spoke among themselves only *iṭālyān lisānī üzere* (vi, 368). In fact, the Lipkas, as a result of their intermarriage with the Poles and Belorussians, abandoned completely their native language; however, though Polish and Belorussian became their predominant languages, even in religious writings, they were spelt in Arabic alphabet (such texts in both languages are quoted by Muchliński, *Izsledovanie* ..., 62-70; in general, A. K. Antonovich, *Belorusskie teksti, pisannye arabskim pis̀mom, i ikh grafiko-ortografičeskaya sistema*, Vilna 1968, with detailed bibliography). Furthermore, the Polish and Belorussian as spoken and written by these Muslims were enriched with many loan-words taken from the Muslim creed, community life, and everyday activities, of Arabic, Persian and Turkic origin (A. Woronicz, *Szczątki językowe Tatarów litewskich*, in *RT*, ii, 351-67, with a vocabulary listing similar words and phrases). This cultural ambiguity can be also observed on the tombstones of the Lipkas, where the half-moon and the *s̲h̲ehādeteyn* formula in Arabic are usually followed by the text proper written in Polish or, formerly, sometimes in Russian. In recent times, however, even the knowledge of the Arabic alphabet has been dying out among the young generation. Hence when J. Sobolewski wrote his *Wykład wiary mahometańskiej czyli islamskiej* ("Exposition of the Muhammedan or Islamic creed", Vilna 1830), with an explanation of the religious rites and prayers, he did it in Polish only; the book was destined for his many co-religionists who were unable to read the traditional *kitāb*s in the Arabic alphabet. The Polish translation of the Ḳurʾān by Jan Mirza Tarak Buczacki (Warsaw 1858) was founded not upon the original only, and was provided with commentaries derived from the French translation of the Ḳurʾān by Kazimirski, which, to cite J. Szynkiewicz, "were often offensive to the religious feelings of a Muslim" (*Literatura religijna Tatarów litewskich i jej pochodzenie*, in *RT*, ii, 140).

The Tatar national and cultural revival in inter-war Poland was, however, largely due also to some of the Roman Catholic Lipkas (S. Dziadulewicz, S. Kryczyński and others). Lipkas converted to Christianity were also among the ancestors of the celebrated Polish writer H. Sienkiewicz (1846-1916; Nobel Prize for Literature 1905). The Tatars, who since the 14th century had been settled on Polish territories as war prisoners, were soon converted, with just a vague memory left of their origin (the names "Tatar" or "czabany", pl. derived from Turkic *čoban* "shepherd", as in the surroundings of Chrzanów near Cracow) and their traditional occupations (tanning and horse-breeding).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see in general S. L. Kryczyński, *Bibliografičeskie materialī o tatarakh Polshi, Litvī, Belorussii i Ukrainī*, Petrograd 1917, with new addenda of idem, in *RT*, i, 295, 311; the most fundamental publication is S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, Warsaw 1938 (= *RT*, iii); V. D. Smirnov, *Krīmskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Otomanskoy Portī do načala XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887, 156-7; idem, *Sbornik nekotorīkh vazhnīkh izvestiy i ofitsial'nīkh dokumentov kasatel'no Turcii, Rossii i Krīma*, St. Petersburg 1881 (18th-century Turkish documents on the Lipkas); S. Sienicki, *Quelques notes pour servir à l'histoire des musulmans à Varsovie et leur cimetière*, in *L'Echo de Varsovie*, 22 December 1934; J. Reychman, *Zabytki orientalne w Polsce*, in *Ochrona Zabytkow*, 1957/1; idem, *al-Āt̲h̲ār al-islāmī fi Būlanda*, Warsaw 1958.

(Z. Abrahamowicz and J. Reychman)

LISĀN al-ʿARAB [see IBN MANẒŪR]

LISĀN al-DĪN [see IBN AL-K̲H̲AṬĪB]

LISBON [see BURTUḲĀL; AL-US̲H̲BŪNA]

LIṢṢ (A., also *laṣṣ*, *luṣṣ*, pl. *luṣūṣ*, with *maṣdars luṣūṣiyya*, *talaṣṣuṣ* (see *LA*[1], viii, 355-6, and Lane, s.v.), one of the two main words in Arabic for thief robber (the other being *sāriḳ*); in Persian we have *duzd* "thief", *duzdī* "theft", and in old Turkish *og̲h̲rï*, Ottoman *k̲h̲ayrsïz*, modern *hırsız*. Arabic *liṣṣ* and the unassimilated variants *li/a/uṣt* must have appeared in the language during the Byzantine period, presumably via Syriac *leṣṭā*, whilst there exists the form *listis*, closer to the Greek original ληστής, in Mishnaic Hebrew and Palestine Jewish Aramaic (see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Berlin 1898-9, ii, 315; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 284; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 9). *Liṣṣ*, etc. do not appear in the Ḳurʾān, where we have *sāriḳ* and *sāriḳa* (V, 42/38, XII, 70, 73), but nevertheless they are found occasionally in pre-Islamic poetry (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Labīd), and then quite frequently in the Umayyad period (for full documentation, see the forthcoming entry *s.v.* in *WKA*).

In general, the pre-Islamic Arabs did not recognise theft as a highly reprehensible crime, and it was not condemned unless the victim was a member of the kin-group or a *d̲j̲ār* within it (hence D̲j̲amīl al-ʿUd̲h̲rī could satirise a man's father as "the one who stole a guest's cloak", *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, 155); the injured party was normally left to secure redress himself and recover his property (see G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben nach den Quellen ge-*

schildert[a], Berlin 1897, 217-18). Only with the coming of Islam did theft and brigandage become crimes punishable under the *Sharīʿa*, and *ḥudūd* were laid down both for simple theft (now called in legal parlance *al-sirḳa al-ṣughrā*) and for brigandage and highway robbery (*al-sirḳa al-kubrā* or *ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*); for the legal aspects of these crimes, see SĀRIḲ. And of course, the carrying-off of camels and other beasts in the course of *ghazw* [*q.v.*], the raiding of a hostile tribe, was always regarded as perfectly legitimate.

Bedouin society up to the present day has preserved much of the ancient ethos in regard to thieving, with the Ḳurʾānic penalty of amputation only sporadically applied, even in the towns. In eastern Arabia, H. R. P. Dickson noted that amongst the local Bedouin, stealing from friend or foe was regarded as something shameful and dishonourable, *ʿayb*, but not treated as a crime (*The Arab of the desert, a glimpse into Badawin life in Kuwait and Sau'di Arabia*, London 1949, 531-2). Where penalties for stealing are applied, they often involve the infliction of indignities rather than mutilation and suchlike severities. Doughty, whilst journeying with a pilgrim caravan, observed the beating of a servant who had stolen from his master, although the leader of the caravan did in fact have the power of life and death in regard to crimes considered as really serious. In the town of ʿAnayza in al-Ḳasīm, he noted that common thieves were beaten with green palm rods (because dry ones would have broken their bones) by the *muṭṭawwiʿa* or elders responsible for order and decency, but amputation was not practised, and petty theft, if not openly paraded, was disregarded (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1926, i, 14, 69, ii, 368-9). In Jordan, Jaussen registered humilliating punishments amongst the Bedouins there for stealing, such as tearing out the offender's beard hair by hair (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 229-30), forcibly shaving or plucking out the beard being an ancient Near Eastern way of showing contempt for someone, cf. Hamun King of the Ammonites' shaving off half the beards of David's servants (II Sam. x, 4-5). Only when a man showed himself as an habitual thief, thereby bringing dishonour on his kin, was he likely to be outlawed by them, becoming an outcast in respect of that particular offence (A. Kennett, *Bedouin justice, laws and customs among the Egyptian Bedouin*, Cambridge 1925, 21).

Within the Bedouin life of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the *liṣṣ* was in many ways hardly distinguishable from the outcasts and desperadoes of the desert known as *ṣaʿālīk* and *futtāk* [see ṢUʿLŪK], who lived outside the tribal system with every man's hand against them; the poetry of these *ṣaʿālīk* and *futtāk* attracted the attention of philologists of the ʿAbbāsid period, and more recently, has attracted that of modern western and oriental scholars (see e.g. Yūsuf Khalīf, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ṣaʿālīk fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1959; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 133-45; and arts. AL-SHANFARĀ, TAʾABBAṬA SHARRAN, ʿURWA B. AL-WARD). But the activities of those described as *luṣūṣ* proper seem also to have been isolated for study by the philologists and compilers of *adab* works. Thus we have mention in the literary sources of an *Akhbār al-luṣūṣ*, containing poetry of well-known thieves and brigands amongst the Arabs, by the pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī (212-75/827-88 [*q.v.*]); see Brockelmann, I[2], 108-9; Sezgin, ii, 63, 133), and of a *Kitāb al-Sall wa 'l-sirḳa* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Aʿrābī, called al-Aswad al-Ghandadjānī (d. *ca.* 428/1036-7, see Sezgin, ii, 68, 88). The contemporary Syrian scholar ʿAbd al-Muʿīn al-Mallūḥī has collected the names together of some 30 *liṣṣ* poets of the Islamic period, together with their surviving verses, see his *Ashʿār al-luṣūṣ wa-akhbāruhum*, in *RAAD*, xlix (1974), 362-76.

With the awakening, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, of a distinct interest among Arabic authors in low life and in the criminal and semi-criminal underworlds of the burgeoning Islamic towns, we find a certain amount of information on the activities of those thieves and brigands in the urban environment, although there are enough continuing references to criminal activities in the countryside and deserts (e.g. the rustlers of thoroughbred horses and camels, the thieves of the latter being known as *khurrāb*, sing. *khārib*, see C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. i. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore*, Leiden 1976, 118) to show that rural crime and brigandage never disappeared.

A writer of such varied interests as al-Djāḥiẓ shows a special interest in the tricks and stratagems of the sophisticated criminals of his time, and he seems to have written a special work on the *ḥiyal al-luṣūṣ*, partially extant and cited in subsequent *adab* works (e.g. possibly in al-Bayhaḳī's *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, 521-3, without explicit mention of the title here; cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ǧāḥiẓiana. III. Essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre ǧāḥiẓienne*, in *Arabica*, iii [1956], 164, no. 95). The compilers of collections of anecdotes were eager to include tales about clever thieves, and in the opening of his *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* al-Tanūkhī lists among the interesting tales which he had heard in the course of his career those of fanatically-inspired assassins using knives (*aṣḥāb al-ʿaṣabiyya wa 'l-sakākīn*), of brigands and thieves, and of profligates and rowdies (*ahl al-khasāra wa 'l-ʿayyārūn*) (ed. ʿA. Shāldjī, Beirut 1391-3/1971-3, i, 4). Several of the succeeding anecdotes do in fact deal with the ruses of crafty evildoers, see e.g. i, 156-8, nos. 79-80, vii, 96-102, 250-1, nos. 57-9, 144, viii, 218-28, nos. 96-8. One of these tales actually deals with a body of thieves and bandits in India called the Bānuwāniyya, whom al-Tanūkhī equates with the Arab *mustaḳfī*, the cut-purse who follows and steals up behind a person to rob him, and from whose activities Muslim traders in India suffered (cf. also the Bānuwānī of al-Djāḥiẓ, cited in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 37); Muslim authors seem to have been aware of the existence of organised groups or castes of dacoits and thugs in India, grouping these criminal bodies with the Bedouins of Arabia and predatory Iranian peoples like the Kurds, the Balūč and the Kūfičīs [see ḲUFṢ] as examples par excellence of violent and uncontrollable brigands. One should note also the connection in certain sources of gambling [see ḲIMĀR] and thieving, seen in the not-infrequent phrase *liṣṣ muḳāmir* "thief and gambler" (see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 114, 153).

The authors of *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] and other works of the picaresque genre likewise found here material around which they could weave incidents involving their respective heroes. Thus Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī wove several of the adventures of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī around the activities of impudent thieves, such as those who stole surreptitiously from the ranks of prostrate worshippers during the *ṣalāt*, those who ascended house walls and used grapnels for purloining articles inside the rooms, and those who burrowed into cellars and vaults from the outside or from adjacent houses (the *naḳḳābūn* or *aṣḥāb al-*

naḳb) see further, Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 100-3). Especially valuable evidence on this type of activities is to be found in the chapter on *talaṣṣuṣ* and associated malfeasances in al-Rāg͟hib al-Iṣfahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* (ed. Cairo 1287/1870, ii, 108-12, ed. Beirut 1961, iii, 189-99). Al-Iṣfahānī cites as an outstanding figure amongst successful criminals one ʿUt͟hmān al-K͟hayyāṭ, who as a skilful practitioner himself (called al-K͟hayyāṭ, not because his original profession was that of tailor, but because he "sewed up", *k͟hāṭa*, the holes bored into houses for felonious purposes so neatly that they were almost undetectable) had apparently become something of a semi-legendary figure by al-Rāg͟hib's time (the Dāwūd al-Čalabī Library in Mosul—whose contents are now dispersed and their location largely unknown—contained a *Ḥikāyat ʿUt͟hmān al-K͟hayyāṭ fi 'l-luṣūṣ wa-waṣāyāhu*, see Pellat, *loc. cit.*; and one wonders whether there is some connection with the hero of two anecdotes given by al-Tanūk͟hī, named as ʿAbbās b. K͟hayyāṭa and described as a supremely clever thief of Baṣra, see *Nis͟hwār*, vii, 97-102, nos. 58-9).

According to this ʿUt͟hmān, there were five main categories of thieves and brigands: (1) the *muḥtāl* or "trickster", who worked by stratagems and who did not kill in the course of his crimes and was therefore looked down on his more desperate and violent confrères; (2) the *ṣāḥib al-layl* or "worker by night", the nocturnal housebreaker, who got in either by boring or by scaling walls (the *mutasalliḳ*), and the robber with violence (*mukābir*); (3) the *ṣāḥib al-ṭariḳ* or "gentleman of the road", the highwayman or brigand; (4) the *nabbās͟h* or "burrower, excavator", said to be well-known and presumably a man who dug up a people's buried treasure hoards; and (5) the *k͟hannāḳ* or "strangler, assassin", who may work by suffocating his victim, but may also be a disemboweller (*bāʿiḏj*) or one who pounds his victim's head with a stone (*rāḍik͟h*). He then goes on to detail the types of confederates and auxiliaries (*ʿawna*) whom criminals employed, e.g. to "case" likely premises for a future break-in or to create diversions whilst a raid could be made (for further details, see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 101-6).

Bibliography: Given essentially in the article. On the legal status of highway robbers and thieves, see Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic law of nations, Shaybānī's Siyar*, Baltimore 1966, 247-50.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LITERATURE [see ADAB; ʿARABIYYA; G͟HAZAL; MADĪḤ; MAḲĀMA; MART͟HIYA; S͟HIʿR; TA'RĪK͟H, etc.]

LIT͟HĀM (A.) (sometimes also pronounced *lifām*), the mouth-veil, is a piece of material with which the Bedouins concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose (see the commentary on al-Ḥarīrī, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1821, 374, 2). According to the *LA*, *lifām* is a mouth-veil which also covers the nose top (*arnabat al-anf*) and is worn by women. It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust (cf. D͟hu 'l-Rumma, no. 5, 43, also no. 39, 24 and 73, 16; and the commentaries on al-Mutanabbī, 464, 27, and al-Ḥarīrī, 374, 2). It also made the face more or less unrecognisable, and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli [1887], 101). The *lit͟hām* was therefore also sometimes worn as a deliberate disguise by people who did not usually wear it; thus in the *1001 Nights* (ed. Macnaghten, i, 878) it is worn by a princess, who disguises herself as a man, and (*ibid.*, ii, 59) by a woman for similar reasons. A denominative verb has been formed from *lit͟hām*, the fifth form of which in particular means "to put on the *lit͟hām*" (e.g. *Ag͟hānī*, viii, 102, 20; xxi, 55, 19; *Ag͟hānī*, ed. Kosegarten, 121, 13; Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, iii, 2; al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*[2], ii, 433, 2), while the eighth form in the meaning "to put on something as a *lit͟hām*" is generally used only metaphorically (see below). *Talt͟hīma* usually means a woman's veil (Cherbonneau, in *JA* [1849], i, 64), but *talt͟hīmat al-bayāḍ* is also found as the distinctive dress of a particular office under the Fāṭimids: their chief *ḳādī*s wore it along with the *turban* and *ṭaylasān* (de Sacy, *Chrest.*, ii, 92). In general, however, the *lit͟hām* does not seem to have been worn by town-dwellers.

The *lit͟hām* has no considerable importance for Islam from the purely religious point of view; it is forbidden along with certain other garments for the *muḥrim* (al-Buk͟hārī, i, 390, below).

The custom of wearing a *lit͟hām* was generally disseminated among the Ṣanhād͟ja tribes [*q.v.*] in north-west Africa, who are therefore described as *lit͟hām* wearers, *mulat͟ht͟himūn* or *awlād al-mutalat͟ht͟hima*; as the Almoravids originated in one of their clans, the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], the *lit͟hām* thus came to have a certain political significance. The custom of wearing a *lit͟hām* (below the *niḳāb*, see al-Bakrī, 170; the *lit͟hām* is also mentioned by al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn K͟haldūn, etc., cf. Corso, 151) was found in other parts of Africa also, e.g. in Kānem (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 193, 33 f.) and still prevails among the Tuareg. The Tuareg veil has been the object of several special studies (see *Bibl.*). Amongst the Tuaregs, it is not called *lit͟hām*, but *tegulmust* or *s͟hās͟h* ("muslin"). Its origin seems to be pre-Islamic and perhaps even prehistoric. Among the ancient paintings and rock engravings found by Leo Frobenius there are human figures without mouth and nose, but with only two eyes. The primary motive for a veil seems to be magical, to protect the ways of life from evil forces. These Africans retained their veils even on journeys into the eastern lands of Islam, where it was not the fashion, while their women went unveiled. A tradition of late invention explains these remarkable customs by a story that on one occasion during an attack on a village, where there were many women but only a few men, the men put on veils and the women took up arms to deceive the enemy as to their real numbers (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli, 101); another story has it that after the fall of the Umayyads, 200 members of the Umayyad family and their clients escaped to Africa disguised as women and that the wearers of the *lit͟hām* are descended from them (Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Husejn*, p. viii). According to al-Bakrī (text, 170, tr. 321), they never took off the *lit͟hām*, and if one of them fell in a battle and lost the *lit͟hām*, not even his friends could recognise him till the *lit͟hām* was put on him again; they also called other men who did not wear the *lit͟hām* "fly-mouthed". The Almohads, particularly Ibn Tūmart, opposed the veiling practised by the Almoravids. They continuously insisted that it was forbidden for men to imitate the dress of women, but they did not succeed in abolishing the custom of wearing the *lit͟hām* (Goldziher, in *op. cit.*, 102). Among further passages where the term *mulat͟ht͟him* occurs in this sense may be mentioned ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, ed. de Sacy, 483, 48 (with other references); Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii, 243 (discusses several passages); Marquart, *Die Benin-sammlung*, Index, s.v. *Liṭāmträger*.

The word *lit͟hām* and its derivatives was very much used in figurative language, especially by poets.

From expressions like "to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under her *lithām*" (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 400; cf. *mā taht al-lithāmayn* = "the face" in al-Mutanabbī, 464, 27) develops the meaning of *l-th-m* "to kiss" (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ed. Schwarz, 6, 207; Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān*, Marseilles 1853, 125, l. 5 from below) and especially *talāthama* = "to kiss one another"; *maltham*, the place which is kissed (al-Farazdaḳ in Dozy, *Supplément*). A girl is given a *lithām* woven out of her own hair (*1001 Nights*, Breslau edition, ii, 52, 2); the camel has a *lithām* of foam around its mouth (Dhu 'l-Rumma, 76, 17); the wolf is *ahamm al-lithām* = "black in the region of the muzzle" (al-Ṭirimmāḥ, 4, 35; of the wolf, we find it said in *Ḥamāsa*, i, 762, 17, *lam yatalaththam*); the wine-jar has a *lithām*, i.e. a piece of cloth over its mouth (*malthūm*; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 125, 7; also al-Akhṭal, ed. Ṣālḥānī, 85, 2 and ʿAlḳama, ed. Socin, ii, 43, on jars); the sun is darkened by clouds of dust and is thus given, as it were, a mouth-veil (*iltathama*, al-Mutanabbī, 601, 15); "as the day (*nahār*) doffed its *lithām*" = a description of dawn in Ibn ʿArabshāh, ed. Golius, 64, 3, from below; cf. the commentary on al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, 240, 10: *kashafa* [*al-ṣubḥ*] *al-lithāma*; many titles of books also begin with *Kashf al-lithām*, cf. Brockelmann, S III, 915, 937 (eight titles with *kashf al-lithām* and one with *imāṭat al-lithām*); the *lithām* is to be taken from the walls of buildings, i.e. they are to be exposed (ʿImād al-Dīn, ed. Landberg, 65, 12); to doff the *lithām* of one's origin = to confess it freely (al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*[2], ii, 426, 3); the archangel Isrāfīl has one of his four wings veiled like a vast mouth-veil (*iltathama*) from heaven down to the seventh earth (al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 56, below); a voice may be hidden, *malthūm* (Ṭarafa, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 5, 26 = ed. Beirut 1886, 10); a further metaphor is found in Ibn al-Fāriḍ, in de Sacy, *Chrest.*, iii, 55, verse 25.

Bibliography: in general, cf. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 399-400 and *Supplément*, ii, 516; and for the veils of Muslim women, in general, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd*, in *Verspr. Geschr.*, i, 295 ff. and LIBĀS. On the Tuareg veil specifically, see H. R. Palmer, *The Touareg veil*, in *Geogr. J.*, lxviii (1920), 412-18; D. Campbell, *The Touaregs or veiled men of the Sahara*, in *MW*, xviii (1928), 256-62; Raffaele Corso, *Il velo dei Tuaregh*, in *AIUON*, nuova serie (1949), 151-66; J. H. Keenan, *The Tuareg veil*, in *Revue de l'occident musulman*, no. 17 (1974), 107-18; L. Frobenius and H. Obermaier, *Hadschra mektuba*, 1925, pls. 32, 80, 158.

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LITHOGRAPHY [see MAṬBAʿA]

LITHOMANCY [see ṬARḲ]

LIU CHIH (*Matthew' Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American edition 1969, characters nos. 4093, 933), also known as LIU CHIAI-LIEN (*Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 629, 4003), 12th/18th century Chinese Muslim scholar (translator, theologian, philosopher and biographer of the Prophet Muḥammad), the most prolific Chinese Muslim author and probably the best-known literary figure yet produced by the Chinese Muslim community.

A *Hui* (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, Liu Chih was born in Nanking *ca.* 1081/1670. Little is known of his class background or early childhood, but it is safe to assume that he was from a well-to-do family. His father Liu Han-ying (*Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 2039, 7489) is said to have "ceaselessly regretted" (Pelliot, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 415, n. 1) the paucity of Islamic works available in Chinese, and indeed, some sources have credited Liu Han-ying (under the pseudonym Liu San-chieh, *Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 5415, 774) with the authorship of two short Islamic tracts (Pelliot, *ibid.*); certainly, Liu Chih seems to have manifested an early interest in the study and translation of Islamic works. Liu tells us that he prepared himself for his life's work—the propagation of Islam through the medium of the Chinese language—by undertaking prolonged linguistic and philosophical studies. At the age of 15 he began a study of the traditional Chinese classics and histories which lasted for eight years. This was followed by a six-year study of Arabic and Islamic religious literature, a further three years study of Buddhism, and finally, one year studying the Taoist classics. Liu completed his universal education by reading 137 *Hsi-yang* (Western) books of which Ford, 150 (see *Bibl.*), writes: "this may seem a large number for that period, but it was over a century since Matteo Ricci had arrived in Peking (1601) and he and his successors, together with the Chinese scholars associated with them, had produced a whole series of works on geography, astronomy, mathematics, mechanics and religion, including some touching on Confucianism. It is therefore quite possible that there was a collection of that number at Nanking and that Liu had seen it".

From the age of 33, Liu was to concentrate on making Arabic and Islamic works available to his Chinese co-religionists. It is clear that he also wished to make Islam philosophically acceptable to the Confucian Chinese establishment. As Ford (*ibid.*) points out: "his leaning towards Confucianism was more marked than that of any other Muslim and it has sometimes been questioned whether he did not compromise his Muslim principles. After ten years of study, he writes, it came on him like a flash that the guiding purpose of the *Qurʾān* was similar to that of Confucius and Mencius. 'The Sacred Book', he wrote, 'is the Sacred Book of Islam, but *li* (the Confucian concept of moral propriety) is the same *li* which exists everywhere under heaven' ". In Liu's attempt to reconcile Confucianism and Islam, the traditional dilemma of Chinese Muslims—geographically and culturally isolated from the rest of *dār al-Islām*—can clearly be seen. The same may be said of Liu Chih's personal dilemma—the almost instinctive desire of a Muslim member of the Chinese *literati* in ethnocentric 12th/18th century China to make his "barbarian" religion culturally and politically acceptable in his native land (Liu lived at a time of rapidly-deteriorating Han Chinese—Hui Muslim relations), whilst at the same time strengthening the Islamic affiliations of the Chinese Muslim community.

Liu Chih tells us that after completing his preparatory studies, he wrote several hundred manuscripts, of which only about one-tenth were published. His first major work, *T'ien-fang hsing-li* ("The philosophy of Arabia"—preface dated 1116/1704) deals in some depth with questions of cosmology, creation, the nature of man and the unity of God. In the preface to this book, a contemporary non-Muslim mandarin, the Vice-Minister of the Board of Ritual, wrote: "the ancient Confucian doctrine has been undermined at different times by Buddhists and Taoists ... now, however, in this book of Liu Chih we see once more the way of the ancient sages, Yao and Shun, King Wen and King Wu, and Confucius. Thus although his book explains Islam, in truth it illuminates our Confucianism". Similarly in the preface of Liu's *T'ien-fang tien-li che-yao-chiai* ("A selection of important Arabian [i.e. Islamic] rules and cere-

monies"—preface dated 1122/1710), the Vice-Minister of the Board of War was to write that after discussing the Muslim religion with Liu he had found that it upheld the traditional Confucian values of loyalty to the sovereign, filial piety and brotherly love—in short, that Islam was not to be equated with "heretical and vicious sects" which were opposed to the established (Confucian) order (Ford, *ibid.*). This early Ch'ing attitude to Chinese Islam was to change radically by the latter half of the 12th/18th century when North-West China was shaken by the rebellion of Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*], and still more so after the mid-13th/19th century risings of Ma Hua-lung and Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.vv.*]. Liu's *Arabian rules and ceremonies* was less kindly reviewed in the 1197/1782 Catalogue of the Imperial Library, which states: "The style of this book is extremely elegant, but if the base is wrong to start with, fine words avail nothing". In 1710, the same year as the publication of *Arabian rules and ceremonies*, Liu also produced a short handbook entitled *T'ien-fang tzu-mu chiai-i* ("An explanation of the Arabic alphabet"), essentially a guide to the Arabic script intended for the use of Chinese Muslims.

Undoubtedly Liu Chih's greatest work—he himself saw it as both the zenith and climax of his life's work—was his biography of Muḥammad, *T'ien-fang chih-sheng shih-lu nien-p'u* ("An accurate biography of the Arabian Prophet", Nanking 1137/1724, first published 1193/1779). This book has been wholly or partially translated into Russian, French, English and Japanese, and is certainly the most widely-known of all Chinese Muslim books. Liu's biography of Muḥammad was based on a number of Arabic and Persian language works, the chief of which has been transliterated by Pelliot as *Tard̲j̲uma Muṣṭafā*, a work which remains unidentified. A list of 67 reference works in Arabic and Persian used by Liu in his researches has been studied by the Japanese scholar Kuwata Rokuro (see *Bibl.*, also Ford, *op. cit.*, 151).

Liu Chih tells us little of his personal life. We know that he was a bookworm, and that because of his studiousness he was considered rather dull by his relatives and friends. Liu travelled widely, primarily in search of Arabic and Persian texts. Whilst *en route* "he pursued his reading among the dust of the carts by which he travelled, and even when riding on his beast" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. xii).

Before the Communist conquest of China in 1949, Liu Chih's tomb, which could still be seen outside the southern gate of the city of Nanking, was regularly visited by Chinese Muslim pilgrims. It is not known whether the tomb still exists today, but it should be noted that in 1973 the tomb of Sayyid Waḳḳās, by tradition the father of Chinese Islam, was restored by the Chinese government.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

LIVADYA (Λεβάδεια), a town in central Greece on the slopes of Mount Helicon, bordering the vast fertile plain of Boeotia. Nearby is Lake Kopais, reclaimed between 1883-92. The local centre of agriculture and the seat of a bishopric, Livadya was in the Frankish Middle Ages one of the important castles of the Duchy of Athens. In Ottoman times (1460-1829) it developed into a prosperous urban centre and grew into the largest city of central Greece, after Athens, with the highest number of Muslim citizens to the south of Thessaly.

The origins of Livadya go back to the remote antiquity. Since the 8th century B.C., it was one of the minor Boeotian towns, living in the shade of the mighty Thebes. As is the case with many Greek cities, little is known about the town in the early Middle Ages. As an urban centre it appears to be the successor of the ancient city of Orchomenos/Skripou, the seat of the Byzantine administration since the 8th century, which declined during the 11th and 12th centuries. The castle of Livadya, situated on a steep conical hill overlooking the city on the south-west, must have been founded by the Franks after 1204, when it was included in the Duchy of Athens. The Catalans of the Grand Company occupied Livadya after the battle of Skripou in 1311 and held it till 1379-80, reconstructing the castle to the form it largely has today. At an unknown date, the Navarrese, who had captured the town in 1378-80, ceded Livadya to the Florentine Nerio I Acciaiuoli, but almost immediately afterwards it was taken by the Ottomans under G͟hāzī Ewrenos, who kept it for almost a year (1392-3). Yildirim Bāyezīd's armies, marching to the Morea in 1397, seem to have passed by Livadya, reconquered by the Franks under Bertranet Mota. The unceasing warfare of the second half of the 14th century, and at least four epidemics of plague (1348, 1372, 1374, 1388) depopulated the land to a large extent. The Acciaiuolis tried to remedy this by settling ten thousand Albanian families who had been ousted from Epirus by Carlo Tocco. The reign of Antonio Acciaiuoli (1403-35), an Ottoman vassal, was more or less peaceful. There must have been some recovery, interrupted only by the plague of 1423. During the "Varna crisis" of 1443-4, the Livadya area was plundered and occupied twice, first by the Ottomans under Ṭurk͟hān-og͟hlu ʿÖmer Beg in 1460, as retaliation for the treason of Nerio II, who had forsaken the Ottomans, and then by the troops of Despot Constantin of the Morea. The last Florentine Duke of Boeotia, Antonio II, also an Ottoman vassal, was removed in 1460 when the duchy became an Ottoman *sand̲j̲ak* without much upheaval. This is perhaps the reason why the Ottoman chroniclers pass over the acquisition of Boeotia in silence. After Chalkis had been wrested from the Venetians (1470), this large walled city and important harbour became the capital of the *sand̲j̲ak*, called Eg͟hriboz (from Euripos), and Livadya the seat of a *ḳāḍilik*.

The Ottomans seem to have settled mainly in the Catalan castle and in a cluster of houses below it, on the banks of a torrent. There Turk͟hān-og͟hlu ʿÖmer, the Ottoman governor of Thessaly, constructed an *ḥammām* and a domed mosque with some guestrooms that was to become the centre of Islamic life for the next three-and-a-half centuries. The castle was guarded by a garrison of a few dozen soldiers. The mosque is mentioned in the *Waḳf-nāme* of ʿÖmer Beg, its staff being paid from the vast urban property of the Turk͟hān-og͟hlu clan in Thessaly.

The *Icmal defter* M.M. 66 from 871/1466-7, is apparently the oldest preserved Ottoman register containing information on Livadya. In the mentioned year, the town was a *nāḥiye* of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Tirk͟hāla (Trikkala) containing 164 Christian households and 24 bachelors as well as a Muslim community of 57 households and 25 bachelors. The Christian group should be regarded as the autochtonous population of Livadya, the relatively large Muslim group as the product of a deliberate policy of colonisation after the town had been annexed.

In this same year the administrative district of Livadya contained 47 Greek ("Rûm") villages and 30 *ḳaṭuns* inhabited by Albanians ("Arnavud") A year after the conquest of Eg͟hriboz (Chalkis), in 875/1471, the town and the district were detached from Tirk͟hāla and added to the newly-formed *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Eg͟hriboz, as is mentioned *der kenār* in the 871 register. Another *der kenār* note in the same register mentions that in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a of 876/May-June 1472, Livadya was entrusted to 22 soldiers of the garrison of Eg͟hriboz, soldiers bearing Muslim Turkish names and coming from a number of places in the Balkans (Pirlepe, Fanarī (Thessaly), Nig͟hbolu, Izdin (Lamia), Yanbol Serfid̲j̲e, Serres, Berat in Albania, etc.) thus giving an indication of where the first Muslim settlers of Livadya came from.

During the 16th century, Livadya shared in the general expansion of the cities of the Ottoman empire. The census registers of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Eg͟hriboz, preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, give exact information on the fast-growing number of inhabitants as well as on the number and scope of the Islamic institutions founded in the city in that period. The *Mufaṣṣal defter* of 1506 (T.D. 35), which records some of the *waḳf*s of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Eg͟hriboz (but no data on the population of Livadya), mentions a *muʿallim-k͟hāne* of Ḥasan Beg b. Mūsā in the city and a *zāwiye* of Ayas Dede, which provided lodging for travellers. Both foundations were maintained from the rents of some shops, watermills and gardens in or near the town. According to the *Icmal defter* (no. 367) of 1526-28, Livadya numbered 427 households, 295 of which were Christian, divided in four *maḥalle*s under their priests (49 of the Christian families were registered as cultivators of rice, *čeltükd̲j̲iyān*). The Muslim community, consisting of 96 households, was apparently not yet crystallised in *maḥalles*. The *Defter* also mentions a community (*d̲j̲emāʿat*) of 36 Jewish families. Thus the population of Livadya was then 70% Orthodox Christian, 22% Muslim and 8% Jewish. According to the *Ḳanūn-nāme* of the city and the district of Livadya, contained in the same register, the Muslim citizens paid only the tithes and nothing else. This source also states that the Jews had come from the West and that among the Christian inhabitants there were Albanians and Vlach nomads. The Albanians enjoyed some minor tax facilities. The city was by then a *k͟hāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*. T.D. no. 196 from 1539-40 mentions a garrison of 36 men in the castle of Livadya. This number could be so low because the city was safely situated in the interior of the country and had little to fear from an enemy attack (Chalkis and Athens, both on the coast, had then 357 and 114 men respectively, including *dizdār*s, gunners, etc.).

A further witness of the vast expansion of Livadya in the 16th century is the *Mufaṣṣal defter* of 1569-70 (T.D. 484). It mentions 552 Christian, 317 Muslim, and 32 Jewish households. The Christians still lived in four *maḥalle*s, but the Muslims had by now formed five *maḥalles*, grouped around their mosques: the D̲j̲āmiʿ-i ʿAtīḳ-i ʿÖmer Beg, the D̲j̲āmiʿ-

i Bālī Beg, the Mesdjid-i Muṣṭafā Voyvode, the Mesdjid-i Muṣliḥ al-Dīn and the Mesdjid-i Maḥmūd Čelebi. The rapid augmentation of Muslim inhabitants did not primarily result from conversion of local Christians, for the 1570 register, written when the peak of conversions to Islam was over, gives but 15% converts among the Muslims. In the 16th century, the cultivation of rice in the fertile and well-irrigated plain east of the city expanded likewise. The 1526 register mentions 51 Christian *čeltükdjis* living in Livadya; that of 1570, recapitulating the registrations of the intervening years (not known to us) gives 53 "old" Christian *čeltükdjis* and 16 "new" ones besides 16 "old" Muslim *čeltükdjis* and no less than 43 "new" ones. Only 3% of these 59 Muslim cultivators of rice were converts, which means that they must have come from elsewhere, most probably from Thessaly with its massive population of Muslim Turkish colonists. The *čeltükdjis* of Livadya had a privileged fiscal position, since they were exonerated from the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye* and the *tekālīf-i ʿörfiyye*, a status given to them by "previous Sulṭāns" and renewed ever since. The cultivation of rice in the marshy Kopais area thus goes back at least to Bāyezīd II or even Meḥemmed II. The Muslim population of Livadya as a whole had a specific status. It was exonerated from the *ʿawāriḍ* and the *tekālīf* taxes and the duty of oarsmen of the fleet, but was expected to form a military reserve in case of attack. This status, based on "orders of the previous Sulṭāns", probably goes back to the time of Meḥemmed II.

The 1570 register shows a major shift in the ethnic-religious composition of the Livadya population: 62% was Christian, 35% Muslim and only 3% Jewish. It had the highest number of Muslim citizens of the entire *sandjaḳ* of Eghriboz (in that year, Eghriboz numbered 199 Muslim households. Thebes (Istifa) 121 households and Athens 56 households). This expansion of Islam as well as the further growth of the town continued throughout the last quarter of the 16th and first half of the 17th century, although exact numbers are lacking.

The most detailed description of Islamic Livadya in the 17th century is given by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii), who visited the city in 1078/1667-8. By then it appears to have reached its widest expansion. There were 2,020 houses, six Christian *maḥalles*, inhabited by Greeks, Latins and Armenians, and seven Muslim *maḥalles*. The latter were principally the same as those mentioned in the 1570 register, but the *mesdjids* had now became mosques. Ewliyā Čelebi does not mention the *mesdjid* of Maḥmūd Čelebi, but adds as a new building the Mosque of the Tanneries, commonly known as Süleymāniyye, and notes three *maḥalle mesdjids*. According to Ewliyā, the mosque of ʿÖmer Beg was a small building in ancient style, with a plentiful congregation. The mosque of Bālī Beg, also in old style, had an inscription in Arabic, dated 931/1524-5, which Ewliyā quotes *in extenso*. There were, furthermore, three dervish *tekkes*, three *mektebs* and two *medreses*. The existence of the latter is not attested elsewhere. Ewliyā gives a very accurate description of the castle, then guarded by fifty men who had their houses inside the walls. Like the European travellers after him, Ewliyā extols the beauty of the town, situated on seven hills and dales, and its spacious and prosperous houses, fountains and coffeeshops. Among its population were many rich and notable persons. According to Ewliyā, part of the *waḳf* property of the Holy City of Medina and was governed by a Voyvode of the Ḳizlar Aghasî [*q.v.*], who had jurisdiction over this *waḳf*. Commanding 200 men, he administered justice and had the right of capital punishment. Ewliyā's information suggests that he paraphrased stipulations from state documents. Greek sources attest that Livadya was part of the domain of the Wālide Sulṭān, thus reflecting the situation in the last part of the Ottoman period. On an Ottoman list of *ḳāḍīliḳs* of 1667-8, Livadya ranked sixth in the hierarchy of twelve states.

Spon and Wheler, who travelled in 1675-6, relate that the town was inhabited by "Turks and Greeks" and a few Jews, living from the production of woollen cloth and trade in corn and rice, which was exported to all of Greece. The Turks possessed "five or six" mosques, the Greeks as many churches. They also mention a caravanserai and say that the mosque of ʿÖmer Beg was originally a church, dedicated to St. George. According to Richard Pococke, who visited Livadya in 1745, the town was inhabited by an almost equal number of Greeks and Turks. His information about the number of houses seems unreliable. Pouqueville, who visited the town shortly before 1800, gives a "cadastre du Vaivodilik de Lebadée" with the names and numbers of the inhabitants of all the villages of the district, Livadya itself counting 2,000 households. In the same period, Col. Leake found Livadya singularly beautiful, possessing an air of opulence not found elsewhere in Ottoman Greece. According to him there were 1,500 houses, only 130 of which were Turkish. Henry Holland, travelling in 1815, noted that Livadya was "still retaining the reputation as one of the principal towns in modern Greece" with nearly 2,000 houses, "many of them very large and inhabited by wealthy and respectable Greeks." There were still five mosques with minarets, but the Turkish population was very small. Economy was still based on agriculture, exports consisting of wheat, barley, maize, cotton, wool, cheese, honey, etc., and estimated in 1805 at 250,000 *kiles* (bushels). The reason why the Muslim-Turkish part of the inhabitants of Livadya declined so markedly in the 18th century is not known in detail.

In the first decade of the 19th century, the powerful Tepedilenli ʿAlī Pasha tried to extend his direct control over Livadya. He was unsuccessful in attempting to lease the taxes of the area, but succeeded in enlarging his influence, acting as inspector of the Passes.

In the second half of the Ottoman period, especially in the 18th century, the type of land tenure and the administrative system favoured the development of a powerful Christian bourgeoisie that took control of production and commerce. The main representative of this class was Giannákis Stamou Logothetis, a progressive and cultured man who was in touch with the liberal movements of Western Europe. The general prosperity of the Livadya area was attributed to men like him.

During the Greek War of Independence, the town was several times plundered and burnt and at the end nothing but ruins remained. After 1829, Livadya was rebuilt gradually. In 1889 there were 4,990 inhabitants; in 1907, 7,089; and in 1928, 12,585, more than during the last century of Ottoman rule (approx. 10,000). In 1928 the expansion virtually stopped (in 1961 there were 12,609 inhabitants), but in recent years there is again some growth. No traces of Islamic buildings are preserved except for a fine vaulted stone bridge and an 18th century clock tower. The Catalan castle, wrecked through an earthquake in 1894, still exists in ruined condition.

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(M. Kiel)

LIVNO (in pre-modern Slavonic texts, often written as Hlivno; in older Ottoman texts variously written as Hlevne, Ihlivne, etc.), a town in Bosnia situated at the spur of a mountain at the eastern edge of the homonymous *polje* or plain in a very dry and stony karst landscape on the approaches to Dalmatia. Today, it is a small local centre far off the main thoroughfares and little-visited, but in the 16th and 17th centuries it was a centre of Ottoman power, seat of the *sandjaḳ beg*s of Klis, and bulwark of Islam on the western frontiers of the empire. Until World War II, Livno boasted five domed and lead-covered mosques from the classical period of Ottoman architecture, thus ranking second in Bosnia, immediately after Sarajevo, in this aspect, demonstrating the importance which the place once had as a centre of Islam.

The town of Livno is an Ottoman foundation from the early 16th century, whose expansion was greatly promoted by various members of the *sandjaḳ* administration residing there. The castle of Livno, now a ruin overlooking the town, is much older. It is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th century A.D.) as Hlediana, one of the eleven *župas* of the kingdom of Croatia, situated on the border between the Serbian and the Croatian lands. In the later Middle Ages, Livno belonged to the kings of Bosnia. It is mentioned as "Grad Hlivanjski" in 1400 (Miklošić, *Monumenta*, 248-9). In the first half of the 15th century, it was ruled by the family of Vukčić. King Tomas resided in Livno in 1444 (H. Šabanović, tr., *Evlija Čelebija putopis*, i, Sarajevo 1957, 154). The castle is again mentioned in 1466 as being guarded against the Turks by Vladislav Hercegović, a son of Duke (Herceg → Hercegovina) Stjepan (one of Vladislav's brothers became the later famous Grand Vizier of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, Hersekoghlu Aḥmed Pasha). The Ottomans captured the castle of Livno between 1466 and 1485. The exact date is not known, and is an object of controversy. The *Taḥrīr defter* no. 18 of 890/1485 mentions Livno as centre of a *nāḥiye*; it possessed then a civil population of 27 families and 26 temporary residents.

In the first decades of the Ottoman period, there was only one mosque in Livno, the Khünkār Djāmiʿ, or Starogradsko Džamija, in the castle, serving the needs of the garrison. In the first decades of the 16th century, a Muslim suburb grew up around the Balagina Mosque (Balaguša), built according to its Arabic inscription in 920/1514. This building, still preserved, is the first of the domed mosques of Livno. Soon afterwards, the Džumanuša Mosque of Sinān Čāwūsh from 935/1528-9 was erected, also a domed structure (destroyed in World War II). The open town of Livno sprang up below the castle on sloping ground, with the older quarters at the foot of the castle and the newer ones further down the hill.

Livno remained a *nāḥiye* of the *ḳāḍīlïḳ* of Neretva until some time in the first quarter of the 16th century. After the conquest of Skradin in 928/1522 (*Pečewī taʾrīkhi*, i, 72), Livno was included in a newly-founded *ḳāḍīlïḳ*, which had the Dalmatian town as its centre. In 1537, Murād Beg Tardić (a Dalmatian convert from Šibenik) captured the fortress of Klis facing the Venetian base of Split (Spalato) and became *sandjaḳ begi* of the newly-formed *sandjaḳ* of Klis (Pečewī, i). As Split was too vulnerably-situated to suit the requirements of an administrative centre, the residence of the beg was set up in Livno. They resided there especially in the latter part of the 16th century, which induced Italian and German sources to speak of "the *sandjaḳ* of Livno". In 1648, during the Cretan War, Klis was lost for the Ottomans, but the *sandjaḳ* kept the name of its former titulary capital.

The second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century was the time of the greatest expansion of the town. According to the *Tapu defter* no. 285, 1-7 and no. 284, 67-73, both from 960/1553, the "*ḳaṣaba* of Hlivne", part of the *khāṣṣ* of the *Mīr-i Liwā* of Klis, Aḥmed Beg, numbered five *maḥalle*s with 262 households (*khānes*) and 170 bachelors (*müdjerred*), thus totalling *ca.* 1,340 inhabitants. Only nine households were Christian, and all others were Muslims. Four of the town quarters were called after the mosque around which they had sprung up: Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i Sinān Čāwūsh, with 50 *khānes*, 43 *müdjerreds*; Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i Ḥamza, with 35 *khānes* and 28 *müdjerreds*; Maḥalle-yi Mesdjid-i

Pehliwān Ḥüseyn, with 73 *khānes* and 46 *müdjerreds*; Maḥalle-yi Mesdjid-i Ḥüseyn Etmekci-zāde, with 48 *khānes* and 53 *müdjerreds*; and Varosh of Hlivne, with 19 Muslim *khānes* and nine Christian *khānes*. Other Ottoman registers, from 22 years later, testify to the rapid development of the town in those years. The *Tapu defter* no. 533, 320-30, and the *T.d.* 546, 298-307, both from 982/1573-4, mention seven *maḥalles* in Livno. Added to those mentioned in 1553 are the following new wards: Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i sherīf-i Meḥmed Agha, Maḥalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i sherīf-i Meḥmed and Maḥalle-yi Ferhād Beg. The number of inhabitants is given as *nefers* (single individuals, persons), 653 men and a separate group of 40 tanners, an indication of the function of the town as a centre of handicrafts besides being an administrative centre. If three-quarters of the number given were family heads, this would make a total population of little less than 3,000 souls, which is indeed a spectacular growth. The second mosque mentioned in the *T.d.* of 982 is the so-called Perkuša Džamija, built according to its Arabic inscription in 971/1563-4 by Sipāhī Meḥmed. It was the third domed mosque of Livno, and existed till World War II. The above-mentioned Ferhād Beg was a Ṣoḳollu-zāde (Sokollović), a nephew of the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Ṣoḳollu. Ferhād was *sandjaḳ begi* of Klis between 1566 and 1574, and is known to have erected a large caravanserai in the lower town of Livno. The last quarter of the 16th century saw the erection of two more domed mosques: the Begluk Džamija of Ṣoḳollu-zāde Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha in 985/1577-8, built during his term as *sandjaḳ begi* of Klis (1574-7), and the Glavica Džamija, built by a Dūḳatar-oghlu Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed in 996/1587-8). Both buildings are preserved at the present time and still have their *Bauinschrift* in Turkish. Four more mosques and a Clock Tower (1659) were built in the course of the 17th century: the Tepet Džamija, Borusa Džamija, Piragic Džamija (demolished in 1918), and the Pasina or Atlagić Džamija. The latter was most probably built by Meḥmed Pasha Atlagic, the most important member of the Livanjsker family of Atlibegović, or Atli-agi. Meḥmed Pasha Atlagić was *sandjaḳ begi* of Klis in 1685-7 and vizier of Bosnia in 1687-8 (H. Kreševljakovic, in *Hrvatskoj Enciklopediji*, art. *Atlagići*). With the erection of these buildings, the architectural outlook of Livno acquired its definitive form. The only known important group of buildings of the 19th century is the mosque, *mekteb*, *tekke* and water-supply system of the brothers Maḥmūd Beg and Derwīsh Beg Bushatlī. The mosque, the Milosnik Džamija, built in 1291/1874-5, was restored in 1978.

When Ewliyā Čelebi visited Livno in 1070/1659-60, he found a fully-developed Muslim town, the seat of a *ḳāḍī* (the Ottoman list of *ḳāḍīliḳs* of Rumeli of 1078/1667-8 also mentions "Ihlivne" as seat of a *ḳāḍī*), a number of officials of the provincial administration as well as a *dizdār* who commanded a garrison of 600 men. The open town below the castle was composed of nine *maḥalles* and had 1,100 stone-built houses, covered with shingles, 13 mosques, of which seven were Friday mosques (for three of them, he gives extracts from the inscriptions), three *medreses* (attached to the mosques of Dūḳat[ar]oghlu Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed, Sipāhī Meḥmed and Lala [Muṣṭafā] Pasha), five *mektebs*, six *tekkes*, one *ḥammām* and 300 shops. With 5,000-6,000 inhabitants, the town clearly reached the limits of self-sufficiency for a poor karst land like the Livno district. The "golden age" of Islamic Livno ended in 1686 when, during the great war against the Christian coalition, Stojan Janković captured the town and burnt it down. The Starogradsko Džamija in the castle and the Borusa Džamija were destroyed and not rebuilt. Since that time and throughout the 18th century, Livno was the seat of the *Livanjsker kapetanat*, a function which was in the hands of the Atlagić family till 1711. The most famous captain of Livno was Firdūs in the first half of the 19th century. Parts of his fortified house (*kula*) still exist.

At the beginning of the 18th century, with the border areas lost to Venice, the *sandjāḳ* of Klis comprised four *ḳāḍīliḳs*: Akḥiṣār (Prusac), Gölḥiṣār (Jezero), Novosel and Livno, the latter with the *nāḥiyes* of Livno, Glamoč, Grahovo and Satomiševo. Livno recovered slowly from the destruction of 1686. The castle was maintained throughout the 18th and the greater part of the 19th centuries. In 1833 it still had 34 guns. The Ottoman period ended in 1878, when the Austrian-Hungarian army captured Livno after an obstinate defence. The town continued to flourish until the beginning of the present century as a small centre of grain and live-stock trade and silver filigree-work, until a great conflagration in 1904 swept away more than 500 houses. Before that date it had, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911 edn. (xvi, 816), about 5,000 inhabitants, thus maintaining the level of the 17th century. According to the *Baedeker, Österreich-Ungarn* of 1913, 422, Livno had still 4,700 inhabitants, but this recovery was temporary. After 1918, when it was incorporated in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, a large part of its Muslim population departed. When René Pelletier visited it in the early thirties, Livno had but 2,200 inhabitants (Pelletier, *Sarajevo et sa région*, Paris 1934). During World War II, Livno was three times occupied by German and Croatian Fascist forces and as many times liberated, lastly in October 1944. During these events, all the hitherto-preserved mosques but one (Balaguša Dž.) were deliberately destroyed or heavily damaged, together with the entire town. The ruins of the Glavica Džamija and the adjacent Clock Tower, together constituting the landmark of Livno, were restored in 1963-4. The Begluk Džamija of Ṣoḳollu-zāde Muṣṭafā was restored in 1971-2, and the Zavra Džamija and Čurčinca Džamija, both wood-covered halls, in the seventies.

In 1953 Livno numbered 3,672 inhabitants, among whom is a small Muslim minority. The centre of gravity of the post-war town has shifted to the flat grounds of the plain below the totally-ruined Ottoman town. In the old parts, now under the protection of the Service of Ancient Monuments of Bosnia, only construction in local style is allowed, thus creating a harmony with the preserved Islamic monuments.

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LIWĀʾ (A.), in Ottoman *liwā*.

1. For the meaning banner, flag, standard see ʿALAM.

2. In the Ottoman empire the word indicated a province, several of which were at a certain moment joined into an *eyālet*, later *wilāyet* [see WILĀYA]. The term *liwāʾ*, synonymous with Turkish *sand͟jaḳ* [see SAND͟JAḲ], was mainly used in official documents. Accordingly, *mīr liwā* (from Arabic *amīr al-liwāʾ*) stood for *sand͟jaḳ begi* [see BEG], the governor and military commander of a *liwāʾ* or *sand͟jaḳ*. From the middle of the 19th century onwards there was also used the term *müteṣarrīflīḳ*, derived from the title *müteṣarrīf*. Of all the states issued from the Ottoman Empire, only ʿIrāḳ kept the term *liwāʾ* (up till 1974) to indicate a province. In the army of ʿIrāḳ, *liwāʾ* indicates a brigade, *amīr al-liwāʾ* brigadier (as in Egypt until 1939).

Bibliography: Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, London 1950, i/1, 137-73; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976. For further literature, see SAND͟JAḲ. (A. Birken)

LĪWĀN [see IWĀN].

LIWĀṬ (A.), sodomy. There does exist in Arabic a verb *lāṭa* meaning "to attach oneself, to join oneself to", but *liwāṭ* appears to be rather a *maṣdar* of *lāṭa* or *lāwaṭa*, denominative of Lūṭ [*q.v.*], i.e. Lot; in modern Arabic there are also the terms *liwāṭa*, *mulāwaṭa*, *talawwuṭ*, etc., as well as a large number of euphemisms and of dialectical and slang terms. The homosexual is called *lūṭī* or *lāʾiṭ* (pl. *lāṭa*), or *mulāwiṭ*, when he is the active partner, although the distinction is often difficult to establish; the passive is *maʾbūn*, and his perversion, *ubna*; among the synonyms, the most common is *mukhannath*, generally translated as "effeminate", although in normal usage it refers to the genuine hermaphrodite (see A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en Islam*, Paris 1975, 55-7). In the Muslim West in the Middle Ages, a special term, *ḥāwī* (pl. *ḥiwā*) was used in reference to professional male prostitutes (see below).

In a number of verses of the Ḳurʾān relating to Lot and his people, the word *fāḥis͟ha*, which may be rendered as "depravity", is clearly an allusion to the vice in question, but this is even more strongly indicated by the pejorative nature of the remarks and questions attributed to this prophet: *inna-kum la-taʾtūna l-rid͟jāla s͟hahwatan min dūni'l-nisāʾ, bal antum ḳawmun musrifūn* "You commit the carnal act, in lust, with men and not with women, you are indeed an impious people" (VII, 79/81), *a-inna-kum la-taʾtūna'l-rid͟jāla*? (XXVII, 55/54) and *a-taʾtūna 'l-d͟hukrāna*? (XXVI, 165). The punishment inflicted upon the people of Lot, in the Ḳurʾān as in the Bible (Gen., xix, 1-23) leaves no doubt as to the way in which sodomy should be regarded by Islam, even though it is not explicitly condemned by the Holy Book, which indeed allows a certain ambiguity in passages where the believers are promised that in paradise they will be attended by menservants (*g͟hilmān*, LII, 24; *wildān*, LVI, 17, LXXVI, 19).

The statements of *ḥadīt͟h* are, on the other hand, perfectly clear and particularly harsh, as is noted by al-Nuwayrī who, in his *Nihāya* (ii, 204-10), has conveniently collected them together, with the addition of the opinions of the Companions and the *fuḳahāʾ* on the subject. The Prophet is alleged to have said that what he feared most for his community were the practices of the people of Lot (although he seems to have expressed the same idea in regard to wine and to female seduction: *Nihāya*, ii, 198). According to him, both the active and the passive agent must be killed (*yuḳtal/uḳtulū 'l-fāʿil wa 'l-mafʿūl bihi*, terms which were subsequently to be applied, in grammar, to the subject and the direct object) or, more precisely, subjected to the punishment prescribed for the man guilty of *zinā* [*q.v.*], the fornicator, that is, death by stoning (*fa-rd͟jumū 'l-aʿlā wa 'l-asfal*). The man who sodomises another or inflicts the same treatment on a woman, will on the Day of Resurrection be regarded as more reprehensible than carrion; needless to say, he will suffer eternal damnation, unless he obtains pardon through repentance. The lustful kissing of an adolescent is enough to earn a thousand years in Hell.

By the very fact of their existence, these *ḥadīt͟hs* show that, while probably not very common in Bedouin society, homosexuality was not totally unknown in Arabia of the pre-Islamic period. For proof of this, one need look no further than the story of D͟hū Nuwās [*q.v.*], who was compelled to kill D͟hū S͟hanātir in order to escape his advances. Proverbs of the form *alwaṭ min* . . . (al-Maydānī, ii, 205) testify to the antiquity of the term and of the idea which it expresses; al-Maydānī cites the ex-

pression *alwaṭ min Dubb*, making the last word ("bear") into a proper name; similarly al-Djāḥiẓ (*Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān*, in *Rasā'il al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 136-7) quotes a Ḥidjāzī proverb, *alwaṭ min Dīk*, in which *Dīk* ("cock") would also be the name of a person; these coincidences are curious, to say the least. Whatever the case may be, animals are not exempt from this vice: al-Djāḥiẓ himself (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 204) cites the example of a *ma'būn* horse, perhaps castrated at an early age, which pursued male horses, mules and donkeys. The same author seems to have been the first to speak (*ibid.*, vii, 178) of a fabulous animal, the *ʿudār*, which was in the habit of assaulting the men whom it encountered; its victims suffered a worm-infected anus and died as a result (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 319-20 = § 1203). In his *Mufākhara*, he also mentions a *mawlā* of Khuzāʿa, Maymūn b. Zayd b. Tharwān, who was a *lā'iṭ* in Kūfa and who became proverbial under the nickname of Siyāh, but was apparently viewed with an indulgence that spared him any punishment.

However, in the course of the 1st/7th century, a number of precise cases of *lāṭa* subjected to exemplary penalties are reported, especially by al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Nuwayrī. Abū Bakr condemned a homosexual to be buried beneath the débris of a wall, and prescribed burning alive as the penalty for all those guilty of such practices; in this respect he was followed by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. For his part, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib ordered the stoning of a *lūṭī* and had another thrown head-first from the top of a minaret; according to Ibn ʿAbbās, this last punishment must be followed by stoning. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar went a step beyond the condemnation predicted by the Prophet, reckoning that these people would be resurrected in the form of monkeys and pigs. The famous letter from an Umayyad caliph [see KHAṢĪ, IV, 1087b] ordering the governor of Mecca or of Medina to "hold a census" of the *mukhannathūn* of the town corresponds to a real situation, even if the tradition itself is contrived.

In fact, the increase in prosperity brought about by the rich flow of spoils from the conquered lands was accompanied, paradoxically, by the corruption of morals in the two holy cities. As regards the subject which concerns us here, information relating to the development of music and song reveals the presence of *mukhannathūn*, who were apparently for the most part of foreign origin. It may thus be assumed that from this time homosexuality became less of a rarity as the result of a rapid process of acculturation. A defender of paedophiles, of lovers of *ghilmān*, depicted in the *Mufākhara* (ii, 116) of al-Djāḥiẓ, observes in effect that natural love is a feature of Bedouin culture and of simple morality and that if the ancient Arabs glorified woman, this was because they knew nothing of the refined pleasures of this world, which are only to be encountered in a highly civilised society.

All the same, it is not impossible that the decisive impulse came with the arrival of the ʿAbbāsid army from Khurāsān (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 358) and that homosexuality subsequently spread more widely under the new dynasty. In fact, tradition attributes to al-Amīn tastes so depraved that his mother, Umm Djaʿfar, was obliged to procure for him slave women with the physical characteristics sought after by *lāṭa* among boys and to dress them in masculine clothing, in the hope of inducing him to adopt more conventional morals (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 299-300 = §§ 3451-2). It was no doubt such episodes that gave rise to the fashion for "masculine girls", *ghulāmiyyāt*, a trend widely reflected in literature (see Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Mar'a al-ghulāmiyya fi 'l-Islām*, in *Machriq* [1956]). In Ifrīḳiya, the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm II was surrounded by some sixty catamites, whom he treated in a most horrific manner (see M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 306, 317). At Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III had executed a young lad from Léon who was held as a hostage, the future St. Pelagius (Pelayo), because he had refused his advances (Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 542; see also Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *La vie quotidienne dans l'Europe médiévale sous la domination arabe*, Paris 1978, 117-18). Homosexual tendencies are attributed to al-Muʿtaṣim and to some of his successors, and it is probable that this is not a case of slander designed to justify a vice vigorously opposed by the *fuḳahā'*.

In general, the *ḥadīth* relating to the punishment of the *lūṭī* (see above) provides the base for the opinions of jurists, but a distinction tends to be made, in the application of the legal sanction (*ḥadd*), according to whether the culprit is *muḥṣan* or not, that is, in practice, whether he is married or celibate. Ibn Ḥanbal and his followers appear to be the most severe, since they insist that in all cases the culprit must be put to death by stoning, while the other schools are in general content with flagellation, with or without banishment, if the man is not *muḥṣan*; it should be noted in addition that it is sometimes recommended that the prescribed penalty (one hundred strokes) should not be applied in full, and Ibn Ḥazm goes so far as to reduce the number of strokes to ten. These variations correspond to the uncertainties surrounding the definition of the penalty to be imposed for fornication [see ZINĀ for details], but also betray a tendency towards indulgence; moreover, since proof is always difficult to establish, there is little likelihood of the punishment actually being applied. These circumstances do not prevent moral pundits from considering illegal a lustful glance in the direction of a beardless youth (*amrad*), and the Ḥanbalīs forbid men to walk in the street with women or with adolescents (Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 362).

The legal provisions set out above are thus to a large extent theoretical, since homosexual relations have always been tolerated. They were common in religious brotherhoods and in educational institutions (see A. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 146), and schoolmasters had an unenviable reputation in this respect, as is shown by many anecdotes. The nudity of the public baths did nothing to discourage such practices, and the paragraph devoted by H. Pérès (*Poésie andalouse*, 341-3) to homosexuality in al-Andalus refers specifically to the *ḥammām*.

As regards women, the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, ii, 110) mentions a love affair between a certain Hind (named, incorrectly, as the daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-djinsiyya ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1958, 14; see Masʿūdī-Pellat, index, under Ḥurāqa) and Zarḳā' al-Yamāma, which would be the oldest example of Sapphism among the Arabs, but in this particular case we have a work of imagination, called moreover *Kitāb Hind wa-bint al-Nuʿmān* by Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Cairo, 427), who cites a dozen love romances with female names in their titles (e.g. *K. Ruḳayya wa-Khadīdja*, *K. Salmā wa-Suʿad*, etc.). Although information is scarce, it is likely that *saḥḳ/siḥāḳ/musāḥaḳa*, while not widespread, existed no less than male homosexuality, since according to the relevant *ḥadīth* it is also identified with *zinā* (*siḥāḳ al-nisā' zinā bayna-hunna*). These practices, which al-

Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 29) knew well, spread in parallel with sodomy, at least in the leisured classes of Arab-Islamic society, if we are to believe the rather late works of eroticism which will be mentioned in due course; in any case, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] wrote a *Kitāb al-Saḥḥāḳāt*, of which apparently no traces remain. In addition, the sodomisation of women, although formally forbidden by the Prophet (see above and the *ḥadīth*: *lā taʾtū l-nisāʾ min maḥāshshi-hinna / adbārihinna*) would seem to have been a fairly common practice (see A. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 246-7).

Besides female prostitution (*bighāʾ* [*q.v.* in *Suppl.*]), there is abundant evidence of male prostitution. It is not known how much credence should be attached to an allegation by Ibn Ḥawḳal (93, 95, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 91, 93), reiterated in part by al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, ed. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 70; ed. Naples-Rome, iii, 269-70), according to which the Kutāma Berbers "offer themselves to their guests as a token of hospitality, without any sense of shame", while at Sétif, they are content to offer their male children. Inconsistencies in these passages are such as to cast doubt on the author's claims.

In any case, the presence of professional deviants (*muʾādjirūn*) in the larger towns has been frequently attested by travellers (see G. H. Bousquet, *L'éthique sexuelle de l'Islam*, Paris 1953, 59). Mention has been made of transvestites, for example in Bougie (Idris, *Zirides*, 329, 591), in Tunis (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 173) where Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 385) saw young boys prostituting themselves, in Fez, where the same author encounters what he calls *cheua* (= *ḥiwā*, a term of particularly common usage in Spain; see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) living with men in hostelries. Such statements cover such a broad expanse of time that they cannot but be a reflection of a permanent situation which has, moreover, persisted into the present day (see, e.g. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 233). It need hardly be said that the authors of works of *ḥisba* utterly deplore these deviants and the moral corruption for which they are responsible, but not one of them is so severe as to demand for them the capital penalty ordained by the afore-mentioned *ḥadīth*. According to Ibn ʿAbdūn (Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 170), the *ḥiwā* are to be expelled from the town and severely punished if they return, since they are accursed of Allah and of the whole people; al-Saḳaṭī (*Manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 68, and gloss., 26; Spanish translation by Chalmeta, in *al-Andalus*, 1968 ff., § 161) speaks only of *mukhannathūn* (singers disguised as women), whom he forbids to wear their hair long over the temples or to attend banquets and funerals (see also Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispanique de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955, 123). Although the repression of *liwāṭ*, in the strict sense of the word, forms a part of the general censorship of morals, these works contain few specific references to it.

It should be said that this phenomenon, while provoking the disapproval of a number of moralists loyal to the tradition of the Prophet, has for the most part been viewed with indulgence—if not actively condoned—even in circles which would appear to be furthest from it.

Firstly, homosexuality was a theme favoured by libertine poets who, especially from the 1st/7th century onwards, glorified homosexual love quite shamelessly, often in terms of intolerable obscenity; in the interminable list of these poets, the first place belongs without doubt to Abū Nuwās who, even without the dedication of the *1001 Nights* (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs*, 150) plays a role of unassailable eminence in this regard. His master Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, who is thought to have debauched him, Ḥusayn b. al-Daḥḥāk, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās and a great number of others, were imitated and sometimes overtaken by exponents of *mudjūn* [*q.v.*] and of *sukhf*, which Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj made his speciality, as well as by Ibn Ḳuzmān in his celebrated *zadjals*.

On the other hand, there are a great many poets who have not hesitated, at some point or other in their career, to sing the praises of a youth, in many cases no doubt, less from personal taste than from the desire to conform artificially with a general trend. In fact care should be taken not to accuse all such writers of libertinism, for it was conventional practice to glorify wine, women and favourites, without becoming personally involved in debauchery or violating the rules of Islamic ethics. We may cite, as a simple example, the theme of *dabīb*, of "crawling", appropriate perhaps for an Imruʾ al-Ḳays who lived in a society where it was possible to crawl under the tent in order to approach a woman, but purely conventional in the case of a city-dweller like Ibn Shuhayd who, unlike the pre-Islamic poet, uses (*apud* Ibn Bassam, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 244), in poetry of a high standard of sophistication, the masculine form to designate the person in question, whose sex thus remains undefined. Leaving aside the mystics, who frequently adopt an equivocal posture, the use, by poets whose morality is not suspect, of the masculine form in their love poems, derives less from a desire to shock than from a sense of modesty and from respect for a tradition that was reckoned to be harmless, a tradition maintaining an ambiguity universally accepted and appreciated.

In the sphere of prose, the most significant, if not the oldest writing, is certainly the *Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān* of al-Djāḥiẓ who, always prone to cultivate the genre of *munāẓara*, debate, of which he is one of the pioneers in Arabic literature, presents in the form of a stylised dialogue arguments exchanged between homosexuals and men of normal sexuality. So as to leave no doubt as to his own tastes, this author saw fit to publish a *Risāla fī tafḍīl al-baṭn ʿalā 'l-ẓahr* (ed. Pellat, in the *Ḥawliyyāt* of the University of Tunis, xiii [1976], 183-92) in which he plays on the different meanings of *baṭn*—"stomach" and *ẓahr*—"back" in order to demonstrate, with a great deal of humour, the superiority of the former; he goes so far as to attribute to sodomy the destruction of the people of Thamūd [*q.v.*], which is thus accorded the same status as the people of Lot.

In the *Mufākhara*, there are a number of anecdotes which testify to the popularity of stories of *lāṭa* from the 3rd/9th century; these were to find a place in collections compiled in later times for the entertainment of what were, in appearance at least, the most puritanical sections of society. A characteristic manifestation of this somewhat perverse taste is encountered in the work of al-Tawḥīdī, who devotes a chapter of his *Imtāʿ*, the 18th night (ii, 50-60) to *mudjūn* and naturally tells the story of a *lāṭī* (tr. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 158).

The example set by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *Mufākhara* has been followed by quite serious authors who have left analogous writings, among which we may mention *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-zunāt wa 'l-lāṭa* by Ibn Hindū (see Brockelmann, S I, 426) and the *Kitāb al-Ḥikāyāt* by Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, in *RIMA*,

iii [1957], 335). In addition, the vice in question inspired a specialised literature all its own, notably consisting of advice on techniques of seducing young men (see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-djinsiyya*, 52-4). The writers of works of eroticism (see DJINS and add to *Bibliography*, A. Boudhiba, *op. laud.*, 171 ff.) mostly devote some space to sodomy; on this point, the most characteristic works are without doubt the *Nuzhat al-albāb fi-mā lā yūdjad fi kitāb* (Brockelmann, I, 495, S I, 904) of al-Tīfās̲h̲ī and the *Nas̲h̲wat al-sakrān* of Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān (Istanbul 1296/1878; see Bouhdiba, 178).

In the *Mufāk̲h̲ara* of al-Djāḥiẓ, which has nothing in common with the preceding works, the advocate for the *djawārī* claims (ii, 104) that there has never been a case recorded in which love for a youth has proved fatal, while tradition is full of examples of heterosexuals who have pined away, lost their reason or died for love. However, there are apparently authentic accounts which contradict this assertion. Al-Ḍabbī (*Bug̲h̲ya*, no. 462; tr. Lévi-Provençal, *En relisant "le Collier de la colombe"*, in *al-Andalus*, xv/2 [1950], 363-8) relates, after Ibn Ḥazm (although the text of the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, 301, is quite perceptibly different): "the incredible adventure ... of a certain Aḥmad b. Kulayb, poet and grammarian of Cordova who, in 426/1035, died of grief because one of his fellow-citizens, a member of the Andalusian patrician class, persisted in rejecting his advances" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 445); the same story is told by Yāḳūt (*Irs̲h̲ād*, ii, 19 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, iv, 109 ff.; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 359-60) who also relates (ii, 23 ff. = iv, 115 ff.; cf. Mez, 360-1), after al-Ṣanawbarī, the story of a bookseller of Edessa (al-Ruhā) named Saʿd, whose shop was a literary salon frequented by poets and in particular by a young Christian called ʿĪsā; Saʿd developed a violent passion for the latter, and did not cease pursuing him and dedicating poems to him; ʿĪsā became a monk, and, finally denied access to the monastery, Saʿd set fire to all his possessions and became a vagrant. He died eventually of consumption, but the governor of the town accused the monks of having killed him and condemned the young man to death; the punishment was averted following the payment of a large sum of money, but when ʿĪsā went to visit his parents, the local children pelted him with stones and called him an assassin. A third story (Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, ii, 25 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, iv, 122 ff.) tells of a poet in love with a young monk who pines away with grief and dies the very moment that he meets the object of his infatuation.

From anecdotes such as these one gains the impression, on the one hand, that the authorities and the people did not regard the inclinations of these homosexuals as immoral, and on the other, that monasteries and monks played an inauspicious role. It is quite clear that poetry and works such as the *Diyārāt* of al-S̲h̲ābus̲h̲tī regard monasteries [see DAYR] as places of debauchery frequented by lovers of forbidden delights. One must, however, proceed with caution, because once again we are faced with a poetic theme whose treatment is analogous to that of the glorification of unnatural love by poets who are influenced more by respect for a tradition than by any desire to become personally involved in the acts to which they refer. In this context, the adventure of the Andalusian poet al-Ramādī, the account of which is borrowed by H. Pérès (*Poésie andalouse*, 278-9) from a work of dubious authenticity, the *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* of Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, seem to us no more authentic than the braggings of Ibn S̲h̲uhayd, in a poem composed in imitation of Abū Nuwās (H. Pérès, *op. laud.*, 277-8).

The fact remains that in the Middle Ages, many attacks on Islam by Christians were based on the frequency of homosexual relations which, in their view, were permitted by the Ḳurʾān and which characterised the behaviour of Muslims; they based this opinion on verse 20/16 of Sūra IV which they misinterpreted as referring to sodomy, without taking account of the condemnation of "depravity" which it contains (see N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, 141-5).

It is indeed difficult to measure precisely the extent of the phenomenon, but it should be recognised that the separation of the sexes, which is a particular feature of Islam, has played a significant role in promoting it (cf. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 173), among women as much as among men, and the precautions taken against such behaviour (al-Nuwayrī, for example, entitles the chapter cited above *al-taḥd̲h̲īr min al-liwāṭ*) did not succeed in preventing it. It is now known that homosexuality, once regarded as a punishable offence, is caused as much by genetic as by social and psychological factors, but it seems that in the event the latter have played the leading role in the proliferation of what remains, to a large extent, a vice.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

LIYĀḲAT ʿALĪ K̲H̲ĀN, honorary secretary of the All-India Muslim League from 1936 to 1947 and prime minister of Pakistan from 1947 to 1951, was born in the Karnāl district of east Pandjāb on 1 October 1895. He was the second son of a well-to-do landlord, Nawwāb Rustam ʿAlī K̲h̲ān of the Mandal family, which claimed to have migrated 500 years previously from Iran and to descend from the Sāsānid king Anūs̲h̲irwān (K̲h̲usraw I, 531-79 A.D.); British officials on the other hand considered the Mandals to be of Paṭhān origin, or perhaps Djāṭs hailing from Samānā in Paṭiālā. Liyāḳat ʿAlī K̲h̲ān's grandfather, Nawwāb Aḥmad ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, gave powerful support to the British in the Mutiny uprising of 1857-8, for which he was handsomely rewarded in the bestowal of honours and the remission of rent.

From 1909 to 1919 Liyāḳat ʿAlī K̲h̲ān attended the Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental College at ʿAlīgaṛh, where he was notably successful both on the games field and in the classroom. After graduating, he read law at Exeter College, Oxford, getting his degree in 1921, and was called to the Bar in 1922. At Oxford he began to display political promise as a prominent member of the Indian Madjlis. On returning to India he settled down on the family estate in the Muẓaffarnagar district of the western United Provinces and, despite family pressure to enter government service and his own training as a lawyer, aimed at politics. In 1923 he joined the All-India Muslim League, the organisation of Muslim separatist politics, and when in 1927 the League split over its response to the Simon Commission to inquire into India's constitutional progress, he supported the Djinnah group which boycotted the Commission. In 1928 he joined those representing the League at the Indian National Convention which discussed the Nehru Report. From 1926 to 1940 he was a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, in which he quickly came to play a prominent part, organising and leading the small but influential Democratic Party and acting as deputy president of the Council from 1931 to 1936.

In the 1930s and 1940s Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān played the leading role, after Muḥammad ʿAlī Djinnah, in generating the revival of the All-India Muslim League. In the early 1930s the League was crumbling, meeting only once in full session between 1931 and 1936. In 1933, while visiting London on his second honeymoon, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān helped to persuade, and according to some was decisive in persuading, Djinnah to return to India to revitalise the organisation. In April 1936 he became honorary secretary, a position he held till 1947, even though from July 1936 to early 1938 he was associated with the landlord party in the United Provinces, the National Agriculturalist Party led by the Nawwāb of Čattārī; the Muslim League leadership in the province, he declared by way of explanation, was too close to the Indian National Congress. In the early 1940s Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān prepared the League's organisation, and Muslims more generally, for the overwhelming victory of the 1945-6 elections. He sat on the League's major committees, he was chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board, he toured India to spread the League's message, he directed the *Dawn* newspaper which was founded in 1942 as the League's mouthpiece, and from 1940 he led the League's party in the Central Legislative Assembly in Djinnah's absences, which were quite frequent. So highly did Djinnah value Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān that in supporting his re-election as honorary secretary in 1943 he described him as his "right hand".

In the two crucial years before the partition of India, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khan was at the heart of events. In late 1944 and early 1945 he attempted to come to an agreement with Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress in the Central Legislative Assembly, which would identify common ground and enable the Congress and the League to participate in forming an interim government, although he may have gone too far on his own initiative, as Djinnah disavowed the project. He was also closely involved in two further attempts to solve the constitutional deadlock, the Simla conference of 1945 and the Cabinet Mission discussions of 1946. When towards the end of 1946 the interim government was eventually formed, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān led the Muslim league bloc, defending Muslim interests with vigour. When that government's quasi-Cabinet offices were distributed, the Congress apparently trusting in the north Indian belief that Muslims were unskilled in financial matters, encouraged him to take the Finance portfolio, which gave him a say in all the activities of the interim government and enabled him through a masterly budget to impose his will on the political situation. Indeed, it is said that he used his powers to such effect that leading Congressmen, among them Sardar Patel, came to see partition as the only solution to their difficulties. After partition was finally agreed on 2 June 1947, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān was marked out to be the first prime minister of the new state of Pakistan.

When Djinnah, governor-general and presiding genius of Pakistan, died on 11 September 1948, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān came forward as the unchallenged ruler. He faced enormous problems: the state was divided into two parts separated by 1,200 miles of hostile territory; there were six million refugees; there were divisions of language, race and religion (15% of the population was Hindu); there was no administrative centre, efficient bureaucracy, political tradition or economic focus. That Pakistan survived these problems, in addition to the premature death of Djinnah, owed much to the wise leadership of Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān.

He responded firmly to the threats levelled by an India still not entirely reconciled to the dismemberment of the subcontinent, and through his statesmanlike approach to international affairs did much to establish Pakistan in the eyes of the world. When in September 1949 India imposed a total trade boycott because Pakistan refused to devalue her rupee alongside the Indian rupee, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān was unmoved, and eighteen months later India relented. When in both 1950 and 1951 India massed her forces on Pakistan's borders, he combined a staunch reply with a readiness to seek an immediate resolution of differences by negotiation. It is sometimes thought that he need not have accepted India's offer of a ceasefire in Kashmīr in 1949, but it is difficult to see, in view of the condition of Pakistan and her resources at the time, what choice he had. In the world at large he maintained a determined policy of non-alignment: he attended the conferences of British Commonwealth prime ministers but quickly made it clear that Pakistan should not be "taken for granted", he made a personally successful official visit to North America in May and June 1950 but made no foreign policy commitment. He did, however, make commitments in the Muslim world and embarked on that search for a leading role amongst Muslim states which in the succeeding decades characterised his country's foreign policy. International Islamic conferences were held, and by mid-1951 Pakistan had signed formal treaties of friendship with Syria, Turkey, Iran and Indonesia.

Within Pakistān, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān's first concern was nation-building. He strove to make the fragments of the armed forces inherited from the British a truly national force, encouraging them to recruit as many of the under-represented East Pakistanis as possible and removing the remaining foreign officers. Brushing aside suggestions that, now Pakistan was won, the Muslim League had performed its task, he tried to mould it into a party of national construction. "Pakistan is the child of the Muslim League", he declared, "it is the duty of the mother to look after the child till it grows up", and to emphasise his point he became president of the League on 8 October 1950 and urged others to follow suit in drawing together party and government. Most important, he endeavoured to create a framework for politics in which all Pakistanis would be happy to work. There were great problems: autonomous provinces had to agree to surrender powers to the centre, a fair place had to be found for non-Muslim minorities, while the *ʿulamāʾ*, who knew that all sovereignty flowed from God and that they alone were equipped to interpret His law, had to be reconciled with those who believed that the people were sovereign and that power in politics should rest with their representatives. Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān's first step towards creating a constitutional framework was the Objectives Resolution brought before the Constituent Assembly on 7 March 1949. Although no more than a statement of intent, it marked out enough apparently common ground, particularly on the questions of sovereignty and minorities, for Pakistanis to be able to proceed with constitution making. There followed the publication of the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee in September 1950 which created great, and it seems unexpected, opposition; the East Pakistanis were the most vociferous, fearing that their majority in the Constituent Assembly would be reduced to a minority, although they were more numerous than the West Pakistanis. Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān responded by

postponing consideration of the report and deciding to hold general elections before grappling again with the constitutional issue. He has been criticised for this move, indeed for mishandling the issue altogether. On the other hand, his aim in holding elections was to create elected bodies which would be more firmly under central control. To this end, he used his powers as Muslim League president to vet all applications for candidacies. He had just completed the task in the Pandjāb, and was about to proceed to the North-West Frontier Province, when on 16 October 1951 he was assassinated by an Afghān while addressing a meeting in Rawalpindī.

As a person, Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān was noted for charm, manners, simple tastes and an egalitarian outlook which led him of his own accord to drop his hereditary title of Nawwāb-zāda. As a public figure he was noted as a practical administrator, as a witty speaker, and as a calm, shrewd and selfless politician, qualities which no doubt helped him to outstrip more experienced politicians in Djinnah's esteem. The full measure of his achievement will not properly be assessed until the Muslim League papers are fully open for consultation and the context of his last ten years is better understood. Nevertheless, he did much to bring Pakistan into existence and more than anyone else to nurture it through the first four very difficult years. Had he been spared, he may well have given his country a workable constitution, the lack of which came to be much felt. Rightly his countrymen bestowed upon him the title Ḳāʾid-i-Millat, leader of the nation.

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LIYŪN, capital of the ancient kingdom of Léon and, at the present time, of the province of that name, to the south of the Asturias. The name comes from the *Legio Septima Gemina Asturica*, which established its *castrum* there in the reign of the Emperor Trajan. J. M. Blazquez (*Estructura económica y social de España*) includes it among the towns which were provided with walls during the Later Empire, and its role was very slight for the whole of the Visigothic period.

The Arab geographers mention Liyūn only rarely. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ says that "Ibn Saʿīd places it in 10°5′ longitude and 46°55′ latitude. It is a town in the seventh climate, in the land of the Djalāliḳa. According to Ibn Saʿīd, it is situated to the north-east of Zamora. It is the town of which al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] destroyed the main rampart. It lies on a river which flows into the Zamora river. It is the finest and most important of the towns of the Djalāliḳa". Al-Ḥimyarī (*K. al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, no. 164) makes it "one of the capitals of Castile/Ḳashtāla. It is a populous town, where business, commerce and stock-raising are carried on. The people there are bellicose and touchy". Al-Maḳḳarī (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 143, 346) mentions the existence of tin mines in the region of Frandja and Liyūn.

The geographers and historians knew perfectly well that there existed a kingdom, with a capital (*ḳāʿida*) of this name, but generally preferred to utilise for this state the ancient term Djilliḳiyya or Djalliḳiyya [*q.v.*]. The information which one can glean from the chronicles is very sparse, a laconic attitude probably due in part to the fact that political and military activity there passed at an early date, and thenceforth almost exclusively, into the hands of the people of Ḳashtāla [*q.v.*].

At the time of the Muslim conquest, the occupation of Liyūn is mentioned neither by the *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* nor the *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya. It is a reasonable assumption that the town was included in the capitulation of Petrus, *Dux Cantabriae*, which opened up all the Galicia-Asturias-Léon region. It was at that time probably a small, unimportant place with no Muslim governor. The Arab texts are indeed silent about it, and agree with the *Chronica de Alfonso III* in making Astorga and Oviedo the seat of "Munnuza", the Muslim governor of the region at the time of Pelayo's revolt.

The town must have been more or less officially abandoned at the time of the great rising of Berbers who emigrated from northern Spain in the years after 123/741. According to the *Chronica Albeldense* (602), "Fruela, brother of Alfonso I, entered Léon", and the *Chronica de Alfonso III* (615-16) specifically says that "Abela, Astorica, Legionem, Septemancas . . . Omnes quoque Arabes gladio interficiens xristianos autem secum ad patriam ducens", events whose veracity seems to be confirmed by the parallel version of the *Akhbār madjmūʿa*. It is essentially these texts which Cl. Sanchez Albornoz depends on for his theory of the *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires 1966. A partial return, spontaneous and unorganised, by small cultivators and herdsmen must have taken place under the shelter of the ramparts of the town, since, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī (*al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, ii, 346), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II in 231/945-6 sent "his son Muḥammad, who besieged, bombarded, pillaged and burnt Léon, without however being able to destroy the 17-cubits' high walls". The *Chronica Albeldense* mentions under the reign of Alfonso "a campaign by al-Mundhir which is said to have reached as far as the town and which had to retreat with heavy losses", but one cannot tell from this whether it is the attack mentioned by the *Bayān* or not. The town remained uninhabited until 860, when Ordoño II "repeopled the deserted towns from which Alfonso I had expelled the Chaldaeans: Tuy, Astorga, Léon and Amaya" (*Chronica Alfonso* III, 619).

Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muḳtabas*, v, 120, 325, 344) makes Léon the capital (*ḳāʿida, ḥaḍra, dār mamlaka*) of Djalliḳiyya. The town was the objective of two raids by al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, one in 372/982 and the other in 376/986, leading to the sacking and burning of the town (ʿUdhrī, *Masālik*, ed. al-Ahwānī, 80).

Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, iv, 80), as well as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, 235, 268) consider Liyūn solely as an urban centre since they make Alfonso VII "the Slobberer" lord of Ciudad Rodrigo, Avila, Léon and Zamore, information also reproduced by Ibn Khaldūn in his *K. al-ʿIbar*.

As opposed to this view, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*K. Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Beirut 1956, 74, 241) speaks of it as a kingdom and not as a town ("the Christians of Ḳashtāla and Liyūn"). He has preserved for us an additional piece of information by including in the curious *Dhikr al-taʿrīf bimā amkana min mulūk al-naṣārā bi 'l-Andalus*, which comes at the end of his *Aʿmāl*, material which the Christian chronicles mention about the physician-ambassador Yūsuf b. Waḳḳār al-Isrāʾīlī al-Ṭulayṭulī. This chapter uses phonetic transcriptions of Christian names and titles, giving also the Christian equivalent for *hidjrī* dates; it is interesting to compare with this Ibn Khaldūn, who, in his *K. al-ʿIbar*, also changes at approximately this time *ḳūmis* [*q.v.*] into *ḳumṭ*. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports thus that "in 148/766 [error for 768], Aurelio, brother of Froila, governed the territory of the Asturias, Galicia, Portugal and part of Léon"; "in 248/863 [error for, at the earliest, 866] Alfonso the Great transferred the *dār al-mulk* of his father to Léon and styled himself King of Léon"; and "Castilian separatism began under the reign of Garcia in 297/909 [correctly 911-14]", a period corresponding in fact to one of the phases of Castilian expansionism [see ḲASHTĀLA]. Ibn al-Khaṭīb then mentions the birth of the kingdom of Castile under Fernan Sanchez, and his struggle against the Léonese state before its merging into the kingdom of Castile and Léon, as well as the origin and the succession of Portugal. The information given by Ibn Khaldūn in the chapter of the *K. al-ʿIbar* called "Notice on the *Djalāliḳa* Banū Idhfūnsh, kings of al-Andalus after the Goths . . .", although very similar to that of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, is not a mere piece of plagiarism but seems rather to come from a parallel source of information.

Bibliography: See, in addition to references given in the article, *Historia de España* of Menendez Pidal, vi, *España cristiana: comienzo de la reconquista 711-1038* (by J. Perez de Urbel and R. del Arco), xiv, *España cristiana: crisis de la reconquista de la reconquista y luchas civiles* (by L. Suarez Fernandez, J. Regla Campistol and R. d'Abadal).

(P. CHALMETA)

LIZARD [see ḌABB].

LŌDĪS, a North Indian Afghān tribe and dynasty, 855-932/1451-1526.

1. History. Afghān tribes from the mountainous Sulaymān regions regularly migrated to the plain of the Indus; they joined the invading armies as auxiliaries in war, and came as traders or herdsmen during peace. They moved to the hills in summer and to the plains at the onset of winter. Among these emigrants were the ancestors of the Lōdī sultans of India. For the Afghāns in India generally, see PATHĀN and ROHILA.

The Lōdīs are related to a clan of the Ghilzay tribe of Afghānistān [see GHALZAY] and ruled over parts of north India for 77 years. Afghāns came to the Indus plains from Rōh [*q.v.*] as early as 934/711-12 with the army of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, the conqueror of Sind, and allied themselves politically with the Hindū-Shāhī [*q.v.*] rulers of Lahore, and receiving part of Lāmghān [see LĀMGHĀNĀT] for settlement, built a fort in the mountains of Peshāwar to protect the Pandjāb from raids. During Alptigin's government at Ghazna, when his commander-in-chief Sebüktigin raided Lāmghān and Multān, the Afghāns sought help from Rādjā Djaypāl who appointed their chief, Shaykh Ḥamīd Lōdī, viceroy of the *wilāyats* of Lamghān and Multān. Shaykh Ḥamīd appointed his own men as governors of those districts, and thereby the Afghāns gained political importance; their settlements stretched southwards from Lāmghān to Multān, incorporating the tracts of Bannū and Dērā Ismāʿīl Khān.

Later, a family of the Lōdī tribe settled at Multān, which was ruled in 396/1005 by Abu 'l-Fatḥ Dāwūd, a grandson of Shaykh Ḥamīd. There was also a strong Afghān element in the forces of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Shihāb al-Dīn of Ghūr. The latter on his third campaign to India [see GHŪRIDS] had 12,000 experienced Afghān horsemen in his army, and he defeated the Rādjpūts under Rādjā Pithawrā of Dihlī. On his return journey, he settled in the hills of Rōh, the Sulaymān mountains, Ashnaghar and Badjawr—a tract extending from Kābul to the Indus—and appointed Malik Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī at the head of 20,000 men to transplant the Afghāns from Ghūr to the new settlements, thereby paving his way for the conquest of Hindūstān. Each clan was granted an *iḳṭāʿ* in the environs of Nīlāb and the Indus.

Serving thus in the army of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, the Afghāns rose to power and settled over a large tract of land. Their leader ʿAlī Kirmākh was appointed governor of Multān in 582/1186-7. Sultan Balban of the "slave kings" posted them as garrisons in Bhodjpur, Kampila and Paṭiālī against the Hindū rebels in the Dōʾāb. During the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, they rebelled under their leader, Malik Shāhū Lōdī, in Multān at some time in 741/1341, and killed its governor. Since the time of seizure of the Pandjāb by the Ghaznawids, the movements of Afghān merchants increased considerably. They started participating actively in the politics of northern India from the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and particularly after Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's death (790/1388), during the decline of the Tughluḳ dynasty and the weak rule of the Sayyids.

During the invasions of India by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 801/1398, Afghāns fought on both sides. Malik Khiḍr Lōdī, Malik Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djilwānī, Malik Yūsuf Sarwānī and Malik Ḥabīb Niyāzī joined the army of Tīmūr at the head of 12,000 Afghān mercenaries. About this time, Sulṭān Shāh's father Malik Bahrām had come as a warrior-trader to Multān from Balōt, a *pargana* in the Bīrūn-i Pandjnād *sarkār* on the border of Balūčistān, according to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. He quarreled with his two brothers Malik Maḥmūd and Malik Mawdjī, and took service under Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's governor at Multān, namely Malik Mardān Dawlat, entitled Malik al-Sharḳ Nāṣir al-Mulk (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* and *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*). Malik Bahrām organised a tribal militia. After his death his sons Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, Malik Fīrūz, Malik Muḥammad, Malik Khʷādja and Malik Kālā stayed on in Multān while the city passed, during political confusion and unrest, into several hands. After the death of Malik Mardān Dawlat, his son Malik Shaykh and his adopted son Malik Sulaymān were appointed after his death governors of Multān in succession by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. Malik Sulaymān was succeeded in the governorship by his son Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty at Dihlī [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE], who had been appointed governor of Multān and the Pandjāb

by the Tughluḳids in recognition of his military service, but later betrayed the Tughluḳids and joined the invading Mongol force under Tīmūr.

Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, who succeeded his father Malik Bahrām as chief of the Afghān mercenaries, distinguished himself in the service of Khiḍr Khān and helped him in overpowering the Tughluḳids. He succeeded in killing Mallū Iḳbāl Khān, the *de facto* ruler of Dihlī and the staunch supporter of Maḥmūd Tughluḳ, in the battle of Adjodhan fought on the banks of the Satladj (18 Djumādā I 808/11 November 1405). Thus Multān, together with the Pandjāb, seceded from Dihlī, and Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī was put in charge of Sirhind with the title of Islām Khān. During the time of the Sayyid Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh, son of Khiḍr Khān, the Afghān chief Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī obtained power and held Sirhind with the neighbouring districts in *djāgīr* [*q.v.*]. He settled there with his four brothers and gathered a strong contingent of 12,000 horse, mostly of his own tribe. Malik Kālā married his uncle's daughter, received Dawrāla (Sirhind *sarkār*) in *djāgīr* and served under Nāṣir Khān, who held Multān as governor on behalf of the Sayyid Sulṭān Khiḍr Khān. His child was named Bahlūl, the subsequent founder of the Lōdī dynasty at Dihlī. He died in a struggle against the Niyāzī emigrants in the Indus valley, and the child was brought up by his uncle Malik Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī at Sirhind. Finding him a soldier of promising character, Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī gave him his daughter, Shams Khātūn, in marriage. Once in Sāmāna he visited a local holy man, Sayyid Abban, with two companions, (*Ta'rīkh-i Shāhī*, 3; *Ta'rīkh-i Dāwūdī*, Sarkar ms., 4); the Shaykh demanded 2,000 *tankas* in exchange for the throne of Dihlī if any one of them was willing so to hazard for it. Bahlūl Lōdī had with him only 1,300 *tankas* which he instantly offered, and was congratulated as the future ruler of India. Although he was taunted by his companions for this transaction, he drew inspiration from the Shaykh's proposal and had no cause to regret either the throne of Dihlī or his gift.

Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī nominated Bahlūl as his heir-apparent in preference to his adult son Ḳuṭb Khān. On his father-in-law's death in Radjab 824/March 1431, the Afghān militia became divided into three camps under Ḳuṭb Khān, Malik Fīrūz, (son and brother of Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī [= Islām Khān] respectively) and Bahlūl Lōdī; the latter won over his uncle Malik Fīrūz to his side against the confederation of his rivals Ḳuṭb Khān and Muḥammad Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Dihlī. The latter sent a force under his *wazīr* Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa and Djasrath Khokar to drive the Afghāns out of Sirhind and to deprive Bahlūl Lodī of his *djāgīr*. The Afghāns, defeated, fled to the hills. Malik Fīrūz was made captive and his son Malik Shāhīn Khān was killed. Bahlūl escaped, and, on Djasrath's return to the Pandjāb, he managed to re-gather his scattered army. Malik Fīrūz escaped from Dihlī and joined Bahlūl. The contrite Ḳuṭb Khān Lōdī also joined Bahlūl's camp. Thus remustering his forces, Bahlūl Lōdī recaptured Sirhind in 840/1436. The Sayyid Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh sent a large force under one of his chiefs, Ḥādjdjī Shudanī, better known as Ḥusām Khān, which was defeated at Karā (Kharār in Anbāla district?) near Khiḍrābād Sadhūra, and Ḥusām Khān escaped to Dihlī while Bahlūl established himself firmly in the Pandjāb.

In 844/1440, when Dihlī was threatened by Maḥmūd Khaldjī I [*q.v.*] of Mālwā, the feeble Sayyid Sulṭān of Dihlī appealed to Bahlūl, who agreed to help him on condition that Ḥusām Khān the prime minister was to be replaced by his nominee Ḥamīd Khān. The Sulṭān acted accordingly, without taking into account the implications, and Ḥusām Khān was killed. Bahlūl Lōdī took the field with his contingent of 8,000 Afghān and Mughal militia and 20,000 of the royal army against Maḥmūd, who after a day's desultory fighting sued for peace, and retreated to deal with a serious riot in his own capital, Māndū [*q.v.*], and an invasion by Sulṭān Aḥmad of Gudjarāt. This retreating Mālwā army was waylaid by Bahlūl. Dihlī was saved from annexation to Mālwā, and Bahlūl was awarded the title of Khān-i Khānān, and confirmed in his *djāgīr* at Sirhind, with Lahore and Dībālpūr added to his fief. He then rebelled against Muḥammad Shāh and annexed Sunām, Ḥiṣār Fīrūza and other districts of the Pandjāb. Twice he made unsuccessful attempts to capture Dihlī, once during the time of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 849/1445) and again during that of his son and successor Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh (849-83/1445-78). Circumstances were in his favour. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh was a weak ruler. His authority hardly extended beyond twenty miles from Dihlī: hence the epigrams *az Dihlī tā Pālam/bādshāhī Shāh ʿĀlam* ("ʿĀlam Shāh's rule extends from Dihlī to Pālam"). The ill-advised Sulṭān planned to kill his prime minister Ḥamīd Khān, who escaped from Badāʾūn, occupied the palace of Dihlī and invited Bahlūl to take over. The latter came, but cleverly declined the offer as the time was not ripe. Subsequently seizing an opportunity, he had Ḥamīd Khān arrested by Ḳuṭb Khān Lōdī and occupied Dihlī. He offered the throne to Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam, who however abdicated in favour of Bahlūl, preferring himself to live a life of ease and seclusion at Badāʾūn. Bahlūl, thereupon, ascended the throne of Dihlī with the title of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Bahlūl Shāh on 17 Rabīʿ I 855/19 April 1451.

After the capture of Dihlī, Bahlūl extended his territory over north India up to Djawnpur [*q.v.*]. The last decades of the 9th/15th century witnessed a fluctuating struggle between the Sharḳī dynasty of Djawnpur and the Ḥusayn-Shāhī dynasty of Bengal, and then between the Lōdīs and both of them. Bihār remained throughout a bone of contention. At first, Bahlūl succeeded in driving out Ḥusayn Shāh from his capital (Djawnpur) to his eastern possessions of Čunār, Čawnd and Bihār. The Lodī Sulṭān proposed to maintain the *status quo*, provided that Ḥusayn Shāh did not harbour his enemies, but the latter was bent on recovering his lost territory. (An inscription confirms the control of Ḥusayn Shāh over Bihār in 892/1486-7, but it was annexed by Sikandar Lōdī and put in the charge of Daryā Khān in 901/1495-6, as is evident from another inscription.) Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī was driven to Kahalgāon, 23 miles east of Bhāgalpūr. The Dihlī army crossed the Ganges from Paṭnā, while another contingent marched from Darwīshpur via Ḳutlughpur near Manēr Sharf, against the Bengal Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. To oust the Lōdī troops, Prince Dāniyāl was sent by his father at the head of Bengal army towards Mungēr (Monghyr). The two armies stood facing each other for some time and ultimately a non-aggression pact was signed at Bāṛh to the west of Monghyr. Even after this, the boundary remained fluctuating. Bhāgalpur was perhaps, the western extent of the Bengal sultanate during the height of Lōdī power; Sikandar Lōdī's bounds definitely extended up to Bāṛh in the east (cf. *JBRS* [1955], 358-63).

Bahlūl considered himself a chief of chiefs rather

than an absolute autocrat. The Afghān chroniclers speak highly of his simplicity, sense of social equality, bravery and generosity. He followed strictly the _Sharīʿa_, and spent much time in the company of learned and pious men. He died in Shaʿbān 891/July 1488 at Malāwalī near Saket, a short distance from ʿAlīgaṛh [_q.v._]. His body was brought to Dihlī and buried in the Bāgh-i Djūd.

Before his death, he ensured Lōdī dominance in north India by placing his second son Bārbak on the Djawnpur throne and assigning Mānikpur to ʿĀlam Khān Lōdī, Bahrayč to his nephew Kālā Pahār, Lakhnaʾū and Kālpī to Aʿẓam Humāyūn Lōdī, and Badāʾūn to Khān Djahān Lōdī, while Niẓām Khān held the Pandjāb, Dihlī and most of the Dōʾāb.

He was succeeded by Niẓām Khān as Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī, who reigned until 923/1517-18. Bahlūl was a chief of chiefs; Sikandar Lōdī considered himself a fully-fledged Sulṭān. He was a good administrator, a just ruler and a good poet. He was able to control the unruly Afghāns by introducing the system of inspection, auditing accounts and registering a _ḥilya_ (descriptive roll) [see DĀGH U TAṢḤĪḤA in Suppl.].

Sikandar Lōdī was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm Lōdī at Āgrā on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 923/22 November 1517. To establish himself, he had to fight against his rival brother Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn of Kālpī and other rebels. After nine years, he had to fight a defensive battle at Pānīpat [_q.v._] against the Mughal invader Muḥammad Bābur of Farghāna. The Afghān Sulṭān, who had been betrayed by Dawlat Khān Lōdī, lost the battle, was killed on Friday, 8 Radjab 932/20 April 1526, and was buried by the roadside. Although the Afghān sultanate passed into the hands of the Mughals after about 77 years' rule, the Afghāns continued to fight against the suzerainty of the Mughals under the Karrānīs and Nūhānīs in Bengal until they were finally subjugated by the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr at Nekudjyāla about 30 miles from Dacca in 1021/1612.

Ibrāhīm Lōdī possessed military skill, but lacked tact and moderation. His idea of monarchy in which kin relationship was not counted was in accordance with the traditional idea of monarchy in India, but his repression of the powerful nobles of the Nūḥānī, Farmūlī and Lodī tribes caused his fall and death. He took drastic steps for establishing his suzerainty, but failed miserably in crushing the nobility which had reduced the Sulṭān to a mere figure-head from the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ onwards, which had been granted too much license by his grandfather, but which had been largely controlled by his father, with his benevolent and tactful methods, methods which Ibrāhīm Lōdī himself lacked. He did not know how to win over and conciliate an aggrieved noble and was opposed to the equality which was a tradition of his own Afghān race. He hardly tried to patch up his differences with his nobles and to set up a joint defence against the invading Mughal force under Bābur. A correct use of the wealth which he had amassed in great quantities, and conciliation of his nobles, would have earned the loyalty of the nobility to him and helped him in bringing a still larger and stronger army to the battle field of Pānīpat than he could in fact assemble there, thus presenting a united resistance to the Mughals.

2. Administration. After years of insecurity, a stable government was established by the Lōdīs, essentially a military oligarchy; for, with the exception of a few Rādjpūts, all officials and _djāgīrdārs_ were Afghāns, mostly of the Lōdī, Nūḥānī, Farmūlī and Sarwānī tribes. Bahlūl had considered himself as _primus inter pares_; Sikandar Lōdī insisted on the dignity of a sultan, thereby going against Afghān tradition. For the civil administration under the Lōdīs, see ḌARĪBA. 6. India (a) The Sultanate of Dihlī, and WIZĀRA.

3. Social and cultural life. Tīmūr's invasion caused considerable damage to Indian culture in the Sultanate period, which shifted from Dihlī to provincial capitals until the establishment of the Lōdī dynasty. Sikandar Lōdī's reign witnessed a renaissance of learning and culture in Dihlī. Hindūs began to take interest in Muslim learning and Dungar, a Hindū poet, taught in a Muslim college. Sikandar patronised music, and gathered poets and musicians in his court. The Sulṭān's cultivation of music led to the compilation of a rare work, the _Lahdjat Sikandar Shāhī wa-laṭāʾif-i lā-mutanāhī_, a ms. of which is preserved in the Tagor library of Lakhnaʾū University.

There was some rapprochement between Muslim Ṣūfīs and Hindū _yōgīs_; the Bhakti poets Čaitanya, Kabīr, Nānak and others compelled some popular attention in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, under Sikandar Lōdī and his successors. There are some contemporary instances of social intercourse between Muslim saints and Hindū _yogīs_, and of Muslim followers of Hindū saints, and vice-versa. See further HINDŪ, and also KABĪR; MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJĀYASĪ; DJAMĀLĪ, in Suppl.

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(S. M. Imamuddin)

4. Architecture. Lōdī architecture is described in the articles dihlī sultanate, art, and hind, vii. Architecture. There are many sites not mentioned in those articles where monumental tombs of the Lōdī period are found, especially in the neighbourhood of Sirhind [*q.v.*], Sohnā and other towns in the Māwāt, and in the environs of Āgrā. There is still no adequate study published on Lōdī architecture as a coherent whole, and a competent survey is badly needed. Recent research suggests that later Dihlī Sultanate architecture in the regions of eastern Uttar Pradēsh and Bihār has many features of a regional style not described in the classification of styles in hind, vii.

5. Coinage. Gold and silver coins, already very scarce under the Sayyids, were not continued by Bahlūl. His standard coin (= *ṭanka*), a billon issue of 9.2 to 9.4 gms., was of a traditional north Indian (80-*ratī*) standard, but issued in sufficient quantity for the sobriquet of *bahlūlī* to be applied to it. Sikandar's standard *ṭanka* was a 32-*ratī* piece, hence of less than half the value of the *bahlūlī*. The issues of Ibrāhīm are confined to copper small change. There are a few issues of autonomous Lōdī governors from e.g. Kalpī [*q.v.*]. See further dār al-ḍarb and sikka.

(J. Burton-Page)

LOGIC [see manṭiḳ].

LOJA [see lawsha].

LOMBOK, an island belonging to the Indonesian province of the Western Smaller Sunda Islands (*Nusa Tenggara Barat*). In the west it is separated from Bali by the Bali Strait, in the east by the Alas Strait from Sumbawa. It is some 4,670 sq. km. in area, and has approximately 1,850,000 inhabitants. There are extreme differences of climate between the humid western and the more arid southern and eastern parts of the island. Mount Rinjani (3,730 m.) is one of the highest mountains in South-East Asia. Mataram, situated close to Lombok's west-coast, is the provincial capital. The Island is divided into three *kabupaten* (regencies): West, Central and East Lombok.

The main population group, comprising *ca.* 95%, are the Sasaks who are nominally adherents of Islam. Approximately 3% are of Balinese origin, in addition to some "*orang Buda*" who keep to old animistic beliefs, some Chinese, and few Arabs (about 140 in West Lombok).

Influence of Mahayana Buddhism in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. is suggested by some recently-discovered Buddhist statues in the eastern part of the island. After the conquest of Bali by the *patih* Gajah Mada from the Hindu-Javanese empire of Majapahit in 1343, Lombok met with the same fate. On the initiative of Trenggana (1521-46), the third ruler of the first Islamic kingdom on Java, Demak, Islam was introduced in Lombok among the Sasaks. Tensions between the Sasak rulers and the kings of Sumbawa during the 17th century finally led to the intervention of the Balinese kingdom of Karangasem, which established its supremacy on Lombok at the beginning of the 18th century. Mataram, close to the western shore and thus in neighbourhood to eastern Bali, developed as the most influential centre on Lombok. Its king was counselled by Balinese nobles, and the districts, too, were governed by Balinese, whereas their decisions were executed by Sasak officials who were often descendants from the old indigenous nobility.

In 1849, Karangasem lost its supremacy over Mataram, which maintained closer relations with the Dutch at Batavia. But the Balinese nobility still tried to develop western Lombok into a second Bali, and by court decisions Sasaks were eventually made slaves and had to serve in that rôle. Finally, the Sasaks asked the help of the Dutch Indies government, which organised in 1894 an expedition against Lombok "to protect the Muslims", to abolish the dynasty, and to turn Lombok into a Dutch colony. Besides its political consequences, this expedition resulted in the discovery of the manuscript of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a chronicle of the kingdom of Majapahit from the 14th century.

Although the Sasaks are usually considered to be Muslims, old customs, beliefs, and rules (*adat*) are still dominant. Especially during the 19th century, two parallel movements brought some change into the traditional social structures: the attempts of certain circles of the nobility to exert a greater degree of power, which they justified with *adat* convictions, and which was based on the eventual support of the Dutch; and, on the other side, the attempts of mainly commoners to gain some influence too. For them, Islam with its more democratic concept of society, provided sufficient motivation, and at the same time was consonant with the anti-Balinese feelings among the people.

It was the latter group, however, who in the course of time proved to be more influential than the former one. The features of this development are similar to those in other rural areas in Indonesia. The traditional nobility, which as descendants of the original semi-divine hero has a strong attachment to *adat*, disqualified itself by its affiliation to the foreign powers who ruled the area, whereas for the Muslim preachers, lacking those affiliations and usually themselves originating from the lower strata of society, it was much easier to convince the commoners that they were defending their interests. Externally, they were opposed to the habits and convictions of traditional Sasak culture. But as they were usually oriented towards Islamic traditionalism, a number of Sasak cultural and ceremonial notions were in effect absorbed into their understanding and practising of Islam. Besides the questions of leadership and social control, it was especially in regard to the matrimonial customs and kinship relations where a discrepancy between *adat* and Islam was felt, and this caused internal tensions in Sasak society, which on the whole is moving towards a gradual acceptance of the custom and habits of traditionalist Muslims. This happens mainly through intermarriage between *adat*-obeying and Muslim partners, where the former one adapts himself to the Muslim partner. But the transition from *adat* to Islam is much less a matter of changing doctrines than of changing practical behaviours, and it is mainly obedience to certain demands of the *Sharī'a* which serve as the criterion for considering someone as a Muslim or not.

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LORCA [see LURKA].

LOS PEDROCHES [see FAHṢ AL-BALLŪṬ].

LOT [see LŪṬ].

LUBĀN (*lūbān, lawbān*) is frankincense, the dried-up sap produced by notching some kinds of Boswellia, obtained in Somalia and South Arabia in the form of yellow resin-grains. As is well-known, the term is Old Semitic: Assyr. *lubānu*, old South Arabian *l-b-n*, Hebr. *lbonā*, Aram. *lebontā* (*lebottā*), Eth. *lābān*, from which have been derived the loanword λίβανος, λιβανωτός, Latin *olibanum*, with derivations in the Romance languages. The name can be traced back to the original meaning "white" (Hebr. *lābān*), after the colour of the fresh, milk-white gum-resin, exuded abundantly from the notched trunks and after some time solidified into yellow grains, which are then detached from the trunks or gathered from the soil. At least as often as *lubān*, there appears in Arabic the synonym *kundur*, according to most authors of Persian origin, but perhaps to be derived from χόνδρος "grain"; this term may have become an independent form, derived from the combination χόνδρος λιβάνου "frankincense-grain".

The frankincense trade is extremely old and has been treated repeatedly—but at times inadequately—in comprehensive descriptions. In the first place, frankincense—together with myrrh—formed the richness of the old South-Arabian states of the Minaeans and Sabaeans; the loss of the frankincense monopoly was one of the main causes of the collapse of this commerce fundamental for their existence, and consequently of cause of their downfall around the middle of the 6th century A.D. (see the good survey by W. W. Müller, *Alt-Südarabien als Weihrauchland*, in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, cxlix [1969], 350-68). The Arabic sources point in the same direction. According to al-Aṣmaʿī, three items were found only in the Yemen, and indeed abundantly there: *al-wars* (*curcuma*, a dye-plant), *al-lubān* and *al-ʿaṣb* (Poterium) (cited in al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, no. 627). According to a Bedouin from ʿUmān (in al-Dīnawarī, *Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, nos. 971, 979), frankincense is only found in al-Shiḥr, in Shiḥr ʿUmān in fact, as a small briar which reaches up to two cubits high and which grows only in the mountains; its leaves resemble those of the myrtle [see ĀS in Suppl.], as do its fruits, which have a bitter (read *marāra* instead of *ḥarāra*) taste; its resin, also used for chewing and called *kundur*, wells up in some places struck with the hatchet and stays there until harvest. According to al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhba*, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1866, 87, frankincense is obtained on Suḳuṭrā (Socotra) and in some regions of the Yemen. After Matt. ii, 11, al-Ṭabarī, i, 729, 1, reports verbatim that the Magi brought gold, frankincense and myrrh. Lice infestation is caused by two different things: by taking excessive delight in dried figs and by burning frankincense (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, Cairo 1930, 294).

The best frankincense comes from the male plant (*lubān dhakar* = the λιβανωτὸς ἄρρην of Dioscorides); it is white and firm and has round grains which are gummy when broken open. The white frankincense (*lubān abyaḍ* = λιβανωτὸς λεύκός) is also named as a noble variety; finally are to be mentioned the Javanese (in fact, Sumatran) frankincense (*lubān djāwī*), i.e. benzoin, obtained from various kinds of styrax-trees whose fumes are said to remove a cold in the head, and the reddish, Indian frankincense. When, however, the geographers speak continuously of the frankincense of Arabia, this statement is based more on a literary topos than on knowledge of things on the spot. The critical Marco Polo remarks explicitly that he does not want simply to repeat these literary accounts, but to report the personal information of the frankincense-traders. According to these last, frankincense was particularly cultivated in two regions of South Arabia in "Escier"—apparently al-Shiḥr—and "Dufar", the ancient Ẓafār. In al-Shiḥr, he further reports, the lord confiscates the entire harvest, pays the cultivator a low price, and sells it to the traders at a sixfold price (for this report, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, Leipzig 1886, 614-16). Some other places named by the geographers which produced frankincense lie close to each other and belong to the region of Mahra [*q.v.*]. The fact that at times scanty production of frankincense could not always satisfy the sustained and high demand in East and West, led to numerous adulterations (S. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965, 334). Nahray ben Nissīm, a Jewish scholar, merchant and banker, called *al-tādjir al-maghribī* and well-known from the Geniza documents, carried on a widespread trade in frankincense in the Mediterranean area in the 5th/11th century (S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 154).

The medicinal use of frankincense, described extensively by Ibn al-Bayṭār, goes back for the greater part to Dioscorides, from whom was also borrowed without examination the enumeration of several kinds, together with their Greek names. According to him, frankincense has a heating, drying and astringent power, expels darkening of the pupils, causes wounds to scar over and checks haemorrhage. It softens virulent abscesses and, applied in combination with vinegar and pitch, removes warts and eruptions. It is good for earaches and, combined with other medicines, for illnesses of the trachea and of the intestines. For healthy people, it can be dangerous, for it may cause madness and, if drunk with wine, even death. Frankincense is burned by putting it in a mussel-shell and setting fire to it. Shortly before it is fully consumed it must be covered up so that the fire is smothered completely in order that the frankincense is charred and not reduced to ashes; it can then more easily be pulverised. Various supplementary observations were made by the Arab physicians, such as the following: frankincense "burns" pathological phlegms, dries up excessive humours in the breast, strengthens the stomach and warms up a cold liver. Dissolved in water and taken daily, it increases the reasoning power and eliminates loss of memory. It checks diarrhoea and vomiting, calms palpitation of the heart but can also lead to mental disturbances. When chewed, it strengthens the gums. Its bark is good for haemorrhages and intestinal ulcers. The bark of the frankin-

cense-tree was often adulterated with that of the stone-pine, but the fraud could easily be detected; when burned, pine-resin smokes while frankincense burns with a flame. Apart from genuine medical science, frankincense is until now still of great importance in popular medicine and magic, cf. e.g. for Egypt, M. Meyerhof, *Der Bazar der Drogen und Wohlgerüche in Kairo*, in *Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, iii, 3/4, Berlin 1918, 202, and for North-West Africa, Helga Venzlaff, *Der marokkanische Drogenhändler und seine Ware*, Wiesbaden 1977, 67 ff.

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(A. Dietrich)

LUBNĀN, Arabic name of the Lebanon. The Lebanon belongs to the sphere of Arab culture and of Islamic civilisation. It is also one of the components of the Christian world and of the French-speaking community. Created a state in 1920, it seeks its justification, as do all the countries of the contemporary Near East, through the quest for a very ancient identity. With the prosperity of their merchants, with the Biblical symbol of the cedar on their flag, or with the violence of the civil war which broke out in 1975, the Lebanese are a part of the myths and realities of the peoples who, from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia, have based their civilisations on the patriarchal family, agriculture, the city, commerce and God.

The modern State of the Lebanon was proclaimed of September 1920 by General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic to the Levant. Within the frontiers allotted to it, and which then earned it the title of "Greater Lebanon", it occupied an area estimated today as close to 10,450 km², meassuring no more than 210 km from north to south, and with a breadth of 40 to 75 km from east to west. It is bordered to the north and east by the Syrian Arab Republic, to the south by the State of Israel, and to the west it has an open coastline on the Mediterranean. Like the *mutaṣarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon, the Ottoman *sandjaḳ* which preceded it, dating from 1861, it took the name which had come to be attributed, progressively, to the whole of the mountain range which stretches from the Nahr al-Kabīr, in the north, to the Nahr Līṭānī, in the south; it contains, furthermore, part of Upper Galilee to the south, the central plain of the Biḳāʿ (the Coelesyria of Antiquity), and the western foothills of the Anti-Lebanon and of Mount Hermon.

In implementation of Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles which created the system of mandates, and of the Treaties of San Remo (25 April 1920) and of Lausanne (24 June 1923) which officially brought about the end and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the Council of the League of Nations, with its decisions of 24 July and 29 September 1923, placed the Lebanon under a mandate entrusted to France. On 26 November 1941, General Catroux, on behalf of the leadership of Free France, recognised the Lebanon as "a sovereign and independent State". In October 1943, following the election to the Presidency of the Republic of the Maronite Christian Bishāra al-Khūrī and the appointment of the Sunnī Muslim Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ as President of the Council of Ministers, the ministerial declaration of the new government affirmed, with all the ambiguity necessary to a compromise, that "the Lebanon is a homeland whose countenance is Arab, which will benefit richly from the civilisation of the Arabs." It became a member of the Arab League on the foundation of the latter in March 1945.

Greater Lebanon had taken the name of the Lebanese Republic when it was endowed, in 1926, with a constitution establishing a parliamentary and liberal régime. In 1943, when the Lebanese Government, with the support of public opinion, took its own destiny properly in hand, it set the seal on these institutions by means of the National Pact (*al-Mīthāḳ al-waṭanī*), a verbal accord which, in particular, defined the division of the responsibilities of power between the different religious communities; it thus entrusted the Presidency of the Republic to a Maronite Christian, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers to a Sunni Muslim, and the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies to a Shīʿī Muslim. Herein lies the heart of the problem. Under the cover of a constitutional régime inspired by the French Third Republic, Lebanese political and social life was to be regulated by a sectarian division of responsibilities, conforming to the development which it has experienced since the beginnings of Islam [see DHIMMĪ] and the changes that it had undergone in the Ottoman Empire in the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. If the declaration of 1943 stated that the Lebanon is a "homeland" (*waṭan*) of Arab countenance, the Constitution made it a "nation" (*umma*). To which structure was the action of the state therefore to respond?

Social culture imposes its norms here, digging its root into a very distant past; there is more of history in this than in all the "Phoenician" justifications put forward today by the Christians, or in the unicity of civilisation to which the Muslims lay claim.

Populated from the very dawn of history, the coast accommodated active ports, the memory of which has been perpetuated by the Biblical texts, and of which contemporary archaeology has revealed
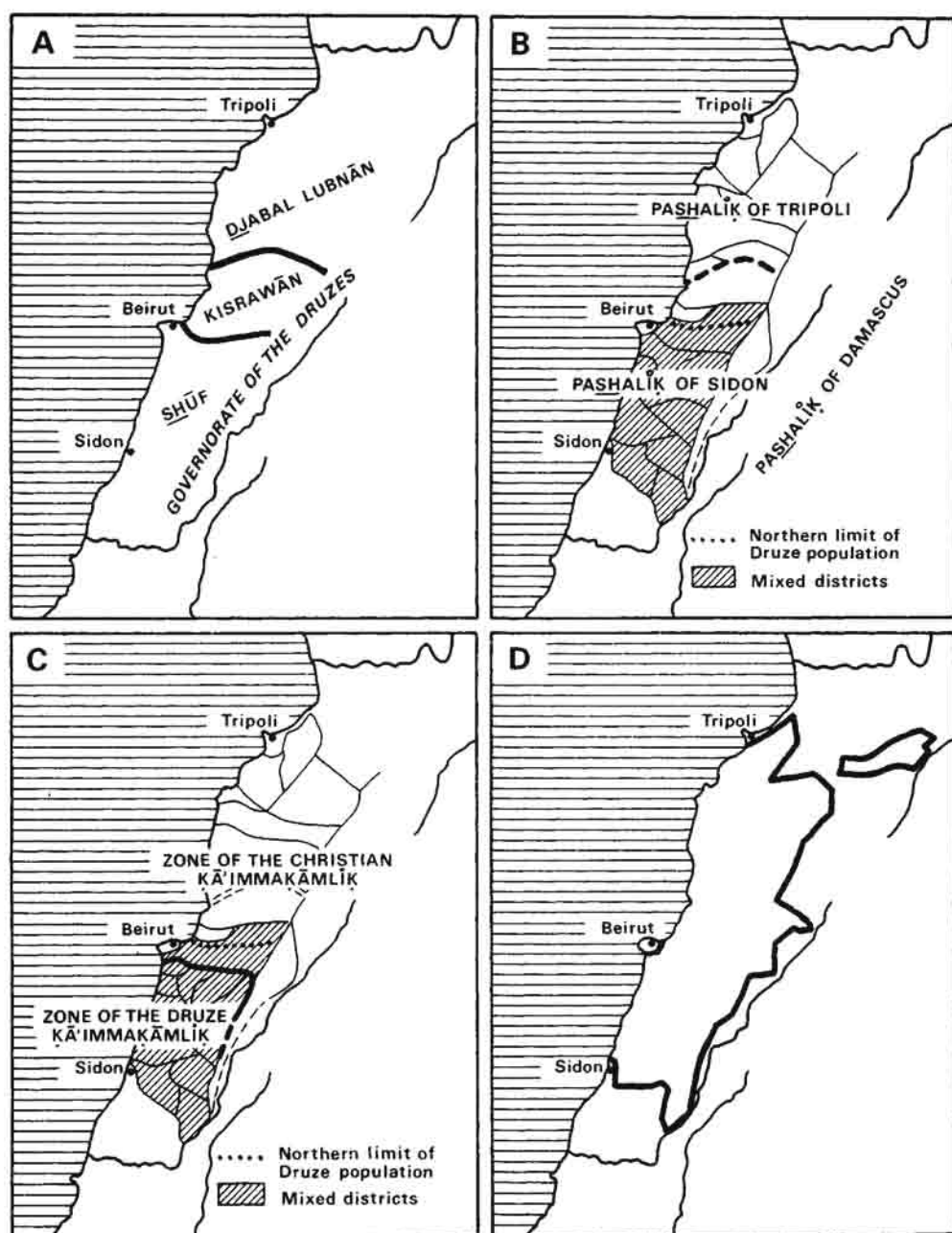
Fig. 1. Stages in administrative unification (after D. Chevallier, *La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe*, Paris 1971).
A. The historic regions; B. The Mountain inder the Shihāb family; C. Lebanon and the two *ḳāʾimmaḳāmliḳs*, 1843-61; D. The Province of Mount Lebanon in 1861.

the stages and the levels of habitation, such as those superimposed on more than three millenia of glories and disasters in the remarkable site of Byblos (D̲j̲ubayl). Under the Roman domination and the rise of Mediterranean traffic which accompanied it, 30,000 spectators could be accommodated in the immense hippodrome constructed in Tyre (Ṣūr) and recently brought to light, excavations having begun in the 1960s.

Shrouded by its forests and its rocks above the narrow coastal strip, the mountain was also penetrated by man at a very early stage, as is shown by its Canaanite and Aramaic toponyms; its inhabitants, probably fairly dispersed until the end of the ancient period, made a living through the exploitation of timber, transporting it on the first stage of the long route which led from Tyre and Sidon (Ṣaydā) to Asia, and through brigandage. The haunt of the gods worshipped by the cities of the coast, it also attracted pilgrims to shrines adjoining the ruins of temples built in the Roman period.

After the mission of Muḥammad, the Arab conquest, by modifying the horizons and the nature of power, gave rise to a different exploitation of resources. While the narrow coastal plains, open to the sea and giving access to all ventures coming from
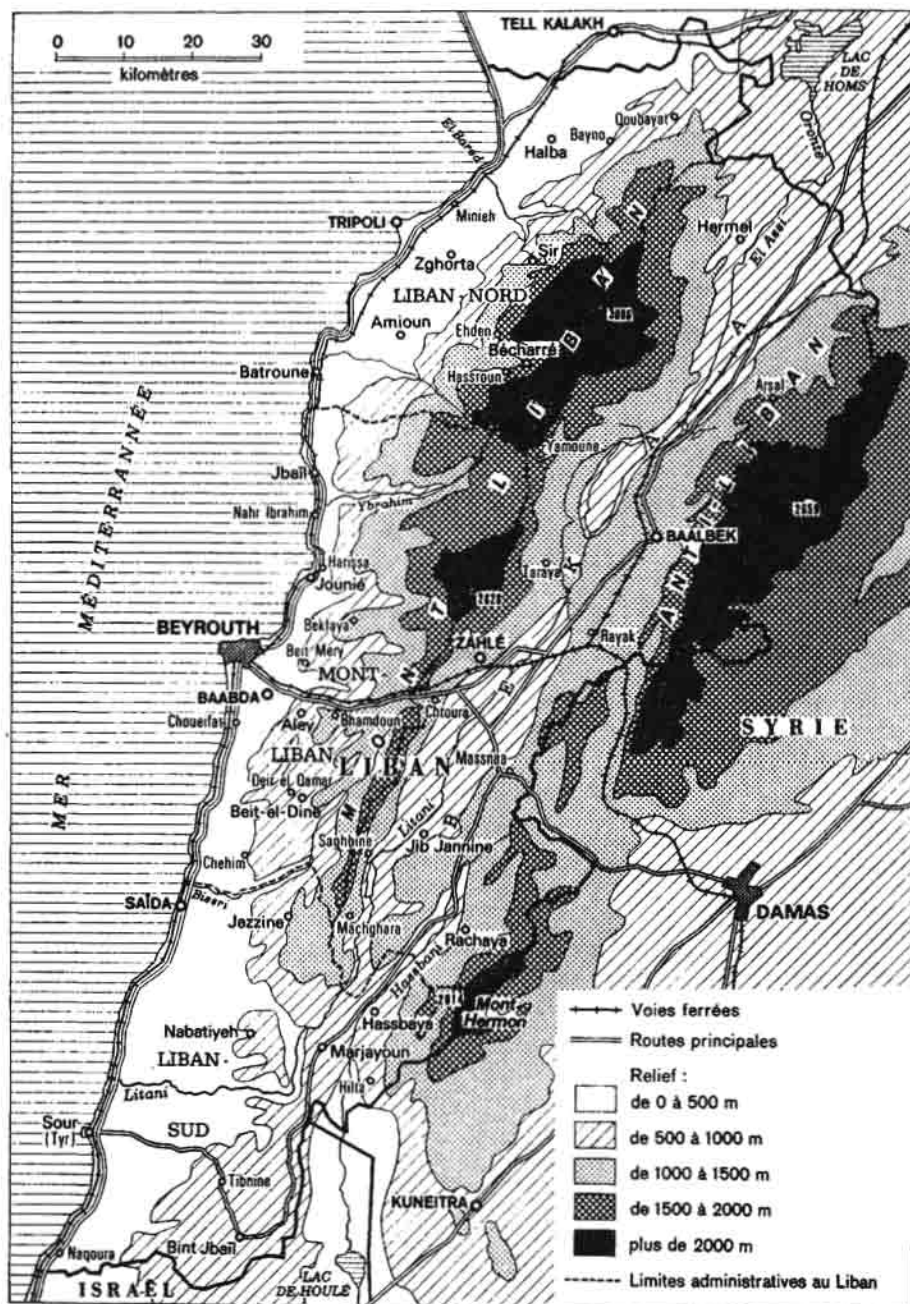
Fig. 2. The Lebanese Republic (after C. Dubar and S. Nasr, *Les classes sociales au Liban*, Paris 1976).

the West, formed a passage hardly favourable to the prosperity of a sedentary life in the absence of security, the Lebanon range became one of the marches of western Syria where Muslim and Byzantine adversaries confronted one another, perhaps through the intermediary action of unruly local inhabitants with an aptitude for warfare. Furthermore, the virtual autonomy enjoyed by those who had established themselves there was favourable to the maintenance and development of heterodox and minority religious tendencies.

On the western slope of a mountain already largely deforested, between its first escarpment dissected by deep gorges and its high calcareous plateaus of the north or its ridges to the south, conditions for agriculture and human settlement were particularly favourable at altitudes between 900 and 1,500 metres, since here erosion had uncovered soft and fertile strata of chalk. Sandstone, marl, clay and basalt rock provide a more open relief in this area, where the climate is temperate, the air salubrious and water plentiful. Annual rainfall at this altitude in fact reaches levels of between 1,000 and 1,500 mm; most of the rainfall occurs from November to March, but, during the summer season, the high calcareous surfaces retain the water which they have absorbed over the winter in the form of snow. The Lebanese mountain range is well-irrigated at a latitude where water is rare, because it stops the humid air currents coming in from the west; it forms a barriage between the sea and the steppe. Behind the sheer eastern face, the inland depression of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] becomes much more dry; climatic contrasts are accentuated; the Mediterranean littoral is replaced by the Syrian plains which stretch beyond Anti-Lebanon. The Biḳāʿ was the wheat-growing region to which the mountain people came in search of part of their cereal requirements; as a result, it became a disputed territory because, as an enclave also penetrated by nomads, it became a prey to the rival and destructive aspirations of distinguished families who sought to impose their control on the mountain region, and of those who governed in Damascus.

Over the centuries, the mountain people constructed and maintained walls of dry stone to retain the arable soil on the slopes, thereby establishing narrow fields which were arranged in successive and horizontal layers; these were put to full use when the farmers became capable of developing the cultivation of the vine, the olive and the mulberry. This remarkable and intricate system of terracing was an eloquent testimony to the need for regulating work communally in order to guarantee that of each participant, not only because they were subject—not without legal disputes—to the easements of rights of way, of distribution of water and of crop rotation, but also because the security of each element depended on the maintenance of the whole.

The men who constructed and cultivated these terraces were organised according to the two modes of grouping fundamental throughout this historical milieu: the patriarchal family and the religious community. Social life was at first determined by a system which sanctioned marriages within the framework of paternal parentage to form a patriarchal family which was turned in upon itself and of which the identity was established through a patrilineal genealogy and through references to a more or less legendary ancestor. Within this context, the family group found expression for its defensive reflexes ("my brother and I against the son of my paternal uncle, my paternal uncle's son and I against the stranger"), its obligations towards neighbouring family groups and its dependent relationships with more powerful families. In fact, the nature of its internal constitution did nothing to prevent, in the field of exterior contacts, the forging of links of solidarity and the establishment of hierarchies; the role of the latter was still significant in the 19th century among the families of the mountain region. This system, largely pre-Islamic in its origins, was adapted to different types of economic and political organisation, arriving progressively at its fullest expression during the Islamic period, in this mountainous milieu—it should be stressed—just as among the Arab tribes, nomadic, sedentary or sedentarised, of which the conquest did nothing more than establish norms within the general cultural ambience. Thus it was not confined to one religious community, but common to all, even though it underwent evolutions and variations in the course of the centuries; furthermore, the identifying marks of social culture which it entailed, and the experience of which was vigorously maintained through the everyday vocabulary of the Arabic language, were shared by the mountain people with their entire human environment, with the inhabitants of the interior as with those of the coast, and with those of the towns as with those of the plain.

However, the higher collective consciousness relied for its support on something beyond this organisation, which could only engender unstable coalitions between separate and rival agnate groups; it became crystallised at the level of a religious community which ascribed itself to a universalism of divine essence and thereby corresponded to a unitary aspiration where the social body ideally expressed its instinct for survival in its cultural identity and through its willingness to transcend personal interest. Islam was the perfect response to this need, while allowing the survival under its protection of other revealed religions which had proved satisfactory. While each religious community transcended the divisions of the family groups which composed it by uniting the latter in a common faith, the different communities became juxtaposed in their turn in a hierarchy imposed by Islamic law, analogous, in fact, to that which proceeded from the structure of society. The effects of this situation were to a great extent accentuated by the schisms and heresies provoked by the fragmentation of each of the great monotheistic religions into tendencies, different interpretations, communions, liturgies, doctrinal and judicial schools, themselves forming *ṭawāʾif* (sing. *ṭāʾifa*), possessing their own distinctive characteristics in the service of the one God, and even exacerbating them in the course of continual confrontations between the communities. The historical ambiguity of the Lebanon, as compared with other groupings of the region, consists in the fact that it was constructed on the banding together of minorities to form a majority.

How did the distribution of those who fostered their idiosyncracies in this mountain refuge develop? The reply to this question is one of the keys to the progressive definition of "the Lebanon" by its own inhabitants. It is not to be easily answered, however, first because our information on the population during the mediaeval period is still fragmentary and uncertain, furthermore because hypotheses on this subject have been exploited to develop fallacious or emotional claims which have served to justify community and political choices in contemporary Lebanon, with consequences that have not been

solely doctrinal. Passions are aroused and polemic erupts as soon as it becomes necessary to determine the appellation, past or present, of this mountain chain overhanging the Mediterranean, with the vindication or negation of claims of affiliation with the populations settled there, whose origins, in fact, are so often lost in the obscurity of time and in successive human migrations. The controversy continues when the effort is made to define the society and personality of this region in the Ottoman period, with incantatory references to the Occident or to the Orient, the whole being a splendid mental and verbal confusion of all the ideological and academic models. Genuine scientific endeavour has suffered from these practices; on the other hand, their analysis makes for a better understanding of the mentalities involved and of their significance in the Lebanese context.

In the context of each religious group, the collective imagination and, consequently, the emotional outlook of the community are nourished by accounts of the origins of the group. In the case of the Maronite Christians, they have appeared to be all the more important in the Ottoman and contemporary periods because they have explained, or justified, their geographical and human association with the ancient and Biblical designation of "Lebanon", and the extension of the latter over the whole of the country. The stages in the mental realisation of this territorial appropriation are instructive. In the 16th and 17th centuries, following the epic and liturgical work of the bishop Djibrāʾīl b. Ḳilāʿī, one of the preoccupations of the Maronite chroniclers, in particular of the patriarch Isṭifān al-Duwayḥī, had been to arrange and give shape to stories of monks who had lived as recluses in the canyons of the Ḳādishā under the patronage of the saint Mārūn—or as successors to the patriarch Yūḥannā Mārūn—and had exercised a ministry among the peasantry of the neighbourhood. These authors also insisted on the cohesion of the community around their patriarch and on their obedience to the orthodoxy of the Roman Church, which consolidated relations with Catholic Europe at a time when the Maronites were extending their territorial base in central Lebanon, coming into conflict with authority and encountering various spiritual and economic trends. To hagiography and to annals perpetuating the consciousness of the Maronite community, there may be added, especially since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the exploitation of scholarly works with a view to laying claim to a very distant past. Thus the Jesuit priest Henri Lammens had taken up again the study of the "Mardaïtes" (cf. *EI*[1], *s.v.*), a rather mysterious people which he believed could have established roots in northern Lebanon after Byzantium had diverted its religious turbulence into opposition to the Muslims, and Maronite authors recognised once more some of their ancestors there, even though these last were tarnished by heterodoxy. However, a question then had to be answered: in relation to Islam and to the "Arabs", was this population to be regarded as allogenous or indigenous? The construction of a national past, conceived as an uninterrupted chain of events, also led Christian authors to claim kinship with the Phoenicians, as they saw in this approach the best interpretation of implantation in time and space.

The monuments which the Crusaders left behind at Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon and on the foothills of the mountain, constitute for their part evidence for those passions which appropriate this past or reject it. Leaving aside sentimental and political reactions, it is nevertheless legitimate to wonder with what populations the "Franks" really came into contact. In the central and northern parts of the mountain, it seems very probable that the dominant tonality was then provided by a population that was either Shīʿī or influenced by Shīʿism. Thus when the Mamlūks, operating from Damascus in the name of orthodox Sunnism, sought, in 704/1305, to recall where the power of the state was situated and to which community it belonged, it was against these *rawāfiḍ* (sing. *rāfiḍa*), "people of dissent" or "recusants", as Ibn Taymiyya condemned them, that they launched in the direction of Kisrawān their victorious and devastating campaigns. This dispersion of the Shīʿīs was favourable to an influx of Maronite population, moving in from the north, and to an extension of the authority of distinguished Druze families [see DURŪZ] around the Gharb and the Shūf. The chronicle of Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, written in the 15th century, clearly shows how the hierarchy of the family groups became established on the mountain by means of the fiscal and military organisation of the Muslim states (the system of *iḳṭāʿ* under the Mamlūks, to be replaced by the *muḳāṭaʿa* under the Ottomans). It was in this encounter between a population of settlers and an authority which derived its administrative legality from the centre of Sunnī power and its structure from social culture that there was established the "Government of the Druzes" which European travellers discovered in the Ottoman period, and where one of the axes of the modern Lebanon progressively took shape.

With the dangers posed by the Franks and Mongols removed, the Ottoman conquest of Syria in 1516 was, in fact, a decisive moment for this mountain region. It had ceased to be a disputed frontier; it became a centre for access which, for all its undoubted difficulty, was situated at the meeting-point of the great land and maritime communications routes of the vast imperial Ottoman federation. Its inhabitants found in this the opportunity to develop their own activities, and thereby, also the means of affirming their own originality. The Ottoman régime favoured the expansion of regional networks for the relaying of long distance trade; the mountain people were thus able to obtain improved profit from their cultivated terraces, producing grapes and oil, and especially silk in the central regions, cotton and tobacco in the south. Their outlets were initially the local centres of manufacture and consumption, Damascus and Aleppo being the leading customers. Major commerce radiated from these inland terminals, both on interior routes and towards the coastal ports, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, which put them in contact with cabotage traffic plying between Palestine and Anatolia and with Egypt, the Maghrib and the ports of Christian Europe, Marseilles in particular, whose merchants, consuls and agents joined together in conducting their business under the system of capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

As a mainstay of the power of the sultanate which was maintained through control of the towns and the plains, Sunnī society first put down its roots in the centres for the radiation of religion, justice and authority. In the zone studied here, the Sunnīs were located principally in the ports, the coastal plains and the Biḳāʿ; the dignitaries of Sidon undertook with those of Damascus rich exchanges in the form of merchandise, marriages and spiritual brotherhood, while Moroccans were to be recorded in the genealogies of Beiruti families. The old communities

of the Melkite Church of Antioch also shared in the revival of the cities and the development of the plains; in 1724, their fragmentation into two hierarchies, one of them "orthodox" and remaining under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, the other "catholic" and bowing, amid controversy, to that of Rome, bore witness to the effects of the milieu in which they reasserted their vitality. Between the "Greek Orthodox" monastery of Balamand (formerly the Cistercian Belmont) and the olive plantations of the Kūra, to the south of Tripoli, and, on the other hand, the agricultural development which grew up around the "Greek Catholic" monastery of Saint Saviour, Dayr al-Mukhallaṣ, on land dominated by the Djunbulāṭ Druze family, these two rites also maintained monasteries such as that of Shuwayr, where a printing press was installed during the first half of the 18th century, in this centre of Christianity which the Kisrawān and the Matn were to become.

Between the Djabal Lubnān to the north and the Djabal al-Shūf to the south, the movement of Maronite population towards the south of the mountain effectively turned this region into a religious focal point, an agricultural zone accessible to commerce, and formed *muḳāṭaʿāt* administered by families of Maronite *shaykhs* within the context of the "Government of the Druzes", the *ḥukm Djabal al-Shūf wa-Kisrawān* of the local chroniclers. Forces which came into contact here also clashed. The Jesuits had sent their first missionaries to the Levant two decades after the Council of Trent, and they had assumed direction of the seminary founded in Rome, in 1584, for the training of young Maronites. It was therefore no paradox that the communities of oriental rite attached to Rome were among the first to feel the impact caused by the renewal of religious activity in Europe and contributed to its repercussions. Under the influence of the Holy See, the Maronite Church underwent a movement of reconstruction which affected monasticism and the hierarchy, and a number of synods, including that of Luwayza in 1736, had to be convened for the new rules to be discussed, accepted and imposed. Better organised, it acquired material strength through the donations and *waḳfs* of which it was the beneficiary; monasteries became institutions of education where, alongside liturgical Syriac, the Arabic language was cultivated as a means of instructing the faithful and of better understanding the sacred texts. The milieu regained its rights through the use of Arabic and the social structure; thereby, the Maronite Church "naturalised" its western elements. By virtue of the authority of its patriarch and the work of its monks on the popular level, its influence in the community grew in comparison to that wielded by the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, the title born by members of families responsible for the levying of a contractual tax on a district, *muḳāṭaʿa*.

Among the dignitaries (*aʿyān*) of old Maronite stock, some advanced in the echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, whilst others acquired the title of honorary consul in dealings with the representatives of the king of France; but the maintenance of their power derived from their role in the Ottoman fiscal system. After their conquest of Syria in 1516, the Ottomans had retained the administrative divisions of the mountain region, following the example of their predecessors and on the basis of the ethnic distribution; the north belonged to the *wilāyet* of Tripoli, the centre and the south, where the "Government of the Druzes" held sway, to that of Damascus. In 1660, in the wake of campaigns which the Porte had been obliged to conduct in order to suppress the rebellious ambitions of the Druze *amīrs* of the leading family of the Maʿn, a new *pashalıḳ*, whose governor resided at Sidon, was created to ensure better control of the Druzes and the Maronites. Detached from that of Damascus, its territory included the central and southern part of the Lebanese range and northern Palestine; however, the pasha of Damascus retained seniority over those of Tripoli and Sidon. The latter made no attempt to exercise direct authority over a mountain range that was difficult of access and inhabited by well-organised groups; in common with the usual practice of the Ottoman administration, they relied on local leaders for the levying and submission of the tribute, the most tangible sign of the sultan's power. In doing so, they were obliged, on the regional level, to adapt themselves to the structure and hierarchy of this society so as to utilise it in a manner favourable to the maintenance of their control, expression and assurance of the sovereignty of the Porte, even though the latter was far away and incapable of applying consistent coercion.

The principal tax, the *mīrī*, was linked to the primacy of agricultural production; it was therefore levied on produce. It was farmed out and the leaseholder was subject to annual confirmation; the *amīr*—or sometimes two or three *amīrs* simultaneously—entrusted with this role belonged to the family of the Maʿn from the time of the Ottoman conquest to the last quarter of the 17th century, then to that of the Shihāb. The delegation of this authority consequently led to the pre-eminence of one family over the others, and of one *amīr* over his kinsmen; the latter was obliged to lead a life of constant duplicity in order to reconcile the rules imposed on him by his social milieu with the obligation to hand over revenue to the imperial financial chest and thus retain his post. According to the total sums determined by the Porte and demanded by the pasha, each year it was his duty to divide the amounts to be levied between the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs* responsible for collecting the tax from the *muḳāṭaʿāt* under his jurisdiction. The "Great Prince", the translation adopted by European travellers for the title of *al-amīr al-kabīr*, also took the title of *al-ḥākim* to assert his authority in the *ḥukm Djabal al-Shūf wa-Kisrawān*. Following the example of the controlling family, those senior families which exercised authority over others, and whose members were the most important landowners, took responsibility for the collection of rents in the *muḳāṭaʿāt*, where their social and proprietorial power was thus guaranteed; but in the effort to exert and retain their authority, the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs* wore themselves out in internal rivalries, which were the visible results of the division of society into juxtaposed and opposing groups, and which were revived by the ambitions and intrigues of the sultan's representatives. Thus in 1711, near the village of ʿAyn Dārā, the Ḳaysī faction of the *amīr* Ḥaydār Shihāb crushed the Yemenī faction; in order to establish more firmly the supremacy of the Shihāb, *amīr* Ḥaydār then proceeded to make a new division of the *muḳāṭaʿāt* among powerful families, strengthening some of them and weakening others. But the Porte was also capable of dismissing *amīrs* [see ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN]. Ḳays and Yaman in the Ottoman period].

School text-books appeal to the consciousness of present-day Lebanese through the history of two "heroes", the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn II Maʿn [*q.v.*] and the *āmīr* Bashīr II Shihāb [*q.v.*], who contributed to the vision of independence for their country in

a unitary fashion that transcended divisions and sectional interests. Both of them, one at the beginning of the 17th century, the other at the beginning of the 19th, exercised authority of a power and extent that had hitherto been unknown in the region; while exploiting the weakness and rivalries of the Turkish governors, they also looked for support to those states which, in the Mediterranean basin, testified to the regenerated power of Europe. But on each occasion, the Porte succeeded in frustrating their ambitions. When the Druze Fakhr al-Dīn, with this son ʿAlī, took steps to expand his amirate and to render it autonomous, the Ottomans resisted him with the same determination that they had shown in suppressing Shīʿism in the interior of their empire and in combatting Ṣafawid Persia on their eastern frontiers. Fakhr al-Dīn, forced to take refuge at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1612, returned in 1618, but was finally captured near Djazzīn and sent to Istanbul where he was executed in 1635. In a totally different historical context, the *amīr* Bashīr II Shihāb also died in Istanbul, in 1850, but of old age, after he had been forced to abdicate his power in 1840, when the Ottoman government, undertaking a programme of political reform and driving the Egyptian troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī out of Syria, refused to renew his appointment. However, for more than a half-century, from 1788 to 1840, he had thrown all the force of his strong personality into giving the people of the Lebanese range a unity of purpose. To this end, he followed the policy of his predecessors which consisted in adding to the territory of the "Government of the Druzes", belonging to the *pashalīk* of Sidon, that of the land of Djubayl, north of the river Muʿamaltayn, which was a dependency of the *pashalīk* of Tripoli; he demoted the leading *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, like the Druze shaykh Bashīr Djunbalāṭ [see DJĀNBULĀṬ], and made use of the support of the Maronites, who had become the largest community in the mountain region. But as the intermediary of a fiscal system which became more and more oppressive, and subjected to the coercions of Muḥammad ʿAlī during the presence in Syria from 1832 to 1840 of Ibrāhīm Pasha's Egyptian army, he left his country in a state of full-scale revolt on the part of the mountain people. This led to the elimination of the greatest of the "old style" dignitaries, since the central Ottoman power, in seeking to reassert its control, struck at the leadership first; his departure spelt the dissolution of a system.

What situation was discovered by the Porte, when it re-established its authority with the support of a British military expedition and reformed it through its policy of *Tanẓīmāt*? Since the beginning of Ottoman domination, the active centre of Syria had shifted from the east towards the west; Lebanese overtures towards Mediterranean Europe and the demographic growth which had enabled the Maronites to spread from the north to the south of the mountain had worked in favour of this orientation and had benefited from it. However, in this material, human and religious context, arboriculture, producing timber in commercial quantities, had been considerably developed to the detriment of edible crops; at the beginning of the 19th century, the cereals which the mountain people harvested from their soil were sufficient to feed them for only three or four months of the year, the remainder having to be bought. The need to guarantee their subsistence thus put them into still further dependence on the Turkish governors who controlled the fertile plains; although the *amīrs* attempted to remedy this necessity by a permanent extension of their influence over the Biḳāʿ, their efforts were in vain. On the other hand, commercial exchanges turned the mountain range into a zone of monetary circulation, and its economic development affected favourably its population growth; but, at the end of the 18th century and during the first four decades of the 19th, increasing pressure of taxation, linked to the effects of Ottoman monetary manipulations, had caused a massive depletion of financial resources and led to an impoverishment which was all the more powerfully-felt because the cultivable areas of the mountain had reached a point of demographic saturation in terms of the development possibilities of the period. This in turn led to social tensions between, on the one hand, the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, themselves impoverished and weakened by the policies of *amīr* Bashīr II and by their own numbers and rivalries, and on the other, the tenant farmers who found it increasingly difficult to cope with increasing taxes and rents on contracting land space. On the Maronite side, the enfeeblement of the nobility (*aʿyān*) led to a regrouping in the framework of the community under the leadership of the clergy, with resulting profit to the latter's role. On the side of the Druzes, who had not experienced the same demographic increase, and who therefore were subjected to the continuing influx of Christian population simultaneously with the renewal of economic and political activity in Europe, there was a contrary regrouping behind the major traditional families, the social backbone of the community; a migratory movement also took place towards the Syrian interior, towards the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*]. Social tension thus also led to community confrontations in the "mixed areas" which were inhabited by Druzes and Christians; the clashes which ensued were a part of the general unrest which affected Syria in this period.

With the regulations of 1842 and 1845, the Porte imposed a new administrative system which gave preferential terms to the Christian population but retained the division of the mountain, the northern part being entrusted to a Christian *ḳāʾimaḳām* and the southern to a Druze *ḳāʾimaḳām*; both were functionaries placed under the authority of the Turkish governor who was now resident in Beirut, and were assisted by a council "like those which already exist at all points of the empire". It was the renewal imposed by changes in Europe that was manifested behind these modifications, behind new forms of intervention by representatives of European powers in Lebanon, especially behind the activities of the consuls of France and Great Britain posted to Beirut. This port was regularly visited by steamships after 1835; although the major cities of the interior underwent a crisis in their activities, it was the major regional beneficiary of the expansion in trade, especially after 1850, when its commercial affairs followed the rhythm of western economic trends, and the changes in the laws of property ownership introduced into the Ottoman empire (confirmed by the *Khaṭṭ-i Hümāyūn* of 18 February 1856) stimulated the development of new commercial and financial enterprises. Its population grew and diversified, especially in its Christian components (6,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century, 60,000 in 1860, 130,000 in 1914). In the mountain region, industrial initiative was introduced by the French, who installed new systems for the spinning of silk: they diverted deliveries of cocoons for the benefit of their establishments, thus breaking the links between the small-holders and the influential families and

thereby contributing further to the decline of the latter. These economic changes, while favouring the prosperity of those who were the intermediaries, chief among whom were the Christians, had an adverse effect on the disadvantaged communities and led to aggravation of social and religious tensions. In 1859, an agrarian revolt saw peasants in conflict with *shaykhs* in Maronite Kisrawān. However, the Christians benefited overall from these transformations, while Muslims and Druzes were, overall, prevented from playing any part; claiming the "equality" promised by the reforms, reinforcing the status of the community with the support of France and of the Roman Church, profiting from a European expansion which both rivalled and dominated the traditional economy of the Near East —all these activities on the part of the Christians were in the eyes of the Muslims crimes committed by a people whom they had never ceased to despise, in opposition to their past supremacy and to their present existence. An incident in May 1860 touched off conflict between Druzes and Christians, and was followed by massacres of Christians in the "mixed areas" and in Damascus. To limit intervention by the European powers, the Turks restored order in the most brutal fashion; however, this did not prevent the arrival in Beirut of a French expeditionary force, which Napoleon III had also sent for the purpose of furthering the Mediterranean and Arab aspects of his policy.

The result of these events, of the presence of French troops until June 1861, and of the negotiations held between the Porte, France, Great Britian, Austria, Prussia and Russia, was the creation of a province of Mount Lebanon. Administrative unity was thus confirmed by law. Although it was nothing more than a *sandjak* or *mutaṣarrifiyya*, the agreement signed at Pera on 9 June 1861 made it clear that: "The Lebanon will be administered by a Christian governor appointed by the Sublime Porte and responsible directly to it." The Porte laid down the condition that this Christian governor be chosen from among the non-Lebanese subjects of the Sultan. The majority of the population of the new province was Christian; order was maintained by its own police force and it was the beneficiary of a special fiscal system; it included neither Beirut, nor Tripoli, nor Sidon, but its links with Beirut developed continuously to their mutual enrichment in economic and human terms. Although its relatively autonomous status was guaranteed by the signature of five European powers, Mount Lebanon was none the less included in the general administrative modernisation of the Ottoman empire; the abolition of the ancient privileges of the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, the judicial equality of the Muslim and Christian communities, the representation of these communities on the *madjlis* which advised the governor, all these corresponded to the general conditions applied to the administration of provinces as laid down by the law of 1864.

Beirut and Mount Lebanon were the centres of important movements in terms of products, people and ideas. The economic expansion introduced from the West was most clearly marked by the development of sericulture under the control of the city of Lyons, the capital of the industry; French participation in companies formed for the construction from Beirut to Damascus of a carriageable highway (1863), later of a railway line (1895); the extension of the port of Beirut; the architectural improvement of this town; and the founding of banks and trading houses. The increase in population and social pressures led to waves of emigration towards Egypt and the Americas. The Arab literary renaissance, the *nahḍa* [*q.v.*], expressed awareness of these encounters; besides the education provided by the Syrian Protestant College, founded in 1866 under the auspices of the American Presbyterian Mission, and by the Jesuit University of St. Joseph (1881), the pedagogic and literary activities of the *muʿallim* Buṭrus al-Bustānī [see AL-BUSTĀNĪ in Suppl.] and of numerous other writers, journalists and scholars led to a crystallisation of consciousness in the confrontation with all the human, spiritual and geographical dimensions which had been brought into play, and in posing the problem of the affirmation of the personality amid all these transformations. But although for many of the initiators of this intellectual revival the fact of belonging to a common civilisation was something that must transcend religious differences, ambiguities none the less survived at all levels of cultural awareness, since the idea of nationhood proposed by Europe was balanced, on the one hand, by a "Lebanonist" conception, especially among the Maronites, an Arab ideal for a uniting of energies going beyond community distinctions, and on the other, by an Ottomanist faction for whom the Ottoman State was the quarantee of Islamic civilisation in the face of western domination. In 1911, Shakīb Arslān fought the Italians in Libya alongside the Turks; in June 1913, the Arab Congress, convened in Paris, proposed a decentralisation for the benefit of the different Arab provinces.

The war and the defeat of the Ottomans in 1918 gave an impetus to Lebanese development. Three Lebanese delegations, including one led by the Maronite patriarch, attended the Peace Conference to claim from it the maintenance and even the expansion of their territories. In 1920, the French military intervention against the Arab Kingdom of *amīr* Fayṣal permitted the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon which was placed under a mandate entrusted to France. This state was established around a Christian, mainly Maronite, nucleus, which constituted a majority, although all the other lands of Arab culture were populated predominantly by Muslims. But the former province of Mount Lebanon was expanded with the addition of Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli, ʿAkkār, the Biḳāʿ, the Wādī al-Taym and the Djabal ʿĀmil where Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims were present in large numbers. This situation aroused two principal attitudes: on the one hand, the Christians had no intention of accepting a position of inferiority in a Republic of which they considered themselves the architects; on the other, the Muslims speculated as to what their status was to be within a political entity which had not been founded according to their aspirations. Numerous factors came into play in this context, in particular: the nature of groupings and relationships in the community frameworks or the political parties; demography, increasingly favourable to the Muslims; the question of ability to cope with all the necessities of the modern world; and the economic role and the place of manual labour, not only in terms of the different social levels but also in terms of the communities. While some Shīʿī leaders were quite prepared to throw in their lot with the system, the ruling circles and the populace of the Sunnī community expressed strong reservations and they took the opportunity of showing where their feelings lay at the time of the 1925 revolt. However, a compromise was devised, one of its principal Sunnī initiators being Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ; in 1936 it was agreed, following Franco-Syrian

and Franco-Lebanese negotiations, that the Lebanon would continue to exist within its present frontiers and would retain the representation of the communities which had been confirmed by its parliamentary constitution. In 1943, the National Pact, already mentioned, was a decisive factor in the Muslim adhesion to the Lebanese identity. In March 1945, the Lebanon was among the founders of the League of Arab States.

Under all the presidents of the Republic who have succeeded one another since independence (Bishāra al-Khūrī 1943-52, Kamīl Sham'ūn 1952-8, Fu'ād Shihāb 1958-64, Charles Hilū 1964-70, Sulaymān Farandjiyya 1970-6, Ilyās Sarkīs 1976-82), each serious crisis has renewed the fragmentation of the communities, but has also revealed the growth of a Lebanese consciousness among the majority of a population which has become accustomed to living in the framework of the Lebanese State. In February 1958, many Muslims greeted with enthusiasm news of the foundation of the United Arab Republic; but while bloody civil unrest engulfed the country between May and September of the same year and provoked, in the international and Arab context, the landing of American troops on 17 July in application of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the programme of reforms instituted under the presidency of General Fu'ād Shihāb was accompanied by the emergence of a genuine Muslim Lebanonism. At the same time, Kamāl Djunbalāṭ, as much in his capacity as an aristocratic Druze of the Shūf as in his role as leader of a socialist movement, appealed to a fundamentally Lebanese patriotism in his effort to bring the country into the bosom of Arab solidarity. The Sunnī leaders and the Muslims as a whole were placed in the reality of the Lebanese state as a cadre for the future, but they demanded institutional reforms which would give greater recognition to their numbers and to their talents in the control of the Lebanon. In a state where all civil life is defined by the fact of belonging to a religious community, this claim was supported on the basis of modifications arising from the demographic separation. It is, in fact, the Muslim populations that have increased most rapidly; this development is most clearly marked within the Shī'ī Muslim community, the most disadvantaged in the country, which has become the most numerous. The Shī'ī labour force has therefore tended to leave the impoverished rural zones of eastern and southern Lebanon, the precise areas where Israeli raids have contributed to the acceleration of the migration, to seek work in the expanding industrial zones of the Beirut region. A social problem has thus prolonged the process of political demand and demographic change; this has been reflected in the actions of the political parties of the Left, who have also sought, in a similar manner, to channel the discontent of the peasants of the north whose agitation, since 1970, has been directed against the major landowners and has called into question the authority of the state. They have also acquired, through their new militancy, a stronger "Muslim aspect".

This evolution has come about in a period of economic growth whose profits have been most unevenly distributed. Since 1967, the ascending curve of the Lebanese economy has followed that of the increased wealth of the Near East as a whole; petrodollars, "Arab" assets which are essentially the property of Muslims, have been invested in Lebanese banks, of which the majority are controlled by Christians. At the same time, the Lebanon has not only counted on the resources deriving from its "services", but also on those produced by its industry, which has undergone a vigorous expansion in the suburbs of Beirut and Tripoli, exporting 80% of its production to Arab markets. While Lebanese technicians and businessmen, including Christians at the higher echelons, have taken the opportunity of practising their skills in the developing Arab countries, the contracted labour force in the construction industry of Beirut is of Syrian origin; thus, through its recent economic development, the Lebanon has become still more integrated into the life and destiny of the Arab world.

Paradoxically, this situation has been cruelly underlined since 1973 by the internal consequences of the recession of the western economy, for the Lebanon has also remained closely linked to the latter; the extension of social malaise has rendered political demands more bitter and has accentuated the impact of the Palestinian presence. This dates from 1948 (the foundation of the State of Israel), but it has only begun to pose a real problem to the authority of the Lebanese State since 1967, when the Palestinians consolidated their political orientation and took on the role of an armed organisation. Now, while the Palestinians exist alongside other Lebanese groups in a structure consistent with the norms of Arab society, and while they have exploited the liberal Lebanese régime to act, as independently as is possible, towards invoking the solidarity of the Arab nation, they have none the less remained very distinct from the remainder of the population, since they lay claim to a land which is not the Lebanon. The sovereignty of the Lebanese state has suffered as a result of their military activities in the frontier regions of the south and, consequently, as a result of repeated Israeli incursions; but, besides the members of the front of progressive parties, all Muslims have felt sympathetic to their cause and have often offered them support in internal political action.

The resentment at this situation felt by the Christians, and especially by their Maronite majority, has been channelled by the Lebanese Phalanges. Although of Arabic language and culture, the Christian population has developed and rediscovered an isolationist complex in an Arab world where the movement towards secularisation tends to work to the advantage of the institutions of the majority, i.e. the Muslims and where, equally, politically active movements have been mobilised in the name of Islamic ideals. This sense of insecurity has also been shared by those business circles which, while reaping the benefits of trading with the Arab countries, participated in the workings of the western economy. On the other hand, the movements of the Left have integrated their denunciation of the injustices of the system with revolutionary Arab perspectives. As a result of the origins of modern Lebanon as well as of present-day circumstances, the internal crisis has taken on Arab, Islamic and international dimensions, and is nourished by them.

After February 1975, the repression of political and social unrest at Sidon illustrated the limited capabilities of the Lebanese army, itself a multi-religious organisation. On 13 April 1975, a coach carrying Palestinians was machine-gunned by Phalangists near Beirut; twenty-seven passengers were killed. Since then, the authority of the government has progressively disintegrated. At the beginning of the 1970s, a whole generation of students had dreamed of a fraternal future for the Lebanon, to be achieved by the erosion of community divisions; this dream has been shattered. While the sovereignty of the state has been called into question, and the ancient
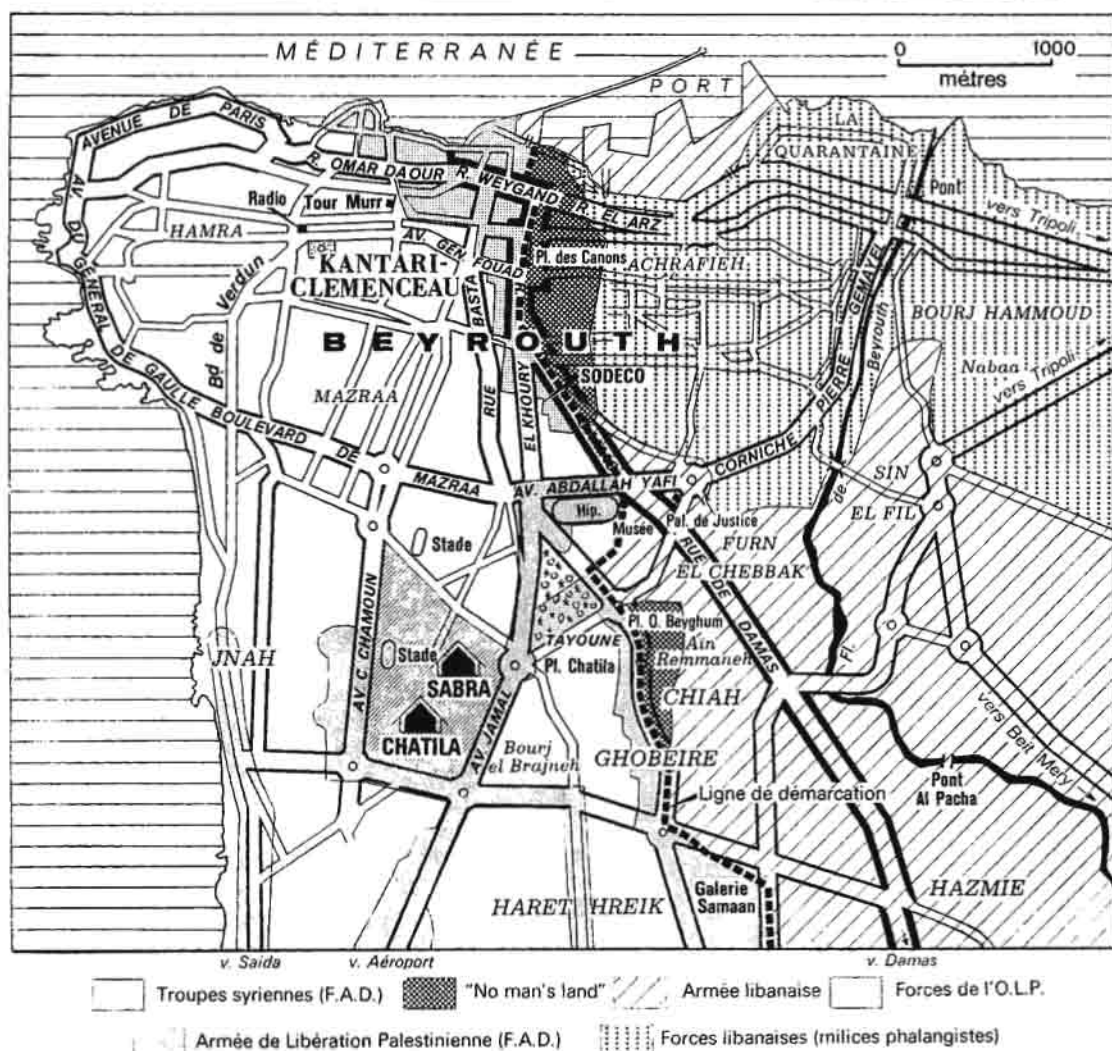
Fig. 3. Beirut in 1981 (after *Le Monde*, 19 May 1981).

structures of the familial group have been damaged by modern urbanisation and industrialisation, religious segregations have shown themselves to be all the more active at the level of collective consciousness, since they have remained the principal touchstone of identity and therefore the principal framework for community solidarity. In the agony of the civil war, political and social conflicts have been kept alive by the most ancient segregational structures of Near Eastern society; the polarisation of passions according to religious allegiances has been the most symptomatic expression of this at the conscious level. How is one to contemplate the idea of the partitioning of the Lebanon as envisaged by the minorities, the constitution of semi-autonomous fraternities of combatants, principally within the popular Muslim milieu, the conflicting claims of fragmentation and unitary ideologies, or the unequalled violence of the fighting since September 1975, without reference to this conglomeration of sociological and historical data?

The Lebanese crisis which began in 1975 owed its seriousness to internal causes which in their turn reflected the changes in the Arab world and the social, cultural and political tensions which had become acute throughout the Near East. At the beginning of the war, two powers with an interest in the existence of the modern Lebanon made official approaches to the different Lebanese parties: Syria, with repeated missions on the part of its Minister of Foreign Affairs, France with the fact-finding missions of Maurice Couve de Murville and Georges Gorse. In June 1976, Syria sent a massive force into the Lebanon under the cover of the Arab Peace-Keeping Force in order to restore calm. In spite of truces, the sound of gunfire is still to be heard, across alliances and the reversal of alliances (especially after the Camp David Accords), across struggles for hegemony within each politico-religious faction. The continuing prosperity of the banking sector has no doubt compensated for the massive destruction of property and the aggravation of social disparities. From 1840 to 1958, civil disorders in Lebanon had been resolved only by the intervention of western armies. Since 1976, the presence of the Arab Peace-Keeping Force has shown that a
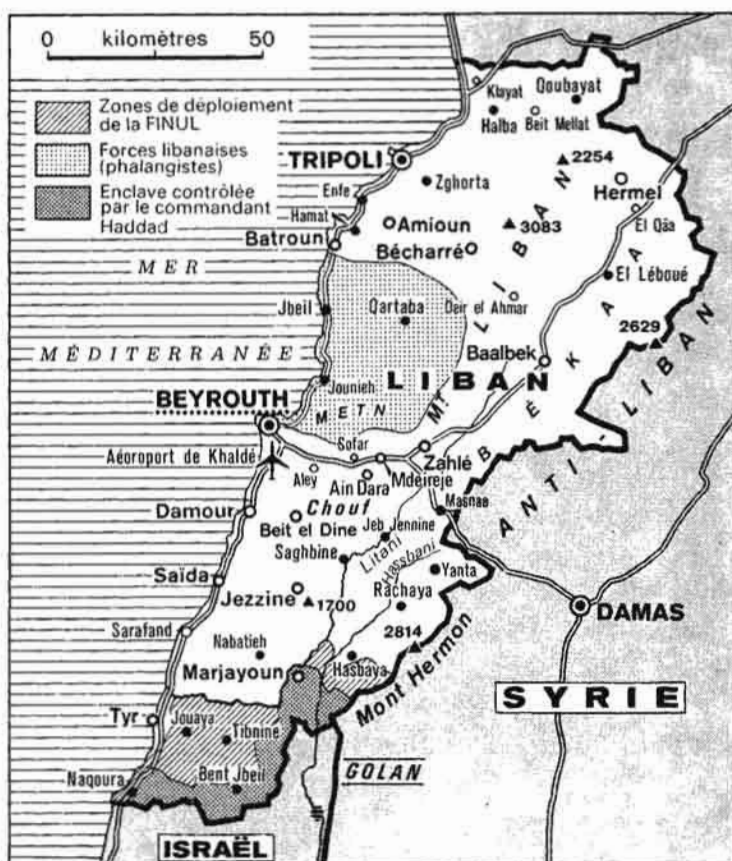
Fig. 4. Lebanon in 1981 (after *Le Monde*, 20 May 1981).

solution should be found through Arab negotiation, but having regard to international repercussions and to the conflict with Israel which led, in 1978, to the despatch of a United Nations Interim Force in the Lebanon (U.N.I.F.L.).

It is estimated that the Lebanon has close to three million inhabitants. It is they, residents or temporary emigrants, who ensure the existence of their country. Though each continues to feel part of a minority in relation to his compatriots, the adhesion of the majority of the Lebanese to the Lebanon is symbolically represented by the celebration of the Day of the Flag; but, while they are aware of belonging to the same entity and are determined to maintain it, they do not share the same national vision.

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(D. Chevallier))

LUBŪD (pl. of *libd*, *labad*), felt. The production and craftsmanship of wool [see ṢŪF] was very prosperous in the mediaeval Muslim world, and supplied a variety of articles not only for refined and wealthy customers but also for the popular market in the form of relatively inexpensive clothing. In more recent times, local woollens have not managed to compete with European products (E. Ashtor, *Les lainages dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Atti Inst. F. Dattini*, Florence 1976, 657-86). Felt was one of the less expensive products among the woollen articles manufactured locally (and probably not threatened by imports from Europe), but there were also felts of high quality which were dyed (see for their colours, below) or embellished (Ibn al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir*, 87: a royal cloak of Byzantine origin).

As elsewhere, felt was manufactured in the Muslim world at that time by pressing wool between pieces of wood, etc., a process often combined with moistening and binding by means of *ṣamgh* (i.e. gum; for the Middle Ages, a description is supplied by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim*, 231, and for the beginning of the modern period, by al-Ḳāsimī, *Dict. des métiers*, ii, 399-400).

The maker of felt was called the *labbād*, *lubūdī*, and *labābīdī* (Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *loc. cit.*; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Beirut ed., i, 194; al-Ḳāsimī, *loc. cit.*). The names of a number of articles are derived from that of "felt": cap (*libda*), cloak, or piece of felt worn over the outer garment (*lubbāda*), moquette (*libd*, *labad*), saddle, or a piece of felt put under the saddle, especially among the nomadic Arabs, etc. (al-Nabigha and Imru' al-Ḳays, ed. Ahlwardt, 7, 149; *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. Wellhausen, 86; Djarīr, ed. Sāwī, 139; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿānī*, 944 [but it is not known if this *libd* of the Arabs of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, was manufactured like the felt known in sedentary civilisation]; al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 199; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Akhlāḳ al-nabī*, Cairo 1959, 161; al-Raghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Beirut 1962, iv, 377-8; Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 60, 145-6; al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, Cairo 1960, 432; idem, *Muḳaddimāt*, Leipzig 1850, 63; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 99, 156, 338; *LA*, Beirut 1955, iii, 386, 387; Lane, i, 2646; S. Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 103; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 395; idem, *Suppl.*, *s.v.*).

In fact, felt was also used for the manufacture of items whose names are not derived from it, such as clothing and hats (see some of the above sources and al-Djāḥiẓ, according to Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i, 103 (*musūḥ* of felt); Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 113; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 114, 251, 267, 366; *ḳalansuwa*, *ṭarbūsh*, for example), linings of jackets (A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii, 499—the case here in point is the equipping of a Muslim expedition, outside the Islamic world, with clothing manufactured in ʿIrāḳ), blankets and mattresses (al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, Cairo 1955, 139: mattresses of less affluent people), ropes (possibly; see below). Felts were available in several colours, apart from the natural colour (red.: al-Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, 158-9; al-Shābushtī, *loc. cit.*;—black: Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 145-6).

The felts came from various regions and countries: from China (refined and rare felts, in the Muslim world, al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if*, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 142), from North Africa (al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 15; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, 113; al-Thaʿālibī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 47), from Armenia and Khurāsān (al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 60; al-Hamadānī, *Takmila*, 22). The Turks, in common with other peoples of Central Asia (A. Miquel, *op. cit.*, ii, 156, 159, 234), used large quantities of felt, for clothing as well as for the making of tents, but there is no evidence to show that felt was exported from these regions to the centre of the Muslim world. Felt from Ṭālaḳān (in Khurāsān), strong and resilient, was used possibly for the weaving of a kind of rope rescue-ladder (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 117 = § 2799). In Samarḳand (Transoxania) and Damascus (Syria) there were specialised quarters in the suburbs or in the town, for the manufacture and sale of felt (Yāḳūt, iv, 345).

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(J. Sadan)

LUCKNOW [see LAKHNAW].

LUDD, the Arabic name of Lydda, the ancient Hebrew Lodd, a town in Palestine to the south-east of Jaffa (Yāfā, Yāfo) and 17 km. in direct line from the Mediterranean shore.

Ancient history. Ludd is extremely ancient, and its name is believed to appear in the list of towns conquered by the Egyptian King Thutmos III (*ca.* 1468-1436 B.C.) (cf. Alt, *Essays*, 138; Aharoni, 149). The name of Lodd appears four times in the later books of the Bible (I Chron. viii, 12, the building of the city by several families belonging to the tribe of Benjamin; Ezra, ii, 33; Neh. vii, 37, xi, 32-5). The Hebrew name was preserved in the New Testament (Λύδδα, Acts, ix, 32), and through it has entered, in the Latin form of Lydda, into the European languages. After the British occupation in 1917, the name of the city was given to the whole district, which was called "the District of Lydda". Early in the 3rd century A.D., the Greek name Diospolis must have been given to the town by Emperor Septimus Severus, who visited the place in 200-1, when the town was given Roman city rights and coins were struck there (cf. Smith, 121 n. 3). Although the name Diospolis survived until the Islamic conquest, the local Jewish and Samaritan population continued to use the original name of Lodd, which appears frequently in Talmudic literature (e.g. *Pal. Talmud*, Sheviʿit, 9; *Babylonian Talmud*, Megilla, 3b-4a; *Sanhedrin*, 32b, 74a; *Sukka*, 2b; *Hullin*, 56b; *The minor tractates of the Talmud*, London 1965, 127, 331, 341).

During the whole of the Second Temple period, the city was one of the major Jewish centres, although in the Hellenistic and Roman periods it occasionally remained outside Jewish domination. The Seleucids ceded it to Jonathan Maccabaeus in 145 B.C. and 83 years later, Pompey detached it from the Jewish state. In 48 B.C. Julius Caesar restored it to Jewish rule. In 44 B.C. after the murder of Caesar, Cassius, who appeared in the country with a large Roman army, sold its population as slaves when the town failed to pay the high tribute imposed on it (Josephus, *Wars*, I, ch. xi, 2). The city revived and even flourished as a centre of Jewish learning and a home for Jewish spiritual leadership after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (Smith, 121 and n. 2).

Once Christianity was proclaimed the state religion by Constantine, Ludd instantly assumed an important place in Christian thought, mainly because of the healing miracle which St. Peter performed on the paralytic Aeneas (Acts, ix, 32-5. Cf. Hieronimus, in Reland, *Palaestina*, 877), which is said to have been the cause of numerous converts to Christianity in the city and its environs. However, the real sanctity of Ludd and its major fame in the Christian world are due to the belief that it is the birthplace of St. George, who is probably the most venerated hero in Eastern Christianity and who rose from obscure origins to become "not only the virtual patron of Syrian Christendom and an object of Muslim reverence, but patron, as well, of the most Western of Christian peoples. St. George of Lydda is St. George of England ..." (Smith, 122). His fame must have been due to his martyrdom, on the eve of the triumph of Christianity, under Diocletian in Nicomedia in A.D. 303, after which his relics (or his head only) were brought to Ludd and buried there.

Early Christian travelers refer, therefore, to Ludd as the place where the saint is buried. At some time during the Byzantine period, probably under Justinian, a church was built over the burial place, the altar of which must have stood over the tomb itself, and a monastery which was also established in the city was dedicated to him. The church, however, appears not to have been dedicated to him, since travellers mention only the tomb and the monastery (Smith, *loc. cit.*). The archaeological survey in which the traces of the Byzantine church were discovered was carried out by Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological researches*, ii, 98-103, 341-6; cf. *SWP, Memoires*, ii, 267-8). The town became, already in the 4th century an episcopal see (despite partial destruction after an anti-Roman revolt in 351) and retained this position until modern times, even after its cathedral was destroyed and its Christian population reduced to a negligible number; there was even a Synod of Diospolis early in the 5th century. The signatures of several Bishops from Ludd appear on conciliar documents; Aetius Lydensis at the Council of Nicaea (325), Dionysius Diospolitanum at the Council of Constantinople (381); Photinus Diospolitanus (as well as Photinus episcopus Lydae) at the Council of Chalcedon (451) (Reland, *op. cit.*, 878-9. For more references concerning Ludd in classical literature, cf., Avi-Yonah, *Gazeteer*, 75).

Topography. The town is located on the border between the coastal plain and the Shephela, in an extensive area of flat land, some 40-50 m. above sea level, which came to be known after it as "the Valley of Lod" (cf. *Pal. Talmud, loc. cit.*). The area enjoys a very good amount of winter rain (annual average of above 500 mm.), and its alluvial soil stores large quantities of excellent water which have rendered the environs of the city extremely fertile in all times; this, in addition to the rich soil and generally warm climate, made the town famous for its agriculture. It was always described by travellers as being encircled by olive groves and vineyards (and in modern times, citrus plantations). Cotton grows very well in the area, and in the later Ottoman period it was cultivated extensively as a major cash crop. The cultivation of cotton ceased during the British Mandate, but was renewed in a most extensive form in Israel. Plants used in the dyeing industry, for which the town had also been very famous (until the building of Ramla), must have also been grown around the city. The virtually unlimited possibilities offered by the natural conditions explains the place's attraction for settlers, who repeatedly restored it after the frequent calamities, whether of human or natural making, which befell it throughout its extremely long history.

Its position made Ludd from ancient times an important station on the eastern and more frequented branch of the *Via Maris* which runs from Gaza via Yavneh (Ar. Yubnā) and Ludd to Antipatris (Raʾs al-ʿAyn) and thence via Wādī ʿĀra (ancient ʿIron) to the Valley of Jezreel. This route running along the eastern slopes of the hills of Samaria, though longer than the one running parallel to the coast, was deemed easier and safer. It attained especial importance in the post-Crusader period (mainly under the Mamlūks), and has since served as one of the major traffic routes in the country. The road connecting Jerusalem to Jaffa also passed via Ludd, thus making it into an important crossroads, a position which the city regained in modern times after the construction of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad at the end of the last century (see below).

Early Islamic history. According to al-Balādhurī's tradition, Ludd was conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ after the conquest of Nābulus and Samaria (*Futūḥ*, 138/13). Al-Ṭabarī relates that the city capitulated in 15 A.H. and quotes the agreement made with its inhabitants. It is the standard formula of capitulation treaty known from other places in Syria which were reportedly taken without war (*ṣulḥ^an*), and stipulates *amān* (protection) for the conquered inhabitants' life and property, guaranteeing the safety of the religious institutions in return for a payment of an unfixed sum of *djizya* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2406-7). Very soon after the Islamic conquest the town underwent a process of rapid deterioration, mainly due to the growth of Ramla as a major administrative, economic and cultural centre in the *Djund Filasṭīn* (the Byzantine *Palaestina Prima*).

Ramla was built by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik with the intention of serving as the capital of the province, after a long period in which the *Djund Filasṭīn* had been devoid of a proper administrative centre. Having discarded, for obvious reasons Caesarea, the Roman-Byzantine capital of Palaestina Prima, the Muslims made Ludd into the permanent seat of the administration. The city was, however, too Christian in ethos for the taste of the Umayyad rulers, especially after the inauguration of ʿAbd al-Malik's Arab-Islamic reforms. When Sulaymān was nominated by his brother al-Walīd I as governor of Palestine, he took up residence in Ludd, but immediately embarked upon the grand scheme of the building of Ramla (*Futūḥ*, 143; Yāḳūt, s.v. "Ramla"). Once the new capital was established, Ludd almost instantly fell into oblivion. The Islamic traditions

unanimously confirm this by saying that the building of Ramla was the reason for the destruction of Ludd (*wa-kāna dhālika sabab kharāb Ludd*, Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). Some traditions even say that Sulaymān destroyed the homes of the inhabitants of Ludd in order to force them to move to his new capital. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, who specifically mentions Sulaymān's destruction of Ludd, emphasises that in his own time it was already in ruins (*Buldān*, 328). The traditions relating to its deterioration are all intensified by the Islamic accounts of its past glory. Thus Ibn al-Faḳih speaks about the splendid buildings of Ludd, which impressed the Muslim beholders so much that they believed that they were built for Solomon by the djinn (*Mukhtaṣar*, 117). This tradition must refer to the Byzantine basilica of Ludd, which had been built over the tomb of St. George. It is believed to have been destroyed by al-Ḥākim in 398/1008 and rebuilt by King Stephen I (St. Stephen) of Hungary (997-1038). However, by then the church of Ludd had already been celebrated in the Islamic eschatological traditions. Al-Muḳaddasī, in the second half of the 4th/10th century, mentions the church as the most prominent feature of the city and adds that ʿĪsā will kill the Antichrist or Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*] at its gate. In his time, the place had already undergone a process of Islamisation, for he refers to a large Friday mosque which served as a prayer place not only for the Muslims of Ludd but also for the inhabitants of its environs, including even those of the provincial capital Ramla (al-Muḳaddasī, 176; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 493).

The place which Ludd occupies in the Islamic eschatological tradition must have been born out of the popular mixture of legends connected with the image of St. George and the Jewish traditions about the false Messiah (or in Aramaic, *Meshīḥa daggala*, hence Arabic Dadjdjāl). Some of the Islamic traditions about the death of Dadjdjāl at the gate of the church of Ludd, or at the gate of the city, identify their Jewish origin. According to these accounts, ʿUmar used to show great interest in the subject, and persistently searched for information about it. After the battle of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*], when Ludd was captured, a Jew told ʿUmar that the Muslims would kill Dadjdjāl "a little more than ten cubits from the gate of Ludd" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2403, Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 388, 390; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 227). In a tradition attributed to al-Zuhrī, Jesus, at the head of the Muslims, would follow Dadjdjāl and kill him at the gate of Ludd (Ibn Kathīr, ii, 99; al-Bakrī, 490). Similar eschatological traditions are numerous, and the whole theme has been elaborated upon in great detail by Ibn ʿAsākir (ed. Munadjdjid, i, 149-52, 184, 215-17, 228-9, 232, 256-7, 260, 294-5, 606-19; *Tahdhīb*, i, 48, 195).

It is very possible that the tradition grew somehow out of the idea connecting St. George and the dragon, which can be traced to the 6th century, when the legend of Perseus and Andromeda was transferred to St. George. There is no doubt that the magnificence of the Byzantine church and later the Crusaders' cathedral of Ludd, as well as those local legends woven around the image of St. George, furnished the proper background for the development of the Islamic traditions concerning the church in particular and the city of Ludd in general. The core of the traditions in which the false Messiah dies in Ludd is Jewish. From this point of view, those Islamic accounts emphasising the Jewish connection with the tradition are correct. Clermont-Ganneau suggests, however, that the Dadjdjāl in this case represents the dragon, while St. George, who was transformed by the Islamic popular tradition, into al-Khiḍr [see AL-KHAḌIR], kills it (Smith, 123).

The feast of St. George on 23 April continued to be celebrated under Islam, and its ceremonies at the church were also attended by Muslims. Three verses by al-Muʿallā b. Ṭarīf, the caliph al-Mahdī's poet-singer freedman, in which he talks about his "coming intentionally to Ludd on the feast of *mārī sirdjis*" (*sic*), where he saw "ladies like gazelles in their covert", attest to the popularity of the feast, at least in the pre-Crusader period (Yāḳūt, s.v. "Ludd"; *Aghānī*, vi, 46-7).

The Byzantine church is described by all the early Christian travellers. On the eve of the invasion of the Crusaders in 1099, the Muslims destroyed it again. The Crusaders found Ludd and Ramla deserted, and thus were easily able to establish a corridor from Jaffa to Jerusalem, whence they could mount their attack on the Holy City as well as widen their hold on central and southern Palestine. In Ludd they built in 1150 a new cathedral with much splendour and magnificence, over the remains of the previous Byzantine church and the Saint's tomb. They dedicated it to the Saint, because of its location as well as because of the then prevalent belief in his intervention in their favour during the siege of Antioch. The new cathedral "was a great pile, capable of use as a fortress" (Smith, 122). Toward the end of the 12th century, the cathedral attained even greater attention and significance when St. George was adopted by Richard Cœur-de-Lion as the patron saint of England, in addition to the veneration he already enjoyed as the patron saint of Eastern Christianity (it was, however, only under King Edward III that St. George actually became the patron saint of England, *ibid.*, 122 n. 3). Moreover, under the Crusaders, the name of St. George replaced the name of the town, so that during the whole of their period it came to be known as St. George, and pilgrims call it by this name until the 16th century (*ZDPV*, x, 215; xi, 195). Even the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela speaks about his visit to St. George, erroneously identifying it with the Biblical Luz (*Early travels*, 81, 88).

In 583/1187, following the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*], Saladin conquered Ludd (Abū Shāma, ii, 89), but the effect on the town of this conquest was felt only three years later. In the framework of Saladin's policy of dismantling the main coastal fortresses, he demolished Ascalon (ʿAsḳalān) and proceeded to dismantle on 3 Ramaḍān 587/24 September 1911 the fortress of Ramla. On this occasion he also demolished the Cathedral of Ludd (Abū Shāma, ii, 192; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 47, Zettersteen, 235). Al-Yāfiʿī, iii, 461, erroneously speaks about the demolition of the whole town. Mudjīr al-Dīn, ii, 419, remarks that with the destruction of the church the town became "a village like the other villages" (cf. Robinson, *Bibl. res.*, iii, 54-5; De Vogüé, *Églises*, 363). When peace negotiations began between Saladin and the Franks in 588/1192, the former suggested that the King of Jerusalem should receive Ludd to compensate him for his losses in the dismantled Ascalon (Abū Shāma, ii, 200). The strategic importance of Ludd as an inland station on the main route from Egypt to Syria (cf. Mudjīr al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*), which had, in the previous period, been lost to Ramla, must have been at least partly resumed during the Crusader-Ayyūbid period. In 601/1204-5, during the negotiations between the Franks and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, they demanded and received Jaffa as well as what amounted to the lease of Ludd, Ramla and their environs (al-Maḳrīzī,

Sulūk, ii, 164). The name of Ludd appears in the sources again in connection with the peace treaty of 626/1229 between al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick II. In this treaty, which provided for the cession of Jerusalem to the Franks, Ludd was also handed over to the Crusaders' sovereignty, together with some other villages which were part of the territorial corridor between Jaffa and Jerusalem, which came under Frankish domination (*Sulūk*, i/1, 230; al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, iii, 429). In 666/1267-8, Ludd was conquered by Baybars, who must have dismantled whatever remained of the church (*Sulūk*, i/2, 565), the stones of which were later used to build the bridge to the north of the city in 671/1273.

The development of the inland branch of the Cairo-Damascus route (or the eastern branch of the *Via Maris*), in the course of which the great engineering enterprise of building the monumental bridge of Ludd was undertaken, was part of Baybar's policy to demolish completely the coast of Syria and Palestine. This policy began in fact, with Saladin and was later used by the subsequent Muslim rulers. In view of the Mamlūk weakness on the sea and their inability to prevent the free naval activity in the Mediterranean, Baybars and his successors followed the strategy of abandoning the demolished shore and creating a strong line of inland fortresses. The unprecedented attention paid to the inland route to Damascus passing via Ludd was part of this overall Mamlūk strategy (cf. Ayalon, BAḤRIYYA, ii, and idem, *The Mamlūks and naval power*, 7-10).

Clermont-Ganneau, who studied the bridge as well as the church of Ludd, remarked that whole parts of the Crusaders' cathedral were used for building of the bridge (*RAO*, i, 270-1; cf. Prawer, ii, 424); modern Islamic art historians, however, doubt this theory. The bridge is known as D̲j̲isr D̲j̲indās, after the name of a neighbouring village, and has been in constant usage since the time of its building until this very day. Two almost identical inscriptions on both its façades commemorate its building; it was ordered by Baybars and executed by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sawwāḳ b. ʿUmar in Ramaḍān 671/April 1237 (Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*). On both sides of the inscriptions Baybars' famous heraldic symbol, the leopard, is carved in relief with its paw raised to strike a miserable animal resembling a mouse, believed to represent the king of Jerusalem or the Crusaders in general (cf. Prawer, ii, 461-2).

Ludd revived as a consequence of the development of this major traffic route, especially since the early Mamlūk sultans paid great attention to the orderly and secure movement of the royal postal services or *barīd* [*q.v.*] between the imperial capital of Cairo and the major provincial capital of Damascus. In the Mamlūk administrative division, Ludd was made into a centre of a subdistrict, *ʿamal Ludd* (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, iv, 100). Ibn al-Furāt (vii, 225) speaks in 680/1281 about *wilāyat al-Ludd wa 'l-Ramla*. After then, Ludd is mentioned as an important station on the road between Cairo and Damascus (e.g. in *Sulūk*, i/3, 824-5; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Durar*, i, 512). Nevertheless, it did not regain its former splendour, for during the Mamlūk period also, it was overshadowed by Ramla. Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn describes the place in this time, namely the very end of the Mamlūk period, as a pleasant village with an active Friday mosque. The singling-out of the mosque of Ludd is understandable in view of the fact that its monumental structure was far beyond the needs of the little village and served the population of the neighbouring villages as well. Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn adds that to the east of the city there was a *mas̲h̲had* venerated as the tomb of the famous companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. There is no question that the *mas̲h̲had* and the local traditions around it were a post-Crusader invention; (in actual fact, Ibn ʿAwf died in Medina and was buried in the cemetery there of al-Baḳīʿ [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, ii, 850; Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 419).

The Grand Mosque was also built at the order of Baybars, in part over the sites of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders' cathedral, with the building material taken from the ruins of both. On one of the columns of the mosque a 6th century Greek inscription which had belonged to the Byzantine church can still be seen. The mosque built by Baybars is called al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ʿUmarī. The long inscription in early Mamlūk *nas̲k̲h̲ī* script over its entrance is the only detailed source concerning its building. It runs as follows:

"... ordered the building of this blessed Friday Mosque our lord the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī, the associate of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his victories glorious and forgive him. This was done under the direction of the servant, yearning for the mercy of his [divine] Master, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sawwāḳ al-Ṣāliḥī, may God forgive him, in the month of Ramaḍān 666 (began 15 May 1268)." (L. A. Mayer, *Muslim religious buildings*, 31).

This means that the mosque was built shortly after the conquest of the city. The work was executed by the same ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sawwāḳ who was later charged also with the building of the bridge but of whom nothing else is known (Mayer, *loc. cit.*). Another inscription on the grand mosque, hitherto unpublished, bearing the name of Ḳāʾitbāy and dated 13 Ramaḍān 892/2 September 1487, commemorates the abolition of certain unjust taxes upon the inhabitants of Ludd. Of special interest is the fact that the name of the powerful local leader of D̲j̲abal Nābulus, K̲h̲alīl b. Ismāʿīl, hitherto known from literary sources only, appears in this inscription as officially participating in the affairs of Ludd. This may be explained by the fact that a few months earlier in 891/1486, the *amīr* Aḳbirdī, the great *dawādār*, arrived in the environs of Ludd and Ramla, whence he set off to recruit warriors for the war against the Ottoman Bāyezīd II. K̲h̲alīl b. Ismāʿīl was officially nominated to the *mas̲h̲yak̲h̲a* of D̲j̲abal Nābulus and took an active part in this recruiting activity, through which he must have widened his scope of influence (but clashing with the *nāʾib* of Jerusalem, Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 666, 669).

The Bedouin element, which during the Fāṭimid period was predominant in the coastal plains of Palestine, and particularly around Ramla and Ludd, reappeared as a major factor in the history of the country in the post-Crusader period, again easily establishing itself around Gaza (G̲h̲azza) on the one hand and around Ludd and Ramla on the other These areas have always been within easy reach of the nomads, who took advantage of the weakness of the Mamlūk and later also Ottoman military and administrative hold on the country. The environs of Ludd in both periods were completely at the mercy of Bedouin tribes, mainly of the Sawālma, the Kus̲h̲ūk and the Sawtariyya, who replaced the Banū D̲j̲arrāḥ of Ṭayyiʾ—the predominant tribe of the Fāṭimid period in Palestine.

According to Oppenheim, the Sawālma and the Kus̲h̲ūk arrived in the Ramla-Ludd region from Lower Egypt at the beginning of the 11th/17th century; but the Sawālma, the leading tribe of the area,

definitely arrived earlier, for in 1622 they took part in a coalition (with Bedouins from the Nābulus area and others) which aided Aḥmad b. Ṭurābāy, the Bedouin *amīr* of Ladjdjūn [*q.v.*], in his war against Fakhr al-Dīn II (Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine* . . ., 28-9).

The Ottoman period and modern times. Throughout most of the Ottoman period, Ludd was completely overshadowed by Ramla. It was a small village, which in judicial matters fell under the jurisdiction of the deputy *ḳāḍī* of Ramla (Heyd, 55-6). In spite of its small size, it retained some of its importance as being situated on the central postal route of the empire. When in 1552, Roxelana (Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*]), the favourite and later wife of Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificient, established her famous endowment (*ʿimāret*) in Jerusalem, Ludd was one of the many villages which were made *waḳf* for it (*ibid.*, 143, n. 1, doc. 90, and n. 7; *QDAP* [1944], 170-94).

The European travellers who visited the town in the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods are of little value for the history of Ludd until the 19th century, when the systematic research of the Holy Land began. They all repeat the same description of a small village in the midst of a fertile environment, emphasising the impressive ruins of the Crusader cathedral. At some time during these periods, an altar was built by the small Greek Orthodox community, who used to assemble at the place for regular prayers. In spite of Ludd's fertility and favourable location on a major commercial route, it was not until the second half of the 19th century that it began to revive. In the middle of the century the number of its population, according to the 1851 census, was only 1,345 (the number for the neighbouring villages being 4,400, *SWP*, ii, 279). The increased attention paid by the Ottomans to Syria and Palestine in the second half of the century, which entailed improvement in the internal security, mainly in the central parts of the country, and the keeping of the Bedouin in closer check, had an immediate influence on the fortunes of the town. The systematic European scholarly investigation of Ludd, which began with Edward Robinson in 1838 and continued particularly in 1852, and was followed by the Palestine Exploration Fund (Conder, Kitchener and others), drew European attention to Ludd and its past. In 1871 and again in 1873-4 Clermont-Ganneau prepared a most detailed study of the town and its environs, which included a detailed study of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders' cathedral. At this time work began on the rebuilding of the present church of St. George, partly on the ancient foundations not included in the mosque. Once completed (on a far smaller scale than the former edifices), the church became the focus of popular celebrations twice a year, on 24 April, the birthday of the Saint, and 16 November, the day in which his relics were brought to Ludd (*SWP*, *Memoires*, ii, 268).

In spite of this steady growth of the town, its real development came with the building of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, which began in 1890 in accordance with a *firmān* granted by the Ottoman sultan to Joseph Navon Efendi. On 26 September 1892, the railway was inaugurated and Ludd was transformed almost overnight and began to overshadow Ramla.

When the First World War broke out it regained its significant strategic value, serving the logistic efforts of the Turks and Germans. On 15 November 1917 General Allenby's army entered Ramla, and dispersing a retreating Turkish column, took Ludd two days later.

Under the British administration, Ludd (now officially called Lydda) flourished very rapidly, mainly because of the wide-gauge railway (143.5 cm.) with which the British replaced the old narrow (105 cm.) Ottoman one, connecting Jaffa via Ludd not only to Jerusalem but also via Rafah and Ḳanṭara to Cairo. Hence towards the end of the thirties of the present century, Ludd became one of the most important rail junctions in the Middle East. In 1934, the first airstrip was built near the city which was developed into an international airport, inaugurated in 1937, and today the major international airport of Israel, Ben Gurion Airport. All this contributed to the population growth of Ludd. By 1922 it numbered 8,103 inhabitants, exceeding for the first time the population of Ramla (Barron, *Report . . . census of 1922*), and by 1947 it was about 19,000 (2,000 Greek Orthodox and the rest Muslims).

An earthquake on 11 July 1927 damaged the town very badly, destroying 500 homes and killing 40 people. Severe earthquakes had occurred formerly in 1033 and 1546 (*PEF, QS* [1927], 171).

On 11 July 1948, in the course of the Arab-Israeli War, Ludd was conquered by Israel. Out of its former Arab population, only 1,056 remained in the town. Very soon modern outskirts grew up around it, and by 1958 its population reached again the figure of 19,000, most of them Jews from the Arab countries. The rapid growth of the airport and the Israeli air industry have in the subsequent 20 years doubled its size and population (the latter standing at 40,000 in 1980).

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(M. Sharon)

LŪDHIĀNA, a district and town in the Djālandhar division of the Pandjāb state of the Indian Union. The tract is an alluvial plain, covering 3,614 km.² and bounded on the north by the river Sutlej. Generally, it has been a frontier area. On the high road from Central Asia, it has been crossed by successive waves of conquest or immigration, while over the last 250 years it has seen struggles for supremacy between the Durrānī Afghāns and the Mughals, between the Sikhs and the British, and recently between India and Pakistan. In 1809 Lūdhiāna town became a British frontier cantonment, and the district gained most of its present form after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1846. Since the partition of India in 1947 it has been close to the Pakistan frontier. Before partition, nearly 38% of the district's population were Muslims; now they form less than 1%, 300,000 Muslims having migrated to Pakistan.

The town of Lūdhiāna stands on the Grand Trunk Road and is an important junction on the Northern Railway. It appears to have been founded in the 9th/15th century by the Lōdī rulers of Dihlī, from whom it took its name. In the 19th century it was an important Wahhābī centre, and in the great uprising of 1857, Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, a prominent Wahhābī and friend of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī, took the lead against the British. In the 20th century ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's family remained prominent in the resistance to the British, a great-grandson, Mawlānā Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān, leading the Khilāfat agitation of 1919-23 and, as President of the District Congress Committee, the civil disobedience movement of 1930. In the 1930s, the town was the centre of the Aḥrārs, religious idealists, Indian nationalists, and for a time the leading Muslim party in north-west India Consequently, Lūdhiāna returned the only Muslim Congressman from the whole Pandjāb in the 1937 elections, although by the next elections of 1946 the Muslim League was able to capture the seat with ease. Since 1947 the area has seen striking industrial and agricultural growth; it is one of the most prosperous regions in India.

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(F. Robinson)

LUGHA (A.), "speech", "language" in current usage.

The term does not appear with this sense in the more ancient texts. In the Ḳurʾān it is exclusively *lisān* which is used to express the concept of "language" and not *lugha*, which is completely absent from the Ḳurʾānic text: *bi-lisānin ʿarabiyyin mubīn* ("in clear Arabic language"), XXVI, 195; and *wa-mā arsalnā min rasūlin illā bi-lisāni ḳawmihi* ("all the messengers whom We have sent [to Mankind], We have made them speak in the language of their own people"), XIV, 4. According to J. Fück and Nöldeke, it seems that this term is non-existent in the "ancient poetry of the Bedouin" (see Fück, *ʿArabīya*, French tr., 195) but this cannot be asserted because there is not yet available an exhaustive inventory of the vocabulary of those ancient poetic works which have survived. *Lugha* cannot have acquired the sense of "language" or "speech" until the end of the 2nd/8th century. Before this date, the term always appears with the very specialised sense of "manner of realising an element of language" particular to an ethnic group, a tribe or a locality; whence the meaning of regional or tribal "variant of realisation" which it possesses in the works of the grammarian Sībawayh (d. 180/795). It is appropriate to stress the fact that, in the writings of this author, and of his contemporaries, *lugha* does not denote the full range of linguistic particularities associated with an ethnic group, in other words a local patois or a dialect, but only a local variant. Thus in the common expression *lughat ahl al-Ḥidjāz* (*Kitāb*, i, 28, 36, 187, etc.), *lughat Hudhayl* (*ibid.*, ii, 191), it concerns the special "manner" of the Ḥidjāzians of treating the particle *mā* like the verb *laysa* ("not to be") and the "manner" of the Hudhaylites of forming the plural of words of the type *djawza* in *djawazāt*. This sense of "variant" or of "regional variety of realisation" is clearly illustrated in the use, by Arab grammarians and lexicographers, of the dual or plural form of the word *lugha* in expressions such as *ammā Maʿdikarib fa-fīhi lughāt* ("as for the name of Maʿdikarib, there exist several variants", *Kitāb*, ii, 50) and the lexicographical phrases *fīhi lughatāni* and *fīhi thalāthu lughāt*. In view of the fact that a "regional or tribal variant" is always regarded, by those whose own speech does not include this variant, as a deviation and often also as an incorrect expression in terms of their speech, it comes as no surprise to find that the word *lugha* is derived from a root *l-gh-w* of which the essential meaning is precisely the idea of digression from a certain norm of expression, whence the very strong sense of a co-derivative of *lugha*, *laghw*, "inconsistent", "incomplete construction, *lapsus*"; whence also, by transposition to the content alone—even if the form is "correct" "subject without point or interest" (see *LA*, art. *l-gh-w*). This is confirmed, furthermore, by the eminent scholar and lexicographer Ibn al-Aʿrābī: "the sense of *lugha* is derived from this idea (of deviation): in fact, [it is stated that] certain speakers produce locutions by which they *depart from* the manner of speaking (*lugha*) of certain others" (*ibid.*). Another word, *laḥn*, which already has in the works of the most ancient grammarians the very strong sense of "incorrectness" and of "solecism" (cf. *Kitāb*, i, 304), alternates with *lugha* in the texts collated by researchers into Bedouin culture [see Laḥn al-ʿĀmma]. For example, this remark reported by the disciples of the eminent Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ, as made by one of his informants, Abū Mahdiyya: *laysa hādhā min laḥnī wa-lā min laḥni ḳawmī* "this is not my manner of speaking nor that of my tribe", al-Ḳālī, iii, 39, repeated by al-Zadjdjādjī in his *Madjālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, 3). In his *Amālī*, al-Ḳālī is quite explicit: "*Laḥn* also signifies *lugha* according to al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū Zayd, and it is in this sense that it is to be understood in the saying of the caliph ʿUmar "Study ... the *laḥn* in the same fashion that you study the Ḳurʾān

(*ibid.*, i, 5). Ibn Abī Dāwūd, author of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* (d. 316/429), uses *laḥn* in this sense in his article *Ikhtilāf alḥān al-ʿArab fi 'l-maṣāḥif* "the divergences of *laḥn* specific to Arabs in texts of the Ḳurʾān," and at the very beginning of this article he asserts that "*al-alḥān* (pl. of *laḥn*) are the *lughāt*" (*ibid.*; see in this context the excellent studies devoted to the word *laḥn* by J. Fück in *ʿArabīya*, appendix). There is, however, the general sense of "manner of speaking" without reference to a particular element in the following passage: *kullimū bi-kalāmihim wa-djāʾa 'l-Ḳurʾānu bi-lughatihim* "they are addressed in their own language and the Ḳurʾān has used their *lugha*" (*Kitāb*, i, 166-7). This general sense is also to be inferred from these expressions in the *Kitāb*: *fī djamīʿ lughāt al-ʿArab* "in all the manners of speaking (or linguistic usages) of the Arabs" (i, 110); *man kān al-nasb min lughatihī* "those whose habitual linguistic usage is to employ the accusative in this case" (*ibid.*, ii, 263); and *illā man lā yuʾkhadh bi-lughatihī*—"except those whose manner of speaking is not acceptable" (*ibid.*, ii, 264).

These variants and the different manners of realising the elements of *ʿArabiyya* constituted, in the period of the major "field-studies" made by Arab researchers (*al-lughawiyyūn*), especially in the 2nd and 3rd/8th and 9th centuries, the essential material towards which the analyses of the grammarians (*al-naḥwiyyūn*) were directed. The term *naḥw* which came ultimately to denote "grammar" and which is to be opposed to *lugha* taken in this sense of "linguistic material" (compiled from the mouths of Arabic speakers) itself signified, initially, "a type of expression" (cf. *hādhā 'l-naḥw min al-kalām*; *Kitāb*, i, 491). Thus the *naḥwiyyūn* ("grammarians") were the individuals who studied the *anḥāʾ* (or *nuḥuww*, pl. of *naḥw*; see *Kitāb*, ii, 381: "types of expression heard from the mouths of Arabic speakers") with the purpose of making an exhaustive examination and of formulating rules. It is nevertheless clear that the sense of *naḥw* in these usages does not contain the idea of deviation, which is the specific nature of the word *lugha* and of *laḥn*, the latter having a much stronger sense and ultimately taking on, in the 3rd/9th century, the meaning of "incorrectness".

When applied to pronunciation, the *lughāt al-ʿArab*, insofar as they constitute optional variants, are contrasted with variants conditioned and dictated by the physiological laws of articulation: there is talk in this case of *badal* (= variant) due to the *ḍarūra* (constraint imposed by these factors; cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr al-ṣināʿa*, i, 78) or to the system of the language; it is then a matter of *ṣanʿa*, that is, of a formal process effected on an element of the language (cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 371). In the context of the oral reproduction of an existing and memorised text (in effect, the Ḳurʾān and poetry) these variants—both *lughāt* and conditioned variants—are called *wudjūh al-ḳirāʾāt*/*al-ʿadāʾ* by grammarians and by specialists in Ḳurʾānic diction alike (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl*, 33). *Lugha* was also contrasted with *luthgha*; in the period of the early grammarians, this latter term denoted a deviation in the pronunciation of a number of phonemes (not exclusively *ghayn*, as is often believed; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 34), but this was a case of individual and not collective deviation. It was sometimes difficult at the first attempt to distinguish between a regional variety and a purely individual variety, as is shown by this statement from the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*: *samiʿnāhū fa-lā nadrī a-lugha am luthgha*—"we have heard it well, but we do not know if it is a regional variant or a [simple] individual pronunciation" (*ibid.*, i, 128).

The attitude of Arab lexicographers and grammarians towards linguistic data—the *lughāt*—has not always been properly understood by contemporary authors. The norm (the "norm" of the linguist E. Coseriu and the "idiom" of the linguist J. Gagnepain) is for them the result of a choice, but this involves the choice of the native locutors themselves (*fuṣaḥāʾ al-ʿArab*, the "native speakers of *ʿArabiyya*"). When this choice emanates from the greater part of these speakers, Sībawayh refers to *ḳawl al-ʿāmma* "the way of speech of the majority (*Kitāb*, i, 228, ii, 263; variants: *ḳawl ʿāmmat al-nās*, *ibid.*, i, 263, 293; *ḳawl ʿāmmat al-ʿArab*, *ḳawl al-ʿArab kullihim* "the manner of all Arabic speakers", *ibid.*, i, 477, ii, 303). Ibn Djinnī, for his part, was to use the expression *lughāt al-kāffa*—"the manners of speaking of the majority" (*Khaṣāʾiṣ* ii, 13). It could also be the case that this convergence of usages was lacking; each *lugha* was then considered a norm in itself. "All the *lughāt*", declares Ibn Djinnī, "may be regarded as probative references (*ḥudjdja*—with regard to the norm), and when two different *lughāt* have the same range of usage and are equally accepted by the *ḳiyās* (Ibn Djinnī speaks in this context of two *ḳiyās*, i.e. two different systems), it is not permitted to prefer one of them at the expense of the other" (*ibid.*, ii, 10). Attention should also be drawn to the remarkable insistence with which Sībawayh (in common with his masters and disciples) urges the reader to rely upon *samāʿ*, upon attested facts only and above all "to accept among these [types of expression which Sībawayh cites] only those which Arabic speakers have themselves accepted and to treat them in the same fashion (*istaḥsin min hādhā mā istaḥsana al-ʿArab wa-adjrihi kamā adjrawhū*, *Kitāb*, i, 252). Ibn Djinnī also asserts (*Munṣif*, ii, 240), "*Samāʿ* can annul the action of *ḳiyās*". This assumes, as this author explicitly states, that "everything which *ḳiyās* permits is not necessarily actualised in reality" (*Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 117).

In fact, the only criterion of normalisation which has been retained by the Arab scholars is that of the maximum extension of usage with the domain of *ʿArabiyya* (the *ḳawl ʿāmmat al-ʿArab* cited above) and of the most widespread inter-comprehension. Whence the degrees of "clarity" applied to *lughāt*: *faṣīḥ*/*afṣaḥ*. The *Kitāb* of Sībawayh is also full of these appraisals: *hādhā ʿarabī kathīr* "this is Arabic of widespread usage"; *hādhā akthar* "this is more widespread"; and *akthar wa-aʿraf*—"more widespread and better known" (see *Kitab*, i, 27, 43, 74, 78, 258, etc.). When two *lughas*, or more, were in competition, some were described as being "Arabic" and *ḥasana* or *djayyida* ("good"), others as *aḥsan* or *adjwad* ("better") or *ḳabīḥa* or *radīʾa* ("bad"); here it is no longer a question of value judgments, but of acceptability applied solely to the subjects of speech and on the basis of the most widespread usage (cf. the expression *ʿarabī djayyid kathīr*, *al-aṣl al-akthar*, *ibid.*, i, 27, 60). The geographical recurrence of a *lugha* was assessed with the aid of the following scale: *muttarid* = perfectly uniform, recurrent or general (100%); *ghālib* = predominant (86%); *kathīr* = widespread or frequent (65%); *ḳalīl* = less widespread or less frequent (13%), and *nādir* = rare or isolated (4%) (see *Muzhir*, i, 234). It may be noted that this scale is applied equally to the frequency of an element or linguistic form within one grouping; see in this context the contrast between *muttarid fi 'l-istiʿmāl* "general in usage" and

muttarid fi 'l-ḳiyās "general in terms of *ḳiyās*", in *Khaṣā'iṣ*, i, 96 ff. and Hadj-Salah, *Linguistique arabe et linguistique générale*.

As opposed to *naḥw*, *lugha* is the very essence of language, in other words that part which is not constructed (by induction), inconsistent with the rules of grammar or non-predictable or non-deducible by means of these rules. It is primarily a matter of *samā'*, that is of crude identifications. Thus the entire range of data recorded from the mouths of speakers of *'Arabiyya* constituted the *lugha* (taken as a collective: the ensemble of all the *lughāt* duly identified). Analysed in groups of items, it is vocabulary opposed to grammar; included in it, necessarily so, were not only the lexical unities effectively in use—along with their regional variants—but also colloquial expressions, in the form of idioms or *amthāl* (pl. of *mathal* in the very broad sense of "stereotyped figure of speech" or "cliché of widespread diffusion". Cf. the first compilations of *amthāl* which have survived to the present, comprising collections of idiomatic figures, and not only of maxims and proverbs; see e.g. *al-Fākhir* by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, Cairo 1960).

The non-predictable character of *lugha* (as crude fact and/or as vocabulary of a formal system, that of *naḥw*) has been well described by Ibn Djinnī: "the language of the Arabs comprises two sorts of elements: those elements that one is obliged to accept as such, with their configuration, for example, and not on the basis of a rule; such elements are: *ḥadjar* (stone), *dār* (house) . . . and another type that may be apprehended through *ḳiyās*". (*Khaṣā'iṣ*, ii, 42). "*Ḥadjar* may be analysed in a root (ḥ-dj-r) and a system (C¹a C²a C³), but the fact that these unities combined in *ḥadjar* arrive at the meaning of "stone" is a fact of *samā'*; all that can be done is to memorise it (*yuḥfaẓ*). It is also in this sense that this remark of the lexicographer Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) is to be interpreted: *al-lugha lā ta'khadhu ḳiyāsan naḳīsuhū naḥnu al-'ān*—"the data of the language cannot be obtained, in our era, as far as we are concerned, through *ḳiyās*" (*Ṣāḥibī*, 33).

Lugha, initially "regional variant of realisation" or "datum of the language", comes to designate the entire speech of an ethnic group and even to be identified with the word *lisān* which signifies "tongue" and "language". This identification is however absolutely unknown to the first generations of grammarians (up to and including Sībawayh). It appears sporadically at the end of the 2nd/8th century (see the use of it made by the jurist and leader of the law-school al-Shāfi'ī in his *Risāla*, where he employs the word *lugha* with the sense of *lisān* only once (p. 564) and *lisān* in all other cases). It was probably in the period of the great controversies of the *'ilm al-kalām* that such a usage came into being; al-Djāḥiẓ in fact uses *lugha*, still as a manner of speaking, but enlarged to cover the entire language of an ethnic group (regional speech types, *'Arabiyya*, languages other than Arabic; see *Bayān*, i, 161-2 and *Ḥayawān*, v, 299). The sense of regional variant applied to a single linguistic element or item is, however, retained until a very late period.

The science of *lughāt*, which became the science of *lugha* or the data of the language, underwent a prodigious development following the major researches initiated by the very founder of this branch of science, Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā' (154/770), that is, in the period when his immediate disciples such as al-Aṣma'ī (d. 213/838), Abū 'Ubayda (d. 209/826), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/831) and the Kūfans al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, Ibn al-A'rābī, Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, etc., made immense journeys of investigation across the Arabian peninsula. This gigantic effort of collection and codification of data (which continued until the total disappearance of the spontaneous mastery of *'Arabiyya* = *al-faṣāḥa*, at the end of the 4th/10th century) resulted initially in the composition of innumerable monographs on the *lughāt al-ḳabā'il* "the variants of realisation specific to the Arab tribes", on *amthāl* or "clichés", *nawādir* or "hapax legomena", toponymy, the vocabulary of flora and fauna, onomastic, types of verbs, *maṣdars*, the extension of use of schemes, etc. (on this subject, see H. Naṣṣār, *al-Mu'djam al-'arabī*, Cairo 1956). To this, there is added the collection and codification of variants in reproduction of the Ḳur'ānic text which were drawn from those who had belonged to the school of the *Tābi'ūn* or from their disciples. All Arabic lexicography of later centuries is based on these monographs.

Lugha as a datum constitutes, for early grammarians as well as for philosophers, the product of a *waḍ'*, that is of an *institution*. The same furthermore applies to the rules of grammar themselves because they are different from one language to another (cf. *Muzhir*, i, 48) and, above all, because they do not result from the application of more primitive rules, but by induction from the acts of discourse of Arabic speakers (*maḳāyīs mustanbaṭa min istiḳrā' kalām al-'Arab*; Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, *al-Takmila*, fol. 1). The difference, as has just been observed, resides in the fact that *lugha* is the *non-inductive* ensemble of linguistic items. "By the *waḍ'* of an articulated sound" declares al-Rāḍī, "is meant the primitive assignation of an articulated sound (*lafẓ*) to a certain significance (*ma'nā*) with the intention of seeing this significance become the object of conventional usage within a community" (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 3). Thus everything which is not imposed by institution (*mawḍū'*) as the symbol of something is outside the scope of *lugha*, outside *waḍ'*. Among other examples of this are the following: *saṣ*, *kaḳ*, *ḥadj*, etc., which have not been retained by the founder of the language for reasons of phonetic incompatibility (*tanāfur al-ḥurūf*; see *Khaṣā'iṣ*, i, 54). *Lugha* is, from this point of view, an *iṣṭilāḥ* or social institution tacitly accepted by its users; but a distinction is also drawn between these two terms, because it is considered that *lugha* is always a primitive institution, while *iṣṭilāḥ* can be an innovation, a technical neologism (cf. *Bayān*, i, 139-40), whence the pairs *aṣl al-waḍ'* or *aṣl al-lugha*/*iṣṭilāḥ* language/metalanguage and *waḍ' al-lugha*/*waḍ' thānī* primary institution/secondary institution (cf. al-Rāḍī, *ibid.*, ii, 126; al-Djurdjānī, *Dalā'il*, 24, 193, 308; and al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, 148). It is also in this context that a distinction is drawn between *waḍ' al-lugha* as an organisation and code established by social institution and *waḍ' al-kalām*, which is the arrangements of discourse and the choice of its elements by the individual speaker (al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 64, 69, 79, 81).

Waḍ' constituted for the majority of the Mu'tazilīs a purely human convention (*muwāḍa'a* = code), and for other thinkers, an institution which is divine, or at least inspired in men by God (*tawḳīf*, *ilhām*; see in this context *Muzhir*, i, 8-28 and Loucel, *L'origine du language d'après les grammairiens arabes*, in *Arabica*, x-xi). It does not seem, however, that these two positions were so clearly stated in the works of the major Arab linguists and philosophers. In fact, al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935-6), to whom is attri-

buted the idea of the divine institution of the language, has a rather inconclusive attitude to the subject, judging by the lukewarm opinions of his disciples. The same applies to the Imām al-Ḥaramayn and to al-Ghazālī (see *Muzhir*, i, 20). A similar position is adopted by the Muʿtazilī grammarians Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and Ibn Djinnī (who attributes to Sībawayh's pupil, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash, the same cautious attitude; see *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 41).

Considerably more interesting is the problem which the Muʿtazilīs raised towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, that is, the absolute arbitrariness of the linguistic symbol compared with the no less absolute immutability of the *lugha*. These two extreme positions were represented, the first by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī and the second by ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān al-Ṣaymarī (*ca.* 250/854; see the *Maḳālāt* of al-Ashʿarī, ii, 186, and i, 250). The argument of ʿAbbād was as follows: "if there existed no particular relationship between articulated sounds and the objects they signify, the assignation of each of these signifiers to a signified object would be tantamount to choosing a possibility of assignation without any motive (*tardjīḥ bi-dūn muradjdjiḥ*), which is absurd" (quoted by al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, i, 22). The other Muʿtazilīs did not follow ʿAbbād: "There is no necessary relationship", the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (415/1025) was to say, "between the expression (*al-ʿibāra*) and the content, such that one cannot exist without the other" (*Mughnī*, v, 20). For al-Ṣāliḥī, such arbitrariness has no limits since it is possible, he claimed, "to change today the names [of things] and the *lugha* as it presents itself to us at the present time" (*ḳalb al-lugha*; *Maḳālāt*, ii, 186). Later, these two opinions came to be reconciled: "As for those things which have become the object of a convention", the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār was to assert, "it is certain that they could have been established according to an entirely different system with the same validity. But the moment that these objects are fixed by a conventional system, they are assimilated, for the user, to that which could not be otherwise than it is" (*Mughnī*, xvi, 191). In the same period, Ibn Sīdā reproduces this dichotomic formula which summarises well the reconciliation of the two extremes: "Language is constraint (*iḍṭirāriyya*), although the conventional expressions of which it is composed have been (at the moment of *waḍʿ*) freely chosen (*ikhtiyāriyya*) (*Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, i, 3).

The expression *ʿilm al-lugha* (or *ʿulūm al-lugha*), has always denoted, as opposed to *ʿilm al-naḥw* (or *ʿilm al-ʿArabiyya*), lexicology or more exactly the science of the datum of the language (cf. al-Zadjdjādjī, *Īḍāḥ*, 79; Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 31; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ*, i, 4; al-Rāḍī, *Sharḥ*, i, 4; *Muzhir*, *passim*, etc.). Ibn Khaldūn defines *ʿilm al-lugha* as "the science of the *instituted* elements of the language" (*hādhā 'l-ʿilm huwa bayān al-mawḍūʿāt al-lughawiyya*; *Muḳaddima*, 1059), a science which he includes along with *ʿilm al-naḥw* and *ʿilm al-bayān* (style) among the *al-ʿulūm al-lisāniyya* (*ibid.*). Besides this expression, there was also another: *fiḳh al-lugha* which functioned as a synonym of *ʿilm al-lugha*, but it seems likely that this was a more specialised branch of the same discipline, that is, the study of the semiological distinctions and affinities which exist between the elements of vocabulary (cf. the work of Ibn Fāris cited above, the *Fiḳh al-lugha* of al-Thaʿālibī and the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīdā, as well as the definitions of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, 1060-1). The very frequent modern usage of *lugha* with the sense of "language" has led certain of our contemporaries to attempt to employ the expression *ʿilm al-lugha* to represent the modern concept of "linguistics", which is not entirely appropriate because this signification has had, and still has, the sense of lexicology. A different term exists to denote this concept: *ʿilm al-lisān* (often abridged into *lisāniyyāt*), which al-Fārābī employs in his works and in particular in his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, where he envisages in a very distinct fashion the possibility of constructing a general linguistics extending to all languages and no longer to one particular language (8-13, 21).

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(A. Hadj-Salah)

LUGHA, ʿIlm al- [see lugha].

LUGHAT-NĀMA [see dehkhudā, in Supplement].

LUGHZ (a., pl. *alghāz*) "enigma", muʿammā (pl. *muʿammayāt*) "word puzzle, verbal charade", uḥdjiyya (pl. *aḥādjī*[n]) "riddle, conundrum", three Arabic terms often used in a figurative sense, but basically referring to three kinds of literary plays upon words which are fairly close in type to each other.

The enigma is generally in verse, and characteristically is in an interrogative form. Thus for *falak* "heavenly firmament": *mā ʿadam*[un] *fī 'l-ḥaḳḳi, lākin tarā || min-hū wudjūd*[an] *ḥaythumā staḳbalak || [...] fa-in ḳaṭaʿnā raʾsahū fahwa lak* "What is the thing which in reality has no existence, but nevertheless you see it in existence wherever you confront it [...] and if we cut off its head (= *fa*), it will be yours (= *lak*)?".

The *muʿammā* is to be distinguished from the *lughz* by the absence of the interrogatory element and by the fact that the sense of the passage, also in verse, had been made "blind" by various procedures. Thus it may be formed by designating one or more words by various clues to the letters forming it or them or by allusions relating to the pronunciation: the alphabetic value, the numeral value of the letters, misreading or inversion (*ḳalb*). Mostly, no account is taken of the vowels or of letters without phonetic value. Good taste is the rule.

The invention of the *muʿammā* is attributed to Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The following is an example of *muʿammā* on the name Aḥmad: *awwaluhu thālithu tuffāhatin || wa-rābiʿu 'l-tuffāḥi thānīhi || Wa-awwalu 'l-miski lahū thālithun || wa-ākhiru 'l-wardi li-bāḳīhi* "Its first is the third of [the word] *tuffāha* (apple) = A; and the fourth of [the word] *tuffāḥ* (apples) is its second = Ḥ; and the first of [the word] *misk* (musk) is its third = M; and the last of [the word] *ward* (roses) is the remainder of it = D".

The *muʿammā* was used by many poets (in particular by Abū Nuwās; see E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 380-3).

As for the *uḥdjiyya*, this term denotes a simple guessing game (e.g. "Guess what I have in my hand"), but can also mean a type of enigma fairly close to the *lughz*. Thus for *salsabīl* "wine": *mā ridfu ḳawli 'l-muḥādjī || in ḳāla: uṭlub ṭarīkā* "What is the alternative sense meant by the person setting forth a riddle when he says: ask (= *sal*) the way (= *sabīl*)?".

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(M. BENCHENEB *)

AL-LUḤAYYA (Ar. "small beard", Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat*, ii, 569 n. 3), a small port on the Red Sea coast in the Yemen Arab Republic (lat. 15° 42′ N., long. 42° 41′ E.), *ca.* 110 km. north of al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*; see the map accompanying ʿASĪR], and situated at the northern end of a narrow and shallow bay formed between the mainland and a coral reef. The bay is continued northwards past the town by a narrow boat-channel, at the entrance of which small craft may moor. Larger vessels lie about 6 km. south-west of the town in an open roadstead between the mainland and the offshore island of al-Urmak. At very low tide, not even small boats can reach the town when loaded.

A. Sprenger's identification of al-Luḥayya with Ptolemy's Μαμάλαη κώμη is not proved, nor is it certain that the port is identical with Ναπηγοῦς κώμη, Sambrachate or Leupas (Pliny), as proposed by E. Glaser.

When Affonso d'Albuquerque entered the Red Sea in 1513, he called at al-Luḥayya (Luya in the Portuguese sources). The port then belonged to the territory of the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ, to whom tribute was paid. Previous to the 10th/16th century, al-Luḥayya, like other ports on the Arabian coast such as al-Ḥudayda, Kamarān Island, al-Mukhā (Mocha) and Zabīd, had been in the power of the Rasūlids [*q.v.*], and their heirs the Banū Ṭāhir, whose last monarch, ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was defeated in 1515 by the firearms of the Mamlūk forces under Salmān al-Rūmī and Ḥusayn Turkī (Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 29), sent by the sultan Ḳānṣawḥ al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*]. The ruler of al-Luḥayya, Faḳīh Abū Bakr b. al-Maḳbūl al-Zaylaʿī (of Zaylaʿ [*q.v.*]), supported the Egyptians, made the *khuṭba* for al-Ghawrī and, after the Mamlūk forces had damaged the port of al-Ḥudayda, opened up the road leading inland. With one hundred men armed with muskets (*banādiḳ*), he then advanced against Mawr. Abū Makhrama (Schumann, *Political history*, 19) and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (*Ghāyat*, ii, 644) remark that this was the first time fire-arms were used in the Yemen; see however Schumann, *op. cit.*, nn. 18, 92. After Sulṭān Selīm I had conquered Egypt, Ottoman suzerainty was quickly recognised by the Egyptian forces in the coastal towns. According to the *Taʾrīkh al-Shiḥrī* (Serjeant, *op. cit.*, 51, 170), the Portuguese, after an unsuccessful attack on Djudda (see, however, *EI*[2], ii, 572a) in 923/1517, turned back to Yemen, pursued by Salmān "or one of his men" who took a Portuguese *grab* (Ar. *ghurāb* "brigantine") near al-Luḥayya. This story, confirmed by João de Barros (*Decadas*, iii, I, 6), refers to Lopo Soares de Albergaria's expedition in the Red Sea.

In 1635 the *Imām* al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] succeeded in expelling the Turks, and al-Luḥayya again came into the possession of the *Imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ. Around 1650, ships sailing between Massawa and al-Mukhā on behalf of Banyans settled in the latter port apparently used to anchor at the port of al-Luḥayya (Van Donzel, *Foreign relations*, 134-6, 139). On his return from Ethiopia to Yemen, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥaymī, the envoy of Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh (1054-87/1644-76) to the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas (1632-67), disembarked at al-Luḥayya.

During his stay at al-Luḥayya between 29 December 1762 and 20 February 1763, C. Niebuhr was amicably received by *amīr* Farhān, a black African, appointed as governor (*dola*) by the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ. He was told that the town was not older than three hundred years and that its foundation, as is the case with Bayt al-Faḳīh and al-Mukhā [*q.vv*], was connected with a local Muslim saint, *shaykh* Salei (Ṣāliḥ), around whose cell and later tomb the original settlement grew. The descendants of the *shaykh* were still revered in al-Luḥayya in Niebuhr's days. The town had no circular wall then, but on the landward side there were some twelve towers, armed with a few cannon and lying at a distance of 120 double steps from each other. The highly-placed entrances were accessible only by a ladder. The towers, however, were not worth much as defence works: the Ḥāshid and Bakīl tribes [see ḤĀSHID WA-BAKĪL] (see also Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, 258-61, and Robin, *Les hautes terres*) marched across them and burned the town, and on a rumour of another attack, the inhabitants fled to al-Urmak. Since the water was brackish, it had to be fetched at some distance. The people, among whom were some forty Banyans, lived off commerce and fish. Although the coffee was of inferior quality compared with that of Bayt

al-Faḳīh, it was cheaper, since transport to the more important port of al-Djudda was inexpensive. In al-Luḥayya merchants bought it for customers in al-Djudda, Egypt and Turkey, and some Cairenes used to come over in order to acquire it in person. Lime was made by burning coral in the open air, and rock-salt was cut in the neighbourhood. Although Niebuhr describes the town as rather poor, al-Luḥayya had to pay monthly 2,000 thalers to the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ, and during the *mawsim* (April-June) when Indian vessels were calling, 3,000 thalers, more than al-Ḥudayda had to bring in. The arrival of Indian vessels at al-Luḥayya around 1770 is confirmed by Bruce (*Travels*, i, 323). Niebuhr also relates that one of the rich merchants of al-Luḥayya had obtained several kinds of aphrodisiacs from "engländischen Wundärtzen" (*Reisebeschreibung*, i, 304, not "Wunderärzten" as in Th. Hansen, *Reise*, 246, or "miracle doctors", idem, *Arabia Felix*, 221), so English ships must have called at al-Luḥayya around 1760, at least occasionally.

In the 12th/18th century, the power of the *Imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ declined sharply, and many towns declared themselves independent, while the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh [*q.v.*] grew more powerful. In 1730 only the coastal land between al-Luḥayya and al-Mukhā remained in the *Imām*'s possession, and by 1790 the coastline between al-Kunfudha [*q.v.*] and Bayt al-Faḳīh, including al-Luḥayya, was under the authority of the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh (Baldry, *Al-Yaman*, 158). At that time, the monthly revenue of al-Luḥayya was roughly computed at £600 (Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, 119).

The rise of Wahhābī power at the beginning of the 19th century forced Sharīf Ḥamūd Abū Mismār of Abū ʿArīsh to give allegiance to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abū Nuḳta, whom Saʿūd II had appointed governor of the Tihāma (Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*, 13). When in 1809 he revoked his allegiance and restored the revenues of the coastal towns to Aḥmad b. Manṣūr ʿAlī, the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ (Salt, *A voyage*, 125; Playfair, *A history*, 129), the Wahhābīs despatched an army by sea to Djayzān [*q.v.*], from where it advanced southwards, looting and burning al-Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda. Under Wahhābī rule, an attempt was made to develop the port of al-Luḥayya, and negotiations were opened with the English East India Company to start a factory (Lord Valentia, *Voyages*, ii, 385, quoted by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 884). When Ehrenberg visited the port in 1825 (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 192 n. 485) a Persian ship was blockading the harbour in order to force the *dola* Fatḥ Allāh to pay a debt. By then the walled town had been deserted. Abū Mismār was forced to give allegiance again to the Wahhābīs, but shortly afterwards he associated himself with Muḥammad ʿAlī, the viceroy of Egypt, and in an agreement, authority in the Tihāma was surrendered to Muḥammad ʿAlī, who restored that territory to the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ in return for a payment of 20,000 bahars of coffee (El Batrik, *Egyptian-Yemeni relations*, 282). When in 1832 the Ottomans rewarded the Albanian Meḥmed Agha Türkče Bilmez with the governorship of Ḥidjāz for having mutinied in al-Djudda against Muḥammad ʿAlī, he occupied several coastal towns, but by 1837 the whole of the eastern shore of the Red Sea was in Egyptian hands (El Batrik, *op. cit.*, 286), although Ḥusayn Efendi from Belgrade was governor of al-Luḥayya when the French botanist Botta visited the port in 1836 (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 756). When the Egyptian troops moved southwards, Great Britain, having occupied Aden in 1837, exerted pressure on Muḥammad ʿAlī to evacuate the Arabian peninsula. The Egyptian forces accordingly left the coastal towns in 1840 and the territory was surrendered to Ḥusayn, the Sharīf of Abū ʿArīsh. In 1842 the latter admitted his dependence on the Ottoman Sultan and was created a Pasha and governor of the sea coast (el-Khazrají, *History of the Resúliyy dynasty of Yemen*, ed. Redhouse, i, Introd., 35). In 1844 the *Imām* Manṣūr ʿAlī tried to recover the territory, and after his deposition in 1848 his successor occupied several coastal towns and imprisoned Sharīf Ḥusayn. But the latter escaped and re-established his authority over the Tihāma (Redhouse, *op. cit.*, i, 36). In 1849 Ottoman troops under Tewfīḳ Pasha occupied the Yemen, and after the latter's untimely death, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad ʿAwn of Mecca was appointed governor of the whole of the Tihāma. Opposition to Turkish rule continued, however, among successive Zaydī *Imāms*, Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh, tribal *shaykhs* and occasionally the Sharīfs of Mecca. After subduing the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh, the Idrīsī family in Ṣabyā [see ʿASĪR, i, 709b] became fierce opponents to Turkish rule, so that the Ottoman forces were compelled to withdraw to the principal garrison towns. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 enabled the Ottomans to despatch troops rapidly to Yemen, and in 1871 they subdued ʿAsīr. In 1872 Ṣanʿāʾ became the centre of the Ottoman government in the *wilāyet* of Yaman, which was divided into four *sandjaḳs*, each headed by a *mutaṣarrif*: Markaz, ʿAsīr, Taʿizz and al-Ḥudayda, al-Luḥayya being a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the latter (Wenner, *Modern Yemen*, 62, n. 5). Its population was estimated in 1881 at 2,000. In 1882 Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾiḍ of the ʿĀʾiḍ family of the Banū Mughayd, who had been granted the hereditary chieftainship of the highland tribes of ʿAsīr by Fayṣal b. Saʿūd [*q.v.*], cut off the Turks in Abhā [*q.v.*] from the coast, and the Banū Marwān, who inhabit the region between Maydī (Mīdī) and Ḥaraḍ, attacked al-Luḥayya. The coastal towns were the only Turkish strongholds amidst the "state of almost chronic rebellion" (Baldry, *op. cit.*, 169) in ʿAsīr and Ḥidjāz, and served as bases for expeditions against the rebellious inland tribes. In 1899 even the garrison of al-Luḥayya came under attack. When a telegraph line was constructed between al-Luḥayya and al-Maydī, Turkish soldiers guarding the workmen were attacked. Al-Maydī, north of al-Luḥayya, was captured by tribesmen loyal to the *Imām* and became a centre for the illegal import of arms. In 1906 the Turkish troops were withdrawn from al-Luḥayya and al-Maydī, but not for long, because in the same year they marched from al-Luḥayya to Ḥādjdja, accompanied by Bonī Pasha, a *shaykh* of the pro-Turkish Banū Ḳays who inhabit the region east of al-Luḥayya. Shortly afterwards, Turkish soldiers of the al-Luḥayya garrison joined others from Djayzān, Zabīd and al-Mukhā in their march on al-Ḥudayda in order to demand their discharge papers: many had served seven years in Yemen but had received less than one year's pay (Baldry, *op. cit.*, 178-9). In 1909 Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī of Sabyā came to the assistance of tribes living to the east of al-Luḥayya who had been forced to pay illegal taxes levied by Bonī Pasha. He occupied the port, but it was soon recaptured by the Turks, for in the same year two gunboats, two transports and nine battalions were sent from Istanbul to al-Ḥudayda and al-Luḥayya. The latter port became Rifʿat Pasha's base for launching attacks against the Idrīsī tribesmen. In 1911 the *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* of al-Luḥayya set out with 200 troops against the inhabitants of al-

Zuhra who had captured a caravan of eighty camels. He was, however, defeated and besieged in al-Zuhra. Later that year, the Banū ʿAbs seized the wells outside al-Luḥayya, but due to dissension among the Arabs, Ḥamdī Bey, arriving from Kamarān, was able to regain them. Shortly afterwards, however, Ḥamdī Bey suffered a severe reverse in al-Luḥayya itself. A new Turkish expedition was prepared against Sayyid Muḥammad, Ḥamdī Bey having 2,500 troops ready in the port. But the advance was postponed because of the outbreak of the Turkish-Italian war in 1911 (see Green, *Italian relations*). In 1912 the Italian navy bombarded al-Luḥayya and extended the blockade of the coast to a point 15 km. north of the port, while 6,000 followers of Sayyid Muḥammad moved against al-Luḥayya. The whole coast between al-Ḳunfudha and al-Luḥayya was now under the effective control of Sayyid Muḥammad.

On the eve of the First World War, the Ottoman government desired to settle the difficulties in Yemen. *Imām* Yaḥyā of Ṣanʿāʾ and Sayyid Muḥammad (see al-Kibsī, *Imām Yaḥyā*) agreed to observe a truce. Most of the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Yemen, only small garrisons remained in the main towns of the Tihāma. During the War, Sayyid Muḥammad signed a treaty with the British Resident at Aden (May 1915) and overran much of the northern Tihāma. He did not, however, succeed in taking al-Luḥayya because of the Turkish artillery (*Handbook*, i, 141-2; Philby, *Arabia*, 239; Rihani, *Around the coasts*, 166-7). After the War, the Turks evacuated Arabia. In 1339/1920 Sayyid Muḥammad concluded a treaty with Ibn Saʿūd [*q.v.*], but after his death *Imām* Yaḥyā in 1925 annexed the entire Tihāma and its ports as far north as al-Maydī. During the war with *Imām* Yaḥyā, Saʿūdī forces occupied the coast as far south as Bayt al-Faḳīh, including al-Luḥayya. The treaty of al-Ṭāʾif in 1353/1934, defining the frontier between Saʿūdī Arabia and the Yemen, led to the attachment of al-Luḥayya to Yemen.

In 1970 the population of al-Luḥayya was estimated at 5,000. At present, the port has no commercial significance and is only a small base for fishing boats (*sunbuk*), traffic being limited to coastal shipping. The seaborne trade is now centred at the modern facilities of Aḥmadī, the new harbour of al-Ḥudayda.

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LUḲAṬA (A.), an article found (more precisely: "picked up"). The leading principle in the Muslim law regarding articles lost and found may be said to be the protection of the owner from the finder, sometimes mingled with social considerations. The picking up of articles found is generally permitted, although it is sometimes also said to be more meritorious to leave them. The finder is bound to advertise the article which he has found (or taken) for a whole year unless it is of quite insignificant value or perishable. The particulars of this advertising are minutely regulated by special rules. After the termination of the period, the finder, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, has the right to take possession of the article and do what he pleases with it, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa, only if he is "poor"; but the use of the articles as religious alms (*ṣadaḳa*) even before the expiry of a year is permitted in a preferential clause by Abū Ḥanifa and Mālik. If the owner appears before the expiry of the period, he receives the object back, as he does after the expiry of the period if it is still with the finder; but if the finder has disposed of it in keeping with the law, he is liable to the owner for its value; Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī alone recognised no further claim by the loser in this case. The establishment of ownership is facilitated, compared with the ordinary process in Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (in al-Bukhārī also; cf. his superscription to *Luḳaṭa*, *bāb* 1). As regards the finding of domestic animals in the desert, there are special regulations which are less onerous for the finder in the case of in-

jured animals and more onerous when they are not injured. Al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal have similarly some special regulations for articles found in the *Ḥaram*, the sacred territory in Mecca, which at bottom go back to the old idea of a special right of ownership by Allāh in the *Ḥaram* and articles found in it.

These prescriptions of the *fiḳh* are based on certain *ḥadīth*s which have been handed down with several variants (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Luḳaṭa*; Muslim, Constantinople 1329 ff., v, 133) which need not be quoted in detail here as they agree with the principles in all essentials. But it may be mentioned that in a very old stratum, later worked over, there is mention of a two- or three-year period. In the conception of the primitive jurists, the article found is sometimes described as deposited (*wadīʿa*); further, out of special religious scruples, one is careful not to pick up found dates and eat them, as they might belong to the *zakāt*; finally, there is a *ḥadīth* which forbids the Mecca pilgrim (*ḥādjdj*) to pick up articles found at all. From the superscription by Bukhārī to *Luḳaṭa*, *bāb* 11, it is evident that found articles might be handed over, or used to be handed over, to a government office; but their retention in the finder's care is justified by quoting a special tradition.

None of these traditions can be considered historical; at most, the prohibition by the Prophet in his oration after the occupation of Mecca from keeping articles found in the *Ḥaram* without advertising them (cf. above) may be genuine on account of its antiquated terminology. *Luḳaṭa* is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography: In addition to the pertinent sections in the *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* collections, cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*[3], 386; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 639 ff.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i, 328-9.

(J. SCHACHT)

AL-LUKKĀM, DJABAL, the name which the mediaeval Arabic geographers give to the mountain chain which is situated in the northern part of Syria and for long formed the frontier between the Islamic and the Byzantine lands. In classical times it was known as the Amanos/Amanus (Khamanu in the cuneiform inscriptions), but by the Turks as Alma Daghī (Elma Dağı in modern Turkish); since it has not been treated under ELMA DAGHĪ, it has seemed useful to consider it here, even though the Djabal al-Lukkām does not correspond exactly to these ramifications of the Taurus Mountains, which detaches itself from the dolomite massif of the Ḳaradede Dagh in the region of Marʿash, to the south of the Pyramus (Djayḥān), running parallel to the chains of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, surrounding with its eastern ridge the Gulf of Alexandretta, and falling steeply into the sea to the south of Raʾs al-Khinzīr (5,100 ft.), together with the Djabal Mūsā or Djabal Aḥmar (5,750 ft.).

The deep transverse valley of the Orontes and the morasses of al-ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*] separate the Alma Dagh from the Lebanon chains, which differ also in their geological formation (mostly limestone) from that of the Taurus system. With its off shoots, the Alma Dagh cuts off Cilicia entirely from Syria and the Mesopotamian hinterland; apart from a few passes that are mere mule-tracks, the pass of Baylān [*q.v.*] is the only connection between Asia Minor and Syria and has always been much frequented. The heights of the several mountains are not yet accurately known; the average height is said to be 3,650 ft., and some peaks reach 7,300 ft. or more; as the highest point, Dormeyer gives the Menhör, 7,450 ft. In the northern part, jagged and steep peaks prevail; in the south, more rounded outlines. The Alma Dagh with its fresh verdure is an attractive sight, for its sides are thickly overgrown with trees, out of which the bare dolomite peaks project. The ridge of the Alma Dagh north of Iskandarūn formed in Ottoman times, together with the sides sloping to east and west, an administrative unit, the Sandjaḳ Djabal Barakat; cf. Sachau in *SBPr. Ak. W.* (1892), 314.

Locally, no one common name is used for the whole of the Amanus; in the reports of European travellers and in the maps based on these, this fact has caused considerable confusion as to the nomenclature, because the same name is sometimes used for a part, sometimes for the whole. For the northern part of the Amanus we find the name Gyawr Dagh or Djawur Dagh, i.e. the mountains of the infidels; H. Kiepert in his *Carte générale de l'empire Ottoman* (Berlin 1892) makes the Alma Dagh reach about as far as Iṣlāḥiyye (Nicopolis, lat. 37° N.); the continuation of this mountain-chain as far as the neighbourhood of Marʿash he takes as Gyawr Dagh; cf. also H. Kiepert's map for Sachau's *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig 1883). In R. Kiepert's map for von Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900), Alma Dagh only appears as the name of one single mountain massif to the north of Baylān; the name Gyawr Dagh does not appear at all on it, in its stead we find Sur Dagh, Adje Dagh and Göydje Dagh as names of single peaks between Marʿash and Iṣlāḥiyye. The northern Gyawr Dagh is connected, according to E. Reclus, with the southern mountains by a mountain plateau in the depth of which is situated the Gyawr Göl (i.e. lake of the infidels). The name of Gyawr Dagh is occasionally extended to the whole of the Amanus (e.g. on the map of Favre and Mandrot). Reclus does not call the southern Amanus Alma Dagh, but, in accordance with a number of travellers, Aḳma Dagh. Benzinger is evidently mistaken in calling the southern part of the Amanus Gyawr Dagh and the northern part Aḳma Dagh. Czernik seems to stand quite alone in calling the Amanus Ḳara Dagh; this name is evidently the Turkish translation of Djabal al-Lukkām (also al-Ukkām), the "black mountains" (*ukkām*, Arabicised from the Syriac *ukkāmā* = "black") of the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages, the μαῦρου ὄρος of the Byzantines; for the name al-Lukkām designating nearly the same as Amanus, cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, 325. By a misnomer, the Alma or Aḳma Dagh in its more limited sense (north of Baylān) is also often called Nawlu Dagh by travellers, which name according to Kotschy (cf. also the map by R. Kiepert, mentioned above) belongs only to the northeastern part of the Djabal Arzūs (south of Baylān).

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98-100 (bibliography); Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 347; A. Janke, *Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden*, Berlin 1904, 31-2, 157-8 (Anm. 89-98); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 81-2; idem, *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, 22, 129, 132; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 22, 77; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 440 ff.; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, 41, 116, 127; Muḳaddasī, tr. Miquel, 238; Iṣṭak͟hrī, 14, 56; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 168/165 and index; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 264, ii, 71, viii, 68 = §§ 282, 503, 3194.

(M. Streck *)

LUḲMĀN, a legendary hero and sage of pre-Islamic Arabia. He appears in the Ḳurʾān as a monotheist and a wise father giving pious admonitions to his son. In later Islamic lore, he became the creator of fables par excellence and a striking parallel of Aesop.

1. Luḳmān in Old Arab tradition. The Arabs of the D͟jāhiliyya knew of a certain Luḳmān b. ʿĀd. The connection with the long-lost tribe of ʿĀd [*q.v.*] places him in the dimmest recesses of the Arab past. The two attributes upon which his fame apparently rested were his wisdom and his longevity. Many early poets, including Imruʾ al-Ḳays, al-Nābig͟ha, al-Aʿs͟hā and Ṭarafa, celebrate his wisdom (Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 133-5). To be "as wise as" or even "wiser than Luḳmān" are standard compliments in panegyrics. Because of his proverbial wisdom, Luḳmān was credited with being the architect, or one of the architects, of the famous Maʾrib [*q.v.*] dam (e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, iii, 366).

In ancient Arabian legend, Luḳmān was *al-Muʿammar* ("the Long-lived"). He is granted a long life. (According to later Muslim tradition, this was a reward for his piety, in contradistinction to the wickedness of his people.) From among several choices offered him, he chooses the duration of the lives of seven vultures, the vulture (*nasr*) being the most popular symbol of longevity among the Arabs (Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabisch. Phil.*, Leiden 1899, ii, pp. li-lii; cf. Ps. ciii, 5, where the Hebr. cognate *nes͟her*, meaning "eagle", has the same significance). Luḳmān nurtures and protects each of his seven vultures in turn. The last one is named Lubad which means "enduring" or "remaining" (*LA* and *TA*, s.v.). He finally dies, however, and with him Luḳmān. This story is cited in explanation of the old Arab proverb "eternity (*al-abad*) outlasts Lubad" (al-Maydānī, *Amt͟hāl al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1310/1892-3, i, 290-1). According to the different versions of the tale, Luḳmān lived 560, 1,000, 3,000, or 3,500 years. In Islamic times, he is considered second in longevity only to al-K͟hiḍr (al-Sid͟jistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur arabisch. Phil.*, ii, 2).

It is difficult to know what details beyond this essential nucleus are of pre-Islamic origin and what are the creations of later Muslim narrators. It is possible, for example, that the tradition that includes Luḳmān among the ambassadors sent by the drought-stricken ʿĀdites to pray for rain at the Kaʿba may have its roots in pagan Meccan lore (al-Ṭabarī, i, 235). Already in its pre-Islamic form, the Luḳmān legend exhibits motifs found elsewhere. R. Basset (*Loqmân Berbère*, pp. xxvii-xxix) finds a remarkable parallel in the interpretation given by Sidonius Apollinarius of Romulus's watching for twelve birds. The birds turn out to be twelve vultures, signifying hat Rome will endure for twelve centuries.

2. Luḳmān in the Ḳurʾān and the Islamic tradition. Ṣūra XXXI, which belongs to the Third Meccan period, bears the name of Luḳmān. No allusion is made to either his ʿĀdite origin or his longevity. Likewise, there is no mention of Luḳmān in connection with the various references to ʿĀd and its prophet Hūd throughout the Ḳurʾān.

The Ḳurʾānic Luḳmān is a sage who is found only in the sūra that bears his name. He first appears in v. 12, where it is stated that God gave him wisdom or, perhaps as has been recently suggested, a book of maxims (see D. Gutas, *Arabic wisdom literature: nature and scope*, in *JAOS*, ci [1981], 50-4, 57-8). In vv. 13 and 16-19, Luḳmān offers pious counsel to his son. The admonitions bear the unmistakable stamp of ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. Three times, he begins with the formula "O my dear son" (*yā bunayya*) that prefaces so many of the aphorisms of Aḥiḳar (Ar. Ḥayḳār). R. Harris has pointed out the parallel between v. 18: "Be modest in thy gait and lower thy voice, for the most hateful of voices is that of the ass", and Aḥiḳar's maxim: "Incline thy head downward, soften thy voice, and be courteous ... For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build many houses each day" (Harris *et alii*, *The story of Aḥiḳar*, p. lxxvi; cf. Ar. text in *ibid.*, 4, 11). Even though vv. 20-34 no longer cite Luḳmān, they partially reflect the same genre. Thus v. 27: "if all the trees on the earth were pens and the sea were replenished after it with seven seas [of ink], the words of God would not be exhausted" can be traced back to Jewish wisdom literature, where it is found in numerous variations (R. Köhler, *Und wenn der Himmel wär' Papier*, in *Orient. u. Occident*, ii, 546-59; idem, in *Ethnolog. Mitteil. aus Ungarn*, i, 311-23, 441-53; H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich 1956, ii, 587). However, this verse is later than the rest of the sūra and was revealed in Medina during a dispute with the Jews. Its inclusion indicates that it was considered appropriate to the general tone of the sura.

Once the Ḳurʾān had consecrated Luḳmān as the wise utterer of proverbs, everything that was thought pious or sensible could be attributed to him. Wahb b. Munabbih is credited with saying that he had read 10,000 chapters (*bāb*) of Luḳmān's wisdom (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1850, 27). The Arabic collections of proverbs (notably that of al-Maydānī) attribute much to Luḳmān (see Basset, *op. cit.*, pp. xliv-liv). Al-T͟haʿlabī devotes a chapter of his *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Būlāḳ 1286/1869, 275-7) to the wisdom of Luḳmān. Many sayings seems to link up with the Sūra of Luḳmān. v. 14 advises reverence for parents, but warns against being led astray by them to worship false gods. Al-T͟haʿlabī's authority makes Luḳmān say: "Be amenable to your friends, but never so far as to act against God's laws". There is much that is reminiscent of Aḥiḳar. For example, Luḳmān teaches: "A father's beating his son is like water for a crop." The parallel maxim in Aḥiḳar states: "Spare not thy son, for strokes of the rod are to a boy like dung to the garden." Luḳmān says: "When thou seest people who remember God, join them; if thou hast knowledge, it will be useful to you with them, and they will increase it; if thou hast none, they will teach thee; and when thou seest people who do not remember God, do not join them; for if thou hast knowledge, it will not avail thee with them, and if thou art ignorant they will increase your ignorance".

Aḥiḳar says: "Join the wise man, then thou wilt become as wise as he, but join not the brawler and babbler, lest thou become associated with him". Luḳmān gives excellent advice for one going on a journey, and also adds that he should be armed. So too does Aḥiḳar. Al-Maydānī (*Amthāl*, i, 97) attributes to Luḳmān the dictum: "Consult the physician before thou fallest ill!" This corresponds to the advice of Ben Sīra: "Honour the physician before thou hast need of him" (*Ecclesiasticus*, xxxiii, 1).

It may be that many of these proverbs that belong to the general treasury of Near Eastern wisdom literature had already begun to penetrate into the Arabian Peninsula in the Djāhilī period. The Christian Arab poet ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥīra knew of Aḥiḳar, whom he calls al-Ḥayḳār (see Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman*, 25; also Goitein, *The present-day Arabic proverb*, in idem, *Studies*, 371, 376 ff.). Already at this early time, the dicta of foreign sages may have begun to accrue to the indigenous Luḳmān al-Ḥakīm.

Muslim legend is fond of making the sages and wise men of the past into prophets. But since the Ḳurʾān merely says that Luḳmān received wisdom from God, all of the traditional scholars with the sole exception of ʿIkrima agree that he was not a prophet (al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 275). Nevertheless, he receives mention in most of books of the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* genre [*q.v.*]. Most accounts tell that God offered Luḳmān the choice between becoming a prophet or a sage, and that he chose the latter. He even becomes vizier to King David, who tells him: "Blessed art thou, O Luḳmān. You have been given wisdom and spared tribulation, while David has been given authority and has suffered trials and rebellion" (*ibid.*). Most of the traditions give him a biblical genealogy connected variously with Abraham, Job and even Balaam (see 4. below). He is said to have lived down to the time of the prophet Jonah. He is also called judge of the Jews (*ibid.*, 275, citing al-Wāḳidī). Some accounts make Luḳmān the author of a book. Supposedly, Muḥammad was shown the scroll (*madjalla*) of Luḳmān and asked if the book in his possession was comparable to it, to which the Prophet replies: "These are indeed fine words, but what I have is better, namely the Ḳurʾān revealed by God" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 427; also al-Ṭabarī, i, 1208).

3. Luḳmān the writer of fables. At some time during the Middle Ages, Luḳmān came to be regarded as the author of fables as well. This is perhaps due in part to the fact that *amthāl* means both proverbs and fables in Arabic. Luḳmān thus became the Aesop of the Arabs. Much was transferred to Luḳmān that was told in Europe of Aesop. The tendencies to this can be traced quite early. The Ḳurʾānic commentators already relate traditions that he was a "thick-lipped, flat-footed black slave" of Ethiopian or Nubian origin (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1328/1910, xxi, 43). He is also said to have been an Egyptian, a carpenter, a shepherd, and to have had deformed legs. These features are obviously modelled on the story of Aesop. So too are several of the anecdotes about Luḳmān. For example, Luḳmān's master orders him to butcher a sheep and set the choicest parts before him. Luḳmān gives him the tongue and the heart. His master then orders him to slaughter another sheep and bring him the worst parts. Once again Luḳmān sets a heart and a tongue before him, for there is nothing better than a good tongue and a good heart and nothing worse than evil ones (in Maximus Planudes, *Vita Aesopi*, only the tongue is mentioned and not the heart; see Eberhardt, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, Leipzig 1872, 259). On another occasion, Luḳmān's fellow-slaves eat their master's figs and accuse Luḳmān. At Luḳmān's suggestion the master makes them all drink warm water. Luḳmān vomits only water, the other slaves figs and water. Once, Luḳmān's master in his cups had wagered he would drink up the sea. Sobered, he asks Luḳmān's advice. The latter demands of those who had taken up the wager that they should first dam up all the rivers flowing into the sea, as his master had promised to drink up the sea only but not its tributaries. This last motif is widely disseminated in folk tales of the type of the Emperor and the Abbot (Aarne-Thomson Type no. 922; the folktale and its parallels are discussed at length in W. Anderson, *Kaiser und Abt*, FCC no. 42, Helsinki 1923, especially p. 139, where reference is made to Luḳmān; also Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii, 60-2). These anecdotes are also found in the biography of Aesop by the 14th century monk Planudes, who drew upon older material. The story of the wager to drink the sea is known as early as Plutarch's *Dinner of the seven wise men* (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 151B-E) and the Midrash (*Leviticus Rabba*, 33).

The older Arabic literature does not know fables of Luḳmān. They first appear in the later Middle Ages. The Paris manuscript published by J. Derenbourg is dated 1299 and is from Christian circles. It contains 41 fables. These fables have been published frequently and discussed in detail, especially by Derenbourg, Basset and Chauvin. Out of the 41 fables, only no. 22 has no clear parallels: the thorn bush begs the gardener to tend it so that kings may delight in its flowers and fruits; the gardener waters it twice a day, and the thorn bush overruns the whole garden. Basset (*Loqmân Berbère*, 98, n. 1) posits a possible connection with Jotham's parable in Judges, ix, 8-15, while H. Schwartzbaum has suggested a link with the talmudic proverb-fable about the thorn and the cabbage (*The Mishle Shuʿalim of Rabbi Berechiah ha-Nakdan*, Kiron 1979, p. xlvii, n. 80, citing BT *Baba Qama*, 92a-b). All the other Luḳmān fables with the exception of the thirteenth (the gnat and the bull) are found in the Syriac fables of Sophos (= Aesopus) published by J. Landsberger (*Die Fabeln des Sophos*, Posen 1859). The only fables of Luḳmān not found in the Greek Aesop are no. 9 (the gazelle in the well), no. 22 (the thornbush), no. 24 (the wasp and the bee) and No. 40 (the man and the snakes). It has further been observed that in these fables, a number of important animals that were indigenous among the Arabs, such as the ostrich, the hyena, the jackal and the camel, play no part. As these fables first appear in the later Middle Ages, and on the basis of other evidence, there can be no doubt that we have here a translation and adaptation of the Syriac version of Aesop originating in Christian circles in Mamlûk Syria.

4. Luḳmān and related legendary figures. Luḳmān is a composite, and hence a many-sided figure: he is a *muʿammar*, hero, sage, maker of proverbs and author of fables. It is no wonder then that he has often been compared and identified with other legendary heroes, such as Prometheus, Alkmaion, Lucian and Solomon. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Zawzanī makes Luḳmān the teacher of Empedocles (*Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 614). Three of these equations deserve closer examination: (1) with Balaam, (2) with Aḥiḳar

and (3) with Aesop. The identification with Balaam is old. Al-Thaʿalabī and al-Bayḍāwī (although not al-Ṭabarī apparently) give the following genealogy: Luḳmān b. Baʿūr b. Nāḥūr b. Tārikh. It would seem that some Muslim exegetes sought for something corresponding to Luḳmān in the Bible. They found this in Balaam, as the roots *b-l-ʿ* and *l-ḳ-m* both mean "to swallow". This identification may have been reinforced by the talmudic tradition that Balaam (and also Job) was one of the seven gentile prophets who preached to the nations of the world (BT *Baba Batra*, 15b). This became a Muslim tradition which entered the Hebrew *Mishlē Sendebar*, where Luḳmān is one of the seven wise teachers of the king's son (ed. and tr. M. Epstein, Philadelphia 1967, 54-5), and also the *Disciplina clericalis* of the Spanish Jewish apostate Petrus Alfonsi (ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm, Heidelberg 1911, 3), where it specifically states: "Balaam qui lingua arabica vocatur Lucaman". It is clear that for Muḥammad and his contemporaries, there was no confusion between Luḳmān and Balaam. Neither is there any confusion in al-Ṭabarī, who does not make Luḳmān the son of Beor and who relates the story of Balʿam b. Bāʿūr in its proper place and with the correct details (al-Ṭabarī, i, 508-10). On the other hand, al-Thaʿlabī makes Luḳmān Beor's son, while at the same time devoting a full narrative to Bilʿām b. Bāʿūrā (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 186-9). Al-Thaʿlabī and others like him were probably aware of the inconsistency, but wished to connect Luḳmān with the Bible at any cost. Horovitz has suggested that perhaps early Muslim traditionalists' Jewish informants connected Luḳmān with the Edomite king Bela son of Beor in Gen. xxxvi, 32 (*Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii [1925], 173 f.), and that this was the source of the confusion.

Luḳmān's similarity to Aḥiḳar was also noticed long ago, but it was only in the early 20th century that the identification found a vigorous champion in Rendel Harris, who devotes ch. vii of his *Story of Aḥiḳar* to it. He bases his identification on the agreement of Sūra XXXI, 18, with Aḥiḳar's warning about the voice of the ass, the formulaic "O my son" in both, and the Arab hypotheses which compare Luḳmān with other figures in legend and history, notably to the relationship of Luḳmān, Aḥiḳar and Aesop. The arguments, however, are not convincing. The Aḥiḳar legend was known in the Arab world, and a considerable number of Arabic and Karshūnī manuscripts have survived. Many of the aphorisms attributed to Aḥiḳar, like those attributed to Luḳmān, were part of the common stock of Near Eastern lore and may be found in the Bible, the Apocrypha and elsewhere. The use of the introductory formula "O my son" was standard in admonitory literature of this sort, and is found in *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira*, to mention only the most outstanding examples.

Any real relation between the personalities of Luḳmān and Aḥiḳar comes through Aesop. The story of Aesop shows originally a close relationship to that of Aḥiḳar. The later legend of Luḳmān has borrowed much of the story of Aesop and thus become obliquely like the Aḥiḳar story, but in reality Luḳmān is not directly connected with Aḥiḳar but with Aesop.

5. **Luḳmān in Persian and Turkish literature and lore.** Luḳmān was a fairly popular figure in Persian literature. A lengthy chapter is devoted to him in the 5th/11th-century Persian *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* of al-Nīsābūrī (ed. Ḥ. Yaghmāʾī, Tehran 1340/1961, 333-8), which contains anecdotes found in the Arabic *ḳiṣaṣ* as well as some new material. Rūmī devotes several stories to Luḳmān in the *Mathnawī*. In addition to the well-known anecdote of Luḳmān's innocence proven by drinking warm water (*Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, GMS iv/1, London 1925, 220-1), Luḳmān appears as an idealised ascetic who is a pure slave (*banda-yi pāk*) to his earthly and heavenly masters and thus is master of himself and free from sensual passion (*khʷādja būd wa az hawā āzād būd*). In this story, Luḳmān is the true master and his master the slave. He exchanges clothes and roles with Luḳmān when they travel. He would gladly set him free, but knows that Luḳmān has found true freedom in servitude (*ibid.*, 326-9). In another anecdote, Luḳmān's master will only eat food from which Luḳmān has partaken and is enraptured even with the scraps. One day upon receiving a gift of a melon, he gives Luḳmān slice after slice. The latter eats it as if it were honey. When the master himself tastes the final slice his mouth is blistered by the sourness. He asks Luḳmān how he could eat such poison. Luḳmān replies that he had received such bounty from him that he could not do otherwise. The love of the giver makes the bitter sweet (*ibid.*, 329-32). Saʿdī relates a story in which Luḳmān is once again an idealised ascetic in the Persian mould. By mistake, he is placed into cruel slavery for a year, bearing all in silence. When the mistake is realised, he harbours no grudge and says that he has learned compassion from the experience (*Būstān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, ed. M. ʿA. Farūghī, Teheran 1964, 328).

Luḳmān was known to the Turks from both Arabic and Persian literature. In addition to his standard roles, he also appears in Turkish folklore as an Arab physician by extension of his title *ḥakīm* (see W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 346). In one tale, Luḳmān teaches the adventurer Meḥmed the Mad how to cure the wife and daughter of the king and the wife of the grand vizier, all three of whom had grown horns (W. S. Walker and A. E. Uysal, *Tales alive in Turkey*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 33).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see C. H. Toy, *The Lokman-legend*, in *JAOS*, xiii (1889), pp. clxxii-clxxvi; L. Leroy, *Vie, préceptes et testament de Lokman*, in *ROC*, xiv (1909), 225-55, where some very important texts are given; H. Schwartzbaum, *Jewish and World folklore*, Berlin 1968, contains many references and parallels to Lukman; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīliya*, Wiesbaden 1978, 34 ff., for Luḳmān's place in the esoteric doctrines of the Seveners. Still very useful for the fables of Luḳmān and their many relationships is V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège 1892-1922, iii, 1-82. For Aḥiḳar, see T. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman*, in *AGW Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., N.F. xiv/4, Berlin 1913; F. C. Conybeare, J. R. Harris and A. S. Lewis, *The Story of Aḥiḳar*[2], Cambridge 1913; R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1913, 715-84.

(B. Heller - [N. A. Stillman])

LUḲMĀN b. SAYYID ḤUSAYN al-ʿĀshūrī al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī originated from Urmiya in western Persia. It is not known when he, or perhaps already his family before him, migrated to the Ottoman empire. Nor do we know much about his studies and career. He was apparently a protégé of the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Sokullu (d. 987/1579) and of the influential Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] whom he

praised as his benefactor in one of his works (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum*, 53b, and H. Sohrweide in *Der Islam*, xlvi [1970], 292). In 1569 Selīm II appointed him as *Shāhnāmedji* (official historian-panegyrist; for this office, see Babinger, 163-4); as such he was the successor of Eflāṭūn Shīrwānī and Fetḥullāh ʿĀrif. In his works, Luḳmān gives two different dates for this appointment: Shawwāl 976/March 1569 (N. ʿĀṣim, in *TOEM*, 430) and the end of Muḥarram 977/middle of July 1569 (A. Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, 107, and Rieu, *Catalogue*, 53b; see also Babinger, 164-5). To this office was attached a *ziʿāmet* which yielded yearly between 30,000 and 34,000 *aḳčes* (*TOEM*, 430-1). As *Shāhnāmedji*, Luḳmān was mainly active during the reign of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95); he is said to have been deposed soon after the latter's death and appointed as *Defterdār* [*q.v.*]. He died in 1010/1601-2 (*ʿOthmanlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 136) or later (*TOEM*, 432; Babinger, 165).

As was the case with his predecessors, Luḳmān's literary gifts were under discussion. It is noteworthy that contemporary biographers of poets and learned men do not consecrate a section to him in their works. The well-known historian ʿĀlī (d. 1007/1599), on the other hand, criticises him caustically (*TOEM*, 431 and Sohrweide, *op. cit.*, 290-2; but see Rieu, *Catalogue*, 53b). Until now, Luḳmān's extensive literary production taken has been into account mainly by art historians because of the costly presentation of several manuscripts and because of the miniatures by well-known painters which they contain. The pictures are a culminating point of historical Ottoman miniature-painting (I. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, I, Paris 1966, and N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974). From a literary and historical point of view, Luḳmān's works have hardly been evaluated; because of his office as court poet, whose task was to extol the ruling dynasty, the choice of his themes was limited. Inevitably, many themes had to be repeated and were partly treated in the various works almost at the same time.

Luḳmān's works, written in Persian and Turkish, in both poetry and prose, are the following: 1. *Ẓafar-nāma*, known as the *History of Sulṭān Sulaymān*, deals with the final years of the sultan (1561-6). Brought to an end in 986/1578-9, it is an epic Persian poem, written in the same metre (*mutaḳārib*) as Firdawsī's famous work. It was described by V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin 1958, no. 413. 2. *Ḳiyāfat al-insāniyya fī shamāʾil al-ʿothmāniyya*, also known as *Shamāʾil-i ʿothmāniyya* or *Shamāʾil-nāma-yi Āl-i ʿOthmān*, describes the first twelve Ottoman sultans and gives, besides their portraits, short pieces of information on their reigns. It was probably finished in 987/1579-80 (Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 39). Rieu, *Catalogue*, 54a, gives the year 997, but this is likely to be an error since the Munich manuscript, which he quotes as evidence, contains another of Luḳmān's works. 3. *Shāh-nāma-yi Salīm Khān*, an epic Persian poem on the reign of Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). According to the colophon of the illuminated manuscript in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, which was prepared for the benefit of the sultan, the poem was finished in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 988/January 1581 (Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 34). The signature of the manuscript must read: A. 3595, Table 16 and p. 80, 27, see also Karatay, *Farsça yazmalar kataloğu*, no. 788, where no date of the work or of the manuscript is indicated. 4. *Hunar-nāma*, a Turkish work in prose in two volumes. The first volume, composed between 987/1579 and 992/1584, describes the appearance, the qualities and the virtues of the Ottoman sultans as far as Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), together with the most important events of their reign. The second volume was finished in 996/1587-8 and deals with the reign of Sultan Süleymān (926-74/1520-66). The work is written in simple Turkish. Originally, two other volumes were planned on Selīm II and Murād III, see TOEM, 103-11, and further, Karatay, *Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, no. 688-9; Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 44-6. 5. *Shāhanshāh-nāma*, an epic poem in Persian on the reign of Murād III in two volumes. The first volume comprises the period until 985/1577 or 989/1581. In the *Hunar-nāma*, Luḳmān says that he presented the work, consequently this first volume, to the sultan in the middle of Ramaḍān 985/ end of November 1577 (*TOEM*, 107-8), probably for it to be checked beforehand, as was usual in such cases. Atasoy and Çağman, *op. cit.*, 36, 50, take the year 989/1581 from the colophon of the manuscript. Karatay, *Farsça yazm.*, no. 792, attributes the first volume not to Luḳmān, but to an unknown predecessor in the office named ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī. However, only the above-mentioned Eflāṭūn and ʿĀrif are known as Luḳmān's predecessors. Volume ii deals with the period 990/1582 to 996/1588. The text was finished in 1001/1592-3, but since the making and the finishing off of the manuscript stretched out until 1006/1597-8, the finished work could only be presented to Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603). 6. *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, a universal history in Turkish prose, arranged genealogically, in four sections: 1. The creation of the world. 2. the Prophets. 3. the life of Muḥammad, the caliphs and the Islamic dynasties. 4. the principalities in Anatolia and the Ottomans until the year 991/1583. The work was possibly finished after the death of Murād III (1003/1595), whom the Dublin manuscript mentions as having died. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, no. 414, suggested *Nasab-nāma* as another possible title. Karatay, *Türkçe yazm.*, no. 678, calls it *Silsila-nāma*; the *Zubdat* which he ascribes to Luḳmān in no. 733 seems to be another work. 7. *Mudjmal al-ṭūmār*, a history of the Ottoman dynasty until 992/1584, in Turkish prose. Only the sultans Süleymān, Selīm II and Murād III are dealt with in detail, and the two last mentioned in a purely annalistic way; see Rieu, *op. cit.*, 54-5. 8. *Shāh-nāma-yi Āl-i ʿOthmān*, a rhymed chronicle in Turkish of the Ottoman sultans, covering the beginning of the dynasty until 999/1590-1, and written in the same year; see Rieu, *op. cit.*, 186-7.

Besides these principal works, Luḳmān is said to have left some other writings or translations (*TOEM*, 107; Babinger, 165). The *Sūr-nāma*, famous for its illustrations and composed by an unknown *Dīwān* secretary, was erroneously ascribed to Luḳmān by R. Ettinghausen (*Türkische Miniaturen vom 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, UNESCO Taschenbücher der Kunst, Tafel-Verzeichnis 18-21), see Karatay, *Türkçe yazm.*, no. 703; Atasoy and Çağman 39-42.

Bibliography: given in the text.

(H. Sohrweide)

LUḲMĀNDJI b. Ḥabīb Allāh b. Mullā Ḳāḍīkhān Rāmpūrī, was a great Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī savant of India and was given the title *bāb al ʿilm* ("the gate of knowledge") by the thirty-ninth *dāʿī*, Ibrāhīm Wadjīh al-Dīn. He was the teacher of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Madjdūʿ, the author of the *Fihrist*. He died on 8

Djumādā II 1173/27 January 1760. His works, very few of which seem to have been preserved, deal with the history of the *daʿwa* in India, biographies of *daʿwa* dignitaries, Ismāʿīlī doctrine, and the refutation of dissident groups.

His son Walībhāʾī (or Walī Muḥammad) was also a distinguished scholar, while his grandson Hibat Allāh, the mentor of the forty-third *dāʿī*, ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn, was considered one of two learned men of his time, the other being ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Hamdānī. For a while, Hibat Allāh supported the son of al-Madjdūʿ, who had claimed to be *al-ḥudjdja al-laylī* of the hidden *imām* with whom he was in contact. In 1201/1786-7 he was honoured in the *daʿwa* by the forty-second *dāʿī*, Yūsuf Nadjm al-Dīn. He died probably after 1214/1799-1800.

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LÜLEBURGAZ (in old texts variously written as Birghos, Bürghūs, Borghūs, Čatal Burghaz, etc.; the form "Lüleburgaz" is of recent date and related to the industry of pipe-making), a town of more than 25,000 inhabitants in Turkish Thrace and a minor administrative and agricultural centre on the highway from Edirne to Istanbul, 75 km. south-east of Edirne. It is situated on level ground in a wide valley on the southern bank of a tributary of the Ergene River. In the past it was one of the largest caravan halting-places on the Belgrade-Edirne-Istanbul highway, the chief artery of Ottoman Europe. In addition, it was an administrative centre; in the 15th century, a *nāḥiye*, and from the 16th century, the seat of a *ḳāḍī* in the *liwā* of the Pasha. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 20) mentions it as a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Vize, Ewliyā Čelebi as belonging to Kïrḳ kilise. In the 18th century, it belonged (once again?) to Vize. In the second half of the last century, it belonged at first to the *sandjaḳ* of Tekfūrdaghï (Tekirdağ), in which Vize was incorporated (*Sāl-nāmes* of the Edirne *wilāyet* of 1281-3/1864-76). Later, it was incorporated in the *sandjaḳ* of Kïrḳ kilise (cf. *Sāl-nāme* for Edirne 1310/1892-3). Today it is a part of the *il* (*vilâyet*) of Kırklareli.

Lüleburgaz goes back to a Byzantine stronghold, Arkadiopolis (Tomaschek, *Hämus-Halbinsel*, 324; Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, 133). The name Burgaz is a corruption of the Greek Pyrgos "tower", thus giving a hint of the size of this castle.

The Ottoman chroniclers (Oruč, ʿĀshïḳ-pasha-zāde, Anonymus-Giese, Neshrī, Saʿd al-Dīn) unanimously place its conquest between 759/1358 and 761/1360, and all of them noted that the castle was deserted when the Ottoman *ghāzī*s took it. They burnt it down, according to the first three sources, demolished it from one side to the other according to Saʿd al-Dīn, and levelled it according to Neshrī. When Bertrandon de la Broquière passed through it in 1433, he noted "a town which they call Pirgasi which has also torn-down walls and where no others reside but Turks". The accounts of 16th century Western and Ottoman travellers, as well as the extant monuments, allow us to reconstruct the resurrection of Lüleburgaz. Arnold van Harff, passing through it in 1499, is still silent about it. De Schepper called it in 1533 already "la ville de Bosgais", but had to pass the night in a local school. By then it must have been a small borough with a Friday mosque and a *ḥammām*. The latter is mentioned by Meḥmed-i ʿĀshïḳ. The mosque, the Eski Djāmiʿ, or Ḳāḍī Djāmiʿi, is still extant and situated near the bridge. It is a work of the early classical phase of Ottoman architecture, from the time of Bāyezīd II or from a few years later. When Hans Dernschwam (ed. Babinger, 242) passed through "Borgas" in 1555, he still saw the gate and walls of the old castle and noted a stone bridge over the river; but he still had to spend the night in Ḳarïshtïran, a settlement 10 km. to the south-east of Lüleburgaz, which possessed three caravanserais. A few years after Dernschwam's visit, the Beglerbegi of Rumeli and later Grand Vizier, Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha, laid the foundations for the total reconstruction of the town and its transformation into a caravan halting-place of the first order. A new stop between Ḳarïshtïran and Baba eski was a necessity because the distance between the two was far too great (43 km.) to cover in one day. In 967/1599-60 he completed his exquisite domed mosque and vast *medrese* with 24 student cells. A long inscription, still preserved, gives the date in the form of a chronogram. Seven years later he completed the erection of two spacious caravanserais, with separate stables for camels and horses, separate rooms for female travellers and state officials, an *ʿimāret*, a double *ḥammām*, a school and street lined with 65 stone-vaulted shops between the *medrese* and the caravanserais. The whole complex covers an area of 170 × 150 metres and is one of the most harmonious civic centres ever erected by the Ottomans. The works were designed by the famous architect Sinān and appear in various places on the lists of his works drawn up by his friends and contemporaries. The date of completion of the two caravanserais is given in the extant inscription in the form of a chronogram, whose numerical value gives 973/1565-6, the first year of Ṣoḳollu's Grand Vizierate. The chronogram also found its way to the work of Ewliyā Čelebī (iii, 301, of the printed edition). This date is further corroborated by the notes of the Italian traveller Marc Antonio Pigafetta, who saw the workmen still active in 1567. Since that time a host of travellers have mentioned the buildings, either with a few words or with a detailed description.

Melchior Besolt called "Pregasch" or "Burgasch" in 1584 a "stättlin" and described the buildings in detail. He mentions the "fine new stone bridge", also built by "Mechemed Basscha", who likewise laid out a stone paved road half-a-mile long. Meḥmed-i ʿĀshïḳ remained some time in "Birghos" in 986/1578-9 and 998/90, and called it "a small town without walls". He mentions a ruined and uninhabited castle and noted that the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Pasha "constructed in Birghus a pleasant mosque, having within the circuit of its enclosure a lofty *medrese* and for the overnight stay of the sons of the road a large *ribāṭ* and a public kitchen. It was ordained that for all guests a plate of food from the kitchen was placed before every fireplace of this *ribāṭ*. A *ḥammām* and a small market street were built next to the mosque. In Birghos is further an unpretentious old *ḥammām*. The environs of Birghos comprise well-cultivated land which yields excellent grain". The account of Meḥmed-i ʿĀshïk passed in a shortened form into the work of Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, see *Rumeli und Bosna*. Reinhold Lubenau, travelling in 1587-8, called Lüleburgaz a "feiner Marckt", and adds the detail that the buildings were partly situated in "schoner, groser Gartten". All buildings were covered with lead. Lubenau found the mosque especially beautiful,

and adds that all travellers, Turk, Jew or Christian, received three times a day a dish of rice and mutton, this for three days in succession. The most detailed description of this Turkish "Grand Hotel" is from Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited the town in 1061/1651. It was then a *ḳāḍīlīḳ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳirḳ kilise; a township of 700 houses, divided into six *maḥalles*. It had five places of prayer, of which three were Friday mosques, 300 shops and seven *mektebs*. All travellers, regardless of their religion, received twice daily a dish of soup, a loaf of bread, a candle and fodder for their horses. On Fridays they got stewed rice with meat and onions and sweetened saffron rice (*zerde*). A number of other travellers mention the buildings and the free distribution of food, but add hardly any new details.

Lüleburgaz continued to function as a caravan halt throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but it seems to have remained a relatively small place. This period of prosperity ended abruptly in 1214/1799-1800 when a gang of *Krdžalis* under the robber baron Ḳara Feyḍ captured it and burnt it down, together with the two caravanserais. When, under Maḥmūd II, order was restored in Thrace, the caravanserais had to be rebuilt from their foundations. An inscription with a long eulogy on the good works of Maḥmūd, placed above the old inscription of 967/1559-60, still reminds us of this work. The vaulted shopping street and the two caravanserais, as they appeared just before the fire, are depicted in two very accurate drawings by Luigi Mayer. Lüleburgaz remained a small place throughout the 19th century. The *Sāl-nāme* of the Edirne *wilāyet* of 1287/1870-1 calls it the centre of a *ḳaḍā'* with 33 villages, and with 2,056 male Muslim inhabitants and 3,429 male non-Muslim inhabitants. The town itself numbered according to the *Sāl-nāme* of 1291/1874-5, 984 houses with 834 male Muslim inhabitants and 1,528 male non-Muslim inhabitants. There were three Friday mosques, two *mesdjids*, one church, one synagogue, 282 shops and one *ḥammām*. The size and shape of the town had thus remained basically the same as in the time of Ewliyā Čelebi.

With the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, all territories beyond Edirne were lost and the caravan road suffered an eclipse. The two caravanserais of Lüleburgaz and the *ʿimāret* were taken by the army and transformed into a barracks for the cavalry and the fourth battery of gunners. The old Ḳāḍī Djāmiʿi was turned into an ammunition store. The *Sāl-nāme* of 1310/1892-3 gives the same number of buildings in the town, but adds the name of two *tekkes*, one of the Gülshaniyya [see GULSHANĪ, IBRĀHĪM] and one of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] order. This source also gives detailed information about the composition of the population of the district of Lüleburgaz. The total number of inhabitants had augmented considerably, from about 10,000 in 1870 to 15,313 in 1893. The Muslim population had grown faster than the non-Muslim element. The Muslims now numbered 7,079 males and females altogether, and there were 6,450 Greeks (Rūm), 720 Bulgars, 220 Jews, 662 Gypsies (largely Muslim), and 38 Armenians, besides some non-permanent residents, also largely Muslim.

During the First Balkan War, Lüleburgaz was occupied by the Bulgarian army, but the Turks took it back in 1913. From 1918 till 1923 the town and all of Thrace were occupied by the Greeks. After Thrace had returned to Turkey and the Greek population had been exchanged for Turks from the now Greek Macedonia by the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, Lüleburgaz recovered slowly from the blows which it had received. The town was to profit greatly from the decay of Edirne in the forties and fifties, and did not cease to develop when Edirne recovered. In 1958 Lüleburgaz numbered 13,000 inhabitants; today this has passed the 25,000 mark. It is at present a prosperous and relatively well-built town, almost entirely Muslim Turkish. The two caravanserais and the *ʿimāret* of Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha disappeared in the troubled times around World War I; but the mosque, *medrese*, *ḥammām*, shopping street and *mekteb* are still standing, and rank among the best of all extant monuments of Muslim architecture in European Turkey outside Edirne.

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LŪLĪ, one of the names for gipsies in Persia; parallel forms are: in Persian, *lūrī*, *lōrī* (*Farhang-i Djahāngīrī*); in Balūčī, *lōṛī* (Denys Bray, *Census of Baluchistan*, 1911, iv, 143, gives the popular etymology from *lōṛ* = "lot, share").

The name *lūlī* is first found in a legend relating to the reign of Bahrām Gūr (420-38 A.D.). At the request of this Sāsānid King, who wished to amuse his subjects, the Indian king Shangal (?) sent to Persia 4,000 (12,000) Indian musicians. Ḥamza (350/961), ed. Berlin-Kaviani, 38, calls them al-Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], Firdawsī (Mohl, vi, 76-7), Lūriyān; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar al-siyar* (*ca.* 429/1037), ed. Zotenberg, 567, says that from them are descended the black Lūrī (*al-Lūriyūn al-sūdān*), skilful players of the flute: the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* (*ca.* 520/1126), tr. Mohl, in *JA*, xii (1841),

515, 534, confirms this origin of the Lūrī. The Lūlī (plur. *Lūliyān*) are often mentioned by Persian poets. Manūčihrī (Dāmghān-Djurdjān-Ghaznī, 5th/11th century), Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 588/1192, Iṣfāhān), Kamāl Ismāʿīl (d. 635/1237, Iṣfāhān), Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389, Shīrāz) say that the *lūlīs* are "black" (like night), petulant (*shūkh*) and elegant (*shangūl*), that they play the flute, that their way of living (*bunagāh* "baggage") is irregular. The Persian dictionaries explain *lūrī/lūlī* as "shameless, gay, sweet, musician, woman of light morals", etc.; cf. Vullers (the quotation from Amīr Khusraw (d. in 725/1325 in India), s.v. Lur, refers rather to the inhabitants of Luristān).

The origin of the name *lūlī* has not yet been investigated. The term seems to be applied to the inhabitants of the town of Sind which the Arab authors call Arūr or al-Rūr (cf. Aras > al-Rās; Alān > al-Lān). This town has been conquered by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim before 95/714 (al-Balādhurī, 439, 440, 445). According to al-Bīrūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, 100, 130, the town of Arūr (Aror) lay 30 *farsakhs* south-west of Multān and 20 *farsakhs* above al-Manṣūra. In Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, London 1867, i, 61, 363, the town is called Alor. This town, the old capital of the Hindu *rādjās* of Sind, is now in ruins (on the Indus, in the *tāluka* of Rohri in the district of Sukkur; cf. *Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 4 and xxi, 308: Aror and Rohri). The change of *Arōrī/Rūrī into Lōrī/Lūlī is readily explained by the phonetic law of dissimilation of the two *r* s especially after the change from Aror (Indian) to al-Rūr (Arabic). The descendants of the Indian musicians of Bahrām Gūr (i.e. the gipsies) seem to have been called after the most important town that the Arab invaders had known, and perhaps before them, the Sāsānids. This explanation would locate quite precisely the original home of the *lūlī/lūrī*, without in any way prejudicing the ethnic relationship of this tribe.

The term *lūlī-lūrī* (unknown in Khurāsān, Ivanow 1914) is particularly found in the south-east of Persia, in Kirmān and in Balūčistān. *Lūlī* or *lūlī* is also found in Turkestan: Bābur, ed. Ilminsky, 358, 457, uses "Lūlī" in the sense of "player"; Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 241, 258, 276, 282, mentions in the 9th/15th century a Shaybānid prince of Marw and Ābīward, son of a Lūlī woman. Mayev, *Izvêstiya Ross. Geogr. Obshč.*, xii/4, 349, and *Geogr. Magazine* (1876), 326-30: Lūlī in Eastern Bukhārā; Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, *Miss. scient. dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1898, ii, 308: Lūlī and Āghā in Chinese Turkestan; Valikhanov, *Sočineniya*, in *Zapiski Ross. Geogr. Obshč. po Etnografii*, xxix (St. Petersburg 1904), 43: Lulu (sic) and Multānī in Kāshghar. Lastly, it has been suggested that the name of the gipsy tribe in Syria, Nūrī, pl. Nawara, is derived from Lūlī (cf. Père Anastase, in *Machriq*, v [1902], tr. in *Jnal. of the Gipsy Lore Soc.* [1913-14], 298-319).

The Lorī/Lūlī gipsies (cf. the reference above to their dark skin) must be clearly distinguished from the Lur [*q.v.*] highlanders who live in the southwest of Persia, have a fair skin and speak an Iranian dialect with no trace of Indian elements. The situation is, however, slightly complicated by certain minor points. In the first place, the use of the terms Lūlī, Lurī, Lur, etc., is not always quite clear. In the confederation of Arab tribes of Fārs there is a Lur clan; Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, 330; Rittich, *Poyêzdka v Belučistān*, in *Izv. Ross. Geogr. Obshč.* xxxiii/1 (1902), 69, speaks of a Lorī section (Persian pronunciation of Lūrī?) among the Lūlī of Kirmān. Edmonds notes the existence of a Lurī (?) clan in Luristān in the Dashēnān division of the Bayrānwand group. In Kurdistān there is a clan Lurr-i Kulāhgar [see SENNA].

Still more confusing is the fact that some Lurs follow the profession of acrobats, bear-leaders, rope-dancers (cf. Čirikov, 277). As early as the 8th/14th century, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī mentions the talent of the Lurs in these directions, and in our own day we find wandering troops of Lurs as far north as Tabrīz, where there is a permanent colony of Ḳarači gipsies, professional actors and singers. It is possible that the special qualifications of the Lur and gipsy players differ somewhat; the Sūzmānī of Kurdistān (cf. SARPUL-I ZOHĀB and SENNA), who excel in singing and dancing, are not acrobats. But we must first of all wait till a special investigation settles to what precise section the wandering Lur artistes belong.

There is nothing impossible in a gipsy infiltration into Luristān. Whatever was the ethnic entity covered by the name Zuṭṭ (on the confusion of the Zuṭṭ with the Lūrī, see above: Ḥamza, Thaʿālibī) the existence of Zuṭṭ colonies in Khūzistān is known as early as the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] (cf. Hawmat al-Zuṭṭ between Arradjān and Rām-Hurmūz; the modern town of Hindiyān ["the Indians"] may have a similar origin). According to al-Balādhurī, 382, when in the second quarter of the 1st century A.H. the Zuṭṭ had apostasised from Islam, they were joined by the local Kurds, which provoked the punitive expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] to Īdhadj [*q.v.*] (= Mālamīr, the future capital of Lur-i Buzurg). The alliance of the Zuṭṭ and Kurds (= Lurs [*q.v.*]) at so early a date is curious. Under al-Rūr, Yāḳūt, ii, 833, mentions two places in Sind and a small district (*nāḥiya*) under Ahwāz in Khūzistān. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, v, 665, identifies this Rūr with the district of al-Lūr [cf. LURISTĀN]. In the light of what has been said above one might suppose the existence in al-Lūr of a very ancient Indian colony. But as our sources contain no positive confirmation of this hypothesis (according to Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 176, the "Kurds" were predominant in al-Lūr), the questions of the origin of the name al-Rūr in Khūzistān, of the identity of this al-Rūr with al-Lūr and of the remoter origin of the name Lur must for the present be left open. In any case, even if the name Lur came from the town of al-Lūr, the origin of the name would not necessarily settle the question of the ethnic origin of this people.

As to the general question of the gipsies in Persia, their names in the provinces other than Kirmān and Balūčistān were in the early years of this century:

in Khurāsān: Ḳirshmāl (in which a fantastic popular etymology sees *ghayr-i shumār*, interpreted as "innumerable"; in Transcaucasian Turkish dialects *ḳirishmal* means "rascal"; cf. the comedies of Fatḥ ʿAlī Akhundov [see AKHUND-ZĀDA];

in Astarābād and Māzandarān: Djūgī and Gāodārī;

in Ādharbāydjān: Ḳarači (which in Čaghatay Turkish means "faithful servant, person near the *khān*", Abu 'l-Ghāzī, 145, and Bugadov, ii, 45);

in Fārs (and elsewhere): Kāoli (= Kābulī).

The names mentioned may have corresponded to slight local distinctions not yet fully known. Gobineau collected the following names of particular tribes leading a nomadic life in the north of Persia: Sanād (?), Kāsa-tarāsh, "cup-makers", Budāghī, Adenesīr [Adharnarsē?], Zargar-i Kirmānī, "goldsmiths of Kirmān", Shahriyārī (winter at Hamadān, summer

near Damāwand), Karẓī, Toʾār-ṭabīb (*dawar* + *ṭabīb* "sheep-doctor"?), Gāobāz, Bāsh-kāpān (in Turkish *bash* "head" + *ḳapan* "he who seizes"?), Gāodārī (bold hunters in Māzandarān; cf. de Morgan), Kāshī and Badjumbūn. According to Newbold, the Persian gipsies fall into two classes: Kāoli (or Ghurbatī) and Gāobāz.

As names applied to Persian gipsies in general, de Gobineau gives Beshāwān/Peshāwān (cf. the name of the Armenian and Transcaucasian gipsies, the Bosho) and Odjūlī (?). The following names have a general and neutral character: Ghurbatī, "living in a foreign land" (according to Ivanow, the Persians, who confuse *gh* and *ḳ*, see in *ḳurbati* an offensive allusion to the promiscuity (*ḳurbat*, "relationship, consanguinity") of which isolated communities in all ages have been accused; the name is sometimes transcribed *kurbati* and *kurbātī*), Fiyūdi (from the Arabic, *fuyūdj*, "courriers"), Ustākār, Āghā, Gharbāl-band "sieve-makers".

The number of gipsies in Persia was in the early years of this century estimated at 20,000 families, or 100,000 souls, of whom 5,000 families were in Ādharbādjān and 300-500 families in Kirmān (Sykes). The gipsies had an organisation of their own, at the head of which was the chief of the Shāh's runners (*shāṭir-bāshī*) under whom were the provincial deputies (*kalāntar*). In eastern Persia, the gipsies were very little different from the Persian peasantry (Sykes, Ivanow). In Khurāsān they played a considerable part in the life of the rural community as artisans, making and repairing sieves, chains, combs etc. In Astarābād, the Gāodārī were coppersmiths, carders of wool and cotton (de Morgan). Throughout Persia one sees the black tents of the nameless *īlāt* who must be gipsies. It remains to be seen also whether the Kurd tribes bearing names like Kharrāṭ ("turners"), Lurr-i Kulāhgar ("hatters") are not of gipsy origin [see SENNA]. In the towns, such as Sabzawār, Nīshāpūr and Tabrīz, the gipsies had quarters of their own. There were troops of gipsy dancers and musicians in Persia, but they did not seem to be very popular. Ouseley gives a description of the comic performances and of the marionette theatres of the Ḳaračī (Tabrīz). The dancing and singing girls of the Sūzmānī tribe in Kurdistān were often described by travellers; cf. notably: T. M. Chevalier Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse ... pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*, Paris 1872-4, iv, 30-70; Čirikov, *Putevoi zhurnal*, 282, 299, 330; Khurshīd Efendi, *Siyāḥet-nāme-yi ḥudūd*, Russian tr., 119; cf. T. Thomson, *The Soozmanee: are they Gypsies?* in *Jnal. Gipsy Lore Soc.*, ii (1909), 275-6.

The language of the gipsies of Persia (Sykes, de Morgan, Ivanow) has taken its morphology from modern Persian; its vocabulary also is full of Persian words (cf. the lists in de Morgan); Indian elements seem to be rarer than in the Romanī of Europe; the language of Kirmān and Khurāsān (Sykes, Ivanow) contains a large number of unrecognisable elements. Longworth Dames out of 96 words in Sykes's vocabulary found 12 Indian, 4 Arabic, 28 Persian and 52 of unknown origin. He preferred to regard this dialect rather as an artificial secret jargon. Denys Bray (quoted by Ivanow) in any case confirmed the fact that the Lōrī of Balūčistān is learned by the children as a separate language ("is at any rate acquired naturally by Lōrī children, as a language for the home circle").

The Sūzmānī used Kurdish mainly. According to Čirikov, they were called Dummī, which must correspond to Dūmān (= Dōm, the name of a low caste in India, from which comes the well-known name for gipsies *Rom*). The vocabulary of the Dūmān (Baghdād, Aleppo?) as collected by Newbold, *JRAS* (1856), 303, from an informant from Altun-köprü, is full of Kurdish words: *kāwar*, "stone", *khoi*, "salt", *lāwak*, "boy". A Kurd tribe in the east of Bohtān bears the suggestive name of Sindī/Sindiyān (the "Sindīs"). According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, the chief of the Kurdikān clan (of the Zrāḳī) had married a gipsy woman. In discussing the relationship of gipsies and Kurds, it should be remembered that in 220/835 a section of the Zuṭṭ settled in Khāniḳīn, i.e. at the gates of Kurdish territory; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 30; Ṭabarī, iii, 1168.

According to Sampson, two categories of gipsy speech may be distinguished, according to the fate of the primitive Indian aspirated *mediae*: the one changes them into aspirated *tenues*, i.e. Prākrit, *bhāini* > *phen* (Armenia, Europe), the other deprives them of aspiration, *bhāinī* < *ben* (Persia, Syria, Egypt). The interest of the Persian dialects lies in the fact that Persia was the first country in which the gipsies sojourned after leaving India (probably in the Sāsānid period). In the gipsy dialects of Persia, as yet very insufficiently studied, we may expect to find traces of a rather archaic phonetic system. Ouseley, for example, found among the Ḳaračī of Tabrīz the word *behn* "sister" which must be older than *phen* or *ben* (cf. also *ghorā* in Gobineau).

Literary references to the Lūlīyān or Lūrīyān are to be found in many classical Persian authors, including Badīʿī, Muṣʿabī, Firdawsī, Manūčihrī, Ḥāfiẓ and ʿUbayd Zākānī, who variously describe them as musicians and dancers, vagabonds, thieves and prostitutes.

In modern times, the general term for the gipsies in Iran is *kawlī*, but a wide variety of names are used locally. Apart from those listed earlier, the following may be mentioned: *alwāṭ*, *ghurbatū*, *gīlānī*, *ḥarāmī*, *kulīlānī* (Zandjān), *lawand*, *tūshmāl*, *yūt* and *zangana*. No up-to-date population statistics are available, but such information as there is suggests that the figures quoted by Sykes must by now be considerably reduced. The main centres are still Fārs, Arāk and Ādharbāydjān. Dhukāʾ quotes some notes by Fīrūz Bāḳirzāda on a group of *kawlī*s settled in Kūt ʿAbd Allāh (10 km. south of Ahwāz) since the turn of the century. According to Mughdam, the *ghurbats* of the Wafs area (between Hamadān and Arāk) spend five months on the land and seven travelling (*dawra-gardī*). They do not give their daughters in marriage outside the tribe, but apparently may take non-*kawlī* wives. The main present-day occupations of the gipsies of Iran, as elsewhere, include basket-making, tinkering, singing and dancing, magic, fortune-telling and making of spells and charms.

Bibliography: Don Juan of Persia, *Relaciones*, Valladolid 1604, 17 (on the looseness of gipsy morals), Eng. tr. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 57; Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1819-23, i, 309; iii, 400, 405 (the Ḳaračī of Tabrīz); Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, etc.*, London 1822, ii, 528-32 (the Ḳaračī near Marāgha); *Die Zigeuner in Persien und Indien*, in *Das Ausland*, Munich 1833, 163-4; Bataillard, *Nouvelles recherches sur l'apparition et la dispersion des Bohémiens ... avec un appendice sur l'immigration en Perse entre les années 420 et 440 de dix à douze mille Louri, Zutt et Djatt de l'Inde*, Paris 1849, 1-48 (first publ. in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 3rd series, i, 14-55); Newbold, *The gipsies of Egypt*,

in *JRAS*, xvi (1856), 285-312 (309-11: *gipsies of Persia*); Comte de Gobineau, *Die Wanderstämme Persiens*, in *ZDMG*, xi (1857), 689-99 (cf. the correspondence of Mérimée in the *Revue des deux mondes* of 15 October 1902, 733); Sir George Grierson, *Arabic and Persian references to gipsies*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xvi (Bombay 1887), 257-8 (reprinted in *Jnal. of the Gipsy Lore Soc.*, i [Edinburgh 1889], 71-6, with the title *Ḍoms, Jats and the origin of the gipsies*); R. Burton, *The Jew, the Gipsy and El-Islam*, London 1898, 215-17: *The Jats of Belochistan*; 217-19: *The Gipsies of Persia*; P. M. Sykes, *Anthropological notes on Southern Persia*, in *J. Anthrop. Inst. of Gr. Britain*, xxxii (1902), 339-49 (345-9: "Gurbati" vocabulary; 350-2: notes by M. Longworth Dames); P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 436-9 with a photograph; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, Leiden 1903, 40, 48, 63; J. de Morgan, *Miss. scient. en Perse*. v. *Études linguistiques*, Paris 1903, 304-7: 233 words of the Djūgī (= Khoshnishīn) tribe; 91 words of the Gāodari tribe, collected in the province of Astarābād; Sykes, *The gipsies of Persia, a second vocabulary*, in *JAIGB*, xxxvi (1906), 302-11: 96 words from Djiruft and Sirdjān; idem, *Notes on musical instruments in Khorasan with special reference to the Gipsies*, in *Man*, ix (London 1909), 161-4; W. Ivanow, *On the language of the gipsies of Qaināt (Khorāsān)*, in *JSAB*, x (1913), nos. 10-11, 439-55; idem, *Further notes on gipsies in Persia*, in *JASB*, xvi (1920), no. 7, 281-91 (corrections to the preceding article, 95 words collected in Nīshāpūr, Sabzawār, etc.); idem, in *JASB*, xviii (1922), 376-83; idem, *Notes on the ethnology of Khurasan*, in *Geogr. Journal* (February 1926), 156-7; J. Sampson, *On the origin and early migrations of the gipsies*, in *JGLS* (1923), 156-70. Cf. also in ibid. the following articles: de Goeje and Sampson, *The gipsies of Persia*, 1907, 181-3 (à propos of Sykes, 1906); Groome, *Persian and Syrian gipsies*, 1909, 21-7 (Ḳaračī vocabulary from Ouseley); W. T. Thomson, *The Soozmanee: are they gipsies?* 1909, 275-6; Sykes, *Persian Jats*, 1910, 320; Sinclair and Ranking, 1911, 69-70, 235 (à propos of Sykes, 1909); Sykes, *The Shah's runners*; Sinclair, *Gipsy tattooing in Persia, etc.*; H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of Iran*, Chicago 1939, *passim*; M. H., *Sūzmānī yaʿnī čih?*, in *Dānish*, i/5 (1949), 299; Mahmid Mughdam, *Gūyish-hā-yi Wafs wa Āshtiyān wa Tafrish*, in *Īrān Kūda*, xi (1949), 23-4; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, in *Indo-Iranica*, vi/1 (1952), 11-21; Yaḥyā Dhukāʾ, *Kawlī wa zandagī-yi u*, Tehran 1958; *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, fasc. *lām*, s.v. *Lūlī*, *Lūliyān*.

(V. Minorsky — [L. P. Elwell-Sutton])

LUʾLUʾ (pls. *laʾāliʾ*, *laʾālī*, the pearl. The word is often used as a synonym of al-durr [*q.v.*], and the difference in meaning between the two cannot be defined with precision. With coral and amber, the pearl belongs to the organic products associated, however—as is still the case in our days—with the precious stones (*djawāhir*), and thus with the minerals (*maʿādin*). Yet the difference between the pearl and the real minerals was well-known: the former changes quickly because it is of animal origin (al-Akfānī, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 845). In the same way, the Jews in antiquity had considered the pearl as belonging to the minerals, but since the Tannaitic period to animal products (I. Löw, *Fauna und Mineralien der Juden*, ed. A. Scheiber, Hildesheim 1969, 227). Ibn Māsawayh, *Djawāhir*, 24 f., enumerates 27 varieties of precious stones, among which come the *luʾluʾ* as the first, the *yāḳūt* (ruby), the *zumurrud* (emerald), the *mās* (diamond), etc. Al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 81, declares that there were "originally" (*fi 'l-aṣl*) only three precious stones, namely the *yāḳūt*, *zumurrud* and *luʾluʾ*. Elsewhere (105) he says that the *luʾluʾ* consists of two kinds of pearls, a bigger one (*durr*) and a smaller one (*murdjān*). Likewise al-Tīfāshī, *Azhār*, 242, who adds that *djawhar*, *djumān* and *shadhr* are synonyms of the pearl in general, while *durr*, *ḥabb* and *kharīda* indicate the unpierced pearl and *luʾluʾ* the pierced one. Terminology is, however, fluctuating; for further details, see the *Bibl.*

The authors mentioned above also describe in fair detail the various kinds of *luʾluʾ* according to colour (white, yellow, lead- or ivory-coloured), form (globular, oblong, olive- or turnip-shaped, conical, flattened, almond-shaped, notched), size, structure (various shells), compactness, consistency, weight and value, its changes by means of external influences (oils, all acid reagents, in particular still lemonade, and further, the heat of fire and friction against coarse objects), and finally, the places of its discovery, pearl-fishing and trade. Al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 134-7, moreover, has an interesting chapter on causes and elimination of worthlessness or faultiness of pearls. On the innermost layer of the pearl-oyster's shell, the so-called mother-of-pearl, see ṣadaf. All those qualities of the pearl have their own very specific nomenclature, based on close observation. The calculation of the specific gravity of the pearl was amazingly accurate (according to al-Khāzinī in Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 123). Even the formation of the pearl is explained correctly, namely by the infiltration of parasitic foreign bodies, bringing about growths which then solidify into pearls. At the same time, however, the curious fable held currency according to which pearls originate in the pearl-oyster from rain: every year the Southern Sea—the Indian Ocean—is agitated by heavy storms which force the pearl-oyster to emerge at the surface, where its two valves open and take in the rain. After that, the oyster snaps the two halves closed and dives to the bottom of the sea; from the rain-water, a precious stone grows like an embryo in the womb (al-Tamīmī, *Murshid*, 35-8; *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des ... al-Ḳazwīnī*, tr. J. Ruska, *Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1895/96 der prov. Oberrealschule Heidelberg*, 21 f., s.v. *durr*), or, according to the majority of the scientists, like the egg in oviparous animals (al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-dhakhāʾir fī aḥwāl al-djawāhir*, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 843).

For the finding-places of pearls and their recovery, see al-durr. Plentiful material is also to be found in the extensive lemma *luʾluʾ* in *WKAS*, ii, 45-50, containing a well-arranged synopsis of pieces of evidence for the metaphorical use of the word: the pearl is compared with teeth, tears, dew- and raindrops, small bubbles, with the goblet, with words and poems, letters, wisdom, boys, girls or women, with a face, with gazelles, flowers or blossoms, stars, currants, etc. The word appears also extraordinarily often in book-titles with an ornamental, metaphorical or metonymic meaning, mostly as "head title" before the real title, which is introduced with *fī*, see *GAL* S III, 919 (*ʿiḳd al-laʾālī*), 944 (*laʾālī*), 949 (*luʾluʾ*), 1083 f. (*simṭ*); the indexes to the separate volumes of Sezgin, *GAS*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya, ii, 1534 f., 1570 f.; Ismāʿīl Bāshā, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, 396 f., 416 f.

Apparently a word for pearl-trader cannot be derived from *durr*, but only from *lu'lu'*: *la''āl* or *la''ā'* (*WKAS*, ii, 50).

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LU'LU' ("pearl"), a noun often given as proper name to a person of servile origin, a guard or an officer or a leader of a special body of *ghulāms* [*q.v.*] in the service of a prince. Thus a Lu'lu' was the *ghulām* of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 69 = § 319b); a Lu'lu' was chief of police in Baghdād in 324/935-6 (Miskawayh, i, 351); another was governor of Ḥimṣ for the Ikhshīd, and it was he who was to capture al-Mutanabbī when the latter proclaimed himself a prophet and attracted a numerous following of partisans in the Syrian desert (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlāḳ, 1299, i, 44).

LU'LU' AL-KABĪR ("the elder" or "the senior") AL-DJARRĀḤĪ AL-SAYFĪ played an important role at the court of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. The *nisba* al-Sayfī indicates that he was in the service of Sayf al-Dawla, and in fact he is seen, during the reign of the latter, in 355/965, participating with the *ghāzīs* [*q.v.*] of Khurāsān in an expedition mounted from Antioch against the town of Miṣṣīṣa (Mopsuestia); the *nisba* al-Djarrāḥī suggests that he also served, before the Ḥamdānid prince, one of the members of the family of Djarrāḥids [*q.v.*], but the historians give us no information on this point.

As chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) of the Ḥamdānid Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿd al-Dawla, who on his death-bed (381/991) committed his son Abu 'l-Faḍā'il to his care (cf. Bar Hebraeus, ed. Ṣālḥānī, Beirut 1890, 309, and *Chronography*, 179), Lu'lu' played his part, with other *ghulāms*, in having Abu 'l-Faḍā'il recognised as successor to the emirate of Abu 'l-Maʿālī. He subsequently acquired a position of even greater importance through his daughter's marriage to Abu 'l-Faḍā'il.

In the difficult situation facing the *amīr* of Aleppo, threatened by the commander of the Fāṭimid troops, Bandjūtekīn (Mandjūtekīn) and by Fāṭimid ambitions, Lu'lu' followed a policy of caution, recalling the troops which Abu 'l-Faḍā'il had sent to the south and avoiding further conflict with the Fāṭimids. When Bandjūtekīn came, in Rabīʿ II 383/May-June 993 and laid siege to Aleppo, Saʿīd al-Dawla and Lu'lu' appealed for help to Byzantium, which, since the treaty of 359/996, had exercised a kind of protectorate over the emirate of Aleppo. As Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī expressed it (*PO*, xxiii/3, 442) they "threw themselves at the feet" of the Byzantines. The emperor sent the governor of Antioch, Bourtzes (Burdjī) with troops, but Bandjūtekīn drove them away and continued the siege which lasted until the beginning of 995. Lu'lu' sent another appeal for help to the emperor Basil II, who arrived in person with 13,000 men and forced Bandjūtekīn to raise the siege. Generously, the emperor excused Abu 'l-Faḍā'il from the payment of the tribute which the emirate had been giving to the Byzantines since the treaty of 359/969. In confrontation with Bandjūtekīn, to whom Abu 'l-Faḍā'il was prepared to surrender Aleppo, Lu'lu' showed himself more resolute than his master. He played an increasingly influential role in the conduct of affairs.

In 386/996, he persuaded Abu 'l-Faḍā'il to deal severely with the rebel governor of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, who subsequently went over to the Fāṭimid camp. In 388/998-9, Lu'lu' and Abu 'l-Faḍā'il made an attempt at capturing Apameia, which was relieved by the Duke of Antioch Damien Dalassenos (Yaḥyā, *PO*, xxiii, 455-6). In Ṣafar 392/December-January 1002, Saʿīd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Faḍā'il died, and Lu'lu' assumed full power, not hesitating to rid himself of the two sons of Saʿīd al-Dawla, whom he banished to Egypt, and destroying some fortresses in the territory of Aleppo to prevent his enemies from installing themselves there. Furthermore, in order to maintain good relations with Byzantium, he ordered the imprisonment in the citadel of Aleppo of an adventurer named al-Aṣfar who dreamed of renewing the holy war against Byzantium, which was a prospect deeply worrying the emperor. Al-Aṣfar had been a fugitive in Djazīra, but the governor of this province, al-Waththāb, handed him over to Lu'lu', thus putting an end to his activities (see Yaḥyā, *PO*, xxiii/3, 466-7). Lu'lu' continued to pay tribute to Byzantium and died in 399/1009-9. His son al-Manṣūr exercised power in Aleppo, but he was little more than a governor under the Fāṭimids.

The character of Lu'lu' presents some favourable aspects, some which are less so. Loyal and courageous, he saved the life of Saʿīd al-Dawla in the battle which the latter was obliged to fight against Bakdjūr, his rebellious *ḥādjib* who had ambitions to take over control of Aleppo. Taking the place of Saʿīd al-Dawla next to the standard, and accepting the blows intended for the prince, he assured his victory. But according to a tradition related by Kamāl al-Dīn, Saʿīd al-Dawla was poisoned by one of his concubines at the instigation of Lu'lu'. Lu'lu' presents the image of a slave (*ghulām*) who, by his energy and ability, and favoured by external events, succeeds in hoisting himself up to a position of supremacy over an emirate, admittedly an emirate of secondary importance. It could be said that he prefigures in the 5th/11th century what various of the Mamlūks of Egypt were later to become on a larger scale.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ibn al-Athīr, under the years indicated; Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Histoire d'Alep*, ed. Sami Dahan, Damascus 1953, i, 185, 189-92, 195-8, 209; Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 210, 212-13, 216, 221; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *loc. cit.* See further Rosen, *Basile le Bulgaroctone* (based on Yaḥyā and Kamāl al-Dīn), 32, 39, 44, 50, 238, 242-7, 251-3, 258-62, 264, 307, 310, 342, 357; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 688-92, 694-9, 703-13, 855, 859 (index in *Arabica*, xvii/3 [1971]). (M. CANARD)

LU'LU', BADR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌĀ'IL AL-MALIK AL-RAḤĪM, a freedman, possibly black, of the last Zangids of Mosul, whose régime he prolonged. Designated by Arslān Shāh I on his death in 607/1210-1 as regent of the principality for his young son al-Ḳāhir, then by the latter (d. 615/1218) for his infant son, Arslān Shāh II, he was officially designated, with a caliphal diploma, as lord in 629/1232. The chronicles mention him especially for his interminable minor clashes with the lesser surviving Zangids and their Muẓaffarid allies from Irbil; he had, on the other hand, the support of the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf, all this interfering with the intrigues of the Khwārazm-Shāhs and first Mongol detachments. Later, he fought with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in Djazīra and then with al-Nāṣir of Aleppo. In all these clashes, he appears far less as a successful military leader than as an astute diplomat. This ability and his longevity resulted in his being regarded as a power; it is for having wanted to marry his daughter that the first Mamlūk Sultan, al-Muʿizz, was assassinated by his wife, Shadjar al-Durr. The last days of Lu'lu' were clouded, however, by the Mongol invasion; after the fall of Baghdād and the caliphate, he succeeded in keeping Mosul as a vassal of Hūlāgū. He died in 657/1259, aged about 80. His sons soon had to renounce the succession and flee to Baybars in Egypt.

The chronicles tell us nothing of Lu'lu''s internal administration. We know, however, that Mosul attained in this period a notable role as a craft (copperwork), commercial and cultural centre. The people from Mosul who are several times mentioned in Acre under Latin domination are possibly Christians, a large number of whom survived in Upper Mesopotamia. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (*q.v.*] may have written his history of the Atabeks with the encouragement of Lu'lu'.

Bibliography: All the chronicles of the Ayyūbid period: Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and his continuator Yūnīnī, Ibn Wāṣil (4 vols. published), al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd, Ibn Shaddād (*al-Aʿlāḳ*), section on al-Djazīra published Damascus 1979), the Christian Abu 'l-Faradj Bar Hebraeus (all editions provided with an index). Inscriptions: *RCEA*, 4180 (?), 4229, 4289-95, according to M. van Berchem, *Monuments et inscriptions de l'atabek Lu'lu' de Mossoul*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 197-210, repr. in *Opera minora*, ed. A. Louca, Geneva 1978, ii, 660-72. Coins: Zambaur, *Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale*, in *Wiener Numism. Zeitung*, xlvii (1914); M. Mitchiner, *Oriental coins*, in *The World of Islam*, nos. 1130-1. (CL. CAHEN)

LUR (in Persian *Lor* with *o* short), an Iranian people living in the mountains in south-western Persia. As in the case of the Kurds, the principal link among the four branches of the Lurs (Mamāsanī, Kūhgīlū'ī, Bakhtiyārī and Lurs proper) is that of language. The special character of the Lur dialects suggests that the country was Iranicised from Persia and not from Media. On the ancient peoples, who have disappeared, become Iranicised or absorbed in different parts of Luristān, see LURISTĀN.

The name. Local tradition (*Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*) connects the name of the Lurs with the place Lur in the defile of Mān-rūd. This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lūr mentioned by the early Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 195, etc.), the name of which survives in Ṣaḥrā-yi Lur (to the north of Dizfūl). There are several other place-names resembling Lur, namely Līr, a district of Djunday-Sābūr (Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 666; cf. the Kūhgīlū'ī tribe: Līrāwī), which may be to Lur what *pīl* in Lurī is to *pūl* "money" in Persian; Lurdjān (Yāḳūt: Lurdadjān, now Lurdagān) according to Iṣṭakhrī, capital of the canton of Sardan (between Kūh-Gīlū and the Bakhtiyārīs) and lastly there is a place called Lurt (Lort) near Ṣaymara.

Al-Masʿūdī alone, in his list of "Kurd" tribes speaks of the Lurriyya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur). In the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt uses the names Lūr, Lurr, to mean the "Kurd tribe living in the mountains between Khūzistān and Iṣfahān"; he calls the country inhabited by it *bilād al-Lur*, or Luristān.

These facts show the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Iranian) into an ethnic name. If however we seek an Iranian etymology for the name Lūr, its connection with the first element in Luhr-asp (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself. According to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 183, Luhr is explained by **rudhra* "red". The place-name Rūr in Yāḳūt may supply an intermediary form. The *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* gives a popular etymology *Lur* = *lir* "wooded hill" in Lurī.

Ethnology. If the linguistic data connect the Lurs with Fārs, local tradition only regards as true Lurs the tribes who came from the defile of Mān-rūd. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 539, 547, there is in the *wilāyet* of Mān-rūd a village called Kurd, near which there is a defile. The place called Lur is situated in this *kūl* (the word means in Lurī a "little ravine", cf. O. Mann). The name Mān-rūd much resembles that of Mādiyān-rūd (the word *mādiyān* is found as *mān/mūn* in Lurī; Zhukovski, iii, 158) but certain historical considerations make us look for it near Māngarra-Mūngarra (cf. *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 548, on the place lying between Mān-rūd, Samhā and Māngarra). The clans (*gurūh*) of the natives of Kūl-i Mān-rūd were later called after the places where they had settled, like the Djangrū'ī (Čangrū'ī, Djangardī) and the Ūtarī (Aztarī). The governing family of the Atābegs of Little Lur belonged to the Djangrawī (the name of their clan is Salbūrī, Salghūrī; the names Salwīzī in *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 369, Sallwarzī in ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Tadhkira*, 135, and Salawarzī in Houtum-Schindler are to be corrected). The *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* concludes by enumerating the 8 clans (*shuʿab*) of the two principal *gurūh* and the 18 other tribes (*aḳwām*) of the Lurs.

A few names (Māngarra, Anārakī, Djūdakī) correspond to modern names. Finally, four clans are mentioned: Sāhī (Sāmī), Arsān (Asbān, Asān), Arkī and Bībī, who, although speaking Lurī, are not Lurs; the people of the other villages of Mānrūd were peasants (*rūstā'ī*).

In *ca.* 500/1106, a hundred (or 400) Faḍlawī Kurd families arrived from Syria. They came by the north (Shuturān-Kūh) and settled at first on the lands of the Khūrshīdī *wazīrs* (see LUR-I KŪČIK; and cf. *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 70, under the word *girdlākh*). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, new tribes flocked to the standards of Hazārasp of the Great Lur. Among them were two Arab tribes: ʿUkaylī (ʿAkīlī; cf. the place of this name below Shūshtar), a Hāshimī one, and 28 different tribes (*mutafarriḳa*), among whom we find the Bakhtiyārī (Mukhtārī), the Djawānikī (Marāsilī), the Gōtwand (cf. the village near Shūshtar), the Djākī, the Līrāwī, the Mamāsatī (Mamāsanī?), etc. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 26), all these tribes also came from Syria. These waves of immigration must have had a considerable effect on the ethnic composition of the Great Lur.

It is probable that the immigrants were Kurds and that traces of them still survived among the Kurds whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 21-30) found at the beginning of the 8th/14th century near Bahbahān and Rām Hurmūz when on his way to the capital of the Grand Lur. There has long been a village of Kurdistān on the Djarrāhī and it had even given its name to this river. Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 330-2) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how Saladin (564-89/1169-93), alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse. This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in (? return to) Luristān about 600 A.H. of numerous Iranian tribes.

The southern part of Little Lur was exposed to infiltration by Kurds, especially through the valley of Karkha (cf. LAK; just to the north of Susa is a tree *dār-i Bābū*, bearing the name of a clan of the Kurd tribe of Djuzḳān, celebrated in the history of the Ḥasanwayhids [*q.v.*]; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 146, 219) and exposed to Turkish and Mongol invasions (cf. the desperate fighting of the Atābegs of the Lur-i Kūčik against the Bayāt and Aywa [= Bahārlu?] Turks).

In the Ṣafawid period, Turkish tribes were introduced into Luristān from the direction of the Kūh-Gīlū (where traces of them still exist), and Georgian and Armenian colonies to the north of the Bakhtiyārī country. On the movements of the population under Nādir, the Zands and Ḳādjārs, see below. The ethnic situation gradually stabilised at the beginning of the 19th century.

The names of the Lur tribes and groups are now quite well-known, and as we have lists going from 1836 to 1922, a comparison enables us to note the changes that have taken place meanwhile. Regroupings seem to be taking place more rapidly among the Lurs than among the Kurds, but the general framework of the tribal grouping remains essentially the same.

In 1881 (Curzon, ii, 274), there were 421,000 Lurs, of whom 170,000 were Bakhtiyārī, 41,000 Kūh-Gīlū, and 210,000 Faylī. According to Rabino, this last section numbered in 1904 31,650 tents (or 130,000 individuals) in Pīsh-Kuh, and 10,000 tents (or 50,000 individuals) in Pusht-i Kuh (this last figure seems too low).

The Mamāsanī (Mamassanī) group includes 4 main tribes: the Bakash, Djāwīdī (Djāwī), Dushmanziyārī and Rustamī [see SHŪLISTĀN in *EI*[1]]. The Kūh-Gīlū group (Kūh-Gālū) includes three large tribes (Aḳādjarī, Bawī and Djāki). The first of these tribes (cf. the name of the old Turkish tribe of Aghadjārī) is of a composite character, for of its nine clans four (Afshar, Begdālī, Čaghatay and Ḳara-Bāghlī) are Turkish (evidently the remains of the Shāh-Sewen, to whom the government of Kūh-Gīlū had been given under the Ṣafawīs) and a fifth clan (Tilakūhī) bears the name of a district in Kurdistān of Senna [*q.v.*]. Concerning the second tribe, Bawī, O. Mann notes that it bears the name of an Arab tribe of the neighbourhood of Ahwāz; but there is also a mountain called Bawī to the south of Khurramābād. The third tribe, Djākī, is purely Lur and is composed of two main sections: Čārbunīča and Līrāwī with very many subdivisions. This threefold composition of the Kūh-Gīlū group is typical of many of the Lur tribes.

As to the Bakhtiyārī, Sawyer as long ago as 1894 said that their territory was "thoroughly surveyed on a scale of 8 miles to the inch, nearly every tribe visited in their own encampment, everything appertaining to the Bakhtiaris may now be said to be known". But Curzon's tables (1890) are still the last word available to the student. Of the two Bakhtiyārī groups, Čahār-lang and Haft-lang, the latter is the more important at the present day. The Čahār-lang, who used to be in the south, are now mainly on the outskirts in the district north of the northern barrier (between Burūdjird and Gulpāyagān).

The main groups of Lur are: Tarhān, Dilfān, Silsila (cf. LAK) and Bālā-girīwa. The tribes of the last group are the Lurs par excellence and have important subdivisions: Dirīgwand, Sagwand etc. It is possible that the Dirīgwand are the real nucleus of the Lur race. Their chiefs are called *mīr*.

In contrast to what we find among the Kurds, where the individual members of the tribe are usually much attached to their hereditary chiefs, the Lurs proper (Bālā-girīwa) are distinguished by a more democratic feeling. The power of the hereditary families of *khāns* is based on their "guard" (*ḳaytul*), but this power is considerably reduced by the authority of the chiefs of the clans (*tushmāl*). The *khāns* are forced to court the favours of these wild, petty chiefs (Edmonds: "uncouth headmen"); the latter are amenable to the solicitations of their neighbours, and in this way the tribes are broken up and new groupings take place.

Little is known of the ethnology of the Lurs. The notes of Duhousset (who commanded a Lur regiment in 1859), *Études sur la population de la Perse*, 23, of Khanikoff, *Mém. sur l'ethnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866, 15, 110, 138, and of Danilov, only touch the surface of the subject. Duhousset particularly notes the peculiar (compressed) form of the skull of the Lurs. Edmonds emphasises the difference between the Lurs and the Laks; the latter are taller, have purer features and aquiline noses. Their women are more beautiful than those of the Lurs. The hair of the Lurs is often chestnut-coloured; very heavily bearded men are found among the Lurs (the Persians call Luristān *maʿdān-i rīsh*, "mine of beards"). The women do not seem to have such liberty among the Lurs as among the Kurds. According to Edmonds, there are no cases among the Kurds of women acting as chiefs of tribes. But von Hammer (ii, 239) mentions under the year 1725 the warlike exploits of the two daughters of the Wālī ʿAlī Mardān Khān.

The domestic life and manners of the Bakhtiyāris have found enthusiastic panegyrists in Layard, Mrs. Bishop and Cooper in his *Grass*, New York 1925. On the other hand, the Lurs have been very severely judged by most travellers, cf. Edmonds, in *Geogr. Jnal.* (1922) (*ibid.*, the speech of General Douglas, who was wounded by the Lurs in 1904).

Bibliography: for the Mamāsanī (cf. SHŪLISTĀN in *EI*[1]) and the Kūh-Gīlū, cf. especially Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, on which are based Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), and B. Miller, *Kočevlye plemena Farsa*, in *Vost. Sbornik*, St. Petersburg, ii (1916), 213-18. Cf. also the lists in Bode, Layard, Sheil, Baring etc. (summed up in Curzon, *Persia*, ii, 317) and those of O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme*, pp. xv-xxi. For the Bakhtiyārī: H. Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, 102-6 (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 210-15); A. H. Layard, *Description of Khuzistan*, and especially *Early adventures*; Curzon, *Persia*, ii, 286-8. For the Lurs: the lists of Rawlinson (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, iv, 215-19), Bode, Layard, Čirikov, Houtum-Schindler, O. Mann, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii, and especially the articles by Rabino, in

RMM (1916), and C. J. Edmonds, in *Geogr. Jnal.* (1922).

Religion. The Christian and Jewish colonies (cf. the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela) settled in the village of Karkhā since the Sāsānid period may have left some traces in the country. A very curious tradition is the story of the conversion of the Bakhtiyārīs to Christianity in the time of Constantine the Great (?) (Hanway, ii, 168). A mention in the *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, GMS, xvi/2, 216, shows that in 650/1252 the *mulḥids* (Ismā'īlīs) had gained a footing around Gird-Kūh. The Ḥurūfī heresy had probably also a following in Luristān, for the *murīd* of its founder Faḍl Allāh, who attempted the life of Sulṭān Shāhrukh in 830/1427, was called Aḥmad Lur (Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, iii, 366). In the Ṣafawid period, the *wālīs* of the Little Lur claimed descent from 'Abbās, son of the caliph 'Alī, whose tomb is shown near Sīrwān (Māsabadhān); cf. Rawlinson, in Ritter, ix, 402. The esoteric doctrines of the extremist Shī'a are widespread in Luristān. The great majority of the Lak are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] ('Alī-Ilāhī). The Sagwand, Pāpī and Badrā'ī tribes are also followers of this secret religion. In the belief of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, Luristān is the scene of the activities of the third avatar of the divine manifestation who is called Bābā Khōshīn and numbers among his "angels" Bābā Ṭāhir [*q.v.*]. An important sanctuary of the sect, the tomb of Shāh-zāda Aḥmad (the alleged son of the *imām* Mūsā Kāẓim), is in the district of Kūs near Bī-āw (territory of Ḳalawand) and is kept by Sayyids of the Pāpī tribe; these Sayyids wear red turbans which recalls the predilection for red of the old Muḥammira = Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], whose flags were of this colour.

The religion of the Lurs was so little orthodox, even from the Shī'a point of view, that at the beginning of the 19th century prince Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā had to send for a *mudjtahid* to convert the tribes to Islam (Rabino, 24). All the Lur and Lak tribes are officially Shī'īs (contrast the attachment of the true Kurds to Sunnī orthodoxy).

Language. Down to the beginning of the 20th century, our knowledge of the Lur dialects was confined to 88 words collected by Rich, to four Bakhtiyārī verses in Layard and to some thirty words collected by Houtum-Schindler. As late as the *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i/2, 1898-1901, 249, we find the thesis stated that Lurī is closely related to Kurdish and may even be described as one of its dialects. The materials of Zhukovski (collected in 1883-6) were finally published the day after the death of the author (d. 4 December 1918). The merit therefore of having first established the important fact that Kurdish and Lurī are quite separate ("eine tiefgehende Scheidung des Kurdischen vom Lurī") is due to O. Mann. This scholar has shown that although there are Kurd tribes in Luristān [see LAK], the true Lurs speak dialects which belong undoubtedly to the south-western Iranian group (like Persian and the dialects of Fārs) and not to the north-western group (like Kurdish and the "central" dialects).

The Lurī dialects which have none of the asperities of Kurdish [see KURDS] fall into two categories. To the first belong the dialects of the Great Lur: Mamāsanī, Kūhgīlu and Bakhtiyārī (the latter has a few insignificant peculiarities of its own); to the second belong the dialects of the Little Lur, i.e. of the Faylī Lurs.

Even the first group possesses very few special features compared with modern Persian. From the point of view of phonetics: *-am* at the end of a word becomes *-om*, *-um* (*mikunām/īkunom*; *ādām/ādhom*); *ū* changes into *ī*: *pūl/pīl*; intervocalic *d* gives *dh* (*y*): *midihām/īdhim*; the combination *-kht -ft* give *-hdh* and *-ht* (*t*): *dukhtār/duhdhār*, *rāft/rāht*; initial *kh* becomes *h*: *khānā/honā*, etc. Peculiar to Bakhtiyārī are the change of intervocalic *m* to *v*: *djūwā* > *djāmā* and the occasional change of *sh* to *s*: *isā* > *ishān*. It is remarkable that some of these phonetical peculiarities were long ago noted by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 537-8). He says that Lurī (although full of Arabic words) does not have the peculiarly Arabic sounds, like *kh*, *sh*, *gh*, *f* and *ḳ*. Inflection: Plural in *-gāl*, *-yāl*, *-āl*, e.g. *ānhā*, *āngāl*; accusative in *-ā*, *-nā* instead of *rā*: *yūnā got* = *inrā-guft*; formation of the present: *i-* instead of Persian *mi-*; first Persian plural ending in *-imū(n)*: *ikhārimū(n)* = *mikhārim*. Lurī usually forms the preterite of active verbs as in Persian with the help of personal endings (active construction) and not like Kurdish and the majority of Persian dialects (including those of Fārs) which give the preterite a passive construction. Vocabulary. In the present and preterite stems, Lurī usually follows Persian, but we find stems and words unknown in Persian: *iwānum*, *wāndum*, "to throw"; *tār-*, *itārom*, "to be able"; *tia*, "eye", etc. From the Mongol period, Lurī has kept several expressions like: *tushmāl*, "chief of a clan", in Mongol, *tüshümel*, "official"; *ḳaytul*, "guard of the khān", in Eastern Turkī "camp, laager", cf. Budagov, ii, 102; *kūrān*, "encampment", in Mongol, *küren*, "camp, tent".

As to the Faylī group, their dialect differs very little from ordinary Persian (Mann: "weiter nichts als ein stark abgeschliffenes Persisch").

There are in Luristān a few islands of Kurds of some importance. Such are in the north the Lak tribes [*q.v.*]. Among the Faylī, the Mahkī group (on the frontier of Kirmānshāh, at Hulaylān, and farther south) speaks a southern Kurdish dialect like that of the Kalhur. The Kurdishūhān group (to the south of Pusht-i Kūh) speaks a "Kurmandjī" Kurdish. Linguistic conditions in the Pusht-i Kūh still require further study.

Bibliography: P. Lerch, *Izslědovaniya*, iii, pp. xi-xiv (German tr., *Forschungen*, ii); O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze der Lurdialecte*, in *SB Pr. AW* (1904), 1173-93; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme im süd-west. Persien*, in *Kurd.-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1910, ii (bibliography, list of tribes, Mamāsanī, Kūh-gālū'ī, Bakhtiyārī and Faylī texts); D. L. R. Lorimer, *The phonology of the Bakhtiari*, London 1922; V. A. Zhukovski, *Materiali dl'a izuč. pers. narečii*, iii: dialects of the Bakhtiyārī Čarlang and Haftlang, Petrograd 1922 (texts collected in 1883-6, vocabularies Bakhtiyārī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī); K. Hadank, in the preface to O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1926, ii/1. On the Mamāsanī and Kūh-gālū'ī materials of Romaskevič, cf. *Bull. Acad. de Russie* (1919), 452.

Literature. The Lur tribes and especially the Bakhtiyārīs have a rich popular literature, fairy tales, epic fragments, celebrating the exploits of their heroes (like Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Čar-Lang and Ḥādjdjī Ilkhānī Haft-Lang), lyrics, songs sung at marriages (*wāsīnak*) and cradle-songs (*lālā'ī*). These pieces are often pretty and full of sentiment; cf. the collections by O. Mann and Zhukovski (the latter published an article on Persian and Bakhtiyārī lullabies in the *Zhurn. Min. Narodn. Prosveshč* [Jan. 1889]); D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian*

tales, London 1919, 197-351; eidem, *Bakhtiari tales* (translations only).

There are also Lurī poets writing in the established literary forms: Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān Haft-Lang (killed in 1882), Nadjmā Mamāsanī, Daftarī, Fāyiḍ (still alive in 1902), Īzadī (d. 1905), ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Nihāwandī (cf. O. Mann). A *Miʿradj-nāma-yi Bakhtiyārī* by Shaykh ʿAlī Akbar Muʿammam was lithographed at Tehran in 1314. A *ghazal* by Mullā Zulf ʿAlī Kurrānī was published by N. Y. Marr in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. de l'U.R.S.S.* (1922), 55-8; according to Marr, a *tadhkira* of Bakhtiyārī poets compiled by ʿUmmān-i Sāmānī is in the library of Sālār-i Fātiḥ. Another similar *tadhkira* comes from the pen of Aḥmadī-yi Bakhtiyārī.

History. On the participation of the tribes of Khūzistān and Fārs in the fighting between Arabs and Persians in the early centuries of the Hidjra, see KURDS. The caliphs interfered directly in the affairs of the country, especially in Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*]. The fortunes of the Lurs were more closely associated with the Iranian dynasties ruling in Khūzistān, at Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, Hamadān and in the Zagros, sc. the Ṣaffarids, Būyids, Kākwayhids, Ḥasanwayhids and their successors of the family of Abu 'l-Shawk [see ʿANNĀZIDS].

We have coins of the Būyids struck at Īdhadj (Codrington). In 323/935 the Būyid army marched through Luristān (Sūs-Shāpūr-Khʷāst-Karadj). The Ḥasanwayhid Kurds, whose capital was at Sarmādj (south of Bīsūtūn), extended their dominions into the valley of the Karkhā. Shāpūr-Khʷāst (= Khurramābād) formed part of their possessions about 400/1009 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 89; *Tadjārib al-umam*, ed. Amedroz, ii, 291, iii, 451). The Kākwayhid Garshāsp sustained a siege by the Saldjūḳs in Shāpūr-Khʷāst (434/1042). The *amīrs* of this last dynasty later settled in northern Luristān: the family of Zangī b. Bursuḳ in Shāpūr-Khʷāst before 499/1105. Ḥusām al-Dīn Alp-Ḳush at Dizh-i Māhkī on the Karkhā before 549/1154 (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbál, 285). A Turk Ḥusām al-Dīn Shūhla or Aḳsarī is mentioned as lord of Luristān and of a part of Khūzistān between 547/1152 and 570/1174-5. A long inscription (Kūfic?) on a stele near Khurramābād is still undeciphered (cf. a copy in von Bode, ii, 298; Rawlinson thought he recognised in it the name of the Atābeg Shudjāʿ al-Dīn, but according to Curzon it has an earlier date (517/1123).

In any case, all attempts from outside to subdue Luristān or to take parts of its territory affected the tribal system very little, the development of which came to a head at the coming of the Atābegs.

The principal source for the domestic history of the country is the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (730/1330) based in turn on the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī (of which the Preussische Staatsbibliothek only has the first volume, no. 368 of Pertsch's *Catalogue*). The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (*ca.* 743/1342-3) is based on independent oral tradition, but is less accurate. The *Djahān-ārā*, although late (its author, Ḳāḍī Aḥmad, died in 975/1567-8), uses unpublished data. The *Sharaf-nāma* (1105/1596) is based on the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* or perhaps a good copy of the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*. According to these sources, which supplement the statements of the Arab geographers, the situation in Luristān about 300/912 was as follows:

The Shūl [see SHŪLISTĀN]—who are not mentioned by the Arabs before the Mongol epoch—occupied a part ("half") of Luristān. The *wilāyet* of Shūlistān proper (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 537, 539, 13) had a governor named Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar (according to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, the title Nadjm al-Dīn was hereditary among the Shūl), while the Lur territory under the Shūl (probably Kūh-Gīlu) had a *pīshwā* Sayf al-Dīn Mākām whose family had been prominent in the country since the Sāsānid period; he was of the Rūzbihānī tribe, which the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* mentions among the Lur tribes. The rest of Luristān was ruled by a family of Lur princes (independent of the Shūl), of whom Badr ruled in the Great Lur and his brother Manṣūr in the Little Lur. Their dates are uncertain. Badr's successor was his grandson Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. Badr (according to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, Naṣīr al-Dīn was a nephew of Awrang [Rang] b. Muḥammad b. Hilāl). Naṣīr al-Dīn was deposed by the Faḍlawī Kurds, who founded the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lur and relied for support on tribes who came from outside Luristān (cf. above, under Ethnology). The same Faḍlawī drove the Shūl out of their settlements.

We know nothing of Manṣūr, brother of the above-mentioned Badr. The tribes of Little Lur were directly under the caliphs, and in the north were subjected to the invaders. The founder (in *ca.* 580/1184) of the native dynasty of the Atābegs of Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*] had to dispose of a rival Surkhāb b. ʿAyyār (probably a scion of the dynasty of Abu 'l-Shawk which was called ʿAyyār/ʿAnnāz; see ʿANNĀZIDS).

The history of the two dynasties of the Atābegs is filled with feuds, murders and executions, but in domestic affairs the state of the country was fairly prosperous. The Atābegs built bridges and *madrasas* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) and secured a peaceful existence for the inhabitants (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 550). The revenues of each of the two Atābegs were estimated at a million *dīnārs*, while each of them paid to the Mongol treasury a tribute of 91,000 *dīnārs* only (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 70).

In the interval between the Mongols and the rise of Tīmūr, the two Atābegs were vassals of the Muẓaffarids. In 788/1386 and 795/1393 Tīmūr ravaged Little Lur, but treated the Lord of Great Lur more kindly. In 795/1393 Tīmūr passed through Kūh-Gīlū and Shūlistān. The Tīmūrids consolidated their power in Luristān, and in 837/1433-4 the last Atābeg of the Great Lur disappeared.

Ṣafawid period. The lords of the Little Lur maintained their position, and by intrigue even succeeded in extending their power over the plain to the west of the mountains of Pusht-i Kūh. After the execution of Shāh-wardī Khān, Shāh ʿAbbās installed in his place a *wālī* descended from a lateral line of the old family. The possessions of this *wālī*, Ḥusayn Khān, were, however, somewhat reduced.

After the disappearance of the dynasty of the Great Lur, the power had passed to the chiefs of the tribes composing this federation. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp we find the title of *Sardār* of the local *ulūs* conferred on Tādj-Mīr, chief of the principal clan, the Astarakī. Tādj-Mīr, having neglected his duties, was executed and replaced by Mīr Djahāngīr Bakhtiyārī (the Astarakī and Bakhtiyārī had come to Luristān after 600/1203-4; cf. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*). Djahāngīr, under the guarantee of Shāh Rustam of the Little Lur, pledged himself to supply annually to the Ṣafawid treasury 10,000 mules. In 974/1566-7 the governor of Hamadān was sent to remind him of his obligation (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 48). Henceforth, the Bakhtiyārī tribe becomes of the first rank and, as usual, gives its name to the whole confederation.

As to the Kūh-Gīlū territory, it was governed by

Khāns of the Turkoman tribe (Shāh-Sewen) of Afshār settled among the Lurs. In 988/1580 a dervish impostor claiming to be Shāh Ismā'īl II had a considerable success among the Djākī, Djawānikī and Bandānī tribes, who killed several Afshār governors. In 1005/1596-7, as a result of the excesses committed by the Afshār as well as by the Lurs, the governor of Fārs, Allāh-wardī Khān, established the direct centre of his government in Kūh-Gīlū (*Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā*, 198, 358).

We do not know under what circumstances at the end of the Ṣafawid dynasty (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*) the group of Mamāsanī tribes, who had migrated into the Great Lur (after 600/1203-4) occupied the ancient Shūlistān [*q.v.*].

After the Ṣafawids: During the troubles provoked by the appearance of the Afghāns before Iṣfahān, the *wālī* of Luristān, 'Alī Mardān Khān Faylī (a descendant of the Ḥusayn Khān appointed by Shāh 'Abbās), played a considerable part. With 5,000 of his men he took part in 1135/1722-3 in the defence of the capital. He was even appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops, but the other Khāns refused to take orders from him. When the Turks invaded Persia in 1137/1725, 'Alī Mardān Khān abandoned Khurramābād (which was occupied by Aḥmad Pasha) and retired to Khūzistān, from which he undertook a diversion against Baghdād. The Turks who had gone through the Bakhtiyārī country and reached Fīrūzān had to retire. Cf. 'Alī Ḥazīn, *Ta'rīkh-i aḥwāl*, ed. Balfour, London 1831, 115, 134, 137, 148, who was an eye-witness of the events; Hanway, *The revolutions of Persia*, ii 135, 159, 168, 238; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 60-1; von Bode, *Travels*, ii, 281-3; Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 227.

About the same time, several Bakhtiyārī *khāns* (Ḳāsim Khān, Ṣafī Khān) are mentioned as resisting the Afghān and Ottoman invaders, but they did not agree well with 'Alī Mardān Faylī. In 1137/1724 'Alī Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Bakhtiyārī recognised as his suzerain a certain pretender who claimed to be prince Ṣafī Mīrzā. The latter's headquarters were in Kūh-Gīlū; he was not taken till 1140/1727-8 (Hanway, ii, 168, 238; Mahdī-Khān, *Ta'rīkh-i djahān-gushā-yi Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, French tr. Jones, London 1770, p. xxvii). The Afghāns do not seem to have penetrated into the Bakhtiyārī country, and their expedition in 1136/1724 against Kūh-Gīlū was a fiasco (Von Hammer, ii, 210; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 449). By the treaty of 1140/1727-8, the Afghān Ashraf ceded Luristān to Turkey with other western provinces. The Turks kept it (nominally) till 1149/1736, when Nādir re-established the status quo (Hanway, ii, 254, 347; Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 235, 317).

Under Nādir, a certain Turkoman chief named Bābā Khān Čapushlu (Čawushlu) was appointed *beglerbeg* of Luristān-i Faylī. On the other hand, 'Alī Mardān II Faylī was entrusted by Nādir with diplomatic negotiations in Istanbul. Nādir in 1145/1732 passed through Kūh-Gīlū with his troops, where Muḥammad Khān Balūč (the claimant to Shīrāz) was defeated. The local Afshārs had to support Nādir, who was one of their tribe. Several expeditions were sent against the Bakhtiyārī, among whom a new chief 'Alī Murād Mamīwand (Čahār-Lang) had collected together the malcontents. In 1145/1732 Bābā-Khān Čapushlu was sent against him for the first time. In 1149/1736-7 Nādir Shāh took the field against him in person, going via Djāpalaḳ and Burburūd. The Bakhtiyārī country was several times invaded, but the main blow was directed against the little-explored country south of Shuturān-kūh. 'Alī Murād was captured and executed. The Bakhtiyārī were decimated and deported to Djām and Langar (in Khurāsān). A little later, a Bakhtiyārī detachment distinguished itself in the assault on Ḳandahār (Mahdī Khān, *op. cit.*, 116, 134, contains interesting geographical details; tr. Jones, i, 185, ii, 18; 'Alī Ḥazīn, 231, 253; Malcolm, ii, 21).

The deported Bakhtiyārī returned from Khurāsān immediately after the death of Nādir (*Ta'rīkh-i ba'd Nādiriyya*, ed. Mann, 26), and when the dynasty of the latter was extinguished, the Bakhtiyārī chief 'Alī Mardān Khān (who is not to be confused with the two *wālī*s of Luristān-i Faylī) attempted to play a big part. In 1163/1750, along with Karīm Khān Zand, he set up at Iṣfahān a scion of the lateral line of the Ṣafawids (Āl-i Dāwūd, under the name of Ismā'īl III). The career of "guardian of the sovereign" acted by Nādir seemed to be certain for him also, but Karīm Khān gained the upper hand; the troops of 'Alī Mardān, who included Lak of the tribes of Kalhur and Zangana, were defeated in 1165/1752; he escaped to Baghdād, but died there by the hand of an assassin; cf. Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ, *Ta'rīkh-i gīti-gushā*, quoted by Malcolm, ii, 61 and note *r*; Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 475, 477; R. S. Poole, *The coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p. xxxv; Curzon, ii, 289.

Karīm Khān [*q.v.*], who had disposed of his Bakhtiyārī rival, was himself a Lak of the tribe of Zand, settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Luristān-i Faylī. On the movements of population in his time, see KURDS and LAK. In 1200/1785, when Dja'far Khān Zand had to fall back on Shīrāz, a number of Lurs and of Turks assembled at Iṣfahān under former partisans of 'Alī Murād Khān, but the town was soon occupied by Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳādjār, who had nothing better to do than attack the Bakhtiyārīs ('Abd al-Karīm Shīrāzī, *Ta'rīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. Beer, 29; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 179 ff.), which injured his popularity among the tribes.

The Lur Bakhtiyārī country was never completely assimilated during the century-and-a-half which the Ḳādjārs reigned. A résumé of the history of the Bakhtiyārīs in the 19th century has been given by Curzon in ch. xxiv of his *Persia and the Persian question*. At first the Kunurzī family, descended from the brother of 'Alī Mardān Khān (see above), came to the front, but the expedition of the governor of Iṣfahān Manučihr Khān Mu'tamid al-Dawla (whose real name was Yenikolopov; he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1841 put an end to the career of the Īlkhānī Muḥammad Taḳī Khān of the Čahār Lang group, and the family did not recover. In *ca.* 1846 the Bakhtiyārwand (or Baydarwand, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Pāpī) rose to prominence in the Haft-lang group, and in spite of the assassination in 1882 of its chief Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān (Ḥādjdjī Īlkhānī) by order of the governor of Iṣfahān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's eldest son Mas'ūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān, under whose jurisdiction the Bakhtiyārī country fell, the family held on to its wealth and importance. The tribal khāns did, however, now fall into a period of prolonged dispute over the leadership, with two factions of the Ilkhānīs and Ḥādjdjī Ilkhānīs on one side versus the Ilbegī family on the other. Eventually, a basic principle of power-sharing between the two families was established which was to endure until 1936, when Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī placed the Bakhtiyārī country under standard Persian civil jurisdiction; until this time, the country enjoyed virtual autonomy under the

rule of the Ilkhānī and the Ilbegī. The Ilkhānī-Ḥādjdjī Ilkhānī group in fact enjoyed a superior financial and political position, in part because from 1899 onwards they drew an investment income from Messrs. Lynch Bros, when the Bakhtiyārī Road, connecting Ahwāz, Shushtar and Iṣfahān, was opened, and then after 1905 from oil concessions, whilst both families received subsidies from the British government during the First World War in return for Bakhtiyārī support. The Bakhtiyārīs also played a considerable role in the Persian Constitutional period, in alliance with the Shīʿī ʿulamāʾ and the urban-based constitutionalist reformers, achieving prominence in national as well as local affairs; by 1912 Bakhtiyārī khāns held the governorship of seven cities in Persia, including Kirmān, Iṣfahān and Kāshān, and one was Prime Minister (Ṣamṣām al-Salṭana) and another Minister of War (Sardār Asad).

The centralising efforts of the Ḳādjārs had more effect in Luristān-i Faylī (formerly Lur-i Kūčik) in as much as, as a result of the governorship in Kirmānshāh of the energetic prince Muḥammad ʿAlī at the beginning of the 19th century, the old family of the *wālīs* of Luristān found its rights reduced simply to the possession of Pusht-i Kūh (see Čirikov, 227). The Pīsh-Kūh formed the Persian province of Luristān. Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā with troops and artillery marched through this province. In 1836 Rawlinson followed him at the head of his Gūrānī regiment. After the famous expedition of Manučihr Khān (1841), his nephew Sulaymān Khān Sahām al-Dawla, governor of Khūzistān, maintained order in Luristān, but for the second part of the 19th century Luristān was plunged more or less into a state of anarchy. It was not till 1900 that prince ʿAyn al-Dawla was able to restore order in Luristān, and at this time several explorers travelled freely in the disturbed province. But in November 1904 two British officers (Col. Douglas and Capt. Lorimer) on their way to Khurramābād were attacked and wounded by Lurs. A considerable agitation was stirred up among the Lurs (and in western Persia generally) by the appearance among them of the rebel prince Sālār al-Dawla (several times after 1905). In spite of the efforts of the Persian government, Luristān remained closed till 1917, when with the help of foreign representatives several caravans went from Dizful to Burūdjird. About the same time, the Persian government conferred the rank of *wālī* of Pīsh-Kūh on Naẓar ʿAlī Khān Amrāʾī [see LAK]; cf. Edmonds in *Geogr. Jnal.* (1922).

The advent of Riḍā Khān, later (1925) Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, meant a declared policy by the central government of bringing the Bakhtiyārī country into the normal framework of administration in Persia, part of which involved the forcible sedentarisation of semi-nomadic tribesmen; but with Riḍā Shāh's deposition in 1941 and the period of weaker rule during the earlier years of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh's reign, many Bakhtiyārīs and Lurs reverted to the semi-nomadic way of life they had been accustomed to, and this last still prevails amongst an appreciable section of the estimated 500,000 Lurs and Bakhtiyārīs.

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(V. MINORSKY*)

LUR-I BUZURG, a dynasty of Atābegs [see ATABAK] which flourished in eastern and southern Luristān between 550/1155 and 827/1423, the capital of which was Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Mālamīr.

The eponymous founder of the dynasty, also known as Faḍlawī, was a Kurd chief of Syria named Faḍlūya. His descendants (the *Djihān-ārā* mentions 9 predecessors of Abū Ṭāhir) migrated from Syria, and passing through Mayyafāriḳīn and Ādharbāydjān (where they made an alliance with the Amīra Dībādj [?] of Gīlān), they arrived about 500/1006 in the plains north of Ushturān-Kūh (Luristān).

Their (1) chief Abū Ṭāhir (b. ʿAlī) b. Muḥammad distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunḳur (543-56/1148-61) in an expedition against the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*]. As a reward, Sunḳur gave him Kūh-Gīlūya and agreed to send him to conquer Luristān. He succeeded in this. Abū Ṭāhir assumed the title of Atābeg, and later quarrelled with Sunḳur and made himself independent (*ca.* 550/1155). (The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* seems to confuse several individuals under the name Ḳāʾid ʿAlī, to whom it attributes the following successes: the defeat of the Shūl [*q.v.*], the deposition of Nāṣir al-Dīn, last descendant of Badr, ruler of Luristān, and the defeat of the Khūzistān troops commanded by the Turk Eshek.)

Under the son of Abū Ṭāhir, (2) Malik (*sic*) Hazārasp (600-26 or 650/1204-29 or 1252?), Luristān prospered, and new Arab and Iranian tribes flocked into it. Hazārasp drove out of Luristān the last remnants of the Shūl and invaded Luristān proper. The Shūl migrated to Fārs. Hazārasp disputed with the Salghurids the possession of the fortress of Māndjasht (Mungasht, south-west of Mālamīr). The possessions of Hazārasp were extended up to a distance of 4 *farsakhs* from Iṣfahān. The caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) confirmed to Hazārasp the title of Atābeg. On the other side, Hazārasp maintained friendly relations with the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 382-3, 471). (The *Djihān-ārā* mentions two sons of Hazārasp: ʿImād al-Dīn (d. 646/1248-9) and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kalḥa (d. in 649/1251?); the former bought Zarda-Kūh, where several members of the family were afterwards interred.)

(3) Tikla (*ca.* 655-6/1257-8), son of Hazārasp and his Salghurid wife, successfully withstood four attacks on him by the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, who was indignant among other things at the expulsion of the Shūl from Luristān. Tikla took from Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl (d. 640/1242-3?) certain districts of Lur-i Kūčik. He defeated the generals sent against him from Khūzistān by the caliph. During the Baghdād campaign of Hūlāgū Khān (655-6/1257-8), Tikla accompanied him in Kitbuḳa Noyan's division (*tūmān*). He did not, however, conceal his feelings about the treatment inflicted on the caliph and Muslims. Hūlāgū took umbrage at this, and Tikla fled to Luristān and shut himself up in Māndjasht. Hūlāgū pardoned him, but later changed his mind and had him executed in Tabrīz. Tikla was buried at Zarda-Kūh.

(4) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn succeeded to his executed brother and ruled for 15 years. He led a nomadic life. His winter residence was at Īdhadj and at Sūs (probably Sūsan on the Kārūn above Shūshtar) and his summer one at Djūy-i sard (on the upper waters of the Zanda-rūd) and at Bāzuft (source of the Kārūn).

His son (5) Yūsuf Shāh had spent his youth with

Abaḳa Khān (663-80/1265-82) and even after being appointed in his father's stead, remained at the Mongol court with 200 horsemen. He took part in the war against Burāḳ Khān [*q.v.*], and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Daylamis. To the possessions of Yūsuf Shāh, Abaḳa added Khūzistān, the region of Kūh-Gīlūya and the towns of Fīrūzān (7 *farsakhs* above Iṣfahān) and Djurbādhaḳān (Gulpāyagān). Yūsuf Shāh went to Kūh-Gīlūya and attacked the Shūl settled in the modern Mamāsanī country east of Kūh-Gīlūya. After the death of Abaḳa, Yūsuf Shāh was forced against his will to go with 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot to the help of Aḥmad Takūdar. The latter was defeated (683/1284), and the Lurs retreated from Ṭabas to Natanz across the desert, where the majority died of thirst. After the accession of Arghūn, Yūsuf Shāh went to pay him homage and interceded on behalf of the former vizier Khwādja Shams al-Dīn, who had taken refuge in Luristān (cf. d'Ohsson, iv, 5).

His son (6) Afrāsiyāb sent his brother Aḥmad to the court of Arghūn while he himself remained in Luristān, where he put to death the members of the former vizier's family. Their relatives having taken refuge in Iṣfahān, Afrāsiyāb sent his kinsmen in pursuit of them. At this moment arrived the news of the death of Arghūn (690/1291). The Lurs killed the Mongol governor of Iṣfahān. Afrāsiyāb appointed members of his family to govern in Hamadān, Fārs and in the territories reaching to the Persian Gulf, and even began to march on the capital. The Mongol general Amīr Turak was defeated at Kūhrūd or Ḳuhrūd [*q.v.*] near Kāshān. Gaykhatu Khān sent Mongol troops against Afrāsiyāb and troops from Lur-i Kūčik. Afrāsiyāb shut himself in Māndjasht, but after some time went to Gaykhatu who pardoned him. Returning to Luristān, Afrāsiyāb massacred his own relatives and a number of the notables. Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) at first showed himself favourable to Afrāsiyāb, but in 696/1297, on the complaint of the Amīr Hurḳudaḳ of Fārs, Afrāsiyāb was tried and executed at Mahāwand (?) of Farāhān.

The rank of Atābeg was next conferred on his brother (7) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad (695-730/1296-1330 or 733/1333), who had spent most of his life at the court of the Īlkhāns. According to the *Madjma' al-ansāb* he introduced Mongol institutions (*āyīn-i mughūl*) into Luristān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī praises his able and prudent administration, which repaired the damage done by Afrāsiyāb. He was a friend of men of religion and several books were dedicated to him, like the *Ta'rīkh Mu'djam fī aḥwāl-i mulūk al-'Adjam* of Faḍl Allāh Ḳazwīnī. The *Madjma' al-ansāb* gives him the title of *pīr*. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 29-30, tr. Gibb, ii, 287-8), he built 160 *madrasas* (here = "hermitages"), of which 44 were at Īdhadj, and he had roads cut through the mountains.

His son and successor (8) Rukn al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh II (733-40/1333-40) was also a just ruler. His lands, according to the *Madjma' al-ansāb*, extended from Baṣra and Khūzistān to Lālamūstān (?) and Fīrūzān. He was buried in the *madrasa* of Ruknābād.

His successor was his son (according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, his brother) (9) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Aḥmad). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling via Mādjūl-Rāmuz-Tustar, visited the capital Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Mālamīr. He found the prince addicted to wine. The Arab traveller describes the peculiar customs of the Lurs, which he witnessed at the burial of the son of the "sulṭān". The latter's possessions included Tustar (Shūshtar) and extended to Garīwā' al-Rukh (the modern Kahyarukh in Čarmaḥāll west of Fīrūzān). During the ten days the Arab traveller took to cover this distance, he found shelter every night in a *madrasa*. At the same time (740) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions among the possessions of the Great Lur Djābalaḳ (apparently the district to the north-east of Luristān and west of Gulpāyagān).

Next follows an obscure period. According to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar, the successor of Afrāsiyāb was his son (10) Nawr al-Ward ("rose-bud"), who ruled from 736/1335-6 (?) to 756/1355 and dissipated the treasures of his ancestors. According to the *Djihān-ārā*, Muḥammad Muẓaffar of Fārs (713-60/1313-59), learning of his dealings with Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū, had him blinded at Sūs in 756/1355. His cousin (the *Djihān-ārā* has "nephew") (11) Shams al-Dīn Pashang b. Yūsuf Shāh II (?) succeeded him and ruled from 756/1355 to 780/1378. At this time, Luristān became involved in the civil wars of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*]. When Shāh Manṣūr, making Shūshtar his headquarters, began a series of raids on the lands of Pashang, Shāh Shudjā' (elder brother and rival of Manṣūr, d. 786/1384) came to the help of Pashang. We have coins of 762/1361 and 764/1362-3 struck at Īdhadj in the name of Shudjā' (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of oriental coins in the Brit Mus.*, vi [London 1881], 235, 237). After the death of Pashang, a struggle began between his two sons, (12) Malik Pīr Aḥmad and his younger brother (12bis) Malik Hūshang, in which the latter was killed. (According to the anonymous historian of Iskandar, if he has been rightly understood by Howorth, Aḥmad and Hūshang were sons of Nawr al-Ward and the former was the immediate successor of his father.) Shāh Manṣūr drove out Pīr Aḥmad and appointed in his stead a notable named Malik Uways. When Tīmūr passed through Luristān in 795, Pīr Aḥmad came to meet him at Rām-Hurmuz. Tīmūr later received him graciously at Shīrāz, confirmed him by a decree (*āl tamgha*) in his hereditary possessions, and allowed him to repatriate 2,000 families of Lurs deported by Shāh Manṣūr. In spite of this, in 798/1395-6 Tīmūr took as hostages to Samarḳand the brothers of Pīr Aḥmad and Afrāsiyāb. After the death of Tīmūr, Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad imprisoned Pīr Aḥmad in Ḳuhandiz. He was restored in 811/1408-9, but met his end in a popular rising. The son of Pīr Aḥmad (13) Abū Sa'īd, kept for two years a hostage at the court of Mīrzā Iskandar at Shīrāz, succeeded his father and died in 820/1417. His son (14) Shāh Ḥusayn died in 827/1424 by the hand of his relative (15) Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Kāwūs b. Hūshang (12bis). The latter seized power, but the Tīmūrid Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh sent troops to expel him and thus ended the rule of the Faḍlawī family. Later, the power passed into the hands of local notables of the Bakhtiyārī tribes (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 48).

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère; Waṣṣāf, *Tadjziyat al-amṣār*, ii, history of Yūsuf-Shāh and Afrāsiyāb; Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, with the history of the Muẓaffarids in appendix, GMS facs. text, Leiden-London 1910, 537-47, 723, 725, 745, based on Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn Kāshānī; Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkārī, *Madjma' al-ansāb* (in 743/1342-3), appendix, cf. Royal Asiatic Society ms. Cat. Morley, no. xv, which contains the appendix on the Lur-i Buzurg, fols. 142-5 (the author's statements are somewhat confused); *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 438, 599, 619, 811; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, iv; Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī,

Djihān-ārā (in 972/1564-5), British Museum, Or. 141, fols. 137-140 contains some useful information; *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 23-32, based at the beginning on a good text of the *Ta'rikh-i guzida*; Khusraw Abarkūhī, *Firdaws al-tawārikh*, passage on the Great Lur in the tr. of the *Sharaf-nāma* of Charmoy, i/2, 328-37; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 286 (cf. Charmoy, ibid., i/1, 100-16); Münedjdjim-bashī, ii, 597-8; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 24, 28, 230, 259, 400, 455, 589; iv, 5, 12, 62, 94, 114, 169-70, 580; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 140, 407, 751-4, which uses the statements of the anonymous history of the grandson of Tīmūr Mīrzā Iskandar, written in 815, ms. British Museum, Or. 1566; ms. Asiatic Museum of Leningrad, 566 b, c. (V. MINORSKY)

LUR-I KÜČIK, a dynasty of Atābegs [see ATABAK] which ruled in northern and western Luristān between 580/1184 and 1006/1597 with Khurramābād as their capital. The Atābegs were descended from the Lur tribe of Djangrū'ī (Djangardī?). The dynasty is also known by the name of Khurshīdī from the name of the first Atābeg. (It remains to be seen if this name is connected with that of Muḥammad Khurshīd, vizier of the former rulers of Luristān before the rise of the Atābegs of Lur-i Buzurg.) After 730/1330, the power passed to another line which later claimed to be of ʿAlid descent; at this time also, the title *malik* succeeded that of *atābeg*.

The ancestors of the Khurshīdīs had entered the service of Ḥusām al-Dīn (of the Turk tribe of Shūhli or Shūhla), who ruled Luristān and Khūzistān about the end of the Saldjūḳ period (*ca.* 550-80/1155-84?).

(1) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Khurshīd b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Khurshīd was at first *Shiḥna* of a part of Luristān on behalf of Ḥusām al-Dīn, but after the death of the latter (in 570/1174-5 or 580/1184-5) became independent lord of the whole of Lur-i Küčik. He waged war on the Djangrawī (the tribe in which he had originated, but which was then being ruled by his rival Surkhāb b. ʿAyyār) and besieged their stronghold Diz-i Siyāh (in the district of Mānrūd and in the *wilāyat* of Samhā?). The inhabitants handed all Mānrūd over to him, but the caliph ordered Shudjāʿ al-Dīn to deliver up to himself the stronghold of Māngarra (Mūngerre north of Ḳilāb). In compensation, Shudjāʿ received the district of Ṭarāzak in Khūzistān. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn drove back the Bayāt Turks who were ravaging Luristān. He led a nomadic life and spent the summer at Kirīt (in Bālā-Girīwa) and the winter at Dulur (Fih-i Lurān in Pusht-i Kūh?) and at Malāḥ (?). He died a centenarian in 621/1224 and his tomb was venerated by the Lurs. His son Badr was killed by his nephew (2) Sayf al-Dīn Rustam b. Nūr al-Dīn, who became Atābeg and was a good ruler. Rustam was succeeded by his brothers first (3) Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Bakr and next (4) ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshasp. The latter married the widow of Abū Bakr, Malika Khātūn, who was the sister of Sulaymān Shāh Aywa, later commander-in-chief of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (*Abūh* should be altered to *Aywa*, name of a tribe or a district in the time of the last Saldjūḳs; cf. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iḳbāl, 346; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 421-2; *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 107; Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, in *JA* [1847], 177). When (5) Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl b. Badr b. Shudjāʿ killed Garshāsp, a struggle ensued between him and Sulaymān Shāh (Shihāb al-Dīn?). The Lurs took Bahār (near Hamadān), but finally Khalīl was defeated and killed near Shāpūr-Khwāst in 640/1242.

His brother (6) Badr al-Dīn Masʿūd went to the court of Mangū and returned in the train of Hūlāgū. This devout man, an authority on Shāfiʿī law, ruled till 658/1260. He showed great kindness to the family of Sulaymān Shāh when the latter was executed at the taking of Baghdād. The sons of Masʿūd were executed by Abaḳa, who appointed as Atabeg (7) Tādj al-Dīn b. Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl, also executed by Abaḳa in 677/1278-9.

He had two immediate successors, the two sons of Masʿūd of whom (8) Falak al-Dīn Ḥasan ruled a part of Luristān (*dilār, wilāy*) and (8 *bis*) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn ruled the crown domains (*indjū*). The number of their troops was 17,000. They chastised the Bayāt and reunited under their control all the lands between Hamadān and Shūshtar and between Iṣfahān and the Arab lands. Both died in 692/1293.

Gaykhātū appointed as their successor (9) Djamāl al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Tādj al-Dīn, who was killed in 693 near Khurramābād by (10) Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Shams al-Dīn "Darnakī" b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. Tahamtan b. Badr b. Shudjāʿ, who relied for support on the Mongol tribes settled in the lands adjoining Luristān. The other rulers did not recognise this usurper and he had to make way for (11) Ṣamṣām al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshāsp, who slew a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Ilyās and in turn was executed by Ghāzān in 695/1296.

(12) ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿIzz al-Dīn (8 *bis*) was a minor, and his cousin Badr al-Dīn Masʿūd (son of 8) obtained from Öldjeytü the title Atābeg and ruled over a part of Luristān (*dilār*), but later ʿIzz al-Dīn fully established his authority. After his death (716/1316 or 720/1320 his widow (13) Dawlat Khātūn retained a semblance of authority while the real power was in the hands of the Mongols. Such was the state of affairs when Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī was writing his *Ta'rikh-i guzida* (*ca.* 730/1329-30). Later, the *malika* (who according to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar became the wife of Yūsuf Shāh of the Great Lur) found herself forced to surrender the throne to her brother (14) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn who received investiture from Abū Saʿīd and ruled for 14 years. His son and successor (15) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Maḥmud was killed by his subjects in 750/1349-50.

(16) The Malik ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn was only 12 when his father died. The vicissitudes of his life are known from the record of them in the *Ẓafar-nāma*. In 785/1383 the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ with his army visited Khurramābad and married the daughter of ʿIzz al-Dīn. Another of his daughters was married to Aḥmad b. Uways Djalā'ir. When Tīmūr arrived in Persia in 788/1386, he was told of the depredations of the Lurs of ʿIzz al-Dīn. Setting out from Firūz-kūh, Tīmūr by forced marches reached Luristān. Burūdjird was laid waste, and the fortress of Khurramābād razed to the ground. The ringleaders were thrown down from the tops of the cliffs. The fate of ʿIzz al-Dīn is unknown and we do not know if he was one of the Atābegs of Luristān to whom in 789/1387 Tīmūr granted an audience at Shīrāz, but according to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar, ʿIzz al-Dīn was captured in 790/1388 in the fortress of Rūmiyān (Armiyān, Wāmiyān, situated near Burūdjird) and deported with his son to Turkestān. At the end of three years both father and son were released. In 793/1391 ʿIzz al-Dīn played a part in the aggrandisement of the Muẓaffarid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, son of his old suzerain Shāh-Shudjāʿ. When in 795/1393 Tīmūr returned to Persia, he went

from Burūdjird to Shūshtar. Luristān was overrun piece by piece and laid waste by the troops of Mīrzā ʿUmar, but ʿIzz al-Dīn escaped his pursuers. In 798/1395-6 prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, governor of Fārs, extended his authority over all Luristān and Khūzistān. In 805/1402-3, we find a mention of the restoration of the fortress of Armiyān (?) near Burūdjird ordered by Tīmūr, and under 806/1403-4 the *Ẓafar-nāma* mentions the arrival in Baylaḳān from Nihāwand of a courier bearing the head of ʿIzz al-Dīn, whose skin had been stuffed with straw and publicly exposed. His son (17) Sīdī Aḥmad, whose irregularity in the payment of tribute seems to have provoked the punishment of his father, regained his possessions, after the death of Tīmūr in 807/1405 and ruled till 815/1412-13 (or 825/1422). (18) Shāh Ḥusayn ("Abbāsī", i.e. descendant of ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), another son of ʿIzz al-Dīn, took advantage of the decline of the Tīmūrids to extend his territory. He plundered Hamadān, Gulpāyagān, Iṣfahān and even undertook an expedition to Shahrazūr, where the Bahārlu Turks slew him in 871/1466-7 (or 873/1468-9). His son (19) Shāh Rustam supported Ismāʿīl I; at this period, the lords of the Little Lur had already adopted the theory that they were of ʿAlid descent. The son of Rustam (20) Oghur (or Oghuz) accompanied Shāh Ṭahmāsp on his campaign of 940/1533-4 against ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, and during his absence his brother (21) Djahāngīr seized power. He was executed in 949/1542-3. The governor (*lala*) of his son (22) Rustam Shāh handed over the latter to Ṭahmāsp Shāh, who imprisoned him in Alamūt while Muḥammadī, another son of Djahāngīr, was hidden by the Lurs at Čangula. An impostor in Luristān gave himself out to be Shāh Rustam Ṭahmāsp, then released the true Rustam, who recovered his fief but had to hand over a third of it (*do dāng*) to his brother (22 *bis*) Muḥammadī. At the instigation of the wife of Shāh Rustam, the governor of Hamadān seized Muḥammadī, who was shut up in Alamūt. The sons of Muḥammadī plunged Luristān and the adjoining provinces into great disorder. Ten years later Muḥammadī escaped, and conquered Luristān while Shāh Rustam took refuge at the court of the Shāh. Muḥammadī established good relations with Ṭahmāsp and Ismāʿīl II, but after their death submitted to the Ottoman Sulṭān Murād III (982-1003/1574-95), which earned him an extension of his territory by the cantons west of Pusht-i Kūh: Mandalī, Djesān, Badrāʾī and Tursaḳ. But relations with the Ottomans soon became strained, and Muḥammadī became reconciled with the Ṣafawīds.

(24) Shāhwardī b. Muḥammadī, who had escaped from Baghdād where he was living as a hostage, received investiture from Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda after his father's death. At the time of the occupation of Nihāwand by the Turks, Shāhwardī showed some signs of independence. In 1000/1591-2 good relations with Shāh ʿAbbās were re-established, with whom Shāhwardī made the most of his alleged descent from ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī and his Shīʿism (*tashayyuʿ wa ʿAbbāsgirī*). Shāh ʿAbbās married his sister and gave him a Ṣafawīd princess in marriage. In 1002/1593-4 Shāhwardī in a pitched battle killed the governor of Hamadān, Oghurlu Sulṭān Bayāt, who was trying to levy taxes in Burūdjird. Shāh ʿAbbās, filled with wrath, left the Khurāsān front and hastened to Khurramābād. Shāhwardī crossed the Ṣaymara (Karkhā) and escaped to Baghdād. Luristān was given to Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Shāh Rustam. In 1003/1594-5 Shāhwardī was pardoned and restored, but he was not long in relapsing. In 1006/1597-8 Shāh ʿAbbās took the field against him a second time. Shāhwardī was besieged and slain in the fortress of Čangula (in Pusht-i Kūh). Ḥusayn Khān b. Manṣūr Beg Salwīzī (?) was given Luristān, except Ṣaymara, Hindmas (?) and Pushti-Kūh, which were given to Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī Inānlū. This may be regarded as the end of the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Little Lur, although the dynasty of *wālī*s of Luristān (later of Pusht-i Kūh) claims descent from Ḥusayn Khān, who was a cousin of Shahwardī.

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(V. Minorsky)

LURISTĀN, "land of the Lurs", a region in the south-west of Persia. In the Mongol period the terms "Great Lur" and "Little Lur" roughly covered all the lands inhabited by Lur tribes. Since the Ṣafawid period, the lands of the Great Lur have been distinguished by the names of Kūh-Gīlū and Bakhtiyārī. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Mamāsanī confederation occupied the old Shūlistān [*q.v.*] and thus created a third Lur territory between Kūh-Gīlū and Shīrāz.

It is however only since the 16th century that Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*] has been known as Luristān (for greater precision it was called Luristān-i Faylī). In the 19th century, Luristān was divided into two parts: 1. Pīsh-Kūh, "country on this side of the mountains" (i.e. east of Kabīr-Kūh) and 2. Pusht-i Kūh (country beyond the mountains), *i.e.* west of Kabīr-kūh. At the present day, the term Luristān usually means Pīsh-kūh, while Pusht-i kūh means the Faylī country.

The Mamāsanī territory and the Kūh-Gīlū form part of the province of Fārs. The capital of the Mamāsanī is at Fahliyān. Kūh-Gīlū (Kūh-Djilūya, Kūh-Gālū) stretches from Bāsht (west of Fahliyān) to Bihbahān; this last town is the main centre for the tribes of Kūh-Gīlū. To the south, the Kūh-Gīlūʾī tribes descend as far as the Persian Gulf. The mountains of Kūh-Gīlū and the frontier between its tribes and the Bakhtiyārī are not yet well-known. The chief rivers of Kūh-Gīlū are the Āb-i Shīrīn which is formed by the junction of the Khayrābād and the Zohra, and in its lower course runs via Zaydān and Hindiyān, and the Āb-i Kurdistān or Djarrāhī, one branch of which later runs into the Kārūn [*q.v.*] and the other towards Dawraḳ. On Kūh-Gīlū, see the valuable *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* of Ḥasan Fasāʾī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the itineraries of Stocqueler, Haussknecht (*Routen im Orient*, Map iv), Wells and Herzfeld, and the general account in Bode, i, 251-89; ii, 327-98; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 132-44, is now very much out of date.

The Bakhtiyārī lands stretch from Čahārmaḥāll (west of Iṣfahān) to Shūshtar; to the south, the Bakhtiyārī march with the Kūh-Gīlū, and to the north they go beyond the northern barrier of Luristān (Shuturān-kūh, etc.). They are found at Faraydan, Burburūd, Djālapagh, and in the cantons around Burūdjird (even before 1840 many villages had been purchased here by Muḥammad Taḳī Khān

Čahār-Lang). Roughly speaking, the Bakhtiyārī occupy the upper basin of the Zanda-rūd and of the Kārūn above Shūshtar. The works of Layard, Sawyer, Mrs. Bishop, Curzon etc. give a very accurate picture of this mountainous country, in the centre of which rises the Kūh-i Rang (12,800 feet high) which forms the watershed between the Persian Gulf and the central Persian plateau. (It may be asked if the name Kūh-i Rang is not the Mongol *küren*, "encampment, laager", found in Luristān?)

The frontier between the Bakhtiyārī and the Lurs proper follows the western branch of the Āb-i Diz, an important tributary of the Kārūn. Luristān (Pīsh-kūh) is bounded on the east and west by the convergent streams of the Āb-i Diz and the Kakhrā, while in the north the range of the Čihil-nā-bālighān, Garrū, etc. separates Luristān from Nihāwand and Silākhor (district of Burūdjird). To the west of Karkhā, Pūsht-i Kūh begins. In the northwest, the frontier of Luristān runs to the southwest of the districts of Hulaylān and Harsīn, which belongs to the province of Kirmānshāh.

The chief left bank tributary of the Karkhā is the Kashgān (Rawlinson: Kashaghan) which is formed by two arms. The northern arm with its tributaries drains the beautiful plains of Hūr-rūd, Alīshtar and Khāwa. The southern arm, separated from the northern one by the Yāfta-kūh range, takes the name of the town of Khurramābād [*q.v.*] near which it passes. After the confluence of the two arms, the Kashgān, running south-westwards, receives on the left bank the combined waters of the Kāwgūn and Tāyin, which flow from Kūh-i Haftād Pahlū (south of Khurramābād) and the northern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. These two ranges are at right angles to the mountains which follow the right bank of the Āb-i Diz, which they separate from the valley of the Karkhā. On the right bank the Kashgān receives the Mādiyān-rūd, "river of the mare". Above Kashgān, the Karkhā receives on its left bank several tributaries of less importance still little known (Rūbār, etc.). Below Kāshgān and also on the left bank, the Karkhā receives the Fānī, Laylum (Lehlum) and Āb-i Zāl. This last river with its tributaries, Anārak, etc., rises in the southern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. The topography of the right bank of the Ab-i Diz is not well-known. The sources of the Baladrūd and its right-bank tributary the Ḳir-āb lie a considerable distance to the north. The Balad-rūd flows into the Āb-i Diz between Dizfūl and Susa. The Ḳir-āb receives on its right bank the waters of the Kūl-i-āb which come down from the high valley of Mūngarra, which with the peaks that surround it form a kind of natural bastion and separate the basin of the Balad-rūd from that of the Āb-i Zāl. The Ṣaḥrā-yi Lur plain, formerly well-irrigated, lies north of Dizfūl and south of Ḳir-āb ("pitch-water"), whose naphta spring has been known since ancient times. It was probably here that Darius settled a colony of Greeks (Ritter, ix, 201).

The interior of Luristān presents a series of mountain ranges, which stretch north-westwards to south-eastwards, the direction usual in Persia, and rise one behind the other between the plain of Susiana and the northern barrier (height about 9,000 feet).

Ancient history. The lands now occupied by the Lur tribes have been inhabited since the period before the arrival of Iranians in them. This region, being at a considerable distance from Assyria, was mainly under the influence of Elam; Susa, where there have been found traces of occupation going back to the third millenium B.C., lies just at the entrance to the mountains of the Little Lur. The purest traces of the local culture and of this alone are found more to the south-east. Just as the Atābegs of the Great Lur had for their capital Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Mālamīr, so in very early times, the lords of this district, the kings of Aiapir (Hapirti?), whatever were their relations with the rulers of Susa, had control at least of the Kārūn valley. The site of Mālamīr (cf. de Bode, Layard, Jéquier in de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, 1902, iii, 133-43, and Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Volker*, Leipzig 1908, 49-50), with its purely indigenous (Elamite, non-Semitic) inscriptions and bas-reliefs, is an important point. The discovery by E. Herzfeld (*Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG* [1926], 259) in the Mamāsanī region of a bas-relief and bricks bearing Elamite characters (1,500-1,000 B.C.) is valuable as indicating the extent of Elamite penetration into the Lur mountains. Kūh-Gīlū lying between Susiana and Persis may correspond to the still-unknown region of Anshan (Anzan), out of which came the ancestors of Cyrus the Great. On the survival of this name near Shushtar, cf. *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, ii, 418 (according to Rawlinson: Assān).

The antiquities of the valley of the Upper Kārūn (the two Sūsan, Lurdagān, the mounds of Salm, Tūr and Īradj) are insufficiently known (Layard, Sawyer). According to Sawyer, the higher Bakhtiyārī lands are "singularly devoid of any ancient landmarks".

Mention should be made of the great importance of Luristān, from at least the later fourth millenium B.C., as a centre for metal-working, with an industry distinguished from other local ones by its greatly-varied and richly decorated range of bronzework, made by the cire-perdue process. This bronzework has some sub-human decoration, but is especially notable for animal motifs. This zoomorphic decoration probably stemmed originally from Elam, which much influenced Luristān till the destruction of Elamite political power by Nebuchadnezzar I (*ca.* 1124-1103 B.C.) of Babylon, after Babylonian influence is visible in Luristān art. The bronze industry continued until the 7th century B.C., in association with equally fine ironwork; see P. R. S. Moorey, *Prehistoric copper and bronze metallurgy in Western Iran (with special reference to Luristān)*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, vii (1969), 131-53.

The western part of Luristān in the strict sense of the word is known as Māsabadhān and Pusht-i Kūh. No monuments of very great antiquity have yet been discovered in Pīsh-kūh except the caves (Median?) of Se-darān between Mūngarra and Khurramābād, see Čirikov, 129. The early inhabitants of Luristān were the Kashshu = Κοσσαῖοι, who imposed their rule on Babylon between 1760 and 1650 B.C. The Achaemenids paid the Kossaioi for the right of passage by the Babylon-Ecbatane route. These highlanders were temporarily subdued by Alexander the Great. Antigonus, pursued by Eumenes, traversed the heart of the Kossaian country, according to Rawlinson on the route Pul-i-tang-Kaylūn pass-Khurramābād (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 335). The Kossaians (who should perhaps be distinguished from the Κίσσιοι = Οὔξιοι = Uwadja = Khūz) spoke a language different from that of their neighbours, but in it we already find proper nouns borrowed from Indo-European. Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. der Altertums*, i/2, Berlin 1913, § 455; Hüsing, *Der Zagros*, 24, and Autran in *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1925, 283. (The name Kashshu has perhaps survived in that of the river Kashgān.)

It is also probable that northern Luristān was more or less dependent on the land of Ellipi, often

mentioned by the Assyrians. This region, which was considerably influenced by Media, is now located in the province of Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh. Cf. Andreas, *Alinza*, in Pauly-Wissowa[2]; Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 379; *Cambridge ancient history*, 1924, ii, cf. map.

We know very little about the Ματιηνοί, a people who (Herodotos, v, 49) were bounded on one side by the Armenians and on the other by the Susians (Reinach, *Un peuple oublié: les Matiènes*, in *Revue des Études Grecques*, vii [1894], 313-18).

Here we can only call attention to these various ethnic elements buried in the later strata of Iranian invasions. In the name of Faraydan, a canton in the northeast of Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī, we have a reminiscence of the Median tribe of Paraitakenoi (Herodotus, i, 110) and of the province of Παραιτακηνή (Strabo, i, 80), which lay between Media and Persia (in Assyrian: Partakka, Partukka; cf. Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 363). The Iranicisation must have been accelerated by the formation of the great empires, Achaemenid, Macedonian, Parthian and lastly Sāsānid. There are many Sāsānid towns in the valley of the Kar<u>kh</u>ā. Many Sāsānid buildings are attributed by the natives to the Atabegs of Luristān, who were certainly nothing more than the restorers. The complicated system of bridges is very remarkable (cf. the photographs in de Morgan, *Études géogr.*, ii, and *Études archéol.*, Paris 1896-7, 360-74), and the roads which may still be traced on the upper courses of the rivers of Susiana. The remains of roads, paved or hewn out of the rock, may be seen at Tang-i Sawlak (between Bihbahān and Mālamīr) near the Sāsānian bas-reliefs (de Bode, i, 353, 364), to the east and west of Mālamīr (de Bode, i, 390, ii, 820: *d<u>j</u>ādda-yi atābakān*), between Dizfūl and Ḳirāb (Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, 93), to the south of <u>Kh</u>āwa (*d<u>j</u>ādda-yi <u>Kh</u>usraw*, Čirikov, 216-21). All these works are evidence of a systematic and continuous penetration. But since at the end of the 4th/10th century the inhabitants of the plain of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān had not yet forgotten the Hūz language (al-Muḳaddasī, 418), colonies of the ancient stocks may have survived in isolated corners of the mountains. The Lur highlands only assumed their present ethnic character under the Atābegs.

The knowledge of the Arab geographers about the Lur country is very summary, although they describe the routes between <u>Kh</u>ūzistān and Fārs (cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 173-80; Arra<u>dj</u>ān-<u>Sh</u>īrāz, 190; Arra<u>dj</u>ān-Sumayram), between <u>Kh</u>ūzistān and Iṣfahān (the road started from Ī<u>dh</u>a<u>dj</u>; Ibn <u>Kh</u>urradā<u>dh</u>bih, 57; al-Muḳaddasī, 401) and lastly, between <u>Kh</u>ūzistān and <u>Dj</u>ibāl. As to these last routes, al-Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>rī, 196, reckons from al-Lur to <u>Sh</u>āpūr-<u>Kh</u>ʷāst 30 *farsa<u>kh</u>s*, from there to Lā<u>sh</u>tar (= Alī<u>sh</u>tar) 12 *farsa<u>kh</u>s*, from there to Nihāwand 10 *farsa<u>kh</u>s* (the road must be that which follows the upper waters of the Baladrūd). A few details of this route are cleared up by al-Muḳaddasī, 401, who gives the following eight stages: Kara<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*]—Wafrawand—Dārḳān—<u>Kh</u>urū<u>dh</u> (certainly = Hūrūd, Hūr-rūd, north of <u>Kh</u>urramābād)—Sābur-<u>Kh</u>uwās (= <u>Sh</u>āpūr-<u>Kh</u>ʷāst = <u>Kh</u>urramābād)—Krkūysh (?)—al-<u>Kh</u>ān—Razmānān—al-Lur. Al-Muḳaddasī, 418, also makes one suspect the existence of a road along the Āb-i Diz: from al-Lur to al-Diz, two stages, from there to Rāyagān one stage, from there to Gūlpāyagān 40 *farsa<u>kh</u>s* through uninhabited country (*mafāza*).

Among the inhabited places in modern Luristān may be noted the following: the town of al-Lūr, 2 *farsa<u>kh</u>s* north of Dizfūl (Ḳanṭarat Andami<u>sh</u>), the site of which should be sought in the plain of Ṣaḥrā-yi Lur near Ṣāliḥābād; the town of Lā<u>sh</u>tar, now disappeared, was certainly in the plain of Alī<u>sh</u>tar; and the town of <u>Sh</u>āpūr-<u>Kh</u>ʷāst. The exact location of the latter is important for the comprehension of certain events in the 5th/11th century (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, ix, 89, 146, 211; x, 166; *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i guzīda*, 557). Rawlinson had identified <u>Kh</u>urramābād with <u>Sh</u>āpūr-<u>Kh</u>ʷāst (cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 202). The combined evidence of al-Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>rī, 196, 201, of the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 70, 176, and particularly of the itinerary of al-Muḳaddasī, 401, fully justify Rawlinson's identification (against Le Strange). The change of name, or moving of the site (cf. Schwarz) must have taken place in the 7th/13th century. The *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (740/1340), which does not include <u>Sh</u>āpūr-<u>Kh</u>ʷāst in its enumeration of the towns of the Little Lur, is the first source to mention <u>Kh</u>urramābād (a town in ruins). It is, on the other hand, not at all probable that the *wilāyat* of Mān-rūd, the alleged ancestral home of the Lurs, is near <u>Kh</u>urramābād. It should be sought to the north of the town of al-Lur near Mān-garra (= Mūngarra). Samhā, mentioned in the *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i guzīda*, 548, was in Mān-rūd; its fortress Diz-i Siyāh must correspond to the fort of Diz which defends the entrance to Mūngarra and was destroyed by the *wālī* of Pu<u>sh</u>t-i Kūh in 1895 (Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lurstämme*, 117). Finally, the stronghold of Girīt (*Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i guzīda*, 549, 552) is mentioned by Čirikov, 133, among the encampments of the tribe of Pāpī (to the south of <u>Kh</u>urramābād).

Economic conditions. Apart from the Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārī districts near Iṣfahān, where there are flourishing villages, the Lur territories inhabited by nomads or semi-nomads only export the products of their cattle-rearing. But the fortunes of the part of Luristān lying along the northern rim of the Ahwāz plain have been transformed by the development of the oilfields of Lālī, Mas<u>dj</u>id-i Sulaymān, Nafṭ Safīd and Haft Kel from the time of William Knox D'Arcy's oil discoveries at Mas<u>dj</u>id-i Sulayman in 1908 and the subsequent development of these oilfields by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (see *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, 518 ff.). Also, Luristān is now crossed by the Trans-Iranian Railway, which follows the Āb-i Diz valley northwards to Arak (Sulṭānābād), Ḳum and Tehran. Already before 1914, surveys were begun by the Persian Railways Syndicate for the Muḥammara (later Bandar <u>Sh</u>āpūr)—Dizfūl—Khurramābād section of what was to be a Trans-Persian Railway, and by the end of 1929 the southern section from Bandar <u>Sh</u>āpūr to Andīmishk had been completed, that one through Luristān being completed in the 1930s. Luristān has thus continued to play a significant role, as it did in ancient times, as a region crossed by routes connecting the main urban centres of western Persia.

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Cooper, *Grass*, New York 1925 (an admirably illustrated book studying the seasonal migrations of the Bakhtiyārī tribe Bābā Aḥmadī: Shūshtar-Shimbār-Zarda-kūh-tribe Bābā Aḥmadī: Shūshtar-Shimbār-Zarda-kūh-Čahār-Mahāll, subsequently made into a film). (V. MINORSKY*)

LŪRḲA, Lorca, a town of Eastern Spain lying between Granada and Murcia and having a population at present of 58,600. It is the ancient *Iluro* or *Heliocroca* of the Romans. In the Islamic period, it formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmīr [*q.v.*], and was famous both for the richness of its soil and subsoil and for its strategic position. Its *ḥiṣn* was one of the most substantial in Andalusia. It is situated at 1,200 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of the Sierra del Cáno, and dominates the course of the river Guadalentín. Under Arab rule it usually shared the fortunes of Murcia, and reverted to Christian rule in 1266.

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LŪRĪ [see LŪLĪ].

LŪṬ, the Biblical Lot (*Genesis*, xiii, 5-13, xvii-xix). The Ḳurʾān, where his story is told in passages belonging to the second and third Meccan periods, places Lūṭ among the "envoys" whose career prefigures that of Muḥammad as a man in conflict with his compatriots, those at whom his message is directly aimed; the crimes of the "people of Lūṭ" were, besides the refusal to believe, their persistence in vices such as lack of hospitality and homosexual practices, a misconduct punished, in spite of intercession by Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], by the dispatch of angels of destruction who utterly devastated the sinful city, which is not identified by name, simply described as *al-muʾtafika* (pl. *al-muʾtafikāt*), a transposition of the Hebrew word *mahpeka* ("overturning"), used in the Bible in reference to the

destruction of Sodom and of its three sister cities. The city was buried under a shower of marked stones (*sidjill*); Lūṭ and his family were saved, with the exception of his wife, who disobeyed the prohibition and turned round during the flight. The relevant Ḳur'ānic data have been collected by H. Speyer. *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen 1931, repr. Hildesheim 1961, 151-8; and by R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, major edition, iii, Paris 1951; index, 1203, single-vol. edition, Paris 1957, index, 721; see also R. Paret, *Der Koran. i. Übersetzung*, Stuttgart 1966, 130, *ii. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1970, 165; W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh 1970, 130 ff. and index, 227; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran*, Paris 1933, 46-8; presentation in apologetic form by the Muslim scholar ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Nadjdjār (*ca.* 1278-1350/1862-1941; see Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 333), *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1386/1966, 95, 112-18.

The "traditions" passed on by Ḳur'ānic commentators, historians and compilers of cautionary tales, rely for the most part on Biblical details which are not found in the Revealed Book, on elements borrowed from the Jewish *Aggada* or freely invented; the iniquitous judgments of the people of Usdūm (Sodom), the theme of the bed of Procrustes, emphasis on the wickedness of Lūṭ's wife, names attributed to anonymous characters in the Scriptural account; for details, see the article by B. Heller in *EI*[1]; summary of Jewish legends, with sources, in Ginzberg's *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909-38 (and re-impression) i, 245-7, v. 241, n. 175, not forgetting M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 132-41. We set forth here only a few references: al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, original edn., viii, 164-6, new edn. Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1957, xii, 547-53; idem, *Annales*, i, 266 ff., 321, 325-43; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Houtsma, 22-4, Nadjaf 1384/1964, 17-19, see Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, Leiden 1907, 30-2; a later version which (like al-Yaʿḳūbī) follows the Biblical text quite closely, by Rashīd al-Dīn, tr. K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels*, Vienna 1973, 35, 36, 38. Popular and cautionary versions: al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325/1907, 65-7, Cairo 1371/1951, 64-6; al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. I. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922-3, i, 145-9. In *ḥadīth* as properly defined, Lūṭ appears in reference to Ḳur'ān, XI, 82/80, in a context giving evidence of the modesty of Muḥammad; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Anbiyā'*, 11 (ed. Krehl, ii, 347; *sulṭānī* edition, repr. Cairo 1378/1958, iv, 179); Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, *K. al-Fitan*, 23, ed. M. Fu'ād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1373/1953, no. 4962, 1335 ff.; see Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 165 ff.

On the basis of the proper noun Lūṭ, and by association with the authentic Arabic root *l-w-ṭ* (with the sense of "sticking", "adhering"), a group of words was formed to indicate unnatural vice [see LIWĀṬ].

In common with other "prophets" of the Ḳur'ān, the figure of Lūṭ was invested with a mystical significance by Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*], who considered him the symbol of the spiritual force that subdues the passions of the concupiscent soul. (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, 13, ed. Abu 'l-ʿAlā' ʿAfīfī, Beirut 1365/1946, 126-31 and editor's commentary, 155-62). In the same spirit are the reflections of the Indian Ṣūfī Shāh Walī Allāh (1703-62) in his *Ta'wīl al-aḥādīth fī rumūz ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, abridged tr. J. M. S. Baljon, *A mystical interpretation of Prophetic tales by an Indian Muslim*, Leiden 1973, 20-2.

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(B. HELLER — [G. VAJDA])

LŪṬ B. YAḤYĀ [see ABŪ MIKHNAF].

LUTE [see AL-ʿŪD].

LUṬF (A.), the opposite of *khidhlān* [*q.v.*]. Derivatives of the root *l-ṭ-f* are used in the Ḳur'ān in two senses, as (a) kind (*e.g.*, XLII, 18) and (b) subtle (XXXI, 15; VI, 103; XXXIII, 34; LXVII, 14; XXII, 62). Senses (a) and (b) are linked by the idea of God organising matters in such a way as to bring about a beneficial state of affairs. It is this religious notion which is applied in the Arabic translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Fī mabādi' al-kull* to refer to teleological direction in nature (265), and by Mūsā b. Maymūn to refer to God's stratagem in the hardships which he obliges his creatures to endure (iii. 32. 528). The term is applied theologically to the notion of divine grace, favour or help, being developed by the Muʿtazila to deal with an aspect of human freedom and its relation to divine omnipotence. Divine favour makes it possible for man to act well and avoid evil (ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ*, 519). It is not granted to the sinner, whom God neither prevents from acting well nor directs to commit evil. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who provides the most systematic treatment of *luṭf* in the volume of his encyclopaedia of that name (*Mughnī*, xiii), says that for the Muʿtazila, divine grace is all that is capable of helping the agent carry out the duties set for him without interfering with his freedom. If a person believes only because he has received a *luṭf*, he is not as deserving as if he did not require it. A person who will do the right thing does not require a *luṭf*, which is then not necessary. It cannot be true that God necessarily helps all men, since otherwise it would not be possible to sin (*Sharḥ*, 520) and there would be no free will. But if man acts well, he is rewarded and helped by God as a consequence; if he sins, he is deprived of God's help (*Sharḥ*, 520).

Taken more broadly, the description *luṭf* may be applied to many aspects of human well-being, *e.g.* health (*Mughnī*, xiii, 11), wisdom, the use of reason, prophecy and the provision of holy books (*Nihāya*, 411). These all help to direct man in the right direction without compelling him (*Mutashābih*, ii, 734). Hence a rationale is provided also for punishment. God could turn unbelievers into believers, but His favours do not interfere with voluntary belief and so God does not grant favours which directly convert unbelievers into believers (*Maḳālāt*, 247, 575; a list of *alṭāf* is provided in Shahrastānī, 55).

Another sense in which *luṭf* is obligatory (*wādjib*) is that where God is "obliged" to provide as much *luṭf* as possible to whomever is reponsible for his actions. This doctrine was of course strenuously opposed by the Ashʿariyya, who apply the term *luṭf* to all God's acts, bad as well as good (*Irshād*, 173-4, 265). But for the Muʿtazila, God is morally obliged to send to earth prophets and to arrange for the laws which man ought to follow to be communicated to them. Similarly for the Shīʿī al-Ḥillī, the institution of the *imām*, like prophecy, is a "necessary grace" which is imposed on God. Since God has created the world only in the interests of man, he is obliged by a *luṭf wādjib* to guide his creatures by sending them on occasion mediators to make plain His will. The Muʿtazila thought that man would be capable of social existence without the gift of a prophet or *imām*—nevertheless, they hold that God is obliged to

organise the world well, hence due to a *luṭf wādjib*, has to provide mankind with guidance.

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LUṬF ʿALĪ BEG b. Āḳā Khān, **Persian anthologist and poet**, who is also known by his pen-name Ādhar which he adopted after having used the names Wālih and Nakhat previously. He was descended from a prominent Turcoman family belonging to the Begdīlī tribe of Syria (Begdīlī-i Shāmlū) which had joined the Ḳïzïlbāsh movement [*q.v.*] in the 9th/15th century. Afterwards, the family settled down in Iṣfahān. Many of his relatives served the later Ṣafawids and Nādir Shāh as administrators and diplomats. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg was born on Saturday 20 Rabīʿ II 1134/7 February 1722 (the date mentioned in the two Bombay lithographs of the *Ātashkada* is erroneous). The invasion of the Afghāns occurring in the same year forced his parents to flee to Ḳum, where they lived till his father was appointed to the post of governor of Lār and the coast of Fārs in *ca.* 1148/1735-6, and they moved on to Shīrāz. When his father died at Bandar ʿAbbās two years later, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg undertook the pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz and to the holy shrines in ʿIrāḳ. During a subsequent journey to Mashhad he entered the service of Nādir Shāh, whom he accompanied on a campaign in northern Iran. He continued to work for Nādir's successors, but retired in the early years of the Zand period to a life of study and literary pursuits, subsisting on the revenue of a small estate near Ḳum and living at Iṣfahān, where peace had been restored by Karīm Khān Zand. However, in 1188/1774-5, he and some of his fellow-poets had to leave the city on account of the oppressive rule of the Zand governor Muḥammad Runānī. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg died in 1195/1781 according to the chronograms which his friends Hātif and Ṣabāḥī wrote for him (see *al-Dharīʿa*, ix, Tehran 1332/1953, 3).

Luṭf ʿAlī Beg's fame rests in particular on the anthology *Ātashkada*, on which he continued to work from about 1174/1760-1 almost till the time of his death. The work is divided into two parts, styled "censers" (*midjmara*). The first part, on the poets of previous times, opens with a section (*shuʿla*) devoted to royal poets. Three further chapters (called *akhgar* and subdivided into *sharāras*) deal with the poets of Īrān, Tūrān and Hindūstān according to the districts and towns of their provenance. An appendix on female poets (*furūgh*) has been added to it. The main source for this part of the *Ātashkada* was the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār wa-zubdat al-afkār* of Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshānī. The second *midjmara*, divided into two *partaws*, contains the lives of contemporary poets, many of whom were personal friends of the author. It is preceded by a dedication to Karīm Khān Zand and a sketch of the troubled history of Iran from the time of the Afghān invasion onwards. A short autobiography followed by a selection from Ādhar's own poetry concludes the work.

The *Ātashkada* was often copied in the early 13th/19th century. Lithographs appeared at Calcutta 1249/1833-4, and at Bombay 1277/1860-1 (reprinted Tehran 1337/1958) and 1299/1881-2. An annotated edition by Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī, of which three volumes were published at Tehran (1336/1957, 1338/1959 and 1340/1961), has remained unfinished. N. Bland edited the opening section, the *shuʿla* on royal poets (London 1841), and gave an account of the entire work in *JRAS*, xiv (1843), 345-92. An abridged version, the *Tadhkira-yi Isḥāḳ*, containing the poems only in the alphabetical order of the rhymes, was made by a brother of the author, Isḥāḳ Beg ʿUdhrī (cf. A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, *Ta'rīkh-i tadhkirahā*, i, 182 f.). The existence of a Turkish translation, mentioned by J. H. Kramers (*EI*[1], s.v. *Luṭf ʿAlī Beg*), has been questioned by Tahsin Yazıcı. For a complete inventory of the biographies occurring in the *Ātashkada*, see E. Sachau - H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, cols. 262-93.

As a poet, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg was also held in high esteem by his contemporaries. Much of his early work was lost when the Bakhtiyārī chief ʿAlī Mardān sacked Iṣfahān in 1164/1750. He became a pupil of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Mushtāḳ (d. 1171/1757-8), who was one of the initiators of the "literary return" (*bāzgasht-i adabī*) to the stylistic standards of early Persian poetry which manifested itself among the poets of Iṣfahān and Shīrāz during the Zand period (cf. M. T. Bahār, in *Armaghān*, xiii [1331/1932-3], 713 ff.). Apart from a *Dīwān* (cf. *Bankipore catalogue*, iii, Calcutta 1912, 219-21; Storey, i/2, 870; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahāyi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, 2206 f.), four *mathnawī*s are known: 1. *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*, fragments of which are contained in the *Ātashkada* (for separate manuscripts, see Munzawī, iv, 3331); 2. a short poem, known as *mathnawī-i Ādhar*, which he wrote in imitation of a *mathnawī* entitled *Ātashkada*, or *Sūz-u gudāz*, by Āḳā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Tafrishī, which seems to have inspired him also in the choice of a title for his anthology (cf. A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, in *Madjalla-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Mashhad*, iii [1346/1967-8], 23-51; Munzawī, iv, 3117); 3. a *Sāḳī-nāma* (cf. Munzawī, iv, 2857); 4. a *Mughannī-nāma* (cf. *ibid.*, 3225). Less certain is the attribution to this author of two other works: a prose-work, *Gandjīnat al-ḥaḳḳ*, composed in the manner of Saʿdī's *Gulistān* (mentioned in the *tadhkira Andjuman-i Khāḳān*, cf. Ibn-i Yūsuf Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi madrasa-yi ʿAlī-yi Sipahsālār*, ii, Tehran 1318/1939, 453) and a *tadhkira* on contemporary poets entitled *Daftar-i nuh āsmān* (mentioned by Āḳā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, vii, Nadjaf-Tehran 1329/1950, 226; cf., however, Gulčīn-i maʿānī, *Ta'rīkh-i tadhkirahā*, i, 48 note). As it seems, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg wrote some poems in Turkish as well (cf. M. F. Köprülü, *İA*, s.v. *Âzerî*, 139b).

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Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī, Tehran 1348/1969, 3-17 (J. H. Kramers - [J. T. P. de Bruijn])

LUṬF ʿALĪ KHĀN, the last ruler of the Zand dynasty of Iran. He was born in 1183/1769, the son of Djaʿfar Khān son of Ṣādiḳ, younger brother of the founder of the dynasty, Karīm Khān [*q.v.*]. During his father's reign, when the Ḳādjār armies had overrun most of northern Iran, Luṭf ʿAlī subjugated Lār and Kirmān and for the last time retook Iṣfahān, but was soon forced back to Shīrāz. When his father was killed in 1204/1789 in a coup led by Ṣayd Murād Khān Zand, Luṭf ʿAlī fled to Bushire (Būshahr), where he was assisted by the governor Shaykh Nāṣir, long a loyal vassal of the Zands. Thus reinforced he marched on Shīrāz, where a fifth column led by the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] (mayor), Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, aided him to overthrow the rebels.

A brave and likeable youth, in contrast to his cruel and treacherous father, Luṭf ʿAlī was genuinely welcomed by the populace. Though defeated in the field, he held Shīrāz against a Ḳādjār assault; the following year he unsuccessfully besieged Kirmān, then in 1205/1791 set out to recapture Iṣfahān. However, since his accession he had become openly suspicious of the influential Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, and was induced by whispers of his disloyalty to take with him the *kalāntar*'s young son as a hostage. Acting perhaps in self-preservation, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm arrested the Zand officers left in Shīrāz and took over the garrison; his brother, who was with Luṭf ʿAlī's army, fomented a mutiny from which the young Zand leader and three hundred men fled to Shīrāz. Here he found the gates closed against him and was deserted by all but four of his followers. Fleeing again to Bushire, he found that Shaykh Nāṣir's son and successor had elected to support the *kalāntar*. Nevertheless, he recruited some local support and successively defeated both Zand and Ḳādjār forces sent against him. Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm's appeal to the Ḳādjār leader to occupy Shīrāz was answered by Āghā Muḥammad Khān in person with an army of 40,000. Luṭf ʿAlī's small cavalry force defeated the Ḳādjār vanguard and that night came within a hair's breadth of capturing the main camp. In 1207/1792 Āghā Muḥammad entered Shīrāz, and Luṭf ʿAlī was henceforth a fugitive, still mounting guerrilla attacks from temporary bases all over south-eastern Iran. Supported successively by chiefs of Ṭabas and Narmāshīr, he twice held the city of Kirmān; in 1209/1794, after a four-month siege, the Ḳādjār army was admitted to the town by treachery and Luṭf ʿAlī barely escaped to Bam. For their support of his rival, Āghā Muḥammad wrought a terrible revenge on the people of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. The governor of Bam, fearing a similar fate, betrayed Luṭf ʿAlī to the Ḳādjār leader, who blinded and tortured him before taking him to Tehran for execution in Rabīʿ II 1209/November 1794.

As the gallant underdog, Luṭf ʿAlī inspired admiration in contemporaries both Iranian and European, though the Persian chronicles, written under Ḳādjār patronage, are of necessity more circumspect. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, who accompanied him during part of his time as a fugitive, and Sir John Malcolm, to whom Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm later tried to justify his tergiversation, praise the youth's daring and resilience, which indeed imparted a certain nobility to the largely self-inflicted death throes of the Zand dynasty. His alienation of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, however, was symptomatic of the dynasty's failure to live up to its early promise. Karīm Khān had been careful to cultivate the trust of the rural and urban classes in addition to that of his tribal army, whereas his successors, including Luṭf ʿAlī, were too intent on feuding among themselves and fending off the Ḳādjārs to promote or even protect the benefits which the bureaucracy, merchants, artisans and peasantry had obtained from Karīm Khān. Having lost the support of the towns, Luṭf ʿAlī's nomad force disintegrated in the face of a Ḳādjār army which was, if not militarily, certainly politically and logistically stronger.

Bibliography: *Das Târîkh-i Zandîje*, ed. Beer, Leiden 1888; *Dhayl-i Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm*, 324 ff. and *Dhayl-i Āḳā Muḥammad Riḍā*, 374 ff., in Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gītīgushā*, ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1317; J. Malcolm, *The history of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 174 ff., London 1829, ii, 106 ff.; H. J. Brydges, *The dynasty of the Kadjars*, London 1833, pp. cxx ff. of the introduction (translated into Persian as *Ākharīn rūzhā-yi Luṭf ʿAlī Khān-i Zand* by H. Nāṭiḳ and J. Gurney, Tehran 1353/1974); ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *ʿĀḳibat-i Luṭf ʿAlī Khān-i Zand*, in *Yādgār*, iii, no. 5, 26-37.

(J. R. Perry)

LUṬFĪ, 14th and 15th century poet in Čaghatay Turkish, and the greatest master of the *ghazal* before ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī (845-906/1441-1501). The little that is known about his life comes mainly from 15th and 16th century works, especially those of Nawāʾī. Luṭfī was born in Harāt, and died and was buried at his home in the nearby suburb of Dih-i Kanār at the age of 99 (Muslim) years. Modern scholarly conjecture suggests *ca.* 768-867/1367-1463 (J. Eckmann); or d. 870/1465-6 or even later (H. F. Hofman). He lived quietly, but some contact with the Tīmūrid court is indicated by his dedications of a few poems to princes from Shāh Rukh to Ḥusayn Bayḳara. Nawāʾī, who knew him personally, reports that after studying the secular sciences, Luṭfī was initiated into Ṣūfī mysticism by Shihāb al-Dīn Khiyābānī, that the poet was a saintly person and was a close friend of Djāmī, the great Persian poet and mystic of Harāt.

Luṭfī's poetry has been highly esteemed since his own lifetime. There has been general agreement with the judgement of Nawāʾī who said he was "the Master and King of Speech of his people" (*Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān*), "the King of Speech of his time", peerless in Persian and Turkish, but better known for his Turkish poetry (*Madjālis al-nafāʾis*), and the single Turkish poet comparable to the greatest Persian poets (*Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*). Nawāʾī even incorporated five complete *ghazal*s of Luṭfī into his own poems (*mukhammas* and *musaddas*).

While Luṭfī wrote some *ḳaṣīdas* and two major *mathnawī*s, his poetic gifts and originality were best displayed in the *ghazal* and *tuyugh*. In combining the classical Persian lyric tradition with elements of Turkish popular poetry, he produced *ghazal*s of graceful simplicity which concealed a subtle sophistication, while yet retaining some flavour of Turkish folksong. This results in part from his preference for those *ʿarūḍ* metres which corresponded approximately with Turkish syllabic metres, but also from his use of specifically Turkish features, such as proverbs and folk sayings reflecting ancient Turkish customs and beliefs, and of imagery which was often more realistic than that of classical Persian poetry. His verse seems to contain proportionately more words of Turkish origin and less Arabic and Persian loan words than any of his contemporaries or successors in classical Čaghatay. The musicality he achieved is due not only to his exquisite word choice

and sequence, but also to his technical skill in developing such features as the extended *radīf* [*q.v.*]. The wit and humour displayed in new uses of old images, the enjoyable puns and wordplays in both *ghazal* and *tuyugh*, were also not negligible factors in ensuring his continuous popularity for five centuries. His influence is visible in the works of such contemporaries as Sakkākī, Atāyī and Gadā'ī and of later poets directly, and even more, indirectly, by way of his influence on Nawā'ī's poetry, which was universally admired. Echoes of Luṭfī are heard even in poets from other linguistic areas, such as the Azeri and Ottoman ones, particularly Fuḍūlī (d. 1556) and the Turkmen ones, especially Makhdūm-Ḳulī (18th century). Verses by Luṭfī are frequently cited in Čaghatay-Ottoman and Čaghatay-Persian dictionaries from the 16th century onwards, and are plentiful in anthologies of the same period.

Literary Works. All Luṭfī's known works are in Čaghatay Turkish, except no. 4 (1) *Dīwān*. At least 20 mss. are extant, belonging to five major recensions, but each group contains some material lacking in the others. The total number of poems is not less than 548, of which 378 are *ghazal*s and 112 are *tuyugh*s. (Further research may yield more poems.) Of the recensions, the most reliable is group (a), consisting of 2 mss.: ms. Birnbaum (Toronto) TC1 iii (late 15th–early 16th century) and British Library, Add. 7914 vi (Harāt 914/1509). The former contains 361 poems (1 *munādjāt*, 1 *na't*, 297 *ghazals*, 62 *tuyughs*) and is the longest *Dīwān* of all Luṭfī mss. The latter lacks the last 107 *ghazals*. The other groups are (b) Paris, Suppl. Turc 981 and (c) Gotha T211 (both 16th century, with some similarities); (d) Bursa, Müze 113/156 (16th-17th century). Group (e) comprises all other known mss.: (i) all the mss. in the USSR: Tashkent, Uzbek Academy of Sciences (6 mss.), Navoi Museum (1 ms.), Dushanbe, Tajik Academy of Sciences (4 mss.), Leningrad (2 mss., nos. A109, C1922—the one numbered B1181 is an Ottoman poet Luṭfī); (ii) Istanbul, University Library, T5452; (iii) Tehran, Sipahsālār 174. Group (e) mss. (which may be further subdivided) were all copied in the 18th-20th centuries and show many Uzbek and other local influences. The state of their text is markedly inferior to groups (a)-(d). Hundreds of verses attributed to Luṭfī appear in ms. anthologies in major libraries, especially in the Uzbek and Tajik academies. Most are quotations from *ghazal*s known from his *Dīwān*. Uyghur script copies of 13 *ghazals* are found in 3 mss. from the 9th/15th century. A number of verses from Luṭfī's *Dīwān* appear with minor differences in Sakkākī's *Dīwān*. (2) *Gul u Nawrūz*. An allegorical romantic epic in 2,400 *mathnawī* verses. Composed in 814/1411, it is a free version in simple Čaghatay, based on the Persian work of this name by Djalāl Ṭabīb (composed 734/1334). Seven mss. extant (see Hofman, *TL*). (3) *Ẓafar-nāma* (not extant). Described by Nawā'ī as being a *mathnawī* "translation" of more than 10,000 verses, which never got beyond the draft stage. It was presumably about the exploits of Tīmūr, whose son Shāh Rukh commissioned its writing; it was probably based on Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's Persian *Ẓafar-nāma*. (4) *Dīwān* in Persian, including *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. Apparently not extant, but citations appear in biographical *tadhkiras* and ms. anthologies.

Editions. (1) Facsimile edition of Bursa ms., *Lutfi Divanı* [with introd. by] İsmail H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1960 (incomplete, unfoliated); (2) the *Dīvān of Luṭfī*, including facsimile of Birnbaum ms. TC1 iii, ed. E. Birnbaum (in preparation); (3) Lutfiy, *Devon; Gul va Navruz* (selections, in Cyrillic script, by S. Erkinov), Tashkent 1965.

Bibliography: General description and major references in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (= *PTF*) ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 307-14 and index (J. Eckmann); xxxix, xli, xlii, l, liv, lxii (A. Bombaci); A. Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, tr. I. Mélikoff, Paris 1968, 110-16, 402 and index; H. F. Hofman, *Turkish literature* (= *TL*) Section 3, Pt. 1, Utrecht 1969, vol. iv, 63-74; vol. ii, 126, 220; vol. iii, 211; vol. v, 154. Corrections to this, and further details and references in review of Hofman's *TL* by E. Birnbaum, in *JAOS*, xciii/2 (1973), 240-1. The two best detailed studies of Luṭfī's literary work are in E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannïe trudï: Navoi i Dzhami*, Moscow 1965, esp. 49-59; and with more examples, É. R. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka* (Üzbek poetry in the first half of the 15th century), Moscow 1963. Referencs to literature later than *PTF* and *TL*: *Vostočnikh Rukopisey Akad. Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, Tashkent 1952- (indexes to individual volumes s.v. Luṭfī, because general indexes to vols. i-viii, appended to vol. x (1975), are incomplete); *Katalog Vostočnikh Rukopisey Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR*, tom ii, iv, v, Dushanbe, 1968-74, (indexes). References by Nawā'ī to Luṭfī in: Alisher Navoiy, *Asarlar*. Onbesh tomlik (in Cyrillic characters), 15 vols., Tashkent 1963-8 (tom 12, *Madjālis*, 61-2; tom 14, *Ḥālāt-i ... Ḥasan*, 78, *Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān*, 98, *Mīzān*, 179; tom 15, *Nasā'im*, 181-2); and *Ali Şir Nevaî*, [ed.] Agâh Sırrı Levend, Istanbul 1965-68, cilt i, 69-70 (*Dīwān*, *Dībādja*), iv, 73-4 (*Madjālis*); 122 (*Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān*), 213 (*Muḥākamat*); Navā'ī, *Divān* (facsimile ed. L. V. Dmitrieva), Moscow 1964, fol. 6b; O. F. Sertkaya, *Uygur harfleri ile yazılmış bazı manzum parçalar*, i-ii, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi* (= *TDED*), xx (1972), 157-84 and *TDED*, xxi (1973), 175-95; idem, *Some new documents written in the Uigur script in Anatolia*, in *CAJ*, xxviii/3 (1974), 180-92; E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx/3 (1976), 164, 174.

(E. Birnbaum)

LUṬFĪ EFENDI, Aḥmad, Ottoman court historiographer (*waḳ'a-nüwīs*). 1. Life. He was born the son of Meḥmed Agha, a master sandal-maker, in 1232/1816-17 in the Aladja Ḥammām quarter of Istanbul. He attended the local Ḳur'ān school and became a *ḥāfiẓ*, and also practised music regularly at the house of Zayn al-'Ābidīn Efendi, Sultan Maḥmūd II's chief *imām*. In 1244/1828-9 he was enrolled in the Mathematical College (*Hendese-khāne-yi berrī*), but left it after a year for the *madrasa* of 'Amūdja-zāde Hüseyin Pasha, where he studied Arabic, Persian, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*. In 1247/1831-2 he embarked on a scholarly career, and in 1252/1836-7 he became head of the body of religious teachers or *müderrisīn* in Istanbul. The following year, he was charged with collating documents for the official records office (*Taḳwīm-khāne*) and with lecturing before the sultan on selected days in Ramaḍān. He translated al-Ghazālī's *Ta'līm al-muta'allim* into Turkish, with some additions of his own, as the *Tafhīm al-mu'allim* and presented it to the sultan, now 'Abd al-Medjīd. He then took up a job in the secretarial office of the Grand Vizier (1258/1842), where he worked as a Persian translator, until Rabī' II 1266/February 1850, when he was appointed to the itinerant clerkship of the Buildings Council (*'Imāre medjlisi*) in the districts of Vidin and Nish in Rumelia. He returned to Istanbul after a

year and was appointed first to the head clerkship of the Police Council (*Ḍabṭiyye medjlisi*) and then to the *Taḳwīm-khāne* once more, and was charged with the regular and weekly preparation and publication of the official gazette, the *Taḳwīm-i waḳāyiʿ*.

In 1265/1849 he was sent temporarily to Philipopolis (Filibe) in Bulgaria for a period of nine months, in order to collect arrears (*baḳāyā*) of taxation. Meanwhile, he also held the clerkship of the Investigation Committee (*Teftīsh hayʾati*) of Anatolia for two years. When this latter post was abolished, he again returned to the *Taḳwīm-khāne* (1269/1852-3). Eventually, in 1278/1861-2, he became a member of the Medical Council (*Ṭibbiyye medjlisi*) and taught official composition in Turkish (*inshāʾ* [*q.v.*]) at the Medical School. Soon afterwards, in addition to becoming a member of the Education Council (*Maʿārif medjlisi*) and continuing to edit the *Taḳwīm-i waḳāyiʿ*, he was entrusted with the supervision of government printing. At the end of 1281/beginning of 1865 he became *Wāḳiʿa-nüwīs* and remained in this job, in which he achieved fame, for many years. However, in 1293/1876 he again returned to the scholarly field, and his *mülkiyye* rank was changed to the status of the *ḳāḍīlik* of Istanbul. The following year he was appointed a member of the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi devlet*; in Muḥarram 1297/December 1879-January 1880 he was promoted to the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskerlik* of Anatolia; and on 11 Muḥarram 1299/3 December 1881 to that of Rumelia. In 1304/1887, despite his occupying this latter post, one of the highest ranks in the learned institution, he returned to his previous post in the Council of State.

Luṭfī Efendi died at his *yalı* at Boyadjıköy near Istanbul on 2 Ṣafar 1325/17 March 1907 and was buried in the Sofular Mosque cemetery in the vicinity of Aḳsarāy. Highly literate in Arabic and Persian and skilled in poetry and composition, he had also been an adherent of the Mevlevī dervish order.

2. Works. His most famous work was the continuation of the history of Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], known accordingly as the *Luṭfī Taʾrīkhi*, written in a straightforward style, and utilising information from the *Taḳwīm-i waḳāyiʿ* and some official documents. It is in 15 volumes covering the events from the beginning of Muḥarram 1241/16 August 1825 to the middle of 1293/middle of 1876; the first seven volumes were published between 1290/1873 and 1306/1889 at the Government Press and the Maḥmūd Bey Press during his own lifetime, and volume viii was published posthumously in 1328/1910 at the Ṣabāḥ Press by the court historiographer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref Efendi with some additions. The manuscripts of vols. ix-xv, which were presented to the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, were transferred from the Yıldız Library to the Türk Taʾrīkh Endjümeni Library, and thence placed in the Türk Tarih Kurumu Library in Ankara; they remain unpublished. The original manuscripts of the first volumes of the *Taʾrīkh*, together with some other rough drafts of the author's, are in the former Imperial Museum (now Archaeological Museum) Library in Istanbul.

His book *Dīwānče-yi Wāḳiʿa-nüwīs Aḥmad Luṭfī* contains some of his poetry and some history in poetic form; it was printed at Istanbul in 1302/1884-5 and comprises 100 pages. The original manuscript of his *Lughat-ı ḳāmūs*, a dictionary of 53,000 words, arranged by him alphabetically from a Turkish translation of the Arabic *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* made by the court historiographer ʿĀṣim [see ʿĀṢIM, AḤMAD, and ḲĀMŪS 3, Turkish lexicography], is in the Archaeological Museum Library; only the first two parts of it, covering the letters *alif* and *bāʾ*, have been published (in 1282/1865-6 and 1286/1869-70 respectively).

Bibliography: Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1-8, viii, 2-6, xv (= TTK Ankara, ms. no. y 531-7), f. 65a; idem, *Dīwānče*, 33, 40; İ.M.K. İnal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1969, 896-99; Djemāl al-Dīn Efendi, *ʿOthmānlı taʾrīkh we müwerrikhleri*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 120-5; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1342/1923-4, iii, 136-7, ed. İsmail Özen, Istanbul 1975, iii, 96; İ. A. Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, 230; idem, *Meşhur adamlar*, Istanbul 1933-5, iii, 976; *Meydan-Larousse*, i, 176. (M. MÜNIR AKTEPE)

LUṬFĪ PASHA B. ʿABD AL-MUʿĪN, Ottoman statesman and Grand Vizier, probably an Albanian by origin, born *ca.* 893/1488 (see M. T. Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *Luṭfī Paşa*).

As a *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] youth, he entered Bāyezīd II's [*q.v.*] *ḥarem-i khāṣṣ*, where he received a thorough education in the Islamic sciences. He held the post of *čuḳadār* before the accession of Selīm I [*q.v.*], when he graduated (*tashra čıḳmaḳ*) as a *müteferriḳa* with 50 *aḳčes* [*q.v.*] daily, and then held in turn the posts of *čashnigīr bashı* [*q.v.*], *ḳapudjı bashı* and *mīr-i ʿalem*. His first appointment to service outside the Palace was as *sandjaḳ begi* [*q.v.*] of Ḳasṭamuni, and he subsequently became *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān. Luṭfī Pasha himself gives these details of his life in the introduction to his *Āṣaf-nāme* (ed. with translation and introduction by R. Tschudi, *Das Aṣafnâme des Luṭfi Pascha*, Berlin 1910; ed. Shükrī Bey, with introduction by ʿAlī Emīrī, Istanbul 1326/1908). However, he does not give the dates of his appointments and omits all details of his life before entering the Palace. He may also have served as *sandjaḳ begi* first of Aydın and then of Yanya (Ioánnina), since Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*] mentions a Luṭfī Beg who served at the siege of Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]) in 928-9/1522 as *sandjaḳ begi* of Aydın (Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274/1857, i, 539), and a Luṭfī Beg who served at the siege of Vienna in 936/1529 as *sandjaḳ begi* of Yanya (*ibid.*, i, 573). These references may well be to Luṭfī Pasha, the future Grand Vizier, since he himself claimed to have participated in both these campaigns (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1341/1922-3, 3). In 941/1534-5 he became Third Vizier. By this time he had, by his own account, served in Selīm I's wars against the Ṣafawids in eastern Anatolia, and against the Mamlūks in Syria and Egypt. Under Süleymān I [*q.v.*], he took part in the campaigns of Belgrade in 927/1521, Rhodes in 928-9/1522, Mohács in 932/1526, Buda and Vienna in 935-6/1529, Güns in 939/1532 and against the Ṣafawids in 940-2/1533-6. In the latter campaign he served probably as *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān, commanding the rearguard of the Ottoman army at Tabrīz in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 941/September-October 1534 (Ferīdūn Beg, *op. cit.*, i, 587). During the same campaign he was active in operations around Lake Van, when he commanded the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] to construct a fleet at Tatvan (Sāʿī, *Tadhkirat al-bunyān*, Istanbul 1315/1897-8; quoted in M. Fuad Köprülü, *Luṭfī Pasha*, in *Türkiyyāt Medjmūʿası*, i [1925], 119-50).

As Third Vizier, Luṭfī Pasha commanded the fleet which left Istanbul on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 943/11 May 1537 to join forces at Avlonya (Valona, Vlorë) with the army under the Sultan, which had travelled overland. While the *Ḳapudan Pasha* Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] sailed to Egypt to collect provisions, forces under Luṭfī Pasha raided the coasts of Apulia. On

the return of Khayr al-Dīn, Andrea Doria's attack on two galleys in the command of the *ketkhüdā* of Gallipoli (Gelibolu [*q.v.*]), and a second attack on a galley which Luṭfī Pasha had sent with messages to Corfu (Körfüz [*q.v.*]), furnished a pretext to attack this island. On 18 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 944/25 August 1537, Ottoman forces under Luṭfī Pasha landed and overran the island, but were unable to take the fortress. On the command of the Sultan, and despite Luṭfī and Khayr al-Dīn Pashas' objections, Ottoman troops began to withdraw on 1 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 944/7 September 1537. Luṭfī Pasha returned to Istanbul with a section of the fleet (see Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 48-50).

On the death of Muṣṭafā Pasha on 1 Muḥarram 945/30 May 1538, Luṭfī Pasha replaced him as Second Vizier. In this capacity, he accompanied the army on the campaign to Moldavia (Ḳara Boghdan [see BOGHDĀN]). The army left Istanbul on 11 Ṣafar 945/9 July 1538, and crossed the River Prut on a bridge which Sinān had constructed on Luṭfī Pasha's orders (Sāʿī, *loc. cit.*).

When Ayās Pasha [*q.v.*] died on 20 Ṣafar 946/7 July 1539, Luṭfī Pasha succeeded to the Grand Vizierate. In this position he led the negotiations which ended the war with Venice. By the terms of the peace concluded on 20 Radjab 947/20 November 1540, Venice ceded Monemvasía and Návplion, in addition to all places lost in the war, and paid an indemnity of 300,000 ducats (200,000 according to Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, 384). Luṭfī Pasha himself received a payment of 10,000 ducats from the Venetians (E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i, Paris 1848, 471). He also headed negotiations with the Habsburgs over Ferdinand's claim to territory in Hungary which Janós Zapolyai had ruled as an Ottoman vassal. The issue eventually led to war, and an Ottoman army left for Hungary in Muḥarram 948/May 1541. At this moment, however, the Sultan dismissed his Grand Vizier. Although Luṭfī Pasha himself represents his removal from office as voluntary retirement to be "secure from the wiles of women" (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 5), it appears to have followed a violent quarrel with his wife, Dewlet Shāhī Sulṭān, the Sultan's sister, whom he had married in 945/1538-9. According to ʿĀlī (*Künh al-akhbār*, quoted by Köprülü, in *op. cit.*), the quarrel followed his wife's objection to his grisly punishment of a prostitute. After his dismissal, Luṭfī Pasha retired to his *čiftlik* [*q.v.*] in Dimetoḳa.

Luṭfī Pasha obviously regarded his administrative activities as the greatest achievement of his vizierate. His *Āṣaf-nāme* summarises his views on the principles of sound administration, at the same time mentioning his own reforms. The greatest of these he regarded as the abolition, except in cases of extreme urgency, of the *ulaḳ ḥükmü*, whereby state couriers (*ulaḳ*) could arbitrarily expropriate horses from the populace for their own and their retinues' use. Instead, he established a system of regular staging posts with their own horses (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 10-11; Luṭfī Pasha, *op. cit.*, 371-82; see also C. J. Heywood, *Some Turkish archival sources for the history of the menzilhane network in Rumeli during the eighteenth century*, in *Boğaziči Üniversitesi Dergisi*, iv-v [1976-7], 50 n. 9). In the financial sphere, he claimed to have reduced state expenditure by, among other things, limiting the number of *ḳapīkulu* troops to 15,000, so that income exceeded expenditure. This had not been the case at the time of his appointment (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 35-40). Evidently to prevent oppressive taxation, he advised against the regular levy of *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, 41-2), and recommended that tax-farms (*muḳāṭaʿa*) be exploited by salaried officials (*emīn* [*q.v.*]) rather than by tax-farmers (*mültezim*) (*ibid.*, 39). Further to protect individuals against the claims of the state, he ensured that the Treasury did not appropriate inheritances until seven years had elapsed without an heir appearing (*ibid.*, 11-12). In strategic matters he rightly stressed the importance of the Ottoman fleet since the time of Selīm I, and claimed responsibility for establishing a number of squadrons outside Istanbul and an *emīn* to supervise naval expenditure (*ibid.*, 33; see also C. H. Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi [1974], 211-83).

An independent witness to Luṭfī Pasha's reforms is Moses Almosnino of Salonica (*ca.* 1515-*ca.* 1580), who reported that he had protected miners against the exploitation of mining concessionaires, and cattle-raisers against drovers and butchers (Moses ben Baruch Almosnino, *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla*, Madrid 1638, 130-3). Luṭfī Pasha's vizierate may also have seen the promulgation of the *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*] of Süleymān I (U. Heyd, ed. V. L. Ménage, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 26-7).

Shortly after his retirement, Luṭfī Pasha returned to Istanbul to request the Sultan's permission to go on the Pilgrimage, which he performed eventually in 949/1547, before returning again to Dimetoḳa, where he spent the rest of his life. In retirement, he devoted himself to writing works on morals, *fiḳh* and theology. He also wrote verse (Sehī, *Hesht behisht*, Istanbul 1325/1907, 25; quoted by M. Fuad Köprülü, *op. cit.*). He himself lists thirteen works in Arabic and six in Turkish (Luṭfī Pasha, *op. cit.*, 3-4; R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, pp. XV-XVIII). He does not include the *Āṣaf-nāme*, which he may therefore have completed after his *History*, which dates from after 961/1554. He died probably in 970/1562-3 in Dimetoḳa (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*; quoted by M. Fuad Köprülü, *op. cit.*).

In Istanbul he endowed a fountain; in the village of Müslim near Edirne, he endowed a mosque and a *muʿallim-khāne* with 100,000 *aḳčes* and the income from twenty shops in Edirne (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve pâşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 506-7).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see J. H. Mordtmann's valuable review of R. Tschudi's edition of the *Āṣaf-nāme* in *ZDMG*, lvi (1911), 599-603. (C. H. IMBER)

LUṬFĪ AL-SAYYID, AḤMAD, Egyptian scholar, statesman and writer, born in the village of Barḳayn, Daḳahliyya Province, on 15 January 1872 and died in Cairo on 5 March 1963. His family were rural gentry (*aʿyān*), and both his father, al-Sayyid Abū ʿAlī, and his grandfather were *ʿumda*s. He was educated in the traditional *kuttāb*, the government school in al-Manṣūra, the Khedivial Secondary School in Cairo and the School of Law in Cairo. The most significant intellectual contacts which he made at the School of Law were with Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Ḥassūna al-Nawāwī. Having graduated in 1894, he entered the legal department of the government service, where he worked until 1905. In 1907, he became editor-in-chief of a new newspaper, *al-Djarīda*, which voiced the views of a number of enlightened and liberal *aʿyān* and the party which they founded later in 1907, the Ḥizb al-Umma ("National Party"). Luṭfī's writings in *al-Djarīda* from 1907-14 comprise his most important and influential body of work. From 1915-18 he was director of the National

Library, but resigned to act as secretary to the original *Wafd* of 1918-19 headed by Saʿd Zaghlūl. He soon returned to the National Library, where he began his second substantial series of works, his translations from Aristotle via the French versions of Jules Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire. From 1925-41 he was Chancellor of the Egyptian (later Cairo) University, with intermissions as Minister of Education (1928-9) and Minister of the Interior (1929). In his later years, he was a member of the Senate, and on retiring from politics, was president of the Academy of Arabic Language until his death. His liberal philosophy was largely the product of his readings in Western philosophers and sociologists from Aristotle to Locke and Bentham, Mill, Spencer, Rousseau, Comte and Le Bon. He saw Egyptian nationality as the result of historical and environmental factors which Egyptianised all who resided permanently in Egypt and committed their destinies to her. Hence he campaigned tirelessly against Pan-Islamic, Pan-Arab and Pan-Ottoman ideologies in *al-Djarīda*, but granted equal worth to Egypt's Pharaonic and Islamic heritages. Rejecting religion as a basis for nationhood, he insisted that utility was the foundation of all political and social unity. He proclaimed freedom as the right of both the individual and the nation, and followed Muḥammad ʿAbduh's advocacy of a gradualist approach towards a constitutional régime through universal education. By his middle years, he was already called *ustādh al-djīl* ("teacher of the generation"), and his writings are considered a notable contribution in the formation of modern literary Arabic. His autobiography appeared first in *al-Muṣawwar*, Cairo, September-December 1950, and in book form as *Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī*, Cairo 1962. Selected editorials from *al-Djarīda* have been published in the following collections edited by Ismāʿīl Maẓhar: *al-Muntakhabāt*, 2 vols., Cairo 1945; *Ṣafaḥāt maṭwiyya*, Cairo 1946; and *Taʾammulāt fi 'l-falsafa wa 'l-adab wa 'l-siyāsa wa 'l-idjtimāʿ*, Cairo 1946. His translations from Aristotle comprise: *ʿIlm al-akhlāḳ ilā Nikūmākhūs* (*Nicomachean ethics*), Cairo 1924; *al-Kawn wa 'l-fasād* (*Generation and corruption*), Cairo 1932; *ʿIlm al-ṭabīʿa li-Arisṭūṭālīs* (*Physics*), Cairo 1935; *al-Siyāsa li-Arisṭūṭālīs* (*Politics*), Cairo 1948.

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(C. Wendell)

LUṬFIYYA [see SHĀDHILIYYA].

LŪṬĪ (also Lāṭī, Lawāṭa-kār), in current Persian strictly speaking an itinerant entertainer accompanied by a monkey, bear or goat, which dances to the sound of a drum and coarse songs. This however appears to have been a late restriction of the meaning of the term, deriving perhaps from its earlier use to describe a jester attached to a royal or princely court. In other contexts, it is equivalent to a loose liver, gambler, wine-bibber, and more especially, a pederast. The last meaning lends colour to the generally accepted derivation, through Arabic *lūṭī*, *lawwāṭ*, from the Prophet Lot, though this has been questioned by some scholars. Another less likely source is the Persian word *lūt*, meaning "victuals", whence *lūtī* = "greedy".

One of the earliest recorded uses of the term in Persian is by the 4th/10th century poet Kisāʾī, who associates it with the words *tāz* and *makyāz*, both meaning "catamite". Nāṣir-i Khusraw, writing in the 5th/11th century, uses the term as equivalent to "wine-drinker, thief, whoremonger", while Sūzanī (6th/12th century) warns against commercial dealings with *lūṭīs*, which suggests that the word was by then acquiring its later meaning of "vagabond, wastrel". Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (7th/13th century) and ʿUbayd Zākānī (8th/14th century), however, use it primarily in the sense of "pederast".

Probably as a result of the association in certain aspects of Ṣūfī thought between loose living and the following of the Ṣūfī path [see MALĀMATIYYA], expressions such as *lūṭī-yi Allāhī*, *lūṭī-yi Khudāʾī*, are found with the significance of "generous, manly". In current parlance, *lūṭī* also means "rascal, vagabond", *lūṭī-bāzār* or *lūṭī-bāzī* "cheating", particularly in financial matters, *lūṭī-khʷur kardan* "improvidence, wastefulness". On the other hand, *lūṭī-garī* implies "generosity".

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

LUWĀTA [see LAWĀTA].

LUXOR [see AL-UḲṢUR].

LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM, "observing rules that are not prescribed", term commonly used for the adoption of a second, or even a third or fourth, invariable consonant preceding the rhyme consonant (*rawī*) which, at least in classical poetry, remains itself invariable [see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 412a, middle]. The term is also used in dealing with rhymed prose (*sadj*) [*q.v.*]. In later Arabic and Persian literary theory the term covers not only the classical *luzūm*, but also a variety of other devices which have nothing to do with the end rhyme. Common synonyms of *luzūm* are *iʿnāt* and *iltizām*, and several authors insist that one finds the terms *taḍmīn*, *tashdīd*, and *taḍyīḳ* in the sense of *luzūm*.

Scholars occupied with rhyme theory point out that the introduction of a second invariable rhyme consonant is rare among the ancient poets; they justify the practice by arguing that some poets chose to regard the suffix *-at* of the third person feminine of the verb in the perfect, the prominal suffixes, *-ka*, *-ki*, *-kum*, *-kumā* (implicitly, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd*, v, 501), *-hum*, and *-humā* as *waṣl* [see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 412a, middle] which meant that the preceding consonant became *rawī* and as such had to be invariable in addition to these suffixes themselves (cf. the explicit statement by the poet Kuthayyir quoted by Akhfash, *Ḳawāfī*, 18-19); it also meant that a line ending in the demonstrative *dhālika* should prefer-

ably be followed by lines ending in *-lika*, *e.g.*, *hunālika*, and not, for instance, in *bika*. They mention that adoption of a second invariable consonant was sometimes achieved by reduplication of the rhyme consonant, and that sometimes the second invariable consonant (or the reduplication) was maintained in part of the poem only. They do not offer an explanation for this last phenomenon and seem to be unaware of the fact that *rā*ʾ, *lām*, and *nūn* (less often *mīm*) appear at times to be interchangeable, *e.g.*, *djamālikī/bārikī* (Ṭarafa, *Dīwān*, ed. D. al-Khaṭīb and L. al-Ṣakkal [Damascus 1395/1975], 86-8), *ḥallatī/fa-dannatī* (Kuthayyir, *Dīwān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās [Beirut 1391/1971], 95-6, and the lines on p. 107; see also A. Bloch, in *AO*, xxi [1953], 230 and n. 31). Poems or fragments of poems ending on *-llat(ī)*, *-nnat(ī)*, and *-rrat(ī)* are quoted with special frequency. The question of the origin of the figure thus appears complex. The literary theorists beginning with Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), *Badīʿ*, 74-5, who lists the *iʿnāt* (= *luzūm*) as one of the ornaments of style (*maḥāsin*, see BADĪʿ and IBN AL-MUʿTAZZ and cf. *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii [1972], 89-90), made no serious attempt to clarify the history of the figure or to explain to what extent the *luzūm* as practised by the poets of their own time was related to the technique of the ancient poets as recorded by the rhyme theorists. This is true also of Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058), even though in the introduction to his *Luzūmiyyāt* (a work intended to demonstrate the possibilities of the figure and a curious exposition of the author's views on religion and ethics, see AL-MAʿARRĪ) he offers a thorough review of rhyme theory: Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ seems to suggest that the *luzūm* of later poets was largely independent of these earlier examples (37, ll. 1-3) and implicitly denies that the suffix *-hum* can be taken as *waṣl* (51, ll. 2-7). Ibn 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256), *Taḥrīr*, 519, goes so far as to claim that the *luzūm* in the works of the ancients was unintentional.

At a later stage, the literary theorists discovered examples of *luzūm* in the Ḳurʾān, but these do not involve doubling of consonants or the repetition of suffixes, except in one case (VII, 86, see Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 518; idem, *Badīʿ al-Ḳurʾān*, 229) which is not valid, since it does not appear at the end of the verse and cannot be considered a rhyme. However, the examples from the *ḥadīth* and the sayings of ʿAlī quoted by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 747/1346 or 749/1348), *Ṭirāz*, ii, 400-1, contain some instances of *sadjʿ* with identical consonants preceding pronominal suffixes.

For a while after its first appearance in Ibn al-Muʿtazz's *Badīʿ* as *iʿnāt al-shāʿir nafsah* the figure received little attention from the literary theorists. Ḳurʾānic examples and one example from poetry appear in Bāḳillānī's (d. 403/1013) *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. A. Ṣaḳr [Cairo 1374/1954], 145-6) in a chapter on *al-tarṣīʿ maʿ al-tadjnīs*, but Bāḳillānī does not mention the term *iʿnāt* which one would expect in this context. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khʷārazmī (*flor.* second half of the 4th/10th century) in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. G. van Vloten [Leiden 1895]), defines *iʿnāt* as the poet's following self-imposed rules and does not offer any examples. The term seems even to have been forgotten for some time, as appears from the unpublished *Mawādd al-bayān* of ʿAlī b. Khalaf (5th/11th century) (see *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 301 and note, and also I. Kratchkovsky in *AIEO*, xx [1962], 34, 108-9): The definition which ʿAlī b. Khalaf offers is correct, but as a result of a graphic error *iʿtāb* had by this time been substituted for *iʿnāt*; this resulted later in the introduction of a new figure, *ʿitāb al-marʾ nafsahu* which found its way into several handbooks (see, for instance, Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 166-7).

The *Khaṣāʾiṣ* of Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) has a chapter on the *taṭawwuʿ bimā lā yalzam* which stands apart from the treatment of the *luzūm* in other grammatical and rhetorical studies: It offers a wide variety of examples, mostly from older poets and mostly in the *radjaz* metre. Ibn Djinnī disregards (or does not recognise) some of the rules adopted by others. He accepts the *nūn* of the second energetic form of the verb as *rawī* (see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 413a second half) and ignores the tendency of ancient poets to consider the *kāf* of *-kumā* as part of the *waṣl* (ii, 249); he points to unique instances of the *luzūm* in a poem by ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ where all first hemistichs but one end with the article and in a *radjaz* poem by a certain Ghaylān [b. Ḥurayth] al-Rabaʿī (M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie* [Wiesbaden 1966], index), where all lines but one end on a word in the genitive case which cannot be recognised as such because the *ḳāfiya* is not a *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa* (see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 412a first half; with a view to the case ending being pronounced in singing (?), cf. H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen* [Oslo 1940], 12-3). Ibn Djinnī also notes (ii, 262-3) that Ibn al-Rūmī (d. *ca.* 280/893) distinguished himself as a *luzūm* poet (see also Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Marzubānī [d. 384/993], *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. F. Krenkow [Cairo 1354/1935], 289, ll. 9-10), even though he sometimes did no more than maintain the same vowel before the *rawī* when this was not necessary, or not strictly necessary. In this context he makes a case, though not a well-documented one, for seeing in the *luzūm* of *muwallad* poets (the term generally refers to early ʿAbbāsid poets, but is also used specifically for 4th/10th century poets) a continuation of tendencies which existed in ancient poetry. He is perhaps the first to accept as a form of *luzūm* the use of diminutives in the rhyme. Ibn Djinnī's views may not have been widely known; his observations on Ibn al-Rūmī and on the use of the diminutive are also found in later authors, but are worded differently.

In several works inspired by al-Ḳazwīnī's (d. 739/1338) *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* [see AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ (KHAṬĪB DIMASHḲ)] and in didactic poems on the *badīʿ* (*badīʿiyyāt*) composed between the 8th/14th and 12th/18th centuries, the term is applied in a wider sense than before: one speaks of *luzūm* even if only two lines of a poem show an additional invariable consonant (some of the examples quoted by earlier rhyme theorists are from poems that do not show the *luzūm* throughout). The same is true, of course, of the *sadjʿ*, where often there are no more than two rhyming clauses. There is also question of *luzūm* in internal rhyme, *e.g.*, *wa-mā 'shtāra 'l-ʿasala mani 'khtāra 'l-kasala*. ʿAbbāsī (d. 963/1556), *Maʿāhid*, iii, 306, mentions a collection of *maḳāmāt luzūmiyya*, apparently based on the figure, by al-Ashtarkuwī [see MAḲĀMA, and H. Nemah, in *JAL*, v, 88-92], who died in 538/1143 and quotes some poetry from this author. Moreover, the figure is no longer limited to the rhyme, but involves different kinds of rhetorical games and artifices, such as the avoidance of pointed or unpointed letters or alternating such letters from word to word, the avoidance of labials, the inclusion of a certain letter in every word of the line, the use of all letters of the alphabet in one line, and even graphic devices, such as the omission of connected letters. Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) credits himself with having

invented the term *tadyīḳ* for such devices. The first example he mentions, however, is a device which involves the rhyme: The rhyme consonant may be, for instance, the *hāʾ*, but the poet imposes upon himself to avoid using the pronominal suffixes of the third person singular (presumably even in cases where this would be permissible, see ḲĀFIYA, iv, 413a middle). Others do not seem to be aware of Suyūṭī's definition and use *tadyīḳ* as a simple synonym of the other terms listed at the beginning of this article.

In Persian rhetoric and prosody, the terms *iʿnāt* and *luzūm mā lā yalzam* are used, as in Arabic, for the adoption of a second invariable consonant in prose and in poetry, and the reduplication of the rhyme consonant. In addition, however, the two terms are used for the repetition of two or more words in each hemistich or line of poetry, and for the use of internal rhyme. Rādūyānī (middle of the 5th/11th century) denotes the latter use specifically as *iʿnāt al-ḳarīna*. Rāzī (beginning of the 7th/13th century), *al-Muʿdjam*, 386, also applies the term *iʿnāt* to the use of double *ḳāfiyas* (*e.g.*, *djahān khabar*/*āsᵉmān sipar*) and points out that most Persian poets adopt an invariable consonant before the *tāʾ* of the feminine ending of Arabic words without considering this convention as *iʿnāt* or *luzūm* (216-17). Some later poets however disregard this rule, especially in cases where the *ḳāfiya* proper is followed by a *radīf*, *i.e.*, a word or particle recurring at the end of each line (see *EI*[1], s.v. REDĪF for a more accurate description which includes the *redif* in Turkish poetry; see also L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres* [Cambridge 1976], 225-6, 230). Another case of *luzūm*, according to Rāzī (262-3), occurs when the poet maintains the *taʾsīs*, i.e., a long *ā* separated from the *rawī* by a variable vowelled letter, throughout his poem (see Elwell-Sutton, 229-30, 233). Djādjarmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (*flor.* early 8th/14th century) has collected a number of poems to which forms of *luzūm* have been applied under the heading *malzūmāt* in the 10th chapter of his anthology *Muʾnis al-aḥrār wa-daḳāʾiḳ al-ashʿār* (ed. Mīr Ṣāliḥ Ṭabībī, i, Tehran 1337/1958, *nūn-fāʾ*).

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LYDDA [see LUDD].

M

MĀ BAʿD AL-ṬABĪʿA, or MĀ BAʿD AL-ṬABĪʿIYYĀT, a translation of the Greek τα μετὰ τα φυσικά "the things which come after physical things", i.e. metaphysics, an expression which can have two meanings, each of which envisages a particular conception of that science (*ʿilm* or *ṣināʿa*). It can either be a discipline which one embarks upon after physics, utilising the results of the natural sciences, or else it can be one whose goal lies beyond the apprehendable objects which are the concern of physics. The two meanings are not mutually self-exclusive, but the first tends to put the accent on the role of experience and of knowledge of physical things in the search for metaphysical realities, whilst the second invites one to enter immediately into the domain of suprasensible principles in order to deduce from them the nature and laws governing beings of the material world.

One should note at the outset the two synonyms of this expression which denote metaphysics in

Arabic: on one side *al-ilāhiyyāt*, "the divine things", and on the other *al-falsafa al-ūlā*, "the first philosophy", a title which al-Kindī gave to one of his *Rasāʾil* (cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1953, i). These two terms were borrowed from the Greeks. In Plato, the word θεολογία normally denotes metaphysics; in his view, there exists a sphere of the divine (τὸ θεῖον), a term taken up by Aristotle, who identifies theology, the first philosophy and what we call metaphysics (*Metaphysics*, 1026, a 17-18). The translation uses the curious turn of phrase *ʿilm al-ashyāʾ al-ilāhiyyāt al-ḳawl* "science of divine things in regard to definition", in which *ḳawl* seems to correspond to the element λογική in θεολογική (*ḳawl* normally translating λόγος in its sense of definition). Ibn Rushd comments in these terms: "Just as the things of nature are those in the definition of which nature is involved, so are the divine things those in the definition of which God is involved" (*Tafsīr Mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*, ed. Bouyges, ii, 712). Nevertheless, there does not follow from this that God is the object of metaphysics, neither for Ibn Rushd, who connects this science not with God but with the existence of an incorporeal and immobile substance, this substance being for him *al-mawdjūd fi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa huwa 'l-djawhar* "the being in reality" (*ibid.*, 750), nor for Ibn Sīnā, who thinks that God is not a datum, but can be demonstrated starting from the Necessary Being. Ibn Rushd further follows Aristotle, who brought forward the possibility of a first philosophy (ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία) in 1026 a 23, saying that if there exists no other substance except those constituted by nature, then it is physics which should be the first philosophy, concerning which Ibn Rushd comments thus: "It is equally clear that if there is there a certain substance distinct from the moving substance, this substance which has existence will be the first, and the science which one builds upon it will be the primordial science (*al-ʿilm al-aḳdam*); it will be the universal science and the first philosophy (*Tafsīr*, ii, 714). Moreover, for Aristotle, beyond the general idea of the divine there are only the gods of the ancient poets (Hesiod) who come into mythological cosmologies remote from demonstrative philosophy. Commenting on the term θεολόγοι (*Met.*, 1000 a 9), Ibn Rushd writes (*Tafsīr*, i, 251), "Those who speak of divine things (*al-umūr al-ilāhiyya*) are those who hold forth upon a discourse beyond what man can intelligibly understand (*kalāman khāridjan ʿammā yaʿḳiluhu al-insān*)". In other words, before speaking philosophically of God, one must make an intelligible conception, and this is the role of metaphysics.

But how should one understand the expression "primordial science" which Ibn Rushd uses? All the question is included there. Indeed, metaphysics comes *before* the other sciences because it is universal and is concerned with the cause of everything which exists; should one therefore place it in front of the others in research and teaching, or on the contrary keep it back till the end? One may see here merely a difference of method, that of an expository procedure starting from principles and causes, and of a process of discovery starting from concrete and apprehensible experiences. This is al-Fārābī's approach, who tries by this means to reduce the divergencies separating Plato and Aristotle. He accordingly remarks in his *Kitāb al-Djamʿ bayn raʾay al-ḥakīmayn* (ed. A. Nader, Beirut 1968, 86) that for Plato, the most noble primordial substances are those which are near to the intellect and the soul, whilst for Aristotle, the most worthy substances of this name, by anteriorness and by their value (*bi 'l-tafḍīl wa 'l-taḳdīm*) are the first substances, i.e. the individual substances (*al-djawāhir al-uwal allatī hiya al-ashkhāṣ*). But the difference arises from what Aristotle then says from the point of view of the logical and physical sciences, whilst Plato speaks from the point of view of metaphysics (*fī-mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*) and theological doctrines (*wa-aḳāwīlihi al-ilāhiyya*). Consequently, one can set oneself within a certain science or within another, or start from one or start from another, as a matter of indifference, according to one's intention. In his *Falsafat Arisṭūṭālīs* (ed. Muḥsin Mahdī, Beirut 1961), al-Fārābī sets forth the Stagirite's thought, following the progressive order of his enquiry as he sees it. After the questions of logic, and with the intention of discovering what makes for perfection in man, Aristotle studies the various questions which concern nature (*ṭabīʿa*), the soul (*nafs*) and the intellect (*ʿaḳl*). "He must also examine profoundly the substances of the heavenly bodies; are they nature, soul or intellect, or are they indeed some other, more perfect (*akmal*) thing; also, are these substances things which are outside physical speculation? The point is that physical speculation only includes what the categories include. Now it is clear that there are other beings outside the categories: the Intellect acting as Agent and the Thing (*shayʾ*), which give to the heavenly bodies a perpetual circular movement.This being so, one has to make speculations about the beings which have a more universal (*aʿamm*) field than those about physics" (*ibid.*, 130). "This is why Aristotle explains in the book called *Mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿiyyāt* that he is making speculations and conducting a deep enquiry into beings in a way which differs from physical speculation" (*ibid.*, 132). One notes that al-Fārābī admits that one can begin by physics, which does not however prevent him from thinking (in fact, wrongly) that Aristotle recognises the existence of a domain of the being which is external and superior to the categories which, according to him, only concern the physical domain. Elsewhere he speaks clearly (131) of a penetrating enquiry into the beings which are above the natural things in the hierarchy of being (*fī 'l-mawdjūdāt allatī fawḳ al-ṭabīʿiyyāt fī rutbat al-mawdjūd*).

Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd take up the Aristotelian definition of metaphysics as being the science of the being as such (*al-mawdjūd bi-mā huwa mawdjūd*). But what is meant to be understood by this?

1. **Ibn Sīnā's viewpoint.** The basic principle is that "the object (*mawḍūʿ*) of all science is something whose existence is admitted (or conceded: *amr musallam al-mawdjūd*) in that science" (Shifāʾ, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, i, 5). It is drawn from the *Posterior analytics* of Aristotle (72 a 20): "If I say that a thing exists or does not exist, it is a hypothesis". Hence if one says that the object of metaphysics is God or the Prime cause (*Musabbib al-asbāb*), this is only an hypothesis which must be verified by means of another science. Now there is no other science, necessarily more particular than metaphysics, which is able to guarantee the existence of such-and-such an object. The *mawḍūʿ* of a science is the object concerning which this science conducts an enquiry (*al-mabḥūth ʿanhu*). But since God or the Prime cause are not data, they are on the contrary the goal of a metaphysical enquiry (*maṭlūb*). Ibn Sīnā concludes that the object of metaphysics is the being as such which is implied by every science, by every

question, by every thought and by every speech utterance (*ibid.*, 30): it is the *quid* (*mā*), the "that which" (*alladhī*) and the thing (*shayʾ*). It does not have to be vouched for, since it is the thing itself which vouches for everything, or it is by means of it that one vouches for what one vouches for. This being as such can be divided, without one needing recourse to any category, in several ways: these divisions of it are like intrinsic accidents (*ka 'l-ʿawāriḍ al-khāṣṣa*), whilst divisions according to categories are *like* kinds (*ka 'l-anwāʿ*). It can thus be divided in one and in multiples (*al-waḥīd - al-kathīr*), in force and in action (*ḳuwwa - fiʿl*), in universal and particular (*kullī - djuzʾī*), in what is eternal and what arises from a temporal origin (*ḳadīm - muḥdath*), in what is completed and what is incomplete (*tāmm - nāḳiṣ*), in cause and effect (*ʿilla-maʿlūl*) and in possible and necessary (*mumkin - wādjib*). This list has been made up from the metaphysics of the *Shifāʾ* (i, 13) and from the *Kitāb al-Nadjāt* (ed. Ṣabrī al-Kurdī, 1938, 199). The last pair of oppositions in this division will mark out the Avicennan ontology through the distinction of the Being necessary by itself (*wādjib al-wudjūd bi-dhātihi*), which is to be identified with God, and the being possible by itself (*mumkin al-wudjūd bi-dhātihi*), necessary by something outside of itself, i.e. the being of the universe. Consequently, starting from this general ontology, Ibn Sīnā explains the origins of various beings, first of all the heavenly ones (intellects, spheres, souls of the spheres) by a process of emanation (*fayḍ*), as far as the Intellect acting as Agent, the intellect of the sphere of the moon; and then of the sublunary world, which is made out of material elements by a progression from minerals to man, thanks to the shapes received from the Intellect acting as Agent which is *Wāhib al-ṣuwar* (*Dator formarum*). Thanks to reason, man is capable of returning to God, to such a point that God is, as the Ḳurʾān says (LVII, 3), the First and the Last. From the domain of metaphysics, one passes on to that of connection with the heavens, then with physics, by a descending movement; then, beginning with connection with minerals, one passes on to that with plants, and from animals to that with the soul, as far as the rational soul, by means of an upward movement which ends up by a mysticism of the mind which corresponds in its point of arrival with that which was metaphysics at its departure point. For Ibn Sīnā, as for Plato, all reality is legitimately deducible from metaphysical principles, even though the imperfect nature of the human understanding does not in fact allow an integral deduction of the universe.

2. Ibn Rushd's viewpoint. This is a case of recovering the pure Aristotelianism, stripped of all Platonic or Neoplatonic influence. Since being is not a generic concept, it cannot be defined and apprehended in itself, but only by means of categories. Thus for Ibn Rushd, the problem is to know what one can say about it and how one can speak of it. "Aristotle's aim in this book (Δ) is to distinguish the details of the significations to which the names (*al-asmāʾ*) refer, significations which one thinks about in that science (metaphysics) and which hold there the position of the subject of an art (*manzilat mawḍūʿ ṣināʿa*) in relationship to that art. These names are those which are uttered in regard to a single thing according to different points of view (*bi-djihāt mukhtalifa*). This is why he makes out of speculation on the meaning of these names one section of that science (*Tafsīr*, ii, 475). It is thus that one calls everything connected with health "healthy": balanced temperament, exercise, remedial measures, "the same thing is valid for the name of the being (*mawdjūd*) in relationship to substance and other categories" (*ibid.*, i, 303-4). It is possible therefore to have a single science of all the diverse beings, on condition that one understands the names designating them analogically. This is what has been called the analogy of proportionality; being in regard to substance is what being is in regard to substance is what being is in regard to quantity, etc. "Just as the things which are connected (*tansubu*) with the curative arts fall, on examinations, into one and the same science, i.e. medicine, likewise all the things which are connected with being are the object of speculation in a single science (*ibid.*, i, 307). But metaphysics can also be justified by relying on the analogy of attribution, substance being the first analogue of being: "Thus the name of being (*huwiyya*), a synonym of *mawdjūd*, although it is used of different species of being, is only used for each of them through the fact of the connection which it enjoys with the prime being (*al-huwiyya al-ūlā*) which is substance". To be first accordingly means here to be the first analogue. "The categories are connected with the substance, not in that they are considered to be their agentive cause any more than their ultimate one, but in the sense that they subsist in it (*ḳāʾima bihi*) and that the substance is for them a subject (*mawḍūʿ*)" (*ibid.*, 305). Now substance is a basic concept and in the measure that one accordingly brings together the study of being with the study of substance, "since it has been posited that for every unique concept there is a unique science . . . there results necessarily that there is a unique science of being" (*ibid.*, 309). Metaphysics, being the study of being as such (Ibn Rushd, who prefers *huwiyya* to *mawdjūd*, often remarks that its object is *al-huwiyya bi-mā hiya huwiyya*), ought probably to contain within itself all the aspects of being. Nevertheless, being in the shape of the accident (*bi-'l-ʿaraḍ*) and being in thought (*fi 'l-fikr*) are two defective entities (*nāḳiṣatāni*). The aim of metaphysics is to examine "the real being which exists outside the soul" and it is "the substance which is the basic principle of this being" (*al-djawhar huwa mabdaʾ hādhihi 'l-huwiyya*). This conforms to the importance which the substance assumes basically in metaphysical speculation (cf. *ibid.*, iii, 1402). Beginning by the study of substances which are apprehendable by the sense and are mobile and corruptible, and then of substances which have these same characteristics except that they are incorruptible (the heavens), Ibn Rushd hopes to arrive, with Aristotle, at a substance which is not apprehendable by the senses, is incorruptible and is immobile, the Prime Mover, the cause of all the movements of the universe.

Ibn Rushd thus carries beyond the apprehendable world an idea of substance which he has drawn from physics and which seems to him to be the basis of all existence: all that exists is substance, an exact correspondence here below. Ibn Sīnā, on the contrary, thinks that substance, like all other categories, must receive the quality of existence in order to exist, and that it can only receive existence by acquiring quantity, quality and all the other categories, for a substance which had neither quantity, quality and so forth, would be nothing. So it cannot in itself be taken as the first analogue or the representative of being conceived as existence. For Ibn Sīnā, the Necessary being is not a substance since it exists by itself, the *Ḳayyūm* of the Ḳurʾān

(II, 255, III, 2). On the other side, we have seen that the problem for the metaphysician is to know who established the existence of its object. Ibn Sīnā believes that this object, being implied in all sciences, does not need be to vouched for by one of them. Moreover, it is for metaphysics to provide the role of supplying the other sciences with the basis of their object. Ibn Rushd criticises this viewpoint, but by relying on his own one, namely that the first philosophy poses the question to itself about substance as the first analogue of being. "Ibn Sīnā, believing in the truth of the doctrine which does not want any of the sciences to set forth its own principles, and taking that *simpliciter*, believes that it is the task of the person who concerns himself with the first philosophy to give a clear exposition of the existence of substance apprehendable by the senses, eternal or not. He say that the natural scientist posits by hypothesis that nature exists (*yaḍaʿu waḍʿan anna 'l-ṭabīʿa mawdjūda*) and that the scholar of divine science is the one who gives the demonstrable proof of its existence" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 1423-4). Ibn Rushd then replies: "Yes, the specialist in the first philosophy seeks for the principles of substance as substance and sets forth clearly that the separateness of substances is the principle of the physical substance. But in making clear this search, he constantly calls for (*yuṣādiru*) what physics clearly sets forth, whether in regard to the substance which can be generated and is corruptible, in the first book of the *Physics* (189 B 30-191 b 34), where it is demonstrated that it is made up of matter and form, or whether in regard to the eternal substance, in Book viii (260 a 20 ff.), where it is set forth that the driving force of that substance is stripped of all matter. Then he clearly lays down that the principles of the substance which are neither the Universal ideas (*al-kulliyyāt*) nor the Numbers (*al-aʿdād*) [of Plato]" (*ibid.*, 1424-5). One should mention a final divergence between the two philosophers. Ibn Rushd notes that Aristotle, in the tenth book of the *Metaphysics*, has an enquiry into the unit, the multiple, the identical (*huwa huwa*), the similar, the opposite and into still further notions "which bring out the general concomitants (*al-lawāḥiḳ al-ʿāmma*) of the being as such" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 1403). In effect, metaphysics is a speculation about the being as such and about the "things" which are concomitant with it" (*al-umūr al-lāḥiḳa lahu*) (*ibid.*, iii, 1395). Now we have seen that what is concomitant with being for Ibn Rushd is the division of being for Ibn Sīnā. It seems that this fundamental divergence holds good for all the other oppositions.

Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics is consequently open to a region beyond the world, the earth and the heavens; it makes a mystical system possible. For Ibn Rushd, on the contrary, although metaphysics studies the principles of beings which are objects of other sciences, it is not the foundation of those sciences, but their completion. He writes in his *Tafsīr*, ii, 701, "Since ... each science only concerns itself with studying a certain being which is its special object, it is clear that there must necessarily exist a science which studies the absolute being (*al-huwiyya al-muṭlaḳa*); if there were not, our knowledge of things would not be completely exhaustive (*lam tustawfa maʿrifat al-ashyāʾ*)" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 701). Furthermore, whilst Ibn Rushd seeks for the first cause of the movements of substances apprehendable by the senses, corruptible or incorruptible, and finds it in the immobile Prime Mover, Ibn Sīnā sets himself the task of "making an enquiry into the first cause from which every being is brought about by causality (*kullu mawdjūd maʿlūl*) in as much as it has been the result of causality, and not simply in as much as it is a mobile being (*mawdjūd mutaḥarrik*) or a quantifiable being (*mawdjūd mutakammim*) (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, i, 14). But there is a problem there; it is not possible for metaphysics to speculate on causes in as much as they are causes *simpliciter* (*al-asbāb bi-mā hiya asbāb muṭlaḳa*), in the first place because this science treats of notions" "which do not raise the question of proper accidents owed to these causes as such, such as the notions of universal and particular, of act and capability, of possibility and necessity" (*ibid.*, 7); and then because the science of causes taken *simpliciter* presupposes that the existence of causes has been established for the things which have a cause (*ithbāt al-asbāb li 'l-umūr dhawāt al-asbāb*). Ibn Sīnā adopts here a very clear view of the problem of causality: it is not sufficient for the existence of a cause to be demonstrated in the eyes of reason. The existence of causes and effects is not proved by an intuition of causality; it comes from the division of being into the necessary and the possible. The first cause is thus the being necessary by itself. This is why there exists a being necessary so that all other beings have causes, since these exist even at the time when they are only possibilities. Now if one adopts as the point of departure experience of things apprehendable by the senses, all the causes that one will find are at the same time effects. One would not therefore be able, by tracing back the series of cause-effects, to reach the first cause, whether one went back infinitely or whether one came to a stop, as did Aristotle in his search for the Prime Mover, by an arbitrary decision: ἀναγκη στηναι! On this point, Ibn Sīnā has set forth a highly original idea in his *Ishārāt* (ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1958, iii, 454-5). It concerns the position of the cause which is not an effect, in relation to the series of cause-effects. If it forms part of their ensemble (*djumla*), it is necessarily an extreme limit (*ṭaraf*). But if one takes a series made into a hierarchical chain (*silsila murattiba*) of causes and effects which is made up only of cause-effects, "there is a need for an external cause for this ensemble, but undoubtedly in continuity with it in regard to limit (*iḥtādjat ilā ʿilla khāridja ʿanhā, lākinnahā tattaṣilu bihā ... ṭarafan*)". Ibn Sīnā envisages the case where this succession is infinite, and then the cause-effects would form an infinitely limited ensemble. This ensemble is the universe; God is its "limit", but He is exterior to it. On the contrary, Ibn Rushd's Prime Mover is probably at the peak of the hierarchy of substance, but it is a substance and forms part of the world of substances. Just as metaphysics finishes off the sciences, likewise God supports the universe like the keystone of an arch.

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(R. Arnaldez)

MA CHUNG-YING (*Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 1505, 7489), also known as Ğa Ssu-ling, or "Little Commander" (*Ğa* is an affectionate diminutive used in colloquial Kansu Chinese—see the *Hsin-Hua tzu-tien*, Peking 1971, 124; Ssu-ling: see *Matthews'*, nos. 5585, 4043), the youngest and best-known of the five Chinese Muslim warlords comprising the "Wu Ma" clique [*q.v.*] which controlled much of Northwest China during the latter half of the Republican Period (1911-49).

Little is known of Ma Chung-ying's early years.

He was born at Linhsia (formerly Hochow) in south-eastern Kansu, *ca.* 1910 (there is a contradiction in the *Biographical dictionary of Republican China*, which holds that Ma was born in 1911, but that he became a junior officer in 1926 "at the age of seventeen"; *op. cit.*, 463, col. 1). Little is known of Ma's immediate family, but it is clear that he shared the same paternal grandfather as the Kansu-Chinghai warlords Ma Pu-ch'ing (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5363, 1168) and Ma Pu-fang (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5363, 1815), and that he was thus a scion of the powerful Ma family of Pieh-tsang, a small village some 30 km. west of Linhsia (Mei, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 660). Ma Chung-ying was also distantly related to the Kansu-Ninghsia warlords Ma Hung-k'uei (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 2386, 3651) and Ma Hung-pin (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 2386, 5259), the most powerful representatives of the Ma family of Han-chia-chi, a large village some 25 km. south-west of Linhsia. Together these five Hui warlords were to become famous—or infamous—as the "Wu Ma" Northwestern Muslim clique.

Ma Chung-ying first entered military service during 1924 when, at about the age of fourteen, he joined the local Muslim militia. One year later, in August 1925, troops of the "Christan General", Feng Yü-hsiang, invaded Kansu. The invading forces, under the command of Feng's subordinate Liu Yü-fen, formed a part of the Northwest Army, more commonly known as the First *Kuominchün* ("National People's Army"), a vast rabble which is estimated to have numbered in excess of 100,000 men during the late summer of 1925. Feng intended, through his subordinate Liu, to colonise large tracts of Kansu with Kuominchün soldiers; he also intended to finance his struggle against the Northeastern warlord Chang Tso-lin with taxes raised and opium cultivated in the Northwest. Not unnaturally, these aims found little favour with the people of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai; nor were the local warlords much inclined to support Feng Yü-hsiang.

In 1926, one year after the Kuominchün invasion of Kansu, Ma Chung-ying received his first commission as an officer in the forces commanded by one of his uncles, Ma Ku-chung (Boorman and Howard, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 463). During the same year, Liu Yü-fen, who was in occupation of the provincial capital at Lanchow, was attacked by a combination of local warlords from eastern Kansu (Sheridan, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 195-6). Fighting was prolonged and severe, but the Muslim warlords of western Kansu seem to have remained aloof from the struggle, and Liu eventually succeeded in reimposing Kuominchün rule on the province. During his conflict, Ma Chung-ying, still only sixteen or seventeen years of age, is said to have "laid siege to and captured Linhsia on his own initiative" (Boorman and Howard, *ibid.*). Liu Yü-fen ordered troops under the command of Ma Lin (a great-uncle of Ma Chung-ying) to recapture Linhsia, but the young soldier easily defeated them, winning for himself a reputation as a military strategist and the nickname "Little Commander". Ma Chung-ying's triumph was short-lived, however, for his uncle and commanding officer Ma Ku-chung had not ordered the occupation of Linhsia, and he dismissed his nephew for insubordination. The "Little Commander" learned this lesson well; he withdrew to the Sining area of Chinghai and began to build up his own forces.

The Kuominchün "pacification" of Kansu left large areas of the province devastated, but failed to break the rebellious spirit of its people. In 1927 north-western Kansu was racked by a violent earthquake; this, combined with the increased use of good arable land for the cultivation of the opium poppy and arbitrary tax increases imposed by Liu Yü-fen, caused widespread famine. Early in the spring of 1928 the patience of the Northwestern Muslims ran out, and the standard of revolt was raised against the Kuominchün by the Muslim leader Ma T'ing-hsiang (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 6404, 3076; see Sheridan, 250). Ma Chung-ying (who according to one source had fled to Sining, together with a group of his followers, because of an illicit affair with a young Mnslim girl from a strictly orthodox family; see Ekvall, *op cit.* in *Bibl.*, 946) rapidly became involved in this revolt against the Kuominchün. The city of Linhsia, which remained in Kuominchün hands, was besieged three times by Muslim forces. Robert Ekvall, an American who travelled through south-eastern Kansu at this time, records that "The revolt had by this time assumed all the aspects of a holy war. Chanting prayers, forty or fifty thousand fighters went into battle with fanatical zeal . . . the young rebel leader Ma Chong-ing (*sic*) seemed to bear a charmed life and by his reckless courage gained the utmost in obedience and devotion from his ruffian troops. The Chinese (i.e. the Kuominchün) were panic-stricken at the desparate courage of the Moslems, but eventually, by machine-gun fire and light artillery, proved superior" (Ekvall, 946-7). The Kuominchün was unable, however, to crush the Muslim revolt entirely; no sooner had the rebellion been suppressed in one area, than it broke out afresh in another. By September 1928 over 100,000 people had died (Sheridan, *loc. cit.*). Anti-Kuominchün feeling amongst the Muslims gradually gave way to racial hostility against all Han Chinese. On 14 February 1929, about 20,000 Muslims forced their way into Tangar, a city of some 5,000 families in western Kansu. An American eyewitness described the scene as follows: "[The Muslims] forced an entrance by ladder over the north wall. Immediately by they began to murder the Chinese in the most brutal way, cutting over the head with swords . . . The Muslims were in the city only about two hours, but during that time the official figures show more than 2,000 killed, 700 wounded, and $ 2,000,000 damage" (Sheridan, 251). Kuominchün reprisals against the Muslims were equally bloody. According to American diplomatic reports (see Sheridan, *ibid.*), the ravages of war and famine reduced people to cannibalism; between 1926 and 1929 as many a 2,000,000 people may have died. One casualty was Ma Chung-ying's father, who was executed on the orders of Liu Yü-fen in the winter of 1929 (Boorman and Howard, *ibid.*).

In 1929 Ma Chung-ying, his position strengthened by several victories over the forces of the Kuominchün, approached the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek with a request that his private army should be recognised as a Kuomintang frontier unit. At about this time, Feng Yü-hsiang declared himself independent of the National Government at Nanking; as a result of this, Ma Chung-ying's distant relative Ma Hung-k'uei, the strongest of the "Wu Ma" clique, declared in favour of the nationalist cause. Ma Chung-ying went to Nanking, where he enrolled briefly at the military academy. In 1930 he returned to Kansu where he was appointed garrison commander at Kanchow (Changyeh) in the far north-west, near the frontier of Sinkiang [*q.v.*]; from here he controlled a small fief, including the towns of Suchow and An-hsi, which "freed him from any financial

worry and allowed him to prepare his army for an expedition to Sinkiang" (Nyman, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 101). Before striking out into Singkiang, however, Ma seems to have made another bid to extend his personal power base in Kansu. Once again he met with failure, this time at the hands of his uncle Ma Pu-fang (Norins, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 41).

In 1930 Sinkiang, China's largest province, was under the control of Chin Shu-jen, an avaricious and incompetent warlord from Kansu; over 90% of Chin's subjects were Muslims, but the Han Chinese warlord seems to have nurtured a fierce hatred for all Muslims, whether of Hui or Turkic ethnic origin. Chin's anti-Muslim sentiment may well have derived from the various Hui risings in Kansu; certainly, when a combination of famine and war drove starving Han Chinese refugees to flee from his native Kansu to Sinkiang in the late 1920s, Chin welcomed them with open arms. Less than 200 km from the north-western frontier of Ma Chung-ying's fief in Kansu lay the ancient oasis city of Ḳomul (Ḳomul [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). When Chin Shu-jen seized power in Sinkiang during 1928, Ḳomul (Chinese name Hami) was still a semi-independent state, ruled by the aged monarch Maḳsūd S̲h̲āh, the last autonomous K̲h̲ānate in Central Asia. When Maḳsūd died of old age in 1930, Chin Shu-jen, who held the heir-apparent hostage in Urumchi, the provincial capital, announced the abolition of the K̲h̲ānate and its full absorption within China. Chinese officials took over the administration of Ḳomul, and Chin began to settle Han Chinese refugees from his native Kansu on arable land expropriated from the indigenous Uyg̲h̲ur [*q.v.*] farmers. Local unrest grew rapidly, and in 1931, following the abduction of a local Muslim girl by a Han Chinese tax collector, open rebellion broke out.

One of the leaders of the Ḳomul revolt, a Uyg̲h̲ur called Yulbars K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] travelled to Suchow in north-eastern Kansu where he met Ma Chung-ying (now officially Commander of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang, though Yulbars comments that there were so many Mas in this force that it was commonly called the *Ma-chia-chün*, or "Ma Household Army"; see Yulbars, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 87-8). Ma agreed to enter the fray, ostensibly to help his Uyg̲h̲ur co-religionists and in 1931 he led his troops into Sinkiang in an open challenge to Chin Shu-jen. Ma was wounded during the autumn, and withdrew temporarily to Kansu to recuperate. In August 1932 Ma's troops again entered Sinkiang. Initially, they cooperated with the Uyg̲h̲urs in their struggle against Chin Shu-jen. Ma's crack cavalry units, generally considered to have been amongst the best troops in China, fought their way to the outskirts of Urumchi before being repulsed by White Russian mercenaries under the command of Chin Shu-jen (see Wu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 73-100); meanwhile, Uyg̲h̲ur forces under Yulbars K̲h̲ān and K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a Niyāz Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī took control of the greater part of southern Sinkiang, and an "East Turkestan Republic" was proclaimed at Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar [*q.v.*].

In April 1933 the incompetent Chin Shu-jen was ousted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, his Chief-of-Staff. The new warlord, whose home province was Liaoning in the far Northeast, enjoyed the support of a group of some 3,000 battle-hardened Manchurian troops who had been driven into Siberia by the invading Japanese and repatriated to Sinkiang by the Soviet authorities. During the remainder of 1933, Ma Chung-ying's forces made two further attempts to take Urumchi, and despite judicious use of his White Russian and Manchurian troops, Sheng was forced to appeal to the Soviet Union for aid. In January 1934, Soviet military units entered Sinkiang and attacked Ma Chung-ying's cavalry with aeroplanes and, apparently, poison gas. The Muslim warlord was forced to fall back on Turfan, but instead of withdrawing to his old base in north-eastern Kansu he took the decision to try and hold southern Sinkiang.

This decision brought the Kansu Muslims into direct conflict with the Uyg̲h̲ur Muslims of Sinkiang, their erstwhile allies. There had been indications of such a split for some time; as soon as fighting on the northern front had become bogged down before Urumchi, units of Ma's forces had advanced into the Tarim Basin where his troops "aroused the antagonism of the Turki natives by looting and plundering" (Boorman and Howard, 464). It rapidly became clear to most of the Uyg̲h̲ur population (though notably not to Yulbars) that Ma was just another Kansu warlord, and not the saviour of the Muslims of Sinkiang they had hoped for. (There was never any question of Ma being viewed as a *mahdī*, and there seems to be no reason for assuming that he considered himself as such. Nyman, 101-3, is certainly mistaken in suggesting this.) The retreating Ma Chung-ying fell back on Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar, where he destroyed the nascent Islamic "East Turkestan Republic"; he then transferred command of his forces to his brother-in-law, Ma Hu-shan (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 2161, 5630), and, in a move which still remains shrouded in mystery, crossed the frontier into the Soviet Union during July 1934. His brother-in-law, Ma Hu-shan, went on to occupy the whole of the southern rim of the Tarim Basin; here, as the "Commander-in-Chief of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang", Ma established a strange Hui-ruled fief on the borders of Tibet. Ma Hu-shan's statelet, "Tunganistan" [*q.v.*] was to endure until 1937, when his forces melted away and he took refuge in British India.

It is not clear why Ma Chung-ying should have deliberately chosen to enter the Soviet Union when his military position was far from hopeless—after all, he had been driven back from Urumchi by Soviet forces. Ma's eventual fate is uncertain; an article published anonymously in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* during 1935 states that he "died on arrival at Moscow", however, it is more likely that he was held by Stalin as a weapon in reserve against Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet puppet in Sinkiang. Ma may have been executed by Stalin at Sheng's request when the latter visited Moscow in 1938; certainly, he was never seen again, though for many years stories of his imminent return circulated amongst both the Uyg̲h̲urs of Sinkiang and the Hui of Kansu.

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MA HUA-LUNG (*Matthews' Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 2211, 4258), also known MA CH'AO-CHING (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 233, 1171), a Chinese Muslim leader and exponent of the "New Teaching" who played an important part in the great mid-13th/19th century Muslim risings against the Ch'ing dynasty.

Ma Hua-lung was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 13th/19th century, probably at Ch'in-chi-p'u (Hartmann, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 14), a walled city in Ninghsia [*q.v.*] province situated on the right bank of the Yellow River some 80 km. south of Ninghsia city (the modern Yinchwan). We know little of Ma's personal background. Po Ching-wei, a member of the Shensi gentry who participated in the struggle against Ma (and therefore a hostile source), states that "Ma Hua-lung's family lived at Chin-chi-p'u for generations"; seemingly, Ma came from a well-to-do family background, for he was "the leading rich man in the area, as well as a person with a military title which he earned by substantial contributions to the government". Furthermore, he was a man of considerable political and religious significance, for Po tells us that he was "very much respected and trusted by the Moslems in Ninghsia ... [and] ... he was a sweeping influence over the Moslems of the other provinces too" (Po Ching-wei, *Feng-hsi-ts'ao-t'ang-chi*, iii, 7-11; cited in Chu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 346-7).

In Ma Hua-lung's time, Chin-chi-p'u, said to have been a Muslim centre "for more than a thousand years" (Bales, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 218), and described as the "Medina of Chinese Islam" (Wright, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 111), indicating a significance secondary only to that of Hochow (often described as the "Mecca of Chinese Islam"), was a prosperous trading centre which thrived on the tea and salt trade with Mongolia. Bales, 243, notes that "it was a purely Muslim city and no Chinese official was resident there. The officials lived at Lingchow" (a small city some 30 km. to the north).

Ma Hua-lung's lineage is unclear. He does not appear to have been directly related by blood to Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*] of An-ting, but he was certainly a spiritual descendant of the latter. Muḥammad Tawāḍuʿ (*op. cit*, in *Bibl.*, 117) states that he was the sixth s͟hayk͟h of the Naḳs͟hbandī ṭariḳa founded by Ma Ming-hsin *ca.* 1175/1761 near Lanchow. Ma Hua-lung's father, Ma Erh (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 1751), the fifth s͟hayk͟h in Ma Ming-hsin's *silsila*, is said to have died "a lingering death" (Wright, 109) at the hands of the Chinese; Ma Hua-lung was thus both a spiritual and a direct blood descendant of Ma Erh, the fifth head of the Naḳs͟hbandiyya-D͟jahriyya order in Northwest China (see, however, Israeli's 1974 thesis, 273-324, for an alternative analysis).

It seems that, after the harsh suppression of "New Teaching" adherents in the Kansu-Chinghai borderlands resulting from the defeat of the 1196/1781 and 1198/1783 Muslim risings, the surviving "New Teaching" leaders moved eastwards towards Ninghsia. According to Fletcher (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 77), it was Ma Hua-lung who made Chin-chi-p'u into the foremost "New Teaching" centre in all of China. From this bastion he was able to exercise an influence on the Chinese *umma* far in excess of that wielded by Ma Ming-hsin during his prime, for during the three-quarters of a century following the death of the latter, the "New Teaching" had spread from the Kansu-Chinghai border area across much of China. Seemingly, Ma Hua-lung played an important part in this process of proselytisation, for in a memorial addressed to the Imperial authorities at Peking requesting the prohibition of the "New Teaching", Tso Tsung-t'ang, the Ch'ing commander who eventually crushed the 1862-78 Muslim rebellion in Northwest China, complained that Ma, who styled himself the *Tsung-ta A-hung* ("General Grand *Mullā*", *Matthews'*, nos. 6912, 5943, 1, 2931), had "sent out people to spread this evil religion everywhere". According to Tso, these missionaries, known as *hai-li-fei* (*Matthews'*, nos. 2014, 3865, 1850, possibly a corruption of the Arabic Ṣūfī term *k͟halīfa*, see Israeli, *op. cit.*, 1974, 298), were "disguised as businessmen" (Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Memorials*, cited in Chu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 1966, 156-8). In fact, Muslim merchants dominated the North China caravan trade, and it is more than probable that many of the "New Teaching" *hai-li-fei* were also legitimate merchants. Tso continued: "According to the testimony of lately captured Muslim rebels, there are missionaries of the New Teaching in Peking, Tientsin, Heilungkiang, Kirin, Shansi and Hupeh" (Tso, *Memorials, ibid.*); it is also probable that the "New Teaching" had spread across Szechwan (where it was definitely established) to Yunnan [*q.v.*] where it may have played some part in the "Panthay" [*q.v.*] Muslim rebellion of Tu Wen-hsiu [*q.v.*].

During the great Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 [see AL-ṢĪN], four main centres of Muslim power were to emerge in Northwest China (excluding only the Turkic areas of Sinkiang which were either to pass under the rule of Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] of Kās͟hg͟har [*q.v.*], or to maintain a precarious independence under incompetent local leadership in Dzungaria

(see Bales, 224, "Sketch map of main Muslim centres"). These were: (1) Ma Hua-lung's base at Chin-chi-p'u, the chief centre of the "New Teaching"; (2) Hochow and the surrounding area, a predominantly "Old Teaching" centre under the leadership of Ma Chan-so (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 125, 59); (3) Hsining and the surrounding area, a region of mixed "Old" and "New Teaching" allegiances under the leadership of Ma Kuei-yüan (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 3610, 7728); and (4) a region centering upon Suchow, described by Bales, 224, as "non-sectarian", under the leadership of Ma Wen-yu (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 7129, 4196). (Note, however, that elsewhere [227], Bales describes both the Hsining and Suchow Muslims as being "mostly inclined to the New Sect".) In marked contrast to these Kansu and Chinghai Muslim leaders, Pai Yen-hu [*q.v.*], the most important of the Shensi Muslim leaders, was a guerilla fighter with no permanent base. Of this plethora of Muslim leaders, however, it is interesting to note that in the opinion of Tso Tsung-t'ang: "only one man . . . could command followers from Heilungkiang to Sinkiang, and he was Ma Hua-lung" (Tso, *Memorials*, cited in Chu, 1955, 343).

The initial Northwestern Muslim challenge to the Ch'ing Empire came in Shensi, where between 1862 and 1864 Pai Yen-hu and other local Muslim leaders conducted a fast-moving cavalry campaign against the Manchu general To-lung-a. The Ch'ing forces scored some early successes in southern Shensi, but in 1864 To-lung-a was killed, and during the following months the Muslim revolt spread with great rapidity across the whole of Northwest China.

During the early years of the revolt, Ma Hua-lung, whose base at Chin-chi-p'u was situated well behind the main battle front in southern Shensi, succeeded in maintaining a precarious neutrality (at least in the eyes of some local Ch'ing officials, see Chu, 1955, 345), whilst simultaneously increasing the fortifications around Chin-chi-p'u and building up the armed forces at his command. It was widely rumoured that Ma Hua-lung had masterminded the capture of Ninghsia city by rebel forces in 1863, but some Ch'ing officials still remained unconvinced of Ma's complicity. Tso Tsung-t'ang, the military veteran who was appointed Governor-General of Shensi and Kansu in 1868, with specific orders to crush the Muslim revolt, had no such doubts. Tso "regarded the Chin-chi-p'u centre as one of first importance and determined to concentrate upon the reduction of the Muslims in that area. He had no illusions whatever about Ma Hua-lung, but was certain that he was the ringleader among all the Kansu Muslims, and he determined to proceed on that basis" (Chu, 1955, 346).

Tso estimated that he would require five years to reconquer Shensi and Kansu; he launched his attack in November 1868, aiming primarily to capture Chin-chi-p'u, with Hochow as a secondary target. It was a savage campaign, with little quarter given or asked. Tso played upon the traditional rivalries between adherents of the "Old" and "New" teachings by giving amnesty to followers of the "Old Teaching" who surrendered (a policy which paid off, for in 1872 Ma Chan-so, commander of the "Old Teaching" centre based on Hochow, surrendered to Tso shortly after inflicting a crushing defeat on the Imperial forces; for his pains he was made a general in Tso's army and went on to play an important part in the "pacification" of Kansu); in marked contrast Tso "never treated with a single 'New Sect' leader, but executed every one that fell into his hands" (Bales, 280).

Throughout 1869, Tso's armies advanced slowly across Shensi and into eastern Kansu, driving the highly-mobile Muslim cavalry of Shensi before them. In early 1870 the Imperial forces arrived before Chin-chi-p'u; the assault was to be long and hard, for "over the whole plain was a network of canals, all the villages were fortified, and the Moslems had erected numberless stockades covering every approach to Chinchipu" (Bales, 243; for details of the campaign, see 231-65). Tso built a huge moat and accompanying rampart around Chin-ch'i-p'u, and set about reducing the Muslims through a combination of bombardment and starvation. Ma Hua-lung's position was made critical by his earlier decision to send a large force of his followers into Shensi in a bid to draw off Tso's armies from Chin-chi-p'u, an action which caused Bales, Tso's biographer, to comment: "Had Ma Hua-lung enjoyed a reasonable talent for generalship along with his many other endowments, he could have driven Tso Tsung-t'ang out of Kansu, perhaps from Shensi as well, and delivered an irreparable blow to the Imperial cause" (247).

By January 1871 the population of Chin-chi-p'u was starving; the defenders had been reduced to eating human flesh. On 6 January Ma Hua-lung left his stronghold behind the city walls and presented himself, accompanied by a single servant, at the headquarters of Liu Chin-t'ang, the Imperial commander. Ma asked that all blame for the resistance at Chin-chi-p'u be laid on him, and that his followers should be spared. After prolonged interrogation by the victorious Ch'ing commanders, Ma was executed, together with twelve members of his immediate family, by the "slicing process"; some eighty of the lesser Muslim leaders were beheaded. Chin-chi-p'u was depopulated, and the surviving Muslims were sent, *en masse*, into exile or slavery. Tso Tsung-t'ang went on to reconquer western Kansu, and by 1878, ten years after the commencement of his offensive in Shensi, he succeeded in reconquering Kāshghar, the last major town of Northwest China.

After his execution on 2 March 1871, Ma Hua-lung became a martyr for followers of the "New Teaching". The victorious Ch'ing forces made strenous attempts to stamp out Ma's adherents (it has been estimated that between 1862 and 1878 the Muslim revolt and the Ch'ing reconquest resulted in over 10 million deaths; see Chu, 1966, p. vii), but to no avail. According to W. A. Saunders, a Christian missionary who was active in Kansu during the Republican period, Ma's body was buried at Chen-chi-p'u, but his head was taken, presumably in secret, to Hsüan-hua-kang, near Chang-chia-ch'uan in south-eastern Kansu. When Saunders visited Hsüan-hua-kang in 1934 he found Ma's tomb to be "quite an imposing affair of carved brick with a kind of 'Li Pai Sz' (temple) as an entrance" (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 70). Saunders records that "worship" was made at the tomb every year on Ma Hua-lung's birthday, a practice strongly denounced by local Muslims belonging to the "Old Teaching". It is not known whether Ma's tomb at Hsüan-hua-kang still exists.

Bibliography: The most important contemporaneous Chinese sources for the Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 are the complete works of Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Ch'üan-chi*, 1888-97, published together with a biography of Tso written by Lo Cheng-chün, *Tso Wen hsiang-kung Nien-p'u*; details of these works are to be found in Chu Wen-djang's 1966 study of the Muslim rebellion in Northwest China at p. 211. A collection of anecdotes taken from the oral recollections of a Muslim

mullā who lived through the great rebellion as a child is to be found in Shan Hua-p'u's *Shen-Kan Chieh-yü-lu*, in Pai Shou-i's 1952 collection, iv, 303 ff.; this source, based partially on personal experience and partially on hearsay, is indicative of the paucity of Muslim sources for this period. A further useful contemporaneous Chinese source is Po Ching-wei's *Feng-hsi-ts'ao-t'ang-chi*, Nanking 1924, the collected works of a member of the Shensi gentry who served with the imperial forces and was present during the siege of Chin-chi-p'u. An interesting, but not always reliable, contemporaneous western source is F. von Richthofen's *Baron Richthofen's letters (1870-1872)*, Peking 1941. See also: H. M. d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, Paris 1911, esp. 273-4; Wu Tseng-ch'i, *Ch'ing-shih kang-yao* ("A summary of Ch'ing history"), Shanghai 1913, esp. *chüan* 12; M. Hartmann, *Zur Geschichte des Islam in China*, Leipzig 1921; W. A. Saunders, *Hsüan Hua Kang*, in *Friends of Moslems in China* (Hankow), viii/4 (1 October 1934), 69-71; W. L. Bales, *Tso Tsung-t'ang: soldier and statesman of Old China*, Shanghai 1937, esp. 231-65; Muḥammad Tawāḍuʿ, *al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1945; Ma Hsiao-shih, *Hsi-pei Hui-tsu ko-ming chien-shih* ("A short history of the revolutions of the Northwestern Muslim people"), Shanghai 1951, esp. 1-15 (Ma Hsiao-shih, a Hui Muslim, emphasises links between the Muslim rebellion in Shensi and the Taiping rebels); Pai Shou-i, *Hui-hui min-tsu ti hsin-sheng* ("The rebirth of the Muslim people"), Shanghai 1951, esp. 65-70; Pai Shou-i, *Hui-min ch'i-i* ("The righteous uprisings of the Muslim people"), 4 vols, Shanghai 1952, see vols. iii and iv for the Northwest China rebellions; Chu Wen-djang, *The Policy of the Manchu government in the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in Shensi, Kansu and Sinkiang from 1862 to 1878*, Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Washington 1955 (the greater part of this thesis was later published [see Chu, 1966], but several important appendices were omitted from the published version, most notably supplement IV, "Ma Hua-lung and the New Sect", which may be found at 343-60 of the unpublished thesis); Mary C. Wright, *The last stand of Chinese conservatism: the T'ung-Chih restoration, 1862-1874*, Stanford 1957, repr. New York 1969, see esp. 107-113 of the 1969 edition; Saguchi Tōru, *Jūhachi-jūkyū seiki Higashi Torukisutan shakaishi kenkyū* ("The social history of Eastern Turkestan in the 18th/19th centuries"), Tokyo 1963; Chu Wen-djang, *The Moslem rebellion in Northwest China, 1862-1878*, The Hague-Paris 1966; R. Israeli, *Chinese versus Muslims: a study of cultural confrontation*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of California, Berkeley 1974; J. Fletcher, *Central Asian Sufism and Ma Ming-hsin's New Teaching*, publication unknown, 1976 (?), 75-96; A. Forbes, *The Muslim national minorities of China*, in *Religion*, vi/2 (1976), 67-87; R. Israeli, *Established Islam and marginal Islam in China: from eclecticism to syncretism*, in *JESHO*, xxxi (1978), 99-109. (A. D. W. Forbes)

MA HUAN (*Matthews' Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters no. 4310, 2266), Chinese Muslim interpreter and traveller who flourished during the 9th/15th century and who was the author of *Ying-yai sheng-lan* ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores"), the best-known account of the early and mid-9th/15th century Ming Chinese maritime expeditions to South-east Asia, South Asia, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa.

Ma Huan was born *ca.* 782/1380 in Kuei-chi, a district of Shao-hsing city, Chekiang Province. His home was about 24 miles south-east of Hang-chou, and a mere 7 miles from the southern shore of Hang-chou bay, one of the principal centres of navigation in 9th/15th century China (Mills, *Ma Huan* [see *Bibl.*], 34). Ma Huan probably came from a poor background, though "his derogatory description of himself as a 'mountain-woodcutter' need not be taken literally" (Mills, *loc. cit.*). Seemingly, Ma Huan did not belong to a Muslim family, but chose to adopt Islam when a young man—thus his surname "Ma", so common amongst Chinese Muslims, must have been purely coincidental. He must have received a good education in Chinese, for "there are classicisms in his book, and he was acquainted with the contents of Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao-i chih-lüeh* ("A synoptical account of the Islands and their Barbarians", 751/1350), of certain Chinese classics, and of 'Buddhist books'" (Mills). (On the other hand Duyvendak, in his *Ma Huan re-examined*, 9, describes *Ying-yai sheng-lan* as being "written in an almost colloquial style by an unlearned Mohammedan".)

During his youth Ma Huan seems to have adopted Islam, and to have assumed the *tzu* (courtesy-name) of Tsung-tao (*Matthews'*, nos. 6896, 6136); possibly as a result of becoming a Muslim he began a study of Arabic and/or Persian, enabling him to become proficient as a translator and interpreter. As a result of the acquisition of these skills, he was appointed to the staff of the great Chinese Muslim admiral Cheng Ho in 815/1412. It is interesting to note that Ma Huan's appointment came one year before the fourth of Cheng Ho's voyages (816-18/1413-15), the first to sail beyond South Asia to the Persian Gulf.

Ma Huan accompanied Cheng Ho on this fourth voyage—as with the latter's three previous voyages a "maritime expedition" in every sense of the word; the Chinese Muslim admiral had under his command a fleet of 63 ships bearing 28,560 men. The expedition visited various parts of the Malay Archipelago, Sri Lanka, Bengal, South India, the Maldive Islands and Hormuz in Persia. The young Ma Huan must have been greatly interested in the various lands he saw, for together with his colleague and life-long collaborator Kuo Ch'ung-li (*Matthews'*, nos. 3746, 1528, 3886), he made local journeys in the various countries he visited, and recorded details of his impressions.

On his return to China in 818/1415, Ma began work on a book based on the notes made by Kuo Ch'ung-li and himself. In 819/1416 he completed the first version of his book (he was to make numerous additions and corrections over the years), and wrote a foreword and a commemorative poem. In his 819/1416 foreword he notes that:

"I collected [notes about] the appearance of the people in each country, the variations of the local customs, the differences in the natural products and the boundary limits. I arranged (my notes) in order so as to make a book, which I have entitled *The overall survey of the Ocean's shores*" (Mills, *op. cit.*, 70).

Ma Huan did not accompany Cheng Ho on his fifth expedition of 820-2/1417-19; he does not explain why. In 824/1421, however, he once again voyaged with Cheng Ho on his sixth expedition, returning in 825/1422. In addition to returning to most of those countries visited during the fourth expedition, Cheng Ho's sixth expedition took Ma Huan to Ẓufār and Aden; a part of the great Chinese fleet (which comprised 41 ships and an unknown number of men) visited Mogadishu and Brava in Somalia, but Ma Huan does not seem to have accompanied

this branch expedition. Mills notes that Ma Huan probably added sections on Ẓufār and Aden to his book after his return to China in 825/1422 (*op. cit.*, 35).

Ma Huan, although still a relatively young man, probably accepted that his journeys to the Indian Ocean were over when the emperor Jen Tsung forbade further expeditions to that remote region in 828/1424; however, when the Hsüan-te emperor revoked this edict in 834/1430 and ordered the ageing Cheng Ho to undertake his seventh and final expedition to the "Western regions", Ma Huan was once again employed as an interpreter.

Cheng Ho's seventh expedition is better documented than any of the preceding six. We know that more than 100 large ships took part in the voyage, and that a total of 27,550 men sailed with him. The fleet left Nanking in 835/1431, and returned to China in 837/1433. Once again, Cheng Ho and/or his emissaries visited Southeast Asia, Bengal, Southern India, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa. On this voyage we know that Ma Huan sailed with a branch of the main fleet to Bengal, and thence to Kozhikode (Calicut) in South India. It seems very likely that from Kozhikode Ma Huan was sent, with six other Muslim emissaries, to Mecca. Mills has calculated that Ma Huan left Kozhikode about mid-836/1432, and arrived in Mecca about three months later; he then spent a further three months in Mecca before rejoining Cheng Ho's main fleet at Kozhikode in 837/1433.

On his return to China, Ma Huan added a lengthy and accurate account of Mecca to his *Ying-yai sheng-lan*. He notes that the inhabitants of *T'ien fang* ("the Heavenly Square", a clear reference to the Kaʿba) are "stalwart and fine looking"; they "bind up their hands", whilst their womenfolk "wear a covering over their hands, and you cannot see their faces". He describes the *Ḥaram* and the Kaʿba in detail, noting that the pilgrims tear pieces from the *kiswa* (sc. the mantle used to cover the Kaʿba) as souvenirs, just as occurs today. He also mentions the Prophet's tomb at Medina, though his error in situating the well Zamzam near the latter rather than at Mecca causes Duyvendak to question whether Ma Huan did, in fact, ever visit the Ḥijāz (*Ma Huan re-examined*, 73). An excellent translation of Ma Huan's account of Mecca may be found in Mills, 173-8.

To the best of our knowledge, Ma Huan never again left China. He continued working on the *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, in collaboration with Kuo Ch'ung-li, and the completed work was eventually published *ca.* 855/1451. Ma Huan is thought to have died some nine years later. Unfortunately, the 1451 edition of Ma Huan's book has long been lost, and our present knowledge of the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* rests on three later editions, all dating from the latter half of the Ming dynasty (Mills, 37-41).

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

MA MING-HSIN (*Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 4534, 2735), also known as Muḥammad Amīn, a Chinese Muslim leader of the mid-12th/18th century who was instrumental in the development and spread of the "New Teaching", a neo-orthodox reformist movement in Chinese Islam which swept Northwest China in the latter half of the 12th/18th century, and which played an important part in the great mid-13th/19th century Muslim revolt of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

Ma Ming-hsin was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 12th/18th century at An-ting, a small town some 90 km. south-east of Lanchow, the capital of the Chinese province of Kansu [*q.v.*]. The site of Ma's birthplace makes it probable that he was a Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, though his travels in Turkestan led Hartmann (*op. cit.* in Bibl., 28, n.) to describe him as a native of that region, whilst his rôle as a religious reformer amongst the Salar Turks [*q.v.*] of southwestern Kansu and eastern Chinghai has also led to his identification as a Salar (see Mary C. Wright, *op. cit.*, in Bibl., 108). Confusion over Ma's ethnic origins may have been further compounded by his adoption of an Arabic soubriquet, a practice common amongst the Hui.

Ma Ming-hsin seems to have first come to the attention of the Chinese authorities in 1175/1761, when he returned to Kansu after a prolonged period of travel and study in Central Asia and Arabia. During the course of these travels Ma made the pilgrimage to Mecca and visited the Yemen, where he was initiated into the Nakshbandī ṭarīḳa (Tawāḍuʿ, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 115). It seems probable that he returned to Kansu via the major Nakshbandī centre of Bukhārā, as well as through the lesser Nakshbandī centres of Kāshghar [*q.v.*] and Yarkand. On his return, Ma proclaimed himself the "Possessor of the True Teaching" (Hartmann, in *Bibl.*, 123, n. 128), and armed with a "magnetic personality" (Ford, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 154) and the prestige naturally accruing to *ḥādjdjī* on this distant periphery of the Muslim World, he began to expound a heterodox form of Islam with the avowed aim of reforming the Chinese *umma*.

Within a short period of time, Ma was expelled from his native An-ting for "causing trouble" (Ford, *ibid.*). He went next to preach amongst the Salars, a Turkic people with a reputation for fierceness and independence who inhabit the hills to the south of the Yellow River in the Chinghai-Kansu borderlands. In the Salar hills, Ma gained the support of two local *mullās* Su-ssu-shih-san and Hu-ma-liu-hu. His teaching, which rapidly gained widespread popular support, became known as the "New Teaching" (*hsin chiao*, *Matthews*, nos. 2737, 719) to differentiate it from the various forms of established Islamic practice in Kansu, which in turn became known as the "Old Teaching" (*lao chiao*, *Matthews*, nos. 3833, 719, or *chiu chiao*, nos. 1205, 719). According to Hsü (in *Bibl.*, 23), Ma Ming-hsin's "New Teaching" was distinguished by the following characteristics: (1) loud chanting of the scriptures, as opposed to the soft chanting of the old sect (i.e. followers of the "Old Teaching"); (2) prayers with head-shaking and body movement in dance-like manner, sc. foot-stamping, hand-waving, and face turning up towards heaven; (3) belief in miracles, visions, apparition of spirits, and prediction of good or bad omens; and (4) the worship of saints or their tombs.

Until recently, the identity of the "New Teaching", though obviously Ṣūfī in inspiration, remained unclear (see Wright, 108, together with relevant footnotes). Recent research undertaken by Saguchi and Fletcher, however, indicates that Ma Ming-hsin introduced to Kansu a sub-group of the Naḳshbandī *ṭariḳa* which practiced *dhikr djahrī* (vocal recollection) as opposed to the *dhikr khafī* more usually associated with the Naḳshbandiyya. This sub-group, which is generally known as the Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya, can be traced back to Khōdja Maḥmūd Andjīr Faghnawī, who introduced the "*dhikr* of those who act publicly" (*dhikr ʿalāniyya*) to the Naḳshbandī *ṭariḳa* in *ca.* 715/1315 (Fletcher, *Central Asian Sufism*, 79-80). The "New Teaching", or Kansu form of Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya, seems to have laid great emphasis on *karāmāt* (thaumaturgic and charismatic gifts [see KARĀMĀT); thus Ma Ming-hsin came to be regarded as a saint by his followers.

The followers of the "New Teaching" seem to have adopted an agressively militant attitude towards other Muslims. An anonymous government official who participated in the defense of Lanchow during the Muslim rebellion of 1196/1781 notes of the adherents of the "New Teaching" that "When anyone hesitated to join them, they would all rise to attack him, threatening him with sword and spear until he gave way. Even if the rejector were the father and the believers were the sons, the sons would kill the father". (*P'ing-Hui chi-lüeh*, *Hui-min ch'i-i*, iii, 9-10). As a result of this militancy, relations between the "Old" and "New" factions grew to be extremely bitter.

The Chinese authorities first seem to have become aware of these sectarian tensions during 1176/1762, when leaders of the rival factions in the Salar region laid charges against each other before the Chinese magistrate. The leaders of both groups were found guilty and banished from the area. In 1183/1769 the charges were renewed, and this time the penalties incurred were heavier against the "New Teaching" (Wright, 108). It is not clear whether Ma Ming-hsin was personally involved in either of these incidents.

During this period, the town of Hsün-hua, located in the Salar hills on the right bank of the Yellow River some 95 km. upstream from Hochow, (the modern Linsia), emerged as the centre of the "New Teaching". In 1196/1781 sectarian tension in Hsün-hua boiled over, and followers of the "New Teaching" leader Su-ssu-shi-san attacked and killed at least forty adherents of the "Old Teaching" (Schram, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 64). Government troops despatched from Lanchow to quell the disturbances were defeated by Su-ssu-shi-san's followers, and the successful rebels occupied the city of Hochow.

The provincial authorities in Lanchow responded by sending a force of five hundred men to occupy Ti-tao, a small town on the right bank of the Tao River some 85 km. south-east of Hochow. In this action, the provincial forces scored their first real success by capturing Ma Ming-hsin, the founder and spiritual leader of the "New Teaching". Ma was taken to Lanchow, where he was incarcerated; shortly thereafter rebel forces from Hochow, believed to number upwards of 2,000 men, crossed the Tao River and besieged Lanchow. They succeeded in cutting the floating bridge across the Yellow River, thus isolating relief forces from Northern Kansu, and demanded the release of Ma Ming-hsin. The Chinese commandant refused to hand Ma over, but took him to the city walls whence he might address the besieging forces (de Groot, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 312-13). The anonymous government official who witnessed this scene records that "When Ma Ming-hsin was taken to appear on top of the city walls, all the Muslims who saw him from below rolled down from their horses and prostrated themselves on the ground. They called him a saint and wept" (*P'ing-Hui chi-lüeh*, *ibid.*). This display seems to have made an adverse impression on the Chinese commandant, who "had him killed at once, in order to keep down sedition within the walls" (de Groot, 314). Ma's son was seemingly killed with him (Schram, *ibid.*).

Ma's death did not bring about the end of the rebellion, but served only to increase the bitterness of his followers. The Chinese troops stationed in Kansu proved incapable of suppressing the rebels, a task which fell initially to Salar followers of the "Old Teaching", later assisted by Mongol troops from Alashan and Chinese troops from Szechwan. Some three months after the murder of Ma Ming-hsin, Ch'ing troops surrounded the foremost of the surviving "New Teaching" leaders, the Salar *mullā* Su-ssu-shi-san, at his stronghold in the Hua-lin mountains. Su was captured and executed, and with his death the rebellion came to an end. The Chinese authorities banned the "New Teaching" and instituted a series of bloody reprisals against its surviving adherents. An edict issued by Ch'ien-lung after the imperial victory in the Hua-lin mountains exhorts his officials as follows: "Of these rebels not a trace, however slight, must remain. All insurgents yet at liberty shall be hunted out . . . and their wives, daughters and babies now incarcerated in the provincial capital, in Hochow, in Hsün-hua and other places, shall be thoroughly examined for the better realisation of this object; and finally, the transports to the pestilential places of banishment shall start with all possible speed" (de Groot, 315). The Ch'ing authorities massacred whole families and clans with "New Teaching" affiliations, but to no avail. The "New Teaching" leaders went underground, and within three years a still bloodier *hsin-chiao* rising, under the leadership of T'ien Wu [*q.v.*] broke out in the Kansu-Chinghai region. The "New Teaching" or Ma Ming-hsin was also to prove instrumental in the great mid-13th/19th century rebellion of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

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Chinese sources may be found in C. L. Pickens, *Chinese annals*, pp. 30-3 of his *Annotated bibliography of literature on Islam in China*, Hankow 1950; this source is especially useful for details of the 1196-9/1781-4 Muslim risings contained in the *Ta-Ch'ing Kao-tsung Shun-huang-ti shih-lu* (i.e. the official edicts of the Ch'ien-lung period). See also Wei Yüan, *Sheng-wu chi* ("History of the Imperial wars"), 1842, *chüan* 7 (cited in Ford, *op. cit.* below). For further details, see D. D. Leslie, *Islam in China to 1800: a bibliographical guide*, in *Abr-Nahrain*, xvi (1976), 25 (Section H, "Imperial Edicts"). Further primary sources, including the *P'ing-Hui chi-lüeh* ("Brief record of the pacification of the Muslims", Kansu, *ca.* 1196/1781) may be found in Pai Shou-i, ed. *Hui-min ch'i-i* ("The righteous uprisings of the Muslim people"), published in 4 vols., Shanghai 1952, of which vols. iii and iv refer to events in the Chinese northwest during the 18th and 19th centuries.

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MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR (A.) "the land which lies beyond the river", i.e. beyond the Oxus or Āmū-Daryā [*q.v.*], the classical Transoxiana or Transoxania, so-called by the conquering Arabs of the 1st/7th century and after in contrast to Mā dūn al-Nahr, the lands of Khurāsān [*q.v.*] this side of the Oxus, although the term Khurāsān was not infrequently used vaguely to designate all the eastern Islamic lands beyond western Persia.

1. THE NAME

The frontiers of Mā warāʾ al-nahr on the north and east were where the power of Islam ceased and depended on political conditions; cf. the statements of the Arab geographers on Mā warāʾ al-nahr in G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 433-4; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928, 64 ff. The phrase Mā warāʾ al-nahr passed from Arabic literature into Persian. As late as the 9th/15th century, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*] devotes a special chapter (the last) to Mā warāʾ al-nahr in his geographical work. Under the influence of literary tradition, the phrase Mā warāʾ al-nahr was used down to quite recent times in Central Asia itself (e.g. by Bābur, in his *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, see index; by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt later in the 10th/16th century in his Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī, tr. Elias and Ross, *A history of the Moghuls*, London 1895, 79, 95 ff., 150, etc.; and by the Uzbek Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, cf. *Sprav. knizhka Samarkandskii oblasti*, v, 240 and *passim*), although to the people of Central Asia the lands in question were on their side of and not across the river. (W. BARTHOLD)

2. HISTORY

Pre-Islamic Transoxania comprised, in the widest sense, Soghdia (Arabic *Ṣughd* [*q.v.*], essentially the basin of the Zarafshān river) and the lands as far as the Sīr Daryā basin, northwestwards to Khʷārazm [*q.v.*] and eastwards to Farghāna [*q.v.*] and across the Tien Shan Mountains into Eastern or Chinese Turkestan (on the general concept of "Turkestan", Eastern and Western, see TURKISTĀN). For these regions in classical times, see W. Tomaschek, in *PW*, ii, cols. 2804-13 (Baktra, Baktriane, Baktrianoi), iii, cols. 2406-8 (Chorasmia). All this was still largely an Iranian region, with such Middle Iranian languages flourishing there as Khʷārazmian and Soghdian, both written in scripts going back to the Aramaic alphabet; Bactrian in the upper Oxus provinces of Ṭukhāristān, Čaghāniyān, Khuttal(ān) and Wakhsh [*q.vv.*], written in a modified Greek alphabet; and Khotanese and Tokharian dialects in the Tarim basin of Eastern Turkestan, written in scripts of Indian origin. In Soghdia, however, the strong cultural influence of Sāsānid Persia may have given Persian a foothold in the main cities at least. Narshakhī states that just after the time of the conquest of Bukhārā by Ḳutayba b. Muslim (sc. in *ca.* 94/712-13), the people there used Persian (*pārsī*) for reciting the Ḳurʾān, though no doubt Soghdian remained for some time to come the main language of daily intercourse (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran 1939, 57, tr. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 48). Just over two-and-a-half centuries later, al-Muḳaddasī, 335, calls the speech of Bukhārā *darī*, i.e. Persian; this must nevertheless still refer to urban speech patterns only, for Soghdian lasted much longer in the countryside.

In regard to religion, no single faith was dominant. Buddhism was still in full bloom in Eastern Turkestan and still strong in the upper Oxus provinces, where it was the faith of the northern branch of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] who put up such a strenuous resistance to the Arabs in the later 1st/7th and early 2nd/8th centuries, and where Balk͟h [*q.v.*] was still a major Buddhist centre; but it had, for some time, been waning in Soghdia. When the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang arrived in Samarḳand in *ca.* 630, he found the Zoroastrians completely in the ascendant there and the Buddhist monasteries deserted; the restorative measures which he took can only have arrested this decline temporarily. For as in the linguistic field, cultural pressures from Sāsānid Persia must have given Zoroastrianism an access of prestige and power in Transoxania, even though direct Sāsānid military authority did not extend beyond Marw (cf. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 33-5). Manicheism and other dualist faiths were tolerated, and their adherents found an especially sympathetic haven in Eastern Turkestan and among the Uyg͟hur Turks, as numerous surviving religious texts from the Tarim basin attest; as late as *ca.* 372/982 the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, London 1937, 113, § 25.13, records the presence in Samarḳand of a conventual house of the Manichaeans, *k͟hānagāh-i Mānawiyān*, with *auditores* or *nig͟hūs͟hāk*. Mazdakites are mentioned also in Samarḳand, and if the followers of the late 2nd/8th century heretic al-Muḳannaʿ, the "wearers of white" (see below) were Mazdakites (or Manichaeans?), their adherents still persisted at Kis͟h and Nak͟hs͟hab in the time of the continuator of Nars͟hak͟hī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Buk͟hārā*, 88-9, tr. 75). The Christian presence was strong. A bishop is mentioned at Marw in 334 A.D. and there was probably one in Samarḳand by the 6th century. Nestorians, Jacobites and Melkites were all represented in Transoxania. When the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] conquered Talas in 280/893, a "great church" was transformed into a mosque (*ibid.*, 102, tr. 86-7). The absence of any one preponderant faith meant that there did not exist in Transoxania a dominant priesthood as there was in Sāsānid Persia, though religious scholars (*aḥbār*: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1237) are mentioned in K͟hwārazm at the time of Ḳutayba's incursions of 93/712, perhaps Zoroastrian priests; but resistance there to the Arabs was on grounds of local patriotism rather than on a religious basis.

Socially, there was an influential class of merchants in such Soghdian towns as Buk͟hārā, Paykand and Samarḳand, which was involved in long-distance trade operations with the Turkish peoples of the Siberian steppes and with the Chinese. The Arab invasions would not seriously hamper these trade movements, and indeed, the Soghdian merchants eventually found new markets within the Islamic caliphate for the goods which they imported from Inner Asia. The landed aristocracy of *dihḳān*s was dominant in the countryside and smaller towns, and the pattern of large estates in K͟hwārazm, along the Oxus channels and their canals, revealed by Soviet archaeology, was probably repeated in the irrigated lands of the Zarafs͟hān valley and the upper Oxus ones. The local Iranian princes of Transoxania mentioned in the sources, such as those in rural Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], S͟hās͟h [*q.v.*] and Farg͟hāna, and in cities like Samarḳand and Buk͟hārā, comprised the more powerful members of the *dihḳān* class and bore Iranian regnal titles such as *ik͟hs͟hīd* [*q.v.*] from Old Persian *k͟hs͟hāyat͟hiya-* "king, ruler"), e.g. in Soghdia and Farg͟hāna. Such a land-owning class (which may be called, not anachronistically, one of feudal magnates) of *dihḳāns* was the backbone of resistance to the Arabs, and continued to play a leading social role—eventually as an Islamised caste—in Transoxania till the end of the Sāmānid period, during which political authority was still to a considerably extent decentralised; its decline only came with the influx of Turkish steppe peoples in the 5th/11th century and after.

The Arabs who had invaded Persia and overthrown the Sāsānid empire penetrated to Ṭuk͟hāristān in ʿUt͟hmān's caliphate, during the governorship in K͟hurāsān of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], and al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 408, records, on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda, a plunder raid across the Oxus to Māymurg͟h near Samarḳand in 33/653-4. It would have been obviously unwise to commit major Arab forces across the river until some progress had been made against the resistance of the Hephthalites in Cisoxania and until a key point like Balk͟h had been captured (first raided in 32/653, but not fully secured till the time of Ḳutayba, see BALK͟H) and the Oxus crossing-points of Āmul-i S͟haṭṭ [*q.v.*] and Zamm taken.

In the spring of 54/674 Muʿāwiya's general ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] crossed the Oxus, attacked Paykand and defeated the army of the local Soghdian ruler of Buk͟hārā, the Buk͟hār-K͟hudā. Yazīd I's governor, Salm b. Ziyād (61-4/681-3) was the first Arab commander actually to winter across the river. Any hopes of Arab progress in Transoxania were dashed by the civil wars which broke out in the heart of the caliphate on Yazīd's death and the protracted resistance to the Umayyad government in Damascus of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, even though the Soghdian cities remained disunited and their nominal suzerain the Chinese emperor was unable, despite embassies despatched to Peking and appeals for help, to supply any assistance.

It was the great Ḳutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī [*q.v.*] who was the first Arab general to establish a firmer Arab hold over Transoxania. Appointed governor of the east by al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j in 86/705, he was to enjoy a ten years' tenure of power, spanning the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a reign particularly significant for the extension of Muslim power in both east and west. Ḳutayba first campaigned successfully in the Upper Oxus provinces at the invitation of the ruler of Čag͟hāniyān, who sought aid against local rivals (86/705). Between 87/706 and 90/709 he conquered Paykand and Buk͟hārā, installing in the latter city a local prince Tug͟hs͟hāda as his vassal, and received the submission of Tark͟hān of Samarḳand and his successor G͟hūrak. Mosques were now built in Buk͟hārā, Samarḳand, etc., in order to encourage the implantation of Islam and the inhabitants of Buk͟hārā were forced to give up half the houses of the *madīna* or *s͟hahrastān* as billets for the incoming Arab garrison; but according to Nars͟hak͟hī, 57, tr. 48, Ḳutayba had to pay the local inhabitants two *dirhams* a time to attend the Friday prayers. It was first in 88/707 that Ḳutayba had to repel Turkish forces which appeared in Transoxania when the people of Buk͟hārā appealed to the powerful Ḳag͟han of the Eastern Turks, whose name is known only in the Chinese transcription of Mo-čʾo; and a further Turkish invasion into Soghdia in 93/712, at the invitation of the people of Samarḳand, repulsed by Ḳutayba in the following year, may be that mentioned in the early Turkish Orkhon inscriptions (Khočo-Tsaidam, Kültigin I E 39) as the one undertaken by

the prince Kültigin which penetrated as far as *Tāmir Kapïgh*, the "Iron Gate" (sc. the present Buzgala defile between Kish and Tirmidh), "in order to organise the Soghdian people" (the connection of these seems fairly certain, as proponed by Marquart and Barthold; cf. R. Giraud, *L'empire des Turcs célestes, les règnes d'Elterich, Qapghan et Bilgä (680-734)*, Paris 1960, 44, 182-3, who also notes that this same inscription (Kültigin I, E 31) mentions an earlier expedition to the Iron Gate under Tonyuḳuḳ in 701). Ḳutayba further sent two expeditions against Khwārazm in 93/712, when the Khwārazm-Shāh was killed, although it was long before Islam became firmly implanted there [see KHWĀRAZM]. His forces also campaigned in the Sïr Daryā valley in Ushrūsana [*q.v.*] and Shāsh, meeting no resistance from the Turks, although the brief report in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1276, of a raid by one of his commanders as far as Kāshghar, on the other side of the Tien Shan, seems improbable (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 467-74).

The Turks' ability to intervene once more in Transoxanian affairs was for a while hampered by internal disputes between the Eastern and Western Turks, but after 716, a forceful ruler, Su-lu, made himself leader of the Western Turks or Türgesh. In 106/724 he inflicted a sharp defeat, the so-called "Day of thirst", on the Arab commander Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī who had invaded Farghāna, in the Sïr Daryā basin, and this reduced aggressive activity on the part of the Arabs for a decade or two. It is from these years, immediately after the fall of Ḳutayba, that there dates the important cache of documents in Soghdian, the archives of Dīvāstič, prince of Pandjkent on the upper reaches of the Zarafshān, kept at his stronghold on Mount Mugh, sacked in 104/722-3 by the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1447-8; cf. A. L. Mongait, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1959, 289-95). In the ensuing years, the Arabs, now on the defensive, were pushed back by the joint efforts of the Soghdian princes and the Turks, so that by 110/728 the Arabs only held Samarḳand and Dabūsiyya. The Arabs themselves were divided after 116/734, when the rebellion of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj al-Mudjāshiʿī [*q.v.*] broke out, first in Ṭukhāristān and then in Transoxania (where al-Ḥārith allied with the Ḳaghan of the Türgesh, Su-lu), lasting for several years. There was also much discontent amongst that part of the indigenous Transoxanian population which had been converted to Islam but which nevertheless found itself still liable to pay the poll-tax for the benefit of the Arab treasury.

Arab fortunes only revived under the energetic and experienced—he had fought under Ḳutayba—governor Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī [*q.v.*] (120-30/738-48), who made a generous financial settlement for the new converts and for those inhabitants who had apostasised from Islam when Arab military control had been relaxed and looked like disappearing altogether, and who brought al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj to terms in 126/744. He carried Arab arms into Farghāna again, but spent most of his efforts in pacifying Soghdia and in conciliating its people. Arab embassies to the Chinese court were resumed by Naṣr after an hiatus in the period 115-23/733-41, and the regulation of commercial contacts may have been one of the motives involved (see Gibb, *Chinese records of the embassies of the Arabs in Central Asia*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 619-22).

Naṣr was forced to abandon both Transoxania and Khurāsān by the growing menace of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* under Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], and pro-ʿAbbāsid governors were installed in the East from 130/748 onwards. This internal revolution amongst the Arabs must have been welcomed by the *dihḳāns* of Transoxania, disturbed at the waning of their political and social influence through the increased momentum of conversions to Islam. In 133/750-1 there was, moreover, a pro-ʿAlid rising among the Arab garrison of Bukhārā, bloodily suppressed by the new ʿAbbāsid governor Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*]. Although the Bukhār-Khudā had co-operated with the Arab authorities against the insurgents, he was afterwards executed on Abū Muslim's orders.

Meanwhile, the dissensions into which the Türgesh steppe confederation had fallen in 738 with Su-lu's defeat in battle at the hands of the Chinese and his assassination by a rival Turkish chief, permitted a recrudescence, now on a scale much more threatening than ever before to the Arabs, of Chinese activity in Central Asia. In 748 Chinese forces captured the Türgesh capital of Sūyāb, in the Ču river valley to the north-east of Farghāna, and in 749 executed the local ruler of Shāsh for "the non-fulfilment of his duties as a vassal". For several decades, virtually since the first coming of the Arabs, the Soghdian rulers and the princes of Ṭukhāristān (including among the latter the Yabghu, Arabic Djabbūya) had been sending embassies to China appealing for help against the invaders. Now in 750-1 the Korean general Kao-hsien-chih was sent by the Chinese governor of Ḳuča in Eastern Turkestan, firstly against rebels in the Pamirs region of Gilgit [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and then into Farghāna. Here the Chinese army, assisted by the Turkish Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*], met an Arab force under Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ at Athlakh or Aṭlakh near Talas in 133/751, and was soundly defeated, with heavy losses of killed and captured (see D. M. Dunlop, *A new source of information on the Battle of Talas or Aṭlakh*, in *Ural-altäischer Jahrbücher*, xxxvi [1965], 326-30). Amongst the prisoners-of-war were Chinese artisans who are supposed to have taught the people of Samarḳand the art of paper-making (al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 140, and KĀGHAD). This marked the end of Chinese attempts to assert their hegemony west of the Tien-Shan; to the subsequent entreaties of the Iranian princes of Transoxania and Khwārazm for help against the Arabs, the T'ang emperors, pre-occupied by succession quarrels 755-63, were compelled to return non-committal answers. Arab authority was thus made reasonable firm in Transoxania for the first time, since the local potentates no longer had any strong allies either in the Turkish steppes (the Eastern Turkish confederation had collapsed with the death of the Ḳaghan Mo-ki-lien in 744, to be replaced by that of the Uyghurs, who were essentially concerned with Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan) or in the Far East. That the masses of population in Transoxania were as yet far from wholly reconciled to Arab political and social domination was to be demonstrated by various outbreaks of religio-political protest in the early ʿAbbāsid period (see further on these, below), but Arab authority was by that time never seriously jeopardised.

For the detailed history of this first century or so of Arab domination in Transoxania, see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 34-89; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 47 ff.;

idem, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], London 1968, 180-96; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1952, 150-72; A. D. H. Bivar, in G. Hambly *et alii*, *Central Asia*, London 1969, 63-8.

Under the first ʿAbbāsids, Transoxania gradually became integrated politically as a province of the caliphate as a whole. The first governors appointed there by the victorious Abū Muslim speedily began intriguing against their patron at the instigation of the caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, who became deeply suspicious of his over-mighty subject. Abū Muslim accordingly executed Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Azdī in 135/752-3 at Āmul, whilst the fugitive Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ was executed, to Abū Muslim's satisfaction, by the Iranian *dihḳān* of Bārkath, on the route from Samarḳand to Ushrūsana. Discontent among Abū Muslim's own followers after his death at the caliph al-Manṣūr's hands in 137/755, discontent which came to regard the murdered leader as a semi-divine, messianic figure who would return and establish a reign of justice (cf. G.-H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 134 ff.), united sectarian Islamic and non-Islamic religious dissent with politico-social resentment at Arab domination; these combined strands made Transoxania a much-troubled region in the ensuing decades. The rapidly-changing series of Arab governors sent out to govern Khurāsān and Transoxania (see the list in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 48) were mostly intent on lining their own pockets during their expectedly brief tenure of power there rather than on trying to bring about a community of interest between the Arab central government representatives and the local populations. Several governors debased the local silver currency, although it is favourably recorded by Narshakhī that the governor Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], appointed to Khurāsān in 175/791 by his own nephew Hārūn al-Rashīd, introduced the useful reform of alloy *dirhams*, called *Ghiṭrīfī*, to replace the old, largely-vanished coinage of the Bukhār-Khudās (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203-6).

Most of what we know about Transoxania's specific history in this period from the advent of the ʿAbbāsids to the rise of the Sāmānids is concerned with various rebellious there. In the caliphate of al-Mahdī, *ca.* 159-60/776-7 and during the governorships of Ḥumayd b. Ḳaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī and Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd, there occurred the outbreak of the Khāridjī *mawlā* Yūsuf al-Barm al-Thaḳafī at Bukhārā and in the countryside of Bādghīs, and later, in the time of al-Maʾmūn, Yūsuf's grandson Manṣūr b. ʿAbd Allāh also rebelled; such Khāridjī activity was an aspect of the general vitality of Khāridjī doctrines in Khūrāsān and Sīstān at this period. More serious at the time and with a protracted aftermath was the movement of the "wearers of white garments" (*al-mubayyiḍa, ispīdh-djāmagān*), followers of the "veiled prophet" al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], whose real name was Hāshim b. Ḥakīm or ʿAṭāʾ, a former partisan of Abū Muslim's. The revolt, erupting during Ḥumayd's governorship, is treated at length by Narshakhī (77-89, tr. 65-76; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 198-200; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 163-86; B. S. Amoretti, *Sects and heresies*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran. iv. From the Arab invasion to the Saljuqs*, ed. R. N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 498-503). It attracted widespread support in Soghdia, at Kish and at Nakhshab or Nasaf, whilst in Bukhārā, the son of the Bukhār-Khudā Tughshāda, Bunyāt, renounced official Islam and joined the movement. It is not easy to discern from the sources the exact nature of al-Muḳannaʿ's religious doctrines. He himself may have been originally a Zoroastrian, but his ideas may have come to include neo-Mazdakite elements and perhaps even Manichaean ones; and certainly, Abū Muslim, whose avatar al-Muḳannaʿ claimed to be, was accorded an exalted, almost divine position. The outbreak was suppressed during the governorship of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (163-6/780-3), but the "wearers of white garments" persisted in the rural areas of Transoxania and Khurāsān for at least two centuries after this. The years 191-4/806-9 were characterised by the revolt centred on Transoxania, but with partisans joining his standard from the upper Oxus provinces of Čaghāniyān and Khuttal and from Khwārazm, of Rāfiʿ b. Layth, the grandson of Naṣr b. Sayyār. The motive behind this seems to have been purely personal, without any religious or ideological impulse, and doubtless the prestige of Rāfiʿ's descent from the popular Naṣr b. Sayyār brought him support. The Arab governor of Samarḳand was killed, and Rāfiʿ secured help from the Iranian prince of Shāsh, from the Ḳarluḳ and the Toghuz-Oghuz Turks of the steppes and from Tibet before he submitted voluntarily to al-Maʾmūn and secured pardon (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200-1).

Thus intervention by the Turks in Transoxanian affairs continued during the early ʿAbbāsid period, but not on the same scale as during the Umayyad one. The disintegration of Türgesh power in the Western Turkestan steppes was followed by the ascendancy of the Toghuz-Oghuz, precursors of the Oghuz or Ghuzz [*q.v.*] who are mentioned in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century Islamic sources as harrying the borders of Sāmānid Transoxania and then emerging to form the tribal backing of the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] when they overthrew Ghaznawid power in Khurāsān and entered northern Persia and the central lands of the Middle East. In the early ʿAbbāsid period, the Toghuz-Oghuz had their pasture grounds on the confines of Khwārazm and also along the lower Sīr Daryā. The Ḳarluḳ, possibly the ancestors of the later Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*] or Ḳarakhānids, took over the eastern Sīr Daryā basin and Semirečye (Turkish Yeti Su, "the land of the seven rivers"), acquiring in 766 Sūyāb, the former capital of the Türgesh. Islamic Transoxania suffered sporadically from their incursions, and these Turks continued also to give help on occasion to insurgent local Iranian princes and to rebels like Rāfiʿ b. Layth. To protect the settled agricultural lands, walls were built to the north of Bukhārā and in Shāsh; in Īlāḳ, in the great southern bend of the Sīr Daryā, the construction of a wall from the mountains to the river is ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd b. Ḳaḥṭaba, governor of Khurāsān in 159/776 after his father's death. As shows of strength, the Arabs periodically sent expeditions into Farghāna; Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ sent thither an army to drive out the forces of the Yabghu of the Ḳarluḳ, and Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (177-9/793-5) exacted the submission of the Afshīn or prince of Ushrūsana, who according to Gardīzī, had never before acknowledged the suzerainty of any outside ruler. The caliph al-Mahdī received at one point the homage of various Central Asian rulers, amongst whom are mentioned the Ikhshīd of Soghdia, the Afshīn of Ushrūsana, the prince of Farghāna, the Yabghu of the Ḳarluḳ, the Ḳaghan of the Toghuz-Oghuz, etc., but this cannot have meant much in practice. This was also a period when, because of the early ʿAbbāsids' dependence on their Khurāsānian guards, Transoxanian fighting men entered the caliphal army in considerable numbers; in the reign

of al-Muʿtaṣim, the Afs͟hīn of Us͟hrūsana, Ḥaydar, was to play a leading role in suppressing the revolt of Bābak al-K͟hurramī [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia until his own spectacular fall in 226/841 [see AFS͟HĪN].

Of special concern to us here is the contemporary rise to power, under the overlordship of the Ṭāhirids, of the Sāmānids, who laid the foundations for what became a powerful amīrate, at first in Transoxania and then also, in the 4th/10th century, in K͟hurāsān (204-395/819-1005). Whether the semi-mythical ancestor of the Sāmānids, the person given the title of Sāmān-K͟hudā, was really a scion of the Sāsānids or not (see Bosworth, *The heritage of rulership in early Islamic Iran and the search for dynastic connections with the past*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xi [1973], 59-9) is impossible to decide, but the family was clearly a typical Iranian *dihḳān* one hailing from Ṭuk͟hāristān. A Sāmān-K͟hudā of the late Umayyad period is said to have accepted Islam at the hands of the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105-9/723-7), and in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, his four grandsons, Nūḥ, Aḥmad, Yaḥyā and Ilyās received, as rewards for their fidelity to al-Maʾmūn's interests, the governorships of Samarḳand, Farg͟hāna, S͟hās͟h and Harāt respectively. The Harāt branch was unable to maintain power south of the Oxus, and the Sāmānids developed essentially as the dominant power in Transoxania, being designated governors, in effect independent rulers there, by the caliph in 261/875 after the downfall of the Ṭāhirids at the hands of the Ṣaffārids Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. Layt͟h [*q.vv.*]. For a detailed consideration of the Sāmānid dynasty and its history, see SĀMĀNIDS, and for the present, a useful general survey by Frye, *The Sāmānids*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 136-61.

Here it may merely be noted that it was a cardinal feature of Sāmānid policy, from the time of the real founder of the dynasty's fortunes, Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (279-95/892-907) [*q.v.*], onwards, to maintain those frontiers of Transoxania which faced the steppes against the pagan Turks and thereby to provide a bastion against nomadic pressure from Inner Asia. Ismāʿīl in 280/893 led a punitive expedition against the Ḳarluḳ, taking an immense plunder (presumably of beasts and slaves) from them at Talas (modern Dzhambul), and he also brought to heel the prince of Us͟hrūsana. Other outlying Iranian principalities were however normally allowed to subsist as vassals, sending tribute and/or presents to the *amīrs*, of the Sāmānids. This was the case with the Afrīg͟hid K͟hʷārazm-S͟hāhs, the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān, the Farīg͟hūnids in Gūzgān, the Abū Dāwūdids in Balk͟h, the Muḥtād͟jids in Čag͟hāniyān, etc., and whilst the *amīrs* remained vigorous and incisive, this was no source of weakness. Contemporary geographers describe the fringes of Transoxania as dotted with *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] against the pagan Ḳarluḳ, Og͟huz and Kimāk [*q.v.*], where *g͟hāzīs* or enthusiasts for the faith, from the Transoxanian towns, could work off their energies in the defence of Islam. In Isfīd͟jāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], on the northernmost frontier of Islam, as many as 1,700 *ribāṭs* are mentioned, partly manned by volunteers from Nak͟hs͟hab, Buk͟hārā and Samarḳand. Even when some of these Turks had been nominally converted to Islam, *ribāṭs* as centres for offensive and defensive operations were still necessary; al-Muḳaddasī, 274, tells how two places on the middle Sīr Daryā, in the district of Isfīd͟jāb, were frontier points (*t͟hag͟hrān*) against the Türkmens (*al-Turkmāniyyūn*) who had only become Muslims "out of fear". It was also from these frontier-posts that Ṣūfīs and other zealots set off into the *terra incognita* of the steppes as evangelists, such as the missionary from Nīs͟hāpūr, one Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Kalimātī, who worked amongst the Ḳarluḳ in the middle years of the 4th/10th century and who played some part in the conversion of the founder of the Ḳarak͟hānid line, Satuḳ Bug͟hrā K͟hān, the Islamic ʿAbd al-Karīm (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 175-8, 254-6).

Transoxania flourished under the Sāmānids, and there was a dying-down of sectarian religious and socio-political protest movements during their time, compared with the previous period, although these did not entirely disappear. The geographers and travellers praise the ease of life there, the plentifulness of provisions, the comparatively light hand of government and incidence of taxation and tolls. There was quite a complex central administration in the capital Buk͟hārā, known to us from the accounts of Nars͟hak͟hī and of the encyclopaedist of the sciences Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-K͟hʷārazmī [*q.v.*], with a cluster of *dīwāns* or government departments adjacent to the palace built in Buk͟hārā by Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43); the model for these was doubtless the ʿAbbāsid bureaucracy in Bag͟hdād (see Nars͟hak͟hī, 31-2, tr. 25-7; Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-K͟hwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art ...*, in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 113-64). Because of the province's frontier position, the people of Transoxania are described as tough, bellicose and self-reliant; also, perhaps because of the continued social influence of the *dihḳān* class, the ancient Iranian virtues of hospitality and liberality were kept up (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 949-1040* Edinburgh 1963, 27-34). Culturally, both the Samanids themselves and the local, petty courts of the empire encouraged the persistance of Iranian oral and literary traditions, seen in the birth and florescence of New Persian lyrical and heroic poetry (by S͟hahīd Balk͟hī, Rūdakī, Daḳīḳī, etc.) which characterised the 4th/10th century and prepared the way in the early part of the following century for such figures as Firdawsī and the G͟haznawid lyric poets (see G. Lazard, *The rise of the New Persian language*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 595-632). At the same time, Transoxania shared to the full in the Arab-Islamic heritage of the caliphate as a whole. Several of the compilers of the canonical collections of *ḥadīt͟hs*, the *sunan*, were from Transoxania and K͟hurāsān, and their scholars played a large role in the consolidation and elaboration of orthodox Sunnī theology (*kalām*) and law (*fiḳh*). Similarly, the fourth section of al-T͟haʿālibī's literary anthology, the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, shows how brilliantly Arabic poetry and artistic prose were cultivated in K͟hurāsān, Transoxania and K͟hʷārazm (see V. Danner, *Arabic literature in Iran*, in *Cambr. hist. of Iran*, iv, 566-94; Bosworth, *The interaction of Arabic and Persian culture in the 10th and early 11th centuries*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxvii [1978-9], 60, 68 ff.).

As in other fields, during the period 750-1000 Transoxania acquired strong economic and commercial links with the heartlands of the caliphate, including with the supreme centre of consumption, ʿIrāḳ and its capital Bag͟hdād. Instead of the old military systems of the Arab *muḳātila* and then of the early ʿAbbāsids' K͟hurāsānian guards, the caliphs began in the 3rd/9th century to surround themselves with Turkish slave troops [see D͟JAYS͟H. i and G͟HULĀM. i]. Hence the trade in Turkish slaves, who passed from the Inner Asian steppes through Transoxania to the slave markets there, became highly important, Turkish slaves were an integral part of the annual

tribute which the Ṭāhirids, whose governorate involved responsibility for Transoxania, forwarded to Baghdād; according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 28, 20,000 were sent each year, their value amounting to 600,000 *dirhams*. In the Sāmānid period, a century or so later, al-Muḳaddasī, 340, states that the Sāmānid government issued special licenses (*adjwiza*) for the transit across their lands of Turkish slave boys and collected dues for them at the Oxus crossings. The detailed list of the products of the Inner Asian steppes, the Siberian forest zone and the Volga basin given by idem, 323-6, has been conveniently translated by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 235-6. Transoxania and Khwārazm processed and sewed together the furs of the forest lands, these being highly-prized, luxury articles in Islam [see FARW], and were important centres for the manufacture of cotton and other textiles. Particularly mentioned are the silks and satin brocades of Samarḳand; the towels of Karmīniya; the cloth of the village of Zandana, near Bukhārā used for the livery of the Sāmānids' palace guards; the cottons of Ṭawāwīs, also near Bukhārā; and the cotton garments of Wadhār near Samarḳand. Narshakhī, 24, tr. 19-20, mentions a *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] factory (*kārgāh*) in Bukhārā, where carpets, cloth, etc. were woven for the caliphs and which were also exported as far as Syria, Egypt and Byzantium; it may have been founded when al-Ma'mūn was governor in Marw, but by Narshakhī's time (or by that of his continuator?) was no longer in use (see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 92-106). Another luxury item which came into the caliphate, certainly by sea but also probably overland through Central Asia and Transoxania, was Chinese porcelain, including the "imperial" variety, *čīnī faghfūrī* as the Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī calls it, imported in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (see P. Kahle, *Chinese porcelain in the lands of Islam*, in *Opera minora*, Leiden 1956, 354); whilst from Khwārazm, the local *bārandj* melons were so coveted as to be exported for al-Ma'mūn and al-Wāthiḳ in leaden containers packed with snow (al-Thaʿālibī, tr., *The book of curious and interesting information*, 142). The direct interest of the caliphs and their ministers in Central Asia, as well as being seen in the *bayt al-ṭirāz* at Bukhārā, to which the caliphs' tax-collectors came each year to collect the stipulated taxation of the city in textiles, is paralleled by the fact, mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān, that in the opening years of the 4th/10th century, the caliph al-Muḳtadir's vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] had an extensive estate at Artakhushmīthan in Khwārazm, administered by a local Christian steward or *wakīl* (*Reisebericht*, ed. A. Z. V. Togan, Leipzig 1939, § 1, text 3-4, tr. 2-3, and Excursus 5a, 110-11).

The increasingly acute internal dissensions within the Sāmānid amīrate of the later 4th/10th century, when powerful Turkish commanders like the Sīmdjūrīs, Fā'iḳ and Begtuzun secured an ascendancy in the state, making and unmaking *amīrs* at will, and when an internal financial crisis, bringing sharp increases in taxation, manifested itself, heralded the fall of the dynasty. The decisive factor here was the appearance on the northern frontiers of Transoxania, now unguarded, of the Ḳarluḳ. The Ḳarluḳ were converted to Islam in *ca.* 349/960, and from their centres at Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn [*q.vv.*] (the latter in the Ču valley, perhaps near modern Frunze) began to take advantage of the amīrate's weakness. Apparently with some encouragement—as, in former times, against the Arab governors—from the local Iranian *dihḳāns*, the Ḳarluḳ temporarily occupied the capital Bukhārā in 382/992. Further incursions followed, and in the end, the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek/Ilig Khāns, as the ruling family of the Ḳarluḳ begins to be called, divided up the Sāmānid dominions with Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], the Ḳarakhānids taking Transoxania and the Ghaznawids Khurāsān (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 246-71; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 59 ff.; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 198-203).

For a detailed account of the political and dynastic changes in Transoxania over the next two centuries or so before the coming of the Mongols, see ILEK-KHĀNS and for the next wave of Inner Asian peoples to enter Semirečye and Transoxania, the Kitai (Chinese Ki'-tan or Liao) from the Mongolian fringes of northern China, see ḲARĀ KHIṬĀY; and since the history of the Great Saldjūḳs, suzerains of Transoxania in the sultanates of Malik-Shāh and Sandjar [*q.vv.*], impinges on that of Transoxania, see further SALDJŪḲS.

The long-term political, social and ethnic effects of the installation of Turkish and Mongol peoples like these in Transoxania were profound The pastoralisation of the land outside the oases and irrigated river valleys may have begun in the Ḳarakhānid period, since we know about royal hunting-grounds (*ghuruḳs*) being set up. The process certainly took effect under the Mongol Čaghatayids and the Tīmūrids, when urban life declined in the province after the savage sackings of towns by the Mongols in the 7th/13th century. Political authority was now decentralised, with tribally-organised nomadic confederations, often without firmly-fixed capitals, directing affairs, instead of the centralising states and autocratic rulers of the Perso-Islamic tradition. This is, indeed, one aspect of the fact that, with the fall of the Sāmānids, the ancient bastion which had for centuries protected the Iranian and Middle Eastern heartlands from the incursions of steppe people was now removed. Transoxania became a corridor of entry for these hordes—Ḳarakhānids, Saldjūḳs, Mongols, etc.—until the advent of the Ṣafawids in Persia, who, though themselves of Türkmen stock, constituted a powerful and resolute barrier state which increasingly had the advantages of better firearms and military techniques [see BĀRŪD, v] and could accordingly withstand the assaults of the Shaybānid Uzbeks or Özbegs and others from across the Oxus and the Atrek.

But by this time, sc. the 10th/16th century, the passing of the previous five or six centuries had almost completely accomplished the process of ethnic and linguistic Turkicisation in Transoxania and Khwārazm, the old "Iran extérieur". The continued influx of Turks gradually swamped the Iranians or Tādjīks [*q.v.*], as the Turks called them in distinction from themselves, and the population became mixed, with the Turkish element emerging uppermost, as it also did eventually at the other end of the modern Turkish world, i.e. in Ādharbāydjān and Anatolia. It was the same in regard to language. It is unclear exactly when Soghdian died out, but this must have been roughly contemporaneous with the fall of the Sāmānids; and the New Persian which had been replacing Soghdian during the Sāmānid period subsequently vanished also from most of Transoxania. In Khwārazm, Turkicisation began in Saldjūḳ times, although the indigenous Iranian languages persisted until the 8th/14th century (see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 109-10). Only in the upper Oxus regions of what were the

mediaeval provinces of Čaghāniyān, Khuttal and Wakhsh did an Iranian-speaking population persist now speaking the form of New Persian known as Tādjīk/Tadzhik [see IRAN. iii. Languages, in Suppl.], and living in what is now the Tadzhik SSR, their numbers amounting to under 1 3/4 millions (1970 census). It is also during these centuries of the Turkicisation of Transoxania that the region becomes known, at least in popular parlance, as Turkistān [*q.v.*].

Transoxania and Eastern Turkestan or Kāshgharia were of course the first Islamic lands which Čingiz Khān encountered when he came westwards with the Mongol hordes. Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], the main urban centre of Semirečye, was occupied after it had already suffered a severe plundering by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy. Bukhārā was ravaged in 616/1220, and soon afterwards, Otrār or Utrār [*q.v.*], the former Fārāb [*q.v.*], in the Sīr Daryā basin, and Samarḳand were attacked before Čingiz pushed on into Khurāsān in pursuit of the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. Gurgāndj [*q.v.*] in Khʷārazm was bravely defended, but fell to the Mongols (618/1221) and was later named Urgenč. The Great Khān Ögedey (1227-41) appointed governors in Transoxania for Nakhshab, Bukhārā and Samarḳand, and the sedentary indigenous population was at the beginning of his reign ruled by his representative Maḥmūd Yalawač Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*], appointed to collect the taxation there. Djuwaynī praises Maḥmud Yalawač's just rule and that also of his son Masʿūd Beg [*q.v.*], stating that Bukhārā reached its former level of prosperity (the latter governor was, for instance, the founder of the Masʿūdiyya *madrasa* in Bukhārā), though in fact there was a popular, anti-Mongol rebellion there led by one Maḥmūd Tārābī, only ended by the appearance of a large Mongol army (636/1238-9) (see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 381-519; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 293 ff., 324-8; Hambly, *The career of Chingiz Khan* and *The Mongol empire at its zenith*, in *Central Asia*, 86-113).

Transoxania, together with those steppe lands to the north henceforth to be known as Mogholistān [*q.v.*] or Mughulistān, came within the *ulus* or patrimony of Čingiz's second son Čaghatay, together with Eastern Turkestan (Khʷārazm came within the *ulus* of Djoči, the eldest son, together with western Siberia and South Russia); but the Čaghatay khānate was not properly constituted till some time after Čaghatay's own death in *ca.* 1241. Čaghatay and his descendants took little interest in the sedentary and urban life of Transoxania. Pre-Mongol Turkish landowners and chiefs, the successors of the Iranian *dihḳāns*, remained influential in the countryside; the descendants of the Ḳarakhānids remained in power in Farghāna, it seems (Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 118-19). In Mogholistān, to the north of the Ili river, there was a distinct decline of urban life in favour of pastoralisation (see *ibid.*, 149-53). Urban traditions in Transoxania were much stronger, and especially notable in the towns there is the prominent role, from Ḳarakhānid times onwards, of local Ḥanafī religious leaders functioning as headmen (*ruʾasāʾ*, sing. *raʾīs*), usually with the title of *ṣadr* or *ṣadr-i djahān*. Leaders with this title are found in Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Khudjand, Uzgend, Shāsh and Almalīgh; the best-known of these were the Āl-i Burhān in Bukhārā (till the revolt of Maḥmūd Tārābī in 636/1238) and their successors, the Āl-i Maḥbūbī (till the mid-8th/14th century) (see O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx [1952], 81-96, and ṢADR). Because of this lack of interest in the settled lands on the part of the Čaghatayid khāns, the nomadic traditions of the Mongols lasted longer amongst them, as also amongst the Golden Horde in South Russia and the Ḳïpčaḳ steppes [see DASHT-I ḲÏPČAḲ in Suppl.], than in the Persia of the Il-Khānids or the northern China of the Great Khāns. The Čaghatayid khāns' favoured encampments were in Semirečye, in the Ili basin, with the town of Almalīgh [*q.v.*], between the Tien-Shan and Lake Balkash, as their administrative centre; this town flourished and is favourably described by western travellers to the Great Khāns' court until it was destroyed in the civil strife amongst the Mongols in the 8th/14th century. Kebek (*ca.* 1318-26), though still, like the previous khāns, resistant to Islam, moved his capital to Transoxania proper and built a palace near Nakhshab in the Kashka Daryā valley, although this did not entail renunciation of the nomadic life; from the Mongol term for "palace", *ḳarshī*, the nearby town of Nakhshab came to receive the name which it still bears today, that of Ḳarshī/Karshi [see ḲARSHI]. Kebek's move must nevertheless have favoured the eventual conversion of the Čaghatay khāns to Islam, from the time of Tarmashīrīn onwards (1326-34). Čaghatayid rule lasted in Transoxania till the rise of Tīmūr (see below), and in other parts of Central Asia till after then, but Tīmūr's successes were facilitated by increased disunity amongst the Čaghatayid family, with Čaghatayid puppet rulers placed on the throne by Turkish *amīrs*. For an account of the khānate, see ČAGHATAY KHĀN and ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE;; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 153 ff., 169-72; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 397-420; Hambly, *The Chaghatai khanate*, in *Central Asia*, 127 ff.

Tīmūr, a Barlas Turk from Kish in Transoxania, succeeded by force of arms to the Čaghatayid heritage there. In 771/1370 he became *de facto* ruler of Transoxania, ruling in the name of fainéant descendants of Ögedey, sc. Soyurghatmïsh (771-90/1370-88) and then his son Maḥmūd (770-?816/1388-?1413). He linked himself by marriage to the Čaghatayid royal house, including to a daughter of Khiḍr Khōdja (d. 801/1399) of Mogholistān, who was reputedly a son of the last significant Čaghatayid khān Tughluḳ Tīmūr (760-71/1359-70). Under the rule of Tīmūr's descendants, above all, that of Shāhrukh (807-50/1405-47), Transoxania enjoyed much material prosperity, with Samarḳand and Bukhārā becoming lively centres of artistic and literary life, of painting and book-production, and of poetry in both Persian and in Eastern Turkish or Čaghatay. Samarḳand was the city which Tīmūr preferred to all others as his main capital. European travellers like the Spanish envoy Clavijo (1403) describe the splendour of his court, and fine buildings in Samarḳand, of which the Gūr Amīr mausoleum and the Bībī Khānum mosque survive, attest the high aesthetic level of early Tīmūrid architecture. The reign of Tīmūr's grandson Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] (ruler in Transoxania from 814/1411, at first as Shāhrukh's deputy, to 853/1449) is associated with his foundation of a short-lived observatory in Samarḳand and the compilation of astronomical tables (see Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 129-34). As his second capital, Tīmūr developed Shahr-i Sabz in the Kashka Daryā valley, in the heart of the area of the Barlas Turks and near his own birthplace, starting there the construction of impressive buildings, including his own tomb (see Barthold, *Shahr-i*

Sabz from Tīmūr to Ulūgh Beg, tr. J. M. Rogers, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xvi [1978], 103-26, xviii [1980], 121-43). Popular Islam, in the form of a cultivation of Ṣūfī mysticism and the growth of a network of dervish orders, especially flourished in Transoxania during Čaghatayid and Tīmūrid times, and the *shaykh*s and their orders enjoyed the patronage of the Tīmūrid rulers. Thus the Naḳshbandī *shaykh* Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (806-95/1404-90) strengthened the nascent *ṭarīḳa* in Transoxania, benefiting particularly from the favour of Tīmūr's great-grandson Abū Saʿīd and his son Sulṭān Aḥmad; the Naḳshbandiyya were henceforth to play a major role in the history of Islam in Central Asia [see AḤRĀR, KHWĀDJA,, in Suppl.). Meanwhile, the Čaghatayids managed to survive during these years in the lands beyond Transoxania, and under Esen Buḳa II (833-67/1429-62) flourished in Mogholistān and Eastern Turkestan, being hostile however to the later Tīmūrids. For the detailed history of this period, see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 165-84; Grousset, *op. cit.*, 486-546, 568-80; Mahin Hajianpur, *The Timurid empire*, in *Central Asia*, 150-62; TĪMŪR and TĪMŪRIDS..

In 906/1500, Muḥammad Shaybānī, the scion of a line of Mongol khāns, the descendant of Djoči's youngest son Shīban (one part of whom had remained in Siberia as khāns and another part of whom had moved southwards into Transoxania, forming the horde of the Uzbeks [*q.v.*] or Özbegs), seized power in Transoxania from the last Tīmūrids. Transoxania was, indeed, to become the permanent home of the Shaybānids and the Uzbeks, this last Turkish people giving their name to the modern Uzbek SSR, in which they probably form some 70% of the present population. The Shaybānids brought into Transoxania a Turkish following amongst whom the nomadic steppe traditions remained strong and who were virtually untouched by Iranian cultural and religious influences, as had been most of their predecessors there. It was the strength of popular religion, that of the dervishes and Ṣūfīs, already notable in Tīmūrid times (see above), rather than that of the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ*, which characterised Islam there in the time of the Uzbeks. Like Tīmūr, they exalted the cult of the Ṣūfī saint Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], whose tomb in the lower Syr Daryā valley at Yasī had long been a popular pilgrimage place for Turks from all over Inner Asia. The Shaybānids in fact made Yasī their capital for a while, and under them it received its new name of Turkistān, indicative of its importance to the Central Asian Turks in general.

Politically and diplomatically, Sunnī Transoxania under the Uzbeks was in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries frequently involved in warfare with the powerful and aggressive Shīʿī monarchy of Ṣafawid Persia. As so many earlier Turco-Mongol dynasties had done, the Shaybānids coveted the rich province of Khurāsān, and invaded it on several occasions. But Muḥammad Shaybānī (905-16/1500-10) and successors of his like Abu 'l-Ghāzī ʿUbayd Allāh (940-6/1534-6) failed to overcome the experienced troops of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who had a greater appreciation of the value of the modern weapon of firearms and who had seasoned troops in their Ḳïzïlbash Türkmens and then in their Georgian, Armenian, etc., slave guards. The long-term result of this warfare was the virtual sealing-off of Transoxania from the rest of the Islamic world through the erection by the Ṣafawids of this bulwark on their northeastern frontier. Although Turks from Central Asia and Afghāns streamed into Muslim India as mercenaries, adventurers, etc., the traffic was largely one-way. Hence Transoxania became culturally introverted and impoverished, since the steppelands of South Russia and western Siberia were by the 17th century beginning to come under Russian, Christian control, and the popular Islam of such orders as the Yasawiyya, the Čishtiyya and the Naḳshbandiyya, though intense in religious fervour and emotion, was weak in intellectual content. Only in the sphere of Eastern Turkish or Čaghatay literature may it be said that Transoxania made a significant contribution to the cultural stock of Eastern Islam at this time. It was a flexible and expressive enough language for Bābur [*q.v.*] to write his memoirs in it; to produce a lively folk-poetry, seen e.g. in the verses of the 18th century Göklen Türkmen bard Makhdūm Ḳulī; and to give rise to a genre of historiography amongst the Shaybānids, the Djānids or Ashtarkhānids and the Mangïts of Bukhārā and the ʿArabshāhids of Khīwa in the former Khwārazm, although such outstanding figures as the 10th/16th century Shaybānid historian Ḥāfiẓ Tanïsh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] continued to write for preference in Persian. For the detailed history of the Shaybānids, see Hambly, *The Shaybanids*, in *Central Asia*, 163-74; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 185 ff.; and SHAYBĀNIDS.

In the course of the 10th/16th century, Bukhārā and Khīwa formed themselves into separate, often mutually-hostile khānates, and then in the early 18th century, a third Uzbek khānate arose in the Farghāna valley, that of Khoḳand. The three principalities were to have separate existences, punctuated by much squabbling and internecine warfare, till the Russian occupation of Central Asia in the second half of the 19th century, Bukhāra and Khīwa remaining, however, as virtual protectorates of Russia until the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The history of these khānates can be followed under BUKHĀRĀ, KHWĀRAZM, KHĪWA, KHOḲAND; see further DJĀNIDS, ḲUNGRĀT, MANGÏTS, and also ÏNAḲ in Suppl.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MĀʾ (A.) "water". The present article covers the religio-magical and the Islamic legal aspects of water, together with irrigation techniques, as follows:

1. Hydromancy
2. Water in classical Islamic law
3. Hydraulic machines
4. Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt
5. Irrigation in Mesopotamia
6. Irrigation in Persia
7. Irrigation in North Africa and Spain
8. Irrigation in the Ottoman empire
9. Irrigation in pre-20th century Muslim India
10. Irrigation in Transoxania
11. Economic aspects of modern irrigation
12. Ornamental uses in Muslim India

1. HYDROMANCY

As a vehicle for the sacred, water has been employed for various techniques of divination, and in particular, for potamonancy (sc. divination by means of the colour of the waters of a river and their ebbing and flowing; cf. Fr. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, 250 ff., notably on the purification power of the Euphrates, consulted for divinatory reasons); for pegomancy (sc. omens given by rivers, springs, floods, a feature of Babylonian divination, cf.

A. Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination babylonienne*, Geneva 1905-6, i, 235-50; Fr. Nötscher, in *Orientalia*, Serie prior, li-liv [1930], 121 ff., 137 ff., 146 ff., 131 ff., 141); hydromancy (called *istinzāl*, according to Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 389); lecanomancy (sc. divination from the waves set up on any shiny, liquid surface, such as water, blood, milk, honey, oil or petroleum, cf. Nötscher, in *loc. cit.*, 110-11, 118-19); and crystallomancy and cataoptromancy (sc. omens drawn from the features appearing upon any polished, reflecting surface, cf. J. Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern*, in *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, i/1, Leipzig 1903; G. Furlani, in *Aegyptus* [1927], 287-92).

The lack of perennial water courses in Arabia and the infrequency of springs prevented the development of such divinatory techniques as these amongst the Arabs. We have nothing to confirm that the reflective surfaces of waters in oases were ever used for these. Water, like perfume, was used in the rituals over the making of pacts and alliances [see LAʿAḲAT AL-DAM], but these procedures had no divinatory character at all.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 405-6. (T. FAHD)

2. WATER IN CLASSICAL ISLAMIC LAW

In Islamic law there are seven kinds of water which it is lawful to use for drinking or ablution: water from rain, snow, hail, springs, wells, rivers and the sea. These sources may, however, be rendered impure by the presence in them of unclean objects.

Questions of ownership and the right to take water depend on the nature of its source, whether natural or artificial watercourses, wells or springs (freshwater lakes are not generally discussed in the sources owing to their scarcity in the Islamic lands). Ownership of a source of water implies ownership of its *ḥarīm* (reserved area), consisting of that portion of land adjacent to the water source sufficient to enable the source to be used. One *ḥadīth* defines the extent of the *ḥarīm* of a well as 40 cubits on every side, but other measurements are also given.

The *Sharīʿa* distinguishes three types of water source which may be the subject of use or ownership:

1. Water from rivers, which may be (a) great rivers, such as the Tigris and Euphrates, which are of such a size that they can be used by all for drinking and irrigation to any extent; (b) lesser rivers, in which case two possibilities may be distinguished:

(i) where there is generally enough water for all users but where it is possible to cause shortage to other users by e.g. digging a canal to take water from higher up the river than other users (whether this is allowed or not must be decided after inquiry into the consequences); or

(ii) where damming or the allocation of fixed times is necessary to provide enough water for irrigation. In such cases, the river is normally regarded as the joint property of the riparian cultivators, and the question of how much water may be retained by the highest riparian cultivator depends on differing circumstances, such as the season of the year, the type of crop irrigated, etc. (c) canals. These are the property of the landowner or landowners in whose property they are situated; where they are the common property of several landowners, none of them may make unilateral changes in arrangements for sharing the water, or by building a mill or bridge over it, etc.

2. Wells: (a) Wells dug for the public benefit; here the water is freely available to all, the digger merely having the right of first comer. (b) Wells dug by persons for their own use, e.g. wells dug in the desert by tribesmen. Such persons have first right to the water while they are living in the vicinity, but are obliged to give water to persons suffering from thirst. After they move away, the water becomes freely available to all. (c) Wells dug by persons intending them to be their own property. Ownership, however, cannot be claimed until water has actually been found, and if the well needs lining, until it has been lined. The owner of the well has a duty to give water to anyone suffering from thirst. This is illustrated by a tradition which records that ʿUmar made some owners of water pay the *diya* for a man who died of thirst after they had refused his request for water.

3. Springs: (a) Natural springs: these are treated as analogous to permanently flowing rivers. If the water supply is limited, the first person to undertake irrigation in the area has priority; otherwise the water has to be shared equally. (b) Springs opened up by digging: the person who does this becomes the owner, together with the surrounding *ḥarīm*. (c) Springs opened up by persons on their own property. In such cases, the only claim against the owner is that of persons suffering from thirst. If the owner has a surplus of water, he may be obliged to give it gratis to other men's cattle, but not for irrigating crops.

A person who possesses water in a vessel is its sole owner, and he is not obliged to give it to others gratis; he is, however, obliged to relieve someone suffering from thirst in return for a recompense.

Bibliography: A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i, 71-7; ii, 60-2; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ch. 15; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. *Water*; *Lexikon der Islamischen Welt*, 1974, s.v. *Bewässerung* (H. Gaube), and bibl. there cited; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischen Lehre*, Berlin 1897, 589-97; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 416-20; J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 142-3, and bibl. cited on p. 273; for the exercise of water rights in practice, see Cl. Cahen, in *BÉtO*, xiii (1949-51), 117-43; A. M. A. Maktari, *Water rights and irrigation practices in Laḥj*, Cambridge 1971. See also BIʾR. (M. J. L. YOUNG)

3. HYDRAULIC MACHINES

There is ample evidence from written and archaeological sources for the widespread use in pre-Islamic times of all the main hydraulic machines, described below, in all the areas that were to form part of the Muslim world. The *shādūf* was known in ancient times. The *sāḳiya*, although it did not become fully effective before the introduction of the pawl in the 4th or 5th century A.D., was known in Roman times. Both machines are still in use today. The noria (*nāʿūra*) and the vertical undershot mill-wheel are both described by Vitruvius, without any claim to originality (*On architecture*, Loeb Classics, ed. F. Granger, 1970, ii, 303-7). Vertical mill-wheels were sometimes mounted on boats moored to the banks of rivers (N. Smith, *Man and water*, London 1975, 140). The origins of the horizontal, vaned mill-wheel are still obscure: it may have been referred to by a Greek writer of the 1st century B.C., and it was in use in Ireland in the 7th century A.D. (Smith, *op. cit.*, 142). It is described in a Byzantine treatise, probably of the 7th century A.D., extant only in Arabic versions (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 50-6, see

Bibl.). Hand-operated force pumps were used by the Greeks and Romans; these had single vertical cylinders that were placed directly in the water without suction pipes (Vitruvius, 311-12, quoting Ctesibius, who lived *ca.* 200 B.C.). The problem of the origins and diffusion of these machines is largely unresolved, but our chief concern here is that they were all in existence in the 1st/7th century.

The *s̲h̲ādūf* is a simple machine consisting of a wooden beam pivoted on a raised fulcrum. At one end of the beam is a bucket, at the other end a counterweight. The bucket is dipped into the water, then the beam is rotated by means of the counterweight and the contents of the bucket are emptied into a cistern or supply channel. The flume-beam swape is a development of the *s̲h̲ādūf*. Instead of a solid beam, a channel is connected rigidly to the bucket; when this is raised the water runs through it into the outlet.

The *sāḳiya* is more complex, and indeed has over two hundred components parts. It consists essentially of a large vertical wheel erected over the water supply on a horizontal axle. This wheel carries a chain-of-pots or a bucket chain. On the other end of its axle is a gear-wheel that engages a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving bar is attached. The animal is harnessed to the free end of this bar, and as it walks in a circular path, the gears and the wheel carrying the chain-of-pots rotate. The pots dip in succession into the water and when they reach the top of their travel they empty into a channel. The noria (sometimes confused with the *sāḳiya*) is a large wheel driven by water. It is mounted on a horizontal axle over a flowing stream so that the water strikes the paddles that are set around its perimeter. The water is raised in pots attached to its rim or in bucket-like compartments set into the rim. The large norias at Ḥamāt in Syria can still be seen today; the first known mention of norias at Ḥamāt is by Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib in 271/884-5 (Suter, 33).

The Vitruvian mill-wheel turns a vertical gear-wheel that meshes with a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving shaft is attached. The horizontal vaned mill-wheel is fixed directly to the driving shaft; there are no gears. It cannot be mounted directly in the stream since the water must be directed on to its vanes from a pipe or channel.

There can be no doubt that all these machines were in continuous use in Islam from the early conquests until the introduction of modern technology. (As mentioned above, the *s̲h̲ādūf* and the *sāḳiya* are still in use; they are cheaper and more easily maintained than motor-driven pumps.) The evidence comes from treatises on machines, references in the works of historians and geographers, and archaeological investigations. For a selection of the available evidence, the reader is referred to the *Bibl.* under Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*; Schiøler; Hill 1 and 2. The remaining discussion will be confined to developments of particular importance in the history of technology.

Mills were used in Islam for other purposes beside the grinding of corn and other seeds, e.g. for crushing sugar cane and for sawing timber (A. Y. Hassan, *Taqī al-Dīn and Arabic mechanical engineering* [in Arabic], Aleppo 1976, 51, quoting al-Nuwayrī and Ibn ʿAsākir). This suggests that rotary motion was converted to reciprocating, probably by means of trip-hammers. More examples of similar applications may be discovered when a systematic study of the historical and geographical works is undertaken. Another area of interest is the use of the overshot mill-wheel, in which the water is conducted through a channel to the top of the wheel, which has bucket-like compartments around its rim. The overshot wheel works mainly by the weight of the water, whereas the Vitruvian one is operated by its force. In many conditions, the former is the more efficient of the two. Its use is recommended by a certain al-Murādī in a treatise composed in Andalusia in the 5th/11th century (D. R. Hill, *A treatise on machines*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, i/1 [Aleppo 1977], 33-46. In this paper the treatise was wrongly attributed to the well-known astronomer Ibn Muʿād̲h̲). S̲h̲ams al-Dīn al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, d. 727/1327, describes a similar wheel in operation near Tabrīz (ed. M. A. F. Mehren, 188). The overshot wheel did not come into general use in the West until about the 8th/14th century. Al-D̲j̲azarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] often uses small overshot wheels in his devices, but these are usually scoop-wheels, a kind of primitive Pelton wheel, the scoops being fixed to the ends of spokes that radiate from a solid disc.

It is reasonable to infer that the scoop-wheels used by al-D̲j̲azarī were miniature versions of wheels in full-size machines, an inference that is strengthened by the fact that he uses such a wheel in one of his water-raising machines (Category V, Ch. 3). The visible part of this is a *ṣāḳiya*, which is provided with a model cow to give the impression that this is the source of motive power. The actual power, however, is provided in a lower, concealed chamber and consists of a scoop-wheel and two gear-wheels. This system drives the vertical axle that passes up into the main chamber, where two further gear-wheels transmit the power to the chain-of-pots wheel. Such devices (without the model cow) were in everyday use. A similar machine was in continuous use on the River Yazīd above Damascus from the 7th/13th century until about 1960 for water supply and irrigation. It was restored to working order by the staff and students of Aleppo University (Hassan, *op. cit.*, 58-9).

Al-D̲j̲azarī describes four other water-raising machines in Category V. Chs. 1,2 and 4 deal with flume-beam swapes operated by animal power through gear trains. The first two of these incorporate segmental gears. The earliest known occurrence of these gears in Europe is in the astronomical clock completed by Giovanni de' Dondi in 1365. The fifth machine is a slot-rod pump, driven through gears from a paddle wheel. It is remarkable for having two horizontally opposed cylinders and true suction pipes. Taḳī al-Dīn (10th/16th century) describes a similar pump, but equally remarkable is his six-cylinder "Monobloc" pump (Hassan, *op. cit.*, 47-50). The vertical cylinders are fitted into a single wooden block which rests in the water. Delivery pipes lead out from the sides of the cylinders, near their tops, and are brought together into a single outlet. Each cylinder has a clack-valve at the bottom. The pistons are provided with weights at the top and lever arms at the sides. The lever-arms are supported at fulcrums and their free ends extend inside the perimeter of a scoop-wheel. As the water strikes the scoop-wheel it rotates, the scoops bear down in succession on the lever arms and the pistons rise and fall in continuous succession.

It should be apparent from the foregoing brief discussion that Islamic engineers were active in the construction and development of hydraulic machines for water-raising and power supply throughout the mediaeval period and beyond. Similar activity took

place in Europe, India and East Asia. Each region used the machines that were best suited to its needs, to the local hydraulic conditions, and to the available constructional materials.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): two treatises are available in annotated English translations by D. R. Hill, *The Book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices by al-Jazarī*, Dordrecht 1974, see esp. 32, 95-6, 179-98, 275; and *The Book of ingenious devices by the Banū Mūsā*, (fl. Baghdād mid-3rd/9th century), Dordrecht 1979, see 222, 226, for horizontal water-wheels; there is an Arabic-English glossary that includes many terms used in hydraulic engineering; an Arabic edition of al-Djazarī, also with Arabic-English glossary, is now available, ed. A. Y. Hassan, Aleppo 1979; Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Khwarazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 246-55 (this section contains definitions and brief descriptions of parts used in hydraulic and other machines); E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim-New York 1970, see index under *raḥā*, *nāʿūra*; Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über Vorrichtungen zum Heben von Wasser in der islamischen Welt*, in *Jahrbuch des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieurs*, viii (1918), 121-54; T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic water-lifting wheels*, Odense 1973 (deals mainly with the *sāḳiya*); useful discussions on hydraulic machines in various regions, including Islam, occur in J. Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/2, Cambridge 1965 (see index under "mills", "water-raising devices", "water-wheel", etc.); Lynn White Jr., *Medieval technology and social change*, Oxford 1962, ch. 3; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, Leiden 1955-64, ii, 79-9; N. Smith. *op. cit.*, ch. 11.

(D. R. Hill)

4. Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt

Until the 20th century, irrigation in Egypt remained much as it had been in Pharaonic times. The continuity of practice stemmed from the dependence on the annual Nile floods, which provided Egypt not only with water for irrigation but also with the alluvial soil deposits to renew the fertility of the cultivated lands. The great river, however, does not only bestow its gifts, but may also be the cause of misfortune to the country. Up to modern times and before major dams and irrigation projects were undertaken, a high Nile promised the richest increase to the fields, while with a low Nile came the inevitable dread of a year of famine.

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231) discussed this phenomenon and the rôle of the Nile in the irrigation and the agricultural situation in mediaeval Egypt. He states that after the water of the Nile overflowed and covered the soil for several days, it receded to let the peasants plough and sow the fields. No further irrigation was needed until the crops were ready to be harvested. If the Nile exceeded some fingers beyond 20 cubits (*dhirāʿ*s), some areas became submerged like lakes for a long time and the proper time for sowing passed without calculation being possible. Also, lands could not be cultivated if the Nile did not rise sufficiently to reach the minimum of the necessary flood (16 cubits). In such cases, the amount of land covered with water was insufficient, the size of the crop did not meet the needs of one year and there was a scarcity of food more or less great in direct ratio to the water level above or below sixteen cubits.

No one in pre-20th century Egypt felt secure before the flood reached the height of 16 cubits and when all necessary land had been naturally irrigated by the Nile. Until it reached that level, the news of its height was kept secret from the common people. It seems that this was a custom introduced by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Muʿizz in 362/973, when he prohibited the announcement in the streets of Cairo of the exact rising of the Nile before it had reached 16 *dhirāʿ*s. This was to prevent tension, fear and financial crises among the inhabitants; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853-4, i, 61, The person who was in charge of the Nilometer (*ṣāḥib al-miḳyās* [see miḳyās]) used to call the increasing level of the Nile water in fingers without telling the exact cubit. Only when the water level reached the height of 16 cubits, normally in the Coptic month Misrā (July-August), could the *ṣāḥib al-miḳyās* proclaim it to the people in Cairo, and the sultan then had the right to impose the *kharādj* on the cultivated land, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, Cairo 1914, iii, 293-4, 297; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923, i, 264; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 60, 273; H. M. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 73 and the sources cited therein.

Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt did not rely only on the floods, but also on the yearly digging and cleaning of the irrigation canals and the maintenance of the irrigation dams. Both al-Nuwayrī (i, 265) and al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 61) state that without such maintenance there would be little benefit from the Nile. Al-Maḳrīzī (i, 74-5) traces the importance of canals and irrigation dams in controlling the Nile in pre- and early Islamic periods. It was one of the most important functions of both the sultans and the holders of the *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] under the Ayyūbids and the Māmlūks to dig and clean the canals and to maintain the irrigation dams (the *djusūr*). The sources provide us with ample information about the efforts of the sultans in Egypt in digging and cleaning canals. The irrigation dams (the *djusūr*), which were of paramount importance for the irrigation of the fields, were classified into two types in mediaeval Egypt: the small irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-baladiyya*) and the great irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-sulṭāniyya*). The first were important for conveying water from one field to another in the village. Each *muḳtaʿ* (holder of an *iḳṭāʿ*) with his clerks was responsible for the upkeep of these irrigation dams within the confines of his *iḳṭāʿ*. As for the great irrigation dams which were constructed for the benefit of the provinces, the sultan was responsible for them, at least in theory. In practice, especially under the Mamlūk sultans, the *muḳtaʿ*s assisted the sultan in the construction of this type of dam by supplying peasants, oxen, harrows and tools, cf. Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 232-3, 344; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 449; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 101.

Because of the importance of the great irrigation dams, both the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk sultans used to select distinguished and able *amīr*s and officials to supervise the work of their maintenance. Al-Nābulusī (d. 660/1261) states in the *Kitāb Lumaʿ al-ḳawānīn al-mudiyya* (ed. C. H. Becker and C. Cahen in *Bulletin d'études orientales*, xvi [1958-60], 39-40) that every year the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil used to send him with 3 or 4 *amīr*s to the Djīza province during the flood period in order to keep the dams of that province in good condition. It seems that the Ayyūbid sultan sent officials like al-Nābulusī to other Egyptian provinces for the same purpose. Under the Mamlūks there was an office called *kashf al-djusūr*

(office of inspection of irrigation dams) for each province in Egypt. The holder of this office, called *kāshif al-djusūr*, was an *amīr* who was aided by assistants in the construction and maintenance of the irrigation dams in the province under his charge, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 448-9.

Each year before the advent of the Nile flood, not only had the canals to be dug and the irrigation dams to be constructed and repaired, but also the land to be cultivated had to be prepared. The methods of that preparatory work as well as the tools used were more or less the same traditional ones known to have been used by the Egyptian peasants for thousands of years. As for irrigation, al-Nuwayrī and al-Maḳrīzī state that when the Nile rose during the flood period, the water covered all cultivated lands. One could only reach the villages, which were established on hills and mounds, by boat or on the great irrigation dams. When the soil had had sufficient water, the *khawlī*s (stewards) and the *shaykh*s (village headmen) supervised the cutting off of the irrigation dams from specified places at certain times in order to draw off water from the fields, thus letting it flow benefit other places, cf. al-Nuwayrī, i, 264-5; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 61; see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, Beirut 1965, i, 375; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, 39, tr. 118. al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 692/1283), *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 175, mentions that when the water of the Nile receded gradually after being on soil for forty days, the peasants began sowing.

The crops which were cultivated after the Nile flood season in mediaeval Egypt did not need any more irrigation than their inundation during the flood period, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 97; al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 49. This was the most common method of irrigation, called *bi 'l-sayḥ* by al-Nābulusī, *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, ed. B. Moritz, Cairo 1899, 63, and *māʾ al-rāḥa* by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 102. The last term is still used by the contemporary *fallāḥ* to denote irrigation without artificial implements. Crops watered in this manner were called "winter crops" in order to distinguish them from the summer ones which the peasants began sowing during the Coptic month Baramhāt (February-March) and which relied on irrigation by artificial means such as water-wheel, shadoof, etc., cf. Ibn Mammātī, 248.

Al-Makhzūmī in the *Minhādj* and al-Maḳrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ* distinguish between the winter and summer crops when discussing the times of sowing and harvesting. al-Makhzūmī states that the winter crops were wheat (*ḳamḥ*), barley (*shaʿīr*), beans (*fūl*), bitter-vetch (*djulbān*), lentils (*ʿadas*) and flax (*kattān*). al-Maḳrīzī adds to al-Makhzūmī's list of winter crops chick peas (*ḥummuṣ*), clover (*ḳurṭ*), onions (*baṣal*), garlic (*thūm*) and lupin (*turmus*). For summer crops al-Makhzūmī mentions unripe melons (*faḳḳūs*), water-melons (*biṭṭīkh*), kidney beans (*lūbiya*), sesame (*simsim* or *samāsim*), cotton (*ḳuṭn* or *aḳṭān*), sugar-cane (*ḳaṣab al-sukkar*) and colocasia antiquorum (*ḳulḳās*). Although al-Maḳrīzī lists the same for summer crops, he adds aubergines (*bādhindjān*), indigo (*nīla*), radishes (*fudjl*), turnips (*lift*), lettuce (*khaṣṣ*) and cabbage (*kurunb*), and puts both the unripe melon and water-melon under the one name *biṭṭīkh*; cf. al-Makhzūmī, *Kitāb al-Minhādj fī ʿilm kharādj Miṣr*, ms. B.M. London Add. 23483, ff. 30b-33b; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 101-2.

There were many methods known in pre-20th century Egypt to irrigate the soil under the summer crops. They were inherited from older times and continue until today, with the exception of one which was very primitive and arduous. This was the transportation of water to the fields in buckets, jars, etc., hung from the necks of the oxen. This method was mentioned by al-Nābulusī as the means of irrigation for the two villages Dimashḳīn al-Baṣal and Damūh, known as Kūm Darī, in the Fayyūm province, cf. *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, 99, 101. This method, which was a continuation of a Pharaonic technique, seems to have been known in other Egyptian villages.

The other methods of irrigation used by the mediaeval Egyptian peasant employed any one of four artificial irrigation contrivances, namely, the *naṭṭāla*, the *dāliya*, the *sāḳiya* and the *tābūt*. These four contrivances were used in Egypt before the advent of the Arabs and are still in current use.

There is no mention of what was known as the *naṭṭāla* in the available classical sources, but the existence of such a device in Ancient Egypt, as well as its depiction in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, Planches, Tome deuxième, Paris 1817, *Arts et métiers*, Pl. vi (4), proves its existence in pre-20th century Egypt. It is still in use in Egypt, as well as in many African countries. Two men stand face to face, each holding two cords of palm-fibre ropes to which is attached a wide, shallow waterproof basket. This basket, made from twisted palm leaves or leather, is known in Egypt by the name *ḳaṭwa*. The two men holding the ropes bend slightly toward the water, dip the basket and fill it. Then they straighten while turning to the field, thus raising the basket which is emptied into the mouth of the irrigation canal, cf. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1871, ii, 27.

The *dāliya* or shadoof is a kind of draw-well which was used in Pharaonic Egypt and in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, and is still used in Egypt and other eastern countries for raising water for irrigation. It usually consists of two posts, beams of the acacia tree or shafts of cane, about five feet in height. These posts are coated with mud and clay and then placed less than three feet apart. The two beams are joined at the top by a horizontal piece of wood, in the centre of which a lever is balanced. The shorter arm of the lever is weighted with a heavy rock or dried mud, while at the end of the longer arm hangs a rope carrying a leather pail. The peasant stands on a platform on the river bank and pulls down the balanced pole until the pail dips into the water and is filled. A slight upward push, which is helped by the counter-weight, raises the bucket above the irrigation canal, into which it is emptied.

As for water-wheels, al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) states that there were many *dawālīb* (pl. of *dūlāb*, a Persian word which denotes a water-wheel) on the banks of the Nile for irrigating orchards during the low waters. He also says that the *ḳādūs* was the bucket of the *dūlāb*, cf. *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 208. In the next century, Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions in his *Safar-nāma*, 39, French tr. 118, that "up the Nile there are different cities and villages, and they have established so many *dūlāb*s that they are difficult to count."

In mediaeval Egypt, there were two words used to denote wooden water-wheels, i.e. the *sawāḳī* (sing. *sāḳiya*) and the *maḥāl* (sing. *maḥāla*). al-Nābulusī, *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, 11, 27, 31, 48, 52, 54, 63, 94, 126, mentions that some villages in the Fayyūm province had *sawāḳī* to raise irrigation water. In Bādja, for example, he states that there were *sawāḳī* which were running day and night. In the *Kitāb Lumaʿ al-ḳawānīn*, 48-9, al-Nābulusī warns the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of the negligence and dis-

honesty of officials with which his own long experience in the work of offices had made him conversant. Specifically, he reports that acacia trees, which were a state monopoly, have been illegally cut down to construct *sawāḳī*, presses and other instruments.

Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, viii, 253-4, writing in the Mamlūk period, states that wells were dug in the land, apparently supplied by water from the underground bed of the Nile. At the mouth of these wells the *sawāḳī*, made from acacia or other trees, were installed. Al-Nuwayrī also states that these irrigation wheels were called *al-maḥāl* in Egypt, while at Ḥamā in Syria they were called *al-nawāʿir* (sing. *nāʿūra*). He differentiates, as does al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 80, 140, in a later period, between the two kinds, by stating that the *nawāʿir* were run by water current, while the *maḥāl* by oxen.

The Arabic word *maḥāl* (sing. *maḥāla*) denotes the huge pulley which is used for raising water from wells, cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, Beirut 1956, xi, 620-1. However, al-Maḳrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 102, uses it to refer to the water-wheel. When discussing the irrigation of sugar-cane when the Nile water is low, al-Maḳrīzī says that each of these *maḥāl* can raise the water to irrigate eight *faddāns* of sugar-cane, providing that the waterwheel is installed close to the Nile and that eight excellent beasts are available to work it. When the wells are established at a distance from the Nile, each of the *maḥāl* cannot irrigate more than 4 to 6 *faddāns*. Al-Maḳrīzī also refers to the *ḳādūs*, which al-Muḳaddasī earlier explained as the bucket of the water-wheel.

It is apparent that the ordinary, contemporary Egyptian water-wheel is more or less the same as the mediaeval one, since it does not differ appreciably from the one depicted in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, ii, i, 501-2; *Planches*, Tome deuxième, *Arts et métiers*, Pl. v. The flat horizontal wheel of the *sāḳiya* is turned counter-clockwise by a single beast or pair of oxen. The flat wheel's rough cogs engage a vertical wheel which carries a long chain of earthen pots (*ḳawādīs*). These clay pots are suspended from ropes and are lowered, mouthdownward, into the water. Following the path of the wheel, the pots scoop up water which they spill out into the irrigation channel as they arrive at the top of the wheel on their circular journey. The work of the peasant or his son is to goad the beast, to watch the turning wheel, and to avoid wasting water on the way to the field.

As for the *tābūt* (water-screw), it was apparently invented by the Greek mathematician and inventor Archimedes (*ca.* 287-212 B.C.) while studying in Egypt. Observing the difficulty in raising water from the Nile, he is said to have designed this screw to facilitate the irrigation of the fields.

The water-screw has been continuously in use in Egypt when the level of water is not very low, from the times of the Ptolemys until the present. It consists of a wooden cylinder (about 6-9 feet in length) hooped with iron. While the spiral pipe is fixed between the inside wall of the *tābūt* and an iron axis, its upper extremity is bent into a crank and its lower end turns on a stake set under the water. One or two peasants crouch at the water's edge, endlessly turning the crank handle. The water rises from bend to bend in the spiral pipe until it flows out at the mouth of the canal.

However, using the primitive implements of the *naṭṭāla*, the *dāliya*, the *sāḳiya* and the *tābūt*, the pre-20th century peasant in Egypt irrigated the land and managed to produce the necessary crops to maintain the economy of the country. Many of the techniques and implements that he devised or used have proved to be efficacious to such a degree that they are still extant.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): for Pharaonic implements and techniques, cf. F. Hartmann, *L'agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1923; A. Erman, *Life in ancient Egypt*, tr. H. M. Tirard, London 1894. See for later periods, al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, facsimile by. K. H. Zand and others, Cairo-London 1964, 200-2; French tr. Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte, par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 320-30; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Nukhbat al-fikr fī tadbīr Nīl Miṣr*, Cairo 1297/1879-80, 151-2; T. Sato, *Irrigation in rural Egypt*, in *Orient*, Tokyo 1972. For the maintenance of the irrigation dams in the later Mamlūk period, cf. al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, Paris 1894, 129; for supplying labour for irrigation dams and canals during the Ottoman period and later, cf. G. Baer, *The dissolution of the Egyptian village community*, in *WI*, N.S., vi (1959-61), 60-1, 64. See also Ṭaybughā al-Djarklamish, (8th/14th century), *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-muntakhaba*, ms. Dār al-Kutub Cairo, no. 219 *zirāʿa*; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318), *Mabāhidj al-fikar wa-manāhidj al-ʿibar* (*al-fann al-rābiʿ*), ms., Dār al-Kutub Cairo, no. 359 *ʿulūm ṭabīʿiyya*; for the *dāliya* or shadoof, cf., al-Shirbīnī, *Hazz al-ḳuḥūf fī sharḥ ḳaṣīd Abī Shādūf*, ed. M. K. Baḳlī, Cairo n.d., introd. dated July 1963, 162; Girard, *Mémoire*, in *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, ii, i, 500-1; *Planches*, Tome deuxième, Pl. vi (1); Lane, *Manners and customs*, ii, 25-6; al-Ḥitta, *Taʾrīkh al-Zirāʿa al-Miṣriyya fī ʿahd Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Kabīr*, Cairo 1950, 26; idem, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr al-iḳtiṣādī fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, Cairo 1958, 8; H. A. Rivlin, *The agricultural policy of Muhammad ʿAlī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961, 246-8, 336 n. 7; for the *dāliya* in ʿIrāḳ, cf. Cl. Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Iraq au début du XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 118-9, 130-1; for the Egyptian water-wheel, cf. Lane, *Manners and customs*, ii, 26-7; H. H. Ayrouth, *Mœurs et coutumes des fellahs*, Paris 1938, 66, Eng. tr. H. Wayment, *The fellaheen*, Cairo 1946, 57-8, Arabic tr. M. al-Labbān and D. Murḳuṣ, *al-Fallāḥūn*, Cairo 1968, 107-8; al-Ḥitta, *Taʾrīkh al-Zirāʿa al-Miṣriyya*, 23-6; for the water-screw, cf. T. L. Heath, *Archimedes*, London 1920, 1-2; idem, *The works of Archimedes*, New York n.d., pp. xx-xxi; Rivlin, *op. cit.*, 169, 235, 247; Ayrout, *op. cit.*, 64, Eng. tr., 56, Arabic tr. 107; the water-screw is known in Egypt now by the names *tābūt* or *ṭanbūr*.

(HASSANEIN RABIE)

5. IRRIGATION IN ʿIRĀḲ

Since it is impossible here to look at the use of water in all its aspects and in regard to all the problems which it raises, the present section merely deals with irrigation in the same way as is done for other regions of the Islamic world.

Taken as a whole, ʿIrāḳ is a flat plain irrigated by two great rivers, whose risings and fallings lack however the comparative regularness of the Nile. Since the Euphrates (al-Furāt [*q.v.*]) flows at a higher level than that of the Tigris (Didjla [*q.v.*]), the canals which, from ancient times, have connected them run at an oblique angle in relationship to them. Aerial photography, together with other sources of information, has allowed Adams to supplement and complete, for the left bank of the Tigris,

the information of the mediaeval authors and, especially, of Ibn Sarafyūn (Serapion). In regard to the zone between the two great rivers, periods of neglect before and after the coming of Islam have transformed part of central ʿIrāḳ into a marshland, the Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], the drainage of which has not been possible. The rivers and the great canals, constructed and maintained by the state, were important routes for communication, which were not impeded by the bridges of boats across them or by the mills. The upkeep of the smaller canals was the responsibility of local people. An ancient system of customary law regulated the amount and the periods of water used amongst the holders of land along the banks, and specially-appointed officials had the task, through the manipulation of sluices and water-gates, of securing this regulation. The interest shown about irrigation questions by mediaeval authors arises from the fact that, both for the land-tax and for local dues, irrigated land was distinguished from non-irrigated land.

The anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* (5th/11th century) has provided us, in the shape of mathematical problems, with some interesting details about the administration of the canals and about hydraulic machinery in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ. He describes various kinds of waterwheels, *dawlāb*, *gharrāfa*, *shādhūf*, giving their capacity for drawing up water and then spreading it for irrigation purposes, according to the season, and the numbers of men and animals required to work them. Then he moves on to the "balancing out of ground" intended to fix the levels of canals which have to be dug out (see E. Wiedemann, *EI*[1], art. MĪZĀN). Finally, he raises the question of the construction and upkeep of the raised canal banks, which he calls *bazand*, a pre-Islamic term not listed in the classical dictionaries, hence often wrongly read. It is necessary to know the volume of earth, reeds and brushwood which has to be transported, which is counted according to a special unit, the *azala* = 100 cubic cubits "of balance", and it is to be understood that an *azala* is procured by 33 "spade loads", handled by two men, one digging and the other transporting the earth, etc. in sacks. The provision of materials and the labour, which seem never to have been done by slaves, are paid according to an official tariff.

Bibliography: In addition to BAṬĪḤA, DIDJLA, al-FURĀT and ʿIRĀḲ see on the *K. al-Ḥāwī*, Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Irak au XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 117-43; R. McC. Adams, *Land beyond Baghdad*; K. Wittfogel, *Oriental despotism, a comparative study of total power*, New Haven 1957 (based according to the author on the control of water resources; cf. the preface by Vidal-Naquet to the French tr., *Le despotisme oriental*); X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire musulmane*, Paris 1968; T. Fahd, *Matériaux pour une histoire de l'agriculture en Irak* (= based on Ibn Waḥshiyya), in *Handbuch der Or.*, Leiden-Cologne 1978; L. Bolens, *Les agronomes andalous du Moyen Âge*, Geneva 1981, ch. iv; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*. iii. *Le milieu naturel*, Paris 1980, chs. ii-iv.

(CL. CAHEN)

6. IRRIGATION IN PERSIA

The distribution and density of population and the development of agriculture in Persia throughout history have been closely dependent upon the availability of water, and the nature of the irrigation systems has influenced both the siting of settlements and the pattern of society. Precipitation is scanty and seasonal; it is concentrated on the periphery of the country, as also are the major perennial rivers.

As a general rule, rainfall, which occurs between October and May, decreases from the north to the south of the country and from west to east, but in a number of areas the high relief of the Alburz and the Zagros mountains has modified this pattern. Along the Caspian Sea coast and the northern flanks of the Alburz, precipitation reaches more than 1,800 mm. near the mouth of the Safīd Rūd; annual totals fall to less than 500 mm. on the east side of the Caspian near Gunbad-i Ḳābūs. Along the western flanks and summits of the Zagros Mountains, precipitation amounts are thought to exceed 800 mm. on some of the higher peaks, and large areas to the west of Shīrāz receive more than 400 mm. In the north-western highlands, between the two belts of high precipitation, there is a zone of moderate precipitation of 250-400 mm. In the centre of the country occupied by the Dasht-i Kawīr and the Dasht-i Lūṭ, great sterile deserts, precipitation totals almost everywhere less than 100 mm., though a higher precipitation is found on the eastern borders of the *kawīr* in the highlands around Bīrdjand and Zāhidān. Everywhere, with the exception of the Caspian littoral, low and episodic rainfall is a major constraint on agriculture, hence the importance of artificial irrigation.

Dependable supplies of surface water exist only in isolated districts around the margins of the country, but there is nowhere an annual surplus of water, and seasonal surpluses, except in the north and west, are insignificant. Run-off is episodic, and occurs only because precipitation momentarily exceeds the infiltration capacity of the surface. The flow of water in streams and rivers throughout the country is seasonal and highly variable from year to year. Peak flows are too late for winter crops and the minimum discharge occurs when summer crops are in greatest need of moisture. The control of water by artificial irrigation is therefore immensely important for agricultural production and prosperity. Without artificial irrigation the cultivation of plants native to regions where summer rainfall is normal, such as cotton, millet, rice and sugar would not be possible.

There are few great rivers in Persia—the great hydraulic civilisations have no place there. The largest are the Kārūn and the Karkha [*q.vv.*] which flow into the Persian Gulf, draining almost all the area between Ābādān and Kirmānshāh. Further south are the basins of the Mand [*q.v.*] and the Shūr, which also drain into the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman respectively. The Safīd Rūd flows into the Caspian, as also do the Aras [see AL-RASS] and the Atrek [*q.v.*]. The water of the two last-named, which flow along the modern Russo-Persian border in the north-west and the north-east respectively, is shared with Russia. The central zone of Persia, covering the largest part of the country, is an area of internal drainage. Small rivers flow into the closed basins of Lake Urumiyya (Riḍāʾiyya) in Ādharbāydjān, into the Hāmūn in Sīstān and into dry lakes and saline marshes in structural basins in the East Zagros, the depression between the Zagros and the volcanic axis extending from Ḳumm to Kirmān, the Djaz Muriyān basin, the southern Lūṭ, Balūčistān, the eastern highlands north of Bīrdjand and in the frontier zone with modern Afghānistān. South-west of the central desert is the basin of the Zāyanda Rūd, which supports Iṣfahān and to the south of this, the basin of the Kur. The discharge

of most streams in the central zone is small. Many of the larger streams, gathering in high mountains, have steep and irregular profiles. Leaving the mountains, they dwindle quickly as a result of evaporation, seepage and diversion for irrigation, leaving dry channels, the underflow of which now and then supports an exotic agricultural efflorescence. From ancient times, the water of these rivers and streams has been used for irrigation and has formed the basis on which flourishing civilisations have been established in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. The history of the water use of the Kur in the Marwdas͟ht plain illustrates the importance of the role played by irrigation in the establishment of the early Persian empires in that region and the changes in the prosperity of the region and the density of settlement which took place over the centuries as a result of fluctuations in the upkeep of dams and irrigation channels (see further, G. Kortum, *Die Marvdasht-Ebene-Fars*, Kiel 1976). For the most part, the rivers flowing into the southern end of the Caspian Sea, apart from the Oxus [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] appear to have been less used for irrigation in early and mediaeval times than the rivers in central, southern and eastern Persia. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that little of the water of the D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān River was used for irrigation and most of it ran to waste (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, 214). Similarly, hardly any of the water of the Safīd Rūd was used for irrigation, except for that little which watered the lands lying immediately along its bed; most of it was wasted (*ibid.*, 217); and the same, he alleges, was true of its tributary, the S̲h̲āhrūd (*ibid.*, 218), though this was not so in the case of the rivers of the two Ṭārums, which also flowed into the Safīd Rūd: in summer most of their waters were used for irrigation and little flowed into the Safīd Rūd (*ibid.*, 221).

The smaller basins of the arid centre of Persia and the south-east, together with the fringes of the *kawīr*, receive incoming water mainly by piedmont seepage of many small ephemeral streams. The traditional method of tapping this water is by *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], which, with its associated network of canals, is characteristic of irrigation on the Persian plateau; hence too the frequent siting of settlements on gentle slopes some distances from the foot of the hills that feed the *ḳanāt*s. From earliest times, the material basis of the population on the Persian plateau has been provided by *ḳanāt* water (H. Goblot, *Essai d'une histoire des techniques de l'eau sur le plateau Iranien*, in *Persica*, viii [1979], 120). The various systems of irrigation—by river, *ḳanāt*, spring or storage dam—are not mutually exclusive; many districts use more than one.

The configuration of settlements has been decided in many cases by the nature of the water supply. Where water is scarce, villages tend to be concentrated; elsewhere they may be more scattered. They frequently flank water-courses and cluster about the outlet of *ḳanāt*s or round springs. The area immediately round a town or village is usually intensively cultivated with irrigation—even in the dry farming regions there is often a small irrigated area in or near a town or village. Beyond the cultivated land there is sometimes a periphery of marginal land which may be cultivated in years when the water supply is extraordinarily plentiful. Similarly, mountain villages in regions where the rainfall is sufficient for cultivation usually have an irrigated area, however small. In mountain valleys, the villages tend to be situated on rocky slopes rising above the intensely cultivated valley floors or to straggle along the mountain streams. Mountain slopes are often skilfully terraced, and much time and labour is expended on the construction and repair of dry stone retaining walls for the cultivated plots (cf. X. de Planhol, *Geography of settlement*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, 419-20. The need for regular attention to the upkeep of irrigation works has, further, been an important factor in making the village, rather than the isolated farmstead, the typical form of settlement throughout most of Persia.

Artificial irrigation may already have existed in late Neolithic times. By the Achaemenid period, there was an extensive network of *ḳanāt*s, and with the extension of irrigation there was an expansion of agriculture. It is probable that drainage schemes were also undertaken in different parts of the empire. Later, the Seleucids brought more land under cultivation by clearance and drainage and applied new techniques to irrigation (R. Ghirshman, *Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic conquest*, Harmondsworth 1954, 239). In Islamic times, control of water for irrigation remained crucial to prosperity and settlement.

Such control is a highly complex matter, and requires for its successful implementation not only technical skill but also political stability. The heavy load of solids carried by streams in spate makes storage and control both difficult and costly. Flash floods often destroy irrigation works, especially those connected with *ḳanāt*s, while spring floods may also cause much damage in lowland districts. On the plateau, the lowering of the stream-beds through normal erosion results in the lowering of the water-table itself and leaves irrigation canal intakes above the new water level. In modern times, the lowering of the water-table by the extraction of water by pump operation connected with the sinking of semi-deep wells has led to many *ḳanāt*s falling into disuse, especially round the central desert but also in other regions. Inadequate drainage, on the other hand, often leads to a rising water-table under irrigated lands, water-logging, salinisation and alkalinisation, which result in considerable loss of output. These processes vary widely in different districts and different years. In some regions, notably K̲h̲ūzistān and Sīstān, deterioration of the soil because of a change in the water-table due to over-lavish irrigation and inadequate drainage, or both, has been a major problem. Another problem is that ground water in some districts may be heavily charged with soluble salts and be too saline for use in irrigation. This is the case in many districts on the borders of the central desert and in the Persian Gulf littoral.

Natural conditions and agricultural practices cannot alone, however, explain the fluctuation in the history of irrigation in Persia. The shifting of centres of political authority which accompanied dynastic changes and demographic changes resulting from invasion and the increase in dead lands because of the slaughter or flight of their inhabitants have also played a part. A breakdown in the control of water, for whatever reason or reasons, was inevitably followed by a decline in prosperity. The decay of K̲h̲ūzistān, which culminated under the ʿAbbāsids, is an illustration of this. Under the Sāsānids, the waters of the Kark̲h̲a, Diz and Kārūn had been utilised by an elaborate system of barrages, tunnels, inverted syphons, lifting devices and canals (see below). Cereals, sugar cane, rice and dates were produced in abundance. In the last fifty years or so

of Sāsānid rule, irrigation was neglected. Under the rule of the Orthodox Caliphs and the Umayyads, adequate attention was not paid to artificial drainage of the irrigated land, and under the ʿAbbāsids the province declined—rising water-tables under irrigated land may have been responsible for the attempts of the ʿAbbāsids to irrigate new lands of poorer quality. Water-logging, alkalinisation and salinisation, and the hazards of flood, all contributed to the decline of the region which occurred in post-ʿAbbāsid times (see further R. McC. Adams, *Agriculture and urban life in early southwestern Iran*, in *Science*, cxxxvi, 3511 [1962], 109-22). Changes in prosperity in other regions brought about by a failure to control irrigation have been, perhaps, less spectacular but none the less important. The decay of irrigation and drainage not only resulted in an increase of waste and unproductive land, but may also have led to the spread of malaria [see MALĀRYĀ], thus contributing to a decline in population and output.

Water utilisation: technical features. Irrigation works, plain take-offs, dams [see BAND], weirs, lifting devices, artificial reservoirs and *ḳanāt*s, supplemented by principal and secondary canals, are to be found all over the country; and some are ancient structures.

(i) *Dams*. Several large dams existed in Khūzistān in Sāsānid times, including the bridge dams at Shūshtar and Dizful, built by Shāpūr I and Shāpūr II or Ardashīr II respectively, the dam on the Djarrāḥī near Khalafābād, and the dam on the Mārūn at Arradjān (on the last, see H. Gaube, *Die südpersische Provinz Arraǧān/Kūh Gīlūyeh*, Vienna 1973, 189-90). They continued in use for varying periods after the fall of the Sāsānids. Repairs and reconstructions were numerous, and the Romano-Sāsānid work at Shūshtar and Dizful was partially replaced by pointed-arch bridges. The dam at Shūshtar, known as the Band-i Mīzān, had a length of 1,700 ft. and raised the water to the level of the city of Shūshtar, which was situated on a rocky outcrop on the east bank of the Kārūn. The dam was built partly by Roman prisoners of war taken in Shāpūr I's victory over Valerian in A.D. 260. It had a rubble masonry core set in hydraulic mortar; the facing was of large, cut masonry blocks, held in place by both mortar and iron clamps set in lead. It was pierced by numerous sluices for the purpose of releasing water in time of excessive flow. It took three years to build, during which time the Kārūn River was diverted through two by-pass channels. One of these, the Āb-i Gargar, winds its way south for some twenty-five miles and then rejoins the Kārūn. When the work of the dam was completed, the entrance to the Āb-i Gargar was closed by a second dam, the Ḳayṣar dam. This was made of large stone blocks mortared and clamped together, and six sluices were provided to control the flow of water into the Āb-i Gargar. Part of the bridge at Shūshtar and the Band were swept away by floods several times during the 19th century. Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, when governor of Kirmānshāh, undertook repairs to it in the early 19th century (J. M. Kinneir, *Geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 98-9). When Curzon visited Shūshtar in 1889, there was a gap of over seventy yards in width in the middle of the bridge, which had been swept away by a flood in 1885. The efforts of Niẓām al-Salṭana, the governor of ʿArabistān, to repair it proved abortive (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 374-5). A further canal, the Miyān Āb canal, was cut, apparently to divert water through a tunnel made in the face of the castle rock in order to irrigate the high-lying lands to the south of the city, the level of the water of which was regulated by dams. As a result of the rupture in the Band-i Mīzān and the bridge, the river bed was lowered at the point where it formerly fed the canal and the land which is was intended to irrigate became derelict (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 376).

The Dizful dam, a replica of the Shūshtar dam, was 1,250 ft. long. When Curzon visited Dizful, the dam was in a dilapidated condition, two of its arches having recently fallen in (*op. cit.*, ii, 303). After it fell into decay, all local irrigation depended upon rough dams of stone and brush-wood, which were reconstructed after every flood (H. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Chicago 1967, 248; N. Smith, *A history of dams*, London 1971, 59, 81, 82; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, repr. Oxford 1969, 216).

South of Shūshtar, where the Āb-i Diz and the Āb-i Gargar flow into the Āb-i Shutayt, the main channel of the Kārūn, another Sāsānid dam, the Band-i Ḳīr, of which only the name survives, was located. The name is of interest because it suggests that bitumen (*ḳīr*) may have been used to make the dam watertight and solid. Another dam on the Āb-i Gargar, called the Pul-i Bulaytī, was added to the Shūshtar system in Islamic times. This was a power dam; mills were installed in tunnels cut through the rock at each side of the channel, the dam providing the necessary head of water to drive the mill wheels (see Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 372-4). A third bridge dam was built, also in Sāsānid times, over the Karkha at Pā-yi Pul. It fell out of use when it burst in 1837. Its remains were seen by Sir Aurel Stein in 1938 (Sir Aurel Stein, *An archaeological journey to Western Iran*, in *Geogr. J.* [October 1938], 327).

At Ahwāz [*q.v.*], there was another great dam (but not a bridge dam), probably over 3,000 ft. long. and about 25 ft. thick. Its remains were to be seen until recently. Al-Muḳaddasī describes the dam as being wonderfully constructed from blocks of rock behind which the water was held back. He states that the water was divided into three canals, which watered the fields of the estates of the people of the city, and that without the dam Ahwāz would not have been populous and that its canals could not have been used (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 411; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 347-8). The collapse of the dam in the 9th/15th century brought ruin to the city.

Numerous storage dams and their remains are to be found in many parts of Persia. Although their overall contribution to irrigation was not as great as that of *ḳanāt*s, or of the dams in Khūzistān, they were of considerable local importance and enabled land which could not otherwise have been cultivated to become productive. One of the most interesting systems is that on the Kur River in Fārs, which has provided irrigation for the Kurbāl district to a greater or lesser extent for some 2,000 years. The most famous dam of this complex is the Band-i Amīr, built about 349/960 by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], probably on earlier, possibly Achaemenid, foundations. Prior to its reconstruction, the water of the Kur could not be raised to irrigate Upper Kurbāl. Al-Muḳaddasī, who wrote soon after the dam was built, and Ibn al-Balkhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who wrote rather under 150 years later, describe the dam in similar terms. The latter states that ʿAḍud al-Dawla brought engineers and workmen to the place in order to build the dam and spent much money on its construction. The dam was made of

stone set in mortar, reinforced by iron anchors, which were set in lead. Upstream and downstream the river-bed was paved for several miles, and the supply canals extended for over ten miles, serving 300 villages in the Marwdas͟ht plain. Ten water-mills were built close to the dam, the crest of which was wide enough to allow two horsemen abreast to ride across it (al-Muḳaddasī, 444; Ibn al-Balk͟hī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1921, 151-2; see also G. Le Strange, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.*, London 1912). Upstream from the Band-i Amīr there were five other major dams for the irrigation of Lower Kurbāl. These included the Rāmd̲j̲ird dam, built on Achaemenid foundations, which was almost as large as the Band-i Amīr, and five downstream, the last of which, the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār, was only a few miles from Lake Bak͟htagān into which the Kur flows (A. Houtum-Schindler, *A note on the Kur River in Fars, its sources and dams and the districts it irrigates*, in *Proc. Royal Geogr. Soc.* [1891], 287-91; see also N. Smith, *op. cit.*, 83-5, and Kortum, *op. cit.*). By the 6th/12th century, the Band-i Amīr, the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār and the Rāmd̲j̲ird dam had fallen into a state of decay and were repaired by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ governor of Fārs, the Atābeg D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Čawlī Saḳāw (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 277-8). The Rāmd̲j̲ird dam was again rebuilt towards the end of the 6th / beginning of the 13th century, and there were several reconstructions after that date (Smith, *op. cit.*, 85).

In the eastern provinces of Persia there were also a number of dams and irrigation works on the Oxus or Āmū Daryā [*q.v.*] and on other great rivers and lesser streams. Some of these were repaired, and others constructed by the Muslims. Sīstān was dependent almost wholly upon the control of the water of the Hīrmand (Helmund) River [see HILMAND]. Zarand̲j̲, the capital of the province under the ʿAbbāsids, was situated near the original capital of Rām S͟hahristān (Abras͟hahriyār), which according to tradition, had been abandoned when a dam across the Hīrmand had burst and the water had been permanently diverted from the Rām S͟hāhristān canal (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 339-40). From the works of the Muslim geographers, it would appear that Zarand̲j̲ was irrigated by six dams on the Hīrmand near where it enters Lake Zarab. Some of these may have been of Sāsānid origin. The Muslims added various water-wheels to the system. In 785/1383 Zarand̲j̲ and its irrigation works were destroyed by Tīmūr, as was also the Band-i Rustam on the Hīrmand River near Bust, the water of which had served to irrigate all the western lands of Sīstān. Failure to repair and maintain the elaborate system of canals and dams on the Hīrmand River resulted in much of the land formerly irrigated and drained being converted into reed beds and swamps. The headwaters of the Hīrmand and the main stream are at the present day in Afg͟hānistān. After entering Persian Sīstān, the river divides into two branches, the Pariyān and the Sīstān rivers. The former flows in a northerly direction, and with its tributaries waters northern Sīstān. The latter flows through southern and south-western Sīstān. Near the Afg͟hān frontier, the Kahak dam diverts water into the Pariyān, while another dam lower down, the Band-i Zahāk, diverts more water for irrigation. The use of the water of the Hīrmand and the construction of new dams has been the subject of bitter controversy between Persia and Afg͟hānistān. The first award of the river waters between them was made in 1872. In 1950 the Helmand River Delta Commission was set up (though subsequently disbanded).

The water of the Murg͟hāb River in K͟hurāsān was diverted by numerous dams and canals for irrigation. Al-Iṣṭak͟hrī relates that one march south of Marw, its bed was artificially dyked with embankments faced by wooden works which kept the river-bed from changing. Under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, the number of dams and dykes on the Murg͟hāb was increased. These were later destroyed by the Mongols and the oasis of Marw converted into a desert swamp, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 397, 402). He states that after Tīmūr's conquest of K͟hurāsān, various of the *amīrs* and pillars of the state each made a canal leading off from the Murg͟hāb, in order to irrigate the land, and that when he was writing, i.e. at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, twenty of these were in existence. He discribes the city as being in a flourishing condition (*D̲j̲ug͟hrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, ḳismat-i rabʿ-i K͟hurāsān: Harāt*, ed. Māyil Harawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349/1970-1, 34).

One of the most important periods in mediaeval Persia in the construction of dams appears to have been the Īlk͟hān period, when, in the late 7th/13th century and early 8th/14th centuries, several dams were constructed. The great achievement of this period was the construction of a number of arch dams. One at Kibar (Kivar), some 15 miles south of Ḳumm, is the oldest surviving example of this type of structure so far located. Built in a V-shaped gorge, which narrows about halfway down to a deep gully, the dam is 85 ft. high and 180 ft. long at the crest, the thickness of which is between 15 and 16½ ft. The air-face, the radius of curvature of which is 125 ft., is vertical except near the face where there is a slight slope in the downstream direction. The dam has a core of rubble masonry set in mortar (*sārūd̲j̲*) made from lime crushed with the ash of some desert plant, which makes it hydraulic and results in a strong, hard and highly impervious mortar ideal for dams. The dam has a vertical series of openings on the water-face connected by shafts and galleries to provide passage for the water through the dam walls (though their precise function is uncertain). Two other arch dams, probably also belonging to the Īlk͟hān period are situated near Ṭabas, the S͟hāh ʿAbbāsī, east-north-east of Ṭabas, so called because it was repaired in the Ṣafawid period, presumably by S͟hāh ʿAbbās I or S͟hāh ʿAbbās II, and the Kurīt dam, to the south of Ṭabas. The latter is remarkable for its height of some 120 ft. (H. Goblot, *Du nouveau sur les barrages Iraniens de l'époque mongole*, in *Arts et Manufactures*, no. 239 [April 1973], 15-20; *idem*, *Kébar en Iran sans doute le plus ancien des barrages-voûtes*, in *Science-Progrès*, no. 3358 (February 1965); idem, *Sur quelques barrages anciens et la genèse des barrages-voûtes*, in *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences*, cahier no. 6; Smith, *op. cit.*, 65-8). Another dam, a large gravity dam at Sāwa, was also built in the Īlk͟hān period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it was constructed on the orders of S͟hams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib-Dīwān [see D̲J̲UWAYNĪ, S͟HAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD] (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 221). It was situated in a valley south-east of Sāwa and east of the point where the Ḳarāčāy (Gāvmāha) joins two streams from Sāwa and Āwa respectively. Although the limestone rock at the side of the valley was sound (as far as is known), the base of the dam was built on river alluvium consisting of sands and gravel, which go down 90 ft, before bed-rock is reached. Consequently, as soon as the reservoir began to fill, the pressure above the foundations drove the

water through the alluvium and the water established a permanent outlet for itself. The dam was abandoned, but the structure survived (Smith, *op. cit.*, 64-5). It is not without interest that a number of dams and irrigation works were constructed about the same time in Yünnan by Saʿīd Adjall, who apparently became governor of Yünnan in A.D. 1274 (J. Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/3, Cambridge 1971, 297).

The dating of the gravity dams at Ḳuhrūd and Ḳamṣar near Kāshān and at Farīmān and Ṭuruḳ in Khurāsān is uncertain. The Ḳuhrūd dam is attributed to Shāh ʿAbbās and the Ḳamṣar dam to Djalāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Khʷārazm-Shāh (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḍarrābī, *Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran A.H.S. 1335/1956, 8, 40-1, 42, 43). The Gulistān dam in Khurāsān was made by the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā (855-72/1452-67) (*Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīkhī-yi Īrān az Tīmūr tā Shāh Ismāʿīl*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran A.H.S. 1341/1962, 313). The Salāmī Dam in Khurāsān was constructed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kurt (706-25/1306-24) (N. M. Clevenger, *Dams in Ḫorāsān, some preliminary observations*, in *East and West*, N.S., xix [1969], 393). These dams were still in use in the 1960s, but most of them furnished very little water because their reservoirs were heavily silted up.

Under the Ṣafawids, there was renewed activity in dam-building and other constructions for irrigation. Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) attempted to divert the water of the Kārūn into the Zāyanda Rūd by a connecting tunnel through the mountain ridge which separates them. The work was abandoned owing, it was said, to the foul atmosphere of the workings. Shāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1587-1629) revived the project, but abandoned the idea of a tunnel in favour of an open cutting. It is reported that at times he employed 100,000 men on this undertaking, but the scheme came to naught. Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-67) made another attempt, in which he was advised by a French engineer named Genest. A dam, 300 ft. long and about 100 ft. high was built across the Kārūn to divert the water of the river while the channel was cut. Smith thinks that Genest may have had in mind more than a mere diversion of the river and that he may have hoped to reduce the amount of excavation through the mountains by raising the level of the river. The scheme, however, was also abandoned after 100 ft. of the connecting channel between the two rivers had been cut. The idea was revived during the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Work was begun on the cutting of a tunnel connecting the two rivers. Known as the Kūhrang tunnel, it was finished in 1953 (Smith, *op. cit.*, 72-3). The increase in the flow of water in the Zāyanda Rūd which resulted has enabled more land to be cultivated in the districts through which the river flows. Shāh ʿAbbās II also built, on the foundations of an earlier weir, the Khʷādjū Bridge over the Zāyanda Rūd in Iṣfahān. It is a combination of a weir with sluice gates and flood arches above these, with a permanent roadway on the top (Wulff, *op. cit.*, 248; Smith, *op. cit.*, 73-4).

(ii) *Wells and lifting devices*. A variety of lifting devices operated by men and animals to raise water from rivers, streams and wells have been widely used in the past, especially in Khūzistān, the Persian Gulf littoral, Fārs, in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, in some districts in eastern Persia and on the shores of Lake Urumiyya (Riḍāʾiyya). They are still used, but have been largely superseded by power-operated wells. Man-operated wells consist of a windlass set over the well with a large leather bag attached to it. Those operated by draught animals are worked by one or more draught animals such as oxen, mules and, less frequently, buffaloes, each draught animal having one or more men working with it. The constructing of these devices varies slightly in different regions, but the general principle is the same. Their operation is both laborious and inefficient. A wooden wheel is set in two brick or stone built pillars, or two heavy upright posts, above the well, connected by a wooden scaffold. Two pulleys are run on axles attached to the scaffold, over which a main and an auxiliary rope run into the well; the wheel end of the main rope is attached to a hook and a ring carrying a wooden cross from which a large leather bag is suspended. This runs out into a narrow spout to which the auxiliary rope is attached. The draught animal is harnessed to the ropes and sets the wheel in motion by walking up and down a runway beginning at the well-head and descending at an angle of about 20 degrees. By this action, the bag is let into the well. When it is full, it is lifted to the surface and empties itself in front of the well into a trough which carries the water into the irrigation channel. In some wells, a big wooden horizontal cog-wheel, geared to a vertical wheel which turns a bucket-carrying wheel set on the same axle in the water is set in motion by an ox or mule walking round and round a circular runway made about the well (see further Wulff, *op. cit.*, 256-8, and Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 227-8; and also C. Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Iraq au début du XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii [1949-50], 118-19). Curzon describes how water was lifted for irrigation from the Kārūn above Ahwāz, where the river was confined within banks from 20 to 30 ft. high. Pools were hollowed in the river bank and water was drawn up by means of leather skins and a pulley worked by oxen pacing up and down an inclined plane on the top of the bank (*op. cit.*, ii, 356-7).

(iii) *Cisterns, water tanks and ponds*. These are to be found in regions in which water supplies are scarce and are especially common in districts on the edge of the central desert, though they are also to be found elsewhere, notably in Fūmināt. They are supplied by water from *ḳanāts*, underground springs or rain-water. Some are made with stones or bricks and cement and are often of a considerable size. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī states that almost all the villages and hamlets in Kāshān had small cisterns (*istakhr*); that of Niyāsar was 100 *dharʿ* by 50 *dharʿ* and 2/2 *dharʿ* deep. He describes the purpose of an *istakhr* as follows: "In some hamlets (*mazāriʿ*) the water is less than [the amount required for] a plot of land (*kardū*) for the first rotation when water is due to be let into sown land or orchards. As a result, it takes a long time for the plot to be inundated, because when the quantity of water is small, as soon as it enters the land it sinks in and the plot will not be inundated. Accordingly, water is held back in a cistern (*istakhr*). When the latter is full, it is emptied, or whatever amount is needed for the land is let into the irrigation channel until the desired result is achieved. Or it may be that the water of a hamlet is sufficient for the first rotation period but it is desired to lead the water to a piece of land (*dasht*) or fields (*mazāriʿ*) which are distant, and so half or more of the water will be lost in the channel between the mouth of the *ḳanāt* and the land to be irrigated, with the result that the plot will not be inundated (unless a greater head of water is first held back in a cistern). Or it may be that a village

has [sufficient water] in the first rotation period for three or four pieces of land, and it wishes to divide the water into three or four irrigation channels, some giving more water and some less. A cistern is therefore necessary, so that the requisite amount can be let into each irrigation channel, or so that water from two or three sources can be let into different channels and then divided (*saridja-paymā'ī namāyand*)" (*Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, 66-7). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes how small catchpools were made on the edge of the cultivated area round Tūn to catch rain water which was used for grain cultivation (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 143-4).

Irrigation practices and water distribution and measurements. Irrigation practices range from heavy perennial irrigation, land watered less heavily through the year or parts of the year, to land watered once or twice a season through the capture of flash floods or water stored in a cistern. The usual method of irrigation is by inundation; for some crops, trench irrigation is used. In the case of rivers, the water is diverted into canals and sub-canals and cross-canals, whence it is led into the fields to be irrigated. The division is made according to established rights of priority, usually (but not always) starting upstream and ending downstream. The water of other sources, if it is prolific, is also divided into various channels and led to different users simultaneously. The division of the water between several users is assured by a variety of mechanical devices, distributors, or runnels with inlets of a fixed size or by the allocation of fixed periods of time. Where water is divided by a weir between a number of villages or users, the size of the orifices at the rim of the weir varies according to the share of the water permanently allocated to the different users. Water is led into individual fields, plots or gardens by breaching the banks of the canals (usually with a spade) for the appropriate length of time.

The rotation period of the water (*dawr-i āb*) normally begins in early October with the start of the agricultural year and is fixed at so-and-so many days. Within that period, so many shares, defined in days, hours, or minutes, are allocated to the different districts, villages, fields, or plots of land watered by the source in question. A common way of measuring the unit of time is by a kind of hour-glass, the time-unit being the time it takes for a small copper bowl with a hole at the bottom to fill and sink in another large basin (see further al-Māwardī, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1918, 389-90; E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii, 264 ff.; Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 212-13, 218-20, 408; Wulff, *op. cit.*, 254-6; Ḍarrābī, *op. cit.*, 53-4; B. Montazami, *Irrigation in Iran: éléments pour une approache matérialiste*, in *Zaman*, i [1979], 38 ff.). Stack mentions that in some of the villages of Firaydan, the water distribution was regulated in the daytime by the length of a man's shadow and at night by the stars (*op. cit.*, ii, 269).

Since the water of rivers is subject to diminution at certain seasons of the year, and in both rivers and *ḳanāts* may be reduced in a series of dry years, much care is exercised over the division and allocation of the water in order to satisfy cropping needs. In the case of *ḳanāts*, the rotation period may be lengthened in periods of water shortage and the amount of water per share reduced. In general, the scarcer the water, the more detailed and complicated the distribution of water; and the greater the fragmentation of the ownership of the water, the more meticulous and elaborate the organisation of its distribution.

Water laws and water rights. So far as the *sharī'a* is concerned, water laws belong to *mu'āmalāt* as opposed to *'ibādāt* and are based on *'urf* or custom enshrined in the traditions and given sanction as the practice, or supposed practice, of the Prophet and his companions and their immediate successors and, in the case of the Shī'a, of the *imāms*. These practices reflect not only the conditions and needs of Arabia at the time of the Prophet, but also those of other regions into which the Muslims later penetrated. They do not, therefore, present a coherent and uniform basis for a body of water laws, but rather a series of unrelated decisions, sometimes in conflict with each other. In general terms, irrigation was governed in theory by the *sharī'a*, but in practice and in matters of detail local custom prevailed and was extremely varied. In the law books, there are references to irrigation in the books on *zakāt*, *'ushr*, *khums* and *kharādj*, *iḥyā' al-mawāt* (the revivification of dead lands), *ḥarīm* ("borders"), *mushtarakāt* (things held in common), *bay'* (sale), *makāsib* ("earnings"), *ghaṣb* (usurpation), *muzāra'a* [*q.v.*] (crop-sharing agreements) and *musāḳāt* [*q.v.*] (agreements for the sharing of fruit and other trees). The general principles concerning water laws are accepted by both Sunnīs and Shī'is, but there are differences in matters of detail between them and between the different law schools which, in view of the fact that water laws are based on custom, is not surprising.

(i) *The right of thirst* (*shafa*). By virtue of the *ḥadīth* which states that Muslims are partners in water, fire, and grass, the use of water is considered as common (*mubāḥ*) to all men, but it may be appropriated by "occupation" (*iḥrāz*), e.g. by collecting rain water in a vessel placed outdoors to that end. It cannot, however, be "occupied" until it has ceased to run, i.e. until it is placed in a vessel or water-tight well or basin (Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, Lahore 1961, 515. See also Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-'Āmilī al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Rawḍat al-bahiyya fī sharḥ lum'at al-Dimashḳiyya*, lith. 1271/1854-5, 267). Water in rivers, *ḳanāts*, wells and basins which are not water-tight is, therefore, considered to be *mubāḥ*, even if the rivers, *ḳanāts*, wells and basins should be private property. Everyone is entitled to use such water for drinking purposes for himself and for his animals, provided that the animals do not exhaust the whole supply. The sale of the water of privately-owned rivers, *ḳanāts*, wells and basins (for drinking purposes) is permitted by some jurists, though all appear to consider it better to give such water than to sell it (Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 516, and see also Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya fi 'l-fiḳh wa'l-fatāwā*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Sabzawārī, Tehran 1333-41/1954-6, 2 vols., ii, 282). The right of all men to use water is confined to drinking purposes and does not extend to its use for irrigation.

(ii) *The right to use irrigation water*. According to the Sunnī *fuḳahā'*, the water of the great rivers belongs to the Muslims in common (Abū Yūsuf, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 148) and according to the Shī'ī *fuḳahā'*, to the *imām*. Their water may be used by anyone for irrigation and power provided its use in this way does not harm the community, and anyone may divert water from the great rivers by means of a canal, unless such diversion is prejudicial to interests already acquired. In the case of the lesser rivers, the water of which is sufficient to irrigate the land along its banks without

the construction of dams, anyone may lead off water in a canal to irrigate other land, provided such action is not prejudicial to existing interests. If the water of a river cannot be used for irrigation without the construction of dams, lands higher up have, according to most authorities, Sunnī and Shīʿī, a prior right to those situated lower down (cf. al-Māwardī, 386 ff. and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya*, ii, 283). The Ḥanafīs, on the contrary, hold that lands situated lower down the river have a prior right over those situated higher up, while the Mālikīs lay down that land situated higher up has the prior right of irrigation until the water reaches as high as the ankles, but if the land lower down has been developed earlier and there is a danger of its crops being destroyed, it has a prior right over land higher upstream. These various views are reflected in existing practice. As to the amount of water that may be drawn off, the Prophet is said to have allowed a level as high as the ankle, and this tradition is widely followed. Al-Māwardī, whose exposition is concerned with the practice of water management rather than the theory, holds that the amount varies with the nature of the land, the kind crop, the time of sowing, the season and whether the flow of the river is permanent or intermittent (*op. cit.*, 388; see further Aghnides, 517, Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 210-11).

The right to use water flowing in artificial beds, such as the water of a canal dug by the people of a village, belongs exclusively to the owners of the bed of the canal, and others may not use the water for irrigation. The manner of use is established by the agreement of the co-owners. The construction of mills and bridges, etc., requires the consent of all the co-owners. If a mill has been legally built on the stream of a third party, the owner of the stream cannot divert the water except with the permission of the owner of the mill (al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Tehran A.H.S. 1343/1964, 306). The use of the water of wells and artificial reservoirs belongs exclusively to those who made them, and others may not use their water for irrigation. The use of the water of springs is also the exclusive right of the owner of the land in which the spring lies. The general view of the Shīʿī *fuḳahāʾ* appears to be that *ḳanāt*s, springs and wells situated in private property, or made in dead land with the intention of reclaiming the land, belong to the person or persons who made them and that they can be transmitted by sale and inheritance and can be constituted into *waḳf*. There was not, however, unanimity of opinion on this. Some, including Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, maintain that the water of a well, *ḳanāt* or canal does not become the property of whoever dug the well or made the *ḳanāt* or canal, and that such actions only give a right of priority in the use of the water.

Transmission and sale of water rights and water sources. Most jurists permit the transmission of water rights and water sources, so far as they are private property. From this, it follows that water rights often become highly fragmented. The jurists also permit the constitution of water rights and water sources, so far as they are on private property, into *waḳf*. Many *ḳanāt*s and canals and rights to a share of the use of various sources of water have been so constituted. The Yazd region is particularly illustrative of this practice. From the number of shares into which many of the *ḳanāt*s of Yazd were divided, it would seem that their ownership was highly fragmented (cf. *Djāmiʿ al-khayrāt*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh and Īradj Afshār, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, ix [1345/1966-7], *passim*). Their constitution into *waḳf* prevented further fragmentation.

Dead lands. The revivification of dead lands (*iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*) normally involves the irrigation of the land. Thus al-Māwardī states that land to be revivified for cultivation must be irrigated if it is dry, and drained if it is marshy (*op. cit.*, 380, 382; Aghnides, 500-1; see further Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *op. cit.*, 265-7). Revivification confers ownership, and canals dug to bring water to dead lands belong to those who dug them (al-Māwardī, 389), and wells or *ḳanāt*s made in dead lands in order to revivify them belong to those who made them. If irrigated with *ʿushr* water, revivified land paid *ʿushr*, and if reclaimed with *kharādj* water, *kharādj* (al-Māwardī, 382 ff.). Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, discussing the conditions for the revivification of dead lands, states that there is no *sharʿī* text governing these and that reference is to be had to custom. If the intention is the cultivation of the land, ownership is established either by *taḥdjīr*, or by bringing water to the land by a water-wheel or some similar method (*Sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ʿAlī, Nadjaf 1389/1969, 4 vols., iii, 275-6). New canals and *ḳanāt*s to bring irrigation water to dead lands are subject to the laws governing *ḥarīm*.

Ḥarīm. The ownership of landed property involves also a right over the land which borders it, where this is necessary for the full enjoyment of the property. So far as irrigation is concerned, this is of vital importance in respect of springs, streams, *ḳanāt*s and water channels. Accordingly, "borders" are laid down for such forms of property, within which a third party may not undertake new irrigation works, though some jurists lay down that "borders" can only exist in land to which no one has a prior right. The extent of the "borders" varies according to the nature of the water source and according to the nature of the soil (al-Māwardī, 390, 392, 395, Abū Yūsuf, 152-3, al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Sharāʾiʿ*, iii, 272-3). Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ permits 1,000 cubits (*arsh*) for a *ḳanāt* if the soil is soft and 500 cubits if it is firm (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, 306).

Muzāraʿa and musāḳāt [*q.vv.*]. The first is a crop-sharing agreement and the second an agreement for the exploitation of fruit trees and other trees, under which the two parties each have a share in the proceeds. Agreements of this type were known in pre-Islamic Persia. Under the former, water is traditionally regarded as one of the five elements (the other four being land, draught animals, seed and labour) affecting the proportion in which the crop is divided between the two parties to the agreement, the landlord and the peasant. In theory, one share went to each of the five elements, but in practice there was much variation in the shares going to either party, though the ownership or provision of water always played an important part in the division of the crop in the case of irrigated land. *Musāḳāt* was an agreement made between the owner of a garden and another party, who would undertake to irrigate the trees and who would receive in return a specified share of their fruit. It could also be concluded for trees or plants which did not bear fruit, but the produce of which was capable of exploitation, such as the henna or tea plant. It could also be concluded for newly-planted trees which would not bear fruit for some years. The responsibility for cleaning *ḳanāt*s and irrigation channels under a *muzāraʿa* or

musāḳāt varied according to local custom. The digging of new wells and canals was normally done at the expense of the landowner. These agreements might be written agreements, but were probably often oral agreements based on local custom. They might be for one or more years. In some quarters there appear to have been a prejudice against long-term agreements. Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Niẓām (d. 732/1331-2), who constituted much property—shares in *ḳanāt*s, real estate and landed estates—into *awḳāf* in Yazd, laid down that no *muzāraʿa* or *musāḳāt* should be concluded for more than one year (*Djāmiʿ al-khayrāt*, 174). A similar stipulation is made in the *waḳfiyya* of the Shaykh al-Islām Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Kadjadjī, dated 782/1380-1 (*Waḳfiyya-yi Kadjadjī*, in *FIZ*, xxi [1354/1976], 8).

Taxation. It is difficult to lay down the connection between the provision of irrigation and taxation, because no general principle prevailed. Probably in most districts, tax was assessed on the land (together with its water), though in the case of land watered by the great rivers and some of the lesser rivers, water dues were paid to the state. Apart from the source from which it comes, water is also divided by the jurists into *ʿushr* water and *kharādj* water, according to whether it is found in *ʿushr* or *kharādj* land. There is, however, some difference of opinion among the jurists over the status of the water of the great rivers and the implications of its status for tax purposes (see further al-Māwardī, 282-3; Aghnides, 359, 366-7). Land reclaimed with *ʿushr* water paid *ʿushr* and with *kharādj* water, *kharādj* (see above, s.v. Dead lands). When in the course of time the distinction between *ʿushr* land and *kharādj* land became blurred, the distinction between *ʿushr* water and *kharādj* water also ceased to be of practical effect. What was crucial in assessing the tax-bearing capacity of the land was not the hypothetical status of the water, but the method by which it was irrigated (cf. al-Māwardī, 315 ff.). Crops irrigated by water carried on the back of a beast or raised by a lifting device paid half-*ʿushr*, while lands watered by river, spring or *ḳanāt* water or rain paid full *ʿushr* (Abū Yūsuf, 82-3, al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Mukhtasar al-nāfiʿ*, 71). In the later centuries, when tax was often assessed on the crop, not on the area of land, many authorities permitted the deduction of expenses, which included those on irrigation, before the *kharādj* of the government was reckoned. In some districts, notably Yazd, where the ownership of land and water was often in separate hands, the revenue assessment was based on a calculation of the water supply only. In its simplest form, a certain rate was imposed per unit of water (*ṭāḳ*, *tasht*, *djurʿa sabū*, *saridja*). The rate varied from village to village; reassessments were seldom made, but the incidence of taxation might be increased by the imposition of additional quotas. Wells in some districts in southern Persia in the 19th century paid a wheel tax (*sar čarkhī*) (Stack, *op. cit.*, ii, 259). In the case of the reclamation of dead lands, tax concessions related to the nature of the water supply are from time to time recorded. The Īlkhānid Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304), who attempted to bring about a revival of agricultural prosperity, classified dead lands into three groups according to the labour required on irrigation works, and gave them tax concessions for three years (see *Landlord and peasant*, 91).

Water rights and the religious officials: the settlement of disputes. Water, perhaps because it is closely associated with *ʿushr* and *kharādj*, which are among the *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*, generally speaking came within the purview of the religious officials. The regulation of the water of the Harī Rūd in the 8th/14th century is said to have been carried out by the Shaykh al-Islām Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khʷāfī, and that of the Zāyanda Rūd in the 11th/17th century is attributed to Shaykh Bahāʾī (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī) (see below). So far, however, as the religious officials gave decisions and issued *fatwā*s for the settlement of disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-44) found that there was no body of laws on *ḳanāt*s, he assembled the *fuḳahāʾ* of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ (not the *ʿummāl-i ʿurf*) to write a book on laws governing *ḳanāt*s [see KANĀT]. Similarly, from a letter preserved in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, probably written just before or just after the fall of Sandjar in 552/1157, it would appear that the assessment of water rates (*ḳānūn-i āb*) was the concern of the officials of the religious institution in the person of the local judge (*ḥākim*) (Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1950, 96-7; see also *Landlord and peasant*, 74). An undated letter in the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, which is dedicated to Sulṭān Uways b. Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg (757-77/1356-74), mentions the *fatwā*s of the *ʿulamāʾ* concerning the destruction of a dam on the Mihrān Rūd at Tabrīz. This had been built to divert water to a newly-founded village and had resulted in the river-bed becoming silted up so that flooding took place in Tabrīz. The answer to the letter states "Let action be taken in accordance with the *fatwā*s of the *imām*s of religion and let these not be transgressed or altered" (ed. A. A. Alizade, i/2, Moscow 1971, 482-3). Whether the letter actually existed or was composed by Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh, it can be taken as a typical example of contemporary practice (as it should be rather than as it was). In some cases, royal *farmān*s were issued for the settlement of water disputes—and not necessarily always those of a major nature. A short *farmān*, dated Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 952/Jan.-Feb. 1546 issued by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, regulates a dispute over water rights between Kharānīḳ and Sulṭānābād, two villages in Ādharbāydjān. It orders the peasants and crop-sharers of Kharānīk to act towards the peasants of Sulṭānābād in accordance with the *sharṭ-nāmača* concerning their water rights as fixed by Djalāl al-Dīn Maʿṣūm Beg Ṣafawī, the *mutawallī* of the holy shrine (? of Ardabīl) (B. G. Martin, *Seven Ṣafawid documents from Azarbayjan*, in S. M. Stern, ed., *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 185 ff.). In this case, it would seem likely that one or both of the villages may have been *waḳf*, since Maʿṣūm Beg, the *mutawallī*, had been called in to regulate their shares, and if they were Ṣafawid *awḳāf*, this would explain why a royal *farmān* was issued to decide a dispute between two small and unimportant villages. In the case of the great rivers, the decision of water disputes was in the hands of *mīrāb*, who was an official of the state and those of the *ʿummāl-i ʿurf* (see below).

The upkeep of rivers. The *mīrāb*. The responsibility for the upkeep of the great rivers was vested in the *imām*. Cleaning or dredging and repair of their banks was carried out by the *imām* and paid for by the public treasury. If there were no funds available for such work, he could compel the Muslims to give

their services for the purpose. The cleaning and repair of canals from the great rivers leading water to individual villages was the responsibility of the owners of the canals. If they refused to carry out the necessary work, they could be compelled to undertake it, since neglect of their duty might result in injury to the community and might diminish the supply of water to those who had a right to it (Abū Yūsuf, 144, 148; see also N. B. E. Bailie, *The land tax of India, according to the Moohummudan law, translated from the Futawa Alumgeeree*, London 1873, 49-50). In the provinces, responsibility for the control of the waters of the great rivers was in practice delegated to the provincial governor. With the fragmentation of the caliphate and the rise of local dynasties, this responsibility passed to those who held power locally. There was, therefore, no uniformity of system and information concerning water control and irrigation is patchy. It was presumably the theory that the *imām* had the right to compel the Muslims to give their services for the repair and cleaning of the great rivers which gave sanction to the practice of levying corvées for irrigation works, either of a seasonal nature, as in Sīstān (though it would appear that in the early centuries an allocation was made on the *kharādj* for irrigation works, see *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Bahār, Tehran A.H.S. 1314/1935-6, 30-1), or of an occasional nature. Thus when ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḳaddam made plans to restore prosperity in Harāt in 653/1237-8 after the depredations of the Mongols, he held a meeting in the Friday mosque and assembled the men of Harāt to work in corvées (*ḥashar*) on the irrigation channels which had silted up (Isfizārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, Tehran A.H.S. 1339/1960-1, ii, 110-11; cf. also Sayf b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Harawī, *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt*, Calcutta 1944, 111). Some centuries later, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī (d. 927/1521), while still taking the view that expenditure on irrigation works came under the heading of *maṣāliḥ al-muslimīn* and was therefore a legitimate charge on *kharādj* revenue, nevertheless sought to legitimise the raising of special taxes (*nawāʾib*) for such expenditure. He writes, "What is taken in Khʷārazm from the generality of men for the repair of dams on the Oxus or for the building of walls round the kingdom or other such matters of public interest is a debt which must be paid and a claim which is rightly due, and refusal to pay is not permissible; such taxes are not unjust" (*Sulūk al-mulūk*, B.L. ms. Or. 253 [microfilm copy], 119).

There are from time to time references to special departments in charge of irrigation, but, on the whole, it would seem that their existence was the exception rather than the rule. In western Persia, there appears to have been a *dīwān-i āb* in the 4th/10th century at the time of the rise of the Būyids. The *Tārīkh-i Ḳumm* states that when the Gīlānīs and Daylamīs conquered Ḳumm they abolished the *dīwān-i āb* (Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1313/1934, 53). The only Būyid who appears to have been concerned to foster agricultural prosperity and hence to have paid attention to the upkeep of irrigation works was ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/982), the builder of the Band-i Amīr. Ibn Miskawayh states that he cleaned canals which were silted up, built mills on them, and mended dams (*Tadjārib al-umam*, ed. L. Caetani, Leiden 1909-17, vi, 509 ff.). About the same time, there was in the eastern provinces an extensive water administration for the Murghāb River, which was under the jurisdiction of the rulers of Ghardjistān. A specially appointed *amīr* was in charge of the upkeep of dykes on the river and the regulation of the water supply. He had 10,000 workmen and horse guards under him. Al-Iṣṭakhrī states that he enjoyed greater respect than the *wālī* (*Masālik al-mamālik*, 261-2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 397-8). Under Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in Sīstān, there appears to have been a *mīrāb*, who was a government official. Cases against him, in the event of his abusing his power, were heard in the *dīwān-i maẓālim* (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 266). Under later dynasties, such as the Saldjūḳs, Khʷārazm-Shāhs, Īlkhāns and Tīmūrids, control was, no doubt, exercised over the great rivers by the government, though the sources contain very little information on this subject (see *Madjmūʿa-yi munshaʾāt-i ʿahd-i Saldjūḳiyān wa Khʷārazmshāhiyān wa awāʾil-i ʿahd-i Mughul*, ms., photo-copy in the National Library, Tehran, 80b-81b for a diploma from Il Arslān for the *mīrāb* of Bukhārā, and see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung des Grossselǧūqen und Ḫōrazm-šāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 137). So far, however, as agriculture was fostered by individual rulers, this implied some degree of water control.

Information on the division of the Harī Rūd in the 10th/16th century is contained in an essay written by Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf al-Harawī, who wrote the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* in 921/1515-16. He mentions in this essay an earlier division of part of the river made by the Shaykh al-Islām Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khʷāfī, who had been entrusted with this matter after complaints of alleged inequalities and illicit diversions of the water were made to Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Kart (d. 771/1369), the local ruler of Harāt (*Risāla-yi ṭarīḳ-i ḳismat-i āb-i ḳulb*, ed. Māyil Harawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1347/1968-9, 12 ff.). This division was apparently revised about one hundred years later in the reign of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, and it seems that it is this revision which was followed by the *mīrāb*s when Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf was writing and which he describes in his essay (*ibid.*, 15). He gives the regulation of the water in each *bulūk* or district, and the water rights of the villages and gardens watered by the canals of the *bulūk* and the dues of the *mīrāb*. He also records the number of men (*nafar*) to be provided by each *bulūk*, presumably for work on the upkeep of the canals.

Thanks to two late Ṣafawid administrative handbooks and a *ṭūmār* on the regulation of the water of the Zāyanda Rūd, attributed to Shaykh Bahāʾī (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī), who died in 1031/1622, we know something of the irrigation system of the Zāyanda Rūd and the work of the *mīrāb* in Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid times. As in the case of other rivers, the division is based on ancient custom. Traditionally, the water of the Zāyanda Rūd is supposed to have been regulated by Ardashīr b. Bābak and there were also, no doubt, various later divisions (cf. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āwī, *Tardjuma-yi Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328/1949-50, 48). Shaykh Bahāʾī's *ṭūmār* mentions an earlier allocation of the water. The *ṭūmār* was in force until 1936, though it is doubtful whether it was in uninterrupted operation from Ṣafawid times onwards. Under the *ṭūmār*, the water was allocated to the *bulūk*s or districts watered by the river according to a fixed rotation, which varied at different periods of the year, having regard to the cropping needs of each *bulūk*. Within the *bulūk*s, the water was led off in canals to the villages

and lands in the *bulūk*, each portion of the village lands having the right to the water for a fixed period of time (Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zāyanda, Rūd*, in *BSOS*, ix [1939], 663-73) within the rotation period. The *mīrāb* in charge of the water was an important official, ranking among the higher officials of the bureaucracy and the court. That he enjoyed such pre-eminence was due in part to the fact that Iṣfahān was the capital of the empire and the land watered by the Zāyanda Rūd, or most of it, came under the *khāṣṣa* administration, which was in charge of the *maḥāll*, those districts round Iṣfahān which were directly administered by the central government and in which were to be found also land and water resources which had been constituted into *awḳāf* or which were the private property (*khāliṣa*) of the shah. The duty of this *mīrāb* was to order the peasants, on the eve of the Naw Rūz, to clean the *mādīs* (as the major canals in Iṣfahān were called), lesser canals (*anhār*) and channels (*djadāwil*) which belonged to them, according to established custom. He was to see that the water of the Zāyanda Rūd reached all the districts round Iṣfahān which had a water right (*ḥaḳḳ āba*) in turn and according to the share customarily allocated to them from ancient times. The appointment and dismissal of those in charge of the *mādīs* (*mādīsālārs*) was his responsibility. He was also charged with the decision of disputes and claims concerning the water of the river, though certain disputes of a general nature affecting all the landowners and peasants were referred, according to the royal order, to the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān*; in such cases, the *kalāntar*, *mustawfī* and *wazīr* of Iṣfahān would go with the *mīrāb* and the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān* to the districts, examine the *mādīs*, canals, channels and runnels and decide the *ḥaḳḳ āba* of each district on the basis of the *dīwān* registers and settle any claims according to common sense, custom and the practice of former years. In accordance with this practice, many orders and decrees (*arḳām wa aḥkām*) had apparently been issued and had become customary practice. Apart from the customary dues (*rusūm*) which the *mihrāb* received in each district on account of the first water given to wheat (*khāk āb*) and the water given to wheat when it was nearly ripe (*dūn āb*), a small amount (*ḳadrī*) was allocated to him by the *khāṣṣa* administration (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) in cash and kind, which he received annually (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿā*, in *Tehran University, Rev. Fac. des lettres et sciences humaines*, xvi/4 [A.H.S. 1348/1969], 432-3; see also *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, facs. text, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, Leiden 1943, 81a-b). The accounts of European travellers who visited the Ṣafawid court also show the *mīrāb* to have been an important official. Tavernier states that his office was one of the best offices of the court and much sought after, and he who obtained it was obliged to give large presents (*Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1970, 67, 236). Chardin writes that his emoluments amount to 4,000 *tūmān*s per annum (*Voyages*, iv, 100). Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Taḥwīldār, writing in 1877, states that the office of *mīrāb* and that of bailiff (*mubāshir*) of the royal *ḳanāts* (*ḳanawāt-i khāliṣa*) existed, but that "at the present time there is no-one (holding these offices). Authority lies with the officials of the *bulūkāt* (i.e. the districts watered by the river) and it is not necessary for there to be someone holding these offices as a special charge" (*Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. Manoochihr Sotoodeh, Tehran, A.H.S. 1342/1963-4, 128).

The *mīrāb* in other large cities was also often a person of considerable local importance and influence. In Shīrāz in the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, there was a hereditary tendency in the office (as there was in many other local offices), the office of *mīrāb* of Shīrāz having been held for many generations in the same family (Fāsāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, lith., 1313/1895-6, 2 vols in one, ii, 74-5).

Apart from the great rivers, water management was carried out by small-scale local efforts. In the case of the lesser rivers, *ḳanāt*s and springs, the administration and control of the water was normally in the hands of the users. They might or might not appoint a *mīrāb*, who might also have assistants whose duty was to supervise the allocation of the water to the users served by the individual canals. In some districts, a *mīrāb* was appointed only when water was abnormally scarce. He and his assistants were paid by dues collected locally or sometimes by a share of the crop (see further Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 222 ff.). In *arbābī* districts (districts in which large landowners predominated) the *mīrāb* was commonly the servant of the *arbāb*.

Modern developments. Land and water were sensitive issues, and under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī fundamental changes were not, on the whole, introduced. The administration of rivers and the collection of water dues, the basis and rate of which varied on the different rivers, was under the Department of Irrigation of the Ministry of Agriculture. The civil code, various parts of which were promulgated between 1925 and 1935, is largely based, so far as land and water are concerned, upon Shīʿī law. A number of other laws concerning the use of water, some based on *sharʿī* practice and custom, others of a more innovative nature, were passed. Provision for the registration of water rights was made in 1929 and, in 1937, the *ḳānūn-i ʿumrān* of 25 Ābān 1316 (the law for agricultural development) was passed. This defined *ʿumrān* as the greatest possible agricultural development by means of, *inter alia*, the making and repair of *ḳanāt*s, the reclaiming of waste lands, the maintenance of irrigation channels and the drainage of marshes. Although on the statute book, this law was never put into operation because of the opposition some of its provisions were likely to create among those who held land (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 192-3). The law of 29 Urdī Bihisht 1322 (1943) authorised the establishment of an irrigation institute under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and contained provisions for a widespread control of irrigation by the state. These were put into operation somewhat erratically. A number of dams and barrages were planned, and some constructed by the government and by private enterprise, notably at Simnān, Rawānsar, Shabānkāra, Āhū Dasht and Ḥamīdiyya. Little real progress was made and no hydrographic survey, which was a prerequisite to the efficient management of water by the state, was undertaken (see Lambton, *op. cit.*, 187, 192-3, 196 ff., 225-6). There was also some forcible diversion of water to Tehran from neighbouring villages by Riḍā Shāh (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagi-yi man*, Tehran A.H.S. 1324-5/1945-6, 3 vols., iii, 328 ff.). After the Second World War, there was heavy investment by the government in irrigation under the various development plans, especially dams, mainly for energy but also for irrigation, among them the Diz dam (the Riḍā Shāh Kabīr dam), the Safīd Rūd dam (the Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh dam) and the Karadj dam (see further H. Bobek, *Unterentwickelten Landes alter Kultur*, Frankfurt am Main-

Berlin-Bonn 1964). The land reform of 1962 laid down special provisions for the transfer of water rights and the upkeep of irrigation works. These provisions were also put into operation somewhat erratically, and there were conflicts of interest between the land reform administration and various ministries, especially the Ministry of Water and Power, which was set up in 1964. A water nationalisation law was passed in September 1968, which attempted to alter the system of water control radically (see further Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-66*, Oxford 1969, 275 ff.; C. Salmanzadeh, *Agricultural change and rural society in southern Iran*, Menas Press Ltd. 1980; D. A. Caponera, *Water laws in Moslem countries*, FAO, Rome 1973, 74 ff.).

Irrigation and society. Although it is difficult to generalise on the subject of irrigation in Persia, some few observations can be made on the influence which irrigation has had on society. It was possible through irrigation to introduce new crops and to intensify and diversify agriculture. This agricultural specialisation became the basis of the flourishing civilisations which developed at different periods in the history of Persia. But this process was not uniform over the whole country. Generally speaking, the exploitation of water resources on the plateau would seem to have been more intensive than in the periphery or in regions with a concentration of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. The early centuries of Islam were marked by the growth of cities and towns, round which there was, in many cases, an expanding area of irrigated land, the agricultural surplus of which provisioned the cities and towns. The list of the crops grown in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries given in the work of the Muslim geographers bears witness to a highly-developed agriculture, which depended on irrigation. In the later centuries also, agriculture flourished from time to time, though seldom over the whole of the country at the same time. Periods of expansion alternated with periods of recession, which were the result of natural calamities or political vicissitudes. With the neglect or destruction of irrigation works, land went out of cultivation and the area under grain crops expanded relative to that under cash crops, as appears to have happened in the early period of Mongol domination. Be that as it may, agriculture up to modern times was the major source of the revenue of the state. It was also the basis of the wealth of the ruling classes and of the livelihood of the majority of the population. The well-being of the state and the people was thus dependent upon a well-maintained irrigation system, and prudence, if nothing else, demanded that attention should be given to the upkeep of irrigation. S̲h̲arʿī law recognises this, and permits the expenditure of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* on the upkeep of irrigation works (even if, in practice, funds were often not available, or not made available, and the work was done by corvées). Treatises on the theory of government recognise, in general, that the economic foundation of the state was a flourishing agriculture and that the upkeep of irrigation works was therefore incumbent upon the ruler. The sources do, in fact, frequently mention, in general terms, the efforts of individual rulers and their ministers to spread and foster agriculture, to make *ḳanāt*s and to repair irrigation channels; and they also mention the decay and destruction of irrigation works in time of war and insecurity.

This dependence of the state and society upon agriculture and of agricultural prosperity upon an irrigation system which was inherently fragile had certain consequences. In the first place, it produced a certain caution towards experiment and change (whether in the political or the economic field) among those whose income and livelihood depended upon agriculture. The maintenance of irrigation works demanded regular care. This could only be given in conditions of political security. Canals, if not cleaned, silted up and dykes, if not repaired, were breached by flood-water. If the destruction brought by flash floods and storms was not immediately made good, irrigation water decreased. Similarly, without some degree of political security there was no investment in *ḳanāt*s, the digging of which was a highly-skilled operation and the upkeep of which demanded constant attention. There was thus a general tendency to seek security in stable and orderly government backed by coercive force. Secondly, the rotation system of the water, fixed in advance and determined by rules observed by the users, imposed the acceptance of a common discipline. Usurpation and the illicit diversion of water brought strife into the life of the local community and disaster to those who were deprived of their due turn and share of the water. This, too, led to an appreciation of order, and since the responsibility for the distribution of water, except in the case of the great rivers (which were controlled by the state), rested upon the local community, who appointed their own water officials, it fostered the cohesion of local groups and communities and encouraged local particularism.

Drinking water. The right to use water for drinking purposes according to the S̲h̲arīʿa has been set out above under the right of thirst. The drinking water of villages and towns comes mainly from springs, *ḳanāt*s and wells. In the villages, springs are the main source, and from them water is fetched by the users in skins and earthenware water-pots. In the towns, as for example Iṣfahān, many houses had their own wells from which drinking water was drawn. Large houses in many towns had a storage tank (*āb-anbār*), built of fired bricks and lined with water-proofed mortar (*sārūd̲j̲*), in the basement and an open tank (*ḥawḍ*) in the courtyard. These were filled whenever the householder's turn to water from the *ḳanāt* or other sources came. Their water was used for household purposes but not primarily for drinking. In districts where water was short or brackish, drinking water might be brought from a distance on the backs of animals (cf. Curzon's description of the water supply of Bushire, *op. cit.*, ii, 234). Covered cisterns (*āb-anbārs*) are common in towns and villages where water is short, especially on the borders of the central desert. They are also to be found along the roads, sometimes associated with caravansarais. Some have their own springs, but more usually *ḳanāt* water or rain water is stored in them. Domed circular structures, some 50-70 ft. in diameter, reaching 15-20 ft. or more below the surface of the ground, they are a characteristic feature of local architecture (see Wulff, *op. cit.*, 258-59).

Many, perhaps most, towns on the plateau, especially as they grew in size, were supplied by *ḳanāt*s. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī records that the water of Ḳazwīn was originally from wells. The first *ḳanāt* was made, he states, by Ḥamza b. Ilyasaʿ, who became governor of the town under Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin. The water of this *ḳanāt* reached most of the quarters of the town. Subsequently, a number of other *ḳanāt*s were made to serve various quarters of the town. Ḥamd Allāh lists eight (all of which

were *waḳf*) and states that according to the conditions laid down by their founders (*wāḳifān*), their water was to be used for drinking purposes and for *ḥammāms* and was not to be let into gardens or cultivated land (*Tārīkh-i guzida*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran, A.H.S. 1339/1960, 781). In some places, notably Yazd, *ḳanāt*s flow through the houses and the householders have the right to use the water for drinking purposes. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions that some of the houses in Arradjān also had a *ḳanāt* running through them (*Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text 81; Gaube, *op. cit.*, 44). This was also the case in Shūshtar (ʿAbd Allāh b. Nūr al-Dīn al-Shūshtarī, ed. Khān Bahādur Mawlābakhsh, *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, Tehran repr. n.d., 10-11).

The provision of drinking water was considered a meritorious action. Many individuals made *ḳanāt*s and constituted them into *awḳāf* for the drinking water of a town or one of its quarters. For example, a *waḳfiyya*, dated 941/1534, constitutes part of the water of the river of Astarābād into a *waḳf*. The founder (*wāḳif*) laid down that the water, when it reached the town, should be let into the houses and cisterns (*ḥawḍhā*) and *ḥammāms* and that as soon as one place had taken water, the remainder should be let into the next place, and that in times when water was scarce, no one should use more than was necessary. The founder also stipulated that rice should not be cultivated with the water of the *waḳf*, which was to flow into the town (*Astarābād-nāma*, ed. Masīḥ Dhabīḥī, publications of *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, no. 12 [1348/1969], 269). Many *āb-anbārs* were also constituted into *waḳf* by those who built them. There are also many drinking fountains (*saḳḳā-khāna*) in the bazaars and streets of the towns similarly constituted into *waḳf* (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Tārīkhča-yi awḳāf-i Iṣfahān*, A.H.S. 1346/1967, 360).

A shortage of drinking water in many villages and towns, especially in southern Persia, was a common occurrence (cf. Gaube, *op. cit.*, 54, 80). Bihbihān, for example, appears to have been short of water in the middle of the 17th century, the people relying on rain-water for two months in winter and spring (*ibid.*, 100). In Dihdasht, snow was brought from nearby mountains to supplement the drinking water supply (*ibid.*, 105). In modern times, with the increase in urbanisation, water shortages have been a serious problem in many towns. In the middle of the 19th century, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, Muḥammad Shāh's first minister, wished to investigate the possibility of sinking wells with a view to assuring the water supply of Tehran, which was then supplied almost entirely by *ḳanāt*s, but nothing came of this (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60:115, Sheil to Aberdeen, no. 106, Tehran, 20 September 1845). In recent years, the water supply of Tehran has been supplemented by water stored in reservoirs behind dams on rivers flowing from the mountains to the north of the city (see further, Planhol, *op. cit.*, 451 ff.).

Drinking water in the towns came under the general supervision of the *muḥtasib*. If water conduits were in a state of disrepair, it was his duty to repair them, or, if there was no money in the public treasury, to order the townspeople to do so. Similarly, if the source of drinking water was fouled, he could order them to rectify the matter (al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 524; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 337). In modern times, the regulation of the water supply of the towns has been under the municipalities, and in recent years there has been canalisation in most of the towns.

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

7. Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain

Since the purely geographical aspect of the topic of water (amount of rainfall, hydrography, etc.) has been or will be treated in the articles on Muslim Spain or al-Andalus [*q.v.*], Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, the present article is limited to a consideration of the supplying of drinking water to the towns and villages, as it appears from the mediaeval texts, in addition to a consideration of the customary rules concerning the ownership, use and repartition of water used for irrigating gardens. The topic of modern irrigation, one especially involving the construction of large dams begun during the colonial period of North Africa, will not be examined, but a few words will be said about prayers for obtaining rain, since the procedures followed in the Maghrib were neglected in the article istisḳāʾ.

The works of the mediaeval historians and geographers give hardly any information on the system adopted in the rural areas, but for al-Andalus, there exists a rich geoponic literature [see filāḥa] which has been recently utilised by Mme. L. Bolens (*Agronomes andalous du Moyen-Âge*, Geneva and Paris 1980, 144-82 in regard to irrigation; see also Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 278-82). Following the latter authority, Mme. Bolens notes that irrigation in Spain bears the stamp of the Islamic period and that, in particular, a large part of the relevant technical vocabulary is Arabic or modelled on Arabic expressions, even if the very characteristic irrigation pattern still remaining in the *huerta* of Velencia does not stem from the Arabs, as J. Ribera showed (*El sistema de riegos en la huerta valenciana no es obra de los árabes*, in *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid 1928, ii, 309-13).

In regard to the towns and the places of some importance, a geographer like al-Muḳaddasī (ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950) rarely neglects to mention the source of the local inhabitants' drinking water (*shurb*): springs, wells or cisterns in which rain water was collected, and, less frequently, rivers, streams or simple perennial watercourses. Women who did not have either a tank or a private well (equipped with a water-raising apparatus in a more or less developed form) had to have recourse to one of these sources for drinking water, filling there their pitcher, unless some charitable soul had constructed, as a work of piety, a public fountain (*sabīl*) in form of a *waḳf*.

In general, gardens within the urban boundaries were irrigated by means of canals (*sāḳiya*, pl. *sawāḳī*) led off the watercourses or, when there were only wells, by means of simple channels leading from basins filled with water by means of norias [see nāʿūra] or more simple water-raising contrivances [see biʾr. iii]. It is surprising that al-Muḳaddasī, usually so meticulous, does not speak about the installations and arrangements at Fās, remarkable as they are. This capital city had indeed not merely a large number of springs (Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], tr. A. Épaulard, i, 204, numbers them at 600, whose water was "distributed for various requirements and led to the houses, places of worship, colleges and hostelries"), but also a river, the Oued (*wādī*) Fās, where "the Fāsīs have taken off water which they need for driving mills, carrying away their rubbish, filling their fountains and basins, and irrigating their gardens. To achieve this end, they undertook considerable construction works, whose ancient date does not allow us to get an exact idea about them" (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 232-9). It is a fact that the town has long had a network of water channels, some above ground and some below, which take the water as far as individual houses, as well as drains crossing the various quarters. Inevitably, disputes often took place between the people of Fās and the country-dwellers on the river banks upstream from the town, since the latter had no right theoretically to take off water. There existed a special legal structure to regulate these conflicts, whilst, for the upkeep of these water channels, special workers (the *ḳwādsiyya*, from *ḳādūs* "pipe", pl. *ḳwādes*) were placed under the authority of an *amīn al-māʾ al-ḥulw* for the drinking water and an *amīn al-māʾ al-muḍāf* for the drains (see I. S. Allouche, *Un plan des canalisations de Fès ...*, in *Hespéris*, xviii [1934], 49-73).

Although the town's population had at its disposal an unusual abundance of water, the water brought into the houses was not generally drinkable. Hence at Fās, as in other Moroccan towns, one used to see going around a picturesque class of water-carriers (*gərrāba*, pl. of *gərrāb*, from *əgrba* < *ḳirba* "water skin"), who attracted attention by their eye-catching appearance, the tinkling of their little bells and the copper vessels in which they handed out drinking water from their dripping water skin to thirsty passers-by without asking the slightest return; in order to make a living, they had a regular clientèle to whose homes they delivered drinking water. The installation of a modern water distribution system had reduced the activities of these *gərrāba*, who have now become largely a tourist attraction.

In Spain, Muslim travellers were able to note the Roman aqueducts which brought water from quite considerable distances, but the Arabs in turn did not fail to construct water channels, in particular to bring water from the sierra to the mosque of Cordova. (On underground channels, known in Spain, and especially at Madrid, as well as in certain regions of North Africa, see ḳanāt. ii.)

However, the most original installations, it seems, are in the region of al-Ḳayrawān, in Byzacena (Tunisia), and are attributable not to the Phoenicians or Romans, as has been thought, but to the Arabs, who developed an earlier-existing system by practising, during the four centuries before the Hilālian invasion (mid-5th/11th century), a real policy for water. We have here in one part water channels open to the sky, and in another, reservoirs meant for "storing up streams of running water and, in some cases, water from certain springs and certain underground water-levels". These reservoirs have as a feature two basins, one for decantation, one as a reserve, and sometimes, a third one for drawing water from it (see A. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan et des steppes tunisiennes du VIIe au XIe siècle* (*J.-C.*), in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 5-273).

Water gathered up in this fashion was used extensively for irrigation, which has always been the great care of peasants in regions where the scarcity of rain and of perennial running streams has compelled them to make do with unwatered cultivated lands [see baʿl] and to lavish all their attention on gardens and orchards outside the towns and villages, where, thanks to a more or less thick network of canals and channels, they ended up by making a real oasis (see e.g. G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 10 ff.; A. Bechraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès* (*Tunisie*), Tunis 1980, 69-86).

In general, water is so important in the eyes of the peasant that ownership of it is sometimes independent of that of the soil. Two main ways of acquisition are in effect possible: (a) personal ownership acquired by purchase or inheritance of the piece of land where there is a spring, well, etc., of which the owner can dispose at his own will, subject to his respecting certain rights of use; and (b) collective ownership, in which one part is appropriated to each patch of land which can be irrigated by water belonging to the community. The sale or lease of the estate implicitly includes the disposal of a corresponding part of the water, but the land's owner can also sell or lease out the land whilst reserving to himself a right of usage which he can then dispose of how he likes, compelling the buyer or lessee to obtain by some other means the water which he needs.

The customary law which governs the utilisation of the water has very precise provisions which often go back to the period before the arrival of Islam; indeed, the provisions regarding, in particular, the rights of usage affecting the land owners and the water supply, are clearly similar to those of classical Islamic law, which in fact only confirmed those of the customary regulations (see e.g. A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*², Paris 1893, ii, 249-53, 278-9).

The division of the individual shares is also subject to strict rules, which nevertheless do not always ensure absolute equality between the participants and which do not sufficiently guard against wastage which might well be avoided. The measuring-out is done in various ways. E.g. a copper vessel with a hole pierced in it may be placed in a tank, etc. filled with water; when the vessel itself is full and sinks to the bottom of the tank, a stipulated fraction of the time-share in the water is finished. When the water comes from a basin with vertical sides, one may use a rule whose length is equal to the basin's depth and which is graduated, i.e. it bears notches whose spacing corresponds to a given volume of water. Other methods are still in use. When the share of water supply, whose duration and periodicity vary according to the differing regions and, of course, according to the amount of water available, comes to an end, the arrival channel is blocked up with a mere clod of earth, or a rudimentary sluice-valve, under the control of a person responsible, who may be a child (see e.g. E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 409-38, for the Berbers, whose customs here hardly differ from those of the Arabs).

Given the fact that periods of persistent drought are far from rare and often take on catastrophic proportions when the wells and springs become totally dried up, the people are driven to perform a certain number of ceremonies of a sympathetic magical character in the hope of getting rain. The most widespread, with variations, comprises the making of a kind of doll out of the wooden scoop normally used for ladling water and the parading of it round the villages suffering from drought, whilst pronouncing incantations and sprinkling the doll with water. In Berber regions, the ceremony ends with a prayer in which the name of Allāh is associated with a personnage who may be an ancient god, one of whose names, *təlghenža* (and vars.) is patently derived from that of the scoop, *agh̲ənža*; the doll is also called *taslit unzar*, "the rain's bride". with *anzar* possibly the name of a male fertility god (see for Morocco, E. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 205-53), where, in addition, are discussed rites meant to drive away rain, hail, etc.). Numerous other studies have been made of these rites in North Africa in general, in which the mannikin or image carried round the villages bears differing names; see A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de sécheresse*, in *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 49-98; E. Doutté, *Marrakech*, Paris 1905, 383-90; idem, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 584-96; E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and beliefs . . . in Morocco*, 105-26; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, 197-225.

Bibliography: summary references have been given in the article; the basic work remains that of J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation . . . dans la péninsule Ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1902. See also BIʾR and ḤIYAL in Suppl. (ED.)

8. Irrigation in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottomans followed the detailed provisions of the Islamic law according to the Ḥanafī school, as exemplified mainly in the *Kitāb iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* and the *ḥaḳḳ al-s̲h̲urb* (see *Mawḳūfātī s̲h̲arḥi*, ii, Istanbul 1318, 271-22, and *Mad̲j̲alla*, 1262-9, 1270-91; and 1224-53 also). The basic notion is that water, like wild vegetation and fire, is *mubāḥ*, that is, open to the use of the public at large. Seas, large-size lakes, great rivers, and subterranean waters are considered to belong absolutely to this category. Everyone is free to make use of these waters so long as no harm is entailed for anyone else. In this case, the individuals had to bear all the necessary labour and expense. But usually the state was responsible for large-scale waterworks on the great rivers. For that purpose it was permitted to make use of public revenues except for *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]. If the state treasury was unable to finance such works, which were considered essential to the public good, the state could appoint a superintendent (*nāẓir*), who was authorised to employ the local population, if necessary by force, to construct them (*Mawḳūfātī*, ii, 220).

Proprietorship was recognised over certain types of waters which were regulated and protected. *Mamlūk* or privately owned waters were distinguished as either *nahr ʿāmm*, in which the waters remaining after use by the owners were free for public use, and *nahr k̲h̲āṣṣ*, where the water was exclusively for the use of the owners. *S̲h̲ufʿa* [*q.v.*], pre-emptive right, is in effect in the second case. The reclamation of waste land was legally recognised for individuals, Muslims or *d̲h̲immīs*, who might dig out water-channels (*k̲h̲arḳ* or *d̲j̲adwal*) or wells, or who might find a spring or drained flooded land. In the Ḥanafī school, such ownership is established only with the permission of the *imām* or sultan, with the condition that the reclamation process be completed within three years. In the Ottoman Empire possession rights were recognised to those who reclaimed waste land without permission. Reclamation projects were given prior approval by the sultan by special diplomas called *temlīk-nāmes* which recognised proprietary rights on waste land as well as on running water and springs within the area delimited by the document. A prescribed amount of land, called *ḥarīm*, and surrounding newly-constructed water conduits, springs, or wells, was recognised as the legal property of the owner of the water.

Water in the *k̲h̲arḳ*s and *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] was subject to private ownership, and no one could make use of it without previous permission of the owner. In the case of those waters under joint ownership of a number of partners, none of the partners could open new water channels, construct mills, or change the

sequence or direction of water-use without the consent of the other partners. When given, such permission could be revoked at any time. Water was divided between the partners according to the size of their respective land holdings. Partners on the upper reaches of the river were not allowed to dam up the water and thereby cause shortage on the lower reaches. If a dam had to be constructed, water rights were distributed starting at the lower reaches and working upstream from there. The owner of a body of running water had certain rights when it flowed through somebody else's land. The owner of the land was forbidden to obstruct the flow of the water and had to permit the owner of the water to carry out necessary repair work on his land. *Ḥaḳḳ-i shurb*, the right to make use of water at a given interval, could be the subject of inheritance or devise, but could not be either sold, bequeathed, rented, or given away as charity. However, in Ottoman practice we find examples of owners of water, of individuals or of a *waḳf* foundation, where the water might be sold for use in irrigation. What the state was concerned about was to prevent speculation in the price of water and to prevent the depriving of those who had *ḥaḳḳ-i shurb* in favour of those paying higher prices (*Erzerum ḳānūn-nāmesi*, dated 1540, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 70).

In addition to the prescription on water use in Islamic law, the Ottomans continued practices and regulations which they found in the conquered lands and enacted new legislation. These concerned the water supply for cities, water distribution, especially in areas with water shortages, and rice growing, which became a major state enterprise involving water use on a large scale. General Ottoman policy regarding water use and water works was determined to a great extent by the Ottoman land tenure system, which left the direct exploitation of agricultural land primarily to the *reʿāyā* farming small units. The state did not participate directly in large-scale water or land reclamation projects or in agricultural production, except for the water supply in the cities and for rice growing. Such projects were usually initiated and carried out in the form of *waḳf* endowments by members of the Ottoman house or of the upper echelons of the ruling class. There was no government agency responsible for water projects or regulations for water use. The construction of aqueducts and maintenance of water ways was under the supervision of the *ser-miʿmārān-i khāṣṣa*, head architect in charge of public works. Under his authority, and directly under a *nāẓir* or superintendent, were the *su yoldjularī*, technicians in charge of the maintenance of water pipe system in Istanbul.

Rice cultivation as a major irrigation activity. Here one can see how the Ottomans realised large-scale irrigation projects. In rice growing, abundant water supply and maintenance of water courses for constant watering of the rice paddies were crucial, so that the real object of possession or assignment was not so much the land but rather the use of the water. In the surveys, the possession or assignment of the *kharḳ* > *arḳ* or *nahr*, the channel for irrigation, was granted by the government to individuals as *mulk* or *tīmār* [*q.v.*]. Often the possession of a *kharḳ* determined who would possess a certain land (cf. *Kanunlar*, ed. Barkan, 12). Since the water was distributed in limited quantities, the government strictly regulated the amount of rice seed to be planted, and it recorded in the survey books the amount for each *kharḳ*. Many channels for the irrigation of rice paddies, *anhār-i čeltük* (*čeltik*), were named either after the person responsible for their opening or after their possessors. Because of the unusually large consumption of rice, the Ottomans encouraged from the beginning the extension of rice growing, either by establishing direct government control over water-courses, or by granting possession or proprietorship of waste (*mawāt*) lands, particularly in the flooded areas. Official sources conclusively show that rice was widely cultivated in the Maritsa, Mesta (Karasu) and Vardar valleys in the 9th/15th century. The growth of government revenues from rice growing in various regions in the Balkans is shown in Table 1 based on the *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] registers from this period (see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 125-53).

The principal rice growing areas in Anatolia and their respective revenues in 1045/1636 are shown in Table 2 (see R. Murphey, *The functioning of the Ottoman army under Murad IV*, unpubl. dissertation, Univ. of Chicago 1979).

An Italian source of 880/1475 (F. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacapo de Promontorio-de Campis . . .*, Munich 1957, 65) estimated at 15,000 gold ducats the revenues from rice production. Idrīs-i Bidlīsī (*Hasht bihisht*, the conquest of Filibe, Murād I's reign) states that the sultan's share of the rice production in the Maritsa valley amounted to *ca.* 80,000 gold ducats in the time of Bāyezīd II. Besides those mentioned above, there were other important rice-growing areas in the Sakarya river valley and its tributaries in the provinces of Khudāwendigār, Sulṭān-önü, Bolu, Ankara and Kütahya. Archival

TABLE I

Estimated revenue for three-year period in Ottoman *aḳčas* (50 *aḳčas* = approx. 1 Venetian ducat)

	866/1461-2	885/1480-1	895/1490	903/1497-8
Maritsa valley and its tributaries (Filibe, Tavuslu, Yanbolu, Aḳča-Ḳizanlïk, Burgaz, Čorlu, Ergene, etc.)	1,679,920	2,650,000	2,750,000	
The Struma (Serres, Drama, etc.) and the Vardar (Veria with the Trikkala plain added by 887/1482) district	8,000,000	9,000,000 (in 887/1477-8)		1,040,000
Menlik and Temir-ḥiṣār in the Vardar valley		220,000 (in 882/1477-8)		
The village of Aḳshani on the Struma river		105,000 (in 889/1484)		

TABLE 2

Estimated annual revenue in *aḳčas* (240 *aḳčas* = approx. 1 ducat)

Upper Cilicia (Sīs, and its environs)	69,650
The Kelkit river valley (Niksar)	180,000
The Sonisa area	140,000
The Ḳîzîlîrmaḳ delta (Boyabat)	1,333,547
The Devres river valley (Tosya)	233,333
The upper Gediz river valley	283,333
The Menderes river valley and its tributaries (Aydîn, Čine, etc.)	198,332
The Baḳîr river valley (Bergama)	133,333
The Gediz river valley (Demirdji, Adala, etc.)	160,000

sources (*khudāwendigār waḳf defteri*, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müd., Ankara no. 585) prove that already under Orkhan (726-63/1326-62) the Ottoman state was concerned in extending rice-growing in the conquered areas, and either a part or all of the inhabitants of many villages were made *čeltükdji*, those of rice growers endowed with a special status. From the earliest surviving survey of Albania dated 835/1431-2 (*Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954, 3a, 8b, 75, 145), we know that some water *arḳ*s designed for rice-growing were by that time assigned as *tīmār* to the *sandjaḳ-beg* and to *su-bashî*s. Rice-growing was introduced or extended in the lands conquered by subsequent Ottoman sultans. In his efforts to expand state revenues, Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] greatly extended rice cultivation in the Balkans and took under the direct control of the central treasury most of the rice-growing lands in Rumeli as well as in Anatolia (see his order about rice-growing areas made *beylik*, i.e. state-owned, in İnalcık, *Fâtih Mehmed'in fermanları*, in *Belleten*, xliv, 697, doc. no. 1 dated Shaʿbān 883/October-November 1478, and also the regulation in *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954, 81-2). Despite his general policy of returning lands seized under his father, Bāyazīd II did not completely relinquish state control over such rice-growing lands.

In extending the area of rice cultivation, which involved primarily the construction of irrigation works, there were two main methods: state enterprise and private initiative. In order to create state rice fields, the government assigned a group of ordinary *reʿāyā* to a permanent status as *khāṣṣa čeltükdji* (*čeltikdji*), labourers of the sultan on the state's rice fields. In the surveys, they are listed also under the names of *kürekdji* or *ortaḳdjî*. Once recorded as *čeltükdji* in the surveys, neither these labourers nor their offspring could change their status (see the *Ič-Il Ḳānūn-nāme*, ed. Barkan, 54; *Ḳānūn-nāme*, Süleymaniye Library Reisülküttab no. 1004, 24). They are also included under similar groups which served in tne mines, in the salt-beds or as guardians of the mountain passes in return for exemption from certain taxes, principally the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyya* or extraordinary impositions. In other words, they constituted a labour force under the direct control of the state. In the province of Anatolia alone, one-seventh of the population was included in this tax-exempt category. The condition of a *čeltükdji* was quite onerous, since apart from the hardships borne by him in irrigating and cultivating the rice, he had to surrender half of his production to the state treasury. The seed was supplied by the state and taken back at the time of harvest. State proprietorship of water channels was considered to be the justification for the exploitation of their labour. This organisation seems to have reached its final form in a later period in the Ottoman empire, since in the early records labourers in rice cultivation were often state-owned slaves, the *khāṣṣa ortaḳdjî*. In the eastern provinces, forced labour was imposed upon the *reʿāyā* household to work in the rice fields and repair canals for a fixed number of days every year (usually three or four days, see the *ḳānūn-nāme*s of Diyārbekir and Malaṭya, ed. Barkan 113, 147). This practice, apparently retained from pre-Ottoman times, caused widespread discontent among the *reʿāyā*, free peasants. Upon the complaint of the Christian *reʿāyā* in the province of Trebizond and in other places against such corvées (*salghun*), the Ottomans introduced the system of registered *čeltükdji* or *kürekdji* as described above. In need of labour forces for extended rice fields in the marginal lands, as in Cicilia or in the lowlands of the Aegean or Pamphylian plains, the state also tried to use the labour of tribal groups by settling them in the vicinity. In any event, some nomadic groups had already been occupied for some time in growing rice in the flooded lands, and sought to retain this profitable source of income for themselves (see the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Sīs, ed. Barkan, 202; *ḳānūn-nāme*, Istanbul University Library no. T.Y. 6941, 78). In Rumeli, some nomadic groups were simply registered as *čeltükdji* (ed. Barkan, 263). Thus the concern of the state in converting flooded lands into rice-growing fields by preparing irrigation canals gave rise to groups whose status was quite different from that of the rural population of the Ottoman Empire in general.

When the conduits or *kharḳ*s of harnessed waters were assigned as *tīmār* to members of the military class, they were entitled to get a tithe of the rice production. But in addition, many of them, imitating the state system, took half of the rice production when they supplied the seed and other expenses for irrigation. Since this widespread practice often caused abuse of the peasant's labour, and shortages in the limited water supply, the state tried to regulate and control this kind of cultivation.

Also, rice cultivation and connected irrigation works were extensively applied in the *mawāt* lands reclaimed by members of the ruling class and *waḳf* founders, both large and small. The state, granting absolute proprietary rights, encouraged such land reclamation projects, which mostly involved the discovery and harnessing of water sources. In such cases, the *kharḳ*s were made the property of the individual. But all such projects had to be submitted and approved by the sultan, not only in order to comply with the *sharʿī* law, but also for such practical considerations as the protection of the *reʿāyā* against exploitation of their labour and of their water sources. The large-scale irrigation projects initiated by the members of the ruling class in the abandoned flooded areas in the Sakarya river valley are particularly interesting in this respect (the main source for this is the above-mentioned *waḳf*-register of Khudāwendigār). In one such project (see the same register published in part by Barkan in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii [1942], 364-5), the promoters proposed and asked the approval of the sultan for constructing a dam on the Sakarya river, and to excavate canals 17,000 *dhirāʿ*s (11.65 km) in length, and estimated that the irrigated land would take 75 *mud* (approx. 38.5 tons) of seed to plant. The labour was expected to be supplied by the free peasants of the area in exchange for a half-share in the harvest, excluding the tithe

due to the *tīmār* holders. Cotton and other crops were also expected to be cultivated on the reclaimed land. Apart from the tithe to be paid to the *tīmār* holders, and the profit accruing to the *reʿāyā*, the promoters promised to undertake the expenses of repairing the caravan highway passing through this flooded area and to construct a caravanserai and five fountains. The sultan gave his approval to this project, subject to the willingness of the *reʿāyā* of the area to work on the reclaimed land.

We find numerous examples of such irrigation and land reclamation projects in the Ottoman empire, always made subject to the approval of the sultan, and made conditional on the consent of the local population and *tīmār* holders to co-operate. Such projects, with large potential yields, were almost always proposed and realised as *waḳf* endowments. This method was the predominant form of land reclamation and irrigation in the Ottoman Empire. Except for rice cultivation, the state seldom took a direct part in organising such irrigation projects. Such irrigation projects were undertaken more extensively in the period of the rise of the *aʿyān* and the local dynasties in the 18th century. Under the impact of European commercial expansion during the period, they made efforts to put into cultivation previously unused swampy lands. It was during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period that, under the influence of current ideas from Europe, the state became systematically interested in land improvement and in the extension of agriculture. A Council for Agricultural and Industrial Affairs, the Zirāʿat wa Ṣanāʾiʿ Med̲j̲lisi, had already been created in 1254/1838. In a questionnaire distributed in 1259/1843, the state attempted to find out the amount of land left out of cultivation due to flooding, and European experts were sent to the Dobrudja, Cyprus, and other parts of the empire, and reports were submitted with suggestions for the improvement of agriculture. The increased European demand for cotton from the Levant during the American Civil War spurred the Ottoman government to introduce broad measures to increase cotton production in the watery plains in Cilicia, the Aegean coasts, and in Macedonia. This development caused shrinkage in rice cultivation in these areas. Apart from the extensive irrigation works in the Konya plain which were open for use in 1331/1913, no substantial drainage or irrigation project was accomplished by the state until the Republican period. As late as 1945, the area of irrigated land in Turkey was limited to 20,000 hectares.

Regulations on water distribution. In Anatolia and Rumeli, where water supply was generally adequate for agriculture for 9-10 months out of the year, fixed regulations for water distribution as in Iran and in the Fertile Crescent were not common. In the dry regions of the central and eastern Anatolian plateau, and during the summer months starting from July, certain regulations were worked out for the distribution of available water sources among individuals. Such arrangements, stemming from pre-Ottoman times, were particularly common in the neighbourhood of large towns where numerous orchards and gardens were to be found. According to the observations of modern geographers, in certain parts of Anatolia where traditional methods survived, the organisation of water distribution was dictated by shortages of water both regionally and seasonally, by the extension of irrigated agriculture, or by aggregation of population (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 146, 323-8). As to sharing of spring water between several villages, there was usually no formal regulation, unless recurrent disputes forced the government to intervene as an arbiter and to work out regulations. Such disputes usually appeared as arguments over the use of pasture lands, and it was the *ḳāḍī*'s court which was responsible for settling them in accordance with the *s̲h̲arʿī* rules, as was the case with all matters involving water distribution. This explains the lack of universally-applied regulations enacted by the government.

As a general policy, the Ottomans avoided imposing regulations on water use, and abolished pre-existing taxes and dues on water (see the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Malaṭya, Barkan, 113). In some districts, the Ottomans retained older regulations for distribution of water, for irrigating gardens and fields, and for water supply to the city. In the province of Ḳaramān, where the Ottomans found the most developed system of water distribution for urban areas, a *mīr-āb* or superintendent of water was chosen to supervise the application of these regulations. To distribute water according to the provisions of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* regarding the *ḥaḳḳ-i s̲h̲urb*, right in the use of water, and *s̲h̲ufʿa*, or pre-emptive right, was the *mīr-āb*'s responsibility. To ensure complete equity, the *mīr-āb* appointed, with the approval of the community, several *mutawallīs* who oversaw the distribution of the shares. He was also assisted by *s̲h̲āgirds* who performed the work during the actual irrigation process. The regulations tried to prevent various abuses, such as taking water out of turn by bribing the *mīr-āb* and others, which reflect the acute competition between the users of water during the summer months. Each user of distributed water paid a fixed fee to the *mīr-āb* (for the rates see the *ḳānūn-nāme* published in *JESHO*, xi/1, 116), who acted as tax-farmer for the government. The revenue deriving from *mīr-ābiyye*, together with certain connected dues for Konya, amounted to 90,000 *aḳčas* in 907/1501 (see Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu no. 40) and to 150,000 *aḳčas* in 1046/1636 (see R. Murphey, *op. cit.*). The function of *mīr-āb*, apparently originally a Persian institution (see Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, Persian tr. ed. I. Afshar, Tehran 1347, 206-7; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, London 1943, 84), was performed in other parts of Anatolia sometimes under the name of *su ag̲h̲asī* (see Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 397, iii, 29). Ewliyā Čelebi made the remark that, if it were not for the *su ag̲h̲asī*, the populace would have murdered one another. (For the organisation of water use within the village, see X. de Planhol, *op. cit.*, 325-6.)

As to the techniques used in harnessing water, the Anatolian peasant usually used the simple method of channelling water from the rivers through *k̲h̲arḳ*s or *arḳ*s, but the methods of drawing up water by means of animal-powered wheels or *dōlāb*s and small dams were used. (For an interesting example of building dams for irrigation in the Ḳaramān province, see *JESHO*, xi/1, 123.)

City water systems. The supply of water to the towns was the second main area of concern for the Ottomans. The Ottoman water system in the towns before 857/1453 has not been studied. However, it is known that after the conquest of Istanbul the Ottomans developed quite a sophisticated water system for the city, and applied this system too in other cities in the empire, notably in Jerusalem and Mecca. In Istanbul, the most complex and best-studied example, we see that the system consisted of collecting in reservoirs or *bends* (Pers. *band*) the waters from the two hilly areas in the outskirts

of the city, namely the Khalḳalī valley and the Belgrad forest, and then bringing this water underground in huge pipes and over aqueducts to high points in the city. Water towers or *su terāzī*s were constructed to keep the water at a high level and water depots, *maṣlaḳ*s and *maḳsam*s, distributed the water in different directions. In order to construct and maintain the system, an extensive organisation grew up under the chief architect or *khāṣṣa miʿmār-bashī* and the superintendent of the water conduit workers or the *su yoldjularī nāẓīrī*. The construction and maintenance of the water works was financed and organised by *awḳāf*, either of individuals or of sultans. The main water conduits and aqueducts came into being to bring water to the complexes surrounding the great mosques which, as we know, served as the nuclei for the development of the city [see ISTANBUL]. The mainstay of this water system was created through efforts under two sultans, Meḥemmed II and Süleymān I. In the winter of 861/1456 Meḥemmed II gave orders "to bring into the city from the countryside an abundance of water through aqueducts" (Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, tr. Riggs, Princeton 1954, 105). The Byzantine water works, pipes and aqueducts which had been left to fall into ruin during the last centuries of the empire, were re-discovered and used by the Conqueror to create the first Ottoman water system (see Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehemmed the Conqueror*, ed. İnalcık and Murphey, Chicago 1978, 55-6). Dalman and Wittek (*Der Valens-Aquadukt*, 11) maintain that these works were concentrated on those areas of the Khalḳalī valley closest to the city. The Ḳīrḳ-Česhme or forty fountains constructed by the Conqueror at the Valens acqueduct or Bozdoghan-Kemeri received its water from this conduit. The rapid increase in the city's population, first under Bāyezīd II and then under Süleymān I [see ISTANBUL], together with the construction of major mosques under these sultans, led to a search for water sources at a greater distance. It was under Süleymān I that the second major water project was carried out, this time collecting mainly the waters of the Kāghīdkhāne valley which also had been used for the water supply of Byzantium up until 1204 (Dalman and Wittek, 1-9). Dalman and Wittek (14-15) show that the main aqueducts or *su-kemeri*s on this line were the work of the architect Sinān, who built them first in 961/1554 and then a second time in 971/1564 after heavy rains had destroyed them. In constructing their water works, the Ottomans made use of the remains of the Byzantine water conduits and aqueducts as well as employing native Greek experts (a certain master called Kiriz Nicola is mentioned by Selānīkī, *Taʾrīkh*, 5) among the *su yoldjularī*. It may be suggested at this point that the Ottomans borrowed from the Roman-Byzantine system some hydrological techniques and, combining them with their own traditions evolved quite a complex organisation to supply water for their huge capital city. Sultan Süleymān's extensive water pipeline brought to the city and to his newly-constructed mosque abundant water, which was distributed to a number of new fountains. A report by Sinān himself of Ṣafar 976/August 1568 (Âtif Efendi Library, ms. 1734, fols. 256b-261b) gives the following details about the situation at that date. The water newly supplied by both the Kāghīdkhāne and Ḳīrḳ-Česhme water pipelines amounted to 81 *lüle* (one *lüle* is traditionally defined as the amount of water passing through a pipe of given dimensions in 24 hours, or approximately 60 m³, see Dalman and Wittek, 20-1). At the time of low water level, out of 95 private and public fountains existing at this date, 64 had been recently constructed. The 95 fountains took up 38 *lüle* of the total water supply (in 1945, İ. Tanışık found in Istanbul alone 219 public fountains of Ottoman times). In addition, Istanbul had 15 *maṣlaḳ* using 5 *lüle* and 1 *ḳamish* (one-fourth of a *lüle*), 18 wells using 5 *lüle* and 1 *masura* (one-eighth of a *lüle*). The remainder of the water went to the Palaces and gardens of the Sultan and grandees in the city, as well as to the public bath houses. The basic system was expanded upon by suceeding sultans, particularly in connection with newly-constructed mosques (see for an example, *Taʾrīkh-i djāmiʿ-i sharīf-i Nūr-i ʿOthmānī*, in *TOEM* Suppl., Istanbul 1335-7/1917-19, 26-31). They constructed new reservoirs and water lines, extending those already in existence in the two main areas of Kāghīdkhāne and Khalḳalī.

Water sources found and brought to the city through government initiative belonged to the *mīrī waḳf* or state-controlled endowments and were placed under the control of the relevant *waḳf*'s administration, which was also responsible for meeting repair expenses. Fearing lest the water supply specified for the use of imperial mosques, palaces and public fountains be cut short, *mīrī waḳf* waters were not allowed to be used for any other purpose. Constant inspection to ensure their proper use was carried out by the *su yoldjularī*, who even had the authority to enter houses for investigation. When a new charitable institution, a mosque, bath or fountain was to be built, its founder was first required to find a water source outside the city. This water was brought to the city by means of a device called *ḳatma*, that is, the adding of newly-discovered water to the main water conduits of the *mīrī waḳf*. This *ḳatma* water could be taken from the main conduits only at certain specified points. Upon application, the sultan gave his formal permission for the use of *ḳatma* and recognised ownership rights over this water in a special *fermān*. The *sharʿī* principles required that such a procedure be followed. Many wells were dug in order to exploit underground water as a further addition to the city's water supply. Such waters became the property of the individuals who discovered them. Despite the close watch kept over the *mīrī waḳf* waters, there were many instances of diverting of water by individuals for private use. The government therefore closed a strip of land adjacent to the water line to new construction and assigned the populace of twelve villages as guardians and repairers of the water lines outside the city. To meet the water needs of the city population, water from the public fountains was distributed in waterbags by *saḳa*s or *saḳḳā*s. The *saḳḳā*s were organised in two corporations, the *arḳa saḳalarī* or human water-carriers, and the *at saḳalarī* or horse water-carriers, who were in competition with one another.

In repairing and enlarging the water system of Mecca dating from ʿAbbāsid times, the Ottomans made use of the organisation which they evolved in Istanbul. They sent a team of experts to carry out the construction, and using black slaves and others organised a maintenance crew along the lines of the *su yoldjularī* organisation of Istanbul.

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9. Irrigation in pre-20th century Muslim India

Lakes, tanks, wells and artificial canals have supplemented rain water in the subcontinent since ancient times. With the establishment of the Dihlī Sultanate in the beginning of the 7th/13th century, traditional irrigation technology began to undergo a change, owing to the arrival of skilled architects from Central Asia; in particular, the construction of wells with Persian wheels and of large canals provides a clue to the introduction of certain mechanical devices and the progress of civil engineering in India during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. This section of the article is divided into three parts: the first on lakes and tanks, the second on wells, and the third on artificial canals.

The Turkish conquerors were the first dividers of the water from the land in the districts of innumerable rivers and boundless swamps in Bengal. They built dykes, roads and tanks and, consequent upon it, the reclamation of vast tracts of land was possible in Deltaic Bengal. According to Djūzdjānī, the dykes made the movement of people and cattle possible during the rainy season, while the water flowing through the channels could be diverted to the paddy fields, in case failure of the monsoon caused scarcity.

The first lake built by Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36 [*q.v.*]) outside the capital city of Dihlī was called the *Ḥawḍ-i Sulṭānī* (also *Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī*). The mediaeval Indo-Persian writers mention it as a reservoir constructed for supplying drinking water to the city of Dihlī, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's reference to the cultivation of the seasonal fruits and vegetables at its sides during the summer shows that the water was used for irrigation also. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also informs us that it was two miles long by half that breadth. ʿIṣāmī alludes to the *Cashmā-yi āftāb* ("sun spring", i.e. the famous Sūradj Kūnd near Dihlī) as its source of water. The details furnished by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh and the compiler of the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* about its repair contain reference to the original channels that were led off from the river Djamunā to the lake. These channels supplemented the rain water which sufficed for the whole year.

Like Iltutmish, his nobles also evinced keen interest in public utility works. Evidence from contemporary epigraphic sources shows that, during his and his successors' reigns, a number of lakes and tanks were constructed in the provinces. In Palwal (in Haryānā State) a tank was excavated in 608/1211. Another inscription found at Bārī Khātū (in the District of Nāgawr in Radjasthān) mentions the construction of a lake by the officer Masʿūd, son of Aḥmad Khaldjī, in 629/1232. It must have provided relief both to the cultivators and travellers in the torrid climate of the desert.

Little information is available about the excavation of lakes and tanks in Dihlī as well as in provinces during the Khaldjī and the Tughluḳid periods. Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī is credited with having taken an interest in developing irrigation in his empire for the progress of agriculture. By the time he occupied the throne of Dihlī (695/1296), the *Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī* had silted up and the city had expanded considerably. Therefore, he had the *Ḥawḍ*

cleared of silt and its embankments repaired. Moreover, he ordered the construction of a new lake, larger in area than the *Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī*, outside the wall of his new capital of Sīrī (near Dihlī), and this came to be known as the *Ḥawḍ-i khāṣṣ*. Baranī's reference to the *bālā-band-i Sīrī*, contained in his account of the construction of the beautiful buildings by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh (752-90/1351-88) thereon, tends to suggest that the dam was built with lofty embankments for the storage of rain water in the nearby area. The construction of these royal lakes considerably raised the water level in the area, and thus reduced the depth of the irrigation wells in the area around.

The Tughlukid period is marked by much improvement in irrigation facilities in the empire. The number of lakes and tanks increased, not only in Dihlī but in the provincial towns also. The contemporary Persian epigraphs mention the construction of lakes in Bihār Sharīf (Bihār State), Gaṙh Mukhtaṣar (Distr. Ghāzīābād, U.P.) and Manglore (Distr. Sahāranpūr, U.P.). An inscription at Nāgawr informs us that the *muḳṭa'* (governor), Malik Fīrūz b. Muḥammad, constructed a large lake in Nāgawr and named it *Fīrūz Sāghar* (Hindi *sagar* "sea").

The lakes constructed in Dihlī are important as reflecting the progress being made in civil engineering on the one hand, and the concern of the succeeding sultans in causing to be constructed more beautiful lakes and tanks than those built earlier on the other hand. For instance, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ constructed aqueducts over the lake in Tughluḳābād, whose traces can still be seen. References are also found to the lakes built during the reigns of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh. The anonymous author of the official history, *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, and hagiographies, mention the famous lakes of Dihlī, such as the *Ḥawḍ-i Tughluḳ-Shāh, Ḥawḍ-i Ḳutlugh Khān, Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda Fatḥ Khān* and *Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda Mubārak Khān*. In the provinces, the lakes constructed in Dawlatābād and Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā are worth mentioning. Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's *Ḥawḍ*, built on a considerable height in the fort of Dawlatābād, can be seen today. In Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā, Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh also had a cistern built in 754/1353 on a raised platform. It was originally constructed for supplying water to the ditch excavated around the fort, but after water from the newly-constructed canals became available, its water was used in the gardens and flower beds inside the fort.

In the 9th/15th century, cisterns appear to have been constructed by the rulers of the regional kingdoms that arose in the wake of Tīmūr's invasion of India (800/1398). The construction of fountains in Djawnpūr, Gudjarāt and other cities in the plains led to the construction of cisterns, as their water, flowing through narrow channels from a height, could make the fountains work. Bābur's description of lakes in the Pandjāb also testifies to the fact that old lakes were kept under repair, while new ones were excavated in the new towns. As the *iḳṭā'*s assigned by the king to nobles in lieu of cash salary and allowances were hereditary, at least in practice during the pre-Mughal times, the assignees constructed tanks in their lands for the extension of cultivation and horticulture. For instance, Yūsuf b. Mullā Djhakan, the *munṣif* or judge of the *parganā* of Čawnd, in 952/1545 constructed a beautifully-patterned tank in his administrative charge during the reign of Shīr Shāh Sūr.

Later on, the Mughal emperors, and the Dakanī sultans of Bīdar, Golkondā, Bidjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, established reservoirs. Allusions to these reservoirs in contemporary inscriptions provide insights into the skill employed in their construction. The Muḥammad-Nād, a reservoir built at Bidjāpūr in 1165/1751-2 by Afḍal Khān, is a great feat of engineering. Similarly, the huge tank-like well with rooms was built with the money of Tādj Sulṭān, the wife of Sulṭān 'Ādil Shāh in Bidjāpūr. The Pānī-Maḥall (water-palace) at Nādrūg and the tank of Mā-Ṣāḥibā at Ḥaydarābād are notable exemples.

In the 12th/18th century, the *amīrs* of Sind and the two rulers Ḥaydar 'Alī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*] of Mysore maintained the traditions of the early rulers. Tīpū Sulṭān took special interest in irrigation questions, building new tanks and repairing old ones. The huge tank built by him in Doradji possesses a huge embankment about 2½ miles long, and at places is 45 feet high. He also rewarded other people who constructed tanks. The *'āmil*s (revenue collectors) were entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining the tanks in the kingdom. All these lakes and tanks from mediaeval times existed till the beginning of the 20th century, but with the modern expansion of the towns and cities many of them have been filled in and the land used for residential purposes. In South India, however, they still survive and are used as picnic spots.

As for the construction of wells, they are mentioned in our sources either as *čāh* or *ba'in* or *bā'olī*. The *ba'in* and *bā'olī* [*q.v.*] are step-wells, meant for the use of men and animals. Evidence available about the *čāh* is interesting in so far as it reflects on the use of the Persian wheel to lift water from the deep wells in areas around Dihlī during the early Sultanate period, indicating, from its comparative costliness, considerable local prosperity. Only fairly opulent farmers could afford the installation of this water-lifting machine.

Sources from the 8th/14th century refer to the *sāḳiya* and the *čarkh* set up on the wells that were owned both by the state and by the cultivators. Al-'Umarī in his *Maṣālik l-abṣār* was informed by an Indian traveller in Arabia, Shaykh Mubārak of Cambay (Gudjarāt), at some time in the beginning of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's reign (725-52/1325-51), that people in and around Dihlī set up Persian wheels on the wells to water their fields and gardens. The writer refers to the Persian wheels as *sawāḳī*, whereas the contemporary Indo-Persian writers use rather the term *čarkh*. An interesting anecdote related in the *Djawāmi' al-kalim* about Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' suggests the presence of the Persian wheel in Dihlī in the preceding century. It tells us that Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn once came across a *čarkh* set up on a well. The cultivator who was driving the bullocks for lifting water, exhorted the animals, saying *āge baṛh, āge baṛh* ("speed up, speed up") in a melodious tone. The sound produced by the motion of the wheels and the voice of the peasant had such an effect on the Shaykh that he immediately passed into a state of ecstasy.

The anonymous author of the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* states that *čarkh*s were set on wells around the newly-constructed *Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda-yi Mubārak-Shāh* outside the capital Fīrūzābād. The *Ḥawḍ* was filled with the water lifted from the wells in the summer when the rain water was exhausted. He further informs us that the income from the lake was endowed by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh for the benefit of the poor. The work also contains references to the buckets (*dalw*s) made of metal (iron) instead of *kūza*

(pitchers or pottery vessels), hanging down the wheel by means of chain of ropes. The Persian term *dūlāb* also occurs in the same passage, signifying the surface wheel which was used to lift water from the *ḥawḍ*. The *dūlāb* was used to lift water from the open surface of tanks or rivers, the pitchers or buckets being fixed on the rim of the wheel, which was revolved by the hand.

Later sources reveal that the use of the Persian wheel was quite widespread in North India. Kabīr, who flourished during the 9th/15th and the first decades of the 10th/16th century, refers to it in his verses when he likens the rosary used by the externalists to the garland of vessels attached to a *rahaṭ* (Hindi equivalent of the Persian wheel). As Kabīr lived most of his life in Benares, we may assume that he found the Persian wheel being used in the region of modern eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Like Indo-Persian writers, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Zayn, the *ṣadr* or minister of Bābur, mentions, the *čark̲h̲*. In 925/1519 when Bābur crossed the D̲j̲helum river and occupied Bherā (Sargodhā District in Pakistan), he found Persian wheels as a common means of irrigation there. The orchards and the sugar-cane and paddy-fields were irrigated with the water of wells lifted thus. Later on, when he occupied the territories of Lāhawr, Dipālpūr and Sirhind (932/1525-6), he found everywhere the peasants irrigating their fields by means of the Persian wheel, and he describes its structure thus: "They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel axle, a second wheel is fixed, and close to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, so that the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set up where the water empties from the pitchers, and from this the water is conveyed everywhere". S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Zayn says however that in India, other methods of irrigation are used, including the leather bucket (*čaras*) lifted out of water by yoked oxen, whilst *dhekli*, based on the lever system, which is still in use, was most common.

Gradually, use of the Persian wheel seems to have spread everywhere during the Mug̲h̲al period, but they were especially numerous in the Pand̲j̲āb, the most prosperous region. Even an average cultivator there could afford to set up a Persian wheel on his well, which had been built of bricks and plastered with lime, despite the expenditure. Mug̲h̲al historians like Abu 'l-Faḍl, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Lāhōrī, Yūsuf Mīrak and Sud̲j̲an Rāʾī Bhandārī, mention it as one of the commonest means of irrigation in North India, but since the turn of the 19th century, it have been generally replaced by tube-wells.

As for the harnessing of rivers for irrigation purposes, the construction of large artificial canals began in the reign of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī (695-715/1296-1315) towards the close of the 8th/13th century. Amīr K̲h̲usraw refers to a deep and wide canal built by G̲h̲āzī Malik in the territory of Multān when he describes the revolt of the army and people of Multān against the governor Mug̲h̲altay. Besides this, G̲h̲āzī Malik seems to have constructed canals in Multān and Dipālpūr units. Baranī adds that in every territory where G̲h̲āzī Malik served as governor, he constructed canals for the progress of agriculture there. The *Ins̲h̲āʾ-i Māhrū* contains a *nis̲h̲ān* (official document) issued by the governor of Multān, Māhrū, in the reign of Fīrūz-S̲h̲āh, to an official, Kamāl Tād̲j̲, asking the latter to carry on the repair work of the old canals. Three canals, *D̲j̲ū-yi Nāṣirwāh*, *D̲j̲ū-yi Kuṭbwāh* and *D̲j̲ū-yi K̲h̲iḍrwāh*, are mentioned, and must have been constructed by G̲h̲āzī Malik before his accession to the throne in 720/1320.

The credit for constructing a number of canals in the region between the river Sutled̲j̲ and Dihlī goes to Fīrūz-S̲h̲āh. First, the vast arid tract of Haryānā, where only one crop was raised during the rainy season in a year, attracted the royal attention. In 755/1354, he laid down the foundations of the city of Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā (modern Ḥiṣār) and then constructed a double system of canals, the headwaters of which were drawn both from the Sutled̲j̲ and the D̲j̲amunā rivers. The Sutled̲j̲ canal, named Ūlūg̲h̲-K̲h̲ānī, flowing through Rupar and Sirhind town, met the D̲j̲amunā canal called Rād̲j̲īwāh near the new city of Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā. Both of them passed via Karnal. At Ḥiṣār Fīrūzā, they discharged their water through a single channel into the ditch around the city. Yaḥyā Sirhindī supplements S̲h̲ams-i Sirād̲j̲ ʿAfīf when he informs us that the construction of canals started in 756/1355. Besides the D̲j̲amunā and Sutled̲j̲ canals, he mentions another canal cut from the Sutled̲j̲, the waters of which were conducted up to D̲j̲had̲j̲har (a town in Rohtak Distr.), irrigating a vast arid tract of 96 sq. miles. In 757/1356, another canal was excavated from the Ghaggar river. This flowed past the fort of Sirsuli (town) and reached Harni K̲h̲erā. The most important canal was the D̲j̲amunā canal (later called western D̲j̲amunā canal) that was also cut from the D̲j̲amunā and conducted to the capital city of Fīrūzābād. Besides, the Salīmā canal (later *K̲h̲ānpūr ka nālā*) was dug in the Siwālik hills and the waters of Sirsūlī and Salīmā were diverted into it. It flowed past S̲h̲āhābād town (to the south of Ambālā). Like their master, some of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's nobles also appear to have excavated irrigation channels in their *iḳṭāʿ*s, e.g. the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī* informs us that K̲h̲ān-i D̲j̲ahān Maḳbūl planted gardens and constructed canals, serais and bazars in his *iḳṭāʿ*.

All these canals were kept under repair by the later Sultans of Dihlī. Though Bābur complains that there were no artificial canals in India, although they could easily be constructed at a number of places even in the plains, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Zayn refers to the canal of Fīrūz-S̲h̲āh flowing via D̲j̲had̲j̲har, as well as the canal in the *iḳṭāʿ* held by Dilāwar K̲h̲ān Lōdī's maternal uncle in the foothills of the Pand̲j̲āb (D̲j̲ayswal *parganā*). Bābur's description of the territorial unit of Čandarī also contradicts him, for he found there much running water through channels. We find allusions in the *Afsānā-yi S̲h̲āhān* to the dams and canals in Orissa, and these appear to have existed there before the Afg̲h̲ān conquest of the region in 980/1572.

Likewise, the Mug̲h̲al historians furnish information about the repair of the old and the construction of new canals. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, first S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad K̲h̲ān repaired the Fīrūz-S̲h̲āh's D̲j̲amunā canal, as it had silted during the early years of Akbar's reign. Later, another officer of Akbar, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Tark̲h̲ān, had the same canal repaired a second time. The reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān witnessed the digging of new canals in different territories. S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān also increased the length of Fīrūz-S̲h̲āh's D̲j̲amunā canal by reopening it in the hills at K̲h̲iḍrābād, and brought its water up to S̲h̲āh-D̲j̲ahānābād (Dihlī). This came to be known both as *Nahr-i bihis̲h̲t* and the *Nahr-i fayḍ*.

Shāh Djahān's noble, Aṣālat Khān, built a dam on the Karnāl stream and made its water flow into a channel so that the land around might be irrigated.

During the same reign, a number of small canals were built in the upper Bārī Dōʾāb (Pandjāb), the best-known of which was the *Shāh-nāhr*. It was brought from the Ravi in the hills near Radjpur. It flowed as far as Lāhawr, covering 84 miles. Two other canals were led off from the same point, one to Paṭhānkot and the other to Batālā. ʿAlī Mardān Khān is also credited with the construction of a canal from the Tavī river for watering his gardens at Sodhrā near Wazīrābād in the upper Račna Dōʾāb which was 30 miles long. The canals were constructed in the regions of Multān and Sind also during the same reign.

In South India as well, the canals seem to have been a common means of irrigation since ancient times. Evidence available suggests that brick embankments were built to protect them from inundation. But the general practice in the South was that of water-storage. For instance, there were thousands of canals in Baglana cut from the river, and they supplied water to every village and town during the 11th/17th century. Tīpū Sulṭān, however, built a large canal in the tradition of the Muslim rulers of North India. In 1797 he constructed a dam across the Kavari, a few miles west of Sringapatam, with an embankment 70 feet high.

This irrigation system survived till the close of the 19th century, when the modern canal system began. The Persian wheel also became obsolete, owing to the introduction of tube-well technology, so that in the Pandjāb and western Uttar Pradesh they have almost disappeared.

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(I. H. Siddiqui)

10. Irrigation in Transoxiana. [see Supplement].

11. Economic aspects of modern irrigation

The use of water for irrigation in agricultural production is widely practised in the cultivated areas of the Muslim world where constraints of low and episodic natural precipitation limit yields on existing new crops or inhibit the introduction of a wider range of crops. Such areas include the desert lands of north Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent, the semi-arid zones generally lying adjacent to the deserts, the Mediterranean zone and, in South Asia and Asia proper, the dry tropical climatic regions. The greater part of the Muslim world is encompassed by this definition. It should be added that there is scientific evidence that a process of desertification is affecting the semi-desert margins over wide areas. In consequence, it is possible that the surface area where irrigation is essential to agriculture is gradually extending, not least in the Sahel of Africa. In all except the dry tropical zones, the use of irrigation permits stabilisation of output of staple winter grain crops by off-setting fluctuations in annual rainfall and allows cultivations of summer vegetable and other cash cropping which would otherwise be difficult or impossible. In the dry tropics, where hot and wet summers alternate with hot but dry winters, irrigation mainly functions as an aid to cultivation in the winter months.

Irrigation has taken on a special significance in recent decades as population growth has tended to accelerate and as the need has increased for states to provide reliable and augmenting food supplies from domestic sources. While some success has been achieved in encouraging greater use of dryland areas under mechanised systems and with new improved seed varieties, most governments have attempted to reduce the growing and adverse imbalance between domestic supply and consumption of foodstuffs through expansion of the area under irrigated cultivation and better use of existing water supplies in traditional areas. Governments have played the major role in a drive common throughout the Muslim territories to increase the volume of irrigation water at the disposal of their agricultural sectors. Irrigation budgets have often dominated financial allocations to agricultural development, especially in countries such as ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Egypt. In the latter country, the continued engineering of the River Nile, culminating with the completion of the Aswan High Dam in 1970, was the main economic preoccupation of the state for much of the modern period. For ʿIrāḳ, too, hydraulic works on the Tigris and Euphrates for flood control, water storage and generation of hydro-electric power made a large and important claim on national resources, beginning with the first financial allocations of the Iraq Development Board in the 1951-2 fiscal year. The second Iranian development plan (1334/1955-6 to 1341/1962)

was above all concerned with the construction of storage dams on the main river systems of the country, including the Diz, Safīd Rūd and Karadj structures.

Rapid and expensive adoption of irrigation projects has not always been accomplished with regional co-operation or with a critical appreciation of the appropriateness of irrigation technology borrowed from the industrialised states of the world. Exploitation of the irrigation potential of the Euphrates in the period since the Second World War has brought conflicts between riparian states on the division of waters, as storage facilities in Turkey, Syria and ʿIrāḳ have been constructed without co-ordination. In 1974 and 1975 the flow of the Euphrates at Hīt in ʿIrāḳ fell to unprecedented levels (9.02 milliard cubic metres in 1974 and 9.42 milliard cubic metres in 1975) as a result of new water storage reservoirs built in the states upstream. In contrast, close liaison was maintained between Egypt and Sudan during the course of the creation of Lake Nasser behind the Aswan High Dam, both to ensure agreement on the division of waters and to provide for the settlement of communities displaced from the lands submerged beneath water level.

A slow response by traditional agricultural areas to the demands of a larger and often higher consuming population led to increasing state intervention in irrigation affairs with perceptible effect from 1952, though particularly from 1958 in Arab countries and from 1962 in Iran. With few exceptions, governments favoured centrally financed and controlled irrigation projects, which demanded imported technology and sophisticated management of land, water and farmers by the national bureaucracy. Irrigation developments in the Muslim world have witnessed damaging failures in selecting techniques of an appropriate type by scale and technology. In Iran, the Diz irrigation scheme foundered in part, since large farming units created to work the area proved unmanageable. The Libyan government-controlled Kufra irrigation scheme in the south of the country, a show-piece designed to demonstrate Libya's ability to utilise oil revenues to set up permanent non-oil assets, is one of the many high-technology irrigation projects established in the oil-exporting states of the Middle East and north Africa which have out-stripped indigenous economic and technical resources and have added little to the sum of domestic food production.

Sources of irrigation water have changed only insignificantly in recent years. Surface and ground water are the mainstays for irrigation water provision, though a number of richer states, notably Saʿūdī Arabia and Kuwayt, have made use of desalinised sea water on a very small scale at extremely high cost. Pumping of irrigation water from deep aquifers, of which the Kufra scheme is an example, has increased in importance, though in many cases water extraction is faster than replenishment rates or comes from fossil water reservoirs, with clear implications for the longevity of these sources. Considerable scope remains in the area for more efficient use of existing water resources, rather than the expensive creation of new ones.

The total area of irrigated land in the Muslim world has grown very slowly, despite large allocations of resources for the construction of reservoirs and irrigation schemes. In the Middle Eastern heartland of the Muslim world, the proportion of agricultural land under irrigation has remained more or less unchanged at a quarter of the total. Individual states have improved their positions somewhat, above all Egypt, where the Aswan dam has increased both the total area under irrigation and the area under perennial cropping. Estimates of relative reliance on irrigation for the main Muslim states are shown in Table 1, including both traditional and modern systems.

The strength of traditional systems has been much eroded in recent years. Underground water channels, *ḳanāt, falladj* or *kārīz*, have been generally neglected and many have fallen into disuse. The diesel pump has widely replaced other manual and animal-powered water lifting systems. Meanwhile, the addition of new irrigated areas served by modern systems of water storage has been offset by losses of irrigated land rendered infertile through growing alkalinity and salinity as a result of bad water management, inadequate provision of drainage facilities and inappropriate cropping patterns. Most countries of the arid and semi-arid zone are affected by this problem, though none worse than ʿIrāḳ, where it is estimated that more land is lost annually through the effects of soil salinity than is reclaimed by developments projects.

Despite the expenditure of considerable funds on, and the economic dedication of governments to the expansion of the irrigated area in the recent past, results expressed in real gains in land under cultivation and crop production have been disappointing in most areas of the Muslim world.

Table 1

Percentage of cultivated land under irrigation in the Middle East

Baḥrayn	8
Cyprus	16
Egypt	100
Iran	20
ʿIrāḳ	50
Jordan	7
Ḳaṭar (Qatar)	100
Kuwayt	100
Lebanon	20
Libya	8
Saudi Arabia	80
Syria	10
Turkey	7
United Arab Emirates	100
Yemen (North)	10
Yemen (South)	80

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(K. S. McLachlan)

12. Ornamental uses of water in Muslim India

In a land so dependent generally on the summer monsoon, where there are few permanent sources of water away from the great rivers and their surrounding terrain where the water-table is high, human settlement depends on artificial means of conserving water from one rainy season to the next. These means, which apply to the domestic water supply as well as to agriculture, have been described in filāḥa, v; for canals see also Nahr. Many of these utilitarian works, however, are frequently ornamented and decorated beyond the call of functionalism, and are consequently described here.

Many water monuments were constructed before the coming of the Muslims, who continued not only their function and form (except for the elimination of figural ornament and the introduction of the arch) but also their maintenance through civil or *waḳf* funds. The simplest examples are large open reservoirs in and around towns (commonly called "tanks" in India; see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., for etymologies; also *tāl*, *tālāʾō*, and in the case of Muslim constructions also *ḥawḍ*), of all shapes but commonly rectangular, sometimes with masonry surrounds and steps leading well below the average water-level; as the water was used or dried up more steps would be exposed, the shelves being convenient for personal ablutions or for washing clothes; pavilions (*kūshk*, *čhatrī*) may be added mainly for ornament [see further on these, above, 9]. Similar masonry surrounds (*ghāṭ*) may be provided on river banks or on artificial lakes caused by damming a valley (e.g. the Anāsāgar at Adjmēr, the Pičholā at Udaypur [*q.v.*]). Since open expanses of water cause a perceptible change in the microclimate, buildings might be sited to take advantage of the cooling effects of evaporation (e.g. Fīrūz Shāh's *madrasa* and other structures on two sides of the Ḥawẓ Khāṣṣ at Dihlī [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd Shāh's palace, the tombs and the mosque at Sarkēdj [see gudjarāt and hind, vii. Indo-Muslim architecture]; and many pleasances may be sited in the middle of an artificial tank (e.g. Djahāngīr's Hiran Mīnār complex at Shaykhupūra, the tombs of Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh at Sasarām [*q.v.*], Mughal kiosks at Nārnawl [*q.v.*], the Ẓafar Maḥall in the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden in the Dihlī fort [see plan, Vol. ii, 266 above]; the tombs would have been used as pleasant retreats during the owners' lifetime.

Tanks and artificial lakes fed from constant sources naturally need provision to be made for the escape of surplus water; overflow tunnels and sluices may occasionally be sumptuously decorated, as at Sarkhēdj in Gudjarāt, but the simpler structures in the local quartzite at Dihlī have a monumental beauty of their own, e.g. that on a water-channel off the Nadjafgaṛh canal at Wazīrābād, with an included silt (and fish?) trap; those on the *band* connecting Tughluḳābād with ʿĀdilābād (see plan, Vol. ii, 257 above), whereby the low-lying fields to the south of Tughluḳābād could be flooded to a depth of some 2 m. to create an artificial lake for the defence of the citadel and leaving Ghiyāth al-Dīn's tomb as an isolated outpost; and, more complex, a two-storeyed sluiced dam, called Sāt pula, built into the south wall of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's Djahānpanāh to regulate the storage of water within the city; analyses, photographs and measured drawing of all these in Yamamoto *et alii*, *Delhi*, iii.

The simple well does not much lend itself to ornamentation, but may form part of a complex, such as Djahāngīr caused to be constructed at day's-march intervals along the road to Kashmīr, of *sarāʾī* + mosque + well, water from the latter being taken up by *čaras* [see filāḥa, v] to irrigate a small flower-garden. The step-well (*bāʾōlī* [*q.v.*]), however, is most frequently decorative as well as functional, providing chambers at various levels close to the water's edge to provide cool retreats in summer; e.g. in Dihlī the Gandhak kī bāʾōlī, *ca.* 630/1233; the circular *bāʾōlī* in Fīrūz Shāh's *kōṭlā*, *ca.* 753/1352; and the superb Rājōn kī bāʾīn, inscr. 912/1506; all analysed in Yamamoto *et alii*, *Delhi*, iii, with photographs and measured drawings. Analogous structures in Gudjarāt, called *vāv*, have the entire well covered at surface level; comprehensive study, including other water monuments, in Yasmin Amirali Shariff, *Water monuments of Gujarat* . . ., University of London M. A. Archaeology thesis 1981 (unpublished).

Water was a necessary adjunct to palaces and gardens, and might be provided, when either of these two was beside or close to a river or lake, by a Persian wheel (*rahaṭ*); a further Persian wheel, or series of wheels, housed in a tower, might be used to raise the water to a greater height when it was necessary to provide a sufficient head of water to operate fountains. The water was led through palace courtyards and gardens by stone channels, often with intermediate cisterns which could be highly ornamental, as that in the Laʿl bāgh at Bīdar (plan in Yazdani, *Bidar*, 53); in Bīdjāpur, where all the centre of the city was supplied by underground channels from the Čānd and Tādj *bāʾorīs*, a special water-pavilion, *djal-mandir*, in the elaborate later ʿĀdil Shāhī style, discharged water from jets into a large stone surrounding tank to make a visual focal point in the city scheme. Under the Mughals, however, the garden was developed more than ever before as a new art form [see bustān, ii]. The ideal garden shape was a fourfold plan, *čahār-bāgh* (the name *čār-bāgh* persists in many Indian towns as the name of a locality even where no traces of gardens remain), as in e.g. the garden surrounding Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī (see plan, Vol. ii, 265, above), where the divisions are marked by water-channels with cisterns at or seats over the intersections; the pattern was followed and augmented in later tomb complexes: notably Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla and the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*] at Āgrā, the tomb of Awrangzīb's queen ("Bībī kā maḳbara") at Awrangābād, and that of Ṣafdar Djang at Dihlī, where the principal channels are often expanded into stone—often marble—basins 3 or 4 m. wide with a central rank of fountains, terminating on the cross axes in *bāradārīs*. Similar gardens exist apart from tombs and palaces, e.g. Rām bāgh, Zahrā bāgh, Wazīr Khān kā bāgh, Mihtar Khān kā bāgh, Ačānak bāgh, all at Āgra (*ASI*, iv [1871-2], 104 ff.); in his suggestive (but sometimes naïve) *Early garden-palaces of the great Mughals*, in *Oriental Art*, NS, iv/2 (1958), 3-10, R. A. Jairazbhoy proposes the latter as the site of Bābur's original *čahār-bāgh* in India.

Mughal gardens reached their peak of perfection in Kashmīr, where at Shrīnagar, Akbār's Nasīm Bāgh, Āṣaf Khān's Nishāṭ Bāgh and Djahāngīr's Shālīmār took advantage of the copious natural water supply; ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal from the

Rāwī made possible Shāhdjahān's Shālimār at Lāhawr. These make use of *ābshār*, water-chute, an oblique bed of flat or scalloped marble, and *djharnā*, cascade, with water flowing in a sheet over a straight edge to fall over a vertical bank of small niches, each intended to hold a small lamp with a shade of coloured glass. Other Mughal gardens are mentioned above s.v. BŪSTĀN. A curious late Mughal water monument is the Pān čakkī, water-mill, in the shrine of Bābā Shāh Muẓaffar Čishtī, a spiritual preceptor of Awrangzīb, outside the city walls of Awrangābād: water brought from a distance falls through some 7 m. to operate a small mill, and the water then flows through two large tanks. Mughal water monuments and gardens were much imitated by Hindū rulers in Rādjāsthān. The Sahēliyon kā bāgh in Udaypur offers a number of fountains of different designs fed by water under high pressure from one of the city lakes, in a more extravagant taste than any Mughal conception. The small palace at Dīg, near Mathurā, is more refined in its elegant tanks and channels, and water is led in copper pipes over the openings of the buildings in order to flow over screens of *khas* grass, to cool and perfume the air passing through.

The devices of water decoration embodied in the gardens are found also in Mughal forts and palaces [see especially MUGHAL, v, a]. These sometimes involved bringing water from considerable distances (e.g. ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal which supplied the Red Fort at Shāhdjahānābād, Dihlī, tapped the Djamunā over 100 km. away; see W. E. Baker, *Memoranda on the western Jumna canal* . . ., London 1849. Some of the aqueducts involved are themselves works of art). In the Red fort of Shāhdjahānābād, the water is further raised in the Shāh burdj, from an open pavilion in front of which, with *ābshār* and *djarnā*, water flows through a marble channel, the Nahr-i bihisht, which not only supplies the Ḥayāt Bakhsh and other gardens but also flows through all the palaces on the east wall [buildings marked c, e, f, g, h in the plan in Vol. II, 266 above] at a depth of some 15 cm., whose supreme achievement is a shallow basin 3 m. square in the Rang maḥall, carved into the shape of an open lotus flower; this was of one piece of the finest Makrāna marble and inlaid with semi-precious stones. When the water flows over it the petals of the flower appear to move and ripple (the channels are now normally dry, but the author of this article had the privilege of seeing them in operation at the end of 1942). The Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden has additionally two marble pavilions with *djarnās*, called Sāwan and Bhādon after the first two months of the rainy season in the Hindū calendar, with a fine central tank with scalloped red sandstone borders which again are intended to be barely covered with water to produce a ripple effect. Comparable works in the Āgra fort, of the time of Shāhdjahān's additions, include a very deep *ābshār* outside the Maḥall-i khāṣṣ and an elegant fountain in the Muthamman Burdj.

Bridges may be included in ornamental works. One near the tomb of Sikandar Lōdī in Dihlī, but of Mughal date, is rather a pleasant spot for strollers to catch the water-cooled breeze than a work of strict necessity for transport, although the Mughals brought an elegance to bridges of greater functional necessity. Outstanding is the bridge at Djawnpur [*q.v.*], whose two parts are provided with kiosks with carved marble screens to take advantage of the breezes along the river.

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MĀʾ AL-ʿAYNAYN AL-ḲALḲAMĪ is the name consistently given in Mauritania and Morocco to the greatest scholar and religious and political leader of the Western Sahara during the latter half of the 19th century. Uncertainty remains as to the significance of his sobriquet Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, "water of both eyes", but it is not unlike *ḳurrat al-ʿayn*, "coolness of the eye". Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was born on the day of the death of his brother, Abu 'l-Fatḥ, and of his paternal grandmother Khadīdja. His father Muḥammad Fāḍil regarded his birth as a blessed consolation at a time of family distress. His mother, Manna bint al-Maʿlūm al-Idjaydjbiyya, cherished his name because the infant was her only son at that time; if she were to lose him it would be as grievous to her as the loss of her sight.

1. Life. Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā was the twelfth son of Muḥammad Fāḍil b. Māmīn al-Ḳalḳamī, the founder of the Fāḍiliyya *ṭariḳa*. This was an offshoot of the Kunta Bakkāʾiyya branch of the Ḳādiriyya order [see KUNTA]. Muḥammad Fāḍil came from the family of the Ahl al-Ṭālib al-Mukhtār who were centred at Dār al-Salām north of Goumbou on the border between Mali and the Mauritanian Ḥawḍ. He was born about 1780, and his Fāḍiliyya order was pan-Ṣūfī in its aspirations. His ideal envisaged the unification of all other Ṣūfī orders by a recognition of equal worth and by acceptance of his independent counsel. His *wird* and *dhikr* encouraged a high-pitched, shrieked and ecstatic repetition of the *shahāda*, and his religious acts were accompanied by charms, spells, magic numbers and thaumaturgy. The family claimed Sharīfian descent from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib through Yaḥyā b. Idrīs al-Ṣaghīr. It also claimed lineal relationship to the Lamtūna [*q.v.*] who were the aristocracy of the Almoravid Ṣanhādja.

Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was born on 27th Shaʿbān 1246/10th February 1831. He was taught by his father, and as a gifted pupil, he later became a devoted adherent of the doctrines of the Fāḍiliyya. He was to found his own order, the ʿAyniyya, but it differed little from the Fāḍiliyya on basic principles. His outlook was conservative and eclectic. His book, *Ifādat al-rāwī fī annī mukhāwī*, argues the case for a pan-Islamic rapprochement, theological and political, and within and beyond the Ṣūfī orders. He followed this path from his earliest years, and it became a political obsession towards the end of his life.

When still young he left home. When he was

16 years old he visited Marrākush in order to study, and for some time he lived with the Aghlāl on the border of the Ḥawḍ. In 1858 he performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca. On his way he paid his respects and requested support from the Moroccan sultan, Mawlay ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and from the heir to the throne, Sīdī Muḥammad. He returned to Morocco in 1859, and on his route to the Ḥawḍ he stayed at the caravan town of Tindūf. It was then a centre for slave traffic, and was dominated by the Īdaw Bilāl and the Tādjakānt. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn acquired a reputation for miracles, and he enjoyed the favour of a noted scholar, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Mukhtār b. Aʿmash al-Djakānī. He had access to his library and taught and wrote, but he declined an offer to remain as a teacher in Tindūf. In 1861 he returned to the Ḥawḍ. In 1865 or 1867 he left the Ḥawḍ definitively on a journey to the Adrār town of Shinkīṭ and to Tīris.

In 1869 his father, Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil, died in the Ḥawḍ. His legacy was divided between his four principal sons. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was held in the highest esteem and wielded most political power. After 1873 he chose the barren regions of the Rio de Oro and the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ as a permanent headquarters for his growing company of novices (*talāmīdh*) whose life style owed much to the example of the Kunta *shaykhs* [*q.v.*], and their successors. These northern districts of the Western Sahara facilitated closer contact with the Morrocan sultans, who were regularly visited by Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and who supplied them with slaves. Meanwhile, he combatted European encroachment on the Atlantic coast of the Sahara. He married into the principal tribal groups of the region and enjoyed wide support from the Awlād Dulay, the ʿArūsiyyīn, Tādjakānt, Awlād Bū Sbāʿ and Ahl Bārikalla. He dominated the Western Sahara caravan routes, and his power grew so great that, according to his son, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbīh Rabbuh, Mawlay al-Ḥasan (1873-94) entrusted Māʾ al-ʿAynayn with the guarding of the frontier between al-Dākhila (Villa Cisneros) and al-Ṭarfāya (Cape Juby), sc. almost the entire coast of the former Spanish Sahara. During this period, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn had neither village nor town. He lived in his tents in the Tīris, al-Karihi, Aswam, al-Djakūba and Tawrik, but, as the pull towards the north increased, he commenced the construction of a *zāwiya* at Dār Ḥamrāʾ in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ, a fortress, and a small settlement at Maltga in the same region.

After 1896, ties with the Sultanate were particularly close. The growing influence of France to the north and the south strengthened the unity and coordination of political and religious policies. In 1897 Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was received in triumph by the stripling sultan, Mawlay ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had ascended the throne in 1894. The sultan received the *wird* of the ʿAyniyya and religious instruction from Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. *Zāwiyas* were founded in Marrākush, Fās and Salā, and lands and estates were bestowed on the Shaykh and his family. He became an *éminence grise* at court, and he was feared at court on account of his magic power and his fanatical followers. The *ʿulamāʾ* of Fās gave him the title of *ḳuṭb* [see ḲUṬB. 2. In mysticism]. With financial aid from the sultan, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn commenced his most ambitious project in 1898. This was the building of a *ḳaṣaba*, *zāwiya*, mosque, library, political and commercial headquarters at the reed beds of Ṣmāra on the banks of the Wayn Silwān in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ. The site was close to a route which linked the Wād Nūn to the Adrār and Tīris. It was not far from the port of al-Ṭarfāya, and the terrain was suitable for pasturage, some agriculture and the planting of date palms.

Ṣmāra was, and still is, a complex of low buildings designed in a style which blends the brown dry-stone walling of the Adrār and Tīshīt with the decadent urban Hispano-Moresque of Morocco. Building stone was locally quarried or brought by steamer from Mogador and the Canary Islands. Moroccan stone masons and architects were employed in the task of constructing a compound to which buildings were annexed. Some were private dwellings for the four wives and many concubines of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. Others belonged to his sons or accommodated guests, artisans and *talāmīdh*. Work commenced on a large mosque and a *khalwa*. Space was allowed to house Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's library of 300 books and his collection of at least 500 manuscripts. Other buildings were store-houses, granaries and arsenals. The design was a compromise between the desert and the sown. Certain private quarters were hardly more than walled enclosures inside which tents were pitched and animals were penned.

The work was never completed. In 1903 the French declared the Trārza district of south-west Mauritania a French protectorate. In 1905 the *Commissaire général français*, Xavier Coppolani, was assassinated at Tidjikdja by anti-European Saharans who had the backing of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. In 1906, France occupied the Tagant. As Ṣmāra was indefensible, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn withdrew to his *ḳaṣaba* at Tīznīt in the Sūs. In 1907 he made it the base for his *djihād* [*q.v.*], and he appealed to the sultan for maximum assistance. Events worked against his interests, however. The ineffective Mawlay ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz relinquished the throne to his brother, Mawlay al-Ḥafīẓ, to whom Māʿ al-ʿAynayn swore allegiance (*bayʿa*) in 1907. The latter sultan was anxious to achieve an accommodation with the French, so that Māʾ al-ʿAynayn quickly lost faith in him. In 1910 he arrived in Marrākush with an army of tribesmen of the Anti-Atlas and the Sūs. Accompanied by this show of strength, it was alleged that he announced his claim to the throne of Morocco as *Mahdī* [*q.v.*] of the hour, but some authorities doubt the historicity of this reported claim. The religious influence of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn in Morocco was formidable, but it should be remembered that he was 79 years old and was approaching senility. His son, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Imām, and a brother of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, Shaykh Saʿd Abīhi (Saad Būh)—who cooperated with the French—both discount such reports as unfounded. Evidence suggests that Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's eldest son, his successor (*khalīfa*), Aḥmad al-Hība or Hayba [*q.v.* in Suppl.], directed the policy of his father. A major reverse took place at Ḳaṣbat Tadla on the 23rd June 1910. In September Māʾ al-ʿAynayn retired to Tīznīt, and he died there on 29 Shawwāl 1328/28 October 1910. His tomb in Tīznīt has remained a family shrine. Ṣmāra had been abandoned and was occupied by a French force under Colonel Mouret in 1913. The dome of its *ḳaṣaba*, the symbol of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's authority, was severely damaged, and the library of several hundred books on mysticism, astronomy and theology was burnt.

According to Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn married 116 wives. He fathered at least 21 sons and 30 daughters, and some sources give the total number of his offspring as 68. His most noted descendants, among them his *khulafāʾ*, were seven sons by his wife, Maymūna bint Aḥmad ʿAliyyūn, who was born into a lettered household

among the Barābīsh of the Ḥawḍ. She was the mother of Aḥmad al-Hība (d. 1919), Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbīh Rabbuh (d. 1924), al-Ṭālib Khiyār, Muḥammad al-Imām and Muḥammad al-Aghdaf (d. 1972-3). These noted sons, together with brothers from other marriages, continued the family tradition of scholarship and sanctity in the Maghrib and the Sahara. Several of them were poets and authors of weighty works on theological and legal subjects and on the ideas of their father. Some of them co-operated with the Spaniards in the then Spanish Sahara; others became exiles in Morocco and Mauritania or lived a pastoral life in the Ḥawḍ. They strove to maintain the influence and status of the family and to combat European domination of the Western Sahara. In the main, they showed solidarity with the Moroccan royal house and followed the example set by Māʾ al-ʿAynayn himself. The extended family represented, and represents, a conservative force in the radically-changing Western Sahara.

2. Character and achievements. The closing years of the life of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, his activities in Morocco and the building of Ṣmāra have disproportionately overshadowed the life he led between 1870 and 1890 when he ruled from his palatial tent in the Rio de Oro and the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ and set down the bulk of his writings. In 1887 the captive explorer, Camille Douls, was brought to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn who subsequently released him. Douls was impressed by the physical stamina and awesome appearance of his captor. Due to his miracles, his many marriages and formidable learning he acquired a semi-divine power over the Saharans. He combined the roles of doctor, teacher, arbitrator and avenger with fire. In organising a desert community he put into effect his dream of unifying Islamic sects in pan-Islamic loyalities, as outlined in several of his books. These total some 300 titles. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbīh Rabbuh in his own *Ḳurrat al-ʿaynayn* lists 140 titles. He adds, however, that his list is incomplete and that sundry opuscules were not included. Several of these were written as early as 1861 when his father was in Tinduf. Forty of his most important works were lithographed in Fās at his own expense. Here is the list of these as it was compiled by E. Lévi-Provençal in his *EI*[1] article: 1. *Adab al-mukhālaṭa maʿa 'l-yatīm*, on the margin of *Mufīd al-samiʿ*, no. 20, 1321; 2. *al-Aḳdas ʿala 'l-anfas*, commentary on the *Waraḳāt* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, 1320; 3. *Dalīl al-rifāḳ ʿalā shams al-ittifāḳ*, 1321, 3 vols; 4. *Dīwān* of mystical poetry, 1316; 5. *Djawāb al-muḥaḳḳiḳa fī akhbār al-khirḳa*, 1302; 6. *Kitāb Fātiḳ al-ratḳ ʿalā rātiḳ al-fatḳ*, 1296, 2nd ed. in 1939; 7. *Hidāyat al-mubtadiʾīn wa-nafʿat al-muntahīn*, *urdjūza* on *naḥw*, 1322; 8. *Ḥudjdjat al-murīd fī 'l-djahr bi 'l-dhikr ʿala 'l-marīd*, 1321; 9. *Ibrāz al-laʾālī 'l-maknūna fī 'l-asāmī 'l-ẓāhira wa 'l-muḍmara*, 1322; 10. *Iẓhār al-ṭarīḳ al-mushtahir ʿalā "ismaʿ wa-lā taghtarir"*, 1321; 11. *al-Khalāṣ fī ḥaḳīḳat al-ikhlāṣ*, 1320, 12. *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar*, also printed at Fās in 1324; 13. *Ḳurrat al-ʿaynayn fī 'l-kalām ʿala 'l-ruʾya fī 'l-dārayn*, 1321, on the margin of no. 10; 14. *Mā yataʿallaḳ bi 'l-ḥasad*, on the margin of no. 36, 1320; 15. *Madjmaʿ al-durar fī 'l-tawaṣṣul bi 'l-asmāʾ wa 'l-āyāt wa 'l-suwar*, 1309; 16. *al-Maḳāṣid al-nūrāniyya*, 1306, on the margin of no. 29, 2nd ed. in 1320; 17. *Mubṣir al-mutashawwif ʿalā muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, 1314, 2 vols; 18. *Mufīd al-ḥāḍira wa 'l-bādiya bi-sharḥ hādhih al-abyāt al-thamāniya*, 1316; 19. *Mufīd al-rāwī ʿalā annī mukhāwī*, 1309; 20. *Mufīd al-samiʿ wa 'l-mutakallim fī aḥkām al-twyammum wa 'l-mutayammim*, 1321; 21. *Mughrī 'l-nāẓir wa 'l-sāmiʿ ʿala taʿallum al-ʿilm al-nāfiʿ*, 1294; 22. *Munīl al-bashsh fī man yuẓilluhum Allāh bi-ẓill al-ʿarsh*, 1309; 23. *Munīl al-maʿārib ʿala 'l-ḥamdu li'llāh kifāʾ al-wādjib*, 1309; 24. *Muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, printed 1325; 25. *Muẓhir al-dilālāt al-maḳṣūda fī alfāẓ al-taḥiyyāt*, 1321; 26. *Muzīlat al-nakad ʿamman lā yuḥibb al-ḥasad*, on margin of no. 11; 27 *Naṣīḥat al-nisāʾ*, 1321; 28. *Naʿt al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt*, 1311, also published in Cairo in 1324; 29. *Sahl al-murtaḳā fī 'l-ḥadīth ʿala 'l-tuḳā*, 1306; 30. *al-Sayf wa 'l-mūsā fī ḳaḍiyyat al-Khiḍr wa Mūsā*, 1320; 31. *Sayf al mudjādil li 'l ḳuṭb al-kāmil*, n.d.; 32. *Sayf al-sakt li 'l-mutaʿarriḍ lanā fī awwal al-waḳt*, n.d.; 33. *al-Ṣilāt fī faḍāʾil baʿd al-ṣalawāt*, 1321; 34. *Ṣilat al-mutaraḥḥim ʿalā ṣilat al-raḥim*, 1323; 35. *Tabyīn al-ghumūḍ ʿalā naʿt al-ʿarūḍ*, 1320; 36. *Taḳyīd yataʿallaḳ bi-ḥadīth "innamā 'l-aʿmāl bi 'l-niyyāt"*, 1320; 37. *Tanbīh maʿāshir al-murīdīn ʿalā kawnihim li-aṣnāf al-ṣaḥāba tābiʿīn*, 1321; 38. *Tanwīr al-saʿīd fī 'l-ʿāmm wa 'l-khaṣṣ*, 1320; 39. *Thimār al-muzhar*, collection of poems, printed 1324; 40. *Tibyān al-ḥaḳḳ alladhī bi 'l-bāṭil saḥḳ*, 1321.

According to the *Ḳurrat al-ʿaynayn* (fol. 72), Māʾ al-ʿAynayn mastered all the disciplines, language, grammar, syntax, elocution, logic, mathematics, the dating of seasons and feasts, the system of ʿAdjamī Saharan cryptology, jurisprudence, prosody and medicine (Arabian and Saharan Ḥassāniyya). Alongside these studies he gained experience in several branches of the occult.

Supernatural power was accepted as part of his personality. Its manifestation could not be separated from his involvement in mundane matters which concerned the day-to-day life of his *talāmīdh* or Saharawis. They sometimes found contradictions between their *ʿurf* and the *Sharīʿa*. Similar problems had been faced by earlier Kunta *shaykhs* and by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī (d. 1865) of the Tīris Ahl Bārikalla. The Ahl Bārikalla of Imirikli were devoted followers of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. They were familiar with attempts by Saharan teachers to resolve these question. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī's book on tribal law and custom, *Kitāb al-Bādiya*, can be matched, though not surpassed, by opuscules of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, and likewise his mathematical and astrological theories. Pamphlets by the latter on *tayammum*, prayer, fasting, hospitality, divorce and sexology were widely quoted, and several of these were appended to other works and lithographed. A major work, *Fātiḳ al-ratḳ ʿalā rātiḳ al-fatḳ*, forcefully argues the case for humane treatment of women, slaves, beggars and orphans, and for respect and deference towards kings and sultans.

Supernatural revelation accompanied the study of Arabic grammar, phonetics, and prosody. The *Ḳurrat al-ʿaynayn* (fol. 74) records that "when he composed a book about prosody one day he left with his mind preoccupied by certain obscurities. He sat facing a tree, and he began to beat the rhythm of the metres on the ground using a stick which he held in his hand. While thus engaged a burnt brick appeared before him. He raised it with his stick and discovered a treasure beneath it. He shunned it. He returned the brick to its former position and said, 'I do not want it.' Then he arose and sat opposite another tree, and God enlightened him in the matter he sought."

At least 30 of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's major works are about Ṣūfism. *Naʿt al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt*, lithographed in Fās and twice published in Cairo, is still widely read in the Sahara and is possibly his

masterpiece. In its pages, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn argued that all Ṣūfī brotherhoods display only trivial divergencies. All brotherhoods were of equal merit and ought to combine. His arguments were carried a stage further in his book *Mubṣir al-mutashawwif ʿalā muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, which is outspokenly pro-Ottoman in its sentiments. To the author, the Ottoman state exhibited pan-Islamic eclecticism and was the last to precede the appearance of the *Mahdī* who would unite Jews, Christians and Muslims after cataclysmic events.

Mention has been made of the license allowed by the Fāḍiliyya and the ʿAyniyya for the use of spells and secret scripts for religious purposes. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, an avowed thaumaturge, displayed an interest in the occult and paranormal. Those unsympathetic to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn have dismissed him as a sorcerer posing as a scholar and have argued that his mysticism was an example of Ṣūfism in decadence. It is clear from the works which he wrote, for example *Madhhab al-makhūf ʿalā daʿwat al-ḥurūf*, where prayers are computed by letters of the alphabet, magic squares and numbers worn as amulets, that the system he used was highly complex and derived from mediaeval systems invented in the Maghrib. The Ḥawḍ is adjacent to Black Africa and has its own tradition of secret scripts. Eleven secret alphabets have been recorded in the Ḥawḍ. Some characters in these scripts represent the numerological value, or a graphic deformation of corresponding Arabic letters, or are based on the skeletal forms of complete Arabic words. Other characters are non-Arabic, possibly Lybico-Berber, and are lunette in shape. One Ḥawḍ script which is particularly rich in Non-Arabic characters is the al-Yāsīnī alphabet, which relates either to Yāsīn, its inventor (ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn the Almoravid?), or to the letters Yāsīn which open Sūra XXXVI in the Ḳurʾān. Characters from these Ḥawḍ scripts appear in several lithographical works of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, especially lunette letters. In the Rio de Oro, two of these scripts, the *suryāniyya* and the *ʿibrāniyya*, are known among the Ahl Bārikalla. Like Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn found it natural to employ such scripts and alphabets for religious purposes.

Over one hundred miracles are attributed to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn in the *Ḳurrat al-ʿaynayn*. They range from the rescue of his books and novices from the flooding of the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ in 1890 to the exorcism of one of his wives; punishment of robbers by fire; and the illumination of a room by his clothing. Certain of these happenings are patterned on miracles attributed to the Prophet. Nonetheless, they are far too varied to be unconnected with the psychic powers of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, which were acknowledged even by his most bitter opponents. His powers of psychological persuasion were employed to dominate the minds of the Saharawis and to instil a fanatical zeal in the ʿAyniyya and its allies.

3. Al-Shinḳīṭī's portrayal. One of the most objective portraits of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn towards the end of his life is offered by Aḥmad b. ʿAmīn al-Shinḳīṭī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Wasīṭ* who passed through Ṣmāra on his way to Mecca and wrote his description, first published in 1911, a year after the death of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. This author confirms that the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ owed its habitations and date groves to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. He remarks (pp. 365-6 of the 1958 edition) that the latter was learned in the *Sharīʿa*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiḳh*, and that he was the only worthy successor to Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr (1780-1869). He thought highly of the moral qualities and character of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, and speaks glowingly of him.

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(H. T. Norris)

MAʿĀD (A.), place of return, a technical term in religious and philosophical vocabulary.

The verb *ʿadā*, *ʿawdᵃⁿ* signifies "to return to a place". Al-Djawharī treats it as a synonym of *radjaʿa*. The action of *ʿawd* is the movement whereby one returns to the point of departure: *radjaʿa ʿalā badʾihi*, or *ilā ḥāfiratihi*, either through a continuous progress, in describing a circle for example, or stopping at a certain point and retracing one's steps (cf. Sībawayh, cited by *LA*), whence the idea of a return to the origin, to the source. The verb *radjaʿa* is used in many Ḳurʾānic verses to indicate return to God: "Then He will make you die; then He will make you live; then you will be brought back to Him" (*ilayhi turdjaʿūn*, II, 28). This return takes places after the Resurrection. In the 4th verbal form, *aʿāda* denotes "to recommence, reiterate". This is the sense which it has in the verses where this root is associated with that of *radjaʿa*, for example (XXX, 11): "God begins (*yabdaʾu*) creation; then He repeats it (*yuʿīduhu*); then you will be brought back to Him". Subsequently, God is qualified by the titles *al-Mubdiʾ* and *al-Muʿīd*. These terms are not reserved for God. The Prophet said: "God loves

the *nakal* mounted on a *nakal*". He was asked the meaning of *nakal*. He replies "It is a strong and skilled man who is *mubdiʾ* and *muʿīd*, mounted on a strong and reliable horse which is *mubdiʾ* and *muʿīd*". Abū ʿUbayda explains that the reference is to a man who volunteers for successive military expeditions and returns ceaselessly to the attack. The well-trained and obedient horse earns the same distinctions. It is the notion of this 4th form which is dominant in the Ḳurʾān: resurrection is a recommencement. Theologians in fact mainly speak of *iʿāda* in the sense of a second creation. The idea of return is only implied, to the extent that there must be a return to the point of departure before there can be a recommencement. Thus al-D̲j̲uwaynī (*Irs̲h̲ād*, Arabic text, 317, ed. J. D. Luciani, Paris 1938) quotes Ḳurʾān, XXXVI, 78-81, from which he concludes: "That which has been brought back into existence (*al-muʿād*), is the same as that which has been created for the first time". We leave aside the question as to whether substances only, or both substances and accidents are the objects of *iʿāda*. In the *Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Istanbul 1928, 232-3, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī shows that the return to existence of something which has been annihilated is possible, and he expresses himself in the same terms as those used by al-D̲j̲uwaynī. Consequently, if *iʿāda* is a second creation following death and annihilation, *maʿād* is the place reached by resurrected persons.

But the word *maʿād* is used only once in the Ḳurʾān (*XXVIIII*, 85): "Yes, He who endows you with the gift of Prophecy, it is He who brings you back to a place of return". The term is variously interpreted: some treat it as a synonym of *maṣīr* (place at which one arrives), as in III, 28: "And towards God is the place of arrival"; for others, it is the equivalent of *mard̲j̲iʿ* (place to which one returns), as in V, 18: "Towards God is your place of return for all"; or it is identified purely and simply as the Next Life (*al-āk̲h̲ira*). It should however be noted that the term has been understood in a much more concrete sense: it could denote, according to some, Mecca, whither the Prophet was to return, having conquered the town according to God's promise; in a more general sense, it could be the country where he was born (al-Farrāʾ) or his homeland (T̲h̲aʿlab). Finally, the word *muʿād* has been interpreted in terms of the verse II, 125: "And when We made the House (sc. the Kaʿba) a place where one returns (*mat̲h̲āba*)"; consequently, *mat̲h̲āba* = *maʿād* = place of Pilgrimage = *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*. In fact, al-Ḳurṭubī explains, a large number of pilgrims and visitors make their way each year to the holy places, and moreover, each one, having left them, desires to return there. Ibn Sīdah retains the two meanings of Pilgrimage and the Last Life. It may be noted that they conform perfectly, since *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* is a departure from the home, involving the leaving of country, goods, family, in order to go to the House of God, which, as al-G̲h̲azālī explains it, prefigures the departure from this earth in order to go to Paradise to see God Himself: seeing the House of God inspires the wish to see the Master of the House. Thus, *maʿād*, etymologically linked to *iʿāda*, taken in the symbolic connection *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲-āk̲h̲ira*, came to refer primarily to the place of return of resurrected persons in the presence of God. It is in this sense that al-Tahānawī associates it with *ḥas̲h̲r* and *baʿt̲h̲*, the Assembly for the Last Judgment and the Resurrection. He distinguishes between a physical *maʿād* (*d̲j̲ismānī*), which is the return to life of bodies leaving their tombs, and a spiritual *maʿād* (*rūḥānī*), which consists of the return of spirits restored to their bodies (*iʿādat al-arwāḥ ilā abdānihā*). There can be as many as five doctrines on this subject. The first affirms only the reality of the physical *maʿād*; this, says al-Tahānawī is the approach of the theologians who deny the existence of a rational soul. He is no doubt referring to certain Ḥanbalīs, of whom Ibn Baṭṭa is an example, for whom the words *nafs* and *rūḥ* retained their ancient Semitic sense of vital principle, breath, even blood. Ibn Baṭṭa writes "We must believe in the call which Isrāfīl will utter to make the dead rise from their tombs". H. Laoust mentions in a note a passage of Ibn Taymiyya: "Men will rise from their tombs and appear before their Master, without shoes, all naked and uncircumcised. The sun will approach them and they will bathe in their sweat". (*La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 94). In regard to the angel of death, Laoust quotes a passage from the *ʿAḳīda*, vi, attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal, where it is said "He catches the souls (*arwāḥ*), which are then restored to the bodies in their tombs". This point of view may be related to that of al-Naẓẓām, as revealed by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag̲h̲dādī in the *Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, 145: "The twentieth of these disgraceful doctrines is that which concerns *maʿād*, whereby scorpions, snakes, beetles, flies, ravens, dung-beetles, dogs, pigs, wild beasts, insects will be gathered (*tuḥs̲h̲aru*) on the way to Paradise". In fact, these animals do not have a rational soul, but this does not prevent al-Naẓẓam believing in their *maʿād*.

The second doctrine listed by al-Tahānawī is that which asserts exclusively the spiritual *maʿād*; it is that of the philosophers. It is known that al-G̲h̲azālī was opposed to the idea of survival of the rational soul only. Nevertheless, Ibn Sīnā did attempt to understand in what sense the presence of a sensible human reality in the other life could be philosophically admitted. On this subject, we refer to the thesis of Jean Michot, presented at Louvain-la-Neuve in 1981 (still in manuscript) on *maʿād* in Avicennan thought, where there are to be found minute analyses of the metaphysics and psychology of Ibn Sīnā, based on numerous texts. But it was not only the philosophers who maintained that man is a spirit of which the body is only a "mould" (*ḳālab*). The Muʿtazilī al-Muʿammar, although he is counted al-Tahānawī among the adherents of the third doctrine, thought, according to al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Farḳ*, 154, that "man is something other than this sensible body, something living, something knowing, something powerful, which is neither at rest, nor in motion, which is not localised anywhere ..." When asked if he meant that man is in this body, or in Paradise, or in Hell, he replied "I say that he is in the body insofar as he controls it; in Paradise insofar as he enjoys heavenly gifts; in Hell, insofar as he is punished". Al-Naẓẓam also reckoned that man is spirit (*rūḥ*), but by spirit he meant "a rarified body which penetrates (*mutadāk̲h̲il*) this compact body, the life (*ḥayāt*) entangled in this body" (*Farḳ*, 135). He is therefore closer to the preceding doctrine.

The third doctrine is that which affirms both the resurrection of the body and of the soul when man is restored to life. It is that which is taught by the As̲h̲ʿarīs as well as al-G̲h̲azālī, numerous Ṣūfīs and certain Imāmīs for whom man is "two things", the body which is inanimate (*mawāt*) and the spirit which is active, endowed with sensibility and with perception; this is the thesis of His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, i, 125; *Farḳ*, 68). Al-Tahānawī places among the adherents of this doctrine

those who consider that man is "in reality" (*bi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*) the rational soul, for it is the latter which bears the responsibility of prescribed acts, which obeys or disobeys, which is rewarded or punished. But this soul is linked to a body; also, "when God wills the gathering together of His creatures, He creates for each of the spirits a body (*badan*) to which it is linked and in which it acts freely, as was the case here below. But this is not a question of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*), since it is a case of return (*ʿawd*) to the fundamental parts of the body (*ilā adjzāʾ aṣliyya li 'l-badan*), although this is not in itself the first body, as is made clear in the Word of God (IV, 56): "As often as their skins are burned, We shall give them other skins in exchange".

The last two doctrines are that which denies *maʿād* and that which remains in doubt on the subject. Those who deny it are the "physical philosophers" (*al-falāsifa al-ṭabʿiyyūn*). Galen is mentioned as a representative of the last doctrine. It is clear that the question of *maʿād* is linked to the problem of the nature of man and of the relationship between the soul and the body.

Among the mystics, the idea of *maʿād* is connected to that of ascension and return towards God rather than to that of resurrection and re-creation. Al-Tahānawī quotes the *Kashf al-lugha*: "For the Ṣūfīs, the *maʿād*, they say, are the universal divine names (*asmāʾ-i kullī-yi ilāhī*), like the beginning (*mabdaʾ*), they are the universal names relating to beings in development (*asmāʾ-i kullī-yi kawnī*)".

The arrival in this world of *homo viator* (*sālik*) is accomplished by the route of these second names; his return (*rudjūʿ*) by the route of the first. This definition relates to the concepts of Ibn ʿArabī, for whom the names have two faces, one turned towards God (*ism al-tanzīh*), the other towards the creatures of which they are the "patrons" (*ism al-tashbīh*). Similarly, the arrival and the return evoke the journey from God (*safar ʿan Allāh*) and the journey towards God (*ilā 'llāh*) which concludes, in the view of Ibn ʿArabī, with the journey into God (*fi 'llāh*). Here we have the most profound conception of *maʿād*.

Ismāʿīlī thought also considered *maʿād* an ascension and an elevation (*ṣuʿūd, irtiḳāʾ*). A detailed treatment of this subject is to be found in the book by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, entitled *Kanz al-walad* (ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Wiesbaden 1971, ch. 10, 163-205). The concept of *maʿād* is here linked to that of the hierarchies which characterise this type of thought. It involves an ascent towards the spheres of the religious path, (*al-aflāk al-dīniyya*), sphere after sphere and from hierarchical degree to hierarchical degree (*ḥadd*) as far as the final stage, where the government of the world resides. The conditions for salvation are, along with the affirmation of the divine unity, the recognition of the *ḥudūd* and of the service (*khidma*) which is owed to them, obedience to the *Imām*. Al-Ḥāmidī quotes al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī: "Every *ḥadd* is a paradise for the man whose *ḥadd* it is (*li-maḥdūdihi*), if the latter obeys it; it is his punishment, if he disobeys it". *Maʿād* is primarily a cosmic process in which the individual *maʿād* of the Believers is included. "Thus proceeds the progression (*tadarrudj*) in the *maʿād* until the end of time and of moons" (172). (For more details, see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, iv, 203 b, 204 b.) We limit ourselves to pointing out a curious passage (174), where the different degrees of ascension are compared with the successive stages of gestation, as enumerated in the Ḳurʾān (XXII, 5; XXIII, 14).

The notion of *maʿād* is very important in the view of Ibn Sīnā, not only in terms of the destiny of man after death, but also in terms of his life on earth. In fact, God teaches that He "has prepared for those who obey Him a place of return which gives them good fortune (*al-maʿād al-musʿid*, *Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, ii, 442), which poses the problem of eternal beatitude (*ibid.*, 445). But in this world men are in need of regulation: "It is therefore inevitable that the Prophet took important measures which have remained in the form of usages and laws which he established concerning good things useful to them. On this point there is no doubt, the foundation on which everything rests is that men persist in the knowledge of the Creator and of the *maʿād*; the suppression of this knowledge was the cause which led to forgetfulness of these matters at the expiration of the century following the [life of the] Prophet". For this reason, it is necessary that the acts prescribed by the Law are repeated and follow one another in time and that "they be, when recourse is made to them, linked with certainty to God and the *maʿād*".

It may be recalled finally that the root *ʿāda* is only used, in religious language, to express a return to a place from which one does not come again. This is how it differs from the root *radjaʿa*. In a mystical perspective, Ibn ʿArabī writes most elegantly: "Such is the attainment of lasting beatitude ... And he who has attained it does not come back (*lam yardjiʿ*), for a return (*rudjuʿ*) to the place of the beginning of the voyage would be impossible once the sails have been unfurled" (*Futūḥāt*, iii, 556). This is the doctrine of all Sunnīs, in contrast to that of the Rāfiḍī extremists, such as the disciples of Abū Kāmil or Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī, who held belief in the return (*radjʿa*) of the dead to this world before the Resurrection (*Farḳ*, 54, 59). To conclude, it may be noted that the idea of cyclical return, as is found expressed by, for example, al-Bīrūnī in the *Āthār* (ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1923, 177) in connection with the cycle of the Jubilee (*dawr Yūbīl*) which recommences every fifty years following seven sabbatical years, is rendered by the word *radjʿa*. To summarise, the term *maʿād* brings together the two senses of return and recommencement: return to the source of being which is God, and a second creation which is the Resurrection.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

MAʿADD is a collective name for the northern Arab tribes (see Djazīrat al-ʿARAB (vi) = i, 544b). According to the standard genealogy, Maʿadd was a son of ʿAdnān [*q.v.*]. His son Nizār [*q.v.*] had three sons, Muḍar, Iyād and Rabīʿa, from the first and third of whom most of the northern Arabs claimed descent.

Maʿadd and his descendants are said to have lived for a time in the neighbourhood of Mecca and to have intermarried with Djurhum [*q.v.*]. The name Maʿadd is found in pre-Islamic poets, e.g. in verses of Imruʾ al-Ḳays (ed. Ahlwardt, no. 41, l. 5) and al-Nābigha (ed. Ahlwardt, no. 18, l. 1, 2); but according to Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 90 n., Eng. tr. i, 89 n.), in such verses this may not always be the original reading. The name is also used of some of the tribesmen who had come to settle in Medina towards the end of Muḥammad's life (who are also referred to as Nizār and Muḍar); and in several verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Maʿadd is contrasted with the Anṣār (e.g. in Ibn Hishām, 829, 17; further references in Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 94 n. Eng. tr. i, 92 n.). Variant

genealogies of ancestors of Maʿadd are given in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (18/34; 30 f./63 f.), Ibn Hishām, *Sira* (5-7), and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 115-18). Muḥammad is said to have forbidden the tracing of genealogies beyond Maʿadd (*ibid.*, iv, 112, 118 f.). In a *ḥadīth* Muḥammad commended *al-Maʿaddiyya*, which is said to be the rough clothing (or the way of life) of Maʿadd (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 43; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ʿ-d-d, al-libsa al-Maʿaddiyya*).

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also Ṭabarī, i, 671 ff.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, index (evidence of genealogical disputes).

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

MAʿĀFIR (or AL-MAʿĀFIR), the name of a South Arabian tribe, the genealogy of which is given as Yaʿfur b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Humaysaʿ b. ʿAmr b. Yashdjib b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ; they are included among the Ḥimyar.

The name was also given to the territory which the tribe inhabited and this corresponded roughly with the Turkish *ḳaḍāʾ* of Taʿizziyya and the present Yemen Arab Republic province (*ḳaḍāʾ*) of al-Ḥudjariyya (pronounced locally al-Ḥugariyya), itself part of the administrative area (*liwāʾ*) of Taʿizz. In early and mediaeval times it is described as a *mikhlāf*. The Yemeni geographer al-Hamdānī has a great deal of information on the area of al-Maʿāfir and lists the following places in it:

(1) al-Djuwwa (the modern Sūḳ al-Djuʾa between Djabal Ṣalw and Djabal Badw) which was ruled by the family of Dhu 'l-Mughallis belonging to the tribe of Hamdān, who had control of the citadel of the town which had to be ascended by a ladder. At a later date it was under the Marrānids, descendants of ʿUmayr Dhū Marrān, a *ḳayl* of Hamdān, with whom the Prophet was in communication by letter; (2) Djabaʾ in the plain of the same name between Djabal Ṣabir and Djabal Dhakhir. In ancient times, Djabaʾ was the capital of the Maʿāfir territory and the residence of the reigning dynasty of the Āl al-Karandā; (3) Ḥarāza; (4) Ṣuḥāra. Here according to Maslama b. Yūsuf al-Khaywānī were the palaces of the Maʿāfir, the ruins of which are mentioned by al-Hamdānī in Book 8 of the *Iklīl*; (5) ʿAzāza; (6) al-Dumama; (7) Birdād, which belongs to Bilād Ṣabir and lies between Djabal Ṣabir and Djabal Ḥabash, which corresponds to Djabal Dhakhir in al-Hamdānī; (8) Djizla; (9) al-ʿAnsiyayn; (10) Djabal Ṣabir; and (11) Djabal Dhakhir (the modern Ḥabash).

The lands of the Maʿāfir therefore lay between the Wādī Nakhla and the Wādī Ḥarāza and included a considerable part of the Taʿizziyya. The Maʿāfir, however, did not form a compact body, but, especially in the Djabal Ṣabir and Dhakhir, were much mixed with members of other tribes. From the earliest times the Maʿāfir enjoyed a certain reputation as weavers. The Tubbaʿ Asʿad Kāmil, who according to legend was the first to cover the Kaʿba, is said to have hung it with Maʿāfirī cloth. Muḥammad's body is also said to have been wrapped in Maʿāfirī cloth. The tribe has a reputation too for saddle-making.

The history of al-Maʿāfir can be traced far back into the pre-Islamic period. A Sabaean inscription from Ṣirwāḥ dated about 500 B.C., which records the founding of the great Sabaean kingdom, mentions the tribe of Maʿāfir. We know too that an embassy was sent from the town of Sawwā to the Sabaean king at a later date to make submission to him and to beg for peace. Sawwā must at this time have been on the side of Maʿāfir and its prince Shamir Dhū Daydān on the side of the Ḥabashāt, the enemies of Sabaʾ. In 96/630 the Maʿāfir with Dhū Ruʿayn and Hamdān adopted Islam and received a letter from the Prophet Muḥammad with detailed instructions regarding their obligations. At quite an early date in their Islamic history, many of the Maʿāfir migrated to Egypt, where with other South Arabians they played an important part in the building-up of the country. A Maʿāfirī was, for example, put in charge of the planning of al-Fusṭāṭ by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. This migration probably explains the infrequent mention of both the tribe and the area in mediaeval Yemeni historiography. Certainly, the area was controlled by the Ziyādids, the dynasty of Muḥammad b. Ziyād centred on Zabīd, in the 3rd/9th century. The Zurayʿids too in the 6th/12th century reckoned al-Maʿāfir as part of their territory, but it was wrested from them by the Mahdids. It must have fallen to the Ayyūbid conqueror of the Yemen, Tūrān-Shāh, the brother of Saladin, who won over Tihāma and the south of the country in the years 569-71/1173-6. The Ayyūbids' successors, the Rasūlids, built military establishments in al-Maʿāfir in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, and we hear of a rebellion led by the Maʿāfirī tribal leader against the Turkish occupation forces of the Yemen in 1028/1618.

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(A. GROHMANN - [G. R. SMITH])

AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. DJAMĪL B. SAʿD AL-DĪN, an Andalusian Mālikī scholar who settled in Jerusalem and died there in 605/1208. Born and educated in Mālaḳa, al-Maʿāfirī left his native town early in his life and, like many of his compatriots at the time, travelled east for the dual purpose of performing the pilgrimage and acquiring knowledge. Though the sources mention that al-Maʿāfirī did some writing, they do not name any of his works. We know of only one extant work, a unique untitled manuscript in his own handwriting, found at present in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and listed in the catalogue (ms. 3016) under the title *Biographies of famous women*. The manuscript has eleven chapters, of which the first two and the last two deal with biblical figures· The rest of the chapters (now publshed in Libya-Tunis 1978, ed. ʿĀʾida al-Ṭībī, under the title *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ghannāʾ fī akhbār al-nisāʾ*), which form the main body of the manuscript, deal with post-Islamic women, mainly from the Umayyad period.

Bearing in mind the general paucity of biographical material about women in mediaeval Arabic literature and, in particular, the limited number of works devoted exclusively to them, this manuscript, with its diverse information, colourful anecdotes and copious verse quotations is, without doubt, especially significant. The overall picture it presents

of the character and status of women in early Islam is unexpectedly refreshing: it is an image of a proud, courageous woman with a keen sense of moral values and a high evaluation of her own worth, a woman who had not as yet succumbed to the disastrous consequences of being segregated from the world of men.

In his manuscript, al-Maʿāfirī mentions that he spent the year 581/1185-6 in Damascus collecting material for this work, his main source being Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim (d. 600/1203), son of the illustrious Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsākir. In 583/1187, when Jerusalem was regained from the Crusaders, al-Maʿāfirī must have been among the numerous Muslims who then flocked to the city, for we are told that he was appointed resident preacher of the Aḳṣā Mosque by Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī (*al-Uns al-djalīl bi-ta'rīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl*, Nadjaf 1968, ii, 135) puts him second on the list of those who preached in the Aḳṣā Mosque after the *fatḥ*. Al-Maʿāfirī spent the rest of his life in Jerusalem, where he became known as al-Ḥādjdj al-Mālaḳī. There he achieved fame as a scholar and lecturer, and attained a position of wealth and power, but remained none the less devout and given to charitable works. He certainly made a strong impression on the inhabitants of his adopted city, for when he died large numbers followed his cortège. Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (*al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*, Beirut 1965, v/1, 316) relates that "no worthy person was absent from his funeral and even the Christians who were in the church there joined the procession: they threw some of their garments on his coffin and then began to pass them to each other and to hold them to their faces in the hope of being blessed."

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(AIDA TIBI)

MAʿALTHĀYĀ, MAʿALTHĀ (Syriac "gate, entrance", Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, col. 2881), modern Malthai, the name given to two villages in the former *ḳaḍā'* of Dehōk (Duhūk) in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil in Ottoman times, now in the Autonomous Region of Dehōk in Republican ʿIrāḳ. The second of these two villages was formerly distinguished as Maʿalthā al-Naṣārā "M. of the Christians", but has recently become largely Kurdish and Muslim, like its fellow-village. Maʿalthāyā lies on a small affluent of the Tigris, the Nahr Dehōk, 60 km. northwards along the road from Mawṣil to Zākhō and at the southern end of the Djabal Abyaḍ. It owes its historic fame to its strategic position as the "entrance" from the plains of northern ʿIrāḳ into the mountains of Kurdistan and the lands south of Lake Van, the modern Turkish *vilayet* of Hakkâri.

Its importance in ancient times is signalled by ts famous rock-reliefs, carved at 300 m. above the valley a short distance from Maʿalthāyā. These comprise four similar panels, each showing twice an Assyrian emperor, in an attitude of worship and on either side of a procession of gods mounted on beasts. There are no inscriptions, but the reliefs are evidently connected with similar reliefs at Bāwiyān some 45 km. to the north-east of Mawṣil and to the east of Maʿalthāyā, and it is now generally accepted that the ruler responsible was the Sargonid Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), the reliefs probably dating from the early 680s; the basic publications on them are F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les sculptures rupestres de Maltaï*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxi (1924), 185-97, and W. Bachmann, *Felsenreliefs in Assyrien (Bawian, Malthai und Gundük)*, Wiss. Veröff. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, lii, Berlin 1927, repr. 1969, 23-7, Pls. 25-31. It has recently been suggested by J. Reade (following a previous suggestion by R. M. Boehmer), *Studies in Assyrian Geography. Part I: Sennacherib and the waters of Nineveh*, in *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, lxxii (1978), 165-6, that the Maʿalthāyā carvings, with their depicted deities, obviously relate to some important event or project, and are possibly to be connected with the construction of watercourses and canals conveying perennial water to the plain of Nineveh.

Maʿalthāyā early became an important centre of Eastern Christianity, and the birthplace of Narses or Narsai (399-?502), founder of the Nestorian school of Nisibis, was in the village of ʿAyn Dulbē near Maʿalthāyā (E. Tisserant, art. *Narsai*, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, xi, cols. 26-30). It was the seat of an episcopal diocese known as either Maʿalthāyā or as Bēth/Bā-Nūhadrā. The line of Nestorian bishops begins in 410 with Isaac and continues till 1265 with Malkīshoʿ, apparently the last, whilst the Jacobite line begins with Zakai at the end of the 6th century and continues until Yūḥanna Yob in 1284 (J. B. Chabot, ed. and tr., *Synodicon orientale*, in *Notices et extraits*, xxxvii, Paris 1902, index s.v.; J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1965-8, ii, 342-53). The Assyrian Christian community and its church in Maʿalthāyā of Mār Zīʿā must have suffered during the massacres by the Kurds of Christians and Yezīdīs [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 19th century, and the village seems to have been abandoned by its Christian community *ca.* 1906-7, and the service books and manuscripts of the church transferred to Dehōk (Fiey, *op. cit.*, ii, 675-81).

It had nevertheless been a flourishing place in early Islamic and pre-Mongol times. Al-Balādhurī, 331, records that al-Mʿla (? Maʿalla) was one of the places, together with Bā Hadhrā, etc., overrun by ʿUmar's general ʿUtba b. Farḳad al-Sulamī in 20/641. The Arabic geographers expatiate on the fertility and agricultural richness of the district of Maʿalthāyā and Fayshābūr (= originally, Fīrūzshābūr of Bā Nūhadrā, see Fiey, *op. cit.*, ii, 696 ff.). According to al-Muḳaddasī, it was small but rich in gardens, and it had a Friday mosque (hence already a Muslim community) on a tell; its specialities included dairy products, coal, grapes and fruit, hemp seed and flax, and dried, salted meat (al-Muḳaddasī, 139, 145; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 217-18, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 211-12; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 93, 124). For Yāḳūt, iv, 578, Maʿalthāyā was a "little town" (*bulayd*), but it is possible that this information was already anachronistic by the 7th/13th century.

Maʿalthāyā's position on the route into Kurdistan gave it a certain rôle in mediaeval Islamic history, and it is mentioned several times by e.g. Ibn al-Athīr. It was a centre for local chiefs and for the Khāridjī leader Hārūn in 266-7/879-81 in their squabbles with the Turkish caliphal governors of Mawṣil (ed. Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, vii, 353, 359). In 369/979-80 the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] launched an expedition via this route against the Hakkārī Kurds, and crucified their chiefs along the road from Mawṣil to Maʿalthāyā (viii, 709). In 441/1049-50, during the warfare between the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil Muʿtamid al-Dawla Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallid and his brother Zaʿīm al-Dawla Abū Kāmil Baraka, the former's Kurdish allies marched on Maʿalthāyā and sacked it (ix, 553).

Thereafter, Maʿal͟thāyā sinks into obscurity on the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1842-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil G. Rouet (1845) and A. H. Layard (1846); Badger found there only 20 Assyrian Christian families.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Layard, *Niniveh and its remains*[2], London 1849, i, 231; Badger, *The Nestorians and their rituals*, London 1852, i, 174; V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, Paris 1867, ii, 153, iii, Pl. 45; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 208 and index; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890-5, ii, 835; Gertrude Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 284; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt, Reisen und Forschungen*, Berlin 1910-31, 369-75; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 115.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MAʿĀN, Muʿān, a town of the south of Jordan, lying in lat. 30° 12' N. and long. 35° 44' E. at an altitude of 3,523 ft./1,074 m., and the chef-lieu of the governorate which is to the south of the Karak [*q.v.*] one and to the east of the Wādī ʿAraba. The name is said to come from Maʿān, son of Lot.

The town is surrounded by gardens which form an oasis of the western fringe of the desert plain; to its east are the slopes of the al-S͟harāt mountain chain of granite and porphyry, which rise to 5,665 ft./1,727 m. In Maʿan itself and the neighbourhood are many springs, the nearest of these being ʿAyn al-Dawāwī, whose water reaches Maʿān through an underground conduit, whilst a second conduit carries water from ʿAyn al-Dj̲iṭṭa as far al-Ḥammām to the north of Maʿān.

In the prehistoric period there were people in the region, as Palaeolithic remains attest. When nomadism and international trade developed, Maʿān became an important meeting-place for communications, through which the leading natural route from southwestern Arabia to Damascus and the ports of Phoenicia passed, i.e. the route for Sabaean trade. A track connected the Gulf of ʿAḳaba with Maʿān, whence routes went northwards to Moab. The caravan route of al-Nawala went to the west in the direction of G͟hazza and northern Egypt, and another track went southeastwards via the Dūmat al-Djandal oasis to Babylonia and the Persian Gulf.

The Syrian route of the Islamic Pilgrimage followed towards Mecca the old Tabūkiyya track, hence twice a year, on the outward and the return journeys, Maʿān was a privileged halt for pilgrims, who could stock up there with provisions. In the 19th century, it became a station on the Ḥid̲j̲āz railway. Its place as a crossroads and its abundant water supply have meant that Maʿān has always remained a vigorous centre of human settlement despite innumerable attacks from nomads. It was, as Jaussen noted "le rendez-vous des caravanes sortant de l'Arabie". During the 1st millennium B.C., the oasis apparently, according to Musil, 244, was controlled by the powers dominating the great trade routes, and had a South Arabian colony, Sabaean or Minaean, with a South Arabian governor who watched lest the local chiefs adopt measures hostile to the Sabaean or Minaean ruler; Musil further notes that in the second half of the 8th century B.C., an Assyrian army penetrated beyond the Maʿān oasis.

Classical sources hardly mention Maʿān, probably because the great international trade was concentrated on the emporium of Petra. In the Byzantine period, Maʿān formed part of the territory of the South Arabian tribe of Dj̲ud̲h̲ām [*q.v.*]. Al-Bakrī, cited by Musil, 247, narrates that Farwa b. ʿAmr of Dj̲udhām governed Maʿān on behalf of the Byzantine Emperor, but became a Muslim, rallying to the Prophet and presenting him with a white mule; in retaliation, the Byzantines threw him into prison and then killed him by crucifixion.

At the time of the expansion of Islam, Maʿān acquired a certain importance as a strong point of the al-S͟harāt district in the *dj̲und* of al-Urdunn, at the eastern end of the road which linked it to the sea via Petra, the massifs of al-S͟harāt, Ṣug͟hār, Arīḥā, al-Ḳuds and Ramla in a six days' journey. At this time it was inhabited by the Banū Umayya and their freedmen, from whom travellers could obtain provisions. In Mamlūk times, it became the chef-lieu of a *niyāba* and was a lively market for slaves; according to various authors, it formed a *manzil* (Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih), a *manhal* (al-Muḳaddasī) or a *markaz* along the Pilgrimage route. In the 18th century, at the time of the return of the Pilgrimage, the *kātib al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* was sent from Maʿān to Damascus to reassure the inhabitants about the safety of the pilgrims.

The modern town of Maʿān is still made up of two distinct, adjacent entities. To the north, Maʿān al-Ṣag͟hīra or al-S͟hāmiyya, sometimes called al-Mag͟hāra, had in 1910 110 families. To the south, Maʿān al-Kabīra or al-Miṣriyya, also called al-Ḥid̲j̲āziyya, had, according to Musil, 180 families. It was also called Maʿān al-Mudīriyya when it became the seat of a governor, who resided in a palace allegedly built by Sultan Sulaymān; there is there a residence for the *ḳaymaḳām*, who in Ottoman times depended on the governor of Bilād al-S͟hām.

A certain amount of agricultural production has long been a feature of Maʿān, thanks to the oasis's permanent irrigation system; grown there are vegetables and fruit, amongst which are most prized apricots, pomegranates and peaches; date palms and poplars also grow there. To the southeast of Maʿān, in the sparse wadis of the uncultivated steppe lands, strewn with blocks of lava and basalt, a few acacias (*ṭalḥ*) grow, these being known as *umm ʿayyās͟h*, with their wood used for making various household utensils. This species of tree is not found north of Maʿān.

At present, the town forms the chef-lieu of the governorate of Maʿān, 688 km.^{2} in extent, whose population in 1961 was 47,000, in 1967 58,000, and in 1973 62,000. The town itself with its fired and mud-brick houses, its narrow streets with infrequent and low doorways, its decayed railway station and its airport meant for tourists travelling to Petra, is of no archaeological interest. Its population was estimated in 1912 at 3,000 (Baedeker); in 1932 at 3,000 still (*Guide Bleu*). It was 4,500 in 1956, and in 1973 reached 9,500.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, London 1929, 72; A. Sprenger, *Der Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, 118-19; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 39, 508; R. Brunnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Strasbourg 1905, i, 470, ii, 1-3, 281; iii, 216-17; Baedeker, *Palestina und Syria*, 1912, 147; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 9-10, 130, 237; A. Musil, *The northern Heǧâz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 326-30; G. Lankester Harding, *The*

antiquities of Jordan, revised ed., London 1967, 21, 35, 52, 138-40; A. K. Rafeq, *The province of Damascus 1723-1783*, Beirut 1966, 64, 213.

(N. Elisséeff)

AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN, two of the three categories into which, since the time of al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), the study of rhetoric has often been divided.

1. In Arabic. The *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* by al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*], where the two terms appear for the first time, was too confusing in its arrangement, and too obscure and at times self-contradictory to be of practical use to most students of rhetoric. It consisted of a section on grammar, a section on syntax, a section on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān*, and two supplements to its *maʿānī* section, one on demonstration (*istidlāl*), and one on the definition of the formal aspects of poetry and on metre and rhyme. The section on grammar included a chapter on phonetics and the supplement on the *istidlāl* ended with a discussion of the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān. Probably for this reason, the digest of the third section of the *Miftāḥ* by al-Ḳazwīnī (also known as the Khaṭīb Dimashḳ, d. 739/1338), entitled *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* and, to a lesser extent, its companion volume, the *Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha* by the same scholar, became the standard works on the subject. These two books, both compendia on rhetoric only, received wide circulation and it is through them that the study of the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* can be most profitably approached. The main differences between al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Sakkākī have been explained in the article AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ; here it should be pointed out that the addition of a section on the *badīʿ* to replace al-Sakkākī's remarks on the "special methods frequently used for the purpose of embellishing a literary composition" does not go back to al-Ḳazwīnī, but to Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287) (see Maṭlūb, al-*Ḳazwīnī*, 205), whose books were earlier, apparently less successful attempts to present al-Sakkākī's theories in a more readable form (see below). Whereas these "embellishments" received no more than a brief and superficial treatment in al-Sakkākī, they soon became in the hands of his followers a separate branch of rhetoric which was raised to the same level as the *maʿānī* and the *bayān*.

The present article aims at providing a few practical hints by way of introduction to the vast and little-known literature on the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* which is represented chiefly by commentaries and supra-commentaries on al-Ḳazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ*. The *badīʿ* section cannot be discussed here. This section continues the older tradition of rhetorical studies initiated by Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ḳudāma [*q.vv.*], but does not include those figures of speech, tropes, and stylistic devices which al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī had already discussed under *maʿānī* or *bayān*, e.g. simile, metaphor, analogy, metonymy, epiphrasis (*īghāl*) and apostrophe (*iltifāt*) (the last of which is listed by al-Sakkākī both as an "embellishment" and as one of the subjects that come under the *maʿānī*, see *Miftāḥ*, 95, 202; see also Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 242-7, 259, 263, for the possible relation between this "embellishment" section and the *Kitāb Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr* by the Persian scholar, Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, d. 578/1182-3). Nor does it include the *ibtidāʾ* [*q.v.*], the *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*], the *intihāʾ* [*q.v.*], and the *sariḳāt* [*q.v.*] which al-Ḳazwīnī discusses in two supplements (see Mehren, 142-54), though many authors belonging to the older school would have classified them as *badīʿ*. It should be noted, however, that the practice of separating some of these figures from the corpus of the *badīʿ* dates back at least till the 5th/11th century (see S. A. Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual for secretaries*, in *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 310-12) and may have been initiated by al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), though the latter when he speaks of metaphor and simile as part of the *balāgha* [*q.v.*] does not state explicitly that these are not to be considered *badīʿ* figures (see al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, in *Thalāth rasāʾil*, ed. M. Khalaf Allāh and M. Z. Salām, Cairo n.d., 70, ll. 3-4, and the quotation in Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1353/1934, i, 214). It should also be noted that it is not correct to think of the history of rhetorical studies since the time of al-Ḳazwīnī as being completely dominated by the system he had introduced; works continuing the older tradition which brought all figures of speech under the heading of *badīʿ* and devoted a separate chapter to each figure [see BADĪʿ] continued to be written (they were especially popular in North Africa and Spain, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 292-3 = Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, 2nd ed. 1967, iii, 336-8), even though their authors were aware of, and probably influenced by, the new trend represented by the *Talkhīṣ* (Ibn Khaldūn suggests that the *Miftāḥ* was the basic text). In many respects, the later history of Arabic rhetoric presents essential, but still unanswered, questions.

Finding adequate translations of the terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* is made complicated by the fact that the relation between grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and between literary theory and literary criticism, is not apparent at first sight. Moreover, the borderline separating the disciplines dealing with these two categories, the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān*, is not always clear. In the *Miftāḥ*, the definitions overlap, and al-Sakkakī himself seems to regard the *ʿilm al-bayān* as a branch of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (see *Miftāḥ*, 77, 156-7, and cf. 77, lines 4-3 from bottom; see also Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī in *Shurūḥ*, iii, 261-2 and Maṭlūb, al-*Sakkākī*, 131-5). It is not surprising that al-Ḳazwīnī felt the need to criticise and reword these definitions and rearrange some of the material. Considering the etymology of the term *bayān* and the definition which al-Ḳazwīnī gives of the *ʿilm al-bayān* as "the science through which one knows how to express one and the same concept in ways which differ as to the degree of clarity achieved in indicating this concept" ([*huwa*] *ʿilm*[un] *yuʿrafu bihi īrādu 'l-maʿnā 'l-wāḥidi bi-ṭuruḳ*[in] *mukhtalifat*[in] *fī wuḍūḥi 'l-dalālati ʿalayhi*, *Talkhīṣ*, 66 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 257 ff.; see Mehren, 18-20, 53-4 and BAYĀN, i, 1116a bottom) and its association with the *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*] which involves, among other things, avoiding obscurity (*taʿḳīd*) in sentence structure (*naẓm*) and in the relation between statement and theme (*intiḳāl*, *Talkhīṣ*, 5, 7 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 103 ff., 150; see Mehren, 15-18), the translation "Science of exposition" (Mehren, 20: "Darstellungslehre") seems justified; but if one keeps in mind that the *ʿilm al-bayān* deals only with the simile (*tashbīh*) (as an introduction to the discussion of the metaphor), the metaphor (*istiʿāra*) [*q.v.*], the analogy (*tamthīl*), the metonymy (*kināya*) [*q.v.*] and the allusion, statement by implication (*taʿrīḍ*), the translation "Science of figurative expression" seems more appropriate.

Even more confusing is the term *maʿānī*, since what is meant is not the study of subjects and themes in poetry (as found in such works as the *Kitāb al-*

Maʿānī al-kabīr of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] or the *Dīwān al-Maʿānī* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [d. *ca.* 400/1009]), nor a study of lexicography, but essentially a study of those rules of syntax which have a bearing on the theory of functional, appropriate style, or as al-Ḳazwīnī puts it, "finding the proper expression to meet what is required in a given situation" (the full definition of the *ʿilm al maʿānī* is "the science through which one knows the various existing patterns of Arabic speech by means of which it meets the requirements of each situation", [*huwa*] *ʿilmᵘⁿ yuʿrafu bihi aḥwālu 'l-lafẓi 'l-ʿarabiyyi 'llatī bihā yuṭābiḳu muḳtaḍā 'l-ḥāli*); the translation "Semantics of syntax" suggests itself (cf. BAYĀN, i, 1116a: "the different kinds of sentence and their use").

The awkwardness of the terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* and the difficulty of finding proper definitions for the two disciplines, *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and *ʿilm al-bayān*, particularly in their relationship to lexicography and grammar, has not escaped the mediaeval critics (see the interesting observations in Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza's *Ṭirāz*, i, 8-18), and one wonders what determined the choice of these terms. The *maʿānī* and *bayān* sections in the *Miftāḥ* were based respectively on the *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* and the *Asrār al-balāgha* by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [see AL-DJURDJĀNĪ in Suppl.], and it is in these two works that one would first try to find an answer to this question. On p. 64 of the *Dalāʾil*, al-Djurdjānī makes clear that composition (*naẓm*) depends on obeying the rules of syntax (which he briefly enumerates), and on p. 65 he declares that determining a correct or faulty *naẓm* always involves a principle of syntax (*maʿnan min maʿānī 'l-naḥw*). On p. 222, ll. 4-5 of the *Asrār* (Ritter's tr., 261 bottom) he qualifies the simile as *maʿnan min al-maʿānī*, apparently meaning a way of formulating a common syntactic construction. It is possible that al-Sakkākī derived the term from al-Djurdjānī's definition of the *naẓm* as essentially a matter of correct syntax, the more so since the chapter on the *maʿānī* in the *Miftāḥ* immediately follows the section on syntax, so that the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* could be seen as an extension of syntax into the realm of rhetoric. It is also possible that he based himself on an earlier model: The term *maʿānī al-naḥw* appears in the famous discussion between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus al-Ḳunnāʾī which took place in 320/932 (see Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Muḳābasāt*, ed. Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1347/1929, 80; idem, *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 121; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 117; D. S. Margoliouth in *JRAS* [1905], 122), but seems to be used there for grammar in its widest sense. Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) in his *al-Ṣāḥibī* (ed. M. el-Chouémi, Beirut 1383/1964, 179) uses the term *maʿānī al-kalām* for the following categories: *khabar*, *istikhbār*, *amr*, *nahy*, *duʿāʾ*, *ṭalab*, *ʿarḍ*, *taḥḍīḍ*, *tamannī*, and *taʿadjdjub*, nearly all of which appear also in the *maʿānī* chapters of al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī. The term *naẓm* may have been abandoned because it was too general and had to be associated, as al-Djurdjānī states clearly on pp. 300-1 of the *Dalāʾil*, with the use of the *istiʿāra*, the *kināya*, and the *tamthīl* as well as other tropes (*sāʾir ḍurūb al-madjāz*). It should be noted, however, that al-Ḳazwīnī (*Īḍāḥ*, i, 57-8) and al-Taftāzānī (*al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*, 27) quote a definition which gives the term a narrow sense and which was based on al-Djurdjānī (cf. *Dalāʾil*, 67-9). However that may be, one cannot deny that there is a certain logic in the new arrangement introduced by al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī as long as one sees the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* as a set of rather strict rules governing the art of correct sentence structure, the purpose of which was to demonstrate that changes in word order almost invariably lead to changes in meaning; the *ʿilm al-bayān* as an analysis of figurative expressions which, one might argue, the writer is free to use but which, since they are the product of his creativity and often lend clarity and distinction to his style, are by necessity part of any theory of style; and the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* as a list of "embellishments" which are not essential criteria of a good style, but which are nevertheless applied quite frequently. It is conceivable that al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī tried to programme the study of rhetoric in such a way that the reader would become familiar first with the elementary skills of composition, then with the characteristics of literature as a form of art, and finally with some stylistic devices used by accomplished poets and writers. It is true that much of what comes under the heading of *ʿilm al-maʿānī* is syntax or formal logic; but very often one finds that these statements of rules and principles explain how the speaker ought to convey a certain mood which requires him to emphasise, exaggerate, play on the hearer's imagination, or conform to a given situation by making tacit assumptions about what is known or acceptable to his audience, etc. This unquestionably draws the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* into the sphere of rhetoric and oratory. The use of the term *bayān* may reflect the view that metaphors should be used since they are sometimes more effective than terms used in their proper sense. Or the term may have been chosen simply because it was often associated with this aspect of *balāgha* (see BAYĀN, i, 1114a; see also al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat*, 79, l. 12 and cf. *A Fatimid manual*, 313-19: al-Rummānī speaks of the metaphor as leading to a *balāghat bayān* not possible if the proper term were used). One could suggest that al-Sakkākī had in mind the formulation of a concept in an unconventional, artful manner (and as such different from the common methods described in the *maʿānī* chapter) (cf. BAYĀN, i, 1116a bottom; cf. also *al-Nukat*, 98, ll. 2-15, and *A Fatimid manual*, 317, l. 12—318, l. 11), but no other examples of *bayān* being used specifically as a term for figurative expressions are known to exist: The terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* appear in al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]) *al-Kashshāf* and in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz*. Al-Zamakhsharī made frequent use of al-Djurdjānī, and al-Rāzī's *Nihāya* is actually a digest of al-Djurdjānī. But both authors use the terms in too vague a way to justify any conclusions, and, consequently, al-Sakkākī, who knew both the *Kashshāf* and the *Nihāya*, cannot have derived his definitions from these two books. He speaks however of "scholars" or "leaders" in the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* without specifying who they are (*Miftāḥ*, 95, 119, 121; see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 119-20), and this could of course be taken as an indication that he was not the first to introduce *maʿānī* as a term for a more or less clearly defined category of rhetorical studies.

How difficult it is to keep the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* completely separated appears from the treatment of the *madjāz* as part of the chapter on attribution (*isnād*) in the *maʿānī* section of the *Talkhīṣ* (10-13 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 224-72; cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār*, 342-5 = 399-402 of the translation): al-Ḳazwīnī discusses sentences such as "The springtime made the herbage come forth" for "God made the herbage come forth" where there is a "trope of the intellect"

(*madjāz aklī*), i.e. the hearer's realisation that it is the Creator who makes the herbage come forth, while the terms "springtime" and "made [the herbage] come forth" are used in their original sense; and "The springtime made the earth come to life" where there is not only a trope of the intellect in the relation between subject and predicate, but also a tropical use of "made [the earth] come to life" for "covered [the earth] with herbage". Al-Ḳazwīnī points out that the hearer cannot do without a "frame of reference" (*ḳarīna*) supplied by an element in the context or the result of logical reflection which enables him to understand that the sentences are not to be taken in their literal meaning (see Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 355-71, for views on this point by al-Ḳazwīnī's predecessors and followers; see also Mehren, 30-1, 75-6). However, al-Ḳazwīnī gives no further attention in this section to the association that makes it possible to use "come to life" in the sense of "come forth", since this is a question that belongs to the *ʿilm al-bayān*. It would be wrong, however, to see the *ʿilm al-bayān* as a science that is exclusively concerned with individual words used metaphorically in a certain context (involving, of course, once more a discussion of the *ḳarīna*) and of the associations which make such metaphors acceptable (cf. *Miftāḥ*, 157, ll. 3-5): in phrases such as "I see you advancing one foot while at the same time moving backwards with the other", which are intended as analogies (*tamthīl*), the words are used in their original, proper meaning, though the sentence as a whole is used metaphorically to describe somebody who is reluctant to commit himself (*Talkhīṣ*, 86 = *Shurūḥ*, iv, 143 ff.; see Mehren, 38-9); and in the metonymy "He has many ashes [around his hearth]" there is no need to attribute a tropical sense to any term in the sentence in order to conclude that what the speaker wants to say is that the man often prepares meals and therefore must be a generous person who entertains many guests (*Talkhīṣ*, 92 = *Shurūḥ*, iv, 256 ff.; see Mehren, 41-2). Moreover, al-Ḳazwīnī considers the *istiʿāra* as essentially a form of simile (*tashbīh*) (67 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 287 ff.; see Mehren, 53-4; this theory may go back to al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat*, 79, ll. 5-10, see Heinrichs, *The hand*, 14, 41, and Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual*, 313-14, and was adopted by al-Sakkākī's contemporary, al-Muṭarrizī [d. 610/1213], see Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza, *Ṭirāz*, i, 260-1 and Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 175, as well as by al-Sakkākī himself, *Miftāḥ*, 157, ll. 22 ff.), and therefore introduces a detailed chapter on the *tashbīh* in the *bayān* section before dealing with the *istiʿāra*. The *maʿānī* chapter, however, also deals briefly with the simile when it analyses the inversion (*ḳalb*) which, if applied to the simile, results in a hyperbole (*Talkhīṣ*, 27 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 488-9, and the *tashbīh maḳlūb* chapter in *Talkhīṣ*, 74 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 407 ff.; see Mehren, 24-5, 68-9). Finally, as mentioned earlier, the *maʿānī* chapter includes figures (e.g. *iltifāt*, *tawshīʿ*, *ighāl*, *tadhyīl*, *takmīl* or *iḥtirās*, *tatmīm* and *iʿtirāḍ*) which scholars following the older schools would have identified as *badīʿ*. In making these figures part of the *maʿānī* chapter, al-Ḳazwīnī may have been the first to separate them from the corpus of the *badīʿ* (see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 138; idem, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 316).

The works by al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī and their school cannot stand comparison with the two books by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī on which they were based. On the surface, the chapters on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* appear as nothing more than digests of al-Djurdjānī, the *maʿānī* sections, generally speaking, corresponding to the *Dalāʾil* and the *bayān* sections to the *Asrār*. Whereas in al-Djurdjānī the relation of his theories to the practice of literary criticism is always clear, his followers seem to be interested only in presenting a skeleton of these theories and in finding convenient means of recognising and classifying patterns of syntax and figurative expressions, and in offering concise definitions. It is easy to see that al-Djurdjānī's attention to detail, and his method of discussing the same problem in different contexts and handling it from different angles, should have invited attempts to offer his arguments and conclusions in a more convenient form. Still, the foundations laid by al-Djurdjānī and his psychological and logical analysis of literature as a work of art were not entirely obscured, and this is no doubt the reason why al-Sakkākī's unsuccessful attempt to subject the two works to a rigid system of classification and al-Ḳazwīnī's subsequent effort to make an intelligible, though extremely concise, revision and digest of al-Sakkākī gave rise to an extensive literature of commentaries and supra-commentaries (al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ* did not go far enough to clarify his *Talkhīṣ*). One admires the critical acumen and profound learning that characterise this literature and its concern to do full justice to every point of view, in spite of much casuistry in the classification of categories and the choice of technical terms. Outstanding examples are the two commentaries on the *Talkhīṣ* by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), the *Sharḥ muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* (see *EI*[1], art. AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ for other titles used for the same works).

In the prefaces to the *Talkhīṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ*, al-Ḳazwīnī informs us that he has changed the arrangement of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ*, had recourse to al-Djurdjānī's *Dalāʾil* and to his *Asrār* (both quoted in the *Talkhīṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ*), as well as to other texts which he does not specify, and included some of his own ideas. According to Maṭlūb (*al-Ḳazwīnī*, 191-228), he used Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1001), Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khafādjī (d. 466/1073) (on al-Khafādjī's *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, see FAṢĀḤA, ii, 824b-825b), al-Zamakhsharī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) [*q.v.*], Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256), Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and he may have used al-Rummānī. Other digests of the *Miftāḥ* which, if we may believe Ibn Khaldūn (see the passage quoted above), included a digest of the rhetorical section of the *Miftāḥ* by al-Sakkākī himself, apparently did not meet with the same measure of success. The same al-Taftāzānī who composed the *Sharḥ muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* wrote his own commentary on the *Miftāḥ* which survives in manuscript (Sellheim, 307). Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik wrote a *Miṣbāḥ fi 'khtiṣār al-miftāḥ* which should not be confused with his *Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* (Sellheim, 315, 333, correcting Brockelmann). The latter work has been recognised by Ahlwardt (no. 7249, pp. 394b-396a) and Sellheim (316) as an independent system of rhetoric, though it may have been influenced by the "standardisation" established by al-Sakkākī. Maṭlūb (*al-Sakkākī*, 382) goes farther and finds that the *Miṣbāḥ* is no more than a "reduced size copy" of the *Miftāḥ*, though in his book on al-Ḳazwīnī (90-1, cf. also 160, 229) he points out some important differences between the two texts. In addition, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik wrote a book with the title *Rawḍ al-adhhān fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* which was used by Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 773/1372) [*q.v.*] in his *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ fī*

sharḥ talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ (see *Shurūḥ*, i, 30, 159, 376 and elsewhere) and is preserved in a manuscript in Leiden (see Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 92, 684). According to Maṭlūb, it was written before the (second) *Miṣbāḥ* and was like its companion volume essentially a digest of the *Miftāḥ*, the first such text to reach Egypt. The substantial agreement between the *Miṣbāḥ* and the *Miftāḥ* appears clearly from a comparison of the definitions of the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* and, to a lesser extent, from a comparison of the tables of contents. Where the two books show an important difference is in the use of the term *badīʿ* (see above) and in the detailed treatment which the *badīʿ* receives in the *Miṣbāḥ* (which falls outside the scope of this article).

Much more interesting as an independent study of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* than Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik's *Miṣbāḥ* is another little-known work, the *Ṭirāz al-mutaḍammin li-asrār al-balāgha wa-ʿulūm ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-iʿdjāz* of al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī (d. 747/1346; see Brockelmann II, 186, S II, 242). A curious aspect of this book is that the author apparently knew neither the two books by al-Djurdjānī nor al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ* and that it cannot be precisely determined where he found the quotations from the *Miftāḥ* which so much influenced his thinking (see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 359-60). In the preface (i, 3-4), he acknowledges that he used the *Mathal al-sāʾir* by [Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn] Ibn al-Athīr, "the *Tibyān* by the *shaykh* ʿAbd al Karīm", the *Nihāyat [al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz]* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (which, as mentioned earlier, was a compendium of the *Dalāʾil* and the *Asrār*), and the *Miṣbāḥ* of Ibn Sirādj (*sic*) al-Mālikī. Maṭlūb (*al-Sakkākī*, 358-9) does not seem to be in any doubt that this last work is identical with the *Miṣbāḥ fī 'khtiṣār al-miftāḥ* of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and believes that it was from this abridged version of the *Miftāḥ* that Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza derived his knowledge of al-Sakkākī. He apparently also feels certain that the work by ʿAbd al-Karīm is the *Tibyān* of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Zamlakānī (d. 651/1253; see also Maṭlūb's ed. of this work [Baghdād 1383/1964], 17). Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza quotes several other important authors, such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim?) al-Āmidī (d. 370/980-1), al-Rummānī, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, al-Muṭarrizī, and al-Khafādjī, of whose works, however, he may not have had direct knowledge. He must also have been thoroughly familiar with al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* (a work that gives much attention to the stylistic excellence of the Ḳurʾān and made use of al-Djurdjānī), since the *Ṭirāz* was intended as an introduction to the author's lectures on the *Kashshāf* (i, 5). The work has a much wider scope than the works by al-Sakkākī, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and al-Ḳazwīnī: Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza explains his views in great detail and offers copious examples. That the *Ṭirāz* was not an imitation of any of these earlier texts is clear also from its arrangement: Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza divides his work into three lengthy "subjects" or chapters (*funūn*), a series of introductory remarks (i, 8), a chapter dealing with the *bayān*, the *maʿānī*, and the *badīʿ* (i, 183), and a third chapter dealing with the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (iii, 213). The second chapter, which interests us here, deals first with the *istiʿāra*, the *tashbīh* (which Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza considers a subject far more complicated than the *istiʿāra*), the *kināya*, the *taʿrīḍ*, and the *tamthīl*. Next come two sections qualified as belonging to the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (cf. i, 196), the first of which deals with the semantics (*dalālāt*) of individual words and sentences (ii, 9), and the second with matters of style (ii, 221) as far as these two can be kept apart (cf. ii, 221-2). The chapter ends with a discussion of the *badīʿ* (ii, 353).

As noted earlier, there are numerous commentaries on the *Talkhīṣ*, as well as supra-commentaries and glosses. An authoritative and informative list of many of these, with valuable information on manuscripts, appears in Sellheim, 310-15. A collection of commentaries which comprises not only al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ* and al-Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar*, but also the *Mawāhib al-fattāḥ* of Ibn Yaʿḳūb al-Maghribī (wrote 1108/1696; see Brockelmann, S I, 518, m), the *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī (see above), and the *Ḥāshiya* of the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ʿArafa al-Dasūḳī (d. 1230/1815; see Brockelmann, II, 84, S II, 98 and Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, 592-7) was published in Cairo in 1937 (and earlier in Būlāḳ in 1318/1900-1, according to Brockelmann, S I, 516, 3a) in four volumes. Mention should also be made of the *Sharḥ ʿuḳūd al-djumān fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) [*q.v.*], a versification of the *Talkhīṣ* to which the author himself wrote a commentary, and the well-known commentary on the verses quoted in the *Talkhīṣ* known as the *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ ʿalā* (or: *fī sharḥ*) *shawāhid al-talkhīṣ* by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 963/1556), both of which were printed in several editions (see Brockelmann, I, 296, S I, 519).

The popularity which the system of al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī has enjoyed to this day is shown by such works as the edition by M. ʿA. Khafādjī of al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ*, Cairo 1368-70/1949-51, which contains extensive notes on the interpretation of the text and the history of the genre, and by modern works on the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* such as the *Bughyat al-īḍāḥ li-talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* of ʿA. al-Ṣaʿīdī, Cairo 1380/1960?, in four volumes and the *Djawāhir al-balāgha fī 'l-maʿānī wa'l-bayān wa 'l-badīʿ* by A. al-Hāshimī, Cairo 1379/1960, a work intended for school use. Other works are listed by Maṭlūb in his book on al-Ḳazwīnī (613-17). A complete survey of literature based directly or indirectly on al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī remains to be written; it should include such interesting works as the unpublished *Badīʿiyyat al-ʿumyān* by Ibn Djābir (d. 780/1378), a didactic poem based on the *badīʿ* section of the *Īḍāḥ* with a commentary by Ibn Djābir's friend, al-Ruʿaynī (d. 779/1377; see Brockelmann, II, 13, 111, S II, 6, 138), the *Badīʿiyya* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. around 750/1349; see Brockelmann, II, 159, S II, 199) which lists, among the works consulted by the author, the *Miftāḥ* and works based on the *Miftāḥ*, and *badīʿiyyas* by other authors that might contain elements of the same tradition.

An excellent summary of the *ʿilm al-bayān* and the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* is found in Mehren's *Rhetorik*. Mehren based himself on the *Talkhīṣ*, the two commentaries by al-Taftāzānī, and the *ʿUḳūd* by al-Suyūṭī. Other texts were known to the author and occasionally used by him (see pp. iv-v and 3-13). Mehren also dealt briefly with the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (18-19), but apparently gave up his plans to deal with this discipline in a separate publication (p. v). However, the technical terms in the *maʿānī* chapters, as far as they pertain to rhetoric, are sometimes the same as those of the *bayān* which are adequately explained in Mehren; or they are common *badīʿ* terms which can be identified in handbooks composed by authors who followed the "older" school, such as the *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr* of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, ed. Ḥ. M. Sharaf, Cairo 1383/1963.

Another useful introduction is the article by M. Weisweiler, *ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī's Werk über die Unnachahmlichkeit des Korans und seine syntaktisch-stilistischen Lehren*, in *Oriens*, xi/1-2 (1958), 77-121, which, though intended as a summary of the *Dalāʾil*, can be used as a study of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and thus makes up in a large measure for the omission of this section from Mehren's book.

Bibliography (for more detailed information on existing editions of Arabic texts listed in the article or in this bibliography, see Brockelmann and the relevant articles in *EI*[1] and *EI*[2]): ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1367/1947-8; idem, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; idem, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst des ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, übersetzt von H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1959; al-Sakkākī, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Cairo 1356/1937; Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān wa 'l-badīʿ*, Cairo 1341/1923; al-Ḳazwīnī, Djalāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khaṭīb Dimashḳ, *Matn al-talkhīṣ fī ʿilm al-balāgha*, Cairo n.d. (Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī); Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, ed. K. K. Bakrī and ʿA. Abu 'l-Nūr, Cairo 1968, i, 200-14; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 473-9, 1762-8 (= Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 402-13, vi, 15-26); A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen-Vienna 1853 (repr. Hildesheim-New York 1970); J. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1873 (repr. Amsterdam 1970); W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XVIII. Bd.: *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, VI. Bd., Berlin 1894, 363-412 (tables of contents of texts mentioned in this article and of other texts belonging to the same tradition); Brockelmann, I, 294-6, II, 22, S I, 515-19, 965, S II, 15-16; A. Maṭlūb, *al-Balāgha ʿind al-Sakkākī*, Baghdād 1384/1964; idem *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Baghdād 1387/1967; idem, *Muṣṭalaḥāt balāghiyya*, Baghdād 1392/1972 (useful summary of the two preceding works); R. Sellheim, *Materialen zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Teil I (= *Verzeichniss der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd. xvii, Reihe A: *Arabische Handschriften*), Wiesbaden 1976; W. Heinrichs, *The hand of the Northwind: opinions on metaphor and the early meaning of Istiʿāra in Arabic poetics*, in *Abh. K.M.*, Bd. xliv/2, Wiesbaden 1977 (the term *istiʿāra* with observations on al-Sakkākī's use of this term). (S. A. BONEBAKKER)

2. In Persian. The rhetorical system innovated by al-Sakkākī and his school did not meet with particular attention in the field of Persian rhetoric. One of the few books written in Persian and following his system of devices is contained in the ms. Madjlis 4866 (cf. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Shūrā-yi millī*, xiii, Tehran 1968, 303-4). It seems, however, that no attempt has been undertaken, so far, to look for a creative adaptation of the above-mentioned system to the exigencies of Persian language and literature. Even one of the latest treatments of this scheme of ideas, the *Maʿālim al-balāgha dar ʿilm-i maʿānī wa-bayān wa-badīʿ*, by M. Kh. Radjāʾī, Shīrāz 1962 and [2]1975, contents itself with illustrating the two rhetorical categories by means of the well-known Arabic quotations, just complementing them by some Persian examples for clearer reference.

Persian scholars of rhetoric, at all times, were mainly interested in rhetorical figures and the rhetorical art (*ṣanāʾiʿ*). These are assigned by al-Sakkākī to the third rhetorical category (*badīʿ*), as far as they are not simile, metaphor, metonymy, analogy, etc. The basic work dealing with this subject is, however, not the *Miftāḥ* written by him, but the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr* by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (see also the foreword by A. Iḳbāl to his edition of this work, Tehran 1308 h sh.).

To understand this phenomenon, we have to bear in mind that al-Sakkākī based himself on the study of Ḳurʾānic modes of expression, whereas in Persian literature such a sacrosanct linguistic monument was non-existent, and with it the motive for analogous considerations. Al-Sakkākī himself was a Persian, as was his famous predecessor al-Djurdjānī and as were some of his commentators, for instance al-Taftāzānī. They all wrote in Arabic about an essentially Arabic subject, so that whoever wanted to deal with the material, had to have a good knowledge of Arabic. Persian elaborations of the above theory, therefore became quite superfluous. Not surprisingly, a number of manuscripts of the Arabic commentaries and supra-commentaries are at present to be found in Persian libraries. (B. REINERT)

MAʿĀRIF (A.), education, public instruction. The word is the pl. of *maʿrifa* "knowledge". The term was already used in mediaeval times to denote the secular subjects of knowledge or culture in general (e.g. in the title of Ibn Ḳutayba's *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*), in opposition to the religious sciences (*ʿulūm*, pl. of *ʿilm*).

1. IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN ARAB LANDS

It seems that the official use of the term appears for the first time in the Ottoman Empire in 1838, when a school for educating government officials was established in Istanbul and was named *Mekteb-i Maʿārif-i ʿAdliyye*. After that, the term was frequently used in Turkish to indicate education. Thus the first governmental body charged with the administration and supervision of the budding system of state schools which was created in 1845 was called *Muwaḳḳatī Maʿārif Medjlisi*, Provisional Council of Education. This was the forerunner of the Ministry of Public Instruction, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye-i Neẓāreti*, established in 1857. It is noteworthy that the first directorate of the new state schools, which had been created in 1839, was called *Mekātib-i Rüshdiyye Neẓāreti* and did not include the new term *maʿārif*, perhaps because it was a department within the Ministry of Pious Foundations under the *Shaykh al-Islām*. The Ministry of Education was renamed in 1920 by the Kemalists *Maʿārif Vekāleti*. In 1933, with the language reform in Turkey, the former Arabic-Ottoman Turkish-sounding term was replaced by a purely Turkish one, and the Ministry was renamed *Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı*, Ministry of National Education, which has remained the official term, although *maarif* is still a common word in Turkish for education, along with the neologism *eğitim*.

The use of the word *maʿārif* for public education became current in Egypt and Iran in the 19th century, almost certainly under the influence of the Ottoman term. Both in Egypt and in Iran the official use of the term to designate the system of education was avoided for about half a century. When the first Ministry of Education was formed in Egypt in 1837, it was simply called *Dīwān al-Madāris* (*Medāris Dīwānī* in Turkish), the Department of Schools. Only since the Khedive Ismāʿīl's rule (1863-79) was the Ministry of Public Instruction

called *naẓārat* (later, in 1915, *wizārat*) *al-maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*. The term *maʿārif* was universally used for "education" in the Ministries of Education of the Arab successor-states of the Ottoman Empire, and until the mid-1930s, also in Iran. Only after the Egyptian Revolution, at the beginning of the school year 1954-5, was the Ministry of Public Instruction renamed *Wizārat al-tarbiya wa 'l-taʿlīm*, literally "Ministry of Education and Instruction". The Minister of Education explained that the change aimed to emphasise the shift from the static and passive "knowledge" to the dynamic process of education and the teaching of various skills. It may be suggested that additional reasons were behind the decision to do away with the term *maʿārif*. Although the word is of an Arabic origin, Arabic was less comfortable with it in the sense of education than Ottoman, and even modern Turkish. The expression *dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, for example, has the double meaning of "Department of Education" and "encyclopaedia". The dropping of the old and, from the Arabic point of view, the somewhat clumsy term *maʿārif* should be also viewed against the background of the Arabisation after the Egyptian revolution of 1952 of the official nomenclature, which had still retained many Turkish terms in the civil administration and in the Army. Following the Egyptian example, the other Arab countries replaced in the fifties the term *maʿārif* with *tarbiya* or *tarbiya wa-taʿlīm* for their Ministries of Education. It further seems that the word *maʿārif* in the sense of education is dying out in Arabic in the non-official usage also.

i. The Ottoman Empire and Turkey

The beginning of modern education in the Ottoman Empire. — Islamic society had traditionally the highest regard for the pursuit of knowledge, *ʿilm*, but education was considered as a religious or communal matter of no concern to the state. Muslim children were taught the Ḳurʾān and the basics of religion in the Ḳurʾān schools, the *mekteb* (Arabic *maktab* or *kuttāb* [*q.v.*]). Higher religious studies were given in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] (Turkish pronunciation, *medrese*). The traditional educational institutions were financed by private donations, but mainly by the *waḳfs*, pious foundations. The religious educational system was entirely within the jurisdiction of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The traditional religious education had not changed substantially for centuries and was quite uniform, some local variations notwithstanding. The modernised, state-directed, and at least partially secularised education which was called *maʿārif* emerged only in the 19th century, although there were some hesitant beginnings in the 18th century. These had been prompted by the Ottoman defeats at the hands of the European powers. The Ottoman government realised that it had to improve the training of its officers and that this could be accomplished only by borrowing European training methods and techniques.

As early as 1734 a school of engineering, *Hendese-k͟hāne*, was established in Üsküdar. This first institution was to be shortlived, but in the last quarter of the 18th century more successful efforts to found military schools were made. After the Ottoman navy was burned by the Russians, the Ottomans established in 1776 a new Imperial Naval Engineerng School, *Mühendis-k͟hāne-yi Baḥrī-yi Hümayūn*. In order to train army artillery officers, an Imperial Land Engineering School, *Mühendis-k͟hāne-yi Berrī-yi Hümayūn* was founded in 1794 (or in 1796). These military schools were staffed largely by French officers, and European textbooks, especially translated for the cadets, were used there.

Maḥmūd II. — Yet the first real educational beginning in the Ottoman Empire belongs to the reign of Maḥmūd II (1801-39), who was following the example of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Egypt's modernising Pas͟ha. Maḥmūd's first significant step in the field of education was issuing an edict which stated that "the majority of people lately avoid sending their children to school and prefer to give them to a trade as novices to artisans when they reach the age of five or six because of their ambition to earn money immediately. This condition is the cause not only of widespread illiteracy but also of ignorance of religion ... No man henceforth shall prevent his children from attending school until they have reached the age of adulthood ...". This edict cannot be considered as a compulsory education law, and it contained nothing to change the traditional aims and structure of elementary education, but it did mark a departure from the past by declaring the direct involvement of the state as such in the education of children. Maḥmūd realised that in order to reform the army, the reactionary forces should be eliminated. Therefore he destroyed the Janissaries in 1826, as Muḥammad ʿAlī had massacred the *mamlūk*s in 1811. It is no coincidence that the greater part of Maḥmūd's educational activity took place after that date. It was to be typical of educational development in the Middle East that reform in the school system started from the top, by establishing modern specialised schools to train officers, doctors, engineers and administrators for the army and the civil bureaucracy. The higher, specialised schools were unrelated to the traditional educational system; the elementary schools especially saw very little change until the 1908 revolution. Because of this, students of engineering and medicine in the first higher schools had to study such elementary subjects as arithmetic, Turkish grammar and French. Eventually, the higher institutions of learning had to form their own preparatory sections, until the state gradually developed the higher-elementary and secondary stages of the educational system. An impressive number of higher schools were founded during the reign of Maḥmūd II. In 1827 Maḥmūd opened a medical school in Istanbul to train doctors for the army, less than a month after the opening of Muḥammad ʿAlī's medical school in Cairo. The Imperial Music School was inaugurated in 1831. In 1832 the *D̲j̲errāḥ-k͟hāne*, another medical school for the training of surgeons, was founded. In 1834 the *Ḥarbiyye*, the Military Academy was opened. It was modelled on St. Cyr, and indeed the French influence was dominant at this school. In 1838 a Law School was opened. Among the educational achievements of Maḥmūd's reign should be mentioned the first students' mission to European capitals, which started in 1834 (according to one source, in 1827), also by following Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, who was the first Middle Eastern ruler to adopt his method of training specialists for his army and administration. Another method to raise the educational standards of his army was to establish training units within the military corps (1832).

Toward the end of the reign of Maḥmūd II, two schools of a new kind were created, the *Mekteb-i Maʿārif-i ʿAdliyye*, the so-called *ʿAdlī* (after a title of Maḥmūd II) School of Science, a school designed specifically to train employees for government offices (1838), and the *Mekteb-i ʿUlūm-i Edebiyye*,

School of Literary Sciences, to train translators and interpreters (1839). These schools taught, among other things, modern subjects such as French, geography and mathematics. Maḥmūd's educational system created a new type of school, the *rüs̲h̲diyye*, higher elementary school (from *rüs̲h̲d*, meaning "adolescence"), which was to serve throughout the 19th century as an important link between the elementary schools and the higher stages, which were somewhat modernised and secularised, although lip-service to religion was always paid. As has already been mentioned, Maḥmūd's reign also initiated the first government offices which were charged with administering and supervising the new schools, the forerunners of the Ministry of Education. One of them was the *Med̲j̲lis-i Umūr-i Nāfiʿa*, the Board of Useful Affairs, established in 1838, which among other things constructed schools. Another body was the Department of the *rüs̲h̲diyye*s, *Mekātib-i Rüs̲h̲diyye Neẓāreti* (1839). Despite the impressive record of Maḥmūd's period, one must remember that the number of students exposed to the new education was severely hampered by lack of teachers and by difficulties of language and terminology.

The Tanẓīmāt. — The period of the Ottoman Reforms, the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] (1839-76), brought about a real breakthrough in all the spheres of education: organisation, legislation and development. In 1845 the *Muwaḳḳat-i Maʿārif Med̲j̲lisi*, Provisional Board of Education was formed, in the next year it became *Mekātib-i ʿUmūmiyye Neẓāreti*, Ministry of Public Schools, and was replaced in 1857 by the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1851 the Society of the Learned, *End̲j̲ümen-i Dānis̲h̲*, was formed with the purpose of sponsoring Ottoman culture and contributing to education. It was active only for a few years and did not accomplish much. In 1868 a Council of State was set up. The Council had five sections, after the French model, one of which was in charge of agriculture and public instruction. A Higher Council for general education was formed in 1869 within the Ministry of Education, on which representatives of the non-Muslim communities (*millets* [*q.v.*]) also served. Subordinate to this central council, provincial councils were established in each province as part of the local government. During the *Tanẓīmāt* era, important innovations were introduced. For the first time programmes and regulations were issued to all the elementary schools of the empire (1847). In 1870 a similar set of regulations concerning the *rüs̲h̲diyye* schools was circulated. In 1846 ʿAlī and Fuʾād, two of the chief reformers, prepared an ambitious but unrealistic scheme to reorganise the entire educational ladder from the *ṣibyān* elementary schools up to the university. With the foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1857, another scheme for the organisation of the school system was prepared, which provided for an elementary school (*mekteb-i ṣibyān*) of 4 grades (ages 7-10), secondary school (*rüs̲h̲diyye*) of 6 grades (ages 11-16), from which the graduate could continue in various higher institutions of learning, including the *Mülkiyye*, a school which was actually founded only in 1859 to prepare civil servants.

In 1286/1869 a comprehensive law or reorganisation of the state school system was issued. This time the scheme was more thorough than previous attempts aiming at the rationalisation of the school system and integrating all that which had been achieved till that date. The Ottoman Education Law was inspired by the European legislation of the day, and perhaps also followed the Egyptian Education Law of 1867. The Ottoman law classified schools in the empire into public (*ʿumūmiyye*) and private (*k̲h̲uṣūṣiyye*). The former were graded as elementary (*ṣibyāniyye*) higher elementary (*rüs̲h̲diyye*), lower secondary (*iʿdādiyye*) and higher secondary (*sulṭāniyye*). At the top there were higher institutions of learning, technical, agricultural, and teacher training, and the state university (*Dār al-Fünūn*). Already in 1868 a compulsory education law had been issued, according to which all boys aged 7-11 and all girls aged 6-10 had to go to school. The 1869 law provided for a *ṣibyān* school in every village or town quarter, a *rüs̲h̲diyye* in towns with 500 or more families, and an *iʿdādiyye* in communities with 1,000 families or more. A *sulṭāniyye* secondary school was to be established in every provincial capital. The actual development of Ottoman education, however, lagged behind this scheme, for lack of funds, teachers and facilities. By 1876 there were only 362 *rüs̲h̲diyye*s, and only one *sulṭāniyye* school was opened for a long time to come. As for the University, the first public lectures were held in 1863, but it was soon closed down. In 1870 another attempt to open the *Dār al-Fünūn* was short-lived. Only in 1900 was the university finally organised.

The *Tanẓīmāt* period began with the promulgation of the famous *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i S̲h̲erīf* ("Noble Rescript") of 1839 which proclaimed, at least implicitly, the principles of the equally of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of creed, and which opened the new state schools to non-Muslim children. The *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i Hümayūn* of 1856 made these promises explicit. Generally, the *Tanẓīmāt* period witnessed some genuine attempts to integrate the non-Muslim elements in Ottoman society, and it was realised that this could best be achieved through education. Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the famous reformer and administrator, established integrated schools while he was the governor of the *wilāyet* of the Danube. The first major breach in religious barriers against mixed education occurred in September 1868 with the establishment of the *Lycée* of G̲h̲alaṭa-sarāy, which was to be a conscious copy of the French *lycée*. The school offered a European-style curriculum in a five-year course and religious education for students of the main Ottoman millets; the Muslim children constituted about one-half of the student body. In its first years, the administration and the staff were mainly French. But in the seventies the French influence decreased and the school became increasingly Turkish in character. Robert College, the Protestant counterpart of G̲h̲alaṭā-sarāy, had already been in existence since 1863.

The *Tanẓīmāt* period is also to be c edited with the first institutes of teachers' training. The idea of state supervision of the teachers belongs to the time of Maḥmūd II, but nothing had been done before the *Tanẓīmāt* to train teachers formally; *medrese* graduates were considered as qualified teachers. The first college of teacher training (*dār al-muʿallimīn*) for the *rüs̲h̲diyye*s was opened in 1848 in Istanbul. The first normal school for girls (*dār al-muʿallimāt*) was founded in 1870, and by 1908 there were 33 teachers' training institutes throughout the empire.

The *Tanẓīmāt* period saw a determined effort to spread education to the provinces. The *wilāyet* Law of 1871 made provisions for provincial educational administration. In 1872 a decree for reform in the elementary schools in the provinces was issued.

Perhaps most important, the organised under-

taking of female education was original to the *Tanẓīmāt*. Coeducation was practised in the elementary *mekteb*, but was impossible in the *rüshdiyye*. Around 1862, separate schools for girls were established. The educational scheme of 1869 provided for the first time for education for girls, where such subjects as sewing and cooking were taught, and the first female teachers for girls' trade schools were appointed in 1873.

To sum up, the educational efforts of the *Tanẓīmāt* meant that new forms emerged; a network of military and civilian schools developed; pioneer work in the fields of education of girls and teacher training was started; contacts with Europe continued, including consultations with European education experts; student missions were sent; and the Ottoman School in Paris (1857-74) became a centre for the Ottoman students in that city. During the *Tanẓīmāt*, the gap between the secular and the religious in Ottoman society widened considerably.

The Constitutional, Ḥamidian and Young Turk periods. — The Constitution of 1876 reiterated the principles of compulsory and free primary education and the concept of a centralised and somewhat secularised school system. The state did not interfere with religious education in the elementary schools and in the *medreses*, which remained the province of the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Although the long reign of sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) was a time of despotism and political reaction, the sultan carried on his predecessors' educational activities. He imposed strict censorship on curricula and textbooks and his spies bedevilled the lives of teachers, students and intellectuals. Yet during his rule the literacy rate tripled, many schools were opened, new types of higher institutions of learning were established and the first modern university in the Muslim world was finally founded (1900). During the period 1879-99 the number of the *rüshdiyyes* rose from 253 to 389. The network of military schools was developed; there were 29 military *rüshdiyyes* in 1897. In accordance with his overall Islamic and Arab policy, ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II paid more attention to education in the Arab and other Muslim non-Turkish provinces than had been done previously. A typical example of this policy was the *ʿAshīret Mektebi*, School of the Tribes, which was opened in Beshiktāsh in 1894 and lasted until 1907. This school trained teachers, officers and administrators from the Arab, Kurdish and Albanian provinces. In 1883 the sultan decreed that every provincial capital should have its own teacher training college. In the same year he imposed an "assistance tax", a share of which was set apart for education. A medical school was opened in Damascus in 1903; it was then transferred to Beirut in 1916, and finally closed down in 1918. The network of military schools was extended, and in 1904 military schools were opened in Damascus, Baghdād, Erzincan, Edirne, and Monastir. Law schools were established in 1907 in Konya, Salonika and Baghdād.

ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd sponsored the opening of schools of finance (1878), fine arts (1879), commerce (1882), engineering (1884), a school for the blind and deaf (1889), veterinary services (1889), police (1891) and customs (1892). Generally, vocational and technical education was emphasised, and courses to train telegraphic operators and steamboat mechanics were given. The institutions of higher learning developed vigorously under ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd's rule, although the sultan realised that these could endanger his régime. Indeed, the first revolutionary group was organised in the military medical school in 1889. Similar circles were eventually successful in bringing about the 1908 revolution, which ushered in the period of the Young Turks, or the "Second Constitution", which lasted until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

The turbulent last ten years of the empire witnessed some basic changes in the approach to education. It can be stated that in this short period the educational system was transformed through modernisation and secularisation, preparing the road for the future Kemalist reforms. Besides the institutional and legal reforms in Turkish education, which will be presently discussed, new concepts about education came to the fore. As N. Berkes has aptly put it: "If the word *maarif* symbolises the era opened by Mahmud II, the term *terbiye* well represents the Meşrutiyet era, and signifies an important improvement over the first." Thus, to the concept of knowledge, the idea of education was now added. This era saw the emergence of the first professional Ottoman pedagogues, such as Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī (who would be later better known as an Arab educator and nationalist), Riḍā Tewfīḳ, Selīm Sirrī and Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, who promoted the publication of psychological and pedagogical literature. While the educational model during the *Tanẓīmāt* was the French system, the educators of the *Meshrūṭiyyet* turned to the Anglo-Saxon education system for inspiration.

There were significant beginnings of secularisation. The first teachers' organisations appeared. The struggle between the *khōdja* (clerical teacher) and the *muʿallim* (secular teacher) became more pronounced in the Young Turk period. The ideologues of the ruling Union and Progress Committee (*Ittiḥād ve Terakki Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*], headed by Diyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp, demanded that the state, not the *ʿulamāʾ*, should control and supervise public instruction. As a result of a resolution adopted at its 1916 convention, the Union and Progress Committee transferred the elementary schools, which had been previously under the Ministry of *Ewḳāf*, to the Ministry of Education. The *medreses* were merely transferred from the Ministry of *Ewḳāf* to another religious authority, the *Bāb-i Meshīkhat*, the Department of the *Shaykh al-Islām*.

In the legislative field, the 1329/1913 Provisional Law of Elementary Education, the most important law since the Ottoman Education Law of 1286/1869, was promulgated. The law created education committees at the level of districts and sub-districts, thus delegating administrative, financial and pedagogical responsibility to local authorities. The law placed all the financial burden of maintaining the schools, namely establishing a school, acquiring the land, constructing the building, paying the teachers' salaries and all current expenses, on the people of the countries and districts. This meant in practice that universal elementary education could not be achieved for a long time to come.

In the "Second Constitutional" period, progress was achieved in the sphere of women's education. Educational opportunities for women were extended to the secondary school. In 1911 the first *iʿdādiyye* and in 1913 the first *lycée* for girls were opened in Istanbul. Trade schools for girls were established, not only for cooking and sewing, but to train nurses and secretaries. In 1915, women were admitted to the University, although in separate classes, to be trained as secondary school teachers. After 1918, women were allowed to work as elementary school teachers.

After the 1908 Revolution, the University was reorganised and the curriculum now included history, philosophy and sociology, which had been banned under ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd.

Education in the Turkish Republic. — The educational developments in the Turkish Republic in the twenties and thirties are closely linked with the reforms of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, the future Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*], the first president of the Republic. The Kemalists, committed as they were to drastic cultural change, rightly understood the utmost importance of education for their objects. The revolutionary government in Ankara established its own Ministry of Education in May 1920, while still fighting against the Allied-supported Ottoman government in Istanbul.

The Law of Unification of Instruction (*Tawḥid-Tedrīsāt*) of 1924 ended the century-long dichotomy between secular and religious education in Turkey and created a fully secular and integrated school system. All educational institutions were placed under the control of the Ministry of Education. The *medreses*, 479 in all, with a total enrollment of 18,000 (only a third of whom were genuine students) were closed down. To provide alternative higher Islamic education, the Faculty of Theology was opened at the University of Istanbul and 26 secondary schools for training *imāms* and *khaṭībs* were established. The anti-clerical atmosphere of the period did not encourage the development of these institutions. The Theological Faculty was closed in 1934 and the last *imam-hatip mektepleri* were closed down in 1932-3, after their enrolment had been continuously dwindling. As for the religious education in regular schools, this too was adversely affected by the secularising ethos of the Atatürk era. In 1928 Islam ceased to be the state religion, and the principle of laicism was accepted. In the same year, the Latin script was adopted for the Turkish language. Atatürk himself went out to the people to teach the new script. In the next year, Arabic and Persian were eliminated from the curriculum. In 1932 religious instruction in the secondary schools was finally stopped. There is no agreement as to when religious instruction in the elementary schools was discontinued; some sources date it as early as 1924, others mention 1928, a date which seems more accurate. It seems that religious instruction was simply phased out, although it continued in many village schools. Toward the end of the forties, the public mood became definitely favourable to the reintroduction of religious instruction in schools. The issue came up in the National Assembly at the end of 1947. In January 1949 the Ministry of Education issued a circular, according to which two hours of religious instruction would be given in the fourth and fifth grades of elementary schools to pupils whose parents might ask for it. The coming to power of the Democratic Party in 1950 was a turning-point in the attitude of the government toward religion generally and religious instruction in particular. After 1950, religious education became compulsory for all; parents were required to opt out instead of in as before. At the beginning of the school year of 1956-7, religious instruction was introduced to the middle schools, or junior high schools (*orta okullar*), as well. In 1951 new *imam-hatip okullari* were established. In contradistinction from the early version, these institutions have been successful. Higher religious instruction have been offered in institutes in Istanbul and Konya, but the most important faculty which teaches Islam at the university level is the Faculty of Theology (*Ilâhiyat Fakültesi*) at Ankara University which was founded in 1949-50.

It is not surprising that, due to the administrative traditions of the Ottoman Empire, which had been influenced by the French model, the Ministry of Education of the Turkish Republic was centralistic from the start. This was also justified in part by the determination of the government to create a unified, modernised and secularised education in a country which was fragmented into numerous regions and tribes and which was far from enjoying linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Centralistic educational administration was also needed to overcome the indifference or even hostility of the conservative elements, particularly in the countryside, towards the Kemalist Revolution and its educational goals. In 1926 the Ministry of Education was reorganised. The country was divided into twelve regional directorates of education, each being headed by a superintendent of education (*maʿārif emīni*), directly responsible to the Ministry in Ankara. Since 1949, the organisation of the educational system has been somewhat more flexible, each governor being responsible for the education in his district. He is assisted by an educational council and a director of education, who is more responsive to local needs. In spite of these reforms, the educational system of Turkey, like most countries in the Middle East, is quite centralised, and the state controls the whole educational system pedagogically, administratively and financially. The Ministry of Education is helped by a National Educational Council (*Milli Eğitim Şurası*) which consists of educators and administrators and has wide powers in drawing up educational policies concerning curricula, textbooks and school regulations. The Council meets once every few years. The Tenth Educational Council convened in 1981. The Ministry of Education has a virtual monopoly of textbooks. The government controls higher education as well, and inspects private and minority schools closely. Private institutions have been declining in comparison with state schools. Scores of higher institutes which train students in such fields as economy, commerce, engineering and architecture were nationalised at the beginning of the school year 1971-2 after the important education law no. 1472 had been promulgated. Education in all state schools at all levels is free of charge.

The most difficult task which the education authorities had to face was to raise educational standards and to combat illiteracy in the nation generally and in the countryside in particular. The formal school system was complemented by the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Odjaghī*), a network of a kind of clubs founded in 1912 to promote Turkish culture and economic welfare through lectures, publishing books and opening schools. The Turkish Hearths were closed down in 1931 and replaced by a network of People's Houses and People's Rooms (*Halkevi* and *Halkodası* [see KHALKEVI]), community centres established to diffuse Turkish culture and closely associated with the ruling Republican People's Party. Teachers were encouraged by their Ministry to participate in the activities of these centres.

The Ministry of Education devised several programmes to train teachers for the village schools. One of them was to send soldiers of rural origin and having some education on short pedagogical courses. Since 1936, young villagers who had finished primary school were sent on courses of six months to prepare them to teach in their villages. According to the Village Educators' Law of 1937, special centres to

train teachers were initiated. In 1940 the law of 1937 was supplemented by the Village Institute Law. Subsequently, the two programmes were united. In addition to his regular teaching assignments, the village educator was expected to teach adults and to help in the social and economic development of the village. The Village Institutes were merged with the regular teacher training colleges in 1954.

All these efforts have produced positive results, and the gap between school attendance rates in villages and in the cities is not nearly as wide as is the case in most Middle Eastern countries. This applies even to education of girls. In the school year 1973-4, for instance, the proportion of girls in state elementary schools in the cities was 46%, while in the villages the percentage was only 3.7% lower. National schooling rates for children between the ages of seven and twelve, who are obliged to go to school according to the compulsory education law, were 90% already in 1672-3, again a much higher rate than in most countries of the region. The school attendance rates have been on the rise in all educational levels. Consequently, literacy rates rose from 19.2% in 1935 (29.3% for men and 9.8% for women) up to 54.67% in 1970 (69% for men and 40% for women). The progress in the education of women is especially impressive. Coeducation has been a principle in Turkish education since 1927; only when there are special circumstances or professional needs are separate schools for girls established.

The basic structure of the Turkish educational ladder is 5-3-3, i.e. primary school (*ilkokul*) of five grades (ages 7-11) followed by a junior high school or "middle school" (*ortaokul*) of three grades (ages 12-14) and leading to the secondary or high school, *lycée* (*lise*) of three grades (ages 15-17) or a vocational or a trade school. The *ilkokul* and the *ortaokul* comprise the two stages of the "basic education" (*temel eğitim*). At the *orta* level, the student may already start at a teacher training school, which continues four more years at the secondary level. Other courses which last four years after the *ortaokul*, that is up to the twelfth grade, are the *imam-hatip okulları* and technicians' schools. In addition to regular schools, there are evening schools for working youth. Special mention should be made of the state schools which teach in foreign languages. These institutions teach the "national" subjects in Turkish, but the language of instruction of all other subjects is English, French or German, according to the particular school.

Despite the impressive achievements, education in Turkey has yet to overcome many serious difficulties. Teachers' status and salaries are quite low. There is considerable shortage of teachers, since the teacher training schools at the secondary and university level do not keep up with the rapid growth of the student population. In 1972-3 the teacher: student ratio was 1:33 in the state primary schools, in the state *ortaokul* 1:43 and in the *lise* 1:39.7. Another structural weakness of the educational system is the small proportion of students in vocational and trade schools at the secondary level, which is well beneath 20% of the secondary school student population. One result of this is that each year, increasing numbers of the *lise* graduates cannot be admitted to the universities and other higher institutes of learning for lack of space, although the higher educational system is also expanding very quickly.

ii. Egypt

Educational development under Muḥammad ʿAlī. — The foundations of modern education in Egypt were laid by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha, the virtually independent viceroy of Egypt from 1805 until 1848. His ambitions were personal and dynastic, yet he was aware that if he was to establish a powerful state, he had to build a modern, European-style army and an efficient administration and economy. This he could accomplish only with Western methods and advice, since education and learning in Egypt, even more than in the centre of the Ottoman Empire, were wholly traditional and were confined to religious instruction at the *kuttāb*s and the *madrasas*, the most important one being al-Azhar [*q.v.*]. So it happened that although Muḥammad ʿAlī had little interest in raising the educational standards of the Egyptian people, his dynamic reign made Egypt the forerunner of modern education in the Arab-speaking world, and a model for the Ottoman Empire, of which Egypt was nominally only an outlying province.

After having destroyed the Mamlūks [*q.v.*] in 1811, Muḥammad ʿAlī set out to establish the *Niẓām d͟jadīd*, his new army. For this purpose he started to send student missions to Europe to study various technical subjects, and on the other hand began to found new state schools, bypassing the traditional system of education. France and Frenchmen enjoyed a predominant influence in the modernisation of Egyptian education, at least until the British occupation in 1882. Therefore it is of interest to note that the first student missions, in 1809 and 1819, were sent to Italy (to Leghorn, Milan, Florence and Rome) in order to study military science, shipbuilding, printing and engineering. The foreign language which was taught in the first state school established by Muḥammad ʿAlī was Italian. Since about 1820, however, Italian influence was replaced by the French, and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muḥammad ʿAlī's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Sève, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulaymān Pas͟ha. Sève organised the new army and the military schools. Indeed, the next missions were sent, mainly though not exclusively, to France. Thus the first large mission went to Paris in 1826, with the famous educator and writer *S͟hayk͟h* Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] as its *imām* and preacher. This mission included other members who later rose to prominence in the educational and administrative service of the Pas͟ha. By the mid-1830s the first Egyptian graduates of the student missions were teaching in Egypt at the professional school and replacing the European teachers and instructors.

In 1816 Muḥammad ʿAlī opened a school in the Citadel of Cairo where some 80 students began to study military subjects, arithmetic and Italian. Four years later the school was moved to Aswān. It is significant that the students were sons of *Mamlūk*s and other boys of Circassian, Turkish, Albanian and Armenian origin, who were believed to be superior in martial qualities to the native, Arabic-speaking Egyptians. Turkish was the language of instruction.

The beginning of secondary education was also connected with the army. Since the *kuttāb* schools could not prepare students for the higher schools, a preparatory (*tad͟jhīzī*) school was established in 1825 at Ḳaṣr al-ʿAynī with 500 students between 6 and 12 years of age. By 1833 the school had 1,200 students. The discipline and organisation at the prepar-

atory school, as indeed in the whole of Muḥammad ʿAlī's educational system, were military. The students were trained to join the naval, infantry, cavalry and engineering schools which were opened in the 1820s and the 1830s.

The first important institute of higher learning in Egypt was the Medical School, opened in 1827 at the hospital of Abū Zaʿbal, its director for the next 22 years was Clot Bey, another Frenchman, who was in charge of public health and medicine in Egypt. It was again typical that although the Medical School was mainly intended to serve the army, its students were native Egyptians, who had studied at al-Azhar, unlike the students of the military schools properly speaking. Other schools of civilian character were opened in 1829—the School of Agriculture, the School of Pharmaceutics and the Veterinary School. All these schools fell within the jurisdiction of the Department of the Army, *dīwān al-djihādiyya*, but already in 1826 a *Commission d'Instruction*, a consultative body for the new schools was set up within the *dīwān al-djihādiyya*.

The 1830s were the zenith of Muḥammad ʿAlī's career. His army became a huge fighting force which won victories and successfully challenged and threatened the Ottoman Empire itself. The growth and development of the army further stimulated the development of the school system. In that decade, the most important schools were founded and patterns for educational organisation and supervision were laid down. An impressive number of specialised, technical and industrial schools were founded. Among them were the short-lived School of Government Administration (1834), the Staff College (1836), the School of Chemistry (1831), School of Minerals (1834) and an industrial workshop (1839). The most important ones were undoubtedly the School of Engineering, *Muhandis-khāne* (1834), and the School of Languages and Translation, *Madrasat al-alsun wa 'l-tardjama* (1835). After a modest and apparently unsuccessful attempt to open a school of engineering in 1820, the *Muhandis-khāne* at Būlāḳ was opened. The engineering school, modelled after the École Polytechnique of Paris, trained engineers and supplied mathematics and science teachers to the secondary and higher schools. The School of Languages was founded by al-Ṭahṭāwī and directed by him for many years. The students spent there five or six years studying French, Islamic jurisprudence and mathematics, among other subjects. This institute became an important translation centre, where many textbooks were prepared or translated from European languages.

The 1830s were also the period of laying the foundations for the modernised primary education. Muḥammad ʿAlī ignored the *kuttāb* schools; he actually weakened the traditional system by confiscating the *waḳf* foundations which financed it. From 1833 state primary schools (*mubtadiyān*) were opened in the capital and the provinces, and within three years were over 50 of them. The pupils, who were from 7 to 12 years of age, learned besides the usual religious instruction secular subjects also such as geography and arithmetic. The people were reluctant to send their sons into these schools, which they rightly regarded as an integral part of Muḥammad ʿAlī's system of recruitment into the army.

The administration of the schools was separated from the army, but it took some time to reach that decision. Colonel Sève was appointed in 1834 as an inspector general of the schools within the *dīwān al-djihādiyya*, but later he had to devote all his time to his military duties. In 1830 the *Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique*, which in Arabic was inaccurately known as *madjlis shūrā 'l-makātib*, was established. It was a pedagogical body which was expected to coordinate the schools and the *dīwān al-djihādiyya*. A committee was formed, and it prepared a comprehensive scheme for education in Egypt, providing for primary schools, two preparatory schools (one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria) and special schools. Finally, in February 1837, a separate department, independent of the *dīwān al-djihādiyya*, and in charge of the schools, was founded. It was called the *dīwān al-madāris*, the Council of Schools, a term which was more correct than the bombastic French term by which the department became known, *Ministère de l'instruction publique*. It is true, however, that the *dīwān al-madāris* was the core of the future Ministry of Education. At first, the *dīwān al-madāris* suffered from mismanagement, inefficiency and intrigues. In addition to its pedagogical functions, it was charged with construction (for a time it was called the Council of Schools and Construction) and with the publication of the Official Gazette (*al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*). Initially, the *dīwān al-madāris* was divided into three sections: Arabic, Turkish and engineering. The Delta Barrage and the engineering services were also attached to the *dīwān* on account of their dependence on the *Muhandis-khāne*.

The setback to Muḥammad ʿAlī's imperialistic ambitions by the Treaty of London in 1840 drastically curtailed the extent of the Egyptian army and caused the breakdown of the school system in the 1840s. In 1841, only 5 state primary schools remained. The special schools were affected too. The student missions abroad continued, however, and in 1844 a large mission which included several princes (and was called thereafter *baʿthat al-andjāl*) was sent to France. In 1847, toward the end of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, a programme to establish popular elementary schools, or reformed *kuttābs*, called *makātib al-milla* (in contradiction from the government primary schools, the *mubtadiyān*), was brought forward. It is probable that Ibrāhīm Pasha, Muḥammad ʿAlī's son and successor, took an interest in the project, but his reign was too short to accomplish much and the reforms in the elementary education had to wait until the accession of Ismāʿīl.

Education under ʿAbbās I (1849-54) and Saʿīd (1854-63) — Educational development suffered a serious slowdown during the reigns of ʿAbbās I and Saʿīd. Although ʿAbbās was no more interested than Muḥammad ʿAlī in educating the Egyptian people, the training of army officers and bureaucrats continued on a modest scale. ʿAbbās sent some 40 students abroad, this time mainly to central Europe. ʿAbbās exiled al-Ṭahṭāwī to Kharṭūm to organise an Egyptian school there. On the other hand, he favoured and promoted ʿAlī Mubārak [*q.v.*], an able administrator, reformer, and writer, who was to become a key figure in the development of education in the next three decades. ʿAbbās weakened the Council of Schools and the educational system in general, but he was interested in the army and founded in 1849 the élite military school, *al-Madrasa al-ḥarbiyya al-mafrūza*. Of the special schools, only the medical school and the school of engineering remained.

It is generally agreed that Saʿīd's educational policy was erratic, and that he aimed at reversing his predecessor's decisions. Upon his ascession to the vice-regal throne, he abolished the *dīwān al-*

madāris and closed down all the schools within its jurisdiction. Shaykh al-Ṭahṭāwī was recalled from the Sudan, whereas ʿAlī Mubārak was sent by the ruler to the Crimean War. Egyptian students were sent to France again. Saʿīd's short reign was favourable to the development of foreign and missionary schools; by the end of his reign their number reached approximately 60.

The period of Ismāʿīl (1863-79) — During Ismāʿīl's reign, educational activity was vigorously renewed under the able direction of the European-educated administrators Ibrāhīm Adham and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak. For the first time, education in Egypt was becoming "public" in the true sense of the word, not limited to the task of training experts and technicians for the army and the state machinery. Unlike Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ismāʿīl made the *kuttāb*s the basis of the elementary education, and the *wakf* funds were used to finance them. Immediately after assumming power in 1863, Ismāʿīl reactivated the Council of Schools (*dīwān al-madāris*) which became in 1875 the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Naẓārat al-maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*), with ʿAlī Mubārak as Minister. Ismāʿīl gave full support throughout his reign to the initiative of Mubārak and other progressive educators. In November 1867 ʿAlī Mubārak presented a document which he had prepared with a committee of administrators and notables. This was the Radjab Regulation of 1284, *lāʾiḥat Radjab*, which aimed at promoting elementary education by establishing provincial primary schools, which would be under government inspection and would be financed by *wakf* and private contributions. The new regulations provided for the first time for a sort of pedagogical supervision of teachers. The curriculum of the elementary schools was to be somewhat modernised. Of course, many reforms remained on paper only for a long time to come, but scores of elementary schools were nevertheless opened and the principle of state control over all elementary schools was established. Mubārak also put an end to the confusion between civil and military schools and confined the authority of the *dīwān al-madāris* to civilian schools, freeing them from their military character. The provisions of the *lāʾiḥat Radjab* were complemented by the regulations set down in 1880 by a committee, known as the *kōmisyōn*, which provided for three types of schools depending on the size of the community: villages, provincial towns and cities. Provincial authorities were empowered to collect contributions and fees from well-to-do parents and to use *wakf*s to finance schools.

Ismāʿīl's reign should be credited with introducing education of girls and teacher training. The only kind of female education before Ismāʿīl was the School of Midwifery which was founded in 1832. This school recruited its first students from among Sudanese and Ethiopian Negro girls, Egyptian girls being considered too delicate for that kind of work. The first school for girls, *al-Madrasa al-Suyūfiyya*, was opened in 1873. In the following year it had 400 students, who studied general subjects as well as sewing and weaving.

The first teacher training school, called *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, the House of Sciences, was founded in 1872. It had already started in 1871 as a programme of public lectures for students recruited from al-Azhar to prepare them to become teachers. In the next year, it was organised as a regular teacher training college, where students studied religious and secular subjects.

The period witnessed the reopening of several higher institutions of learning which had been closed down by ʿAbbās or Saʿīd and the foundation of new ones. Thus the School of Languages founded in 1835 but closed down in 1850 was reopened in 1868 under the name the School of Administration and Languages and later became the first secular law school in Egypt.

In the 1860s, a number of trade and vocational schools were opened. Schools of land surveying, accounting, archaeology and hieroglyphics were opened in the 1870s, together with preparatory schools. In 1872 the first reforms were introduced at al-Azhar. The missions continued and 175 students were sent, mainly to France. In Ismāʿīl's time there was a tenfold increase in budget expenditure for schools. Owing to Ismāʿīl's "open door" policy toward Europeans, his period was also one of unprecedented boom for the schools of foreigners, missionaries and local religious minorities. About 130 new schools were opened with 9,000 students.

Beside the activities of the government, there were private societies and groups which worked for the promotion of education, such as the Society of Knowledge (*djamʿiyyat al-maʿārif*) formed in 1868, and the Islamic Philanthropic Society (*al-djamʿiyya al-khayriyya al-islāmiyya*) which was founded in 1878 by the journalist-orator ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm for opening community schools, in order to counterbalance the influence of the missionary schools. Al-Nadīm accomplished little, however, because of his involvement in the ʿUrābī revolt.

Education under the British occupation — After the military occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British controlled the entire state machinery, including the Ministry of Education. Educational policy was perhaps the most criticised aspect of the British rule, since it was highly restrictive and conservative, due to financial and political considerations. Lord Cromer, who ruled Egypt from 1883 to 1907, considered the financial recovery of the country as his most urgent goal and spent less than 1% of the budget on education. Previously, almost all the schools were free; now students had to pay tuition fees. This made even the primary education, and certainly the secondary and higher education, élitist in nature. The British made some efforts to improve the *kuttāb*s, turning them in 1916 into elementary (*awwaliyya*) schools, where nothing but religion and the three Rs were taught. The British intentionally hampered the development of secondary and higher education. They regarded the educational system as a means of training a limited number of Egyptian clerks who were to serve in the lower and middle levels of the bureaucracy, and were expected to carry out the instructions of the British policy-makers. Cromer conceived higher education as undesirable, since it might lead to political agitation. Therefore the University was opened only in 1908 as a private institution and did not become a state university until 1925, three years after Egypt's formal independence.

Douglas Dunlop, a Scotsman who administered Egyptian education under Cromer, did it in a rigid, centralistic and unimaginative manner. Strict discipline was imposed both on teachers and pupils. All studies continued to be geared to passing examinations. English was made the language of instruction in history, geography and the natural sciences. Learning by rote continued to be the main method of study. During the British occupation, Egyptian students were sent to study in England only. Whereas before the occupation students travelled to Europe to study mainly technical and industrial subjects, they

now studied humanities and the law. This was in accord with the British policy to keep Egypt an agricultural, not an industrial country.

Many of the higher institutes of learning were closed down, but a few new ones were opened, such as the School of Police and Administration in 1896, a Veterinary School in 1901, a teacher training college for women in 1900, another one for men in 1904 and a College of Commerce in 1911.

As a gesture to ease nationalist resentments, Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*], the future nationalist leader and founder of the Wafd party, was appointed Minister of Education in 1906. He enhanced the status of the Arabic language in the school system and exempted many poor children from paying tuition fees.

It is not surprising that the balance-sheet of British educational policy was poor. The illiteracy rate barely changed from 1882 (91.7 per cent) to 1917 (91.3 per cent). In 1914, 230,000 students were enrolled in the *kuttāb*s and only 14,000 in the primary schools. High schools of various kinds enrolled some 10,000 students. The number of students in foreign and private schools exceeded by far those enrolled in government schools. There was progress in the education of girls, but the majority of them were in private schools.

Education under the Monarchy 1922-52 — Although Egypt did not gain full sovereignty in 1922, control of internal affairs, including education, passed into Egyptian hands. During the next three decades, the educational system improved but did not free itself as yet from negative aspects of the pre-British and British inheritance, and further suffered from newly-acquired weakness. The Egyptian school system under the monarchy did not reduce illiteracy substantially, and in 1952 it stood at about 80 per cent, and was particularly high in rural areas and among women.

Article 19 of the 1923 constitution guaranteed compulsory and free elementary education; the compulsory education law, passed in 1925, provided for elementary schools of six years, later reduced to five. In 1925 the Ministry of Education planned to universalise elementary education within 23 years. Although quantitative progress was achieved, with student enrolment rising from 809,000 in 1930 to 1,310,000 in 1950, the goal of bringing all children aged six to twelve to school has not yet been reached even by 1981, when only about three-quarters of the children of compulsory education age were in school.

The Egyptian elementary school system was fragmented into several types of schools, a fact which was detrimental to the function of nation-building, and it did not provide equality of opportunity. In the school year 1925-6, elementary schools (*madāris awwaliyya*) were opened to offer free education according to the 1925 law. These schools gave a six-year course (shortened to five years in 1930) and worked usually on a half-day, two-shift basis. The primary schools (*madāris ibtidāʾiyya*) charged fees. They had better physical facilities than the elementary schools and their teachers were better trained. Perhaps the most important difference between the two types of schools was that the curriculum of the primary schools alone included a foreign language (usually English), thus making it possible for the pupils to continue their studies to secondary and higher education, while the elementary schools were terminal. In 1943 another kind of school was added—the rural elementary school (*madrasa awwaliyya rīfiyya*), and special teacher training colleges were opened for them. Beside the public schools, al-Azhar provided religious education at the elementary, secondary and higher level. Finally, there were the private and foreign schools, both religious and lay. In 1942-3 more than 25% of the elementary school pupils and more than 50% of secondary school pupils were in private and foreign schools. Their role was particularly important in the education of girls. The foreign schools were accused of educating their students in languages and cultures alien to Egypt. Private schools were sometimes accused of being more interested in financial profits than in the education of their students. In 1933 and in 1940 laws were passed which imposed stricter supervision of the state over the foreign schools. These schools were instructed to teach Arabic language and the religion of Islam to their Muslim pupils. After the 1956 Suez crisis, all foreign schools were either closed down or nationalised. The relative importance of the private schools had been declining since tuition fees were abolished in the primary schools in 1943 and in the secondary schools in 1951.

It should be noted that the fragmented and deficient nature of the Egyptian school system was criticised by leading educators and administrators such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Ismāʿīl al-Ḳabbānī in Egypt and Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī in ʿIrāḳ, and some steps were taken to make the system more just and less divisive and to make educational opportunities more accessible to all social classes. The abolition of tuition fees has been mentioned. In 1938 the teaching of English was postponed from the first to the second grade in primary schools to enable more children to transfer from elementary to primary schools. Again in 1944, English lessons began only in the third grade. In 1951 a law was passed which aimed at creating a unified elementary school system of six grades. This was given effect, however, only after the 1952 revolution.

The secondary and higher levels of education developed more quickly than the elementary schools. The number of students in the secondary schools increased from 2,500 in 1913 to 15,000 in 1933 to 122,000 in 1951. This growth created pressures on the university and also created the problem of many unemployed graduates. The familiar weaknesses of the secondary education, such as rote learning and overemphasis on examinations, were not cured. Secondary and higher education were regarded mainly as a means to enter government service. It is not therefore surprising that vocational and technical education were neglected and that their prestige was low.

Higher education also developed and was modernised to some extent. In 1942 the Fārūḳ I University (renamed in 1952 the University of Alexandria) was constituted. The *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, the old institute which trained Arabic language teachers, became in 1945-6 a part of the Fuʾād I University (since 1952 Cairo University). After earlier efforts to reform al-Azhar (1911), further steps were taken in 1936 in the same direction.

Educational administration in Egypt, as indeed in all the Middle Eastern states, was highly centralised, despite some efforts at decentralisation, especially after 1938, when the country was divided into educational zones. The Ministry of the Interior conducted the elementary schools of the provinces. As in Turkey, a Supreme Education Council meets periodically to discuss broad educational policy.

Developments since the 1952 Revolution — Even the most critical review of the educational policies of the post-1952 régime would admit that the main

weaknesses of the school system have been approached correctly and positively, although the good intentions have not always been realised in the desired time and manner.

The new régime succeeded in establishing a national, united and integrative school system. The basic laws concerning school reform were promulgated in the 1950s. Law no. 210 of 1953 provided for a unified elementary school of six years and a preparatory school of four years, later reduced to three years. Law no. 213 of 1956 established free tuition in all public education below the university level (tuition fees in the universities were abolished in 1963), and also abolished the examinations as a means for proceeding from one grade to another. Law no. 55 of 1957 established the preparatory school as an independent element of the cycle. Law no. 160 of 1958 abolished all foreign schools as such and turned them into private Egyptian schools.

After some experimenting and changes in the 1950s, an educational ladder of 6-3-3 emerged: An elementary school (*madrasa ibtidāʾiyya*) of six years, for the ages six to twelve, followed by a preparatory school (*madrasa iʿdādiyya*) of three years, and a secondary school (*madrasa t̲h̲ānawiyya*) of three years. According to the new curriculum, the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the preparatory school.

The quantitative development has been fairly rapid. In the school year 1973-4 there were about 4 million pupils in the elementary schools, 2.6 times more than in 1952. The preparatory schools had a million students, three times more than in 1952; the secondary schools had 670,000, an increase of three times; and 334,000 students were enrolled in higher education, an increase of six times for the same period. Owing to the improvement in the implementation of the compulsory education law, illiteracy rate in Egypt has been declining, though not dramatically, from 80% in 1952, to 70.5% in 1960 and 56.5% in 1976. A decision to extend compulsory education to the preparatory school age group has been reached, but has not yet been put into practice.

The most important change in Egypt's school system has been the structural transformation of secondary education from an overwhelming general or academic education towards technical and vocational training. While all the Middle Eastern states are aware of the need to slow down the growth of general secondary education and to train technically skilled manpower, only Egypt has been able actually to realise that ideal. In 1952 only 15% of the secondary school students were enrolled in technical and vocational training. By 1971 the rate reached 52% and has risen to 55% in the early 1980s. Still, technical and vocational education in Egypt has serious problems of quality and status. In the general secondary education, about two-thirds of the students are in the science stream and only one-third in the literary stream, reversing the situation in the pre-revolutionary period.

Egypt has a well-developed system of teacher training for all levels, and all schools will be supplied with qualified teachers in the forseeable future. In some subjects (such as the social sciences) there is already a surplus of teachers, while in others there is a deficit, mainly in modern languages and technical training. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Egyptian teachers work temporarily or permanently in Arab and African countries.

Despite the fact that the majority of the secondary school students are channelled to the vocational streams for boys and girls, the pressures on the universities are growing rapidly. The universities are becoming increasingly overcrowded and understuffed, and suffer from insufficient space, libraries and teachers. In order to administer the admittance of secondary school graduates to higher education, all applications are processed centrally through a "coordination bureau", which distributes students into the various faculties according to their grades and their preferences. The figures of the academic year 1979-80 are typical: 227,500 students sat for the final secondary school examinations and 133,000 passed. From these, some 80,000 were admitted to the universities, and the other 53,000 proceeded their studies in the various institutes for higher learning.

During the 1970s, considerable efforts at the decentralisation of higher education were made. The universities were granted a measure of independence. Many regional universities were established, some of them new, others as branches of existing universities.

Between 1961 and 1976 Egypt had, in addition to the Ministry of Education, a Ministry of Higher Education in charge of the universities, higher institutes, student missions and the like. In 1976 it was announced that the Ministry of Higher Education would be abolished and its responsibilities would return to the Ministry of Education. It should be pointed out that the Higher Council for the Universities, a body which lays down the national policy concerning the universities, has wide powers, and many have rendered the Ministry of Higher Education redundant.

iii. The Arab States of the Middle East

There are marked similarities in the development and the problems of the educational systems of the successor states of the Ottoman Empire, despite local differences. The most important common features are the Ottoman heritage, the Arabic language and Islam, which is the religion of the overwhelming majority of the people in the region. The traditional Islamic education of the *kuttāb* was still widespread towards the end of the Ottoman period. The reforms of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century had their impact on the Arab provinces as well. A few modern government schools were opened there, and a small number of their graduates continued their studies in the civil and military institutes of learning in Istanbul. The government schools, however, did not offer education to the Arab population at large, but admitted mainly children of Turkish army officers and officials, as well as children of provincial notables. After the Young Turk Revolution, the pace of educational reform accelerated in the Arab provinces as well as in Turkey. Many new schools were opened in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Palestine and Libya. The policy of the new Ottoman government of making Turkish the medium of instruction in the state schools in the Arab provinces clashed with the aspirations of the Arab nationalists, who insisted on the right to teach in Arabic. The Arab nationalists' struggle bore some fruit, especially in ʿIrāḳ and Palestine. The Ottoman authorities agreed, as a concession to Arab sentiment, to open some new schools (such as the Arab College in Jerusalem) where Arabic was to be the language of instruction and to allow the use of Arabic in the lower secondary schools, except in history and geography lessons. The higher secondary schools, the *sulṭāniyyes*, retained their Turkish character in most cases. Yet the period of reforming the schools in the

Arab provinces in agreement with the Ottoman government was short and was stopped by the First World War.

In the interwar period, most of the Arab successor states of the Ottoman Empire were subject to European domination in varying degrees.

Libya was occupied by Italy from 1911 until 1943. During that period, the educational system was controlled by the Italians, and Italian became the medium of instruction in state schools after the third grade. From 1943 until 1951, when Libya became independent, the British administered the educational system in the Libyan provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and the French controlled the province of Fezzan.

In Palestine, which became a British mandate, the Arab school system was controlled by the Department of Education whose director was always British. There were in the system some Arab inspectors and administrators, but they did not make the educational policy. The British influence on Arab education in Palestine was very strong; the standard of English required for the Palestine Matriculation examination was high, but as a result led to the emergence of an élite of Palestinians with a high level of education and culture.

Transjordan was also placed under a British mandate until 1946, when the state became independent. Unlike other Arab states, Transjordan did not experience political struggles, and the transition from British control to purely Arab administration was smooth. Thus the Jordanian educational system had all the benefits from British assistance and advice without the tensions of other Middle Eastern countries. This was possible because of the rudimentary and primitive conditions of the Transjordanian school system at that time.

ʿIrāḳ also was placed under British mandate until 1932, and the school system was administered by the British after 1925. However, the country enjoyed a large extent of independence and developed her education in a national spirit, although the school system was influenced by British teaching methods. In the days of the mandate, a British adviser was attached to the Ministry of Education but the office was abolished prior to the termination of the mandate. Leading ʿIrāḳī educators were influenced by British, American and French methods of education.

Under the French mandate following the First World War, education in Syria and especially in Lebanon underwent an extremely strong French influence, both in organisation and curriculum. The Ministry of Education in Lebanon was established in 1928 and replaced the High Commissioner's *Service de l'Instruction publique*, but the French advisers could still interfere in the policy of the Ministry of Education. Only after Syria and Lebanon attained their independence, and especially after the withdrawal of the French troops in 1946, were they able to assume full control over their educational systems. In Lebanon, the French character of the educational system was retained; the French educational ladder was not changed with the termination of the mandate, and the Lebanese system is still outstanding in the area in its close resemblance to the French model. Upon the attainment of independence, important decrees on education were issued, the foremost among them being that Arabic became a compulsory language; that the teaching of national subjects, such as the history of Lebanon and the geography of the Middle East, was made compulsory; and that schools could choose English as a first foreign language instead of French.

On the other hand, Syria changed the nature of her education as soon as the French left. Under the mandate, French advisers had been attached to the Ministry of Education, and in Syria too French influence was spread by the teaching of French in schools and through French private schools. Now all traces of French influence were removed from the educational system, and the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the intermediary school.

Upon the establishment of the Arab states after the First World War, their governments showed that they were aware of the importance of education as a factor in nation-building and as a tool for progress. It was in the interwar period that illiteracy was first faced as a national problem. The first reliable educational statistics in the Arab world date from that period.

Whereas the traditional educational system was considered a religious and communal matter of no concern to the state, now, on the contrary, the new nationalist government education was regarded as another agency of the state rather than as an integral part of community life. This feeling was partly justified by the highly centralised nature of the Ministries of Education in all the Arab countries. The Ministry exercises almost unlimited powers over the school system. It determines curricula, acts as a publisher of textbooks, administers public examinations, constructs or supervises the construction of schools, trains, appoints, transfers, promotes and dismisses teachers, and finances all educational activities. According to Ottoman education laws, village communities were responsible for the construction of the school buildings. Nevertheless, the idea of municipal initiative, control, or financing of education has not yet taken root in the Arab world.

There is a marked uniformity in the structure and organisation of the Ministries of Education in the Arab states. The Minister of Education, who is a cabinet member, is assisted by a Director-General. The Ministry functions through departments for elementary education, secondary education, vocational and technical training, teacher training, curricula and textbooks, personnel, statistics, etc. The country is divided into education districts, which are identical with the administrative division of the state. In each district there is a bureau of education, which is a miniature copy of the central Ministry in the capital. Generally, the regional directors of education have little independence; they are charged with implementing the decrees issued by the Ministry and have to report local problems to the capital.

Most of the school systems in the area are administered by the government. After attaining independence, the Arab states started to impose much stricter control over the numerous private and foreign schools which had been established and flourished under the protection of the European powers. Now the Ministries of Education demanded that the national subjects be taught at the private schools in Arabic and by citizens of the host country. The closer inspection of the private schools and progress in the implementation of the free and compulsory education caused the proportion of pupils in private and foreign institutions to decline, especially in the primary stage. Even in Lebanon, the only country in the Middle East where private education is more important than state education, the weight of state education has been growing. Under the French mandate, a state elementary school system emerged;

it served mainly the Muslim population, which was less attracted to the private Christian institutions. A state system of public secondary schools started to develop after 1949. Total arabisation of the school system was emphasised as an expression of national sovereignty. Nevertheless, minorities were allowed to use their language in their schools, as demonstrated by the ʿIrāḳī Local Languages Law of 1931 which provided for the use of Kurdish and Turkish as the medium of instruction, with Arabic as a second language, in the regions where these minorities constitute a majority.

The need to train teachers was one of the most urgent tasks facing the Ministries of Education. The teachers in the state schools are government employees. Since they are chronically underpaid and their opportunities of promotion are limited, the teaching profession below the university level does not attract the best men and women, and the social status of the teachers is lower than it was in past generations. Until the 1950s there were multiple ways and levels in which teachers were trained in the Arab world, ranging from courses lower than the secondary school up to two years above the secondary school. In recent years, with the tendency to standardise the educational levels and methods in the Arab world, the most common teacher training college begins after graduation from the preparatory or intermediate school and lasts four or five years. In recent years, with the rapid growth of higher education, the training of teachers for secondary schools is entrusted to the university schools and faculties of education. In the interwar period, all the Arab countries suffered from shortage of trained teachers; only Egypt and ʿIrāḳ came near to self-sufficiency. Recently, this situation has improved considerably, but there is still a shortage of teachers for certain subjects (mostly foreign languages, the sciences and technical training). Generally, the teacher shortage worsens as one goes higher up the educational ladder.

The most formidable problem with which the education authorities have had to cope has been the widespread illiteracy, which reached 80-90% of the population in most countries of the region in the interwar period. Since adult literacy campaigns have not been efficient in the middle East, the main burden was placed on the elementary schools. Generally speaking, the principle of free elementary education was accepted throughout the Arab world at an early stage. Yet the idea of legislating for compulsory school attendance has been put forward only in the last three decades and has by no means been universally accepted. Lebanon, which is one of the most advanced countries in the region educationally, has no compulsory education law. In several educational laws, references to compulsory education are qualified. Compulsion has applied to those areas where facilities existed (for example, the Transjordanian education regulation of 1939 and the ʿIrāḳī Education Law of 1940).

In the mid-1940s, the proportion of children who were in school from the elementary school age group was still limited. Lebanon had the highest attendance rate of 72.7%, followed by Palestine (Arab education only) 51.6%, Egypt 47.4%, Syria 39.4%, Transjordan 28.0% and ʿIrāḳ 20.0%. Since that time, the primary school attendance rates have been improving constantly, in spite of the rapid population growth in the Middle East, which ranges between 2.5% to over 3% annually. According to a survey of all the Arab states (including North Africa) conducted in 1969-70, 60% of the children in primary school age (between six to twelve years of age in most countries) were in school. That rate increased to 69% in 1974-5. By 1981, 100% attendance rates at the elementary stage (or, in fact, more than 100% in some countries, due to numerous over-age students) have been reached in Jordan, Lebanon and some of the Gulf states, and the rates are rising everywhere.

Jordan and Kuwayt have already extended by legislation the compulsory education stage to apply also to the intermediate school. Other countries, including Egypt, are contemplating doing the same, but will probably do it officially only after reaching full or nearly full attendance rates at the elementary stage.

Again, the difficulties in bringing all children to school are similar in the Arab countries, although their severity varies from one country to another. It is difficult to provide education for bedouin tribes or for small and remote villages. The realisation of the importance of education was not universal a few decades ago. Parents have been reluctant to send their daughters to school, especially after puberty, as they regarded this as contrary to traditional morality. Until today, the illiteracy rate among women is higher than among men and the percentage of girls who attend school is lower than that among boys; this is particularly true in the countryside. Many parents refrain from letting their children go to school because they need their help in the field, the workshop or at home. This tendency has been strengthened by a widespread feeling that the curricula taught at school are unsatisfactory and irrelevant to the needs of the community. Besides, there are not enough qualified teachers. Another problem is a severe shortage of classrooms, and many classes are lodged in rented rooms. Schools often operate in two or even three daily shifts because of scarcity of space. Many children do not enter school at all, and many pupils fail to graduate. Children who leave school after a few years relapse into functional illiteracy. Of course, some of the shortcomings were in the past caused by lack of funds. This factor has been fundamentally changed in those countries of the region which have large incomes from oil, although it has made its notable impact on education only recently. Yet, generally, some of the above-mentioned difficulties have been alleviated recently, and education in the Arab world has been making a qualitative as well as a quantitative progress. The beginnings of systematic planning of national education by the Arab states, including five-year-plans, belong to the 1960s, and have helped to clarify the problems and to approach them more efficiently.

Although demand for secondary education has been growing rapidly, the elementary school is still terminal for some 70-75% of the pupils in the Arab world. The promotion from the elementary to the secondary (or intermediate) stage is determined by passing external examinations, except in the few countries which have made the intermediate stage compulsory. In the interwar period, access to secondary education was extremely limited. Usually, there were no secondary schools outside the towns, and although there were dormitories attached to a few schools in the cities, the vast majority of the population which was rural was deprived of post-primary education. Besides, tuition fees were a serious barrier for poor students, although there were some exemptions on the basis of good grades or financial need. By 1950, tuition fees in the state secondary schools had been abolished throughout the Middle East, and in the 1960s the universities, too, became free

of charge. The popularity of secondary education should be partly ascribed to the fact that it is considered a gateway to higher education and then to a government post. Another motivation for study in a secondary school was exemption from military service or the possibility of service under favourable conditions in some countries.

The weaknesses of the secondary education are well-known, and are in fact an inheritance from the pre-modern period: the overemphasis on rote learning, discipline, examinations, the heavy load of subjects to be taught and frontal lessons. Most of the secondary schools in the region are not equipped with sufficient libraries, laboratories and playgrounds. Secondary education has been overwhelmingly academic; vocational and technical education have been neglected or even looked upon with disdain. In the recent two decades, official attitudes toward vocational and technical education have been changing, but among the Arab states of the Middle East, only Egypt has accomplished a structural change in secondary education by channelling over half of the students into technical and vocational schools.

In the first decades of their independence, the educational ladders in the Middle East differed widely from one Arab state to another. The school system was influenced both by the elements inherited from the Ottoman Empire, which on their part had been shaped by the French model, and by the example of the European mandatory powers. Since the end of the Second World War, the Arab educational systems have been drawing closer to each other, and efforts have been made to coordinate the curricula, the organisation, and the terminology of the educational systems. Egypt has been the object of emulation and has set the example for many reforms, owing to her central position in the Arab world and culture. Thus today the educational ladder of 6-3-3 is the most common pattern in the Arab world, although there have been other variations, such as the Lebanese pattern, Kuwayt (4-4-4), and ʿIrāḳ (6-3-2). There are also differences in the curricula, mainly in the teaching of foreign languages and religious instruction. There is a tendency to postpone the teaching of the foreign language to the intermediate school. Yet in Lebanon, Jordan, ʿIrāḳ and South Yemen, it is taught in the primary school. Saʿūdī Arabia and Sudan devote more hours to the teaching of Islam than other Arab states.

Occasionally, conferences are held to discuss and coordinate educational and cultural policies of the Arab countries. Thus in 1947 a convention was held in Lebanon to coordinate methods of teaching Arabic. In 1957 the important Agreement of Arab Cultural Unity was signed by Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and was joined a year later by ʿIrāḳ. The agreement called for coordination of the school systems from all the cultural, pedagogical and organisational aspects. Over the years, various inter-Arab conferences and conventions have been held which have dealt with the teaching of civics, textbooks, examination, educational planning, the teaching of the sciences, illiteracy, etc.

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2. In North Africa

A. Tunisia. Since 1840, with the foundation of the École Polytechnique of the Bardo, a trilingual instruction (in Arabic, French and Italian) was provided, shaping the scientific and technical education of the armies of the Bey, ruler of the Regency of Tunis. But it was above all after 1875 that a bilingual and bi-cultural instruction in Arabic and French was available through the founding of the Ṣādiḳī College [*q.v.*].

With the establishment of the French Protectorate (12 May 1881), public education took shape with the following features: (1) diversity (at primary level, French schools, Franco-Arab ones, modern Ḳurʾānic schools and traditional-type ones; at secondary level, purely French-type lycées and colleges, institutions or classes giving a bilingual "Ṣādiḳī" education, and traditional Zaytūna education); (2) French influence (Arabic was treated as a foreign language, except at the Ṣādiḳī and some other institutions, and all references to the Arab-Islamic national heritage excluded, or largely excluded, from courses given); and (3) a disequilibrium between the schooling of European and Tunisian children (in 1949, 94% of French children in primary education and 12% of Tunisian Muslim ones; admittance of Tunisians to primary education only (in 1953, secondary education comprised 5,661 French children out of a French resident population of 14,500 and 6,682 Tunisian Muslim ones out of a population of *ca.* 3 millions, the theoretical plan for education of Lucien Paye, the last Director of Public Education under the Protectorate, not having been put into practice).

After independence (20 March 1956) and the proclamation of the Republic of Tunisia (25 July 1957), from 1958 onwards President Habib Bourguiba has tried: (1) to replace the legal chaos and the instructional diversity with a unified system which has its own Tunisian character, Tunisia being a "Republic whose language is Arabic and whose faith is Islam"; and (2) to give public instruction (*al-taʿlīm al-ʿumūmī*) the character of a national education (*al-tarbiya al-ḳawmiyya*) adapted to the variety and the evolution of economic, social, technical and cultural needs of the nation, taking into account demographic increase, and aiming ultimately at education for all, opening out on to the external world, and responsive to scientific and technical changes and developments. This was the reform of 1958 ("A new conception of teaching in Tunisia"). After this first period of reform (1958-68), and after a series of interventions, primary teaching has been completely arabised—French being studied as a foreign language from the 4th year onwards—whilst in secondary teaching, the humanities, including philosophy, are taught in Arabic. At the level of higher education, a step towards the arabisation of the humanities has already been made, and there are even lectures at the Medical Faculty of Tunis in Arabic.

With a percentage devoted to it in 1968 of 9% of the GNP and in 1980 of at least 8%, and with a third of the state budget, expenditure on education in Tunisia surpasses all that recorded for other countries (1968-9, in the USA and Netherlands, 6.5% of the GNP, and in the Communist countries, between 4 and 6.5%). The goal of universal education is in view. In primary education, there were in 1955-6 209,438 pupils (out of a population of *ca.* 3.5 million); in 1965-6, 717,093; in 1975-6, 920,924; and in 1981-2, 1,071,000 out of a population of 6.5 million). If secondary education students (over 300,000) and those in higher education (more than 30,000) are added, a total of 1,400,000 is reached (about 1 Tunisian in 5 is at school).

However, the problem of quality remains outstanding in the framework of Arab-French bilingualism: in the first place, the process of apprenticeship of the French speaker gives him a privileged place at the outset in acquiring competence in communication through language expression (aptitude at varying the message according to psycho-social-cultural conditions) in connection with purely linguistic communication (skill in transmitting a message orally or by means of writing in accordance with the rules of the languages). Hence the option of keeping up Arab-French bilingualism, 25 years after independence, forms part of a project concerning with general culture: (1) primacy for Arabic ("the language which expresses the Tunisian cultural identity and authenticity"); and (2) the opening-up of the educational system on the problems of development defined by the Fifth Plan (1977-81), the aims of educational policy being to favour the development of education, alter the orientation of primary teaching, improve its quality and its impact by developing the child's personality, thereby ensuring for him at one and the same time an intellectual and a manual training (this latter orientated towards the industrial and agricultural techniques built into the teaching), reduce losses of pupils and the inequalities of fortune and fate, and thus facilitate the integration of young people into the economic life of their home districts and regions.

Yet this attachment to French language and culture has always provoked debate between the supporters and opponents of bilingualism since independence. The problem of arabisation (*taʿrīb*) has always stirred up controversy, sometimes violently, and has released religious, political and philosophical passions, as it endeavours to make some people realise their "linguistic, and even cultural, mutilated state". A process of acculturation is felt to be at work here: (1) the French language—considered as one which is widely-spread through the world and one which gives access to a culture with a universal, scientific and technological character—presents itself as a strong rival to Arabic, the bearer of deeply-rooted values, and seen as the language of communication and of liberation; and (2) the two cultures, Arabic and French, express a class antagonism between the comfortably-off classes and the rest and a confrontation between modernism and traditionalism.

Tunisia, an Arab and Muslim country, is nevertheless trying to realise its authentic genius in the midst of modernity by means of a system of unified and general education (a "national" system for the masses and not one of "public education" for

the élite, since "primary education is a right for everyone, secondary education is a necessity, and higher education meritorious"). Lengths of the stages of education: primary, 6 years; secondary, 7 years (3 years of a common core and then three branches leading to baccalaureates in letters, mathematics and sciences or mathematics and technology); and higher (decentralised: sectors for the basic sciences, the medical and biological sciences and the human and social sciences, totalling in 1981 53 units, sc. Faculties, Schools and Institutes).

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B. **Algeria**. On the morn of independence (5 July 1962), the educational system inherited from the colonial period (sc. the French system as it existed before 1968) was kept in being, like all the other institutions which were not contrary to national sovereignty. Under the stimulus of a Ministry of National Education, this system slowly evolved and then changed radically after 1970. The slow period of evolution consisted mainly of an adaptation of the content of syllabuses (concentration of studies on Algeria), the gradual algerianisation of the teaching personnel (accompanied however by a massive appeal for co-operation from other Arab countries) and the arabisation of a certain number of sectors: the first two primary education years in 1966 and then the higher classes, with the preservation of the teaching of a foreign language from the third year onwards, immediate arabisation in secondary and higher education and the opening-up of official channels in the Arabic language.

In 1970 a fairly important change took place. The Ministry of National Education was split up into a Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and one for Higher Education and Scientific Research. At the side of these two there was set up a Ministry of Basic Education which started to put into effect a parallel system of education, but one completely arabised.

In 1971-2 higher education was completely reorganised. The essential preoccupations of the Algerian government which lay behind this reform were the following: "to form the type of cadres *of which the country has need*, a cadre engaged in the work of socialist reconstruction and filled with the Algerian national personality and the socio-economic realities of the country. From this follows the new shaping of the subjects of teaching and educational qualifications and their integration within educational frameworks based on job needs defined by the sectors requiring these skills. A student must accordingly be directly operational". The organisation of these subjects of teaching was inspired by what existed in certain western countries and those of the East: the substitution in place of an annual curriculum structure of a system of semesters, units of teaching (modules) and the consequent institution of continuous control of courses. The application of these reforms got under way only with great difficulty. Moreover, it required the recruiting of a considerable number of assistants, often at the expense of quality. The establishment of courses of instruction in Arabic parallel to and not instead of those already being carried on in French developed extensively in this period. This distinct monolingualism has not been without serious consequences for the cultural unity of the country.

In regard to primary and secondary education, the system was extensively remodelled in 1977 (by the application of law no. 7635 of 16 April 1976). Henceforth it was to be made up of three levels: preparatory, basic and secondary. The basic school, a fairly original concept, had as its aim the providing of a basic education for all, compulsory and lasting nine years (up to the third grade class of the old system). In order to get the system into operation as quickly as possible, the ministry in charge of this sector of education was in 1981 divided up into a Ministry of Basic Education and Instruction and a Secretaryship of State for Secondary Education.

The lack of personnel at the teaching level has led to the extensive establishing of a grade of elementary (Brevet élémentaire) teachers (instructors) or of a grade a little below this (monitors). This last group made up 41% of teaching personnel in 1965. By 1976 it was only 14.8% and had disappeared totally in 1977. On the other hand, because of the drive towards homogeneity in education, non-state education (secular and confessional) was integrated with public education (Ḳurʾān schools, *madrasas* and *zāwiyas* in 1963, private education in 1977). In the same year, all the institutions within the

jurisdiction of the original educational system, which was dissolved, were integrated in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.

Other forms of education have also been made possible b· other Ministries, who have started "institutes for technology" or institutes for higher studies in order to provide trained personnel for their own needs. A Ministry for Professional Education has been in being since 1981.

The growth of those undergoing education has been rapid and great since 1962, at all levels, as the following table shows:

	Oct. 1962	1971	1977	1981
Elementary	777,636	2,018,091	2,782,044	3,118,827
Middle and secondary (general and technical)	82,937	236,882	612,229	1,029,884
Higher	2,725	24,334	54,547	78,027

In 13 years (1963-76) the number of schools has almost tripled; in October 1962 there were 2,759 and in 1976 7,798 (classes in practice: 46,529 in 1976 with the introduction of the double vacation). Teachers in primary and secondary schools rose from 19,908 in October 1962 to 129,618 in 1981. The same picture obtains in higher education: from 282 teachers, of whom 82 were Algerians, in 1981 there were 9,778, of whom 7,018 were Algerians.

Like most the Third World countries who have recently achieved independence, Algeria had a fairly large number of illiterates (5,941,000 according to the 1966 census, i.e. about 80%). The number of Algerian children not at school was considerable, and the Algerian students registered at the University of Algiers was not more than 500.

After 20 years, Algeria has certainly accomplished a work which, though still unfinished and full of flaws, is nevertheless positive in its results. More than one-third of the state budget goes annually on education and training. All children are in the process of being placed in schools despite an unprecedented demographic rise (the population has doubled in 20 years). Twenty-one towns either have or are on the point of getting a university or university centre. Two thousand medical doctors are trained each year, together with a good number of engineers and higher technicians.

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C. Morocco. In its modern form, public education in Morocco dates from the colonial period. During the 44 years of the Protectorate (1912-56), the French authorities progressively installed, at the side of the traditional network of Ḳurʾānic schools and *medersas*, an assemblage of educational institutions intended to further the "mission civilisatrice" of the metropolitan power whilst at the same time respecting the particular genius of Moroccan society, following Marshal Lyautey's intentions. But the concrete results of the colonial educational policy were far removed from this noble ideal. The system of modern education introduced by France into Morocco was essentially élitist and brought into the local context a completely alien culture. This explains why the right to education for all was one of the main demands of the nationalist movement.

The attainment of independence in 1956 was marked by a great popular movement in favour of education. Literacy campaigns sprang up spontaneously all over the country, and the new Minister of Education succeeded in getting into school in October 1956 five times as many children as the Protectorate authorities had accepted in the preceding year. This date accordingly marks the real birth of modern education in Morocco.

Efforts to develop the public education system found their justification in a double conception of education's rôle, seen from one aspect as a fundamental right enshrined in the constitution, and from another as a powerful factor making for economic and social progress. This is why education and the training of cadres always had priority in the development plans successively introduced after 1960.

These long-term development objectives were given effect through the choice of four principles for

TABLE OF CHILDREN IN EDUCATION

Year	Primary	Ratio of increase	Secondary	Ratio of increase	Higher	Ratio of increase
1956	318,995	100	10,490	100	3,792	100
1960	766,183	240	86,051	820	4,665	123
1965	1,115,745	350	210,931	2,011	8,996	237
1970	1,175,277	368	298,880	2,849	16,097	424
1975	1,547,647	485	478,000	4,557	40,000	1,055
1980	2,104,050	660	797,110	7,599	93,851	2,475
average annual rate of increase		8,17 %		19.77 %		14.30 %

Source: Annual statistics of the Ministry of National Education.
Annual statistics of Morocco, State Secretariat for Planning and Regional Development.

action which guided the Moroccan government's educational policy after independence: making attendance at school available for all children of appropriate age; unifying the different types of schools left behind by the colonial power; the arabisation of curricula and the language of instruction; and the moroccanisation of the body of teachers.

The results obtained after a quarter of a century of massive investment in the educational sector are impressive, as the following table of the school enrolments shows:

These figures demonstrate the size of the financial resources devoted by the state to public education —almost 25% of the annual budget—which have enabled the transformation of the embryonic educational network inherited from the Protectorate into a vast and complex system.

The present educational system, whose structure is to a considerable extent modelled on the French one, comprises three levels. Primary school lasts for five years and accepts children from the age of seven. This first level is completed by a nationally-organised examination (the certificate of primary education) which gives access to the following level.

Secondary education is itself divided into two stages. The first four years, forming the first cycle, are common to all pupils. Then at the end of this, specialist educational advisers divide the children, according to their aptitudes and wishes, into differing channels of the second cycle. The fifth year of secondary education offers two options of general education (scientific and literary) and two technical ones (commercial and industrial studies). In the sixth and seventh years, the choice is even more varied, with a spread of six channels, each one leading to a distinct type of baccalaureate.

Higher education comprises two groups of institutions. In the universities, which are controlled by the Ministry of Education, students can follow the usual groups of studies, such as arts, law, economics, science and medicine. At the side of this channel of classic university education, which 90% of students of higher education follow, there exists a complete network of specialised schools and institutes of higher education functioning under the control of different technical government departments and aiming at training engineers and the middle management grades which will work in the public and semi-public sectors. Among the most important of these are the Mohammedia (Muḥammadiyya) School of Engineers, the National School of Public Administration, the National Agricultural and Veterinary Institute, the National Institute for Statistics and Applied Economics, the National Institute of Posts and Telecommunications, the Higher Institute of Commerce and Business Administration, etc. There further exists a certain number of pedagogical institutions (regional schools for primary teachers, regional pedagogical centres and teacher training colleges) intended to prepare Moroccan teachers in order to replace foreign instructors, especially in the scientific disciplines.

Considerable progress had been made towards arabisation. All literary topics are taught in the official language. The arabisation of scientific courses is on the way to completion at the primary level, and will be progressively extended to the secondary and higher levels.

From the legal aspect, it should be stressed that school attendance is compulsory till the age of 13 and that education is free at all levels. Moreover, over the last 12 years or so, the government has adopted a policy of granting very generous scholarships for the large majority of students of higher education.

Nevertheless, despite these very positive results, the Moroccan education system has for several years gone through a severe crisis of development whose main components can be set out in the form of three paradoxes with interconnected effects. In the first place, despite a great increase in public expenditure on education and in the number of children enrolled in the schools, making primary education general remains a distant ideal because of the population growth (3% per annum). In the second place, a significant share of the resources devoted to the educational system is wasted because of the high rate of those having to repeat courses or abandoning them altogether. Finally, educational planners find themselves faced by a lack of correspondence between the "products" of the educational system and the employment needs of the labour market, above all in the scientific and technological fields.

The sum total of these difficulties which the Moroccan educational system has come up against, like those of many other young countries of Africa and Asia, has led the authorities in the Ministry of Education to prepare at the present time a long-term reform programme which will allow the Moroccan educational institutions to be better adapted to the needs of a changing society and to enable them to play a more positive rôle in the country's development process.

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The main research works on Moroccan public education since independence are those of A. Motassime, *Tendances actuelles de l'enseignement au Maroc et problèmes d'orientation scolaire. Contribution à l'étude des problèmes actuels de l'éducation au Maroc, pays du Tiers-Monde*, thèse de 3ᵉ cycle, Paris 1970; A. Mezouar, *Enseignement supérieur au Maroc et développement*, Mémoire de DES, Casablanca 1977; J. Salmi, *Educational crisis and social reproduction: the political economy of schooling in Morocco*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Sussex 1981. Various more descriptive articles and studies should also be mentioned, including Moatassime, *La politique de l'enseignement au Maroc de 1957 à 1977*, in *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 79 (Jan.-March 1978), 29-54; C. Tibi, *Politique éducative et financement de l'éducation au Maroc*, Institut International de Planification de l'Éducation, Unesco, Paris 1976; A. Baina, *Le système d'enseignement au Maroc*, Casablanca 1982; M. Merrouni and M. Souali, *Question de l'enseignement au Maroc*, in *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, quadruple no. 143-6 (1982), which has a very complete bibliography. The most useful of the regular publications are *Le mouvement éducatif au Maroc* prepared each year by the Ministry of National Education; *Attadriss*, a twice-yearly educational review published by the École-Normale Supérieure, Rabat; and the cultural chronicle on Morocco which appears each year in the *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Aix-en-Provence.

(J. Salmi)

3. In Iran.

Before the appearance of secular education in Iran, what primary education there was was essentially that of the *maktab*s or *kuttāb*s [*q.v.*], where children from the age of six or so learned the rudiments of reading and writing, Islamic religion and some arithmetic. These *maktab*s, as small-scale, informal, locally-organised institutions, continued to exist in the small towns and villages of Iran till after the Second World War, although after 1925 they had to use Ministry of Education textbooks.

Organised higher education may be said to go back to the pre-Islamic medical school and hospital at Djundīshāpūr in Ahwāz [see Gondeshāpūr], but under Islam, the *madrasa*s [*q.v.*] took over the function of higher religious education, tending, however, in the Ṣafawid period to become exclusively centres for the training of the Shīʿī clergy, so that by the end of the 19th century, there was virtually no awareness in Iran of the modern intellectual and scientific progress of the West, and little attention was paid also to the rich heritage of classical Islamic scientific and secular literary production.

The impetus for the acquisition of modern Western science and technology began to be felt by the leaders of Iran under the Russian threat to the northwestern provinces of Iran early in the 19th century. ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] the enlightened Ḳādjār crown prince directly concerned with Iran's defence against Russia, and his able minister Mīrzā Buzurg Ḳāʾim-i Maḳām [see Ḳāʾim-i Maḳām-i Farāhānī], tried to modernise the Iranian army; he told the British envoy James Morier in 1809 that "No pains have been spared to acquire a knowledge of military tactics and theory of fortification which they had gleaned from French and Russian books translated by ʿAbbās Mīrzā's order" (see A. K. S. Lambton, *Persian society under the Qājārs*, in *JRCAS*, xlviii [1961], 123-39).

Negotiations with the embassy sent by Napoleon under General Gardane in 1807-9 (see R. M. Savory, *British and French diplomacy in Persia, 1800-1810*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, x [1972], 31-44) for training the Iranian army included the project of sending 200 Iranian students to study in France, but this project never materialised. In 1811 and 1815, seven students sere sent to London for training, and this was the first attempt by the state to acquire an element of modern science and learning through sending students abroad.

Modern Western-type of education dates from the establishment of the *Dār al-Funūn*, the term being a rendering of "école polytechnique", in 1851 [see djāmiʿa]. In 1848, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh began his reign and immediately appointed Mīrzā Taḳī Khān, later called Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as his minister. Amīr Kabīr ushered in many reforms, and prepared a project for the establishment of a modern-type university, mainly to train experts for the army and the higher echelons of the civil service. He started on the necessary building and engaged a number of professors from Austria for it. The university was inaugurated by the Shāh in 1851, only a few days after its initiator, Amīr Kabīr, had fallen from power. The *Dār al-Funūn* was a combination of a military college and a secular university. Branches of study comprised infantry, cavalry and artillery sciences; medicine, physical sciences, mathematics, pharmacology, cartography, history, geography, and the Persian, Arabic, French and Russian languages. In addition to the Austrian professors who were engaged for six years, a number of European experts already in the service of the Iranian government were assigned to teaching posts, as well as a number of native Iranian scholars.

For the first year, 150 students were enrolled. Studies were free, and students were given a free mid-day meal and two uniforms per year. It had a theatre and a model factory attached to it, and was well-equipped with laboratories. Although the Amīr Kabīr was executed soon after the opening of the *Dār al-Funūn*, it continued its work. Amīr Kabīr's reforms, and particularly his founding the *Dār al-Funūn*, were not applauded by the powerful Muslim clergy, but as he had linked it with the needs of national defence, it was difficult for them to oppose it (see F. Ādamiyyāt, *Amīr Kabīr wa Īrān*,[3] Tehran 1348/1969).

The Austrian professors wrote many textbooks in their respective fields, and these were translated into Persian; thus not only was modern science introduced into Iran, but also, the foundations for modern Persian scientific terminology were laid.

The *Dār al-Funūn* was a landmark in the history of Iranian education, both as the first organised attempt to introduce modern science and technology and also as the first attempt by the state to assume responsibility for public education. For over forty years its work was responsible for the education of an élite class of intellectuals who were in no small measure responsible for the establishment of constitutional monarchy in 1906 (see F. Ādamiyyāt, *Fikr-i āzādī*, Tehran 1340/1961).

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh became increasingly suspicious of the new learning, and education stagnated in the later part of his long reign. In 1855, the Ministry of Science (*Wizārat-i ʿUlūm*) was created. In 1858, 42 students were sent to France to study in various scientific fields. In 1871 a modern school with European teachers was established in Tabrīz.

In the last decade of the 19th century, two colleges of higher education were established which later became faculties of Tehran University. One was the College of Political Sciences, primarily intended for the education of future diplomats, and the other was the College of Agriculture, with training at secondary school and university level. With the creation of the Society for Promotion of National Education, many philanthropically-inclined citizens were encouraged to endow and start their own private schools on modern lines.

The reformist movement which had started early in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was fully conscious of the inadequacy of the traditional *maktab-madrasa* type of education, and worked towards the adoption of a modern Western-type of education. Mīrzā Malkam Khān [*q.v.*] was the first to propose a national system of education, similar to the French one of primary, secondary and university stages (see Ādamiyyāt, *op. cit.*). Others, more nationalist and anti-clerical, like Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhund-zāda [*q.v.*], Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī [*q.v.*] and Ṭālibov, demanded a secular system of education.

The constitutional period, beginning in 1906, inaugurated a period of upheaval for Iran, with the re-imposition of despotic Ḳādjār rule, pressures from outside powers during the First World War years and finally the downfall of the Ḳādjārs [see mashrūṭiyya and ḳādjār], yet a great deal was done for education between 1908 and 1925.

In 1910 the *Madjlis* passed the administrative Law of Education which established the Ministry of Education (*Wizārat-i Maʿārif wa Awḳāf wa Ṣanāʾiʿ-i Mustaẓrafa*), whose responsibilities included also, as its name implied, pious endowments and the fine arts.

Responsibility for public education was assigned to this Ministry. In 1911 the Fundamental Law of Education made the Ministry responsible for the provision of basic education for all children aged from 7 to 13 years of age. This law also recognised three stages of education: primary, secondary and higher stages. Private schools were recognised, but they all had to carry out the curriculum ratified by the Ministry of Education. Corporal punishment was banned in all types of school (see further on the provisions of these laws, Issa Sadiq, *Modern Persia and her educational system*, New York 1931).

In 1918 the Central Teachers' College was established for training secondary school teachers. A number of French teachers were engaged to teach modern sciences, and eminent Iranian scholars came to be associated with this college, later called the Higher National Teachers' College. When the University of Tehran was established in 1935, this College was incorporated into the University to form its faculties of Arts and Sciences. In 1921 the School of Law was established and a number of European teachers engaged to teach modern jurisprudence. In 1922 a law was ratified by the *Madjlis* establishing the Supreme Council of Education, which was the legislative and supervisory body with regard to all matters pertaining to education. Thus with the education acts of 1910, 1911 and 1922, the foundations were laid for a national system of education.

With the advent of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*], Minister of War in 1921, prime minister in 1923 and voted as Shāh by the Constitutional Assembly which deposed the Ḳādjār dynasty in 1925, a new era began in the history of Iran, one marked by unification of the country under a strong central government, economic progress, the first steps towards emancipation of women, a resurgence of Iranian nationalism and further progress in education.

The need for trained people in higher education prompted the new Shāh to introduce a law into the *Madjlis* authorising the Ministry of Education to send at least 100 students abroad every year for higher education; the first group left for France in 1928. Scholars sent abroad under this law provided the future universities with the bulk of their teachers and also manned important posts of state. At the same time, the government engaged a number of foreign professors to teach at centres of higher education.

In 1934 an important step was taken to provide teachers for primary schools. A law was ratified by the *Madjlis* establishing teachers' colleges, and also making provisions for the employment, promotion and retirement of teachers and civil servants. By 1939 there were thirty such colleges in operation.

The University of Tehran was established by law in 1934 and inaugurated in 1935 [see DJĀMIʿA]. Almost all the faculties were already in existence; the new law brought them under a unified administration. The law also approved the budget for extensive new buildings.

In 1936, Riḍā Shāh decreed the emancipation of women, and a consequence of this was that, hitherto barred from higher education, they found access to educational facilities at all levels.

In 1939, secondary school organisation was changed. Until then, the secondary school was divided into two stages or "cycles" of three years each. The first cycle was general in nature, and the second one provided more education in the arts and sciences. As there was a terminal examination at the end of the first cycle (at the age of 16) and a certificate was issued at that point, more than 50% of students terminated their studies then or went into a trade or vocational school. With the new system, the secondary school was divided into a structure of 5 + 1 years, with specialisation at the sixth year. This had an adverse effect on the subsequent development of education, however, in that it turned students away from vocational schools towards a university education, and consequently produced a surfeit of applicants for university education.

Technical and vocational education had all along been the responsibility of various departments of state who trained the experts whom they needed. The Ministry of Education—called since the early 1930s the *Wizārat-i Farhang* (*farhang* = both education and culture)—did have its own vocational schools which students could enter at the age of 16 after the first cycle of secondary school, but the number of these schools was inadequate.

The whole system of education was highly centralised, with all important decisions taken in Tehran. However, when Riḍā Shāh abdicated in 1941, a national system of education had been firmly established. The most remarkable achievement was perhaps the fact that, under him, girls came to enjoy the same right to education as boys.

Under Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*] there was an enormous growth in all fields of education. Whereas there were 285,000 students in primary schools in 1941, the figure rose to 4,708,000 in 1976. Secondary school enrolment rose from 25,000 to 2,357,000, and university enrolment from 3,367 to 154,000 in the same period. The increase in educational expenditure was from 154 million rials in 1941 to 260 billion rials in 1976. In addition, in 1976 there were some 50,000 Iranian students studying at foreign universities, mainly in the United States and in Western Europe.

In 1943 a law ratified by the *Madjlis* made the University of Tehran autonomous. Between 1949 and 1950, new universities were established in Tabrīz Shīrāz, Ahwāz, Iṣfahān and Mashhad. In 1956, Pahlavī University was established in Shīrāz, in 1957 the National University opened in Tehran, and in 1962 the Āryāmihr Technological University was inaugurated in Tehran. By 1964, eleven new institutions of higher education had been established.

In 1963, the law establishing the Literacy Corps or "Army of Knowledge" (*Sipāh-i Dānish*) was ratified. According to this law, young men of military age, with secondary school certificate, could choose to undergo four months of training as primary school teachers and afterwards teach for 20 months in remote rural areas, this being regarded as in lieu of military service. Between 1963 and 1969, some 1.3 million children and adults had been taught by the Literacy Corps in 22,000 villages.

In 1964 the whole system of primary and secondary schools was reorganised. The primary school was allotted 5 years, the "guidance" school 3 years after the primary school and the last four years of secondary school could be devoted to specialised studies relevant to the university course which the student planned to follow. Alternative vocational and technical schools were provided after the primary school and after the three years of "guidance" school, this system marking a considerable improvement over the previous one.

In 1968 a new Ministry of Science and Higher

Education was created to deal with ever expanding higher education. The new Ministry authorised the establishment of private colleges of higher education, but the experiment was not a successful one, and all the private colleges were nationalised in 1974. Also in 1974, education at all levels was declared free by the Shāh.

The abnormal growth of secondary education had created a large number of applicants for university places. Notwithstanding the fast expansion of higher educational facilities, only a fraction of the applicants could find places. The accumulating number of young people whose levels of aspiration had been thereby raised, but could not be satisfied, was another factor responsible for the discontent that led to the 1979 Revolution in Iran, but the consequent closure in effect of the universities as potential centres of resistance, and the relegation once again of woman to an inferior status under the Khumaynī régime have diminished rather than enhanced educational opportunities.

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(MAHMUD SANA'I)

MAʿARRAT MAṢRĪN or **MIṢRĪN**, a small town in North Syria (lat. 36° 01′ N., long. 36° 40′ E.). It is 40 km. to the north of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], 50 km. south-west of Aleppo or Ḥalab [*q.v.*] and 12 km. north-west of Sarmīn. It owes its importance to its position between the districts of the Rūdj, the Djazr and the Djabal al-Summāḳ and formerly served as the market for this region which the road from Ḥalab to Armanāz traverses, a route used in the Middle Ages by the Turkomans. Its role has devolved today on Idlib. The land, although poorly watered, has never lacked agricultural resources; in the Middle Ages there were already fig, olive and pistachio trees as well as *summāḳ*, which was exported to the tanneries; lentils were also cultivated there. In former times, the town was protected by a wall which today has disappeared, and there were five mosques.

As the chef-lieu of a *nāḥiya* of the *muḥāfaẓa* of Ḥalab, situated in the district of the Djazr, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn had 3,000 inhabitants in 1930 and 5,000 in 1945, and came under the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Idlib.

The name of the town is often given in the form Maʿarrat Miṣrīn, but it is also called Maʿarrat Naṣrīn, which some authorities, such as al-Muḳaddasī and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, connect with the name of Ḳinnaṣrīn [*q.v.*], the *djund* of which the town formed part, just as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] was sometimes designated Maʿarrat Ḥimṣ by an allusion to the *djund* to which it belonged. In the Syriac manuscripts of the 8th century, this town, situated in the *kūra* of Anṭākiya [*q.v.*], is called Maʿarrat Meṣrēn; the monastery of Bēth Mari Ḳānūn was there. In the chroniclers of the Crusades, one encounters the form Megaret Basrin or Meguaret Mesrin. In Isambert's *Guide* (714), one reads Maarrat Moucerim.

History. In the year 16/637, after having defeated a large Byzantine army drawn up between Ḥalab and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] conquered this town, which surrended on the same conditions as Ḥalab [*q.v.*]. In the ʿAbbāsid period, under the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861), ʿAmr b. Ḥawbar, originally from Maʿrāthā al-Buraydiyya, a locality near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, held the office of governor of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn. A century later, in 357/968, profiting from the unstable situation in Ḥalab after the death of Sayf al-Dawla, Nicephorus Phocas conquered the town and had more than 1,000 inhabitants deported to the *bilād al-Rūm*. After the Arabo-Byzantine truce of Ṣafar 359/end of 969-beginning of 970, the town was part of the territory governed by Ḳarghuwayh. At the time of his expedition against Ḥalab, in 415/1024, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, chief of the Banū Kilāb, sent one of his *amīrs*, Abū Manṣūr Sulaymān b. Ṭawḳ, to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn; the place was captured and its commander taken prisoner. In 454/1062, a short time before the death of Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl, the Byzantines succeeded in making themselves masters of the town by trickery. Asad al-Dawla ʿAṭiyya succeeded his brother in Ḥalab but, in 457/1065, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, with the help of the Kilābīs, was successful in turning out his uncle and setting himself up in his place. However, some discontented Kilābīs helped ʿAṭiyya to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn in 458/1066 and recapture it from his nephew. In 490/end of 1097 the Franks besieged Antāḳiya, where the Saldjūḳid governor Yaghī-Siyān resisted them. During the siege, the Franks went in Ṣafar 491/January 1098 to pillage some of the towns of the Djazr and notably Maʿarrat Maṣrīn. In Djumādā II 491/June 1098, Anṭākiya was taken; Yaghī Siyān escaped, but he fell from his horse at Armanāz, not far from Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and, mortally wounded, he is said to have been killed by some Armenian woodcutters who carried his head to Bohemond.

After having taken Ḥārim [*q.v.*] in Shaʿbān 492/July 1098, Raimond Pilet, with a detachment of the army of the Comte de Saint-Gilles, crossed the Rūdj and captured the town, which was integrated into the Frankish defences to the east of the Orontes. When Baldwin of Edessa had been taken prisoner, the Frankish garrisons were attacked in 497/1104 in the district of al-Djazr by the inhabitants of al-Fuʿa, Sarmīn and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, who inflicted heavy losses on them and drove them out of the region. Riḍwān of Ḥalab received a good reception and occupied the town, which came to play the role of frontier-post (*thaghr*) for the Muslims. In 505/1111-12 the population of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn came into conflict with the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlīs, who were numerous in the district; two years later, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 507/April 1114, a group of Ismāʿīlīs recruited in Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, Afāmiya [*q.v.*] and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, tried to attack Shayzar during Easter, but were repulsed by the Banū Munḳidh.

In 514/1120 Ṭughtakīn and Ilghāzī, lords of Ḥalab, arrived to besiege the Franks who had withdrawn to Maʿarrat Maṣrīn; when Baldwin proceeded to the rescue of the Crusaders, the antagonists reached a peace agreement granting the Westerners a certain number of places, including Kafarṭāb, al-Bāra [*q.v.*] and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, whence the Franks could keep a watch on the Turkomans. The Frankish fief of al-Athārib extended as far as Maʿarrat Maṣrīn at that time. In Radjab 520/August 1126, when Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*], governor of Mawṣil, invaded the territory of Sarmīn, he found the Franks camping in front of him near the cisterns (*ḥawḍ*) of Maʿarrat

Maṣrīn; they retreated several days later to their territory because of their lack of provisions.

For several years, the region of the Djazr was to witness the constant passage of Crusaders and Muslims. In 524/1130, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, having become *atabeg* of Mawṣil after the assassination of Aḳ Sunḳur, profited from the conflict which broke out between Alice of Antākiya, widow of Bohemond, and her own father Baldwin II, to attack the outlying parts of Athārib and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, which he captured for a while from the Franks. In 527/1134, the *amīr* Sawār, lieutenant of Zangī in Ḥalab, undertook a plundering expedition against the Djazr and the citadel of Zardanā; he surprised the Franks near Ḥārim, invaded the territories of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and returned to Ḥalab loaded with booty.

In 571/1175, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in order to bring the Ismāʿīlī Hashīshiyyīn to reason, mounted a punitive expedition against their territories of Sarmīn, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and the Djabal al-Summāḳ whose inhabitants he massacred; he then entrusted to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥārimī, his maternal uncle, the district of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*], which was rich in fortresses.

In the Ayyūbid period, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn often changed masters; in Djumādā I 619/July 1222, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, son of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, acquired the territories of Shughr and Bakas, Rūdj and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, which he was to exchange later, around 624/1227, for some places situated to the north-west of Ḥalab, such as ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*] and Rāwandān. In 637-8/1240, the region was devastated by the Khwārazmians (see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

In the modern period, the town seems only rarely to have been visited by travellers. The consul J.-B. Rousseau speaks of it in 1814 in his description of the *pashalïḳ* of Ḥalab. At the end of the 19th century, Jullien says of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn that it was a large village situated in the midst of fields of sesame and olive-trees in a rich plain, whose great fertility, before 1914, was praised by Garrett.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

MAʿARRAT AL-NUʿMĀN, chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of North Syria comprising the southern half of the Djabal Zāwiya, which consists of the southern part of the Belus massif with numerous villages. Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, famous as the birthplace of the blind poet al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], is situated at about 500 m. altitude, in lat. 35° 38′ N. and long. 36° 40′ E. Falling within northern Phoenicia, two days' journey to the south of Ḥalab or Aleppo (70 km.), it is situated on the eastern fringe of a massif rich in archaeological remains. From west to east, we have Eocene limestones which provide cut stone, cretaceous marl, and, about 12 km. to the east, Pliocene basalts which, to the south, take the form of a flow which traverses the Djabal Zāwiya as far as the Orontes.

There is no running water in the vicinity, and the inhabitants have to collect rain water in cisterns. The contributions of rainfall and wells have allowed a rich agriculture without irrigation since antiquity. According to Ibn Djubayr, it used to take two days to cross the area covered by gardens which stretched all around the town. This land was, in the Ayyūbid period, one of the most fertile and rich in the world. To the west of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, since classical times there has been cultivation of olive trees and vineyards; near the town, in the gardens, grow pistachio and almond trees, while to the east, stretch fields of cereals (corn and barley). The region produces three essential commodities: corn, olives and raisins for immediate export, which leads to "recurring concentrations in great masses of these specialised products" (Tchalenko, *Villages*, i, 98).

If one accepts the identification of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān with Ara, the existence of a human settlement on the site of the present town very near to Tell Mannas dates back to the first millenium B.C. In fact, Ara is mentioned in the Assyrian texts among the conquests of the empire in 738 B.C. There is no doubt that it is the same town which appears under the name Arra as one of the Graeco-Roman cities of the Antonine itinerary which is identifiable with the Megara of Strabo and which becomes Marra in the Latin chroniclers of the Middle Ages, while the Western historians of the Crusades call it La Marre or La Maire. According to the Arab authors, the form Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān designated in the Umayyad period a town and a district situated in the fourth climate and belonging to the *djund* of Ḥimṣ; then, from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, it was incorporated in that of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*]. This is why the geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. before 272/885) considers this region as one of the *ʿAwāṣim* [*q.v.*]. According to al-Balādhurī (d. *ca.* 279/892) and al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. *ca.* 278/891) and repeated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (756/1355) and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (872/1468) (*Zubda*), the town was at one time called Dhāt al-Ḳuṣūr "the town of palaces", al-Dimashḳī speaks of Dhāt Ḳaṣrayn, "the one with two palaces".

The second part of the name of the town, according to al-Balādhurī, repeated by al-Harawī, is taken from a Companion of the Prophet, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*], who, in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, was governor of Kūfa and the region of Ḥimṣ and whose son died in Maʿarra; on the death of Yazīd, the governor of Maʿarra is said to have been Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who himself died in 65/684. There is another tradition according to which this second name is taken from al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAdī al-Sāṭiʿ, of the Banū Tanūkh family who lived in the town and the region.

Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, since its establishment, has been an important crossroads and active economic centre. The town is situated on the north-south axis, which, from Ḳurus at the foot of the Taurus, goes as far as Palestine passing via Ḥalab, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ

and Dimashḳ. This route passes along the foot of the eastern slope of the Djabal Zāwiya and skirts the plain which stretches to the east. A road also passes it which links Ḥamāt with Anṭākiya, and halfway between the latter and Maʿarra is Rūdjiyya (Chastel Ruge) in the Rūdj district which screens Antioch to the south. An important road goes westwards from Maʿarra via al-Ḥass and al-Bāra, goes over the Djabal Zāwiya, then crosses the Orontes at Djisr al-Shughr before reaching Lādhikiyya [*q.v.*].

To the south, one goes by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān to Kafar Ṭāb, from where one can reach Afāmiya or Shayzar. It should be noted that the old Ḥalab-Ḥimṣ route that al-Yaʿḳūbī followed in the 3rd/9th century did not pass by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān but via Tell Mannas, several kilometres to the east of the present road, and yet the Antonine itinerary gives the Arra-Epiphania (Ḥamāt) route. A well-articulated road network linked the agricultural villages of the east with Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. This town was not only a resting stage, but also a centre of exchange between the mountain and the plain, and it served as a great collecting centre of agricultural products; in 340/951 it was already a prosperous town. As the key to Ḥamāt, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was to be, under the Middle Ages, the first objective to be attained by any adversary, coming from the north-west, north or north-east, while to any master of Ḥamāt it constituted an advance defence. In the Ottoman period, the economic importance of the town was emphasised by the fact that the *sandjaḳ* of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān had its own fiscal regulation; taxes were paid on merchandise in transit, animals and produce transported from the villages to the town, the *bādj* fee [*q.v.*]. In 1913, there was a French school in this town. At the present time, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān preserves its role as a craft and commercial centre which is emphasised by the coming-and-going of trucks, agricultural machines, buses and taxis as well as the appearance of its main street, which is dominated by garages, workshops for mechanical repairs, cafés and restaurants.

Demographic growth in the 20th century has followed that of the country as a whole. From 5,250 inhabitants in 1932, the population rose to 9,140 in 1945, to reach 20,000 in 1970.

History. In 16/637, the army of Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] occupied Maʿarra-Ḥimṣ; those of the inhabitants who were not converted were forced to pay the *djizya* and *kharādj* [*q.vv.*]. In Radjab 101/February 720, the pious caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was buried in Dayr Samʿān in al-Naḳīra to the south-west of Maʿarra. It is in this village that there lived the Ṣūfī Yaḥyā al-Maghribī whom Saladin visited. This was a place of pilgrimage frequented in the 7th/13th century.

In 207/822, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, nominated by the caliph al-Maʾmūn as governor of Syria where he succeeded his father, fought the rebel Naṣr b. Shabath and, on this occasion, destroyed the fortifications of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and other fortresses such as those of al-Kafr and Ḥunāḳ.

In 290/903, the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*], under the command of the Ṣāḥib al-Khāl, devastated the region of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt, Salāmiyya and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. They killed many people there and took captive women and children. In 325/936-7, some Banū Kilāb nomads penetrated into Syria from Nadjd; when they drew near to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Muʿādh b. Saʿīd, commander of this place, went to meet them, but was taken prisoner at al-Burāghithī (whose location is unknown) with a part of his army; he was only released later by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, a Kilābī commander of Ḥalab.

In 332/943-4 al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, uncle of Sayf al-Dawla, drove out of Ḥalab Abu 'l-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd and the Kilābī Yānis al-Muʾnisī, and passed by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān on his way to Ḥimṣ, while Yānis fled to Egypt. In Shawwāl 333/May-June 945, the Ikhshīdid governor of Egypt left Damascus and marched against Sayf al-Dawla; he seized Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and appointed Muʿādh b. Saʿīd as governor for the second time, but he was killed shortly after by Sayf al-Dawla at the Battle of Ḳinnasrīn. In 348/959 the Ḳarāmiṭa were numerous in the region of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and the ʿUḳaylid governor Shabīb b. Djarīr headed a band of these insurgents and marched on Dimashḳ. At the end of 357/end of 968, Nicephorus Phocas conquered Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, destroyed the Great Mosque and damaged a large part of its ramparts. At the beginning of 358/969, a peace treaty was signed and the town was one of those which had to pay tribute to the Byzantines, but the latter did not have sufficient troops to enforce the agreement. Abu 'l-Maʿālī, son of Sayf al-Dawla, recaptured Maʿarra.

In 358/969, at the time when the Byzantines withdrew from the Ḥalab region, Abu 'l-Maʿālī came to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose governor delivered the *khuṭba* in his name. In October of the same year, on the return of the Byzantines, Abu 'l-Maʿālī fell back on Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, where he received reinforcements, provisions and fodder. He appointed as his lieutenant there Zuhayr, a *ghulām* of his father, and went on to Ḥimṣ. On his return, Zuhayr refused to open the gates of the town to the Ḥamdānid prince, who decided to use force; finally, his lieutenant secured *amān*.

When in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 358/October 969, Karghawayh seized power in Ḥalab, Zuhayr, the governor of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, allied himself with the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla and took part in the campaign against Ḥalab. But as soon as the Byzantine Peter Stratopedarcus, whom Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr calls al-Turbāzī, came to help Karghawayh, Abu 'l-Maʿālī abandoned the siege of Ḥalab and withdrew with Zuhayr to al-Khunāṣira and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In 364/975 Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī came, with the aid of the Banū Kilāb, to besiege Zuhayr in his town, and broke in by the Ḥunāḳ gate; driven back from the town, Abu 'l-Maʿālī burned the Ḥimṣ gate, and finally, Zuhayr gave himself up and was executed. In Shawwāl 366/May-June 977, the castle of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was pillaged.

An expedition of the Fāṭimids against Ḥalab in 386/996 was held in check, but the Egyptians succeeded in extending their authority as far as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In fact, Rummāḥ, a *mamlūk* of Sayf al-Dawla who governed the place, had revolted against his master Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil Saʿīd al-Dawla, prince of Ḥalab, and had appealed to Mangūtakīn, a Turkish leader in the service of the Fāṭimids, to relieve him from the pressure exerted by the Aleppine forces. It seems that following an agreement with the Fāṭimids, Luʾluʾ, the *atabeg* of Ḥalab, had recovered Maʿarra. In 393/1003 the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was attacked by Luʾluʾ, who had seized power in Ḥalab in the preceding year; he dismantled the fortresses situated in this territory and in that of Rūdj in order to prevent his adversaries from using them against him.

In the middle of the 5th/11th century, after the appearance of the Mirdāsids on the political scene with the capture of Ḥalab in 1024, Maʿarrat al-

Nuʿmān was to change hands several times. In 434/1042-3 the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla confronted the Mirdāsid Thimāl, master of Ḥalab, and took possession of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In 452/1060 Thimāl, in the course of an expedition against his nephew Maḥmūd, stayed in the town whose inhabitants had to suffer the enemy occupation. Five years later, after entering Ḥalab, Maḥmūd the Mirdāsid, sent Hārūn, a Turkish leader, to capture Maʿarra. On 17 Shawwāl 458/10 September 1066, Hārūn penetrated into the town with more than 1,000 men comprising Turks. Daylamī, Kurds and men from the al-Awdj tribe. They had established their camp outside the walls in front of the gate where public prayer was performed. These troops were disciplined, and respected the olive groves and vineyards, only taking water for their beasts without paying. They left the town to help Maḥmūd in his struggle against the Kilābīs.

Some Turks from the Byzantine territory advanced in 462/1070, under the command of Ṣundaḳ, against Ḥalab; they went as far as the Djazr and devastated the territories of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Kafar Ṭāb, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ and Rafaniyya. Shortly after, the Saldjūḳids made their appearance in North Syria. In 472/1079-80, Tutush, brother of the sultan Malik Shāh, made the inhabitants of Sarmīn and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose eastern villages he plundered, pay large sums.

In 478/1085, Maʿarra belonged to the ʿUḳaylids; at the beginning of Rabīʿ II/August, Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush who, the preceding year had seized Anṭākiya, took it from them. In 485/1092 Yaghī Siyān received from Tutush a certain number of places in *iḳṭāʿ*, including Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. Three years later, Riḍwān, the Saldjūḳid prince of Ḥalab, gave the town and its territory to Suḳmān b. Artuḳ; in the following year, Djarrāḥ al-Dawla, Riḍwān's *atabeg*, having quarrelled with the latter, seized Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān.

The strategic position of this place was also to interest the Crusaders. In the vicinity of the town, to the west, troops could be concentrated, under the protection of the forts of Tell Mannas and Kafr Ruma to the east and Kafar Ṭāb which, on the south, also served to defend the approach from Afāmiya and to attack Shayzar on the Orontes. In 491/1098 Raymond of Saint Gilles decided to attack Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān on leaving Anṭākiya, supported by the Christians of the region, but he was driven back. At the end of November a fresh attack was led by Robert of Flanders. In order to capture Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, the Crusaders used a wooden castle on wheels surpassing the height of the town walls so as better to attack the enemy who, to break the force of the missiles, covered the walls with bags of hay and cotton. Raimond Pilet's sappers succeeded in making a breach in the wall. Not having a very large army, Bohemond negotiated an honourable surrender, proposing to save lives. The town surrendered on 14 Muḥarram 492/11 December 1098. At Christmas 1098, Raymond of Saint Gilles left Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān to establish himself at Chastel Ruge, and Bohemond also went there after appointing the bishop of al-Bāra in authority over this place. At the beginning of January 1099, while the princes were organising the expedition against Jerusalem from Chastel Ruge, the more impoverished elements of the Frankish army, who wanted to to go Jerusalem without delay, rebelled, and, despite the protestations of the bishop of al-Bāra, set about sacking the town and demolishing the ramparts. Raymond of Saint Gilles returned, gathered his men and abandoned Maʿarra, which he evacuated on 17 Ṣafar 492/13 January 1099, barefoot, as leader of the Pilgrimage. In 496/1103, Riḍwān of Ḥalab reconquered the lost fortresses and, the following year, he occupied Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, which the Franks were forced to abandon temporarily. In 505/1111, Mawdūd, *atabeg* of Mawṣil, and Ṭughtakīn, *atabeg* of Dimashḳ, allied against Ḥalab, and marched to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose region was at that time peopled by numbers of the Assassins [see AL-ḤASHĪSHIYYA]. On 23 Rabīʿ II 509/15 September 1115, Bursuḳ of Mawṣil was defeated by Roger of Antioch at the Battle of Tall Dānith, to the north of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, on the road from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. Two years later, after the assassination of Luʾluʾ at Ḥalab, the Franks controlled the roads linking this town with Dimashḳ. In 513/1119 Baldwin II marched on Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and in the following year, Riḍwān concluded a treaty with the Franks of Antioch according to which Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, the Djazr situated to the north of the town, Kafar Ṭāb, al-Bāra and part of the Djabal al-Summāḳ reverted to the Franks. Several years later (519/1125) there is mentioned the escape of an important group of Muslim prisoners from the citadel of Maʿarra.

At the beginning of Djumādā I 529/end of April 1135, Zangī captured Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and drove the Franks out of the citadel; he re-established on their lands the Muslims who could show their title deeds, and for those who had lost them he checked the payment of *kharādj* in the land registers before restoring their lands. The following year, at the beginning of Shaʿbān/mid-April, the Basileus John II Comnenus traversed the territory of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, without attacking it, and proceeded swiftly towards Shayzar which he besieged in vain.

During the great earthquake of 552/1157, of which Ḥamāt was the epicentre, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was seriously damaged; Nūr al-Dīn visited it in Ramaḍān 552/October 1157. In this prince's time, this town was situated on the southern border of the Ḥalab region and the customs dues (*mukūs*) on merchandise were paid there. Nūr al-Dīn founded a dovecot there, a resting-stage for the pigeon post between Ḥamāt and Ḥalab, which was to be integrated into the system of the Mamlūk air-borne post before being suppressed at the beginning of the 15th century.

In 574/1178, certain villages of the *kūra* of Maʿarra were given in *iḳṭāʿ* by Saladin to the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Muḳaddam. In the Ayyūbid period, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, due to its position on the border of the territories of Ḥalab and Ḥamāt, changed hands more than ten times in less than a century.

In 548/1188 Saladin went from Ḥalab to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān in order to go on pilgrimage to the Shaykh Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Maghribī, who lived near the tomb of the Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In 587/1191, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar seized Maʿarra to the detriment of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, and died shortly afterwards. Two years later it was given by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī to al-Manṣūr Muḥammad. In 596/1200, Ibn al-Muḳaddam was in possession of Afāmiya, Kafar Ṭāb and 25 places in the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The following year, during a campaign against Ḥamāt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī sacked the surrounding area and plundered the town, which sporadically formed part of his domains. In 598/1202 an agreement was reached between al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir of Ḥalab and al-

Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, who received Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. This town is situated to the north of Shayzar, Afāmiya and Kafar Ṭāb, three possessions of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, the *amīr* of Ḥalab, whose forces, together with some Bedouin allies, pillaged the territory of Maʿarra from time to time.

In 604/1207-8, the governor of the town was Murshid b. Sālim b. al-Muhadhdhib, vassal of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir. In 617/1220, this town belonged, with the agreement of the Sultan al-Afḍal, to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Kïlïdj Arslan [*q.v.*], lord of Ḥamāt. In 620/1223, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, prince of Dimashḳ, attacked Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose governor fled, leaving the task of negotiating to the notables, who included the father of the historian Ibn Wāṣil. Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam nominated an administrator.

In the decade which followed, the town was disputed between al-Ashraf Mūsā of Damascus and al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd of Ḥamāt. The latter reconstructed the citadel of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān in 631/1233. In 635/1238, on the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo, Maʿarra and its citadel were seized by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Ḥalab after a short siege assisted by mangonels. Expelled by Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*], the Khwārazmians crossed the Euphrates in 638/1240 and entered Syria, passed to the south of Ḥalab via Djabbūl and Sarmīn, and plundered the region as far as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, governed at that time by al-Malik al-Manṣūr. After Baybars' victory at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], the sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*] in 658/1259 handed over to al-Malik al-Manṣūr the towns of Baʿrīn and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, which had been taken from him by the *amīr* of Ḥalab. From this time onwards except for short periods, the town and its region was to remain in the hands of the princes of Ḥamāt; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, an Ayyūbid prince, geographer and historian, also received them in *iḳṭāʿ* from the sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn in 710/1310; but three years later he was forced to cede them to the ruler of Ḥalab. This is why, in 716/1316, he gave up to the sultan as a donation in the proper official style, the town and castle, which did not prevent him from ceding the town to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā at the end of the year.

Under the Mamlūks, at the beginning of 742/1341, the principality of Ḥamāt was suppressed; the province belonged from then onwards to the ruler of Egypt, and the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān constituted a *wilāya* of this province. After the Battle of Mardj Dābiḳ (922/1516) the town became Ottoman; in 924/1518 it was on the northern border of the province of Dimashḳ. A century later, the traveller Pietro della Valle (ii, 136) passed by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, where he found a prince of the Ottoman dynasty.

In the 17th century, Maʿarra was situated on the southern border of the *pashalïḳ* of Ḥalab and the northern border of that of Dimashḳ, where the road from Bālis passes to the Mediterranean, crossing the Orontes at Djisr al-Shughr.

Thévenot describes Maʿarra in 1658 as a "poor town commanded by a 'sangiac' ", and says that it is surrounded by walls (*Voyage*, vi, 703; *Suite du Voyage*, iii, 97-8). Franz Ferdinand von Troilo, a German traveller in the middle of the 17th century, found in the town "two fine inns, one dilapidated, the other in quite a good state" (*Reise Beschreibung*, Dresden 1676, 458). It is in this period that an Arab family settled there coming from the region of Konya, sc. the al-ʿAẓm family who, in the second half of the 17th century, were to set out on a political career which was to be prolonged into modern times. About 1650, two of its members, Ḳāsim and Ibrāhīm, reached Dimashḳ, then went on to Ḥamāt and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. Ibrāhīm, a *djundī*, served in the Ottoman army, settled in Maʿarra and was put in charge of organising the defence of the town against the attacks of the Turkomans. His son, Ismāʿīl Pasha b. al-ʿAẓm al-Nuʿmānī, was born in Maʿarra in 1070/1659-60, where he occupied himself with agriculture, and in the town of his birth became a sufficiently important figure to be nominated governor of Dimashḳ, on 23 Djumādā II 1137/9 March 1725 (being removed at the end of Djumādā I 1143/December 1730). In this period, Pococke, who visited Maʿarra, describes it as a poor town with an independent *agha* who was paying a tribute to the Porte and levying taxes on travellers (*A description* ..., ii, 145-6). Ismāʿīl had two sons, Asʿad Pasha and Saʿd al-Dīn. The first was born in 1117/1706, and was first *mutasallim* in Ḥamāt and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and then governor of Dimashḳ in 1156/1743. In the 18th century the city, like Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt, was one of the lifetime grants (*mālikāne*) of the *pasha* of Damascus, who held it from the sultan and who himself sub-let it to an *agha*. In Radjab 1135/October 1771, ʿUthmān Pasha al-Kurdjī, governor of Damascus from 1760, was removed, and lost the *mālikāne* of Maʿarra, which Muḥammad Pasha al-ʿAẓm then received.

In the middle of the 19th century, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was the most northerly locality of the *pashalïḳ* of Dimashḳ; it was a *sandjaḳ* governed by a *mutaṣarrif*, then it became a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *liwāʾ* of Ḥalab and, in 1873, the residence of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. According to Sachau, who visited it in 1879, the town had about 400 houses, and led an easy life in the midst of a well-cultivated region. On the other hand, Max van Berchem, a few years later, saw only "a large, miserable-looking village ... in a well-cultivated plain." In 1913, one of the rare telegraphic offices of Syria made Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān the link between Ḥamāt and Ḥalab.

From the time of the establishment of the French mandate in the Levant, this town became an active centre of resistance by the Syrian nationalists. In 1930, the Mawālī shepherd tribes held much of the lands through which one had to pass between Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and Ḥalab. Since 1965 the town has benefited from the economic, industrial and agricultural development of the Ḥamāt-Ḥimṣ zone.

Monuments. The town of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān has protected by a wall which was often attacked and damaged, and then repaired; it had seven gates like many cities of the East: Bāb Ḥalāb, al-Bāb al-Kabīr, Bāb Shīth, Bāb al-Djinān, Bāb Ḥunāḳ, Bāb Ḥimṣ and Bāb Kadhāʾ. Defence was also assured by a mediaeval fortress of circular plan called al-Ḳalʿa, built on a mound serving as its foundation and dominating the countryside to the north-west of Maʿarra. It was situated at the entrance of "the great ravine which, from al-Bāra, traverses the eastern side of the mountain, followed by the road which linked the inland plains of the east with the valley of the Orontes" (Tchalenko, iii, 123). After the Crusaders' attacks, it was restored by Zangī in the 6th/12th century. A dovecote (*burdj al-ḥamām*) set up by Nūr al-Dīn in the 6th/12th century linked Ḥamāt and Ḥalab by means of travelling pigeons until the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

The Great Mosque of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān occupies the site of an ancient temple which had given way to a church which was turned into a mosque after the arrival of the Muslims. Built on a height in the middle of the city, it was reached by 13 steps; ex-

tensive re-use of ancient remains bears witness to the antiquity of the sanctuary, whose roof is flat. In the courtyard, two kiosks are supported by shafts of ancient columns; the cupola which protects the ablutions basin and its fountain rests on ten ancient columns, and the drum which provides a passage between the decagon of the ground plan and the circle of the cupola, is pierced by semi-circular bays. The square minaret of the Great Mosque, one of the most beautiful in Syria, bears on its west face the signature of the architect Ḳāhir b. ʿAlī b. Ḳānit al-Sarmānī, who in 595/1199 built the town's Shāfiʿī *madrasa*. Creswell attributed this date to the construction of this monument. Herzfeld, stressing the strict relation which exists between the decoration and construction of this five-storeyed minaret and that of Ḥalab, built between 483/1090 and 487/1094, dated it from 550/1155 at the latest. There is every reason to believe that Nūr al-Dīn had it repaired after the great earthquake of 552/1157. Later, this minaret, after the quake of 565/1170, was to undergo other damage and to be repaired in 595/1199 by the architect of the Shāfiʿī *madrasa*.

Some *sūḳs* of very ancient origin surround the Great Mosque, and in the city there are still some remains of covered, vaulted streets like Jerusalem. At the time of his visit to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw saw an ancient column 10 cubits high with an inscription in non-Arabic characters which was regarded as a talisman, as at Ḥimṣ and Anṭākiya, protecting the town from scorpions.

According to Albert of Aix, quoted by Cl. Cahen (*La Syrie du Nord*, 162, n. 5) there was in the period of the Crusades, in the southern part of the town, a church of St. Andrew, of which some foundations still survive. According to Syriac texts, there was also a Monophysite monastery, whose location is uncertain. There are in the town and its environs a large number of sculpted arch-stones in basalt originating from ancient Christian tombs.

To the south of the Great Mosque is situated a Shāfiʿī *madrasa*, whose foundation is sometimes attributed to Nūr al-Dīn. Following a sculpted inscription on the lowest course of the arch of the doorway, it was built in 595/1119 in the reign of the Ayyūbid prince of Ḥamāt al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abu 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad by Abu'l-Fawāris Nadjā. The building also bears the signature of the architect Ḳāhir b. ʿAlī b. Ḳānit. This *madrasa* is entered on the east side by a doorway with a trefoiled arch opening on the vestibule covered by a pyramidal cupola on pendentives. In its axis, facing an oblong court, there is a very large *īwān*, at present encroached upon by dwellings. On the south, the prayer hall opens on the courtyard by three doors; the *miḥrāb*, a large niche, is preceded by a cupola on pendentives creating a zone passing from the hexadecagon to the circle of the cupola. On the north side, some rooms are laid out and, at a north-east angle, is placed the tomb of the founder surmounted by a cupola.

Also at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān should be noted a *khān* of the Ottoman period which lies to the south of the Great Mosque in the eastern part of the town. It is a great, square *khān* in cut stone with huge stables and a small mosque in the middle of the courtyard. An inscription above the fine southern doorway, dated 974/1566-7, informs us that this building is due to the generosity of Murād Čelebi, *defterdār* of Anatolia (d. 981/1573-4). A second inscription at the vaulted north entrance is a poetic text giving in a chronogram the date 1166/1752-3, presumably the time of Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm.

There are many places of pilgrimage or oratories in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: the *Maḳām Nabī Allāh Yūshaʿ b. Nūn*, often cited as a *djāmiʿ* or *mashhad*, is situated outside the south walls of the town. The tomb of Yūshaʿ (Joshua) is probably on the site of an ancient pre-Islamic sanctuary. Yāḳūt says that this is not the tomb of Yūshaʿ, which is actually in the vicinity of Nābulus. An inscription of 10 lines dated 604/1207 recalls, in the bay above the door, that this place of prayer was reconstructed on the order of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir al-Ghāzī while Murshid b. Sālim b. al-Muhadhdhib governed Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The ground plan of this small-scale *maḳām* is little different from that of a *madrasa* with its rectangular court, its deep *īwān* facing the entrance and the north and south faces occupied by the funerary chamber and prayer hall. Above the entrance arch rises an octagonal minaret with a small cupola supported at the top by four columns. The modern mausoleum of the illustrious blind poet, Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], where there is a part of his epitaph on a stele fragment in stone, is situated in the town.

In the vicinity of Bāb Shīth, there is the tomb of Seth, third son of Adam, who spent part of his life in Syria. The tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, grandson of a Companion of the Prophet, is mentioned in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān by al-Balādhurī, and again by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Yāḳūt. There was also a *mashhad* of Yūsuf which was restored by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī.

A short distance to the east of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, at Dayr Naḳīra, identified with the Dayr Samʿān of this district, is the tomb of the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in a small enclosure. The earliest author, according to J. and D. Sourdel, to mention this site is Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn went there on pilgrimage in 584/1188 and visited there the Shaykh Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr al-Maghribī, who lived in this place and was buried behind the sepulchre of the Umayyad sovereign. This was a place of pilgrimage frequented from the Ayyūbid period.

In 1953, Tchalenko remarked on the subject of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: "Due to its situation as much as to its urban character and the importance of its mediaeval monuments, this site demands a special study, like several other small towns situated on the edge of the massif."

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AL-MAʿARRĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān, famous Arabic poet and prose author of the late ʿAbbāsid period, was born in 363/973 in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], a town between Aleppo and Ḥimṣ in the northern part of Syria, where he also was to die in 449/1058. The Banū Sulaymān, his forefathers, belonged to the notable families of Maʿarra. As Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, they held the office of *ḳāḍī*, which post was for the first time successfully claimed by a grandfather of Abu 'l-Alāʾ's grandfather. In addition, some of the Banū Sulaymān are mentioned as rather good poets (further information in ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr wa-djarīdat al-ʿaṣr*, ii (part on Syria), ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, Damascus 1959, where a genealogical table may be found in the editor's *Muḳaddima*, based on al-Iṣfahānī, *op.cit.*, ii, 49 and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 483-511).

Having been afflicted by smallpox at an early age, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ lost his eyesight: "When I was four years old, there was a decree of fate about me, so that I could not discern a full-grown camel from a tender young camel, recently born" (see his correspondence with Abū Naṣr b. Abī ʿImrān, the *Dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 198, cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī's correspondence on vegetarianism*, in *JRAS* [1902], 317). This defect was, however, more than compensated by his extraordinarily retentive memory, which in later biographical collections was to reach fabulous dimensions. Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*], who is otherwise very reliable, inserted in his monograph concerning Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ a "Chapter about deep understanding, natural ability, quick and brilliant memory, shining thought and penetrating insight in connection with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ" (*al-Inṣāf*, 551-64). That Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ started his career as a poet at the early age of 11 or 12 years need not surprise us in view of, for instance, similar statements which concern youthful poetry by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], cf. R. Blachère, *Abou 'ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî, un poète arabe*, Paris 1935, 27. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ completed his religious, linguistic and literary education, in that he read the text materials required, under supervision of different *shaykhs*, in the first instance those at Maʿarra and Aleppo. Among his teachers were, according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf al-ḳudamāʾ*, 30, "companions from the circle of Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*]", known as one of the participants in the literary reunions at Sayf al-Dawla's court in Aleppo. This grammarian and expert on Ḳurʾān readings died in 370/980-1, when Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was still very young. None the less, we find Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ regretting Ibn Khālawayh's loss to Aleppo in rather strong terms: "Would that God might protect Aleppo, because that town, after Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālawayh's death, ceased to wear any ornament, neither spangle nor bracelet; thus it was found to be far removed from *adab*" (*Risālat al-Ghufrān*, 518, cf. 548-9). Among his teachers should further be mentioned Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, who was a *rāwiya* of al-Mutanabbī's poetry. Ibn al-ʿAdīm mentions (*al-Inṣāf*, 515) how Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, at one time reading al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān* under his supervision, corrected Ibn Saʿd's *riwāya*. By comparing the passage concerned with that found in a manuscript from ʿIrāḳ, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's correction was proved to be justified. From this incident we may conclude that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ had already at an early age some acquaintance with the poetry of al-Mutanabbī, for whom he was to entertain great admiration at a more advanced age.

Regarding the next phase of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's life, up till his journey to Baghdād, Arabic historians express two different opinions. Some historians suppose the poet to have travelled to some other cities apart from his Baghdād journey. They would have him visit Antioch and Syrian Tripoli so that he might profit from the local libraries. According to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 30, and other historians following him, the poet on his way to Tripoli made a halt not far from al-Lādhiḳiyya (Latakia), at Dayr al-Fārūs, a monastery so called in memory of Jesus's shroud (Greek: φαρος, see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *loc. cit.*, n. 1). There he listened to a monk discussing Hellenic philosophy, producing in his mind certain doubts which could afterwards be recognised in his poetry. Some other historians however, are of a different opinion. For example, Ibn al-ʿAdīm is one of those who deny the poet was under the influence of any religion but Islam. As far as Antioch is concerned, Ibn al-ʿAdīm bases his argument on the political situation in Syria: during all Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's life-time Antioch lay inside the Byzantine frontiers. From the ex-

pulsion of the Muslims by Byzantine authorities from that town, Ibn al-ʿAdīm infers that "it is neither conceivable that a library should have existed there nor a librarian, as much as that town is inconceivable for somebody to travel to in order there to pursue knowledge" (*al-Inṣāf*, 555). Concerning the supposed existence of a library at Tripoli, also an alleged motive for Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's travelling, Ibn al-ʿAdīm points out that such a library was only founded in 472/1079-80, many years after the poet's death (*op. cit.*, 557). Despite Ibn al-ʿAdīm's strong arguments, recent researches after all tend to accept the possibility of an actual visit to the towns mentioned, as may be deduced from certain allusions in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry (see H. Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie d'Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarri*, in *BEO*, x [1943-4], 123-4).

The poems of the first half of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's life were collected in his *Dīwān*, which was called *Saḳṭ al-zand* ("The first spark of the tinder"). Here and there in this collection, the poet's reactions to contemporaneous political developments in Syria may be found. About that time, the dynasty of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*], with Aleppo for their centre of authority, began to lose much of its power, which having attained its utmost degree in Sayf al-Dawla's days, under his successors gradually was to vanish, finally making place for another line of *amīrs*, the Mirdāsids (see S. Zakkar, *The emirate of Aleppo 1004-1094*, Beirut 1971). Meanwhile, the relative independence of the northern Syrian territory was increasingly threatened from the north by a renewed access of Byzantine military power and from the south by the appearance for the first time of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*]. At the same time, there was hardly any support to be expected from the Būyid *amīrs* and their nominal overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Baghdād. During the reign of the successors of Sayf al-Dawla, in particular Saʿd al-Dawla and Saʿīd al-Dawla, the Fāṭimid *imāms* began trying to extend their influence from Egypt into northern Syria. Especially at the time Saʿīd al-Dawla started his rule, Aleppo came to be the object of several prolonged but futile sieges (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Damascus 1951, i, 185-92). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ took a keen interest in these developments, as is apparent from at least four laudatory poems found in his collection, the *Saḳṭ al-zand*. In these poems, important personalities from either party at war are the subjects of his praise. Thus he eulogises one Bandjūtakīn, who was a Fāṭimid general, in his poem with rhyme-word *dhimāmu* (*Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, ii, 602), while in two other poems of his (the one with rhyme *ḥimyaru*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iii, 1087, and the other with rhyme *wiṣālu*, *op. cit.*, iii, 1046) a certain Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, one of the Banu 'l-Maghribī [*q.v.*] is lauded. The latter had originally acted as a *kātib* and *wazīr* in the Ḥamdānids' service, but having betrayed his masters he filled the Fāṭimid post of financial and administrative superintendent of the army (*mudabbir al-djaysh*), trying to conquer Aleppo for the Fāṭimid cause. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Saʿīd al-Dawla, too, who only with great difficulty stood his ground in Aleppo, can be found as a *mamdūḥ* in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry. In the *raḥīl* of a *ḳaṣīda*, even his name is mentioned, though in a rather allusive way, "[10] The camels kept asking me, upon which I answered, saying, Our destination will be Saʿīd [however, the name excepted, *saʿīd* also means "fortunate"]. Thereupon the *amīr*'s name came to be their good omen" (from the poem with rhyme *mālā*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, i, 25). All these laudatory passages are, however, rather curious, because they do not fit the image given by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ himself in the Preface to his *Dīwān* (*Shurūḥ Saḳṭ* i, 10), where he says, "I have not knocked so as to be heard at the doors of great lords, whilst reciting my poetry, no more did I praise with a view to acquiring a reward". This contrast between explicit intention and real practice may be explained by the assumption that the poet in such cases had been pressed to compose this sort of poetry against his will (cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, f. 215a).

It was in 395/1004-5 that Abu 'l-ʿAlaʾ had to sustain the painful blow of the death of his father, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān, who had been the first one to teach him. This date given by ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, ii, 5 and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 493, should be preferred to the one indicated by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 163, who erroneously mentions 377/987-8, which year is correspondingly given by the majority of Western biographers (about the chronology, see ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ", in *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Cairo 1965, 66-75). Reacting to his father's decease, the poet composed an elaborate elegy (rhyme *'l-dadjni*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, ii, 907), in which we find him praising his father's poetical talents in glowing terms: "[26] O master of rhymes! How much did their obedience to your wishes contrive, that in your view eloquent Arabs hardly surpass the level of stammering barbarians!" Three years after this event Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is reported to have left Maʿarra in order to settle at Baghdād, where, however, he was to stay for merely one-and-a-half years. The poet himself pointed out what motive was prompting him to travel to Baghdād, for in his letters it is explicitly mentioned that nothing more than the libraries in that place excited his interest (Margoliouth, *Letters* 40 and 44, cf. *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, 147, 287). From his *Saḳṭ al-zand* we may know the poet to have been in touch with several personalities employed in Baghdād libraries. One of these was Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who was a custodian in the *Dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*], and for whom Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ composed a long *ḳaṣīda* (rhyme *'l-khaṭṭu*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1646). Another librarian and scholar was Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Baṣrī, "who had been entrusted with the supervision of *Dār al-kutub* at Baghdād" (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 57-8), and to whom Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ having returned to Maʿarra was to address a poem (rhyme *arbuʿi*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1527) in which he ventilates his melancholy remembrance of Baghdād and mentions their weekly conversations on Fridays. About both these librarians, see Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie* ..., 129. Despite the benefit he might have reaped from a prolonged stay at Baghdād, it was not long before the poet again took his departure. It seems that he got into trouble financially, which need not suprise us in view of his unwillingness to compose laudatory poems for the Baghdād nobility, in which aspect he shows himself quite different from, for instance, al-Mutanabbī. Another reason why he did not stay any longer in Baghdād is given by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ himself, in addition to the one already mentioned. In a *ḳaṣīda* (rhyme *bi-Takrīta*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1634) addressed to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, son of the well-known author of *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 301-9, vi, 251-67, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 252), the poet later on explains his uneasy position in one poetical line, "[36] There were two reasons which caused me to leave you: a mother whom I have not been able to meet after all, and money reduced to the amount of uselessness."

Apart from these explanations explicitly given for his premature departure, some other events are mentioned by the Arabic historians, which also might have induced him to leave Baghdād. Thus an incident is reported to have happened in the literary salon of an important ʿAlawī *sharīf*, al-Murtaḍā, brother of the Shīʿī poet al-Raḍī (Brockelmann, I, 404, S I, 704, and I, 82, S I, 132). Having expressed some strong criticisms of al-Mutanabbī's poetry, al-Murtaḍā had been the target of a concealed but none the less a very severe attack from Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who was a fanatical admirer of al-Mutanabbī. As a result, al-Murtaḍā had him dragged by his feet out of the salon (for details, see Margoliouth, *Letters*, p. XXVII, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, 108). On the other hand, some late authors, among whom Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*] in *al-Bidāya*, xii, 73 (*sub anno* 449), report him to have been expelled from Baghdād by the local *fuḳahāʾ*. The poet is said to have aroused their anger by asking some critical questions concerning the application of certain rules of *fiḳh*. For an evaluation of this, as it seems, rather anecdotal report, see Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie* ..., 128, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, 115-16.

In Ramaḍān 400/1010, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ began his return journey, but having come home he found his mother already dead. His *Dīwān* contains two elegies (rhyme *iblālu*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1725, and rhyme *hamāmi*, iv, 1453), in which he gives expression to his feelings of sorrow: the announcement of her death was a terrible blow; he would have preferred to precede her into death, but now the only consolation left is for him finally to be buried near her tomb. He is hoping to meet her again on the final day of resurrection, which is, however, yet far away. Then, in his *Risāla*s written just after his leaving Baghdād he declares his intention to seclude himself completely from association with other human beings and to stay in his house for ever: "to remain in the city even though the inhabitants fled through fear of the Greeks" (Margoliouth, *Letters*, 42 (= VII) and 43 (= VIII)). From that moment he was to acquire the sobriquet *Rahn al-maḥbisayn*, "the twofold prisoner" (sc. of his blindness and his house).

This self-imposed confinement was only once to be broken in the period after Baghdād, because of a chance event which in 417/1026-7 occurred in his native town. At that time, Aleppo and its districts were ruled by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, who as a leader of the tribe of Kilāb became the founder of the Mirdāsid dynasty. Ṣāliḥ's *wazīr al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam*, the Christian Tādhurus b. al-Ḥasan, by his strong policy produced tensions between the Christian and Muslim factions of the population in Aleppo and the surrounding region, and these tensions provoked in Maʿarra the following outburst of violence. On a Friday a woman entered the town's congregational mosque complaining about a molestation suffered at the hands of the Christian owner of a winehouse, where in addition to wine the enjoyment of fair ladies used to be offered. Thereupon all those present in the mosque, the *ḳāḍī* and notables excepted, ran out so as to pillage and destroy the house concerned. At the instigation of his *wazīr*, Ṣāliḥ had a number of the notables imprisoned, among whom was Abu 'l-Madjd, a brother of the poet. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ allowed himself to be persuaded to intercede for his fellow-townsmen with Ṣāliḥ, not without success. We find this chain of events recalled in several poems not contained in *Saḳṭ al-zand*, this collection being finished and closed, but in the second collection of poems, the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*. When recalling this incident, it is evident that the poet strongly endorses the action of his fellow-townsmen,

"[1] On Friday, a woman who was already with child (*djāmiʿ*) came to the congregational mosque (*djāmiʿ*) to recount her case to the witnesses in town.

[2] Supposing they had not risen to help her upon her outcry, I would rather imagine that God's heaven might pour down fiery coals"
(*Luzūm*, ed. Zand, i, 335/Bombay, 138, rhyme *amra-hā*).

As regards his successful mediation, the poet remains so humble, that he is heard giving God all the credit,

"[3] I did not even make my contribution as big as a mosquito's wing, but God did cover them with a wing of His grace" (*Luzūm*, ed. Zand, ii, 234, ed. Bombay, 220, rhyme *ḥanḍali*).

A detailed historic report of these events can be found in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 232-4, and idem, *al-Inṣāf*, 566-8. What happened in Maʿarra and the poet's reaction to it make it already evident that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ did not totally seclude himself. On the contrary, his house became the goal of frequent visits by *wazīrs*, scholars and pupils, whilst at the same time he kept up an extensive correspondence in prose by way of his *Risālas*. However, his poetical correspondence such as is found in his first collection of the *Saḳṭ al-zand* probably belongs to the pre-Baghdād period. From those with whom the poet was in contact, the following personalities may be mentioned:

(1) The governor of Aleppo, appointed by the Fāṭimids, Abū Shudjāʿ Fātik b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmī ʿAzīz al-Dawla (reigned from 407/1016-7 till 413/1022-3, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 215 ff.). He paid a visit to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in order to discuss with the poet an invitation from the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Ḥākim for Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ to go to Cairo, but the poet finally decided against the suggested stay in Egypt (see *al-Inṣāf*, 570-4, 577-8).

(2) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī, who was a son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maghribī, the Ḥamdānid *kātib* mentioned above. In 400/1009-10, at the time when al-Ḥākim had almost all members of the al-Maghribī family executed, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim succeeded in escaping the massacre. After many peregrinations he was finally appointed a *wazīr* in Mayyāfāriḳīn. He was the addressee of several *Risālas* (i.e. Margoliouth, *Letters*, numbers I, II and XXI) written by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who finally dedicated an elegiac poem to him on the occasion of his death (see *Luzūm*, ed. Zand, ii, 434/ Bombay, 346, rhyme *'l-dirḥāyah*).

(3) Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Munāzī, both a poet and a *wazīr* appointed by the ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn (cf. Ibn Khallikān, 58, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, i, 143-5, no. 59). When visiting Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, this *wazīr* is reported to have asked him some rather critical questions regarding his ascetic way of life (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 63).

(4) Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Baghdādī, who as a *wazīr* and ambassador sent by the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*] to the Zīrid prince al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] in Tunis passed al-Maʿarra on his westward journey. Having visited Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ there, he continued his journey by stages, so as to settle finally in al-Andalus (Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iv, Wiesbaden 1959, 70-1; cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 563 and H. R. Idris, *La berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, i, 191-3).

Among Abu 'l-Faḍl's school of pupils should be reckoned Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, who in the Muslim West was to write an excellent commentary on Abu

'l-ʿAlāʾ's *Saḳṭ al-zand* (for al-Baṭalyawsī, see Brockelmann, I, 427, S I, 758).

(5) Abū Zakariyāʾ Yaḥyā b. al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (Brockelmann, I, 279, S I, 492), who was for some years Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's pupil and is reported to have been a professor at the *madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in his after years. He also composed a commentary on the *Saḳṭ al-zand*. It is interesting to note that in this commentary of his, another, lost commentary by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ himself, called *Ḍawʾ al-Saḳṭ*, has been incorporated.

(6) Abu 'l-Makārim ʿAbd al-Wāri̲th̲ b. Muḥammad al-Abharī is reported to have read as a pupil under the supervision of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in the works of the master for a period of four years (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 520). To the tradition of this scholar a third commentary existing to this day can be traced. This commentary called *Ḍirām al-Saḳṭ*, was written in the Muslim East, at Samarḳand, by Ṣadr al-Afāḍil al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khʷārazmī (see *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, i, 18, for al-Khʷārazmī's chain of tradition, and in general, Brockelmann, I, 255, S I, 452-3, for all the different commentaries preserved).

For further names of those who came into contact with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, see the two different chapters by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the one "Treating of those who read under Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's supervision and transmitted on his authority, i.e. *ʿulamāʾ*, *udabāʾ* and traditionists from Maʿarra and from outside" and the other "About the great respect he is held in by kings, caliphs, *amīrs* and *wazīrs*" (*al-Inṣāf*, 517, 565).

Finally, in his old age the poet came into touch with a few scholars with Ismāʿīlī sympathies. Thus in 438/1047 the well-known Persian poet and prose-author Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through Maʿarra on his journey which would eventually lead him to the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Mustanṣir. In the account of his travels (*Sefer Nameh*, ed. Ch. Schefer, text 10, tr. 35-6), he gives a rather curious impression of what he heard about Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ: that he was very rich, and that all the inhabitants of Maʿarra were his servants, whilst he himself led a thoroughly ascetic life in keeping a constant fast and practising vigils. Thus it appears that the poet had imposed upon himself a life of ascetic poverty, although he was the owner of at least some sort of property in or near Maʿarra. This and the esteem he was held in by the local population—the more so because of the importance of the Banū Sulaymān as one of the distinguished families in town—may explain the position of influence ascribed to him by Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Some ten years later Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ had a much more serious, though indirect, intellectual contact in his fairly extensive correspondence with an important Ismāʿīlī propagandist, the *Dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* Abū Naṣr b. Abī ʿImrān al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn. About 448/1057, by order of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir, al-Muʾayyad undertook a mission to North Syria in order to rally its local rulers against the Saldjūḳ Turks recently come to power in Baghdād (see *Dīwān al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn, dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, editor's *muḳaddima*, 40, 64). Whilst carrying out his appointed mission, the *Dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* started a correspondence with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ by pretending to seek guidance in pursuance of a poetically-defined way of life given by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ. In *Luzūm*, ed. Zand, i, 232, ed. Bombay, 84, rhyme *'l-ṣaḥāʾiḥi*, the poet advises a practical ascetic way of life. There Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ rejects the eating of fish, meat, milk, eggs and honey, at the same time declaring himself to possess some esoteric knowledge which should remain concealed. The resulting exchange of letters was finally stopped as a senseless business by al-Muʾayyad. The latter in his last *Risāla* made it clear that indeed, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ at no time whatsoever might be expected to give any details concerning the esoteric knowledge he claimed (see Margoliouth, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's correspondence on vegetarianism*). It so happened that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ died in 449/1058 just after this correspondence, and therefore it need not surprise us that some Arabic historians try to find evidence for a connection between the correspondence just mentioned and the poet's decease. For instance, Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*] in his (lost) book *Fulk al-maʿānī* (*apud* Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 194) says that he committed suicide in order thereby to avoid being deported by command of the *Dāʿī*, who intended, the author suggests, to punish the poet for his heretical ideas. Most historians, however, agree that the poet died from natural causes, and this opinion finds strong corroboration in a report which mentions that the physician Ibn Buṭlān [*q.v.*] was in attendance at Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's death-bed. In his very last moments, the poet asked a member of his family present to get pen and writing-paper, so that he could dictate to him something. But in doing this, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ committed, as against normal expectation, some errors in his dictation. Thereupon Ibn Buṭlān declared the end to be at hand, "Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is dead already" (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 65). In many passages of his poetry, the poet had shown that he regarded procreation as a sin, and that he preferred universal annihilation as the best hope for humanity. He therefore never married, and is said to have desired that the following verse should be inscribed on his grave: "This wrong was by my father done to me, but never by me to anyone". A great deal of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's work is supposed to have been lost as a result of the Crusades, which caused much devastation in Syria, at Maʿarra included (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʿrīf*, 49). A list of all his works, either lost or still remaining, can be found in Moustapha Saleh, *Liste des œuvres d'Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 275. From those still existing, the following works may be mentioned in chronological order, as far as possible.

1. The *Saḳṭ al-zand* contains *inter alia* laudatory poems, some of which have been mentioned above. In this *Dīwān* the poet often follows the tripartite division of the classical *ḳaṣīda* into *nasīb*, *raḥīl* and *madīḥ*, but occasionally he rejects the *nasīb* or eliminates it completely. In this respect, however, he cannot be compared with the poet Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], whose rejection of it is at the same time a turning towards the description of wine. In the case of the ascetic Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, the drinking of wine and its description is disapproved of, water being preferred.

When the poet does accept the *nasīb*, he often stresses its elegiac character by a description of cooing turtle doves. The murmuring note of these doves, who seem to regret a chick once lost long ago, is often compared with the poet's yearning after an unattainable and far-off loved one. In describing all this, the poet ruminates on the way in which the sound of cooing moves him to profound thoughts. In a few other *nasībs*, the poet (being blind) is asking his travelling-companions to trace a distant flash of lightning in the land of the beloved, but when sleeping he himself can discern her deceitful phantom visiting him. The *raḥīl* in his *ḳaṣīdas* is usually most elaborate: one may find all sorts of descriptions, like emaciated camels tired by long travelling, the mirage; among the animals found in the desert, are mentioned the antelope, sand-grouse, ostrich and chameleon. His

preference for description of the night is so conspicuous that some commentaries try to connect this with the poet's blindness. For some further thoughts on the *raḥīl* and the development in his description of the journey in general, see also P. Smoor, *The theme of travel in Maʿarrī's early poems*, in *The challenge of the Middle East*, Amsterdam 1982. Regarding the independent form of the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ had little interest in it. Further, whenever he does practise it, he appears to feel himself obliged to do so as technical exercise in a certain genre only (cf. Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Tadjdīd dhikrā Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1963, 201, as against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, 49 ff., who sees it as a compensation for the poet being deprived of the enjoyments of life). The *madīḥ* [*q.v.*] as final part of the *ḳaṣīda* often shows extravagant eulogy of the *mamdūḥ*, so that the poet later regretted this in the Preface to his *Dīwān*, "All sorts of hyperbolic description found with me as being related at first sight to a human being, while at the same time in accordance with the attributes of God, He is exalted, should essentially be applied to Him alone" (*Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, i, 10). In the *Saḳṭ al-zand* Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ collected together examples of what might also be conceived as another form of the *ḳaṣīda*, sc. the elegy composed in praise of a dead person (*rithāʾ*, *marthiya*), as mentioned above. In certain very sententious lines in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's *rithāʾ*s we may discern the origins of that pessimistic tone later so often to be encountered in the *Luzūm*. (For the influence of al-Mutanabbī's *rithāʾ*s on those composed by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, see Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Maʿa 'l-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1962, 203-14). The poetry in *Saḳṭ al-zand* is characterised by its rich ornamentation, and many special figures of style can be discerned; besides quite frequent forms of paronomasia (*djinās*, *tadjnīs*) we find also the figure of "double entendre" (*tawriya*). In applying the latter figure of style the poet shows a superior virtuosity, of which examples can be found in S. A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawrīya*, The Hague 1966, 32-3, 56.

A group of 31 poems in *Saḳṭ al-zand* has been put together under the collective title *Dirʿiyyāt* ("Armour poems"). These poems are marked by the description of one or more coats of mail, the usual themes in the *ḳaṣīda* like *raḥīl* and *madīḥ* being eliminated, while only the *nasīb* may be found in a merely subordinate position in few cases (see P. Smoor, *Armour description as an independent theme in the work of al-Maʿarrī*, in *Actes du 8me Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Aix-en-Provence 1978, 289-303).

Next to the peculiarity of their content, these poems are also interesting for their form. A major part of them has been composed in the form of a dialogue put in the mouth of somebody who is in some way related to a suit of armour. For discussion of this aspect, see P. J. Cachia, *The dramatic monologues of al-Maʿarrī*, in *JAL*, i (1970), 129-36. From among the great number of editions of the *Saḳṭ al-zand*, only two may be mentioned here. *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ al-zand*, 5 vols. Cairo 1945, is a critical edition of the *Dīwān*, each verse being provided with the previously-mentioned commentaries by al-Tibrīzī, al-Baṭalyawsī and al-Khwārazmī. Further, there exist several editions of the *Dīwān*'s text together with a commentary by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Khuwayyī (lived in the 6th/12th century, Brockelmann, I, 289 S I, 507), called *Tanwīr Saḳṭ al-zand*, of which the best edition is Būlāḳ 1286/1868-9.

2. The *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* is a second collection of poetry composed in the period after the poet's stay at Baghdād. This collection was much less popular in the Muslim world than *Saḳṭ al-zand*, both because of its unconventional form and contents. The title means "Committing one's self to what is not obligatory" or "The self-imposed compulsion", relating to a peculiarity of rhyme [see LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM]. For his poetry in the *Luzūm*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was using a much more difficult form, a double-rhyme instead of the normally prescribed monorhyme. The poet thus created an innovation in the existing rules of rhyme [see ḲĀFIYA], and his method of rhyming was in later books of Arabic theorists to be treated under the generic name of *iltizām*. The contents of the *Luzūm* were described by the poet himself in his Preface as a glorification of God, an admonition for the forgetful and an awakening of the negligent, a warning against the World's derision of God. The poet further declares that he does not want to follow the normally-prescribed themes, stating that "poets aim at embellishing their words by means of lies". In saying this, he has in view the poets' descriptions of their beloved ones in the *ghazal* and *nasīb*, their horses and camels in the *raḥīl*, and of wine, for instance in the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*]. He points out the utterly false pretensions of poets who, leading a quite comfortable life, none the less pretend to have to make exhausting expeditions through the desert. In contrast, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ states his poetry to be a searching for veracity and piety, and he therefore thinks himself unable to comply with the accepted conventions in the existing "normal" poetry. On these grounds he finally concludes his poetry in *Luzūm* to be weak (*Luzūm*, Cairo 1959, 3, 47-8). From Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's words we may infer that he wishes to consider his work in *Luzūm* in the first instance as a collection of poetry, though it be "weak"; at any rate he does not explicitly state his poetry to be a more or less systematic arrangement of philosophical ideas, nor is it so. Notwithstanding the evident absence of such a system, there can in various places in the *Luzūm* certainly be found many opinions which do not always or do not at all fit into the orthodox Islamic system [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM]. We see the poet sometimes professing a certain dogma, then doubting it elsewhere in the *Luzūm*. Though he is a monotheist, he does not show a strong belief in God's Word as revealed through prophecy. About resurrection and retribution he seems full of doubts. At the same time, he often appears to attach great value to the use of reason as an unfailing guide in human life (on such opinions of his, see the translation and analyses of quite a number of relevant poems and fragments of poems in R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic poetry*, Cambridge 1921, ch. ii, "The meditations of Maʿarri"). In view of this, some Arabic historians have pronounced unfavourably on the poet's orthodoxy. Thus Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī each quote with more or less approval a report from an historian contemporary with Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, Ghars al-Niʿma Muḥammad (Brockelmann, S I, 217), son of the well-known *kātib* Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [*q.v.*]. This says that the poet just after his death had been seen in a dream being tormented by two vipers, whilst the following interpretation was given: "This is al-Maʿarrī, the heretic" (given in *Taʿrīf al-ḳudamāʾ*, 26, 56, 152). On the other hand, some Arabic biographers and historians endeavoured to clear him from charges of unorthodoxy, such as Ibn al-ʿAdīm in his monograph on Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-taḥarrī fi dafʿ al-ẓulm wa 'l-tadjarrī ʿan Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*

("Fair treatment and selection of the best in defending Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ against unjustified attacks"). Ibn al-ʿAdīm, as a historian, is distinguished for his exactness in making inquiries about Abu 'l-ʿAlā, which he did two centuries after the poet's death by contacting descendants of those in Maʿarra who had been in touch with him, and also by availing himself of local historical sources, all this not without frequently giving *isnād*s and titles.

In the West the *Luzūmiyyāt*, i.e. the poems contained in *Luzūm*, became more widely known as a result of A. von Kremer's now rather obsolete study, *Ueber die philosophischen Gedichte des Abul ʿalâ Maʿarry*, in *SB Ak. Wien, Phil.-hist. Classe*, cxvii, 6, 1889). A more recent treatment of the poet's philosophy as it appears from a number of passages in *Luzūm* is found in Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie d'Abu-l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *BEO*, x (1943-4), 119-56. In the lines cited, Laoust supposes an influence of certain ideas eclectically elaborated and found at the outset of the philosophical and religious school of thought of the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], which was to be adhered to by both the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*], and the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]. In the second half of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's lifetime, the Fāṭimids had finally extended their authority over northern Syria. That there was some discontent about their rule, however, would appear from certain lines in the *Luzūmiyyāt*. A study published in the East is Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Dhikrā Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1914 and later edns., where in the last part another interesting analysis is given of the poet's philosophical ideas as reflected in the *Luzūm*. Many quotations from the *Luzūm* have been made use of in a psychologically-based biography, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, by ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ".

Editions of the *Luzūm*: a partial ed. by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, Cairo 1378/1959; vol. i has appeared so far (i.e. 100 *Luzūmiyyāt* as far as the rhyme in *bāʾ*). Among the complete editions of *Luzūm*, the best ones are the lithograph Bombay 1303/1885-6, which contains a faithful reflection of a manuscript text accompanied by some elucidating notes in its margin, and that of ʿAzīz Zand, Cairo 1891-5, 2 vols. A very restricted number of *Luzūmiyyāt* supplied with a commentary by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī have been edited: *Sharḥ al-mukhtār min Luzūmiyyāt Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, critical ed. Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1970; vol. i has appeared so far.

3. *Zadjr al-nābiḥ* ("Driving away the barker"), is found in the survey of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's works as given by various Arabic biographers. In this book the poet apparently defended himself against orthodox attacks on some lines in his *Luzūm*. Extracts from this lost book have been published, in *Zadjr al-nābiḥ, muḳtaṭafāt*, critical ed. Amdjad al-Ṭarābulsī, Damascus 1385/1965. See for the harmonising method used in explaining certain controversial verses, S. M. Stern, *Some noteworthy manuscripts of the poems of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 342 ff.

4. *Al-fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt fī tamdjīd Allāh wa 'l-mawāʿiẓ* ("Chapters and endings about glorification of God, and admonitions). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ began composing this work in rhymed prose before his journey to Baghdād, only completing it after his return to Maʿarra (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 180). This work contains a great number of short strophes, which the poet has in each case concluded with an ending or end-rhyme (*ghāya*), so that the book in its totality is found to contain a number of chapters (*fuṣūl*), every one of which contains strophes with their endings always in one particular letter.

Thus one gets *Faṣl ghāyātuh hamza, faṣl ghāyātuh bāʾ* and so on, following the order of the Arabic alphabet. A major part of this work is lost, only its first *djuzʾ* having been discovered in 1918-19 in a not quite complete version, to be edited much later by Maḥmūd Ḥasan Zanātī, Cairo 1356/1938, in a critical edition. The book holds among various other subjects thoughts about God: His omnipotence, justice, goodness and eternity, in addition to and contrasting with a sharp observation of the inescapable changes of fate which dominate man in his ordinary daily life. The idea of God is frequently seen as connected with unavoidable predestination and eternal retribution, which in its turn exhorts man to practise asceticism. The use of rhymed prose, the warnings against impending judgement and the oaths applied now and again by way of confirmation, may all be considered a reason why later historians supposed this book to be an emulation of the Ḳurʾān: the author allegedly aimed, in writing it, at excelling the Ḳurʾān in its *iʿdjāz* [*q.v.*]. In this context, some late historians who apparently never saw the *Fuṣūl* with their own eyes are even found altering its title to *al-Fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt wa-* (or *fī*) *muḥādhāt* (or *muʿāraḍat*) *al-suwar wa 'l-āyāt* (i.e. "Chapters and endings and/about the emulation of sūras and verses"); thus al-Bākharzī, al-Badīʿī, al-Dhahabī and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. For an exhaustive study of the work itself, the opinions of Arabic historians and more recent studies in East and West, see A. Fischer, *"Der Koran" des Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, xciv (Leipzig 1942), 2. For a supposed coherence between the internal rhyme in a strophe and its contents, see R. Hartmann, *Zu dem kitāb al-fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt des Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W., Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin 1944), 2. Some philosophical thoughts in the *Fuṣūl* have been discussed and associated with Epicurean philosophy by Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Maʿa Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ fī sidjnih*, Cairo 1963, ch. ix.

5. *Rasāʾil Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, the brief letters written by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ on several occasions and addressed to various members of his family and acquaintances (see the biography above). The letters have been composed in a very flowery style, overdone with proverbs, rhymed prose and illustrative verses. There exist two editions of the *Rasāʾil*, the first by Shāhīn ʿAṭiya, Beyrouth 1894, and a second one, with English translation preceded by a Preface containing the biography and a discussion of part of the works, by D. S. Margoliouth, *The Letters of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Oxford 1898. Further, a critical edition of Letter XXX (Margoliouth's numbering) has been prepared by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Risāla fī taʿziyat Abī ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ridjāl fī waladih Abi 'l-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., but later than 1945.

6. *Risālat al-Ṣāhil wa 'l-shāḥidj* ("Letter of a horse and a mule"), which among other works now lost was addressed to Abū Shudjāʿ Fātik ʿAzīz al-Dawla, the governor of Aleppo, on behalf of the Fāṭimid *imāms* (see above). This supposedly lost *Risāla* has recently been discovered in Morocco and subsequently edited with a critical apparatus and introduction, by ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ" (Cairo 1975). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ completed this voluminous *Risāla* in about 411/1021, i.e. the year of al-Ḥākim's disappearance, when the *imām* al-Ẓāhir acceded to the throne in Egypt (cf. *op. cit.*, 553 where the author qualifies the latter as *amīr al-muʾminīn*).

Another important development, reported upon in the *Risāla*, occurred in 408/1017-18, when ʿAzīz al-Dawla ordered Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, a Bedouin leader and afterwards founder of the Mirdāsid dynasty, that he should bring his (i.e. Ṣāliḥ's) mother inside the walls of Aleppo (*Risālat al-Ṣāhil*, 520, cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 218). This move was meant to reassure the inhabitants of Aleppo, in view of rumours about a threatening Byzantine attack. The tension caused among the population in North Syria is a theme in the *Risāla*, in which Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ gradually introduces a number of animals who, being gifted with speech, give among other things their opinion on the political situation in Syria under ʿAzīz al-Dawla's reign. A direct reason for the composition of the *Risāla* was a problem of taxation. There was a question of land owned by members of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's family, for the use of which they would owe a certain amount as taxation due to the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*] in Aleppo. At their request, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is writing his letter in order to ask for the annulment of the amount imposed, considering that the land concerned is a waterless tract, giving only a small yield. Then Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ describes a mule, al-S̲h̲āḥidj, which, blindfolded, is drawing water in order to continually fill a cistern, without, however, profiting from its own labour so as to quench its thirst. Such being its condition, the mule is described as grumbling at first, but then it starts talking. While thus introducing the first of his speaking animals, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ explicitly bases himself on quotations from the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 18, 23), where an ant in the valley of ants and a hoopoe are described as talking, with Sulaymān understanding their utterance. On the other hand, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ elsewhere in his *Risāla* compares favourably ʿAzīz al-Dawla with Sulaymān, both of them adhering to the same qualities of wisdom and understanding. Next to the mule, a number of different animals appear on the scene of action, among these a horse, a camel and a fox. The mule wants the horse to convey a complaint to ʿAzīz al-Dawla about the mule's hard life, but the horse, referring to its noble forefathers, haughtily refuses this mission. In the second instance, the camel declares himself prepared to convey the mule's complaint. The mule being erudite, at first intended to cast its complaint in a poetical form, but with respect to the camel it drops its original plan for a reason which reflects Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's own attitude towards poetry, "I do not like being described with the image of human beings bringing poetry with them, in order to aim at some profit. . ." (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 219). Instead of this, the mule then wants the camel to convey strange tidings, which have one meaning directly evident in hearing them, although in reality they have a second esoteric meaning" (*loc. cit.*). The message appears to consist of sorts of riddles involving words with two different meanings (cf. the *tawriya* in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry). When finally the fox arrives on the scene, the situation alters; a vague clamour is suddenly heard from the nearby town, and at the mule's request the fox undertakes to make a reconnaissance. Then the clamour heard is explained by a suddenly-developing panic among the population of Syria in view of an impending Byzantine military expedition. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ now begins to make frequent allusions to various political developments of the contemporary period. He mentions, for example, the joint-rule of Basil II Bulgaroctonus and his brother Constantine VIII. He further speculates on the settlement of the succession within the line of the Macedonian dynasty. In view of this, and being aware of the fact that the elder brother remained without children, whereas Constantine had only three daughters, the author wonders whether the Byzantines will deem it suitable to appoint a woman as their Empress (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 578-80, 606-7). In his *Risāla*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ seems somewhat to ridicule the governor of Aleppo, who is continually designated with honorific formulae after his name, such as "May God prolong him for ever" or "May God give him a great victory". With some humorous feeling, the author mentions a group of slightly more than 30 slaves (*g̲h̲ilmān*), who either had been bought at some time by ʿAzīz al-Dawla from the Byzantine emperor or had been granted by the latter. The exact number of these slaves, and then their circumcision as enjoined by the Fāṭimid governor, are respectively compared with the number of *ʿarūḍ*s (*ʿarūḍ* here meaning "last metrical foot of the first half-verse") formally given by Arabic prosodists, and with the reduction (*ḥad̲h̲f*) of metrical feet (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 691-2).

Finally in his *Risāla*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ has somebody make a remark on the exceptional dexterity of ʿAzīz al-Dawla, who is able, whilst horseriding, to handle two swords at a time; but then it is remarked upon as much more wonderful that this prince was once seen reading in the *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ* by al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], see *R. al-Ṣāhil*, 706. It is on behalf of this particular interest shown by ʿAzīz al-Dawla that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ pretends to introduce many sayings relating to the principles of metrics. Besides a great display of erudite learning in technical terms for various phenomena in metrics and rhyme, one also finds in the *Risāla* many quotations of poetry which in some way frequently contain descriptions of animals. Such a display of learning and the poetical lines quoted, though originally composed via association, often tend to interfere with the smooth and logical development of events in the *Risāla*. The same phenomenon can be found in the *Risālat al-G̲h̲ufrān* which was composed at a later date. On the other hand, the *R. al-G̲h̲ufrān* is distinguished from its predecessor, the *R. al-Ṣāhil*, by a much greater amount of irony and derision at its protagonist, who is Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ—as compared with ʿAzīz al-Dawla in the first *Risāla*—and also by its greater interest shown in religious questions. For further details, see P. Smoor, *Enigmatic allusion and double meaning in Maʿarrī's newly-discovered* Letter of a Horse and Mule, in *JAL*, xii (1981), xiii (1982).

7. *Risālat al-G̲h̲ufrān* was composed about 424/1033 during the reign of the second Mirdāsid prince Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ S̲h̲ibl al-Dawla (*R. al-G̲h̲ufrān* 450, cf. 256). The *Risāla* is a reply to a much smaller *Risāla* addressed to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ by a certain ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ṭālib al-Ḥalabī Dawk̲h̲ala, also known as Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ, who was a traditionist and grammarian. In his *Risāla*, Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ is complaining of his old age and its concomitant infirmities, at the same time suggesting to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ that some sort of support is always welcome. Apart from this, Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ gives a show of his knowledge and orthodoxy in mentioning a number of poets and scholars whom he accuses of being *zindīḳ*s [*q.v.*]. In his reply Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ironically imagines his aged correspondent as having died in the meantime. Then he supposes him, after a rather uneasy reckoning at the Day of Resurrection, to have passed the entrance to the Gardens of Paradise. In those Gardens Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ is described as meeting many a poet or scholar whose previous sins when least expected have been for-

given (cf. the meaning of the *Risāla*'s title "Letter of Forgiveness"). While travelling in the Hereafter, Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ is able to pay a visit to Hell, where he is described having discussions with the devil, Iblīs [*q.v.*] and the poet Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*], marked out as a heretic. Among the general aspects of the *R. al-Ghufrān* some may be mentioned here. First, the delights of Paradise are based upon a realistic and literal interpretation of the pronouncements given in Ḳurʾān and Tradition. For example, where it says in the Ḳurʾān (LVI, 35 ff.), "We have made them grow up new and made them virgins, loving and of equal age, for those on the right . . .", Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is found having them grow like fruits of the trees in Paradise (*R. al-Ghufrān*, 287-8).

Another remarkable aspect of the *Risāla* is the idea of compensation granted for any harm suffered previous in earthly life, this compensation being extended to both human beings and animals. To the latter belongs for example a wild ass, killed and skinned by a hunter during its existence on earth. Thereafter its hide was used for the fabrication of a well-bucket, of which in their turn pious men took advantage for their *ṭahāra* (198). Thus there appear to exist in Paradise two completely different categories: first the material of Paradise, represented by the virgins promised in the Ḳurʾān, and by animals for the purpose of hunting, both of these destined to increase the joys of the blessed; and in the second place there exist human beings and animals destined to enjoy themselves in all eternity on account of their earthly sufferings. As concerns Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ, the ironical attitude of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is very evident, where he is describing the formal act of Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ's *tawba* being testified by official witnesses in a mosque at Aleppo and the subsequent rejoicing in Heaven (517-22). For a comparison between the *R. al-Ghufrān* and Dante's *La Divina Commedia*, see the now rather obsolete study by Miguel A. Palacios, *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919; further, ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ghufrān*, Cairo 1954, which also discusses the comparison of the *Risāla* with Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] and his *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa'l-zawābiʿ*, and is of general importance as an excellent study of the *R. al-Ghufrān*. Among the European studies there should be mentioned I. Kratschkovsky, *Zur Entstehung und Komposition von Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ's Risālat al-ghufrān*, in *Islamica*, i (1925), 344-56; M.-S. Meïssa, *Le Message du Pardon*, Paris 1932; and R. Blachère, *Ibn al-Qarih et la genèse de l'Epitre du pardon d'Al-Maʿarrī*, in *REI* (1941-6), 1-15.

Editions: R. A. Nicholson prepared an incomplete edition and translation in several articles: *JRAS* (1900), 637-720; (1902), 75-101, 337-62, 813-47. The best edition is *Risālat al-Ghufrān li-Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī wa-maʿa-hā Risālat Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ miftāḥ fahmi-hā*, 3rd ed. Cairo 1963 and later ones, by ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ".

8. *Risālat al-Malāʾika* is especially concerned with questions on the morphology and etymology of certain Arabic words. Thus in the *Muḳaddima* of this *Risāla* (ed. I. Kračkovskiy, Leningrad 1932), a reply is indirectly given to questions regarding the morphological reduction of certain words and names found in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. In this manner, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who is himself the protagonist in this *Risāla*, is heard propounding several questions to the Angel of Death relating to all possible morphological schemes to which can be reduced words like *malak* and ʿAzrāʾīl. By this method Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ describes himself as successful in his attempt at postponing the moment of his own death for one hour, the angel being bewildered by such complicated problems. Further questions are concerned with the reduction of words relating to the grave and the Hereafter: its recompense and retribution and the pleasures of Paradise, the latter inducing the protagonist to deal with words like *kummathrā*, *sundus* and *istabraḳ* thereby following the same playful method. The succeeding part has only partially been edited by Salīm al-Djundī, *Risālat al-Malāʾika*, Damascus 1944, 55 ff., the remainder of this ms. being lost. In this additional part, as far as it is at present known from the edition, thirteen more problems are dealt with in a more serious and direct way. In general, the *Risāla*'s *Muḳaddima* reminds one of the *R. al-Ghufrān*, though the latter is much more extensive. It should further be noticed that Paradise in the *R. al-Malāʾika* appears to be very quiet and in conformity with the rules of orthodoxy, while in the *R. al-Ghufrān* it is less orthodox, with ironical passages and the tranquillity of Paradise disturbed by revelling, discussing and even violently quarrelling poets and scholars.

9. *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl* ("What is scattered on the road") is a very short work which was always to remain well-known after Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry. Especially in the Muslim West, it has frequently been the object of attempts at emulation (*muʿāraḍa*). The titles of, and some short quotations from, such emulations are given in Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Muʿāraḍāt al-maghāriba li-Mulḳā 'l-sabīl*, in *Taʿrīf*, 455-7. For the edition of a complete *muʿāraḍa* of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl*, see the one composed by Ibn al-Abbār, in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Rasāʾil wa-nuṣūṣ*.-3-, Beirut 1963, 33-79. The *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl* consists of tiny paragraphs containing rhymed prose, which alternate with other paragraphs containing some poetical lines, with, however, the restriction that each paragraph of rhymed prose is more or less identical with the subsequent paragraph of poetry as far as its contents are concerned. These contents are of a very orthodox nature and no break can as yet be discerned with traditional morality and literary tradition. The editor Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl*, Damascus 1330/1912, 3, observes some similarity to the pre-Islamic orators, such as Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, Kračkovskiy in *Abu-l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī. Mulḳā-s-sabīl*, Petrograd 1915, repr. in *Izbrannye sočineniya* ("Collected works"), Moscow 1956, ii, 183 ff., has pointed out that some influence of the poetry of Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*] might be traced. Because of the simplicity of the language used, *Mulḳā 'l-sabīl* might have been composed by the author in his youth. In contrast to this opinion, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb suggests it may be a work of the poet's old age, in which he is shown to revert to the original religious principles (cf. Kračkovskiy, *Izbrannye sočineniya*, ii, 186).

Finally, let us consider the author's surviving commentaries existing up till now on the *Dīwāns* of other poets.

1. *Muʿdjiz Aḥmad* is a commentary on the complete *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, which Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ probably wrote in the prime of his life. This rather simple commentary, of which so far no edition is available, has been discussed by Kračkovskiy, who also gives some examples from the Arabic text of this commentary, in *Al-Mutanabbī i Abū-l-ʿAlā*, Petrograd 1910 = *Izbrannye sočineniya*, ii, 63-115.

2. *al-Lāmiʿ al-ʿAzīzī* or *al-Thābitī al-ʿAzīzī* is a very extensive and as yet unedited commentary on a great number of verses selected from al-Mutanab-

bī's *Diwān*, and therefore quite different from the one mentioned above. It was written by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in his old age, for on the basis of its title it was dedicated to the one who had commissioned it, the Mirdāsid *amīr* ʿAzīz al-Dawla Abu 'l-Dawām Thābit b. Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās. The name of this *amīr* is further explicitly mentioned in the short Preface of the manuscript of this work (ms. [Süleymaniye] Hamidiye 1148) and in a passage of the monograph on Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*al-Inṣāf*, 540). In view of all this, the name erroneously given by F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 493, should be corrected accordingly.

3. *ʿAbath al-walīd*, a commentary on verses selected from the *Diwān* of the poet al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*], owes its existence to the fact that a manuscript containing al-Buḥturī's poetry was sent from Aleppo to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ in Maʿarra, in order that he should correct and criticise its text if necessary (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 541). It is available in the critical edition of Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Madanī, Medina 1355/1936. However, a far better edition is the one recently prepared by Nādiyā ʿAlī al-Dawla, *ʿAbath al-walīd fī 'l-kalām ʿalā shiʿr Abī ʿUbāda al-Walīd b. ʿUbayd al-Buḥturī*, Damascus 1978.

4. *Dhikrā Ḥabīb*, was a commentary on verses selected from the *Diwān* of Ḥabīb b. Aws Abū Tammām [see ABŪ TAMMĀM]. Though it is lost as an independent work, it has in essence survived because Tibrīzī incorporated it in his own commentary on Abu Tammām's poetry; see *Diwān Abī Tammām bi-sharḥ al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī*, critical ed. by M. ʿAbduh ʿAzzām, Cairo 1964, 25-6 of the editor's *muḳaddima*.

Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ made a commentary on the poetry of a contemporary of his, the *amīr* and eulogist of the Mirdāsids, Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, who also chanced to be an inhabitant of Maʿarra. This commentary was to remain partial only, for the *amīr* survived Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ and only died in 457/1065 (on him see further IBN ABĪ ḤAṢĪNA). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's commentary is incorporated in the *Diwān Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna*, critical ed. by Asʿad Ṭalas, Damascus 1375/1956, where incidentally on p. 373 can be found the elegy which was recited at Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's grave by Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, one among many other poets who are all reported to have recited their respective *marthiya*s on this occasion.

Bibliography: A compilation of biographical source materials taken from historical sources is *Taʿrīf al-ḳudamāʾ bi-Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1384/1965, *taṣwīr* of the edn. Cairo 1944. Monographs: Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-taḥarrī fī dafʿ al-ẓulm wa 'l-tadjarrī ʿan Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, in *Taʿrīf*, 483-578; idem, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ms. Topkapu Saray 2925 *cilt* 1, ff. 195a-225b; al-Badīʿī, *Awdj al-taḥarrī ʿan ḥaythiyyat Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1944, is a compilation of works by previous historians, but none the less interesting for its quotations from works by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ which are now lost. Other historical sources: some of the sources incorporated in the *Taʿrīf* may here be mentioned separately: Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, Tehran 1353/1934, i, 9 (= *Taʿrīf*, 3-4); *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 240-1 (= *Taʿrīf*, 5-7); Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*, Aleppo 1349/1930, 50-2 (= *Taʿrīf*, 8-11); Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 184-8 (= *Taʿrīf*, 18-26); Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 46-83 (= *Taʿrīf*, 27-66); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 162-216 (= *Taʿrīf*, 67-141); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, in *Taʿrīf*, 143-81; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, in *Taʿrīf*, 189-205; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Beirut 1966, xii, 72-6 (= *Taʿrīf*, 301-8). For further reference, see the survey by Moustapha Saleh, *Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxii (1969), 141-204 ("Première partie: sources"). Modern studies, in addition to those already mentioned in the text of the article: C. Rieu, *De Abul-Alae poetae arabici vita et carminibus*, Bonn 1843; G. Salmon, *Un précurseur d'Omar Khayyam: le poète aveugle*, Paris 1904 ("Introduction et traduction"); ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī al-Rādjakūtī, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ wa-mā ilayh*, Cairo 1344/1925; a collection of articles in *al-Hilāl*, xlvi/8 (Cairo 1357/1938), "*ʿAdad khāṣṣ*"; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Cairo 1940; Brockelmann, I, 254, S I, 449; ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ", *al-Ḥayāt al-insāniyya ʿinda Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1944; a collection of articles in *al-Adīb*, iii/6 (Beirut 1944), "*ʿAdad khāṣṣ*"; a collection of articles in *al-Mihradjān al-alfī li-Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1364/1945; ʿUmar Farrūkh, *Ḥakīm al-Maʿarra*[1], Beirut 1944, [2]1948; Amīn al-Khawlī, *Raʾyī fī Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Cairo 1945; Amdjad al-Ṭarābulusī, *al-Naḳd wa 'l-lugha fī Risālat al-Ghufrān*, Damascus 1370/1951; Muḥammad Salīm al-Djundī, *al-Djāmiʿ fī akhbār Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī wa-āthārih*, Damascus 1382-4/1962-4; Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Hāshimī, *Lughz Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Aleppo 1968; ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭiʾ", *Maʿa Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ fī riḥlat ḥayātih*, Beirut 1392/1972, which is a slightly revised version of her previous study, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, see above; Ilyās Saʿd Ghālī, *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥayawān fī Luzūmiyyāt Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1978; Y. Friedmann, *Literary and cultural aspects of the* Luzūmiyyāt, in *Studia orientalia . . . D. H. Baneth*, Jerusalem 1979, 347-65. For further reference, see Moustapha Saleh, *Abū 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 197-309 ("Deuxième parti: études critiques modernes").

(P. SMOOR)

MAʾĀTHIR AL-UMARĀʾ, the name of a celebrated Persian collection of biographies of Muslim Indian commanders from the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) till the time of its author, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Mīr ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Shāh-Nawāz Khān Awrangābādī (1111-71/1700-58). Born at Lahore, he soon settled in the Deccan in the service of the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf-Djāh, and filled offices in Berār [*q.v.*] and then as *Diwān* or chief minister of the Deccan. His policy in the latter post aimed at checking the growing influences in that state of the French Marquis de Bussy, but army discontent led to his fall in 1170/1757 and his murder in the following year.

The *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* was conceived on an extended scale and was unfinished at the author's death, hence completed by his son Mīr ʿAbd al-Ḥayy from notes and fragments left by Shāh-Nawāz Khān. The text of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy's recension was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series, ed. Maulavī ʾAbdur-Rahīm and Maulavī Ashraf ʾAlī, 3 vols. Calcutta 1888-91, and an English tr. made by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Calcutta 1911- . The whole work has been much used for the many studies which have recently appeared on the Mughal nobility and landholding class.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1094-1100.

(ED.)

MAʿBAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUKAYM AL-**DJUHANĪ**, early representative of Ḳadarī ideas,

executed after the insurrection of Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h [*q.v.*], in 83/703.

He was probably born about 20/640 or even earlier. He had contacts with Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), and ʿAbd al-Malik appreciated him to such an extent that he sent him as an ambassador to Byzantium and entrusted him with the education of his son Saʿīd al-K͟hayr. According to a rather detailed, but perhaps fictitious report he played a certain political role as early as 38/658, during the negotiations between Abū Mūsā al-As͟hʿarī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ at Dūmat al-Djandal after the Battle of Ṣiffīn. His reputation was based on his juridical competence. Traces of his *fatwā*s can still be found in our sources. In his use of precedents he obviously did not differentiate between prophetic tradition and the *sunna* of the caliphs; he referred to decisions of Muʿāwiya (an attitude which later jurists were completely unable to understand), and some of his *ḥadīt͟h*s go back to ʿUt͟hmān (reigned 23-44/635-56) whom he may still have met personally. Although probably born in Kūfa, he did not appreciate the juridical tradition connected with ʿAlī (if it existed already at his time); his father, a companion of the Prophet, had already attracted the attention of his Kūfan neighbours by his ʿUt͟hmānī leanings. We do not know why and when, in spite of his favoured position at the court of ʿAbd al-Malik, he joined the ranks of Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h. He was captured at Mecca, together with his brother Saʿīd, and evidently executed by order of the caliph himself, at Damascus.

Later tradition tended to explain his fate by his Ḳadarī convictions. But this must not have been his primary motive. We do not have any detailed information about his thinking; he was not a theoretician like his younger contemporary al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. Much of our material results from a *damnatio memoriae* which was initiated by predestinarian circles. But this was a slow process which did not begin before 110/729, when al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had died, and was only finished in the second half of the second century when the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*] as a whole was boycotted by the majority of the *ahl al-ḥadīt͟h*. A decisive moment for the development was apparently the Ḳadarī take-over under Yazīd III in 126/744; anti-Ḳadarī groups in Syria as well as in Baṣra then discovered Maʿbad as a bad example of a doctrinarian who had tried to push through his ideas by means of a revolution. According to them, he had been "the first who talked about *ḳadar* in Baṣra". Later on, not earlier than 130/748, this statement was modified by the assertion that he had taken over his ideas from a Christian or a Magian convert among the *Asāwira* by the name of Sūsan or Susnōya (also other forms are given). The persons responsible for this campaign are to be found in the predestinarian wing of the school of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (e.g. Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, died 139/756 or 140/757; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn, died 151/768). They wanted to detract the attention from the fact that their master himself had been close to Ḳadarī theories. For them, the decisive point was that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in contract to Maʿbad al-Djuhanī, had not drawn any political consequences out of them.

Bibliography: A detailed "biography" is given by Ibn ʿAsākir in the unedited part of his *Taʾrīk͟h Dimas͟hḳ*, but there are lots of other (normally short and biassed) reports. The material available up to now has been used in J. van Ess, *Maʿbad al-Ǧuhanī*, in *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, 49 ff. Cf. also W. M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973 index s.n.; Redwan Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Ašʿaṯ und die Koranleser*, Freiburg 1977, 360 and *passim*. (J. VAN ESS)

MAʿBAD B. WAHB, ABŪ ʿABBĀD, one of the great singers and composers in Umayyad times, was born in Medina and died at Damascus in 125/743 or 126/744. Being the son of a negro, he was an *ʿabd* and later on became *mawlā* of one of the Mak͟hzūm families, serving them as overseer of their cattle. Like many other oriental musicians, he is said to have been led to music by a dream, and he took music lessons from Sāʾib K͟hāt͟hir and Nas͟hīṭ. He soon made a name for himself in Medina and followed invitations to sing at Mecca, where Ibn Suraydj set the fashion. Here he carried off the prize at a tournament of song organised by Ibn Ṣafwān al-Akbar (d. 73/692). Maʿbad sang at the courts of the caliphs al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. After the death of Ibn Suraydj (*ca.* 108/726), he reached the zenith of his career as a number of the literary and artistic circle of the prince al-Walīd b. Yazīd. When the latter became caliph in 125/743, he invited the old singer to Damascus. Maʿbad, already weakened in health, fell ill and died in the palace after having suffered from partial paralysis. The caliph himself accompanied the bier to the palace boundaries.

Maʿbad, one of the "four great singers" in early Islam, was the leading musician of the Medinan school of music. As to his way of composing songs, his own description has been handed down: "I back my mount, beat the rhythm with the wand (*ḳaḍīb*) on the saddle and chant the verse until the melody comes right (*Ag͟hānī*³, i, 40). He preferred "heavy" (*t͟haḳīl*) rhythms, abounding in fioriture. Several of his songs became known under specific names, like *al-mudun* or *al-ḥuṣūn* ("cities, fortresses") alluding to places conquered by Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], or *Ḳutaylāt*, three songs on verses by al-Aʿs͟hā on a girl called Ḳutayla. His songs (*viz.* song texts) were collected by his pupil Yūnus al-Kātib in his *K. fi 'l-Ag͟hānī* and, later on, now with indications on melody (*ṭarīḳa*) and rhythm (*īḳāʿ*), by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī in his books *K. Ag͟hānī Maʿbad* and *K. Ak͟hbār Maʿbad wa-Ibn Suraydj wa-ag͟hānīhimā*. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī made use of these sources in his *K. al-Ag͟hānī*, together with other monographical collections of Maʿbad's songs (*ibid.*³, iii, 305), including a *Djāmiʿ g͟hināʾ Maʿbad* transmitted by al-His͟hāmī.

He seems to have educated numerous singing girls and singers. Among his best-known pupils figure Ibn ʿĀʾis͟ha, Mālik b. Abi 'l-Samḥ and the songstresses Sallāma and Ḥabāba. Through his pupils Ḥakam al-Wādī, Daḥmān, As͟hʿab and Siyāṭ he influenced the early Bag͟hdād musical style. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850) considered him to be "a consummate singer" having "a talent superior to all his rivals", and he took Maʿbad's songs as models of "pure Arab" music. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib (early 5th/11th century) counted them among the perfect melodies and therefore, contrary to normal practice, not any more allowed to be altered by embellishments. From his lifetime onwards, Maʿbad figures in Arabic poetry (al-Buḥturī, Abū Tammām and others) as the musician par excellence.

Bibliography: *Ag͟hānī*³, i, 36-59 (main source, see also indices); Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1952, 538-40; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 447-9; Ṭabarī, iii, 417, 541-2; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, vi, Cairo 1949, 25, 30; Fārābī, *K. al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr*, Cairo 1967, 56, 60; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib, *Kamāl*

adab al-ghinā', in *al-Mawrid*, ii/2 (1973), 132, 138, 143, 148, 150, French tr. A. Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, Paris 1972 (see index); Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, ii, 373, 374-5; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 262-7; Ibn Wāṣil, *Tadjrīd al-Aghānī*, ms. Ayasofya 3114, ff. 5a-7a; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vi, 336-45; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-abṣar*, part x, ms. Ayasofya 3423, ff. 29b-32a; Ibn al-Naḳīb, *Ḳaṣīda* on Arab musical history, in *MMIA*, xxxi (1956), 11; A. Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques ...*, in *JA*, sér. 7, vol. ii (1873), 477-94; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, i, Istanbul 1925, 229-31, 233; H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 81-2 and *passim*; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 177-8; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-ghinā' fī 'l-Madīna wa-Makka li-ʿaṣr Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1967, 79-81 and *passim*.

(H. G. Farmer - [E. Neubauer])

MAʿBAR, the name given by the Arabs in mediaeval times to the eastern shores of the Indian Deccan, an area corresponding closely, but not exactly, to the Coromandel coast (the latter name from the Tamil *Čolamaṇḍalam*, "the realm of the Cholas", indicating the area formerly ruled by the Tamil Chola *rādjās* from their capital at Tāndjāvūr (Tanjore); hence the alternative Arabo-Persian name, *Barr al-Ṣūliyān* or *Shūliyān* (Tibbetts, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 466), "the coast of the Cholas").

In Arabic, the term *maʿbar* signifies a passage or crossing point. In its application to Coromandel this has been widely interpreted as being a reference to the part played by the coast in the crossing between India and Ceylon or Sri Lanka; thus the *Madras glossary* (439) states that Maʿbar "means the crossing over, that is from Madura to Ceylon". An alternative explanation is offered by Yule who was of the opinion that Maʿbar derived its name from being "in that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf" (*Marco Polo*, ii, 332, n. 1). If, as is generally accepted, the region of Maʿbar lay to the east of Cape Comorin (Ar. *Kumharā*), then Yule's explanation must be considered less satisfactory than that offered by the *Madras glossary*. Coromandel was, in fact, somewhat off the main routes followed by mediaeval Arab shipping. Research into contemporaneous Arab navigational texts indicates that ocean-going vessels generally touched at Malabar [*q.v.*] rather than Maʿbar (Tibbetts, *op. cit.*, *Detailed chart of India and the Bay of Bengal*); in any crossing from Malabar to Southeast Asia, these vessels would have passed around Dondra Head (Ar. *Ra's Dannūr*), the southernmost point of Sri Lanka, thus avoiding Maʿbar altogether unless specifically destined for that area or for Bengal (see, however, Waṣṣāf's definition of Maʿbar [below], which includes a substantial part of the southern Malabar coast). The compilers of *Hobson Jobson* (526) suggest as an alternative that "Maʿbar" may simply be an attempt to give meaning in Arabic to a local South Indian name; however, no suggestion is made as to a possible Dravidian etymology. A fourth possible explanation is that the "crossing" referred to was that from the well-known Arabian Sea to the less familiar *Taḥt al-Rīḥ* (i.e. "beneath the wind", the Bay of Bengal and the seas of Southeast Asia), a region where Arab mercantile power, supreme to the west of Cape Comorin, met with serious competition from Indian and Chinese vessels (in this context, note the descriptions of Maʿbar offered by Yāḳūt and Waṣṣāf, see below).

According to Yule, the earliest application of the term Maʿbar to the Coromandel coast occurs in ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's short description of Egypt (*al-Ifāda wa'l-iʿtibār fī 'l-umūr al-mushāhada wa'l-ḥawādith al-muʿāyana bi-arḍ Miṣr*; see De Sacy, in *Bibl.*, 31), a study written *ca.* 600/1203, when the Chola *rādjā* Kulottunga III still ruled over the eastern Deccan, see *Hobson-Jobson*, 526 (Coromandel is still renowned for its mat-weaving industry, mentioned in this passage, see P. K. Nambiar, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, *passim*).

Mediaeval Arab scholarship in unclear as to the exact extent of Maʿbar. According to the geographer Yāḳūt, "Maʿbar is the extremity of the land of Hind, then come the cities of China, the first of these is Java" quoted in Nainar, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 53. In his *Tazdjiyat al-amṣār wa-tadjriyat al-āthār* (700/1300), the historian ʿAbd Allāh Waṣṣāf states that Maʿbar extends in length from Kūlam [*q.v.*] (Quilon) to Nilāwar (Nellore), nearly 300 *parasangs* (i.e. 1,800 km.) along the sea-coast (in fact, the distance is nearer 1,200 km. (tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 32)

In his *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (710/1310), Rashīd al-Dīn repeats Waṣṣāf's description of Maʿbar almost word-for-word, but elaborates somewhat on the products of the region, mentioning silken stuffs, aromatic roots and large pearls (tr. in *ibid.*, i, 69). According to Abu 'l-Fidā, *Kitāb Taḳwīm al-buldān* (*ca.* 731/1330), Maʿbar is the third *iḳlīm* of Hind, beginning at about three or four days journey to the east of Kawlam (Quilon), the first locality in Maʿbar being Rās Kumhūrī (Cape Comorin) (tr. in Nainar, *op. cit.*, 55).

Abu 'l-Fidā's description of the geographical extent of Maʿbar corresponds more closely to the Coromandel coast than that offered by Waṣṣāf and Rashīd al-Dīn, and indeed, after Abu 'l Fidā's time the term Maʿbar seems to have become increasingly associated with the coast of South India east of Cape Comorin rather than east of Quilon; nevertheless, Maʿbar, even in this truncated form, may not be considered synonymous with Coromandel. The latter is defined by *Hobson-Jobson* (256-8) as "the Northern Tamil Country, or ... the eastern coast of the Peninsula of India from Point Calimere northwards to the mouth of the Kistna, sometimes to Orissa"; thus Maʿbar extended south of Coromandel to include the shoreline of the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar.

The term Maʿbar, although originally an exclusively Arab designation, gained considerable currency beyond the confines of the Muslim world; thus Marco Polo (*ca.* 692/1292) writes at some length concerning "the great province of Maabar which is styled India the Greater; it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland" (Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 331-59). In a letter also dating from 692/1292, or possibly one year later, John of Monte Corvino describes in some depth "Upper India, which is called Maebar, in the territory of St. Thomas" (Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, iii, 58-70). Maʿbar is mentioned in the Chinese Annals as one of the foreign kingdoms which sent tribute to Ḳubilay Khān [*q.v.*] in 667/1268 (Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 337). Although no mention of Maʿbar occurs in the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* of Ma Huan [*q.v.*], *Ma-pa-erh* was certainly well-known to the Chinese during Ming times, and is listed in Feng Ch'eng-chün's *Hsi-yü ti-ming* (see *Bibl.*).

Until the beginning of the 8th/14th century, relations between Maʿbar and the Muslim world were generally limited to peaceful Arab trading contacts. The historian and poet Amīr Khusraw, who was attached to the court of the Khaldjī Sultans at Dihlī, celebrates the advances of the Muslim armies in the northern Deccan (*ca.* 710/1310) and adds that "there

the arrow of any holy warrior had not yet reached" (tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 85-6).

During the first half of the 7th/13th century, however, the powerful Chola Kingdom which had dominated the south-eastern Deccan for over four centuries, entered a period of final decline. In *ca.* 678/1279, Rādjendra IV, the last Chola monarch, fell from power; his territories were divided between two rival Hindu kingdoms based on Madurai and Mysore (Basham, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 76). In 708/1308 the third Khaldjī sultan, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, having defeated the invading Mongols, felt able to turn to the military conquest of the Deccan. Under the capable generalship of Mālik Kāfūr, the Muslim armies subjugated the Yādava rulers of Devagiri and the Kākatīya rulers of Warangal; in 710/1310 Kāfūr broke through to the southern Deccan, and for the first time Muslim armies were able to despoil the great Hindu temples of Maʿbar. It was as a direct consequence of this victory that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the Deccan in or about 739/1338, found the Dravidians of Maʿbar under the rule of a Muslim sultanate with its capital at Madurai (Gibb, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 261-5).

The success of Muslim arms in the southern Deccan was nevertheless to be shortlived. Within a few years of Mālik Kāfūr's invasion, the independent Hindu kingdom of Vidjayanagar was established in 731/1336. Maʿbar passed under the control of the *rādjā*s of Vidjayanagar in 772/1370 (Thapar, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, i, 325); under a succession of Hindu rulers, the region was to maintain its independence from the Muslim north until the equally short-lived conquest of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] in the late 11th/16th century.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

AL-MAʿBARĪ, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, the author of *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn fī baʿḍ aḥwāl al-Purtukāliyyīn*, is said to have lived in Ponani, Malabar District (Kerala, India) during the rule of the ʿĀdil Shāh ʿAlī (965-88/1558-80), his patron, to whom he dedicated the book. The date of his birth or death is not known, but he wrote the work *ca.* 985/1577. The *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn* deals with the geography of Southern India, and gives an account of Islam in Malabar and the Portuguese campaigns in India. It has an introduction and four chapters. The first chapter deals with the merits and necessity of *djihād* [*q.v.*]; the second gives an account of the first appearance of Islam in Malabar [*q.v.*]; the third with the strange usages and customs of the Hindu inhabitants of Malabar, and the fourth is an historical account of the Portuguese campaigns from the time of their first arrival in Malabar in 1498 A.D. up to 1583. This work, in the opinion of S. M. Ḥ. Nainār, might be different from the work of the same name from which Firishta took extracts, but this needs further careful investigation (See *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn*, tr., Introd., 7).

The author was inspired to write the book for reasons given by him in his Preface: after the spread of Islam in Malabar the Muslims had "disregarded the favours of Allāh" and had "sinned and set up feuds among themselves." So Allāh "empowered over them the people of Purtukāl from among the *Afrandj*", who oppressed them for eighty years until the condition of the Muslims reached "the worst consequences of decay, poverty and humiliation." But neither they nor the resourceful rulers and the rich Muslims of Malabar cared to "repel the misfortune" or "declare a holy war" against the Portuguese. Hence, the author says, he "compiled this narrative with a view to inspire in the faithful the desire of fighting the worshippers of the Cross; for a holy war with them is an obligatory duty, because they invaded the territories inhabited by the Muslims ..." (Nainār, tr., 12-13). Obviously, the author wrote the book from a religio-political point of view to exhort the Muslims of Malabar to a holy war against the Portuguese. His style is "very simple and direct without rhetorical ornament, yet he is not free from the affection of ornate style so common with most theologians who had steeped their minds in the Qurʾan and *Traditions*" (Nainar, Introd., 7-8).

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(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

MĀBEYN (A. *mā bayn* "what is between"), in the organisation of the Ottoman palace, the intermediate appartments lying between the inner courts of the Sarāy and the Ḥarem, a place where only the sultan, the eunuchs and the womenfolk could penetrate and where the corps of select pages known as *mābeyndjis*, an élite group from amongst the forty *khāṣṣ odalis*, waited on the monarch for such intimate services as dressing and shaving him [see KHĀṢṢ ODA].

Till the end of the 11th/17th century, the *Mābeyndjis* were headed by the *Silaḥdār Agha* or Swordbearer, as chief page. But under Aḥmed III (1115-43/1703-30) there was a re-organisation of the palace service, involving the decline of the white eunuchs' influence, elevation of the Silaḥdār Agha's position

and depression to some extent of the *Mābeyndjis*, henceforth regarded as inferior to the principal pages of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* or Privy Chamber. Hence there were now three grades of pages there: (1) the *Bičaklï Eskis* or Superior *Aghas* (so-called because they wore a gilded or silverplated dagger, *bïčak*, in their belts); (2) the *Mābeyndjis*; and (3) the Inferior *Aghas*, with no special designation. Writers from the later 18th and 19th centuries, such as the Ottoman historian ʿAṭāʾ and the European D'Ohsson, mention several specific offices held by the principal ones of twelve *Mābeyndjis* (thus numbered by D'Ohsson), headed by the *Bash Čuḳadār* or Head Valet, the *Sirr Kātibi* or Confidential Secretary (both still highly influential because of their close contacts with the sultan), the *Ṣarïkčï Bashï* or Chief Turban-folder, the *Ḳahwedji Bashï* or Chief Coffee-maker, etc.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

MADAGASCAR, with its 627,000 km² the third largest island in the world, after New Guinea (785,000 km²) and Borneo (733,000 km²). Its area is slightly greater than that of France 550,880 km²), of Belgium (30,000 km²) and of Holland (33,000 km²) combined. The large African island is oriented from north-north-east to south-south-west, measuring 1,600 km at its greatest length and 580 km at its greatest width, with a coastal perimeter of 5,000 km. It has a population in excess of 8 million inhabitants which is increasing at a fairly rapid rate (3.2 %).

Although the Comoros (see ḲUMR) are entirely Muslim, Madagascar's Muslim population is confined to the north-west coastal region and the south-east, where the descendants of the first Muslims to arrive on the island remain. However, archaeological studies have shown that the Muslims of the Indian Ocean were the transporters of the initial African population, and were responsible for trade between the Great Island and the rest of the world from the 10th to the 18th century. In the 19th century, Indian Muslims engaging in commerce settled in their turn.

In the religious sphere, Malagasy Islam has always tended to be absorbed by the traditional religion, to such an extent that continual contributions are necessary for the maintenance of Muslim establishments. Most curiously, in the south-east of the island a tradition of Arabic-Malagasy manuscript writing is perpetuated.

The island has been known by the names of *al-Ḳumr* by the Arabs; *Bukini* (literally, the place where there are (*ni*) Buki) by the Bantus of neighbouring East Africa; *Isle of St. Lawrence* by the Portuguese who discovered it in 1506 on the feast-day of this saint, 10 August; and finally *Madagascar*, according to the narrative of Marco Polo. The unvocalised spelling جزيرة القمر has given rise to the play on words *djazīrat al-ḳamar* "Island of the Moon" which was employed by Portuguese historians in the 16th and 17th centuries and which apparently survived until the end of the 19th century among the seafarers of Southern Arabia.

The name of Ḳumr seems to figure for the first time in the *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. 220/835 or 230/845), in the context of the famous "mountain of Ḳumr" (*djabal al-Ḳumr*) which was believed to be the source of the Nile. But the interpretation as *Djabal al-Ḳamar* "mountain of the moon" was ancient as early as the 9th century, since it is encountered in the ὄρησεληναῖα of Ptolemy, whom the majority of Arab geographers and al-Khwārazmī in particular took as their model. The mountain known as that of Ḳumr or the Moon is mentioned by all the Muslim geographers who have described East Africa. It is totally different from the homographic term Ḳumr, which in the 17th century, as Trimingham has shown, signifies the Great Island, but also the neighbouring archipelage of the Comoros, which alone has retained this name to the present day.

In his study on the *K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les Mers du Sud* (in *JA*, xiii-xiv [1919]), Ferrand suggested an association with the name of the Kmers and that of the 崑崙 K'un-lun of the Chinese texts, a daring association, even though these Chinese texts are by no means ignorant of Africa. More interesting for our purposes would seem to be the comparison, by the same Ferrand, of Wāḳ-wāḳ [*q.v.*] with *vahoaka*.

The term *Buki*, which denotes Malagasy in Swahili, and *Bukini*, Madagascar, have been audaciously linked with *Bugi* (people of the Celebes) by J. C. Hébert. In Madagascar, the term appears in literature for the first time in 1613, in the writing of the Portuguese Father Luis Mariano.

The current name of Madagascar is revealed to us in the account of Marco Polo under the form *Madeigascar* (cf. *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. H. Yule, revised and corrected H. Cordier, ii, 411 ff.). As was demonstrated by Yule a long time ago, Marco Polo did not visit Madagascar, spoke of it only through hearsay and presented under this heading certain information relating to the neighbouring East African coast. In this sense, the question may be regarded as settled. As Ferrand already indicated in studying afresh this chapter of Marco Polo, *Madeigascar* is without doubt a slightly incorrect compound of the *Zangbār* type, to be amended to *Madeigascar-bār*, denoting "land of the Malagasy", in the same way that the former has the sense of "land of Zang or the Zangs" (cf. *Trois étymologies malgaches*, in *Mémoires Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, xiii [1905-6]). This reconstruction is based on the following facts: in the previously mentioned account, Father Luis Mariano tells of a kingdom in the south-east of Madagascar which he calls *Mitacassi*, *Matacaci*, *Matacasi* (or Matakasi). Three years later, in 1616, Father Almeida, travelling in the same region, also mentions a kingdom of *Matacassi*. In his *Relation* published in 1651 by Morisot (*Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil*, 10, 49, 99, 124, 127, 134), Cauche refers to a province called *Madegache* and known by others as *Madegasse*, whose inhabitants he calls *Malegasses* and *Mallegasses*. He also employs the term *Madagascarois*, but in the broader sense of the inhabitants of the entire island. Flacourt (*Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar*, 1661, 1) says: "The Island of Sainct-Laurens is called Madagascar by the geographers, *Madecase* by the inhabitants of the land, Menuthias by Ptolemy, Cerne by Pliny ..., but its true name is *Madecase*". Later writers have all been inspired to a greater or lesser extent by the work of Flacourt; therefore, there is no purpose in employing their testimony. These variant readings may be reduced to two: *Madagasi* and *Malagasi*

which correspond exactly to the two major categories of dialect: dialects with voiced dental (*d*) and dialects with liquid dental (*l*). It is the latter form that has prevailed throughout the island, sometimes with the sibilant *Malagási*, sometimes with the fricative *Malagáci*. Both are paroxytones. In addition, the modern colloquial language frequently employs the abbreviated form *gasy* and even *gasa*. These observations seem to justify the interpretation proposed above for the name of Madagascar which we owe to Marco Polo.

The doublet *Malagási-Madagási*, *Malagási-Madagási* remains obscure. According to the morphology of the language, it may represent a compound *mala* or *mada gási* which resembles nothing known, since it consists of the voiced form *mada-gási*, or of the unvoiced form noted by the Portuguese *mata-kási*. Furthermore, it is not known whether this is a western Indonesian construction or a Bantu construction. Whatever the case may be, it is likely that here we have a foreign tribal name, the origin of which, eastern or western, cannot currently be explained by reference to the ancient and modern language.

The account of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, probably written by a Greek of Alexandria in the 3rd century A.D., describes a voyage along the eastern coast of Africa as far as the port of Rapta. Madagascar seems to be unknown to the author of the *Periplus*, and it is probable that it was still uninhabited. Indonesian and African migrations seem to have populated the island only in the 2nd or 3rd centuries of the Hid̲j̲ra, at the earliest.

In about the year 945, the island of Ḳanbalū, probably situated in the archipelago of the Comoros, was the object of invasions by marine pirates possibly based on Madagascar. The book of *The marvels of India* by Buzurg b. S̲h̲ahriyār, a Persian of Rāmhurmuz, states in fact: "Ibn Lakis tells me that he has seen the people of the Wāḳ-wāḳ perform amazing things. It is thus that in 334/945-6, they came upon them in a thousand ships and fought them with the utmost vigour, without however achieving their end, since Ḳanbalū is surrounded by a strong defensive wall around which stretches the water-filled estuary of the sea, so that Ḳanbalū is at the centre of this estuary like a fortified citadel. When people of the Wāḳ-Wāḳ subsequently came ashore there, they asked them why they had come specifically there and not elsewhere. They replied that this was because among them there were to be found products sought after in their country and in China, such as ivory, tortoise shell, panther hides and ambergris, and because they were seeking out the Zand̲j̲, on account of the ease with which they endured slavery and on account of their physical strength. They said that they had come from a distance of one year's sailing, that they had pillaged islands situated six days' journey time from Ḳanbalū and had taken possession of a certain number of villages and towns of Sofāla of the Zand̲j̲, to say nothing of others which they did not know. If these people spoke the truth and if their account was accurate, this would confirm what Ibn Lakis said of the islands of the Wāḳ-wāḳ: that they are situated opposite China". Today there is a consensus that these pirates were Indonesians based in Madagascar who pillaged the Comoros and the coast of the Zand̲j̲.

Among the Arab geographers, the first detailed mention of the island of Komr-Madagascar is supplied by the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mus̲h̲tāḳ fī 'k̲h̲tirāḳ al-āfāḳ* (1154) of al-S̲h̲arīf al-Idrīsī, who sometimes includes the large African island in the land of the Zand̲j̲. "The inhabitants of the islands of Zabag = Sumatra," he says in the seventh section of the first chapter, "come to the land of the Zand̲j̲ in large and small ships, and they use it for the sale of their merchandise, seeing that they understand one another's language" (B.N. ms. 2221, fol. 29 a, I, 15; the editor of the *Book of Roger*, Naples-Rome, i, 1970, 61, reads al-Rānad̲j̲ in place of al-Zābad̲j̲; cf. index of the *Murūd̲j̲*, s.v. *Zābad̲j̲*). This passage is very important, because it shows that in the 12th century contacts were maintained between the east and the west of the Indian Ocean and that mutual comprehension was practised by the Indonesians settled in Madagascar on the one hand, and those natives of Indonesia on the other.

In his *Muʿd̲j̲am*, completed in 1224, Yāḳūt merely says (iv, 174): "al-Ḳumr is an island in the middle of the sea of the Zand̲j̲ which contains no island larger than it. It comprises a large number of towns and kingdoms. Each king makes war on the other. On the shores are found amber and the leaf *al-ḳumārī* (*sic*). This is a perfume; it is also called betel leaf. Wax is also obtained from it." The *Kitāb al-Mus̲h̲tarik* of the same author contains identical information borrowed from the *Muʿd̲j̲am* (ed. Wüstenfeld, 358); but the latter text has, more correctly, "the leaf *al-ḳumrī*".

Ibn Saʿīd (7th/13th century [*q.v.*]) wrote a geographical treatise, of which the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris possesses, under no. 2234, a copy once belonging to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and dating from 714/1314-15. This treatise contains an interesting association between the Asiatic peoples and the people of Ḳumr, which Ferrand summarises thus: "The Ḳumr, who have given their name to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa, are brothers of the Chinese. They dwelt originally with the Chinese in the eastern regions of the world, that is to say, in the interior of the continent of Asia. Discord having broken out between them, the latter drove the Ḳumr towards the islands. After a certain period of time, with dissension erupting among the Ḳumr who had emigrated to the islands, the king and his family emigrated again, made their way to the large island of Ḳumr = Madagascar and the king established himself in a town of this large island called Ḳumriyya. These Ḳumr, having arrived on the large island, grew in number and proliferated in the various capitals of the island in question; but new dissensions provoked a new exodus and a large number of them departed to settle in the south, at the commencement of the inhabited territory, along the mountain range which bears their name." (Ferrand, *Relation de voyages*, ii, 316 ff.).

A contemporary of Ibn Saʿīd, Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir al-S̲h̲aybānī of Damascus, wrote his *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mustabṣir* in *ca.* 1230 (B.N. ms. 6021). In the 25 folios which the author devotes to the history of Aden, there is mention in folio 72 a-b of voyages by the Ḳumr from their country of origin to Aden and, in particular, in 626/1228, from Madagascar to the coast of Africa and to Aden (cf. *JA*, xiii [1919], 469-83).

The following authors al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī (*ca.* 725/1325), al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (1273-1331), Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (*ca.* 1375) and al-Maḳrīzī (1365-1442) tell us nothing of substance about the island of Ḳumr. The towns which some of them place on the great African island are in fact situated in Ceylon or further east, or are unidentifiable (cf. Ferrand,

Relations de voyages, ii, index, *s.vv. Ḳomor* and *Ḳomr*).

Besides mentioning numerous towns, al-Dimashḳī tells of the presence on Ḳumr of the famous *rukh* bird. This bird, which has haunted the legends of the Arabs of the Indian Ocean, is probably the aepyornis, a giant flightless bird which was exterminated by the Madagascans *ca.* 1500.

In the 9th/15th century, the information supplied by Arab geographers is more reliable. This no longer consists of learned treatises or compilations, but of "route-maps" written by navigators, the most eminent being Ibn Mād̲j̲id and Sulaymān al-Mahrī [*q.vv.*]. Ferrand was the first to draw attention to the importance of these documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and he published them in facsimile without French translation; before him, this nautical data was known only from a second-hand Turkish text, the *Muḥīṭ* of Sayyid ʿAlī. Today, for Ibn Mād̲j̲id, we are fortunate in having at our disposal the interpretation by Shumovski relating to another manuscript, that of Leningrad, and the cartographical analysis of the navigators' documentation made by Grosset-Grange.

While admitting the interest of the nautical instructions of Ibn Mād̲j̲id, Ferrand recognised that the information given by Sulaymān al-Mahrī was more precise. In fact, in his *Umda Mahriyya*, in chapter iv, which deals with the topography of the islands and the maritime routes along their coasts (cf. *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, ii, fol. 22 a), the following is stated: "We begin with the island of Ḳumr because it is a large island which stretches along the coast of the Zand̲j̲ and of Sufāla. Its northern extremity is called Rās al-Milḥ (= Cape of Amber); it is situated at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (αβγδ of the Great Bear = 8° 37′ south approximately; true latitude approximately 11° 57′). Its southern extremity which is called Hūfā (= Cape Sainte-Marie ?) is at 3 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (= 21° 37′ south, true latitude approx. 25° 38′), according to some, at 1 *iṣbaʿ* from Naʿsh (= 24° 51′ south), according to others. This last latitude is the more exact. There is a difference of opinion [on the direction] of maritime routes along its coasts, because this island is far removed from inhabited land. As regards the direction of route on its eastern coasts, there are two opinions: according to some, a course should be set to south-west-one-quarter west, according to others, to south-west. There is a third opinion which recommends a course set to west, from one extremity of the island to the other. This last opinion is that of the ancient [masters of navigation]. In my view, adds Sulaymān al-Mahrī, it is possible that the route could be to west-south-west, to south-west-one-quarter west, to south-west, and in yet another direction, for two reasons: the first is that this is a large island, it has a long coastline and the route is equally long. The second reason is that the above-mentioned routes have not been verified, on account of the small number of journeys which have been made to this island and the insufficient nautical data provided by those who have travelled there. Masters of navigation (*muʿallim*) of the Zand̲j̲ have told me that the course on the eastern coast, from Rās al-Milḥ as far as the place where Naʿsh is at 8 *iṣbaʿ*s (= 13° 30′ south), is to the south, and from this place to the southern extremity of the islands, to south-one-quarter-south-west. On the western coast, from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Naʿsh is at 6 *iṣbaʿ*s (= 16° 44′), the coast is entirely safe; from 6 *iṣbaʿ*s to its southern extremity, there is a *rikk* ("bank" or „shoal") of a length of some 2 *zāms* (6 hours) sailing-time or more, as far as the coastal area. Between the island of Ḳumr and the coast [of East Africa] there are four large inhabited islands, close together, which are frequented by the peoples of the Zand̲j̲. The first of these islands is Angazidya (= Grand Comoro). It is at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s and one-quarter from Naʿsh (= approx. 9° south: Mroni, the capital of Grand Comoro is at exactly 11° 40′ south). Between it and the coast [of East Africa], there are 16 *zāms* (= 48 hours) of travelling. The second, Mulālī (known to us as the island of Moheli), is at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (= 8° 37′ south, true latitude approx. 12° 20′); the third, Dumūnī (capital of the island of Anjouan), which is at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s from Naʿsh (= 8° 37′ south, true latitude 12° 15′) is to the east of Mulālī; the fourth, Mawutū (currently the island of Mayotte), is at 10 *iṣbaʿ*s and one-half from Naʿsh (= 9° 25′ south, true latitude 12° 46′ 55″). To the east of these islands, lies a large reef of rocks, at about 4 *zāms* (= 12 hours) of travelling, called *ʿAyn al-Baḥr* ("eye" or "source of the sea"). The ports of the western coast of Ḳumr are: Langānī (at 15° 17′ south), Saʿda (true latitude approx. 13° 54′) and Manzalād̲j̲ī (currently the bay of Mahadzamba, of which the western extremity is at a true latitude of approx. 15° 12′). Those of the eastern coast are: Bandar Banī Ismāʿīl (on the same latitude as Langānī on the western coast) and Bīmārūh (currently Vohemar, at 15° 21′ 15″). All these ports are dangerous [for shipping], with the exception of Langānī. Note that between Rās al-Milḥ and the coast of the Zand̲j̲ there are 50 *zāms* (= 150 hours) of travelling, and that at 20 *zāms* (= 60 hours) of travelling to the east of Rās al-Milḥ lies an inhabited island called Munawwara (one of the southern Maldives ?). To the south-east of Ḳumr, lie numerous islands called Tīrrakhā (the Mascareignes group ?); they are at 12 *zāms* (= 36 hours) of travelling from the island of Ḳumr."

In his *Kitāb al-Minhad̲j̲ al-fākhir* (fol. 73 b of the same manuscript), Sulaymān al-Mahrī provides a second description of the island of Ḳumr which does not differ from the foregoing. Four pages previously, in fol. 71 b, the same author mentions some other ports of the island of Ḳumr with their latitude calculated according to the elevation of the Great Bear: Island of Munawwara at 11 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bandar Ismāʿīl or Banī Ismāʿīl, on the eastern coast and Lulangānī or Langānī, on the western coast, at 10 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bīrmārūh, on the eastern coast, Anāmil, on the western coast, at 9 *iṣbaʿ*s; the island of amber (*d̲j̲azīrat al-ʿanbar*), on the eastern coast, and Bandar al-Nūb on the western coast, at 8 *iṣbaʿ*s; Noshim (?), on the eastern coast, and Malawīn (?), on the western coast, at 7 *iṣbaʿ*s; Manakāra, on the eastern coast (true latitude 22° 08′ 30″) and Bandar (al-) Shuʿbān (port of the shoals), at 6 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bandar Hadūda, on the eastern coast, and Bandar Kūrī, on the western coast, at 4 *iṣbaʿ*s; Wabaya (?) (according to the Turkish text of Sayyid ʿAlī; this name is illegible in ms. 2559), on the eastern coast, and Bandar Hīt (or Hayt), on the western coast, at 3 *iṣbaʿ*s; Bandar Hadūda (*sic*), on the eastern coast, no name known on the western coast at this latitude, at 2 *iṣbaʿ*s; and Bandar Kūs (or Kaws), on the eastern coast, and the bay of Ḳūrī, on the western coast, at 1 *iṣbaʿ*.

A number of these ports, including Saʿda, Manzalād̲j̲ī and Bīmārūh have been rediscovered and have been subjected to archeological studies. Those of the north-west were also known through an oral tradition,

assembled in Madagascar itself by Commandant Guillain (Vérin, 1975, 89-91).

In the light of recently discovered data, the settlement of Madagascar may be summarised as follows. Between 700 and 1000, Indonesians and Africans created through biological and cultural cross-breeding the proto-Malagasy civilisation in the north of Madagascar and, no doubt also, in the archipelago of the Comoros (especially at Mayotte).

From this period onward, Muslim seafarers of the Persian Gulf and the Ḥaḍramawt took part in migrations and in commerce. In particular, they taught navigation to the Sawāḥil peoples of the east coast of Africa, as a result of which Bantu migrations were extended to the islands. The Muslims established after the 10th century contacts between Sīrāf and Ṣuḥār on the one hand, and the Malagasy Comoran ports on the other. A green ceramic, called Sasano-Islamic, has been discovered at Irodo, in the far north of Madagascar, a site dated to the 10th century by the RC 14 test.

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, Muslim establishments frequented by the latter proliferated, especially at Bemanevika, Ambariotelo and Mahilaka. The ceramics imported then were of the sgraffiato type, very similar to that of Takht-i Sulaymān. The first stone-built mosques appeared at this time, as well as stone-built houses, fortifications and well-shafts. At the turn of the 14th century, the influence of the Ḥaḍramawt became perceptible, corresponding no doubt to the monopoly control of the gold trade in the region by the Mahdali.

The 14th and 15th centuries constituted a golden age for the Muslim settlements in Madagascar. The towns of Vohemar, Saʿda, Langānī (Manzaladjī) and Kingānī were particularly prosperous. They imported fabrics, pearls and Arab and Chinese ceramics. They exported rice, livestock, and chlorite slate.

At the end of the 15th century, the Portuguese invaded the Malagasy coasts. They sacked Kingānī, Saʿda and Langānī. Despite certain vicissitudes, the Muslim settlements of Madagascar were never to be subjected to the Portuguese crown. Progressively, commerce developed with other foreign nationals: French, English, Dutch and even Danish.

In the 16th century, the slave trade became important. Settlements controlled by Malagasy sovereigns, mostly Sakalava, but enlivened by native-born or immigrant Muslims, became intensely prosperous. African slaves were imported to Madagascar to cultivate the crops of Sakalava farmers; but, at the same time, Madagascans taken prisoner in the course of internal wars were exported to the Mascareignes (Filliot). In the 17th century, Langānī declined, but commercial activity continued at Boeny. Vohemar was prosperous at this time, but it too declined in the 18th century. In the second half of the 18th century, Boeny was supplanted by Majungs which, together with Nosy Be, has remained a major commercial centre until the present day. Indian Muslims settled in Madagascar in the 19th century in the course of trade missions to Majunga and Nosi Be.

Malagasy Islam is active among the Antakarana and the new converts (*moridy/murīd*), especially following the conversion of Tsimiaro in 1843.

In the south-east, certain of the Antambahoaka and Antaimoro, possessors of *sorabe* (Arabico-Malagasy manuscripts) still respect the authority of Islam, while also practising Malagasy customs.

Finally, still among the Madagascans of old stock, there should be counted the descendants of the former inhabitants of the Muslim trading-stations of the north-west called Antalaotse. Among them live some Makos, more recent arrivals from Africa and many of them converted. These various Malagasy Muslim groups may be numbered at around 100,000. They live in the coastal towns, but also in the urban settlements of central and western Madagascar, the descendants of Indian Muslim immigrants. 15% of these Indians are Sunnīs; some of these Sunnīs have introduced a ceramic type from Sind which has gradually replaced the local Malagasy pottery of the north.

Among the Shīʿī Indians, predominant are the Bohorās [*q.v.*], the most numerous (about 5,000); the Khōdjas [*q.v.*] of whom some 2,500 arrived shortly after 1900 with Amode Khōdja by way of Majunga, but whose most active centre is at Morondava; and finally, the Agha-Khānites [see AGHA KHĀN] (2,500), who arrived *ca.* 1885 and are linked to a remarkably structured international organisation.

Among the foreign Muslims of Madagascar, there are a number of Somalis and Yemenis who have settled since the colonial period, and 25,000 Comorans who live mostly in the north-west, but no longer dwell in Majunga, which they evacuated following the tragic events of December 1976.

The inhabitants of Madagascar all speak an Indonesian language modified by a Bantu substratum. Vérin, Kottak and Gorlin (1968) have acknowledged three groups of dialects, giving a separate place to the group of the north, apparently more isolated in ancient times than the centre-east and west-south groups.

In the article on Madagascar in *EI*[1], Ferrand clearly showed the lexical contribution of African in Malagasy languages. There is an old Bantu stock which could emanate from the language ancestral to Comoran and Swahili, but also from more recent borrowings from Swahili, at the time when, in the 15th century, this language was commonly spoken in the Muslim coastal settlements.

The basic vocabulary of Malagasy is 90% Indonesian, but in addition to Bantu expressions, there exist some words of Sanskrit origin; scholars are divided as to whether this Sanskrit lexical stock was brought to the island by the original Indonesian immigrants, or was absorbed through later contact with Indian civilisations.

Certain words of Arabic origin have made their way into Malagasy through the intermediary of Swahili (e.g. *sokany*, Ar. *sukkān* "rudder"). But others have been introduced directly through borrowing.

Among these borrowings from Arabic are the following:

1. Some commercial terms, e.g. *mizana* (*mīzān*) "scales", but also the names of days of the week, described by Ferrand in the following terms: *alatsinainy, talata, alarobia, alakamisy, zoma, asabotsy, alahady* (Ar. *al-ithnayni, al-thalāthāʾ, al-arbiʿāʾ al-khamīs, al-djumʿa, al-sabt, al-aḥad*). It will be noted that the Arabic definite article has been retained for Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday and omitted for Tuesday and Friday. The names of the days are given here in Merina dialect; the forms of the other dialects show only minor phonetic variations.

2. The names of the twelve months in the dialect of the Merina and that of some other tribes reproduce the Arabic names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac: *alahamady, adaoro, adizaoaza, asorotany, alahasaty,*

asambola, *adimizana*, *alakarabo*, *alakasoy*, *adizady*, *adalo* and *alohotsy*, where the following are recognised without difficulty: *al-ḥamal*, *al-thawr*, *al-djawzā'*, *al-saraṭān*, *al-asad*, *al-sunbula*, *al-mīzān*, *al-ʿaḳrab*, *al-ḳaws*, *al-djady*, *al-dalw* and *al-ḥūt*. A fairly large number of tribes are aware of the Merina system, but still use names of months of Sanskrit origin which will be considered below.

3. The names of the 28 days of the month (the south-eastern Madagascars at least formerly had a year of 336 days) which have been preserved for us by Flacourt (*Histoire*, 1661, 174), recall those of the 28 Arab lunar mansions (see ANWĀ' and MANĀZIL). In Madagascar, to avoid the fragmentation of mansions, corresponding to the different signs of the zodiac, 3 mansions have been allotted to the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th signs, and 2 to each of the 8 others.

Signs of the Zodiac	*Lunar mansions*	
I. Alahamady (al-Ḥamal)	1. Asharatainy	al-Sharaṭāni
	2. Alabotaini	al-Buṭayn
	3. Azoriza	al-Thurayyā
II. Adaoro (al-Thawr)	4. Adabara	al-Dabarān
	5. Alahaka	al-Hakʿa
III. Adizaoza (al-Djawzā')	6. Alahana	al-Hanʿa
	7. Azira	al-Dhirāʿ
IV. Asorotany (al-Saraṭān)	8. Anasara	al-Nathra
	9. Atarafy	al-Ṭarf
	10. Alizaba	al-Djabha, etc.

The Arabic names of the lunar mansions have thus become the names of the 28 days of the Malagasy month. When mentioned in conjunction with a day of the week, they take the place of the day of the week, which the Arabico-Malagasy texts very rarely indicate by a figure. This method seems already to have fallen into disuse in the current language, and is hardly ever employed except in witchcraft.

4. *Shikili* (dialectal variants *sikily*, *sikidy*: Ar. *shakl* "figure") is the divinatory art. It has as its object the finding of remedies and is practised throughout the island, with minor variations, between one tribe and another; *sikidy*, to use the form generally employed, is a direct derivation from the *ʿilm al-raml* "science of sand", or Arab geomancy (cf. the *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī uṣūl ʿilm al-raml* of the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Zanātī, Cairo lith. n.d.).

Although today it constitutes nothing more than a precious relic, Arabico-Malagasy remains an essential element of the patrimony of the Great Island. The manuscripts which exist emanate from the regions of Vohipeno and Fort-Dauphin. The most ancient are stored in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, but some also exist in various European countries (Norway especially), and naturally enough in the Malagasy Academy, as well as in the region of Vohipeno (south-east).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the king Andrianampoinimerina invited some Antaimoro soothsayers to the court of Tananarive, including the eminent Andriamahazonoro. Arabico-Malagasy was thus held in high regard in Iuerina until the beginning of the reign of Radama I. The latter subsequently had the Latin alphabet adopted for the writing of Malagasy.

The enterprise of adapting the Arabic alphabet to the transcription of Malagasy was both delicate and difficult; it has however been successfully achieved under satisfactory conditions. The Malagasy phonemes *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *l*, *m*, *nr*, *r*, *s*, have been transcribed by their Arabic equivalent; *d* is represented by a subpointed ڊ. The other phonemes are rendered thus: Malagasy g by ڠ; *ṅ* guttural by ع and sometimes by غ; the group *ṅg* also by ڠ; the phonemes *dr* and *tr*, as in the English *drive* and *travel* (they are pronounced further back in the non-Merina dialects), generally by رٌ, sometimes by ر with a *tanwin* (for example *antrendry* "date-palm" is rendered by اَرْرٌ and only the context indicates whether ر should be read *dr* or *tr*; Malagasy *t*, by sub-pointed ط; the phoneme *ts*, by Arabic ث; Malagasy *v*, by و, but Arabic ض is also pronounced *v*; Arabic رمضان *ramaḍān*, Malagasy *ramava*; Malagasy *z* by ي pronounced *z*: يي *zaza* "small child"; the phoneme *dz*, by ج and in modern Arabico-Malagasy sometimes by ذ. The non-Semitic Islamised peoples who have adopted the Arabic alphabet and have found it necessary to transcribe the occlusive *p*, have resorted to various notations. The Malays have rendered it by ڤ. The Persians, and following their example, certain Muslims of the Comoro archipelago, by پ; the Swahilis of East Africa by ب. The Malagasies adopted an unexpected solution; until the 18th century they rendered *p* by ڤ, meaning ڤ surmounting by a vertical *tashdīd*, then by ڤ. Unlike in Malay, each letter is vocalised, which facilitates the reading of Arabico-Malagasy texts, in spite of graphical variants which are too numerous to be mentioned here.

The Arabico-Malagasy alphabet was formerly used over a fairly wide geographical area; it is currently employed only on the south-eastern coast, where a great many natives were still using it at the end of the 19th century. The Malagasy Muslims of the north-west and west rather employ the Arabico-Comoran or Arabico-Swahili alphabets. The latter represents by ثٓ a *tr* identical to the Malagasy *tr*, but this form is current only in the island of Anjouan. The dialect of this island possesses a *ẓ*, the transcription by ڠ of the *č* of Persian and Turkish. The other Arabic letters ث، ح، خ، ذ، ز، ص، ض، ظ، ق، are not encountered in Malagasy except in mentions of Arabic words and they are pronounced respectively *s*, *h*, *k*, *dz*, *z*, *s*, *v*, *z*, and *k*.

Ferrand did a great deal of work on the Arabico-Malagasy manuscripts; his researches have been pursued by Gautier, Julien, Mondain, Faublée, Ramiandrasoa, Munthe and especially Dez, who has recently completed a vocabulary with which he intends to decipher and transcribe, with the aid of F. Viré, B.N. ms. 26.

Madagascar, having integrated harmoniously in its civilisation African, Indonesian, Arab and European elements, today practises in the context of its international relations a policy of worldwide contacts. In this manner, the Great Island maintains close relationships with numerous Arab and Muslim countries.

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(G. FERRAND - [P. VÉRIN])

AL-**MADĀ'IN**, "the cities" (pl. of *al-madīna*), the Arabic translation of the Aramaic Māḥōzē or Medīnāthā referring to the Sāsānid metropolis on the Tigris about 20 miles southeast of Baghdād where several adjacent cities connected by a floating bridge stretched along both banks of the river. This was the imperial administrative capital, the winter residence of the king, the home of the Jewish Exilarch and the seat of the Nestorian Catholikos. Among the mixed population of Aramaeans, Persians, Greeks, and Syrians were Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. The residential, industrial and commercial zones of the metropolis were interspersed with palaces, villas, parks, gardens, ceremonial buildings, monuments, and large open areas.

Although tradition names seven cities, there were really four or five main population centres in the late Sāsānid period. The oldest city on the east bank was Ctesiphon, founded by the Parthians in the 1st century B.C. and called "the old city" (*al-madīna al-ʿatīḳa*) by the Arabs. The old royal residence called "the White Palace" (*Ḳaṣr al-abyaḍ*) was here and this city was a local administrative centre. Next to it, the sprawling, unwalled residential district of Aspānbur grew up in the late Sāsānid period, with its great ceremonial hall (*Īwān Kisrā*), palace complex, bath, treasury, possibly a mint, game preserve and stables. About three miles away, Khusraw I founded the city of Veh Antiokh-i Khusraw in 540 A.D., where he resettled the captives taken from Antioch in Syria. Called al-Rūmiyya by the Arabs, this town had its own hippodrome and bath, was a local administrative centre and had a population of 30,000 in the late 6th century.

On the west bank stood the round, walled city of Veh-Ardashīr founded by Ardashīr I in *ca.* 230 A.D. and called Behrasīr by the Arabs, Maḥozā by Jews and Kōkhē by Christians. This city was mainly commercial and industrial, a local administrative centre west of the Tigris with its own mint, and the location of the cathedral church of the Catholikos. Heavily populated by wealthy Jews, it was also the residence of the Exilarch. Parts of this city had been abandoned by the 6th century. Sābāṭ, about three miles south of Veh-Ardashīr guarding the bridge over the Nahr al-Malik where it met the Tigris, is sometimes included in the metropolitan area.

When al-Madā'in fell to the Arabs in Ṣafar 16/ March 637, the Sāsānid royal family, nobles, and army had fled. Some soldiers were captured there, along with huge amounts of booty from the royal treasures. The people in the White Palace made peace with Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ for the payment of tribute (*djizya*), which terms were extended to the rest of the population, while the people of al-Rūmiyya made their own peace terms. Saʿd occupied the White Palace and quartered his army in empty houses. When the soldiers settled in permanent quarters at Kūfa, they took the doors from their houses in al-Mādā'in with them.

The native population of al-Mādā'in was fairly stable immediately after the conquest. There were Persian notables (*dahāḳīn*) there in 37/657. The Exilarch and Catholikos remained there and by the late 1st/early 8th century it was also a Manichaean centre. The main change was the replacement of the Sāsānid upper classes by a small Muslim Arab garrison posted from Kūfa (300 horsemen in 43/663, 1,000 in 76/695) and led by Kūfan notables (*ashrāf*), the tribal leaders of Azd and prominent early Muslims (*buyūtāt al-nās*) who married local women at first and acquired local land. Their Friday mosque was in Madīnat al-ʿAtīḳa.

In the early Islamic period, al-Madā'in was considered the key to the Kūfan territory because it controlled the main road to the east and served as the administrative centre for the Diyāla region (*arḍ Djukhā*) under the governor of Kūfa. Salmān al-Fārisī, who died there in the caliphate of ʿUthmān (23-35/644-56), was an early *amīr*. Ḥudhayfa b. al Yamān, the first fiscal agent there under ʿUmar, established the tax rates for *arḍ Djukhā* and died at al-Madā'in in 36/657. However, early Muslim governors at al-Madā'in often combined the responsibilities for war, worship and finance, and resided in the White Palace. Al-Madīna al-ʿAtīḳa was also a mint for post-reform Umayyad dirhams.

Because of their Kūfan connections, the Muslims of al-Madā'in appear consistently as pro-ʿAlid and anti-Khāridjī. Saʿd b. Masʿūd, ʿAlī's governor 36-40/656-660 secured the city against the Khawāridj in 37/657. In 41/661 al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī retreated there and stayed in the White Palace before coming to terms with Muʿāwiya. In 43/664 the governor, Simāk, prevented the Khawāridj of al-Mustawrad from crossing to the eastern city from Behrasīr. The Muslims of al-Madā'in supported the ʿAlids in the second *fitna* and in 65/684 Saʿd b. Ḥudhayfa, an early *ḳāḍī* there, joined the "Penitents" of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad with 170 Shīʿis from Kūfa who had settled in al-Madā'in. The Shīʿis of al-Madā'in suffered the consequences of their partisanship later when the Azāriḳa Khawāridj sacked the city in 68/687 and massacred the Muslim population. The city was also occupied by Shabīb in 76/696. By the 2nd/8th century, the Shīʿis of al-Madā'in were extremists (*ghulāt*). The Ḥārithiyya sect which believed that whoever knew the *Imām* could do as he liked was founded there and supported the ʿAlid rising of 126/744. The extremist Isḥāḳiyya sect was there in the 4th/10th century.

Although al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) stayed briefly at al-Rūmiyya, where Abū Muslim was in 137/754 killed, al-Madā'in declined in political and commercial importance after the foundation of Baghdād in 145/762. Most of the population, the Catholikos and the Exilarch moved to Baghdād. The White Palace was partially demolished by al-Manṣūr, and although he ordered it to be rebuilt in 158/775, it remained ruined. Its demolition was completed by al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) in *ca.* 290/903, and the materials used to build the Tādj palace at Baghdād. By the 3rd/9th century, al-Madā'in's importance was more agricultural and the position of *ḳāḍī* there tended to be combined with that of Baghdād and other places, although the tombs of Salmān near the Īwān and of Ḥudhayfa near the river had been built at Aspānbur by then. By the 4th/10th century, al-Rūmiyya was deserted, but the rest of the town on the east bank was a flourishing suburb of Baghdād, with brick buildings, markets and two Friday mosques, while there was a large fire temple on the west bank.

There was still a small town on the east bank in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. The office of *ḳāḍī* was held by local people and the tomb of Salmān was visited annually on 15 Shaʿbān by Sunnī barbers of Baghdād and on variable dates by Shīʿis. There was a village of Imāmī Shīʿī farmers on the west bank and coins found at Tell Baruda confirm settlement at Behrasīr as late as the 7th/13th century. Behrasīr remained a small Shīʿī town in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

The tomb of Salmān was rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40) and restored in 1904-5. The village of Salmān Pāk has grown up around the tomb in the modern period, with *khāns* for Shīʿī pilgrims who often stop there when visiting the other ʿIrāḳī shrines.

On 22-3 November 1915, in the battle of Ctesiphon, the Turks defeated the Anglo-Indian army of General Townshend, stopping its advance towards Baghdād at a line east of the ruins of the Īwān.

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AL-MADĀʾINĪ, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sayf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, early Arabic historian, was born, according to his own information, in 135/752 (*Fihrist*, 100). Little is known about his life. He was a client of Samura b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, i.e. of the Companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura [*q.v.*]; according to *Fihrist*, 101, al-Madāʾinī dedicated a monograph to him. Al-Madāʾinī, who was in Baṣra in 153/770 (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ii, Cairo 1367/1948, 93), later went to al-Madāʾin and Baghdād at an unknown date. It is also unknown whether his *nisba* originated from a stay in al-Madāʾin or whether such a stay was derived from an already-existing *nisba*. The same *nisba* is in any case also carried by ʿUtba b. ʿAbd Allāh, grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura (Yāḳūt, i, 644). Al-Madāʾinī is explicitly said to have been a pupil of the Muʿtazilī Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād al-Sulamī (d. 215/830) of Baṣra, who lived in Baghdād (see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1961, 54); elsewhere (*ibid.*, 140) he is counted among the people of Kūfa. It is indeed possible that he stayed also in this city, because there are a great number of Kūfan people among his informants. He found a friend and patron in the musician and scholar Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850 [*q.v.*]), in whose house he is said to have died. The data on the year of his death in Baghdād vary; 215/830, 224/839, 225/840, 228/843 (*Fihrist*, 100 al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1330; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 287, = § 2973; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 309 ff.; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 55). Since he is said to have died over 90 years old, as Yāḳūt (iv, 215) still mentions him for the year 226/841, and since his great historical work on the caliphs (see below) is said to have treated of the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42), the year 228/843 seems the most probable (see G. Rotter, *Zur Über-*

lieferung einiger historischer Werke Madā'inīs in Ṭabarīs Annalen, in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv [1970-1], 104).

Al-Madā'inī, a highly productive scholar with many-sided interests, wrote more than 200 works (see *Fihrist*, 101-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 312-8; Y. al-ʿIshsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, mu'arrikh Baghdād wa-muḥaddithuhā*, Damascus 1364/1945, index; P. Sbath, *Choix de livres qui se trouvaient dans les bibliothèques d'Alep (au XIII^e siècle)*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xlix, Cairo 1946, index). An important part of his works deals with historical subjects, reaching from the origins of Islam until his own days. In treating the genealogy of the Ḳuraysh, pre-Islamic items are brought together with Islamic ones. He is concerned not only with the *maghāzī* of the Prophet, but also with his settlements, sermons, peace treaties, envoys and correspondence. The events during the period of the four rightly-guided caliphs have his interest no less than the history of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids, the conquests as well as the marriages of the *ashrāf*. He wrote about the *akhbār* of poets and singers, dealt with geographical items like al-Madīna and mountains and valleys in its neighbourhood, but also with (famous) fools, traitors, with coinage and exchange of money, with miserliness and jealousy, with animals in general and horses in particular. Only two works, the *Kitāb al-Murdifāt min Ḳuraysh* and the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī* (two *djuz'*s) (see below) have come down to us as separate manuscripts.

To Muslim scholars, al-Madā'inī was a great and extremely reliable specialist in the *akhbār*. On the one hand, this can be deduced from their opinion about him. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz (see below) for instance transmitted that scholars considered al-Madā'inī as the authority on Khurāsān, Hind and Fārs (*Fihrist*, 93, l. 23). According to al-Marzubānī (*Nūr al-ḳabas al-mukhtaṣar min al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut 1384/1964, 182 ff.), "He who aspires to [knowledge of] the *akhbār al-Islām* should keep to al-Madā'inī's works". Abū Zakariyyā' al-Azdī (*Ta'rīkh Mawṣil*, Cairo 1967, 25) considered him an authority in the field of the history of the Prophet and the *akhbār* of the Arabs, while al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xii, 55) adds: "... also [in the field of] their genealogy, the *futūḥ*, the *maghāzī* and the transmission of poetry". On the other hand, the high esteem in which al-Madā'inī's oeuvre was held may be seen from the quotations in the works of many Muslim scholars. Appearing with his *kunya*, *nisba*, *ism* or as Ibn Abī Sayf, al-Madā'inī's name is in the earlier period mostly mentioned in connection with an *isnād*, later together with the respective book-title. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682) is one of the last authors to quote him in his *Khizānat al-adab*. Muslim scholars were interested not only in al-Madā'inī's historical works, but also in his books on *adab*, geography, zoology and poetry. For further information, see Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, *Shaykh al-akhbāriyyīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī*, Nadjaf 1975, 141 ff.

While al-Madā'inī was an historian by interest, his working method was that of a *muḥaddith*: from works or accounts of others he chose those parts which seemed appropriate to him, and with those building-stones of varying size he composed his book. These selected pieces of information are sometimes preceded by *isnāds* which go back to eye-witnesses or contemporaries of the event in question, sometimes by *isnāds* which contain only his immediate source and eventually its authority or transmitter. This procedure is certainly to a high extent postulated already by the working method of his source; in opposition to Abū Mikhnaf for instance, ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] hardly ever gives *isnāds* which go back to the account of an eye-witness. Sometimes *isnāds* even fail altogether, and this again may depend on the nature of the source at our disposal in which al-Madā'inī is quoted. Even in passages where al-Madā'inī summarises the accounts of several authorities (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1236, 1286, 1308, iii, 38), or in an *adab* work like the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī*, the style of giving information does not change; there is only the detailed rendering of the events without commentary. Not the subtle saying or the polished turn of speech seems to be important, but the historical framework in which the words quoted were uttered. Al-Masʿūdī pertinently compares al-Madā'inī with the latter's contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ when mentioning al-Djāḥiẓ's death (*Murūdj*, viii, 33 f. = § 3146): "Among the transmitters (*ruwāt*) and scholars no one has written more books than he (al-Djāḥiẓ). To be sure, al-Madā'inī too has written very much, but he limits himself to reproducing what he has heard, while the works of al-Djāḥiẓ—notwithstanding their well-known [dogmatic] deviations—illuminate the mind [of the reader]."

The variety of al-Madā'inī's interests brings about the fact that he refers to a considerably larger group of authorities than Abū Mikhnaf, the historian of the preceding generation with whom he may be compared in that their working methods show resemblances. But when describing events which are interrelated through causality, he apparently relies on a smaller number of authorities. He then depends on works of, among others, ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Mikhnaf, Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (Sulmā b. ʿAbd Allāh d. 159/775 *et var.*, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, xii, 45), al-Mubārak b. Faḍāla (d. 164/780, see *ibid.*, x, 28 ff.), Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783, see *ibid.*, iii, 11-6), Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān (see *GAS*, i, 266 ff.; for the list of his works, see *Fihrist*, 94), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī and ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid. But, as is shown—among other things—by the descriptions of interrelated events, he also makes use of earlier works by authorities who have not yet become renowned to us as historians.

As direct transmitters of al-Madā'inī's works are mentioned Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz al-Kūfī (who is said to have heard the reading of all the books of al-Madā'inī, see Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 407 ff.), Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama (who is reported to have learnt from him all about the *ayyām al-nās*, see *ibid.*, 128 ff.), and al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (*ibid.*). Al-Balādhurī [*q.v.*], ʿUmar b. Shabba [*q.v.*], Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ [see IBN KHAYYĀṬ AL-ʿUṢFURĪ] and Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] also prove to be his direct transmitters.

In the quotations from al-Madā'inī's works there are parallel passages which are nevertheless divergent from one another. In order to explain this it should be kept in mind that, during his long life as a scholar, al-Madā'inī certainly revised and completed his earlier works in later years, and that they have been transmitted as such. The material is overlapping, due to the fact that he wrote monographs on individual persons (like for instance the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf*) or on separate subjects (like for instance the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī*, in which al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf is also taken into account), as well as compendia (like the *Kitāb Akhbār al-khulafā' al-kabīr*). It is possible that al-Madā'inī himself is responsible for the different forms and lengths with which material appears in the various

passages (see also Rotter, *op. cit.*, 127 ff.). Attention should further be paid as to whether the quotations under consideration are introduced with *anna*, for this always indicates that the wording has been revised or summarised (see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, Leiden 1971, 92).

The two works which have been preserved are: *Kitāb al-Murdifāt min Ḳuraysh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, Cairo 1951, 57-80, and *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī*, ed. by Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār and Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, Nadjaf 1391/1971. A great number of quotations from the latter work are also found in the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī* of al-Mubarrad (d. 286/899), ed. Muḥammad Dībādjī, Damascus 1396/1976 (see Index), so that those parts which have not been preserved in the manuscript of al-Madāʾinī's work can be reconstructed. In the two *djuz*ʾs which have come down to us, the author uses *isnād*s and refers to *ca.* 80 authorities (a few transmitters, other scholars and mainly persons who can be traced in al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*), mostly just for one quotation. From a comparison with al-Mubarrad's work, it becomes clear that al-Madāʾinī compiled from abundant historical material about the way in which the caliphs, prominent and learned ment sought consolation, for themselves or for others, for the death of a close relative or friend; poems, philosophical or lexicographic explanations are hardly found. One aspect of al-Madāʾinī's working method, throwing at the same time some light on the great number of his works, becomes clear. Since he mentions several times people like al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, Iyās b. Muʿāwiya and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, it may rightly be assumed that this material was also to be found in the monographs which he wrote on these men. The description of the epidemics of the plague were certainly also found in the *Akhbār al-ṭāʿūn* (see below) quoted by al-Mubarrad.

Al-Madāʾinī's works quoted by later authors, with named titles, include: *K. al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* (A. Wiener, in *Isl.*, iv [1913], 276); *K.* (*al-Khatm wa*) *'l-rusul* (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 205, 264, 764, iii, 1018); *K. al-Samīr* (al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ii, 174); *K. al-Djawābāt* (*K. al-Aghānī*, Cairo 1927, xvi, 176; al-Hamdānī, *Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 39-40); *K. Akhbār Thaḳīf* (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 1258); *K. al-Nisāʾ al-nāshizāt* (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 479-80, iv, 366-7, = ? *al-Nawāḳiḥ wa 'l-nawāshiz*, *ibid.*, i, 10, 84, and al-Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1353, 283-5, = ? *K. al-Nisāʾ al-fawārik*, in *Khizāna*, i, 408); *K. Ummahāt al-khulafāʾ* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1368/1959 ff., xi, 69); *K. al-Aḥdāth* (*ibid.*, xi, 44-6; Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Daradjāt al-rafīʿa*, Nadjaf 1381/1962, 6-8); *K. al-Djamal* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, i, 253, 256, vi, 215, ix, 113, 115, 317; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iv, 318 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, cf. Rotter, *op. cit.*, 115 ff.; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 102 ff.); *K. Ṣiffīn* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, ii, 246, 268, vi, 134-6); *K. al-Khawāridj* (*ibid.*, ii, 271-2); *K. Akhbār al-ḳilāʿ* (*wa 'l-akrād*) (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 70; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1962 ff., iv, 198); *K. Zakan Iyās* (*b. Muʿāwiya*) (al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, i, 120); *Nawādir al-ḳuḍāt* (al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣāʾir*, ii, 700-1, and 795-6?); *Akhbār Zufar b. al-Ḥārith* (Yāḳūt, iv, 369; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 303-4); *Akhbār al-ṭāʿūn* (al-Mubarrad, in *K. al-Taʿāzī*, 209, and also in *ibid.*, 211, 216, 218, perhaps further 210 [from al-Madāʾinī, also in al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, i, 187, ch. vi, according to Wiener, *op. cit.*, 278]; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, i, 313; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, Nadjaf 1965, 471; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ii, Cairo 1368, 383; other citations in al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, 209 n.); *al-Makāʾid* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Cairo 1358/1939, ii, 197; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 535); *K. al-Mugharribīn* (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 10, ii, 109).

Other quotations refer probably to the following works: *Asmāʾ man ḳutila min al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, often through Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz, Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, index); *K. Akhbār Ziyād b. Abīhi* (al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, 304-6; Ṭabarī, ii, 25-6; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, i, 198); *K. Akhbār al-khulafāʾ al-kabīr* (Yāḳūt, ii, 319, iii, 499; *Aghānī*, vii, 2 ff.; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ii, 25); *K. Adab al-sulṭān* (al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, iv, 294-5); *K. Maḳtal ʿUthmān* (see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 51, 102; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, x, 6-7); *K. al-Ghārāt* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ii, 114 f.; cf. al-Thaḳafī, *al-Ghārāt*, Tehran 1395, 418 f.); *K. Banī Nādjiya wa-Khirrīt b. Rāshid wa-Maṣḳala b. Hubayra* (al-Thaḳafī, 332 ff.); *K. Khuṭab ʿAlī* (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vi, 136); *K. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥaḍramī* (al-Thaḳafī, 373-412 = Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, iv, 34-53; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 56); *K. Mardj Rāhiṭ* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 131, 137, 144; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, iii, 525); *Akhbār al-Ḥadjdjādj* [*b. Yūsuf*] *wa-wafātihi* (al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, 103, 108, 475); *K. Khabar al-Baṣra wa-futūḥihā* (with a subtitle *Wilāyat al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba*, fragment in *Aghānī*, xvi, 91, 95-6; Yāḳūt, iv, 833, 845, 971; see Rotter, *op. cit.*, 124 ff.); *K. Akhbār Abi 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī* (*Aghānī*, xii, 298, 309-10, 311-8, 322, 323-5, 328-9, 330-1, 334; Ibn Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, i, 16; Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl*, 167-8; al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh Mawṣil*, 167); *K. al-Awāʾil* (al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Awāʾil*, index).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* contains many quotations which are referred partly to al-Madāʾinī, partly to a certain Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Madāʾinī, and to the latter's (?) *K. al-Ḳalam wa 'l-dawāt*. It is, however, probable that in all cases ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī is meant.

Bibliography: H. A. R. Gibb, *Taʾrīkh*, in *EI*[1], Suppl., 252b; ʿAlī Djawād, *Mawārid taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, i (1950), 143-213, ii (1951), 135-190, iii (1954), 16-56, viii (1961), 425-436; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, index; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Baḥth fī nashʾat ʿilm al-taʾrīkh ʿind al-ʿarab*, Beirut 1960, 38 f. and index; Khālid al-ʿAsalī, *al-Madāʾinī*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Baghdād, vi (1963), 473-98; M. Fleischhammer, *Reste zweier Dichterbücher im Kitāb al-Aġānī*, in *Studia Orientalia . . . C. Brockelmann*, Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift Univ. Halle 17 (1968), 77-83; F. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, 69 f. and index; see also *GAS*, iii, 366-7.

(Ursula Sezgin)

MADANIYYA, a branch of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order named after Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī (1194-Djumādā I 1263/1780 - April-May 1847), who was originally a *muḳaddam* [*q.v.*] of Mawlāy Abū Aḥmad al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī [see DARḲĀWA]. From 1240/1824-5 al-Madanī presented himself as independent head of a *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] in his own right (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Zakī, *al-Nafḥa al-ʿaliyya fī awrād al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321/1903-4, 233) while retaining the essentials of Shādhilī teaching and liturgical practice (see Muḥammad Aḥmad Sayyid Aḥmad, *al-Anwār al-dhahabiyya li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Shādhiliyya*, Alexandria n.d., *passim*). By that time, he had settled in the Tripolitanian town of Miṣrāta, where he died and where his shrine may be visited today.

Under his son and successor Muḥammad (Shaʿbān

1244 - 2 Radjab 1321/February 1829 - 24 September 1903) the order spread in Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, Fazzān, Tunisia, Egypt (Alexandria, Cairo and Suez) and the Ḥidjaz (Zakī, 239). In 1289, Muḥammad went to Istanbul upon the request of Maḥmūd Nadīm Pasha [*q.v.*], the former *wālī* of Tripoli who had then become Grand Vizier. In this city al-Madanī was introduced to the future Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who was initiated by him into his *ṭariḳa*. Later, from 1293/1876 onwards al-Madanī took up permanent residence in Istanbul. For a period of about thirty years he acted as an adviser to Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, whose accession to the throne he had correctly predicted and who believed strongly in his magical powers and skills ([Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī], *Mā Hunālika*, Cairo 1896, 200). The Sultan built al-Madanī a *tekke* [*q.v.*] in Beshikṭāsh where he himself occasionally attended *dhikr* [*q.v.*] sessions. In this *tekke*, al-Madanī was buried following his death in 1903.

On the Sultan's behalf, he communicated with Aḥmad ʿUrābī [*q.v.*] during the events leading up to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 (cf. A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern! Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879-1882 in Ägypten*, Zürich-Freiburg-im-Br. 1973, 214, 350, n. 99). In 1898, he was instrumental in the appointment of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] to the office of Grand Vizier. His closeness to the Sultan seems to have been envied by another advisor of the Sultan, the head of the Rifāʿiyya order, Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī. According to this *shaykh*, who sought to discredit al-Madanī whenever the occasion presented itself, al-Madanī's father had been the son of a renegade Jew from Thessaloniki (al-Muwayliḥī, 203. See also C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii, 158 ff.; Walī al-Dīn Yakan, *al-Maʿlūm wa 'l-madjhūl*, i, Cairo 1911, 100 f.; Rifʿat al-Djawharī, *Djannat al-Ṣaḥrāʾ: Siwa aw Wāḥat Āmūn*, Cairo 1946, 98).

The Sultan seems to have supported the Madaniyya in the presumption that it would reverse the growth of the Sanūsiyya order [*q.v.*] as well as counter European influence in North Africa (cf. E. de Remzi, *Nozioni sull'Islâm con speciale riguardo alla Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1918, 89). Here, a major role was played by Muḥammad's brother Ḥamza, who, from Tripolitania and with Ottoman support, directed agitation against the French in Tunisia (G. Charmes, *La Tunisie et la Tripolitaine*, Paris 1883, 275-7, 392).

After Muḥammad Ẓāfir's death, a dispute about the succession as head of the order arose between his brother Ḥamza and his son Ibrāhīm, who had already been acting as his father's deputy for several years. The dispute was settled when, following intervention by the Sultan, Ibrāhīm was duly installed as his father's *khalīfa* (Zakī, 244), By then, however, several branches of the Madaniyya had emerged in Egypt (al-Hāshimiyya, al-Marzūḳiyya al-Shādhiliyya, and al-Ḳādiriyya al-Madaniyya) and in the Middle East (al-Yashruṭiyya, and al-Fāsiyya). These had reduced the order's membership, while the *zāwiyas* in Tunisia and Algeria had become completely autonomous (Remzi, 90). In addition, Ibrāhīm lost control over the *zāwiyas* in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in consequence of the Italian occupation of Libya in 1912. In these territories, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ẓāfir (d. 1917), who was Ibrāhīm's brother, was subsequently recognised as the local head of the Madaniyya. This left Ibrāhīm with control over the *tekke* in Istanbul and the Ḥidjāz only (Remzi, 89). From the last decade of the 19th century, the number of Madaniyya *zāwiyas* steadily declined: in Tripolitania, e.g., the number of *zāwiyas* decreased from more than 12 in the 1880s to about 9 in 1918 and to 7, all in the town of Miṣrāta, in 1925 (L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, Paris 1925, 97).

Today, the original Madaniyya seems to be limited to Egypt, where it is under the direction of a grandson of the order's founder. Its followers are encountered mainly in the coastal area between Sīdī al-Barrānī, where this grandson lives, and Alexandria. Active lodges existed (in 1981) in both of these towns, in the towns of Marsā Maṭrūḥ and Burdj al-ʿArab, and in the oasis of Sīwa.

Bibliography: No comprehensive study of the history of the Madaniyya order exists, and the data at present available concerning Muḥammad b. Muḥammad's role at the court in Istanbul are few and imprecise. A study of the order's history based upon the Istanbul archives could remedy this situation. In addition to the references given in the article, see Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Nāʾib al-ʿAwsī al-Anṣārī, *al-Manhal al-ʿadhb fī taʾrīkh Ṭarāblus al-Gharb*, Istanbul 1317/1899-1900; al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūhin, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1347/1928-9, 202-3; Maḥmūd b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Wafāʾī, *Maʿāhid al-taḥḳīḳ fī radd al-munkirīn ʿalā ahl al-ṭarīḳ*, Cairo 1960, 152-55 (for biographical data concerning the order's founder) and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, x, 112; xi, 207; Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-Aʿlām al-sharḳiyya fī 'l-miʾa al-rābiʿa ʿashra al-hidjriyya*, iii, Cairo 1955, 125-7; Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marzūḳī, *al-Fuyūḍāt al-raḥmāniyya, sharḥ al-waẓīfa al-Madaniyya*, Cairo 1940, 171 (for data concerning the founder's son). See also O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 218 ff., 514 ff., and F. De Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt, 1911-1981* (forthcoming), chs. 2 and 7. For the order's *awrād* [see WIRD] and *aḥzāb* [see ḤIZB] as well as its *waẓīfa* [*q.v.*], see Muḥammad Aḥmad Sayyid Aḥmad, *al-Anwār al-dhahabiyya li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Shādhiliyya*, Alexandria n.d., *passim*. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī, *al-Nūr al-sāṭiʿ wa 'l-burhān al-ḳāṭiʿ*, Istanbul 1301/1883-4 (also published as an appendix to Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Madanī, *al-Silsila al-dhahabiyya fī 'l-tawassul bi 'l-sāda al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo n.d.) is basically a manual setting out the fundamentals of Shādhilī mystical method and practice. (F. DE JONG)

AL-**MADD** WA 'L-**DJAZR** (A.), literally "the ebb and flow", the name given by the Arabs to the phenomenon of the tide, which they explained by following the various theories inherited from the classical world; the latter assert in the main that the tide possesses a universal character resulting from the moon's having a stronger influence than the sun over the mass of the Ocean's waters. The classical writers reached this conclusion after having studied the accounts of their great navigators such as Pytheas and Nearchus. Also, Theophrastus (327-287 B.C.), relying on the work of Nearchus, says that in the islands of the Indian Ocean one can see from out at sea trees whose branches are under water at high tide, while their roots are dry at low tide; as for the origin of the tides, he seems to attribute it to the action of the winds. Archimedes and Posidonius, for their part, maintained, as did al-Kindī later on, that the surface of the seas was spherical and that the centre of this sphere was the centre of the earth. On the other hand, Eratosthenes, in order to explain

the intensity of the marine currents, especially in straits, asserted that the seas had variable levels which were due, like the tides in the Ocean, to the height of the moon: when it rises and sets, the flow begins, and when it passes by the upper or lower meridian of the observation place, it ends. It was also observed that the height of the tides depended on the position of the sun and moon on the ecliptic (opposition, conjunction, quadratures) and on the position of the observation place (Seleucus, Hipparchus).

However, the classical author who is most interested in these problems is Posidonius of Apamea (135-50 B.C.), who arrived at a series of generally exact conclusions after having studied the authors mentioned above and having listened to the accounts of the sailors of Cadiz. His opinions were adopted by Pliny, Seneca and Cicero. On the other hand, Pomponius Mela (*ca.* 42-5 B.C.), if he clearly accepted the moon's influence, also presented two other hypotheses: for him, the tides were the result of the earth's breathing (which is also asserted by Brunetto Latini, d. 1295) or of the cavities in it (cf. R. Almagià, *La conoscenza del fenomeno delle maree nell'antichità*, in *AIHS*, xxviii [1949], 893, and *La dottrina della marea nell'antichità classica e nel medio evo*, in *Memorie della Reale Accad. dei Lincei* [1904]).

It is hard to know to what extent the Arabs were aware of these theories, for we do not know the chain of possible transmitters. In any case, we find in Arabic texts an echo and development of certain doctrines sketched in antiquity. Also, Ibn Khurradādhbih (230/844) gives quite a fair explanation of the phenomenon, and al-Kindī (d. 256/870) wrote a *Risālat al-Madd wa 'l-djazr* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Al-Kindis Schrift über Ebbe und Flut*, in *Annalen der Physik*, lxxvii [1922], 374-87) which is not the same as that which, bearing the same title, was studied and translated by the author of the present article (in *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Buenas Letras de Barcelone*, xiii [1971-5], 135-212; a résumé of this *Risāla*, Barcelona 1957). The explanations given by Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī (d. 272/886) in his *Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā 'ilm aḥkām al-nudjum* (translated into Latin as *Introductorium in astronomiam*) are interesting as having rapidly become known to Christian authors. Also, for example, the text attributed provisionally by R. C. Dales (see *Isis*, lvii [1966], 455-74) to Robert Grosseteste, is, in the order and arrangement of the ideas and despite the mention of al-Biṭrūdjī which it contains (see 459, 460, etc.), in large part derived from Abū Ma'shar, as can be appreciated by comparing it with the *Introductorium* (see 461, 462, 465, 466, 467 of Dales and the résumés of L. Martínez Martín, art. cited, *passim*).

For Abū Ma'shar, the tides depend on the movement of the stars and are due to the "attraction" of the moon: the waters of the flow come up boiling from the sea bed, which explains why they are warmer than those of the ebb; he analyses the inequality of the ebb and flow in the two hemispheres and establishes eight distinct causes for it, of which some very reasonable ones are of an astronomical or topographical nature.

As for al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), he sometimes follows the *Introductorium* in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* (i, 244-55 = §§ 259-69) and presents all kinds of theories, of which some are purely para-scientific; in the *Tanbīh* (French tr. Carra de Vaux, 104-5), he states that there are some authors for whom the tide is due to an angel who produces the ebb and flow by plunging his foot or his fingers into the sea and withdrawing them. For their part, the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' attribute the tides to the heating of the rocks on the sea bed by the moon's rays. Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), in the *Expositio media* of the *Meteors* (cf. Aristotle, *Omnia opera*. Averroes' Commentary, vi, Venice 1560, 29-30) seems to have been influenced by the theory of Eratosthenes relating to the straits, for he says that the waters flow into the Ocean from the seas higher than it and it flows into the lower seas; meanwhile, in the latter, the waters are set in motion by the winds which arise in their midst because of the moon's heat, and flow towards the Ocean in an upward movement, while the Ocean sinks.

We know that the establishment of harbours is presented for the first time in a graphic and systematic manner in the *Atlas catalan* of 1375 (see D. Gernez, *Les indications relatives aux marées dans les anciens livres de mer*, in *AIHS*, xxviii [1949], 671-91), but in some earlier Arabic texts, particularly those which concern the Indian Ocean, some passages figure which allow us to state that the phenomenon was known and put to good use by sailors: also, for example, in § 17 and p. 46, n. 2 of the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (851), ed.-French tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948 (in the rest of the world, cf. Bede, *apud* Duhem, in *SM*, iii, 20; Needham, in *Science and civilization in China*, iv/2 [1965], 217, 410). In the Islamic world, A. Mez (*Renaissance*, Spanish tr. esp. 553; Eng. tr., 466) following al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 124-5) remarks the existence in Baṣra (in 375/985) of mills operated by the tide, which is not astonishing if one takes account of the height of the town at the head of the Persian Gulf, a thousand years ago when the alluvial deposits had still not made it distant from the coast (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, French tr. Kramers-Wiet, i, 229; al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, French tr. Mehren, 223; Pellat, *Milieu*, 16-7). Al-Muḳaddasī says, in fact, "The flow constitutes a miracle and an advantage for the inhabitants of Baṣra. The water inundates it twice a day, rises into the canals, waters the gardens and helps the boats reach their anchorage. The ebb is equally useful, for it operates the mills situated at the mouth of the water courses". The tidal mills of this type (which must not be confused with other of a similar name, but functionally very different; cf. Mez, *loc. cit.*; F. M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik*, Munich 1965, 1297, etc. and related terms; Wiedemann, *Über Schiffmühlen*, in *Geschichtsblätter für Technik, Industrie und Gewerbe*, iv [1917], 25; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy-de Goeje, 236, 237, 263, etc.) are the precursors of those to be found in the 11th century in Venice, in the 12th in France (cf. H. Goblot, *Premières recherches*, roneoed text *ca.* 1977) and whose origin may go back to the Atlantic littoral of Islamic Spain (coasts of Huelva?), where harbours were established with a two to three hour tidal cycle, the title reaching a height as acceptable, if not higher, than that which could be achieved at Baṣra in the 4th/10th century. With regard to this, one should take account of the rather confused text in which Abu 'l-Fidā (*Taḳwīm*, ed. Paris 1840, 26-7), copying al-Idrīsī, notes the value of the establishment of harbours similar to that which has been cited.

Tidal mills appear to have been known on the coasts of Islamic Spain, and it is from there that they must have proceeded, following the estuaries, as far as the North Atlantic (cf. Goblot, *op. cit.*; W. E. Minchinton). However, the rare evidence which we have been able to find on this type of mill does

not allow us at present to elucidate this question with certainty. We can nevertheless mention the early presence (well before the 17th century) of these mills in Lequeitio (cf. José A. García Diego, *Don Pedro Bernardo Villareal de Berriz*, in *Revista de obras publicas*, August 1971), and probably in other places on the Basque coast which we know of indirectly, but from information of the same author, at Errotatxiki, Busturia, Baracaldo, Orio and Plencia.

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(L. Martínez Martín)

MADDĀḤ (Turkish *meddāḥ*), an Arabic word which means "panegyrist"; the term was used by the Ottoman Turks as a synonym of *ḳiṣṣa-k͟hʷān* (Arabic *ḳāṣṣ*) and *s͟hehnāme-k͟hʷān* to designate the professional story-tellers of the urban milieux; it was used in the same way by the Persians, but more rarely; as for the Arabs, they used it, in a fairly late period, to designate the "begging singers of the streets" (see Köprülüzāde M. Fuʾād, *Meddāḥlar*, in *Türkiyyāt Med̲j̲mūʿasi*, i [1925], 11-12). In North Africa, however, the *məddāḥ* is a kind of "religious minstrel who goes to festivals to sing the praises of saints and of God, and holy war, and who is accompanied on the tambourine and flute" (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.); he is also the heir of the *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*], who at a late date tours the country and cities, recounting heroic legends and stories drawn from the répertoire of the story-tellers of the Middle Ages, sometimes aided today by bands, and which are sketched out very often without any connection with the subject of the story. The activity of the *məddāḥ*, his technique and his sources, would merit being made the object of thorough research.

In an early stage of the evolution of their art, the Turkish *meddāḥs* or *ḳiṣṣa-k͟hʷāns* derived their themes either from episodes of the Iranian epic, the *S͟hāh-nāma* (whence their name of *s͟hehnāme-k͟hʷān*) and the historico-legendary works relating the acts and deeds of the champions of Islam such as Ḥamza, ʿAlī, Abū Muslim, Baṭṭāl, or the first Turkish conquerors of the land of Rūm, such as Dānis͟hmend G͟hāzī. From the 11th/17th century onwards, the term *meddāḥ* begins to take on a more specific meaning to designate the teller of realistic accounts drawn either from old, classic collections such as the *Thousand and one nights*, or from popular stories, or else inspired by scenes from the everyday life of the cities of the empire. The teller of edifying stories on religious and heroic themes, called *ḳiṣṣa-k͟hʷān* or *s͟hehnāme-k͟hʷān* for preference, retains the monopoly of the epic-romantic narration in the urban milieux, sometimes in simple sessions of declaiming. However, Ewliyā Čelebi, when he describes (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 525) the procession of the guilds in Istanbul, mentions the *meddāḥs* and *ḳiṣṣa-k͟hʷāns* under the same rubric, as numbering eighty; it can be deduced that in the 11th/17th century, the two terms were still synonymous and the same artist could perform both kinds of narration. It is only from the 18th century onwards that the *meddāḥs* specialise more and more in the narration of entertaining narratives on realistic themes, and these supplant, at least in oral tradition, the heroic themes. The public audition sessions of this latter type survived until the second half of the 19th century; a document of 23 January 1864 informs us that at this date, in an Üsküdar café (on the outskirts of Istanbul) a "reader" of narratives drawn from the *S͟heh-nāme* used to find an interested audience (see Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1969, 69-70).

Numerous texts have come down to us of great heroic narratives of the chivalrous romance types of the Western Middle Ages; some, such as the *ʿAntar-nāme* [see ʿANTAR, SĪRAT], or the deeds of Abū Muslim and Baṭṭāl [*q.vv.*], were translated or adapted from Arabo-Persian literature; the others, such as the *Dānis͟hmend-nāme* were composed by Turkish authors; they attest, by their style and subdivision into chapters presented as auditory sessions on successive evenings (see I. Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Dānismend*, ii, Paris 1960, 18 and *passim*) that, from the earliest centuries of Turkish written literature, these works were not written only for the individual reading of the educated, but also constituted the narrative répertoire of the *ḳiṣṣa-k͟hʷāns* exercising their art before a collective audience.

As for the collections of realistic narratives, not a large number are extant and they are not of an early date. They are of two kinds: some, abridged texts of oral narration, sometimes written by the story-tellers themselves with a certain pedantry of style, to be offered to the sovereigns or dignitaries, and to be read individually by an élite public; the others appear as outlines to serve as an aid to the memory of the story-tellers themselves. The oldest of the collections of realistic narratives go back to the 10th/16th century, and, for the most part, they remain unpublished.

Of the poet D̲j̲enānī (d. Muḥarram 1004/September 1595) there has come down to us a collection entitled *Bedāyiʿ al-āt͟hār*, composed after 998/1589 as an offering for Murād III. Information on the biography and work of this poet, gathered by Köprülüzāde (*op. laud.*, 22 ff.) informs us that his collection of realistic and fabulous stories had been used by a *meddāḥ* of the court nicknamed Eglend̲j̲e to divert the sovereign during narration sessions. A copy dated 1039/1629-30 has been preserved in Cambridge University Library (Browne, *Supplementary hand-list* . . ., Cambridge 1922, no. 1553/6, Or. 680/8).

The work of D̲j̲enānī contains accounts of very varied themes: scenes from everyday life, "true life" adventures of his contemporaries with *d̲j̲inns* or vampires, accounts of journeys combined with themes of popular stories and legends. The author is, very often, anxious to inform us of the origin of his narratives and to mention his informants; on the whole, he drew largely on oral tradition. One of the narratives (fols. 97a-103a) is the oldest version of a *ḥikāye* [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] of which the author of the present article has collected, under the title of *Yaralı Mahmud*, three versions of the *âşıks* of Eastern Anatolia (see P. N. Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946, 19, 160-1). Two narratives of the collection (fols. 15a-17a and 19a-23a) are variants of stories inventoried in the international catalogue (A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The types of the folk tale* [= AaTh], Helsinki 1964, nos. 1510 and 938) and in the Turkish catalogue (W. Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* [= TTV], Wiesbaden 1953, nos. 278 and 136).

In the same manuscript (fols. 191a-218b) is inserted the collection of a certain Nag͟hmī (or Nag͟hamī?) who was a contemporary of Selīm II (1566-74); the compilation of his work would then be earlier than that of D̲j̲enānī's collection (cf. fol. 192a-b of the ms.). His narratives present the same characteristics as those of D̲j̲enānī; he says, in his introduction, that he has compiled his texts from the stories related in the evenings among friends. He has divided them into three chapters: (1) stories

about sovereigns and viziers; (2) anecdotes about poets; and (3) adventures with beautiful women.

The *Kitāb-ı Kümek* (?) of ʿAzmī of Gediz, dated 995/1586, is of the same period; the copy preserved in the British Museum (Or. 7836) contains 88 leaves. It is composed of realistic stories drawn from oral tradition; some adventures take place in towns such as Istanbul or Samsun; there are also narratives inspired by folk tales (fols. 43a-44b: AaTh 1540, 1600, 1643, 1775; TTV 323, 324, 331, 339) and popular jokes (fol. 86b).

From the 11th/17th century we possess the texts, always in an abridged form, of a whole cycle of narratives, relating the adventures, in turn gallant and fantastic, of the bourgeois of Istanbul: people of various trades, courtiers, men of independent means, slaves, ladies of all categories and morals. At times, the sultan himself intervenes to arrange things to the satisfaction of the listeners—and readers—by chastising the wicked and rewarding the good. The composition of a series of these small novels of manners is attributed to the poet Ṭıflı Aḥmed Čelebi, a courtier of Murād IV (see Köprülüzāde, *op. laud.*, 31 ff.). Four of these texts have come down to us: *Laṭāʾif-nāme*, entitled *Khandjerli Khānım* in a slightly altered version, with the names changed, *Ḳanlı Bektāsh* and *Sansar Muṣṭafā*; there are lithographed editions—and, later on, printed ones—of the first three; a manuscript of the *Sansar Muṣṭafā* is preserved in the Istanbul University Library, no. 1208. It is to be noted that in the texts of these narrative works the story-teller himself is involved in the adventure; he is the principal character of *Ḳanlı Bektāsh*; and in all cases he is invited by the Pādishāh "to relate the adventure by word of mouth". This particular characteristic of this genre is already attested by certain compilers of the 10th/16th century. Two other narratives with the same characteristic, *Djevrī Čelebi* and *Ṭayyārzāde*, of which we possess printed editions, belong themselves to the narrative cycle of the reign of Murād IV (see Boratav, *op. laud.*, 122 ff.; Ö. Nutku, *Meddahler ve meddah hikâyeleri*, Ankara 1976, 99).

Other collections remaining unpublished, which were probably compiled as an aid to the memory for the use of *meddāḥs*—sometimes by the story-tellers themselves—deserve mention: from the 18th century, *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Djelāl u Djemāl* (cf. the narrative of the same title analysed by Nutku, *op. laud.*, 93, 100, 102, 110, 111, 129-30, 187-90), composed by Sheykh Muṣṭafā Dāʿī, of 194 leaves (Brit. Mus. Or. 11309; copy mutilated at the beginning and end).—*Khānife* (or *ʿAfīfe*?) *Khānım sergüzeshti*, of 107 leaves, composed in 1192/1778 (Brit. Mus. Or. 7303).—A collection of 53 leaves (Brit. Mus. Rieu, Add. 10,003), of which a large part is occupied by the adventures of Meḥmed Agha and Feraḥ-Dil; the copy was made at Izmir in 1223/1808; with reference to a session of narration in Cairo at which the hero of the narrative was present, the author mentions the names of two *meddāḥs* of Istanbul, Kehle Meḥmed and Shekerdji Ṣāliḥ; furthermore, the latter is also known as a famous story-teller of the 18th century (see Nutku, *op. laud.*, 34-5), which leads us to think that the compilation of the work goes back to this period.

A manuscript of the 18th century, preserved in Istanbul University Library (T.Y. no. 6758), and entitled *Medjmūʿa-yi fewāʾid*, a collection of disordered texts (poems, medicinal recipes, a short account of Ottoman history in verse, maxims) is of particular interest for the study of the tradition of the *meddāḥs*. For the first time, Metin And has briefly analysed the part concerning our subject (*op. laud.*, 74-5); he has reproduced the list of the names of 16 *meddāḥs* and the titles of 56 narratives in which they figure. A deeper analysis of this document has been carried out by Nutku (*op. laud.*, 101-2). The latter also published in his work (179-223) the 13 narrative texts inserted in the manuscript, the only ones, of the 56 titles constituting the outlines of *meddāḥ* narrations; there are brief notes on the names of people and places, as well as essential facts in the unravelling of the action. These texts too, are, on the whole, conceived and written as an aid to the memory of storytellers. The compiler also indicated, for a certain number of narratives, the names of famous *meddāḥs* of the period whom he had heard telling the tales in question. There should be added to this list of the 18th century a text which has come down to us in a French version, from the narration of a Turkish *meddāḥ* of the reign of Aḥmed III, reproduced in Joseph-Pierre Agnès Méry's book, *Constantinople et la Mer Noire*, Paris 1855; Nutku (225-33) has provided a Turkish retranslation.

Among the narratives of the 18th century, of the texts reproduced under the numbers 1 to 13 in Nutku's work (179-223), several are adaptations of popular tales with the narrative scenarios of the *meddāḥs*. Also, no. 1 is a variant of the tale type AaTh 681 (TTV 134); nos. 5, 6, 9. 10 and 12 are, respectively, to be compared with tale types AaTh 910 (TTV 315, motifs 1-3), AaTh 882 (TTV 272 and 272iv; a version of this tale is to be found in M. Nicolas and A. Flamain, *Contes de Turquie*, Paris 1977, 62-7), AaTh 1510 (TTV 278), TTV 299 and TTV 279.

For the two centuries following, we possess texts collected by the orientalists Georg Jacob, Ignaz Kunos, Friedrich Giese and Herman Paulus (see *Bibl.*), and more recently, those recorded on tape by Turkish researchers (see Nutku, 297-391). There also we find examples of the adaptation of popular stories to the narration of *meddāḥs*; in Nutku's work; no. 17 is a variant of tale type AaTh 881 (TTV 195) and no. 21 is to be compared with AaTh 882 (TTV 272, 272iv). No. 17 is, furthermore, attested in an altered text in *ḥikāye* form by ʿĀshıḳ ʿAlī ʿIzzet Özkan (see Boratav, in *Turcica*, i [1969], 114-20).

The narrative technique of the *meddāḥs* followed a parallel evolution to that of the themes. Gradually as realistic themes supplanted heroic themes, the narration was enriched by dramatic elements; the actor was substituted for the story-teller; he embodied the deeds, by miming and, by changes in the intonation of his voice, the various people of his narratives; and indirect speech gave way to direct speech animated by dialogues. It is this other aspect of the art of the *meddāḥs* which has interested specialists in the history of the theatre as much as the researchers on the narrative genre.

According to the testimony of literary and iconographic sources, as well as of direct observers, the *meddāḥ* used to perform his art in a public place (in a café usually), and used to install himself on a platform, at a higher level than his audience; he held in his hand a cane which he used for making a noise; a napkin placed on the shoulder was used to obtain, by its application to the mouth at the desired time, the various effects of vocal intonation of the person imitated. The *meddāḥ* began and ended his narration with dedicatory formulas which contained, essentially, excuses for the situation in which the listeners might be vexed by the fortuitous resemblance of

names of people or places, or by too daring subject matter.

The later *meddāḥ*s of the beginning of our century attempted to enlarge their répertoire by drawing on themes in the popular novels of contemporary authors (see Boratav, *100 soruda Türk halk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1978, 79). Some modern novelists and journalist chroniclers, for their part, (Ahmed Rasim, Hüseyin Rahmi, Ercümend Ekrem and Burhan Felek, to cite only a few names) owed much to the procedures and narrative style of the *meddāḥ*s (see Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ...*, Ankara 1946, 81 ff., 121 ff.; idem, *Folklor ve edebiyat*, ii, Ankara 1945, 130 ff., 163).

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AL-**MĀD͟HARĀʾĪ**, name of a family of high officials and revenue officers, originating from ʿIrāḳ, who held important positions in Egypt and Syria between 266/879 and 335/946. The *nisba* is derived from a village Mād͟harāya, in the neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ (see al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 499a; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam*, iv, 381).

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mād͟harāʾī with the nickname al-Aṭras͟h ("the partially deaf one", see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.), was given the control of finances of Egypt and Syria in 266/879 by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, and so became the founder of his family's influence. He appointed his son ʿAlī—whose *kunya* is unknown—as his representative in Egypt, and sent another son, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn, called Abū Zunbūr ("the hornets' man"), to Syria in the same quality. Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm died in 270/884, the same year as Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mād͟harāʾī became *wazīr* of the Ṭūlūnid K͟humārawayh (270-82/884-96), kept this function under D͟jays͟h b. K͟humārawayh and was killed on the same day as this Ṭūlūnid in 283/897.

Already during the last years of the Ṭūlūnid régime, Abū Zunbūr al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Mād͟harāʾī, in his quality of director of finances in Syria, had taken up relations with the ʿAbbāsids. After their victory over the Ṭūlūnids in 292/904, he was nominated director of finances of Egypt, where he replaced his nephew Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Mād͟harāʾī (d. 303/915). Because of his close relations with Bag͟hdād, Abū Zunbūr, and soon also other members of his family, became involved in the fight for power between the *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] and the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT], in which the Mād͟harāʾīs were always on the side of the opponents of the Banu 'l-Furāt. Therefore, during the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (301-4/913-16) Abū Zunbūr became director of finances in Syria and his nephew Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad director in Egypt. The change of the vizierate in Bag͟hdād in 304/916 caused the Mād͟harāʾīs to be deposed and imprisoned; Abū Zunbūr was brought to Bag͟hdād. Towards the end of 306/May 919 he became again director of finances in Egypt, but in 310/922 he was deposed again by his friend ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. In the next year, Ibn al-Furāt summoned him to Bag͟hdād and imposed on him and his family a penalty of 5,000,000 *dirhams*. In 313/926 Abū Zunbūr was again in al-Fusṭāṭ as director of finances of Egypt and Syria. In 317/929 he died there.

Abū Zunbūr's nephew Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mād͟harāʾī (258-345/871-956) came in 272/885 to Egypt, where his father appointed him deputy director of finances. After the murder of his father in 283/890, Abū Bakr Muḥammad became vizier of the Ṭūlūnid Hārūn b. K͟humārawayh, and after the fall of the Ṭūlūnids in 292/905, he and many of his followers were brought to Bag͟hdād. He remained there until 301/913, when in all honour he returned to Egypt as director of finances. The sources available do not indicate any reason why in 304/916 he returned to private life; he remained in al-Fusṭāṭ and apparently devoted himself to the administration and increase of the enormous fortune of the family. In 318/930 Abū Bakr Muḥammad again took charge of finances in Egypt and kept his function until the death of his friend the governor Takīn in 321/933. The Mād͟harāʾīs remained in the end victorious during the subsequent struggles with Muḥammad b. Takīn. When in 322/934 Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl, a member of the Ibn al-Furāt family, was nominated vizier by the caliph al-Rāḍī, he appointed Muḥammad b. Ṭug͟hd͟j al-Ik͟hs͟hīd [see IK͟HS͟HĪDIDS] as governor of Egypt. The latter tried to reach a friendly agreement with the Mād͟harāʾī, but Abū Bakr Muḥammad rejected the proposal and offered resistance. His troops, however, went over to the Ik͟hs͟hīd, who in Ramaḍān 323/August 936 was able to enter al-Fusṭāṭ without fighting. Abū Bakr Muḥammad went into hiding until Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. al-Furāt came to al-Fusṭāṭ and arrested the Mād͟harāʾī. He was forced to disgorge great parts of his wealth and the Ik͟hs͟hīd put him in prison until the death of Ibn al-Furāt in 327/939. After his release, Abū Bakr Muḥammad soon attained honour and influence again. Under the young Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Unūd͟jūr b. al-Ik͟hs͟hīd he held the *de facto* position of regent, but was overthrown and put into prison in 335/946 during a rebellion plotted by Abu 'l-Faḍl D͟jaʿfar b. al-Furāt. A year later he was set free by Kāfūr [*q.v.*] and retired into private life. He died in al-Fusṭāṭ on 11 S͟hawwāl 345/16 January 957, having been a devout Muslim who, between 301/913 and 322/938, performed the pilgrimage yearly and was lavish in distributing favours to the inhabitants of the Holy Cities. With him died the last important representative of the Mād͟harāʾīs.

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(H. L. GOTTSCHALK)

MAD͟HḤID͟J, a large tribal group, now inhabiting in the main the areas of D͟hamār and Radāʿ in the modern Yemen Arab Republic. The traditional genealogy, given by e.g. Ibn Durayd, *Is͟htiḳāḳ*, ed.

Wüstenfeld, 237 ff., and by Yāḳūt, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, v, 89, is from Mālik b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yas̲h̲djub b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ b. Yas̲h̲djub b. Yaʿrub b. Ḳaḥṭān. The numerous component *ḳabāʾil* of Mad̲h̲ḥidj are listed in full by al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf ʿUmar, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, ed. K. V. Zettersteén, Damascus 1949, 9; those most frequently encountered in South Arabian history are ʿAns, Balḥārit̲h̲ b. Kaʿb, Djanb, Ṣudaʾ and Sinḥān, and *buṭūn* of these *ḳabāʾil* include also Namir and ʿAbs.

Mad̲h̲ḥidj appear in pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions as *mdḥgm* (see A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)*, Baltimore 1962, 316, 372). In the year 519 contingents of the tribe accompanied the Ḥimyarite king Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur on an expedition into central Arabia, and in 521 they were amongst the tribes nominally influenced by Judaism and sent by D̲h̲ū Nuwās [*q.v.*] against the Christian centre of Nadjrān.

The tribal lands of Mad̲h̲ḥidj in early times are said by al-Bakrī to have been situated near a certain place called Tardj "on the road to Yemen" (see *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1364-71/1945-51, 309). In the period just before the rise of Islam they participated, together with their sister tribes K̲h̲at̲h̲ʿam and Murād [*q.vv.*] in warfare against ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, which included a famous "day", much hymned in old poetry, at Fayf al-Rīḥ (see al-Bakrī, iii, 1038). Towards the end of Muḥammad's mission in Medina, when he was extending his control over the outlying parts of Arabia, the Prophet utilised Mālik b. Murāra of the component group Ruhāʾ of Mad̲h̲ḥidj as an envoy to the south-western tribes; and in *ca.* 10/632 he confirmed Farwa b. Musayk of Murād as Muslim governor over the tribes of Murād, Mad̲h̲ḥidj and Zubayd (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 950-1; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 28 ff.).

The role of Mad̲h̲ḥidj in the early Islamic conquests was considerable. They formed an element of the army which invaded Egypt, setting in Fusṭāṭ, and their leaders were represented in the malcontents who came to Medina and besieged and killed ʿUt̲h̲mān. In the *miṣr* of Kūfa, they were amongst Yemenī tribes to settle, together with Ḥimyar, Hamdān, Azd and Kinda, and their associated tribe Murād had there a *djabbāna*, perhaps here a large, open-air praying area, used as a tribal rallying-ground [see AL-KŪFA]. Subsequently, they showed themselves in the forefront of pro-ʿAlid and anti-Umayyad movements. At Ṣiffīn, Mad̲h̲ḥidj and Hamdān placed themselves under the leadership of Mālik al-As̲h̲tar [*q.v.*] of the *ḳabīla* Nak̲h̲aʿ of Mad̲h̲ḥidj; they fought valiantly as part of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra's "Army of destruction" in Afg̲h̲ānistān in 79/698 (see C. E. Bosworth, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 277 ff.); and they took part in the revolt of the old Arab tribal aristocracy shortly afterwards under Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ [*q.v.*]. They do not, however, seem to have produced any poets of great significance.

In the post-classical period, those elements of Mad̲h̲ḥidj or their *ḳabāʾil* who had remained behind in south-western Arabia played a part in the tortuous politics and military events of the region. For example, contingents of the tribe rallied to the aid of the Zurayʿid Sabaʾ b. Abi 'l-Suʿūd in his successful struggle against another member of the family, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in *ca.* 531/1136. In 545/1151 also, Mad̲h̲ḥidj, and particularly Djanb, joined the Zaydī forces of the *Imām* Aḥmad b. Sulaymān against the Ḥātimī family of Yām controlling the Ṣanʿāʾ area. A long series of hostilities ensued, after which the Zaydīs and their Mad̲h̲ḥidj allies were repelled from Ṣanʿāʾ and the latter, after a personal appeal to them in D̲h̲amār by Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, swung round to the Ḥātimī side against the Zaydīs. Djanb were also prominent in relieving the Mahdid siege of Zurayʿid Aden, begun in 561/1165. The Zurayʿid leader, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī, having resisted the siege for seven years, journeyed to Ṣanʿāʾ to enlist the support of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, the son of Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, whose family of Yām, it will be recalled, controlled the area. They too were Ismāʿīlīs, as were the Zurayʿids. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim agreed to help break the siege of Aden, but only, he stipulated, with the assistance of Djanb from Dhamār. The Zurayʿid, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī won over Djanb, so that an alliance of his troops, those of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim from Ṣanʿāʾ and those of Djanb descended on Aden and were able to drive away the Mahdids, killing many. At this stage Djanb returned home, much to the disappointment of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, who appears to have had territorial designs on Mahdid land in Tihāma.

Bibliography (in additions to references given in the text): Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*. i. *Tabellen*, 258 ff., ii. *Register*, 381-2; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 92, 97 and *passim* (spelling erroneously Madḥidj); Wüstenfeld, *Register zu der genealogische Tabelle* . . ., Göttingen 1853, 279; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, 217; G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8, ii, 61-2.

(G. R. SMITH - C. E. BOSWORTH)

MĀḌĪ (A.) "preterite", a technical term of Arabic grammar used to denote the verbal form devoted to the expression of past time; its counterpart is *muḍāriʿ* [*q.v.*], the term denoting the author verbal form "resembling" [the noun] and devoted to the expression of the present and future (*ḥāḍir*, *mustaḳbal*).

The majority of Arab grammarians define the verb as a word which indicates the matching (*iḳtirān*) of a happening (*ḥadat̲h̲*) with a time (*zamān*). Already Sībawayh considered (*Kitāb*, i, 11-12) that the verb is formed to demonstrate that a happening has taken place (*waḳaʿa*) in time which has gone past (*maḍā*) or that it will take place in time which has not yet gone past (*lam yamḍi*). In regard to the past, one of the earliest definitions is that of al-Zadjdjādjī (*K. al-Īḍāḥ*, 87): "an occurrence in the past is one which has been completed (*taḳaḍḍā*) and which has involved at least two distinct periods of time, one in which it had existence (*wudjida*) and one in which gets information about it (*k̲h̲ubbira ʿanhu*)". Ibn Yaʿīs̲h̲ sets forth the same idea (*S̲h̲arḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, vii, 4): "an occurrence in the past is one that no longer has existence (*ʿudima*) after it did in fact exist, and whose affirmation (*ik̲h̲bār*) takes place at a time posterior to its existence".

However, the Arab grammarians very soon saw that the *māḍī* was not used solely to express an occurrence in the past, and al-Astarābād̲h̲ī (*S̲h̲arḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 225) enumerates the different cases when this verbal form expresses a time different from the past. First of all, the *māḍī* can express the future, viz. in a request (*ṭalab*) by means of a prayer (*duʿāʾ*) or an order (*amr*), and in the expression of future happenings by determining (*ḳaṭʿ*) their occurrence (*wuḳūʿ*), for in these two cases, the speaker positively desires the taking place of the occurrence, and it is as if it had already taken place and was past; in the reply to an oath (*ḳasam*), unless it is negated by *lā* or *in*; in the expression of a condition (*s̲h̲arṭ*), if it is preceded by *in*; and in a circumstantial

clause, if it is preceded by *mā* = "so long as". The *māḍī* can moreover express either the past or the future when it follows the particle *a-* of equivalence (*istiwā'*) in an alternative; the relatives *hayt͟humā* and *kullamā* in a phrase comprising two parts; a particle of urging (*taḥḍīḍ*) in an incitement; and the relative pronoun *allad͟hī* at the outset of a phrase comprising two parts, because in all these cases, there is a nuance (*rā'iḥa*) of a condition. Finally, in an enunciatory (*ins͟hā'ī*) speech utterance or a productive (*īḳā'ī*) one, the *māḍī* has the value of a present; thus, for example, in *bi'tu*, the act of selling is realised (*yaḥṣulu*) in the present (*ḥāl*) by means of this word which brings it into existence (*mūd͟jid lahu*), whereas with *abī'u*, the act of selling is realised by another word.

From the morphological point of view, the Arab grammarians consider that the form of the *māḍī* is "based" (*mabnī*) according to the vowel *a* or the vowel *u* in the third person, and according to the absence of the vowel in the other persons.

Bibliography: G. Troupeau, *La notion du temps chez Sībawayhi*, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, ix (1962), 44-6; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, ii, 201-6. (G. Troupeau)

MADĪḤ, MADḤ (A.), the normal technical terms in Arabic and other Islamic literatures for the genre of panegyric poetry, the individual poem being usually referred to as *umdūḥa* (pl. *amādīḥ*) or *madīḥa* (pl. *madā'iḥ*). The author himself is called *mādiḥ* or, as considered professionally, *maddāḥ*. The root itself is sometimes used without technical connotations, as also are commonly the various other roots signifying "praise": *ḥ-m-d*, *m-d͟j-d*, *ḳ-r-ẓ*, *t͟h-n-y*, *ṭ-r-w/y*, etc.

1. In Arabic literature.

As both an independent unit and a component of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the genre has been so widespread in Arabic literature at all times that only a few poets prided themselves on not writing in it at all, or as rarely as possible, e.g. Abu 'l-'Atāhiya and al-Ma'arrī. Some, like al-Mutanabbī, were panegyrists before all else. The high proportion of panegyric in Arabic poetry has been one of the major obstacles to full appreciation of the latter by the average Western reader, who tends traditionally to be concerned with criteria of "sincerity", "criticism of life" and "seriousness of purpose". Such a lack of sympathy ignores the fact that virtually all pre-modern Arabic poetry had to be written, for socio-economic reasons, under patronage or to commission. "Political" panegyrics are still written in most Arabic-speaking countries.

The somewhat exiguous and sporadic written tradition of Arabic poetic criticism is usually more preoccupied with biography, exegesis, prosody and tropes than with genres in any Western sense. But most discussions of poetry refer to the category of *madīḥ*, and a few attempt to distinguish it from other genres, particularly its counterparts: *fak͟hr/mufāk͟hara*, personal or group boasting; *rit͟hā'/mart͟hiya/mart͟hāt*, elegy or lament; and *hid͟jā'*, poetry of insult or abuse (see the relevant articles for each). The last is more or less the converse of *madīḥ*, while the other two may naturally contain elements of panegyric. In the case of the elegy, this is almost invariably so: some (e.g. the celebrated and courageous elegy by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Anbārī on the executed Būyid vizier Abū Ṭāhir) are virtually pure *madīḥ*, though it is usually obvious that the subject is deceased, and a note of sincere regret is often present, as in that particular instance. Special types of *madīḥ* are numerous, two of the most common being poems of excuse or apology, and poems celebrating victories or other happy events (see also below).

Besides individuals, a panegyric might be addressed to a land, a city or a group. By no means all such poems were expected to produce immediate or direct material benefits: some expressed simple gratitude, some were addressed to a recipient with fine poetic taste of his own, and some were produced as an inescapable duty of one of pensioner status. When a panegyric did not produce an expected result, it would sometimes be followed up by an appendix (which some critics, again, would classify as a special type of "reminder panegyric"). According to period and circumstances, the panegyrist might declaim his own poem, or might deputise a talented *rāwī* to do so; or it might simply be received and read by (or to) the subject himself (*al-mamdūḥ*).

The *madīḥ* is usually (and was expected to be) exaggerated in statement and style. However, according to Ḳudāma (see *Bibl.*), only personal and "moral" qualities might be praised; and all these (in men) are subsumed under the categories of intelligence, courage, justice and "modesty" (*'iffa*). (It should be noted that the relatively rare poems in praise of women are classified by Ḳudāma as "erotic"!) Al-'Askarī (see *Bibl.*) is in general agreement with Ḳudāma, but Ibn Ras͟hīḳ (see *Bibl.*) would allow praise of physical attributes and of ancestry and "association" as well. Another corrective to excessively gross exaggeration is the generally agreed condition that the primary qualities praised should be appropriate to rank and function—courage in a military man, justice in a judge, and so on. On this basis, Ḳudāma would even regard the *madīḥ* as potentially applicable to vagabonds and bandits for the good qualities necessarily inherent in their styles of life.

With all this, the *madīḥ* tends in practice to a stereotyped homogeneity, so much so that some panegyrists (e.g. al-Buḥturī on several occasions) had no difficulty in offering the same poem to a second or further patron, where the original reception was inadequate or relations had become strained in the meantime. Some panegyrics (as well as elegies) were obviously "prewritten" for general contingencies.

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (and others: see *Bibl.* under pseudo-Ḳudāma) have argued that the above critical posture towards the *madīḥ* clearly derives from Greek sources, particularly Aristotle. This position, however, must be seen as exaggerated: what influence there was can only have been—as with philosophical and scientific ideas—remote and indirect.

Bibliography: As indicated, most Arabic works of literary criticism do not really discuss genres as such, and the Western studies have tended to follow suit. The following are the essential items: Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad T͟ha'lab, *Ḳawā'id al-s͟hi'r*, ed. C. Schiaparelli, in *Procs. of the VIIIth Intern. Congr. of Orientalists*, ii/1 (Semitics), fasc. 1, Leiden 1891, 173-214, also ed. M. 'A. K͟hafād͟jī, Cairo 1367/1948, and R. 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1386/1966; Ḳudāma b. D͟ja'far, *Naḳd al-s͟hi'r*, Constantinople 1302/1885, also ed. S. A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956; (Pseudo-) Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-nat͟hr*, ed. Ṭ. Ḥusayn, etc., with valuable introduction, Cairo 1352/1933; Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn*, Constantinople 1320/1902; idem, *Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, Cairo 1352/1933; Ibn

Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa-naḳdihi*, Cairo 1344/1925, also ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1383/1963; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, see General Index under "poetry", *passim*; J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, Paris 1975; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955. (G. M. Wickens)

2. In Persian

It appears from the written records that survive—chronicles, official correspondence, and narrative poetry and prose—that formal, conventional praise (*madḥ, sitāyish, thanā*) of rulers and their chief officials was a pervasive feature of Islamic Iranian court life from its inception. The most-highly-developed vehicle for *madḥ* was the panegyric ode, or *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa*, a genre that was already fully articulated by the time of Rūdakī. Indeed, Rūdakī's joint panegyric of the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad and the Ṣaffārid *amīr* Abū Djaʿfar is both the earliest example we have of a complete *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* and a work of considerable stylistic maturity.

The Persian *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* shares similarities of theme and sensibility with the Arabic caliphal panegyrics of the ʿAbbāsid period (see S. Sperl, *Islamic kingship and Arabic panegyric poetry in the early 9th century*, in *JAL*, viii [1977], 20-35), but its thematic structure is more predictable and uniformly ordered.

The opening portion of the *ḳaṣīda*, called variously the *nasīb, tashbīb* or *taghazzul*, presents pleasing images that are usually drawn from a conventional repertory—the arrival of spring (*naw-rūz*) or, less commonly, autumn (*mihrgān*) in the palace garden; the lover's complaint; carousal. Yet many *ḳaṣīdas* celebrate particular occasions, such as the departure of the monarch on a hunt or a campaign, or his successful return from one, or the birth of a son or the receipt of a gift, and when they do, the occasion provides the governing metaphor of the *nasīb*. The opening portion concludes with a line or two of transition that shifts the focus of the poem to the person of the patron (*mamdūḥ*), whose name and title are mentioned—either fully or in part—in a line called the *gurīz-gāh* or *takhalluṣ* which marks the formal boundary between the opening section and the panegyric proper (*madīḥ*). While the images of the *nasīb* have, in the majority of instances, a narrative or metaphorical unity, those of the *madīḥ* do not. They present the *mamdūḥ* in a series of stereotyped poses drawn from the spheres of activity special to his office. For the monarch (*sulṭān, amīr, shāh*), the *mamdūḥ* of preference throughout most of Iran's history, these were the court—in both its formal and informal aspects—the hunt, and the battlefield. Thus in any given *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa*, the monarch will appear, in no particular order, as the chosen of God, a fearsome and heroic warrior, a superb huntsman, the unfailing refuge of the weak and needy, a cheerful reveller, and, of course, a generous patron of poets.

In keeping with the stereotyped and iconic quality of these images, the metaphors employed in the *madīḥ* are richly hyperbolic. As a warrior, the *mamdūḥ* can put Rustam and Isfandiyār, the paramount heroes of the Iranian national epic, to flight, and even terrify the forces of nature. As a monarch, he is served by the rulers of the great empires of the world—the *ḳayṣar* of Rūm, the *čīpāl* of Hind, the *khāḳān* of Turkistān and the *faghfūr* of Čīn. As a patron, his generosity outdoes that of Ḥātim Ṭāʾī, and even that of nature; and so on.

The final section of the poem is the *duʿāʾ*, or prayer, but there is usually a bridge passage between *madīḥ* and *duʿāʾ* in which the poet addresses himself directly to his patron, either to plead for reward or to boast of his skill, or both. The *duʿāʾ* itself is quite brief, no more than two or three *bayts*. As its name suggests, it is a prayer for the enduring, indeed, the perpetual, prosperity and rule of the monarch and his court. This prayer is expressed in language that elevates the monarch above the sphere of the mortal to that of the semi-divine. He is identified with the enduring processes of nature, which undergo change, but not decline. "So long as *nawrūz* comes every Spring,/May you reign and prosper."

As must be apparent from this summary description, the purpose of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* is to celebrate the institution of rule, not the ruler. One finds no individualised portraits of the monarch here, nor of any of the other officials who filled the role of *mamdūḥ*. Indeed, the royal *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* in all its many exemplars appears as the text of a ritual celebration of monarchy that gave the members of the court an appropriate public occasion on which to affirm their commitment to the myth of the supreme, all-competent monarch as guarantor of the security and well-being of the Islamic state.

For the monarch, the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* provided the means of being publicly celebrated as the living embodiment of the ancient tradition of kingship in Iran. In this, the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* paralleled the common practice of concocting false genealogies that connected the sultan of the moment with the house of Sāsān as a means of asserting symbolic legitimacy.

The first great period of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* in Persian was that of the early Ghaznawids. Maḥmūd, the founder of that dynasty's great prosperity, expended vast sums to gather around himself a circle of distinguished poets, chief among them being ʿUnṣurī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*]. Tales of his extraordinary generosity to them became part of the mythology of patronage, and provided the model for subsequent rulers and their poets. Although Iranian courts from that time to this have generated an endless stream of royal patrons and eulogists, and the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* has attracted master poets in virtually every period, no later court has achieved an exemplary status comparable to that of the Ghaznawid.

The Ghaznawid period also saw the appearance of what might be called the spiritual panegyric or anti-court *ḳaṣīda*. That is, the Ghaznawid bureaucrat and littérateur-turned Ismāʿīlī propagandist, Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], used the language of court poetry and the genre of the *ḳaṣīda* to compose works that revile secular rulers and rebuke court poets for devoting their art to praising them. His argument runs that since Maḥmūd cannot assure the poets' well-being in the next world, they should rather expend their skill in celebrating those rulers of eternal, spiritual power—the Shīʿī *Imāms*—who can.

The example of Nāṣir Khusraw found few imitators in the centuries immediately after his death—although his influence on the great 6th/12th century *ḳaṣīda* writer, Khāḳānī Sharwānī [*q.v.*], can be seen in that poet's pilgrimage *ḳaṣīdas*—but in the Ṣafawid period, the spiritual panegyric virtually replaced the secular. Later dynasties reinstated the secular as the preferred mode. There was a final efflorescence of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* under the Ḳādjārs that was, in large part, stimulated by the rediscovery of the poetry of the Ghaznawid panegyrists.

Unfortunately, the fantastic exaggeration of the panegyric style has proved so unpalatable to

modern students of Persian poetry that they have not given the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* the careful attention that its central position in Persian literary history merits. The prevailing approach to this substantial body of work is to treat the opening portion as the only true poetry, and to ignore the contents of *madīḥ* and *du*ʿ*ā*ʾ—which make up two-thirds or more of any poem—as of negligible interest. The assumption is that court poets wrote panegyrics only out of economic or political constraint, not sincere, personal conviction, and this want of sincerity vitiates the literary interest of their work. The studies by Gh. Yūsufī, *Farrukhī Sīstānī*, Mashhad 1341/1963, and J. W. Clinton, *Manūchihrī Dāmghānī*, Minneapolis 1972, are among the few exceptions to this rule.

Bibliography: General accounts of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa* will be found in the standard literary histories of Iran. Principal among these are: Browne, *LHP*; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Furūzānfar, *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān* (2 vols. in 1), Tehran 1350/1972; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*[2] (3 vols. in 4 parts), Tehran 1353/1975; and, for the 19th century, Y. Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1351/1973, i. In addition, recent editions of the *dīwān*s of *ḳaṣīda* writers include in their introductions such biographical details of poets and their patrons as are readily available.

The section on poets in the *Čahār maḳāla* of Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī (*ca.* 550/1155), ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, with notes by M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1333/1955, provides a contemporary, and anecdotal account of the role of the court poet that is of great interest (Eng. tr. E. G. Browne, *The four discourses*, London 1921; Fr. tr. I. de Gastines, *Les quatre discours*, Paris 1968). The most complete and detailed statement of the art of the *ḳaṣīda*, including the *ḳaṣīda-yi madīḥa*, is in the *Muʿjam* of Shams-i Ḳays (*al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, revised M. Raḍawī, Tehran 1338/1960), completed in the early 7th/13th century, and never improved upon. (J. W. CLINTON)

3. In Turkish

In accordance with the well-established tradition that regulated the structure and use of the *ḳaṣīda*, *madīḥ* is the technical term used to refer to the section of this type of poem devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet, the sultan, the grand vizier, etc. Among the Muslim Turks, and especially the Ottoman Turks in the 19th century, the collective abstract form —*madḥiyya*—used in exactly the same sense, was preferred. The same term designates any poem composed for the purpose of extolling an individual. The *nefes* or *ilāhī* types of poems written or uttered by members of the mystic orders to eulogise God or leading personalities (*pīrān* and *bābās*) of these religious fraternities, and even more, the secular poems circulated by the literary innovators of the last century, are generally given this designation also (see S. N. Ergun, *On dokuzuncu asırdanberi Bektaşi-Kızılbaş Alevi şairleri ve nefesleri*, Istanbul 1956, 359, and Şinasi, *Müntahabât-ı eş'âr*, in *Külliyat*, i, Ankara 1960, 47-53 respectively).

It was, however, in the *ḳaṣīda*, the paramount verse form of the Muslim panegyrist, that Ottoman Turks such as Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and the premier *ḳaṣīda*-writer Nafʿī [*q.v.*] displayed their most characteristic and enduring *madāʾiḥ*. The presentation of a laudatory poem to those in positions of influence and power was the accepted and almost expected way for the literati to attract the attention of potential patrons for the purpose of securing employment or obtaining rewards and favours from them. The initial introduction of an aspiring poet, for example, to a grandee may have been through the good offices of a friend or teacher, but ultimately it was the persuasive and pleasing *madīḥ* featured in a suitable *ḳaṣīda* that forged the more lasting association with the patron or assured the most urgent favour. One may cite, among many other examples, the case of Meḥmed Ḳara Faḍlī [*q.v.*], who launched a successful career as *dīwān* secretary to several princes thanks to a *ḳaṣīda* he presented to Sultan Süleymān at the suggestion of his mentor Dhātī [*q.v.*] (see Ḥasan Čelebī, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, British Museum, London, ms. Add. 24,957, fol. 281a, and Riyāḍī, *Riyāḍ-i shuʿarāʾ*, Nuruosmaniye, Istanbul, ms. 3724, fol. 116), and the experience of the poet and vizier Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] who, having been incarcerated for an indiscretion, secured his release with a panegyrical *ḳaṣīda* to Sultan Meḥemmed II (see Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira-yi Laṭīfī*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 78, and Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Ahmed Paşa divanı*, Istanbul 1966, 60-3).

In structure and form, the traditional *ḳaṣīda*s, including those composed by the Ottomans, remained fairly constant. Following the exordium (*nasīb* or *tashbīb*) and, sometimes, a short set of lyrical couplets (*taghazzül*), the poet very ingeniously eased the reader or listener into the *madīḥ* by means of the device known as the *gürizgāh* (see Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, i, 84) in which the real purpose (*maḳṣad*) of the poem was revealed, either by openly naming the patron who was to be the subject of the encomium that followed immediately or by a clever allusion that rarely left any doubt as to the identity of the patron (see Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, Istanbul 1966, i/1, 73, 106). The *madīḥ* was then followed by further praise in the *duʿāʾ* soliciting prayers for the patron and mentioning the poet's name.

Frequently, the above format and sequence were disregarded in favour of the more direct approach. Forsaking the exordium and the *gürizgāh*, the panegyrist began his *ḳaṣīda* with the *madīḥ* (see *Nadīm dīwānī*, ed. Khalīl Nihād, Istanbul 1338-40/1920-2, 34-6, and contrast 21-4, 36-8). This tendency becams especially prevalent when indoctrination and instruction replaced gain and advancement as the purpose of the poem. Particularly in the 19th century, when acclamation of new ideas or of a certain political point of view displaced the praise of the individual, the *madīḥ* became the essence and indeed the only section of the *ḳaṣīda* (see Mehmet Kaplan, *Şiir tahlilleri*, Istanbul 1969, 23-5, and Kenan Akyüz, *Batı te'sirinde türk şiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 61-3).

As a feature of the *ḳaṣīda*, the message, spirit and language of the *madīḥ* was necessarily determined by its particular function and objective. It was made up of a varying number of couplets extolling such attributes or virtues, real, imagined or fabricated, of the individual or concept as courage, wisdom, justice, piety, generosity and benefits. It was mainly characterised by extravagant laudation that was often completely unjustified or misplaced, and by the use of every conceivable rhetorical device, the hyperbole of which was sustained by epithets and allusions that only those familiar with the elevated Islamic literary tradition could comprehend and appreciate. The epic similes and the imagery which were an intrinsic part of the *madīḥ* were considerably removed from the realities of a restricted social milieu

that expected, accepted and even cherished ingenious flattery and procacious insincerity garnished with flowery language. However, the *madīḥ*, as some of the examples given above indicate, had a certain utilitarian function and, incidentally, may very well have met a need in its symbolism and reflections of an aesthetic ideal, as recently suggested by W. G. Andrews in his *Introduction to Ottoman poetry*, 148-50. It must be noted, at the same time, that it, along with many other verse forms, affords one many fine illustrations of the Turkish literary genius, versatility and inventiveness.

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited or summarily mentioned in the text, see Muʿallim Nadjī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt-i adabiyya*, Istanbul 1307/1889-90, 161-6; E. J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, London 1901, i, 83-7; M. F. Köprülü, *Türk adabiyyatî taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1926, 161-4; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, ii, 206-8, 435; N. S. Banarlı, *Resimli türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1972, fasc. 3, 186-90; Tâhir-ül Mevlevî, *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973, 84-7; W. G. Andrews Jr., *An introduction to Ottoman poetry*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976, 146-59.

(J. Stewart-Robinson)

4. In Urdu

Eulogy probably existed in Urdu poetry from the earliest period of literary activity—certainly as far back as the second half of the 16th century A.D., though few early examples have survived. Two broad categories developed, according to the subject of the eulogy, sc. the secular and religious. The first was addressed to rulers, governors, nobles, and other rich or influential lay persons. It was usually termed *madḥ* rather than *madīḥ*, other terms being *taʿrīf* and *sitāʾish*. The religious category had its own distinctive terminology, though usage was not completely uniform, and might depend, to some extent, on the vagaries of copyists and editors. Praise of God was called *ḥamd*, that of the Prophet Muḥammad *naʿt*. That of the fourth caliph, ʿAlī, and of subsequent Shīʿī *Imāms*, was called *manḳabat*, whilst eulogy of other religious figures, living or dead, including the first three Orthodox Caliphs, was generally called *madḥ* or *taʿrīf*.

Like other major poetical genres in Urdu, *madīḥ* was derived from Persian. In some instances, Persian eulogistic odes were translated, or more properly adapted, into Urdu. More often, the *zamīn* (metre and rhyme) of a Persian ode would be imitated in an Urdu ode. The debt to Persian models was no secret; from the 16th century onwards, there are frank admissions or indications by various Urdu poets that they are vying with Persian poets in their mastery of the *madīḥ ḳaṣīda*. The chief poets to whom they were indebted were Anwarī, Khāḳānī and ʿUrfī. Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh (*ca.* 1568-1611) begins a *naʿt* ode: "The name of Muḥammad in the world is to me like a hundred Khāḳānīs". It is worthy of note that ʿUrfī was court poet to the Mughal Emperor Akbar in Dihlī, and died there in 1590-1, when Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh was in his early twenties. Apart from Indian local colour, including Hindu references, it is difficult to distinguish any single major feature in Urdu *madīḥ* which breaks completely new ground. Nevertheless, some poets achieved such mastery in it that they seemed to breathe new life into it, and thus they gained recognition for their originality.

Urdu *madīḥ* has been composed in almost all poetical forms, including *mathnawī*, *mukhammas*, *musaddas*, *tardjīʿ-band*, *tarkīb-band*, and, extremely rarely, even *ghazal*. But the eulogy form par excellence was the *ḳaṣīda* or ode. True, this form was used in other fields, particularly satire. But such has been the predominance of eulogy, that the term *ḳaṣīda* is usually understood to mean "eulogy", as an abbreviation of *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya*. Consequently any account of Urdu *madīḥ* must, of necessity, show how the pre-Islamic Arabic ode, as modified in later Arabic poetry, and brought to India via Persia, was adopted and adapted to the new environment. Unfortunately, it is hard to find an account of the Urdu *ḳaṣīda* form which is full and explicit without being discursive or biassed. In some accounts, the pre-Islamic ode, as exemplified in the *Muʿallaḳāt*, is over-emphasised, and there is too much reliance on Ibn Ḳutayba and Ibn Rashīḳ. What is lacking is a definitive comparison of the Persian and Urdu *ḳaṣīda*s. Though most Urdu eulogists were not unfamiliar with Arabic poetry, its chief influence on them was in vocabulary. Occasional mention of Arabic *ḳaṣīda*-writers, such as Dhawḳ's reference to Labīd, al-Aʿshā, Djarīr and al-Maʿarrī, must be regarded chiefly as "name-dropping" designed to impress the hearer, rather than an indication of indebtedness. It may be that al-Būṣīrī's *Ḳaṣīdat al-burda*, which was translated into Dakkanī Urdu by Muḥammad b. Riḍā, around the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, influenced the religious *ḳaṣīda*; and Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's celebrated ode in praise of the Prophet, *Bānat Suʿād*, was at times mentioned by poets and critics to justify the inclusion of an explicitly erotic prelude in *naʿt* odes. But the *ḳaṣīda* which came into Urdu poetry via Persian is as much akin to that of ʿAbbāsid poets such as al-Mutanabbī, al-Buḥturī and Abū Tammām, as to the pre-Islamic ode.

The form of the Urdu *madīḥ* ode was fully developed by the middle of the 18th century, if not earlier. Like its Arabic and Persian counterparts, it was a monorhyme poem, usually in weighty metre, with elevated and rich diction, of roughly between 30 and 150 verses. The two hemistiches of the first verse, called the *maṭlaʿ*, also rhymed: and if the *ḳaṣīda* were long, there might be one or more subsequent verses with this internal rhyme at irregular intervals in the poem, known as *maṭlaʿ thānī*, *maṭlaʿ thālith* and so on, more than four in all being rare. As is often the case in Persian and Urdu poetry, the rhyme (*ḳāfiya wa-radīf*) was often rich and difficult, and the poet's ability to sustain it was regarded as a proof of his skill.

There were four main sections to the *ḳaṣīda*. The first was the *tamhīd* or prelude, usually called *tashbīb*, a throw-back to the erotic prelude or *nasīb* of the Arabic ode. The opening verse (*maṭlaʿ*) however, was considered so important in attracting the hearer's interest, that it is often discussed as if it were a separate section, not merely the start of the *tashbīb*. The erotic theme was seldom used, and was often frowned on unless it were chaste. A wide range of other topics was substituted, whether singly or in combination. Pride of place was given to the description of spring, an ode with such a *tashbīb* being called a *ḳaṣīda bahāriyya*. This topic was considered particularly suitable, as suggesting youth and vitality, which were regarded as implicit in the term *tashbīb*, and flattering to the *mamdūḥ* or subject of the poem. Moreover, this topic allowed for description of natural scenes, gardens, flowers and birds, which was part of the poet's stock-in-trade.

This theme might be extended by a comparison

between spring and autumn. Further, the two might be depicted as kings or generals marshalling their armies to fight another, spring, of course, being the victor. Like practically all *tas͟hbīb* topics in Urdu, this extension of the spring motif goes back to Sawdā (1717-81), who is generally regarded as both the pioneer and the finest exponent of the full *ḳaṣīda* form in Urdu. Amīr Mīnāʾī (1828-1900) developed this theme further in one ode, by a vivid description of the actual battle. But, according to Saḥar, (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 229), this had already been done in Persian.

Again, the *tas͟hbīb* might be devoted to the days of youth, or complaints of the times in which the poet lived, or of his own misfortunes. *Fak͟hr* ("pride, boasting"), philosophising and moralising were other topics. As the basic form of the *ḳaṣīda* was stereotyped, poets were always searching for fresh ways of composing the *tas͟hbīb*: for it must be borne in mind that the *madīḥ* ode was frequently recited to the patron in public, in the presence of other poets and men of taste and learning. The poet's reputation and his reward were at stake.

One interesting device was to turn the *tas͟hbīb* into a disputation or *munāẓara*. In Persian, Asadī-yi Ṭūsī the Elder is said to have initiated this device, with *munāẓarāt* between night and day, and heaven and earth among others. In Urdu, Sawdā has one between greed and reason, whilst Amīr Mīnāʾī pairs knowledge and imagination, and comb and mirror. Into this category should go the *mukālama* (colloquy) favoured by ʿAzīz Lakhnawī (1882-1935), as, for example, one between beauty and love (*ḥusn wa-ʿis͟hḳ*).

Occasionally the *tas͟hbīb* consisted of an anecdote, possibly with dialogue, and somewhat dramatic. When intimate in tone and straightforward in language, it could form a charming contrast with the high-flown praise section which was to follow. A fine example of this is Sawdā's eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla Rustam D͟jang, chief minister of the Mug͟hal emperor, with the rhyme *-ām* (*Kulliyyāt* 293 f.). The poet begins by relating how, prevented from sleeping or eating by the *d͟jinns*, he consults Doctor ʿAḳl, who prescribes blood-letting and a purgative. The poet objects that the tax-collector had drained all his blood, while purgatives are for the over-eater, whereas he has been fasting for Ramaḍān. Can the Doctor prescribe a more effective treatment? What that is, we shall see, when discussing the second section of the *ḳaṣīda* (see below).

Two devices deserve mention which could be used effectively in the *tas͟hbīb*, without necessarily being independent topics. One was the personification of abstract ideas or inanimate objects. This certainly goes back to Persian poetry, a famous example being Manūčihrī's "Candle ode". It could feature in the *munaẓāra* topic already mentioned. The other was *sar-ā-pā nigārī* ("head to foot description"). A human being might be described—perhaps the poet's beloved in an erotic *tas͟hbīb*. But the most effective examples are descriptions of a houri or peri, often seen by the poet in a dream, or while lying awake in bed. Ins͟hāʾ (1756-1817) commences an ode to Prince Sulaymān S͟hikōh (*Kalām*, 206), by describing himself as tossing and turning in bed one morning, unable to sleep because of the spring wind. He sees a beautiful peri by the bed, and gives a detailed description of her. His contemporary Muṣḥafī (1756?-1826) has an ode with the same rhyme, also containing a description of a peri. Amīr Mīnāʾī describes a profligate peri in an ode to Nawwāb Kalb ʿAlī K͟hān; he not only uses the same rhyme, but also refers back to Ins͟hāʾ and Muṣḥafī in half-quotations.

The *tas͟hbīb* was regarded as an important pointer to the poet's merit: yet to many critics, the second section was the acid test. It was usually called *gurēz* (Persian "deviation, flight"), but the Arabic terms *mak͟hlaṣ*, *talk͟hīṣ*, and even *tak͟halluṣ* are given as alternatives. Though very short—sometimes a single verse, and seldom more than four, it was crucial: for it was the link between two apparently unconnected sections, the *tas͟hbīb* and the actual praise. Unless the *gurēz* were skilfully constructed, the *ḳaṣīda* would lose its unity. Many felicitous examples could be quoted from the leading poets, but one must suffice. We left the ode by Sawdā with the poet asking for an alternative prescription for his illness. In the succeeding *gurēz*, the Doctor, in two verses, suggests that Sawdā take his complaint to the court of him (that is, Āṣaf al-Dawla) under whose protection the weak ant may be revenged on the elephant. Hearing this, and taking his *ḳaṣīda* as a present, the poet attends at court. This *gurēz* of only three verses leads to the praise, which is almost an ode within an ode.

The third section was called *madḥ* or *mamdūḥ*, and it was the most conventional. The qualities described had to be appropriate to the status of the *mamdūḥ*. Thus a ruler or *wazīr* was praised for his justice, manliness, nobility, virtue, fear of God, generosity and clemency. To men of religion, other qualities were appropriate—learning, asceticism, attendance to religious duties. But the distinction tended to be blurred when the *ḳaṣīda* developed in north India. Thus K͟hāliḳ And͟jumān (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 261 f.) remarks that Sawdā hardly distinguishes between secular and religious subjects in this respect. In addition to the personal qualities of the *mamdūḥ*, the poet could refer to his environment and associations, and the trappings of power and wealth. In praising a ruler, his sword, horse and elephant might be described. According to Hās͟himī (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 107), this was not so in the Deccan—though it must be pointed out that Ḳulī Ḳuṭb S͟hāh certainly refers to Imām ʿAlī's sword D͟hu 'l-Fiḳār, and Walī Dakkanī (1667-1707) to the mule Duldul given to ʿAlī by the Prophet. With Sawdā, sword, horse and elephant were described fairly briefly. But some later poets such as Dāg͟h of Dihlī (1831-1905) somewhat extended these descriptions, and turned them into separate sections, with headings such as *dar ṣifat-i asp* and *dar taʿrīf-i-pīl*. A lesser 19th century poet, Kalaḳ, of Meerut (1832 or 1833-1879), includes such sections, admittedly shorter than Dāg͟h's, in odes to fairly undistinguished recipients. To the present writer, this clear division of the *ḳaṣīda* into sections other than the four main ones was a continuing tendency which started before Sawdā. The latter interpolates a *g͟hazal* in one *ḳaṣīda*, but Walī had already done this. Unlike Sawdā, however, he did not have several *maṭlaʿ*s in one ode.

Thus the content of the *madḥ* section was restricted. Nor could the poet escape by making it brief, as courtesy required that the *tas͟hbīb* must not be longer than the *madḥ*—so if the latter were curtailed, so must the former be. Hence the mode of expression was all-important in the *madḥ* section. This was dependent on a rich and pompous diction, similes, metaphors, and all the apparatus of *ṣanāʾiʿ wa-badāʾiʿ*, with considerable play on words. Some of this was derived from Persian, but in any case, after Sawdā it rapidly became cliché-ridden. To give but one

example, a ruler or minister was often compared with Solomon. Sawdā expresses this neatly in the eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla already mentioned:

> *Kuchh kam nahīn d͟jihān mēn Sulaymān sēn tērād͟jāh Gū alsina pah Āṣaf-i-Dawla hay tērā nām.* ("Your splendour in the world is no less than Solomon('s), Although on (people's) tongues your name is Āṣaf-i Dawla") (*Kulliyyāt*, 295).

This verse loses part of its effect, unless one knows that, in Muslim lore Āṣaf [b. Barak͟hyā] [*q.v.*] was Solomon's Grand Vizier. Exaggeration in praise was taken for granted, though some 19th century poets such as G͟hālib (1797-1869) disliked it. S͟hiblī Nu'mānī, in his celebrated study of Persian poetry, *S͟hi'r al-'Ad͟jam* (1908-18) (v, 21-6) tried to lay down conditions for acceptable panegyric. Firstly, the person praised must be praiseworthy; secondly, the qualities commended in him must be genuine: thirdly, the poet must describe them convincingly. S͟hiblī admitted that all these three conditions were never fulfilled by any Persian poet, and went on to commend the sincerity of Arabic *madīḥ*, in a way which would strike many Arabists as idealistic, if not naïve. At the same time, S͟hiblī denied that the *ḳaṣīda* caused subservience in the poet and egotism in his patron, since both realised that what was said was "pure exaggeration and word-play". S͟hiblī was not speaking of Urdu *madīḥ*, but what he says of Persian could equally apply, and is often quoted by modern Urdu critics. D͟hawḳ (1789-1854) is generally regarded as second only to Sawdā as a eulogist, yet he exaggerated like other poets, calling the Mug͟hal Emperor Akbar S͟hāh II "shadow of God and deputy of the Prophet of God". This poet's biographer, Tanwīr Aḥmad 'Alawī (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 249-51), quoting this and other examples, justifies them by saying: "the person praised seems to be not an individual, but a symbol of his time. In this sense, D͟hawḳ's praise is very near to reality and realism."

The final section of the *ḳaṣīda* was called the *k͟hātima*: and the term *maḳṭa'* might be applied to it as a whole, or merely to the last verse or two —since an impressive ending to an ode was considered as important as an impressive beginning. In contrast to Persian practice, except with 'Urfī, the Urdu eulogist usually gave his *tak͟hallus*. This would normally be somewhere in the *k͟hātima*, though there are instances where it is given earlier, alternatively or additionally. Sawdā makes his *tak͟hallus* the first word of his eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla already quoted, and gives it again in the *k͟hātima*. Nor is this the only *ḳaṣīda* in which he gives his *tak͟hallus* in the first verse. The secular's ode's *k͟hātima* has two subsections, *ḥusn-i ṭalab* and *du'ā'*. The former is the poet's request for recompense, for which critics laid down various conditions. Summarised, they require the poet to steer a middle course between perfunctoriness and importunity—between taking the patron's generosity for granted and implying that he was mean. Some poets disliked begging: D͟hawḳ, in his extant odes, avoids it, sometimes substituting the expression of his inability to praise his patron adequately. Sawdā also often avoided begging. *Du'ā'* ("prayer, blessing") was the expression of the poet's wishes for long life and prosperity for his patron. In the religious *ḳaṣīda* the *k͟hātima* was somewhat different. The poet might express his own faith, and ask for a blessing to maintain it: and he might pray for the triumph of Islam, with suitable variations where the *mamdūḥ* was a S͟hī'ī *imām*. Here Sawdā was often felicitous, a good example being the *manḳabat* to *Imām* 'Alī with the rhyme *-ār* (*Kulliyyāt*, 243-7), which ends with the four requests, the last being that all "friends in both the two worlds may recognise the authenticity of the pure *imāms*".

Some indication of the style expected in the *ḳaṣīda*, has already been given. It was regarded as a linguistic and stylistic *tour de force*, and occupied a position in Urdu literature comparable to that of the *maḳāma* in Arabic. The poet was allowed to go to extreme limits of abstruseness to demonstrate his skill and learning, using in some instances scientific technical terminology. Thus Ins͟hā' used much philosophical vocabulary. *Taḍmīn*—the interpolation of extraneous material—was common. This often took the form of quoting from some other poet, Persian or Urdu. Another type, particularly suitable to the Indian environment, with its numerous languages, was for the poet to introduce hemistiches or verses in several languages. Every poet was expected to know Persian and Arabic, and he would normally know one or more of the other literary languages of the subcontinent. Ins͟hā' was addicted to this sort of virtuosity, and is said to have incorporated material from ten or more languages apart from Urdu. D͟hawḳ was rewarded with the title of *K͟haḳānī-yi Hind* by the Mug͟hal emperor for a *ḳaṣīda* in seven languages, of which only a few lines have survived.

Thousands of eulogy poems must have been written in India over a period of 400 years, but comparatively few have survived, and of these a disproportionate number are of the religious type. Various reasons may be given for this. Early Urdu poetry, in both the Deccan and North India, seems to show a preference for the *mat͟hnawī*. From the mid-18th century onwards, *g͟hazal* dominated the poetic scene, and did not have a serious rival apart from the S͟hī'ī *mart͟hiya* perfected by Anīs and Dabīr in the second and third quarters of the 19th century. Many poets wrote *ḳaṣīdas*, but for an overwhelming number, *g͟hazal* was their forte. The only absolute exception is Sawdā, whose *ḳaṣīdas* have been almost universally considered superior to his *g͟hazals*- -though some would argue that his satirical odes surpass even his eulogy. Of later poets, D͟hawḳ and Amīr are credited with equal skill in *madīḥ* and *g͟hazal*. Moreover, when a poet's works were collected, first in manuscript, and later in print, they were largely limited to *g͟hazals*, and few *ḳaṣīdas*, if any, were included. As was often the case in Persia, *ḳaṣīdas* tended to be copied separately, and were liable to be lost. It was not unusual for a *ḳaṣīda* to be copied in abridged form. This might be understandable where the purpose was to omit *taḍmīn* passages in other languages. But it is difficult to see why two *manḳabat* odes by G͟hālib should be thus abridged (see Mihr, *Dīwān-i G͟hālib*, 294-6, 296-8). At the same time, it seems clear that the writing of eulogies for gain was often looked down on by poets, critics, and people at large. In any case, the *ḳaṣīda* was very much a poème d'occasion and was liable to lose its appeal with the passage of time. Whatever the cause, the odes of hundreds of minor poets seem to have disappeared, whilst some by acknowledge masters of the form are missing. D͟hawḳ was court poet in Dihlī for fifty years, and must have composed 200 odes or more in the course of his official duties: yet only about 30 are extant. Some of Amīr's eulogies are known to have been lost, among them those in his first *dīwān*, which was destroyed in the Indian Mutiny. Only 28 of his *ḳaṣīdas* have survived.

Nevertheless, the ability to write a good *ḳaṣīda* was often said to be a hall-mark of poetic skill.

Ghālib once said: "Whoever cannot write an ode should not be accounted a poet". Thus it has been argued (Tanwīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *op. cit.*, 225) that Inshāʾ wrote odes, and gave of his best in them, in order to complete his art.

Only a few brief remarks will be made here on the history of *madīḥ* in Urdu. Further information can be obtained from the works mentioned in the *Bibliography*. It is convenient to speak of three stages based on geography, and obviously overlapping —the Deccan, Dihlī and Lucknow. Very little is known about the Dakkanī *ḳaṣīda*. But in general it was short and simple, as can be seen from the printed odes of Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, Sultan of Golkondā [see ḲUṬB-SHĀHĪ]. They are all religious, and seldom of more than 40 verses, sometimes of under 20. There is little indication of the four sections of the later *ḳaṣīda*. True, of about 50 poems which come under the heading of *madīḥ* (*Kulliyyāt*, i, 1-46, iii, 3-39), one (iii, 38-9) is a fragment of 16 verses entitled *Ek ḳaṣīda-yi manḳabat-kī tashbīb kē čand ashʿār*. It is beautifully written, and begins:

> In the black sea of night the golden skiff sank,
> As it sank, a hundred thousand bubbles rose.

But even if it is by Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, there is nothing to show that it is really the *tashbīb* of a *ḳaṣīda*, and this seems unlikely. From the metrical standpoint, it is interesting to note that in a few of his *ḳaṣīdas*, he divides the hemistiches into two, with internal rhyme, thus producing something like an amalgam of *ḳaṣīda* monorhyme and *rubāʿiyyāt*. Walī Dakkanī is considered the father of Urdu poetry, and he visited Dihlī at least once. He was primarily a Ṣūfī *ghazal* writer, and never composed poetry for gain. However, he wrote eight religious eulogies—six *ḳaṣīdas* and two *tardjīʿ-bands*. All the *ḳaṣīdas* are of modest length, save a composite one of 121 verses which is devoted successively to the praise of God, the Prophet, the *Imāms* ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, followed by exhortation (*mawʿiẓat*), a *ghazal* on the love of God and a *khātima*. Of Walī's *ḳaṣīdas*, only two, to Muslim saints, show clear signs of conformity with the four-section form described earlier. They are addressed to Ḥaḍrat Mīrān Muḥyī 'l-Dīn (*Kulliyyāt*, 367-71) and Shāh Wadjīh al-Dīn (*ibid.*, 371-6). It should be noted that in both he mentions Persian eulogists—Khāḳānī and Anwarī in the former, and ʿUrfī in the latter, as if to put himself on a level with them.

Whether or not Walī was the link between the Dakkanī and Dihlī *ghazal*, there seems no question of any link so far as the *ḳaṣīda* is concerned. For not only does internal evidence suggest that his *madīḥ* poems were composed before he visited Dilhī, but there is a hiatus until the mid-18th century, before the *ḳaṣīda* emerged in Dihlī. Critics explain it in various ways, none fully convincing. Either practically no eulogies were composed, or such as were composed were short, weak and formless—or again, the Urdu language had not developed sufficiently to provide the right poetic diction. Sawdā is variously described as having originated, reformed or perfected the *ḳaṣīda*. At any rate, until examples of the eulogy ode composed by other poets during the period 1700-40 come to light, we must acquiesce with those who state that Sawdā followed Persian, rather than Urdu, models. And there is no denying that he was, and remains, the leading Urdu *madīḥ* poet. His *tamhīd* is varied in theme and manner, his gurēz neat, and his *madḥ* cleverly expressed. Succeeding poets imitated him, but seldom equalled him and never surpassed him. Variety and freshness are the keynote of his odes, and they are rarely of extreme length: of the 38 *ḳaṣīdas* in the Nawal Kashōr edition of his *kulliyyāt*, only seven have more than 70 verses, and of these only five more than a hundred. The language is rich, drawing freely onPersian and Arabic. His contemporary Mīr [Taḳī Mīr] (1722-1810) wrote a good deal of eulogy poetry, mostly religious. There are only seven *ḳaṣīdas*; the rest consists of *mukhammas*, *musaddas*, *tardjīʿ-band*, and *mathnawī*. Mīr was a prolific *ghazal* writer; but his pessimistic temperament was unsuited to eulogy.

In the latter part of the 18th century, Inshāʾ was a leading *ḳaṣīda* writer. As we have seen, he was a virtuoso of languages, but he did not reach the top flight in any poetic form. His longest ode, of 170 verses, is in praise of King George III of England. During the same period, Muṣḥafī wrote over 60 *ḳaṣīdas*. He was definitely influenced by Sawdā, and resembled him in the variety of his *tashbīb* topics. But though he has a persuasive protagonist in Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, he is not favoured by critics in general. He was the first famous eulogist of the Lucknow school. But, owing to political upheavels in Dihlī, due to Afghān and Marāṭhā incursions, many Dihlī poets gravitated to Lucknow, including Sawdā himself at the age of 60.

Still, Dihlī had its distinguished eulogists in the first half of the 19th century. Pride of place goes to Dhawḳ [*q.v.*], considered second only to Sawdā. Much of his *madīḥ* poetry is lost. Of what remains—22 *ḳaṣīdas*, a *mukhammas*, and a few shorter poems and extracts—all is secular save a few fragments. The general scope of his eulogy poetry is narrower than that of Sawdā. For example, it is nearly all addressed to the Emperor Akbar Shāh II and to his son Bahādur Shāh II. While his *tashbīb* does not show Sawdā's range, nor his ability to appeal by directness at times, he is by no means stereotyped. One *tashbīb*, for example, is a delightful description of happiness. Dhawḳ was a learned man, whose hobbies were astrology, music and medicine, and his language is both rich and dignified. His contemporary Ghālib [*q.v.*] (1797-1869), often considered the prince of Urdu poets, is not generally included among the leading eulogists, and he was too proud to indulge in *madīḥ*, except when absolutely necessary. S. F. Mahmud (*Ghalib*, 200-4) quotes and commends the *tashbībs* of two early *manḳabat* odes to *Imām* ʿAlī; and the originality and individuality present in his *ghazal* is found also in his *madīḥ*. Yet another contemporary, Muʾmin (1800-54) excelled in *ghazal*, but also wrote nine *ḳaṣīdas*, only two of them secular. He has been praised by Brēlwī for his originality in the form. Finally, in discussing the Dihlī school, Dāgh [*q.v.*] (1831-1905) deserves mention. His Urdu *dīwān* contains six odes, all secular. Five of them are addressed to the Niẓām of Hyderabad, at whose court he spent the last 19 years of his life. Mention has already been made of his inclusion of sections on horse and elephant.

Madīḥ thrived at the court of the Nawwābs of Oudh [see AWADH] until 1856, when the British exiled Nawwāb Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh to Calcutta and the court of Rāmpūr took its place. Two types, or, more properly, two tendencies, have been mentioned by critics—the more forceful and dignified based on Sawdā and the Dihlī school; and a softer type, influenced by *ghazal*, and by the licentious Lucknow atmosphere. Most of the poets of the Lucknow school of eulogists are now forgotten. Not so, however,

Amīr Mīnā'ī. It is sometimes said that the Urdu *ḳaṣīda* began with Sawdā and ended with Dhawḳ; but it would be truer to say that it ended—or nearly ended—with Amīr. This poet was a man of considerable scholarship, compiler of the first two volumes of an Urdu dictionary which, if completed, would have been on a very large scale. His mastery of words stood him in good stead in his *madīḥ* odes, of which only 28 have survived. Of the two Lucknow types, they are more akin to that based on the Dihlī school. Most of them are secular, and have a dignity bordering on the epic, especially in the varied *tashbībs*. His language is at times heavy; but in general, it is less intricate than Dhawḳ's, and superior in beauty and freshness. He spent 43 years as court poet in Rāmpūr. In 1900, he was invited to join Dāgh in Hyderabad, but died there shortly after his arrival.

By this time, the *madḥiyya ḳaṣīda* was becoming obsolete. After the Indian Mutiny, India came under British control, and those splendid courts which had nurtured eulogy poetry were a thing of the past; though some rulers of the "native states" patronised poetry, it was not on the same scale. Poets increasingly introduced their new poems to the public in *mushāʿaras* [*q.v.*], newspapers and magazines, or at meetings of cultural and learned societies. A new attitude to poetry developed, fostered by the ʿAligaṛh Movement, with the call for "natural poetry". Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [see ḤĀLĪ] attacked the traditional *ḳaṣīda* in his *Muḳaddima-yi shiʿr-ō-shāʿiri*, published in 1893. The virtues described in eulogy poetry, he said, were mostly imaginary; in fact, they were often the very opposite of the *mamdūḥ*'s qualities. If he were an ignoramus, he would be praised for his knowledge; if he were a tyrant, for his justice and impartiality; if he were an idiot, for his sagacity (*op. cit.*, 82). Taking the Arabic poet as his ideal, Ḥālī castigated lying and exaggeration in eulogy (*ibid.*, 93 f.). The poet, he said, had an important function to perform: by bringing to light virtues and vices, he should encourage reform. In fact, Ḥālī was proposing a role for the Urdu poet not unlike that played by Aḥmad Shawḳī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm in Egypt not long afterwards.

In the 20th century, a few Urdu poets continued to write *ḳaṣīdas*. For example, Aḥsan Mārahrawī (1876-1940) wrote one in *tarkīb-band* for King George V's coronation in 1911. ʿAzīz Lakhnawī gained something of a reputation for his eulogies, all directed to the Prophet and his family. But in India and Pakistan today, the *madīḥ ḳaṣīda*, whether religious, or in praise of public figures, is found chiefly in magazines and newspapers.

Yet the *ḳaṣīda* was not merely a useless and regrettable by-way of Urdu literary history. At its best, it had a sort of Baroque brilliance. Its style, even when the *tashbīb* was devoted to *taghazzul*, differred from that of *ghazal*. It had a strength and dignity which, derived in part from the early narrative *mathnawī*, in its turn influenced the 19th century *marthiya*. Its rich vocabulary and idiom influenced not only other poetry, however, but also prose. Without the *ḳaṣīda*, it could be argued, *Urdū-ē-muʿallā*—high literary Urdu—would have been much the poorer.

Bibliography: General accounts of *ḳaṣīda* form will be found in ʿAbd al-Salām Nadwī, *Shiʿr al-Hind*, Aʿẓamābād n.d., ii, 324-46; Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnāo kā dabistān-i shāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 266-71; Muḥammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*. Karachi-Lahore-Dacca 1964, 30-2, gives a rather oversimplified account. Most of the critical studies of individual poets and editions of their works given below give some information on the form. For a historical account, see Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Djaʿfrī, *Ta'rīkh-i ḳaṣā'id-i-Urdū*, Allāhābād n.d. For adverse criticism of Urdu *madīḥ*, see Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, *Muḳaddima-yi-shiʿr-ō-shāʿiri*, Sartādj Publishing Company, Lahore n.d. 81-3. General criticism of the Persian *ḳaṣīda* often applied to Urdu will be found in Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, Lahore 1924, v, 1-28, especially 20 ff. The following works are recommended for particular poets: Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ḳādir Zōr, Hyderabad, Deccan 1359/1940; *Kulliyyāt Walī*, ed. Djanāb ʿAlī Aḥsan, Awrangābād 1927, introd. 62-70, text, 338-76; Shaykh Čānd, *Sawdā*, Hyderabad, Deccan n.d., 118-120, 180-215; Khāliḳ Andjumān, *Mirzā Muḥammad Rafiʿ Sawdā*, ʿAligaṛh 1966, 241-70; *Kulliyyāt Sawdā*, Nawal Kashōr Press, Lucknow 1932, i, 219-327; *Kulliyyāt Mīr*, ed. ʿIbādat Brēlwī, Karachi-Lahore 1958, 960-1060, 1183-1200, 1344-66, 1387-96, 1432-38; *Kalām-i-Inshā'*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAskarī, Allāhābād 1952, 289-331; Tanwīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *Dhawḳ—sawāniḥ awr tanḳīd*, Lahore 1963, 214-71; Rāḥat Afzā Bukhārī with Nādira Zaydī, "Shaykh Ibrāhīm Dhawḳ" = Ch. v (b) of *Ta'rīkh-i-Musulmānān-i-Pākistān-ō-Hind*, viii, Lahore 1971, 157-61; *Dīwān-i-Dhawḳ*, ed. K. M. Sardār Khān, Lahore n.d.; for Muṣḥafī, Ṣiddīḳī, *op. cit.*, 266-83; Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud, *Ghalib—a critical introduction*, Lahore 1972, 121-2, 200-4; *Dīwān-i Ghālib*, ed. Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Lahore 1967, 294-350; ʿIbādat Brēlwī, *Mu'min awr muṭālaʿa-yi-Mu'min*, Lahore-Karachi 1961, 256-64; *Kulliyyāt-i-Mu'min*, ed. Brēlwī, Lahore-Karachi 1955, 179-232; Dāgh, *Urdū Dīwān*, ed. Sibṭ al-Ḥasan, Lahore 1962, 506-57; Abū Muḥammad Saḥar, *Muṭālaʿa-yi-Amīr*, Lucknow 1965, 219-59; *Dīwān-i-Amīr maʿrūf ba-ism-i-ta'rīkhī "Mir'āt al-ghayb"*, Lucknow 1922, 2-40, 335-44; Ḳalaḳ, *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Kalb ʿAlī Khān Fā'iḳ, Lahore 1966, 458-551. ʿAbd al-Waḥīd, *Djadīd shuʿarā'-i-Urdū*, Lahore 1954, gives short accounts of Aḥsan Mārahrawī and ʿAzīz Lakhnawī, with examples of their *ḳaṣīdas* (330-6, 419-32). Ṣiddīḳī gives further information about the odes of ʿAzīz Lakhnawī (*op. cit.*, 796-803). Muḥammad Sadiq (*op. cit.*) and Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allāhābād 1927, refer to various poets mentioned in this article, but neither gives much information about their *madīḥ* poetry. Naṣīr al-Dīn Hāshimī, *Dakkan mēn Urdū*, Lucknow 1963, makes a few brief references to the Dakkanī *ḳaṣīdas*, for example, Ghawwāṣī, 107, and Muḥammad b. Riḍā, 371 f. For further accounts of the poets mentioned above, see the various articles in the *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam* being published by the University of the Punjab, Lahore.

(J. A. HAYWOOD)

5. In Swahili

Praise poetry is an important category in the literatures of several Bantu peoples, such as the Zulu, Swazi, Tswana, Rwanda, etc. It is a general aspect of African oral traditions which has survived Islamisation in the literatures of the Somali and Hausa. In Swahili, some of the oldest preserved manuscripts contain praise poems, in the first place the famous Ode of Liongo in self-praise. Praising oneself (Swah. *kujigamba, kujivuna*) is a common aspect

of many African oral traditions, and this includes extolling one's ancestors, commemorating their exploits as well as one's own. Liongo's Ode is composed in the *ukawafi* metre of 15 syllables in the line. Cf. v. 6.: "I am a young lion! I have instilled the wish to die in my heart! I fear only the disgrace when the enemy sees my back." The lines are arranged in couplets of two lines, the last line rhyming in *-ma* throughout the poem; this is the oldest-preserved type of metre other than dance songs. It may have been composed before 1600. A later poet added three lines to every couplet, making it a *tahamisa* (*takhmīs* [*q.v.*]). This structure became the model for later poets who were Muslims (unlike Liongo) and who composed hymns to the Prophet Muḥammad in this metre.

In Swahili, the word *kasida* normally refers to a poem praising the Prophet. The oldest *kasida* is dated 1062/1652, the first dated poem in the Swahili language. It is a translation of the *Hamziyya* by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; without the Arabic text, the Swahili could not be deciphered. The second surviving *kasida* is the famous scroll now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It begins, like Liongo's self-praise, with the word *wajiwaji*, perhaps not originally so pronounced, which has since then become the term for a *kasida* or *waʿaḍ* (Swah. *waadhi*, perhaps owing to the similar shape). A special kind of *kasida* is the *maulidi* [see MAWLID]. Two well-known Arabic *ḳaṣīda*s are the two *Burda* odes, both of which have been translated into Swahili; in particular, the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī and the *Hamziyya* are still recited during Swahili ceremonies.

The Swahili word *madaha* is normally limited in meaning to the praises of God, many of which are nowadays sung in the mosques, for which reason they are simply referred to as *dua*. Numerous are the *dua* that have been composed in Swahili, some in the *ukawafi* metre, many in the easier but equally serious *utenzi* metre. Swahili verbs like *sabihi* and *himidi* refer exclusively to the praises of God.

The verb *sifu* or older *swifu* corresponds with the noun *ṣifa*, which can mean "quality, description" as well as "praise name", as in *Kulla swifa njema ndake Nabiya* "All worthy praise names are for the Prophet", the first line of the *Mawlid* of Barzanji. *Swifa* is used likewise for praising living men and women (for the praises of the dead, see MARTHIYA); these praise poems fall into two categories, those for religious leaders, such as *walī*s and *sharīf*s and those for political leaders. Lamu is the centre for the poetry in praise of religious leaders such as the Egyptian Aḥmad al-Badawī and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.vv.*], as well as the founding *Sharīf*s of the mosque at Lamu. This poetry is published in Lamu and Mambrui in Arabic script.

Inserted in the Swahili epic songs there are many praise poems; one of the oldest is ʿAlī's praise of himself in the *Utenzi wa Herekali* (Heraclius) which is itself traditional: "I am the lion of God. He has given me the sword Dhu 'l-Fiḳār. He made me the Breaker of Cities, His tool to punish the Kāfirs. "The Prophet praises himself in the same epic in the letter to the Emperor Heraclius, and there are several passages in which he is praised by others, as "the first-created seal of the prophets, God's favorites". Other heroes, like ʿUmar and Miḳdād, also praise themselves and are praised in the epic.

The Swahili tradition of composing praise songs was put to good use by the German administrators, who encouraged Swahili poets to write praises on the German governors and even on the Kaiser; one successful poet was even sent to Berlin and received by the Kaiser and "richly rewarded", exactly as a Muslim prince ought to have done. The poet's name was Hamisi Auwi, and the refrain of the poem is "Who has the true authority if not the Kaiser?".

The First World War produced some interesting songs, one in praise of General Smuts, who defeated the Germans south of Mombasa, and a new category of political songs, called the Beni dance songs, in which groups of (originally military) dancers praised their own "regiment", and chided rival dance groups, with political allusions.

Since independence, political verse has seen a new prosperity. The preparations for the elections are not complete without songs of praise for the leading candidates and mockery for their opponents. Some of these poems may appear in the press, but since the poet has to be cautious, he will use cryptic language, comprehensible only to the few insiders of the political arena. After the elections, the winning candidate will, of course, be lavishly praised, since there is nothing more praiseworthy than success. President Nyerere is probably the most poetically-praised political leader of East Africa. Thus gradually the Swahili word *madaha* has acquired the meaning of "flattery, eagerness to please", and even "self-complacency, arrogance, pride".

Bibliography: For praise poetry in Zulu, see T. Cope, *Izibongo*; in Ruanda: A. Coupez and Th. Kamanzi, *La littérature de cour au Rwanda*; in Tswana: I. Schapera, *Praise poems of the Tswana chiefs*, all three in the *Oxford Library of African Literature*. On Somali: B. W. Andrzejewski and I. M. Lewis, *Somali poetry*, in the same series; for Hausa, M. Hiskett, *A history of Hausa Islamic verse*, London 1975, 23. For Liongo's Ode, see Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London 1979, 92-4. For the *Hamziya*, see Knappert, *The* Hamziya *deciphered*, in *African Language Studies*, ix (London 1968), 52-81. For the Dublin ms., see idem, *The discovery of a lost Swahili manuscript from the eighteenth century*, in *African Language Studies*, x (1969), 1-30. On the *Burda*, see idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden ii, *The two Burdas*. For the *Mawlid*, see *op. cit.*, iii. For metre, see idem, *Swahili metre*, in *African Language Studies*, xii (1971), 108-29. For the *Maulid* of Barzanji, see *Swahili Islamic poetry*, iii, 339 n. For the *Utenzi wa Herekali* and the Emperor Heraclius, see Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 3. For the exploits of Miḳdād in Swahili epic, see J. W. T. Allen, *Tendi*, London 1971. For the poetry of the German period, see C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin 1907, 343, and J. Knappert, *The antecedents of World War I in Swahili literature*, giving a translation of the poem on Smuts. For an example of "election poetry", see idem, *A survey of Swahili songs*, Toronto, forthcoming. For the Beni dance songs, see idem, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, 1979, 37-8. When President Nyerere met President Banda of Malawi at Dar es Salaam Airport in 1964, a special song was sung in praise of President Banda. (J. KNAPPERT)

MAʿDIN (A.), "mine, ore, mineral, metal". In modern Arabic, the word *mandjam* denotes "mine", while *muʿaddin* means "miner" and *djamād* is a mineral.

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and other uses. Iron ore was indispensable for the manufacture

of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other minerals such as mercury, salt and alum, as well as pearls and precious stones, were necessary for everyday life. The empire was richly endowed with the various mineral resources; the mining industry was an extensive one and the metals, whether precious or not, were the object of a certain amount of international trade.

The article is divided in the following sections:

1. Economic aspects
2. Mining technology
3. Mineral exploitation in the Ottoman empire
4. In Islamic art

1. Economic Aspects

In the period of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the output of the mines in their dominions was apparently sufficient to meet the demands for some of the most important metals. In later periods when the empire was dismembered into various kingdoms one often warring with the other, many of the Islamic countries needed one or several of the metals and had to import them from non-Islamic regions. This was due to the fact that the metalliferous ores were distributed over the Islamic countries very unevenly. Some of them had rich deposits of several metals, others almost none. Certain regions on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world were relatively rich in metals, especially Īlāḳ, Farg͟hāna, Us͟hrūsana in Central Asia and the mountains near Bāmiyān (eastern G͟hūr). Also, Fārs had many mines which were very productive. The same was true for the country on the western frontier of the *dār al-Islām*, namely Spain. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āt͟hār*, i, 338) could write that in this Islamic country there were mines of gold, silver, lead and iron in every district. It seems that mining, which had somehow declined in the Visigothic period, was revived and flourished under the rule of the Spanish Umayyads.

In the times of the caliphs, there were still in Arabia a considerable number of mines, from which significant quantities of gold [see D͟HAHAB] were derived. Egypt had the famous mines of Wādī al-ʿAllāḳī, on the eastern shore of the Nile [see AL-ʿALLĀḲĪ]. There were also gold mines in Us͟hrūsana and Īlāḳ, near S͟hās͟h and at Harāt. But altogether, the output of gold in the Islamic countries was not sufficient for the regular coinage of gold *dīnār*s, especially after Spain had slipped away from the ʿAbbāsid empire. This is clearly borne out by the slow spread of gold coinage in the eastern countries of the caliphal empire. In fact, the Islamic countries were always dependent upon the supply of gold from the present countries of Senegal and Mali. When they had established their rule over the whole of North Africa and with this, the northern terminals of the commercial routes which were the outlets for the trade with these gold-producing regions, the mints of ʿIrāḳ and Persia could be supplied with sufficient stocks of gold. *Dīnār*s began to be struck in Marw in 842, in Rayy in 849, in Samarḳand in 861 and in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān in 885. The success of the Fāṭimids in gaining control over the former ʿAbbāsid province of Egypt was undoubtedly to a very great extent due to their riches in West African gold.

On the other hand, there were in the caliphal empire rich silver [see FIḌḌA] or argentiferous lead mines which made it possible regularly to strike silver *dirham*s. Most of them were in the countries then contained in the extensive province of K͟hurāsān. The most renowned were those of Pand͟jhīr, not far from the eastern sources of the Kābul river, and in D͟jārbyā, in the same district. Others were in Andarāb, to the east of Balk͟h, in the neighbourhood of Ṭūs, and in Farg͟hāna. The province of Fārs also had silver mines. In the flourishing period of the ʿAbbāsids, in the 9th century, the output of all these mines must have been considerable, as the gold-silver ratio changed, silver becoming cheaper, although the quantities of gold increased. Spain, too, was rich in argentiferous ore. It was exploited in the districts of Murcia, Alhama, Cordova and Beja (in the present Portugal).

Copper (*nuḥās*) was derived from mines in several provinces of the caliphal empire; in Sardan in the province of Fārs, in some places in Gīlān, Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, Buk͟hārā, Us͟hrūsana, Farg͟hāna; and in the Muslim West, in Igli in the Oued Saoura (in Western Algeria) as well as in Spain. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source. However, the accounts of the Arabic authors of that period leave no doubt that the copper production of the empire was not sufficient for the manifold employments of the metal. For copper was needed for the striking of locally-circulating small coins (*fulūs*), the roofing of mosques, the covering of gates of towns and public buildings, but above all, for the thriving industry of fabricating copper utensils, e.g. kettles, receptacles and various other vessels. The big cauldrons of Samarḳand and the copper vessels manufactured in Farg͟hāna and in many towns of Persia were renowned all over the Islamic world. So from early times, copper had to be imported from Europe. In the period preceding the Crusades, when trade between K͟hʷārazm and Persia, on one hand, and Eastern Europe on the other, was intense, apparently great quantities of copper were imported from the Urals. A report of al-Idrīsī obviously refers to that period.

Metalliferous ores which contained lead (*raṣāṣ*, *usrub*) and tin were not lacking altogether in the caliphal empire. Lead was taken from mines in the neighbourhood of Balk͟h, at several places of Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia, al-Mad͟jd͟jāna (in eastern Algeria) and at Cabra in Andalusia. But the demand for this metal was very great. It was used for aqueducts, for the installation of public and private baths and for the roofing of public buildings. So it is doubtful whether the production was sufficient, and whether additional quantities had not therefore to be imported from non-Islamic regions. This was certainly the case as far as tin (*raṣāṣ ḳalʿī*, *ḳaṣdīr*) was concerned. Tin was found in Spain, in the province of Algarve, and Judaeo-Arabic Geniza letters, dating from the last years of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century, testify to the export of copper, lead and tin from Spain to the Near East. But already in that early period, tin had to be imported both from Cornwall and Devon in Britain and from Malaysia. The name given to tin by the Arabs, viz. *ḳalʿī* [*q.v.*] after Kalah, a well-known port on the peninsula of Malacca, bears witness to this fact.

Iron (*ḥadīd* [*q.v.*]) deposits were insignificant in the Near East, but one could procure sufficient quantities from other provinces of the caliphal empire and neighbouring countries which were tributary to the caliphs and their successors or otherwise dependent upon them. Armenia had mines which produced excellent iron, such as that, for instance, used for the Ḳusāsī swords. On the eastern slopes of the Caucasus, near Darband, there were iron mines which supplied a flourishing industry of weapons with raw material.

The province of al-Mawṣil, Fārs, Khurāsān (near Nīshāpur), Farghāna and Shāsh also had rich iron deposits. Even in Kirmān there were some iron mines. In Spain, iron was taken from mines in the Guadalquivir valley, near Cordova, Toledo and Murcia, and elsewhere. In the Maghrib, about ten iron mining areas were exploited, from Morocco to Libya; iron ore was produced and exported from Sicily, and some mines were worked in Nubia and on the Red Sea coast. The supply was sufficient for the production of various utensils, such as knives, needles, scissors, chains and lances. This industry was highly developed in Khʷārazm, in the major towns of Khurāsān such as Harāt, Nīshāpūr and others and also in al-Mawṣil and in Toledo in Spain.

The term *tūtiyā* (calamine or tutty) was used to denote the natural zinc ores, especially zinc carbonate, or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major mines for *tūtiyā* were in the province of Kirmān, but it was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Mercury (*ziʾbaḳ*) came chiefly from Spain [see AL-MAʿDIN]; another source was Farghāna.

Salt (*milḥ*) was produced in numerous localities and, in some areas, on a very large scale, notably in the southern Sahara [see AZALAY]. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khurāsān, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (*shabb*) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al-Idrīsī, the major source was in Chad; it was exported to all the countries of North Africa and to Egypt.

Egypt was further a major production centre for both alum and natron (*naṭrūn* [*q.v.*]).

Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos (*ṭalḳ*) from Badakhshān, out of which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made.

Coal (*faḥm*) was also known and was used in some areas such as Farghāna where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (*tannūr*, pl. *tanānīr*) and its ashes utilised as a cleaning agent.

Petroleum (*naft* [*q.v.*]) deposits were exploited on a large scale.

Precious stones of various kinds were mined. Arabic works on lapidary such as al-Bīrūnī's *K. al-Djamāhir* are celebrated, and deserve detailed study. Rubies were mined in Badakhshān and were also brought from Ceylon. Diamonds came from Hindustān and Ceylon, agates from Yemen, emeralds from Egypt, turquoises from Nīshāpūr, lapis lazuli from Egypt and onyx from Yemen. Corundum came from Nubia and Ceylon. Rock crystal (*billawr* [*q.v.*]) was mined in Arabia and Badakhshān. Diving for pearls was a flourishing industry, and coral was obtained from the coasts of North Africa and Sicily [see further, DJAWHAR, in Suppl.].

When the empire of the caliphs crumbled, the unevenness of the distribution of metal deposits resulted, of course, in some countries suffering a temporary or permanent lack of important raw materials. Although the countries which had belonged to the empire remained to a great extent an economic unity, exchanging their products and keeping their economic structures, the stopping of the supply of metals which served as raw materials for manufactured goods and bullion for the mints was used as a weapon in the political struggle. Mediaeval statesmen were of course aware that cutting off the gold supply of the enemy's country meant weakening its financial resources and that curbing its supply of iron dealt a blow to the production of arms.

Already in the second half of the 10th century, the supply of the mints of ʿIrāḳ with bullion for the coinage of gold *dīnārs* was deficient, as the mines in the provinces which had remained under the sway of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, or were accessible to them, were poor. The *dīnārs* of the later Būyids of ʿIrāḳ and southwestern Persia were of bad alloy. Even the mines of Wādī al-ʿAllāḳī yielded in that period insignificant quantities of gold. Ibn Saʿīd, writing in the 13th century, reports that the gold derived from these mines was worth no more than the expenses paid for the work. Consequently, Egypt was during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods wholly dependent upon the supply from West Africa, that is, the gold mines of the countries called by the Arabs Ghāna or Takrūr. This supply rendered possible the regular coinage of gold *dīnārs* of full weight and excellent alloy until the 15th century, when the Portuguese diverted to themselves part of the West African gold. In the year 1425, the *dīnār* of the Mamlūks was devalued for various reasons, one of them probably being the reduced supply of bullion. The coinage of ʿIrāḳ and Persia became from the middle of the 13th century essentially monometallic, as the silver money predominated overwhelmingly.

Even the supply of the Islamic countries with silver was in the later Middle Ages very irregular. In the 11th and 12th centuries there was everywhere a silver famine, so that the striking of silver *dirhams* had to be discontinued. The catalogues of recently-found coin hoards of the Saldjūḳs, like that published by T. Khodjaniyazov (Akhshabad 1979), confirm the supposition of a great silver famine (see also M. A. Seyfeddini, *Monetnoe delo i denežnoe obrashčenie v Azerbaydžane XII.-XV. vv.*, i, Baku 1978). There were several possible reasons for this phenomenon. It may be that the campaigns of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in India and the flow of great quantities of gold from the subcontinent to Afghānistān and to Persia brought about as a concomitant the export of silver to the newly-conquered provinces (this being the opinion of Blake). According to another hypothesis, the silver famine resulted from the loss of enormous amounts of *dirhams*, which were used as payment for the commodities purchased by the Muslim merchants in Russia and were finally hoarded there. Against the latter supposition one can adduce the fact that the silver famine in the Islamic countries began when the trade with Russia had already considerably declined. Perhaps the technological shortcomings of mediaeval mining were a major reason for the silver famine; al-Idrīsī recounts in fact that work on the "Silver Mountain", on the way from Harāt to Sarakhs, had to stop because of technical faults and the lack of wood for melting the ore. But it seems that the shortage of silver was in that period a world-wide phenomenon, which was felt in India too (cf. S. Digby in *BSOAS*, xxxvii, 469). Anyhow, at the end of the 12th and at the beginning of the 13th century, silver coinage revived in ʿIrāḳ, in Syria and in Egypt. Apparently this was made possible by Central Asian silver being brought by the Mongol conquerors, or flowing to the Near East in the wake of their campaigns, when trade between Central Asia and the Levant had been intensified after the establishment of Mongol rule over Persia. This supposition would be enhanced by the fact that a new crisis which happened in Syria and in Egypt in the middle of the 13th century was overcome after a new invasion by the Tatars. From that time onwards, Persia and ʿIrāḳ had a

monetary system based on a silver *dīnār* (of 12.9 gr.). In the early days of Īlkhānid rule, the increase of good silver coins in circulation was a striking feature of monetary development. When Ghāzān Khān again struck gold *dīnārs*, the exchange rate was based on the gold-silver ratio of 12:1. That means that great amounts of silver were available and that it was consequently cheap. The bullion was undoubtedly supplied both by mines in the Middle East and in Central Asia. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the 1330s, has included in his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* a list of silver mines, most of them in Central Asia. But there were also, according to his account and to other sources, rich mines in Gümüshkhāne, between Amasya and Erzindjān, and in Lūlū in Asia Minor. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa recounts that Syrian and ʿIrāḳī merchants came to Gümüshkhāne, of course, to purchase the white metal. But the quantities of silver recovered from these mines were by no means sufficient for the needs of the mints and the silversmiths of the Near East. Egypt and Syria were in the later Middle Ages supplied with silver both from Central Asia and from Europe. The American chemist A. A. Gordus has elaborated a method of neutron activation which renders it feasible to find out the origin of silver by establishing its gold impurity. By this method, he has found that the bullion used by the Mamlūk mints for striking silver *dirhams* was very diverse, coming both from Central Asia and from the European countries. Another silver famine from which the Near East suffered at the end of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th century came to its end some years after the campaigns of Tīmūr. So the supposition that this was due to the renewal of trade with Central Asia and the flow of silver therefrom to the Near East is at least a good working hypothesis. However that may be, the supply of silver to the Near Eastern mints was sufficient throughout the 14th and the 15th centuries, though it slowly diminished. The difference between the gold-silver ratio in that region, at most less than 10:1, against 11:1 or more in Europe, brings it home.

Just as the Persian and Turkish countries were in the later Middle Ages richer in silver, so the supply of copper was much more abundant. In these countries and in some neighbouring ones, there were indeed mines which produced good and abundant copper. Some of them were in Ādharbāydjān, others in Armenia, Syria and Egypt, which urgently lacked copper deposits, had to import it from Europe. The abundant issue of copper coins and the manufacturing of manifold copper vessels would have been impossible if the Venetians and the Genoese had not carried to the Near East heavy shipments of the German, Slovakian and Bosnian copper. The countries of the Maghrib, on the other hand, could supply themselves with copper, produced in the mines of Morocco, such as at Dai and elsewhere. But they had recourse to the import of silver coins from Europe. The Near Eastern countries also lacked lead and tin and were reduced to purchasing these metals from southern European traders, who imported them from Serbia, Bosnia, Germany and England. The Persian countries were supplied with lead from mines in Bukhārā, Ushrūsana and Farghāna.

Even as far as iron was concerned, the resources of the Near Eastern countries were utterly deficient, and they were dependent upon a supply from Europe, where this export trade was stigmatised by the Church as treason against Christianity, and transgressors were threatened by ecclesiastical and secular authorities with severe punishment. Nevertheless the Italian merchants supplied the Muslims with this (and other) "forbidden merchandise", and the republic of Pisa, by a treaty concluded in 1173 with Saladin, formally undertook to sell iron to Egypt.

The newly-emergent Ottoman empire included various metalliferous regions, so that it could provide itself with some of the metals at least which it needed. Great quantities of good copper were hauled from the mines of Ḳasṭamūnī, not far from the shorses of the Black Sea. The output of these mines was so abundant that, in the 15th century, Italian merchants exported great quantities of it to Syria and Egypt. When the Ottomans conquered Bosnia and Serbia, the rich deposits of gold, silver, copper and lead of Novo Brdo, Olovo, Srebrenica and other mines fell to them. Much excellent iron was produced in the mines of Samokov (formerly called Samakov) to the south-east of Sofia. Gold, however, was still imported from the Western Sudan, so that in the 16th century the Turkish gold coins were struck in Cairo, where the precious ore first arrived.

The output of the Central Asian mines had great importance for the economy of the Khānates of Bukhārā and Khīva and other Islamic states of that region from the 17th to the 19th centuries. In Farghāna, gold was collected from the sand of the rivers Mukan and Uzun Nahmad and especially from the rivers in the district of Namanghān. Lead was extracted from mines in Namanghān and Marghīlān, and lead mixed with silver in the district of Andidjān. Farghāna was also rich in silver, and in the 17th century the production was considerable. The production of iron and copper, on the other hand, was both in Farghāna and Khoḳand sufficient for local demand only. In Badakhshān, mining flourished especially in the 17th century, and one mine produced both gold and silver. Bukhārā and Khīva produced gold and silver. Gold was found in the sand of the Zarafshān river and Ḥiṣār river. The mining of silver, copper, lead and iron yielded an abundant output in eastern Bukhārā. The export of gold and silver from the Khānates of Central Asia to Russia had in the middle of the 18th century and also in the 19th century a great volume, as is borne out by the registers of the custom offices of Orenburg and Troitsk. In the years 1748-55, 800 kg of gold and 75.5 tonnes of silver passed through Orenburg, and in 1760 3.6 tonnes of silver. Even to Siberia, the Khānates exported considerable quantities of precious metals.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 155, 280; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 300, 488; Muḳaddasī, 145, 303, 324, 325, 443; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 211, 289, 334 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 40 ff., iii, 32 f.; Bakrī, 162; Idrīsī, ed. Naples, 474, 485, 923; ed. Dozy-de Goeje, 26, 74; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 393, 394; al-Gharnāṭī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, in *JA*, ccvii (1925), 84; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Géographie*. ii/2, 166 f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, tr. Le Strange, 192 f.; Yāḳūt, iv, 92, 462; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 294 f., 350 f., 417, 429, 471, 488; D. M. Dunlop, *Sources of gold and silver in Islam according to al-Hamdānī*, in *SI*, viii (1957), 29 ff.; Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane aux Xᵉ siècle*, Paris 1932, 175 ff.; M. Lombard, *Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Vᵉ au XIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1979, 166 ff.; S. D. Goitein, *The trade of the Jews in the Mediterranean at the beginning of the eleventh century* [in Hebrew], in *Tarbiz*, xxxvi (1967), 371; R. P. Blake, *The circulation of silver in the Middle*

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(E. Ashtor)

2. Mining technology

1. *Islamic mines*

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and for other uses. Iron ore was necessary for the manufacture of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other minerals such as mercury, salt and alum were indispensable for everyday life. The empire was richly endowed with the various mineral resources, and the mining industry was an extensive one. *Maʿdin* (pl. *maʿādin*) denoted "mine" in Arabic sources, and *muʿaddin* means "miner". In modern Arabic, the word *mandjam* denotes "mine", while *maʿdin* or *maʿdan* is now used mostly for "metal" or "mineral".

Information on Islamic mines occurs in geographical works, in alchemical treatises, in books on mineralogy and in various other sources. But these, and archaeological discoveries, have not yet been searched for the purpose of writing a history of mining technology, although some studies have appeared on the distribution of Islamic mines. We shall mention here only some of the minerals and a few of the mining centres, since it is not possible here to list all the mines.

Gold (*dhahab* [*q.v.*]) mines were found in western Arabia, Egypt, Africa and in some eastern Islamic lands. But the first major gold mining area was at Wādī al-ʿAllāķī, which is a right-bank tributary of the upper Nile. It lay in the Budja country, which was between Ethiopia and Nubia [see BEDJA]. The mines were in a desert area between the Nile and the Red Sea. The nearest towns were Aswān [see al-USWĀN] on the Nile and ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] on the Red Sea. The second major gold mining area was called by al-Bīrūnī the Maghrib Sūdān. This is the area south of the Sahara in Senegal and on the Upper Niger in Mali. According to al-Idrīsī, Wangāra was the most important gold mining centre on the upper Niger. Salt, cloth and other commodities were exchanged for gold.

Silver (*fiḍḍa* [*q.v.*] was either mined individually or in association with lead ores. The major silver mines were in the eastern Islamic provinces. Prominent among these were the mines of the Hindū Kūsh in the towns of Pandjhīr and Djāriyāna, both in the neighbourhood of Balkh. According to one report, there were about 10,000 miners working at Pandjhīr. Other important silver mines were in Spain, the Maghrib, Iran and Central Asia.

Lead (*usrub*, *raṣāṣ*) was obtained mostly from galena (lead sulphide), which was of very common occurrence. This lead ore is often associated with small quantities of silver. Only two other lead ores have any importance as raw materials. One is cerussite (lead carbonate) and the other, which is of minor importance, is anglesite (lead sulphate). Lead ores, especially galena, were exploited in Spain, Sicily, the Maghrib, Egypt, Iran, Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.

Copper (*nuḥās*) ore deposits were exploited in various areas, including the important mines of Spain in the west, and several deposits in the east, such as those in Sidjistān, Kirmān, Marw, Farghāna, Bukhārā, Ṭūs and Harāt. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source.

The word calamine or tutia (Arabic *tūtiya*) was used to denote the natural zinc ores (especially zinc carbonate), or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major mines for tutia were in the province of Kirmān in the east. Tutia was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Tin (*raṣāṣ ķalʿī*, *ķaṣdīr*) came from the Malaysian peninsula, which was known as Kala, hence the name *ķalʿī* for the metal.

Iron and steel were in great demand in the Islamic empire. Hence iron ores were utilised whenever it was feasible. These ores were distributed in most Islamic lands. Five major iron mining areas were utilised in Spain. These included the mines near Toledo, and near Murcia. In the Maghrib, about ten iron mining areas were exploited in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. These included mines in Djabal al-Ḥadīd in the Atlas mountains, the Rīf, Gawr al-Ḥadīd in Algeria, and Madjdjanat al-Maʿdan in Tunisia. Iron ores were produced and exported from Sicily. Iron ore was mined in the Libyan desert and in the Fezzān. Egypt exploited those ores that were available, for example in Nubia and on the Red Sea coast. Syria was famous for its iron and steel metallurgy (Damascus steel), and the iron ores were obtained in the south and in the mountain ranges between Damascus and Beirut. The Islamic countries of the east (al-Mashriķ) were better endowed with iron ores than Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāķ. The province of Fārs had at least four important iron mining centres. There were also iron mines in Khurāsān, in Transoxania, in Ādharbāydjān and in Armenia.

Mercury (*ziʾbaķ*) came chiefly from Spain. Al-Idrīsī mentions the mine to the north of Cordoba, where more than one thousand men worked in the various stages of mining the ores and extracting the mercury. Another source was Farghāna in Transoxania.

Salt (*milḥ*) was produced in numerous localities. It was an essential commodity, and production was undertaken in some areas on a very large scale for export purposes, for example in the Maghrib, where the salt mines were on the desert edges in the south. Salt was produced and carried by caravans south of the Sahara to be exchanged for gold. Thousands of men and camels were involved in these operations. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khurāsān, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (*shabb*) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al-Idrīsī, the major source was in Chad. It was exported to Egypt and to all the countries of North Africa. Egypt was also a major production centre for both alum and natron. Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos from Badakhshān, from which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made. Coal was also known and used in some areas such as Farghāna

in Transoxania, where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (*tanānīr*, sing. *tannūr*), and its ashes were utilised as a cleansing agent. Petroleum deposits were exploited on a large scale [see NAFT].

Precious stones of various kinds were mined. Arabic works on lapidary such as al-Bīrūnī's *al-Djamāhir* are celebrated and deserve detailed study. Rubies were mined in Badakhshān, and they were brought from Sarandīb. Diamonds came from Hindustān and Sarandīb, agate from Yemen, emeralds from Egypt, turquoise from Nīshāpūr, lapis lazuli from Egypt and onyx from Yemen. Corundum came from Nubia and Sarandīb. Crystal was mined in Arabia and Badakhshān. Diving for pearls (*luʾlu* [*q.v.*]) was a flourishing industry, and corals were obtained from the coasts of North Africa and Sicily.

2. *Mining technology.*

Although mining operations in Islamic civilisation were very extensive, yet like most aspects of Islamic technology no attempt has yet been made to study the technology of mining. This is another field that requires extensive research. There is therefore a noticeable gap in the history of mining in general, and whereas much information and archaeological research has been published on ancient and Roman mining, research is completely missing for the period between the 1st/7th and 9th/15th centuries. Not only should this gap be filled, but there are academic reasons for re-examining much of the material that has been published on ancient and Roman mining technology.

It is possible to give here an outline of Islamic mining technology by looking into the brief accounts of the geographers and some of the lapidary books. In Europe it was not until A.D. 1556 that the first book on mining, that of Agricola, made its appearance. Before that time, only a few books on lapidary techniques, mainly translated from Arabic, were available.

There was not just a single mining technology in Islamic lands. Methods differed from mineral to mineral, from country to country, and from one method of ownership to another. In any one country could be found a range of technologies, from the primitive to the highly developed.

As with modern mining, there were two major types of operation—the underground and the open-cut. In brief words, al-Biruni says: "The search for *laʿl* (a kind of ruby) is of two types: one is to dig the mine under the mountain, and the other is to search for it among the gravel and earth which result from the collapse of the mountains by earthquakes or their erosion by floods" (*al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, Hyderabad 1355/1936-7, 83).

In underground mining, one method was to sink shafts vertically into the soil, and to drive horizontal passages when the veins were reached. In Syria, the shaft of the mines was called the *bīr*, i.e. the well, and the horizontal tunnel the *darb*, i.e. the road. In the Lebanese mountains, a typical shaft was only 6-7 metres deep, and the tunnels were "very long". Al-Idrīsī saw the mercury mines to the north of Cordoba in Spain, and he was told that the depth from ground level to the bottom of the mine was 250 fathoms (*ḳāma*) (*Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fī 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, section on al-Maghrib, Arḍ al-Sūdān, Egypt and al-Andalus, Leiden 1864, 214). Other mines of intermediate depth were reported. Thus in the silver mines in the Maghrib, the depth was 20 cubits (*dhirāʿ*). The technique of drilling vertical shafts and horizontal tunnels was a familiar operation in the Islamic countries if we remember the great tradition of constructing the underground *ḳanāt* systems [*q.v.*], with the exacting technical experience which they require.

More often, however, in underground mining miners preferred to dig horizontal adits into the slopes of a mountain and follow the veins, rather than to sink shafts. This method was easier and less expensive for a miner who was working for himself. It is noticeable that the reports of mines with vertical shafts usually apply to mines owned by the state. A vivid description of the silver mining activities in Pandjhīr in eastern Khurāsān, where 10,000 men were employed in the mining industry, is given by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. He says: "The people of Pandjhīr made the mountain and the market-place like a sieve because of the many pits. They only follow veins leading to silver, and if they find a vein they dig continuously until they reach silver. A man may spend huge sums of money in digging, and he may find silver to such an extent that he and his descendants become rich, or his work may fail because he is overpowered by water or for other reasons. A man may pick a vein, and it is possible that another man picks the same vein in another position. Both start digging. The custom is that the miner who arrives first and intercepts the passage of the other miner wins the vein and its results. Because of this competition, they execute a work that devils cannot achieve. When one arrives first, the expenses of the other are wasted. If they arrive together, they share the vein and then they continue digging as long as the lamps are burning. If the lamps are extinguished and cannot be relit, they stop their progress because anyone who reaches that position would die immediately. [In this business] you will see that a man starts his day owning one million, and by nightfall he owns nothing. Or he may start poor in the morning and by evening he becomes the owner of uncountable wealth (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 465).

The main tool of the miner was the pickaxe (*minḳār*, *ṣāḳūr*). It had a sharp end to peck the stone and a flat end to hammer or to drive wedges. There were also various hammers, chisels or wedges, crow-bars, hoes and shovels.

Windlasses were used for hauling ores and materials out of the shafts. An efficient and simple form of windlass was used in the iron mines in Syria, and is still used in constructing the *ḳanāt* system in Iran, in drawing water, and in the building industry. Here an assistant sits on a bench on one side of the mouth of the shaft or well, pulling the horizontal bars of the windlass towards him with his hands and pushing the opposite ones away with his feet at the same time. The ore is loaded into a small bucket about 30-35 cm. in diameter, which has two handles. The rope is attached to the bucket by hooks fastened at its end. More sophisticated capstans were used for haulage also, when loads were heavier.

Oil lamps were used for illumination. The lamps were useful for aligning the direction of the digging, and were also good indicators of the adequacy of fresh air supplies, as was the case in the silver mines of Pandjhīr. In Arabic technical literature, there are different designs of ingenious lamps. One such design, suitable for outdoor use and protected against being extinguished by winds, was described by the Banū Mūsā.

Ventilation was an important problem. In Pandjhīr,

as we have seen, with thousands of small miners working for themselves in a frantic search for silver, capital investment was kept to a minimum, and no provision for ventilation was usually made. The miner simply abandoned the digging if the lamps stopped burning. In the more organised mining work, especially in the state mines, a means of ventilation was always provided. This would be essential, particularly in the very deep mercury mines which we mentioned. Special ventilation shafts were provided. When installing a drainage system, several shafts were needed for this purpose, and these also served as ventilation shafts. Special ventilation shafts have been found in Iran, and some of these go back to pre-Islamic times. The problem of ventilating wells and mining shafts attracted the attention of Muslim engineers. They designed special ventilating machines. The Banū Mūsā describe a design for "a machine for use in wells which kill those who descend in them. If a man uses this machine in any well, it will neither kill nor harm him. This machine is suitable for wells that kill and for dangerous pits. If a man has this machine, which we shall describe, with him, he can descend in any well immediately without fearing it and it will not harm him" (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, Arabic tex ed. A.Y. al-Hassan, Aleppo 1981, 374, Eng. tr. D. R. Hill, Dordrecht 1979, 240).

The other important problem in mining was drainage of the mines. Here also, small miners of silver could not afford to solve the problem, as we have seen in Pandjhīr. On the other hand, in the state silver mines in Zakandar in the Maghrib, drainage was carried out properly, as al-Ḳazwīnī reports: "Here are the silver mines. Anyone who wishes can undertake processing them. There are underground mines in which many people are always working. When they descend 20 *dhirā*ʿs, water appears. The sultan installs water-wheels and water is raised until the mud appears. Workers bring this mud up to the surface of the ground and wash it. He does this in order to take the fifth ... Water is raised in three stages, since it is 20 *dhirā*ʿs from the ground level to the surface of the water. He installs a wheel down in the mine on the water surface. Water is lifted and it is discharged into a large tank. Another wheel is installed on this tank. It lifts the water and pours it into another tank. On this tank a third wheel is installed. It lifts the water and discharges it on to the surface of the ground to irrigate the farms and gardens. This operation cannot be undertaken except by a very rich person possessing thousands. He sits at the mouth of the mine and employs artisans and workers, who bring out the mud and wash it in front of him. When the work is done, the fifth of the sultan is put aside and the rest is given to him. It may come to be smaller than his expenditure, and it may be [more]. This depends on the man's efforts" (Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, Beirut 1960-1, 199-200).

The technique of water raising by water-wheels was highly developed in Islamic civilisation, and it flourished in North Africa and Spain. The above passage by al-Ḳazwīnī is important, and should prompt a reconsideration of archaeological findings, since it is quite certain that other mines in Spain and North Africa were being drained in a similar manner. The Muslims carried out extensive mining operations in central and southern Spain in the areas of Cordoba, Almáden, Ovejo, Huelva, Murcia, Ilbira and elsewhere. Water-raising devices of various types were used. These included the compartmented wheel, the chain-of-pots wheel, the Archimedean screw, the rag-and-chain pump and the piston pump. Archaeologists have found a screw pump in a mine near Cordoba with an oak screw and a barrel of sheet lead, but R. J. Forbes has expressed doubts as to whether this pump was really of Roman date (*Studies in ancient technology*, vii, Leiden 1966, 219).

We come now to a discussion of the dressing of ores. This includes the crushing, sifting and washing of ores. Such operations were usually conducted at the mines' sites before the transport of the ores to the metallurgical centres. The ores were pounded or reduced in size, and in the case of gold ores they were crushed or milled to a finer degree. The milling operation was more important with the reef gold which occurs in quartz veins. Milling or crushing of these ores was done either by querns or by water driven trip-hammers. Al-Bīrūnī in his *Djamāhir*, 233-4, discusses this operation: "Gold may be united with stone as if it is cast with it, so that it needs pounding. Rotary mills (*ṭawāḥin*) can pulverise it, but pounding it by *mashādjin* is more correct and is a much more refined treatment. It is even said that this pounding makes it more red, which if it is true is rather strange and surprising. The *mashādjin* are stones fitted to axles which are installed on running water for pounding, as is the case in the pounding of flax for paper in Samarḳand". This is an important text since it indicates that water driven trip-hammers (*mashādjin*) were already established for crushing ores before the 4th/10th century.

3. *Pearls and underwater resources.*

The exploitation of corals and pearls involved very extensive activity. Pearls of the Gulf area were highly valued; the Chinese considered them to be the best pearls. The operations were organised by entrepreneurs. One of these would hire divers for two months and pay them regularly; such enterprises were often highly profitable. However, we read detailed descriptions of the great dangers which faced the divers.

Al-Bīrūnī gives in his *Djamāhir* again (149-50) a detailed description of a diving operation, including a description of a new diving gear: "I was told by a man from Baghdād that divers had invented in these days a method for diving by which the difficulty of holding the breath is eliminated. This enables them to frequent the sea from morning to afternoon, as much as they wish and as much as the employer favours them. It is a leather gear which they fit down their chests and they tie it at the [edges ?] very securely and then they dive. They breathe in it from the air inside it. This necessitates a very heavy weight to keep down the diver with this air. A more suitable arrangement would be to attach to the upper end of this gear opposite the forehead a leather tube similar to a sleeve sealed at its seams by wax and bitumen, and its length will be equal to the depth of diving. The upper end of the tube will be fitted to a large dish at a hole in its bottom. To this dish are attached one or more inflated bags to keep it floating. The breath of the diver will flow in and out through the tube as long as he desires to stay in water, even for days".

An ingenious dredging machine was designed by the Banū Mūsā in their *Book of ingenious devices*. They say: "We wish to explain how to make a machine by which a person can bring out jewels from the sea if he lowers it, and by which he can extract things which fall into wells or are submerged

in the rivers and seas". This worked on exactly the same principle as the modern clamshell grab (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, text 376, Eng. tr. 342).

4. *Non-ferrous metallurgy.*

Much information about metallurgy can be gained from the alchemical and chemical treatises. There was a close relationship between the work of the metallurgist and the chemist, and the Arabic sources reflect the experience gained in the laboratory and in the metallurgical furnace.

Gold. Speaking about native gold which is collected from gold mines, al-Bīrūnī says that it is usually not free from impurities and therefore this gold can be refined by smelting only, or by other methods. He gives details of the amalgamation method that was used in the mines on a commercial scale: "After pounding the gold ore or milling it, it is washed out of its stones, and the gold and mercury are combined and then squeezed in a piece of leather until mercury exudes from the pores of the leather. The rest of the mercury is drived off by fire" (*Djamāhir*, 234).

He further describes (236) how gold is mined from the deep waters of the Sind river: "At its sources there are places in which they dig small pits under the water, which flows over them. They fill the pits with mercury and leave it for a while. Then they come back after the mercury has become gold: This is because at its start the water is rapid and it carries with it particles of sand and gold like mosquitoes' wings in thinness and fineness. Water carries these particles over the surface of the mercury which picks up the gold, leaving the sand to pass away".

The cupellation process was used extensively both on the laboratory and the industrial scales. The gold is alloyed with lead in a special crucible and it is then oxidised by means of a strong current of air blown on to the surface of the molten metal. The base metals such as copper are drossed, while the gold and silver remain as a button of silver-gold alloy. The separation of the gold from the silver was done by what is known as the salt and sulphur process. The liquation process was also used in combination with the cupellation process. What is new in these processes—and this was an Islamic innovation—is the use of nitric acid in the separation of gold from silver. Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] described this process, and it was also mentioned by other later writers. Gold was tested by various methods. These included the touchstone (*al-miḥakk*), measuring the specific gravities, and noting the speed of solidification of gold after it had been removed from the furnace.

Silver and lead. Unlike gold, native silver was not found in alluvial deposits or in the sands and gravels of rivers, but was to be sought in mountainous regions in embedded veins. In general, however, native silver was not abundant, and the main source was from galena (lead sulphide), which was usually associated with small amounts of silver. The first step would be to obtain the lead itself (which usually contains silver) from the earth and stones (i.e. the galena). This was done first by roasting, followed by smelting. The resulting lead could then be treated to extract silver. In Arabic literature, we find the results of some experiments indicating the amount of silver which could be recovered from an ingot of lead. This was usually in *dirhams* in one *maṣla* (one silver *maṣla* = 50 *raṭls*). There were smelters (*sabbākūn*) specialising in gaining silver from lead ingots.

Sometimes silver was associated with gold in what is called electrum. Here also, as we have seen, methods were adopted to separate these two precious metals. Silver was also obtained from its ores, or from lead or copper ores.

These different sources of silver necessitated the application of various techniques which were mastered by Islamic smelters and chemists, such as roasting, smelting, oxidation, liquation, leaching, cupellation and amalgamation. Details cannot be given here, but these methods fascinated the alchemists and were largely responsible, in our opinion, for the vast alchemical literature that resulted from the alchemists' experiments with stones (*aḥdjār*) and metals (*adjsād*).

Tin, zinc, antimony and arsenic. Tin was one of the seven malleable metals or bodies. It was brought mainly to the classical Islamic countries from the Malaysian peninsula and, to some extent, from Spain and the West.

Zinc was not known as a distinct metal by the early Islamic metallurgists and chemists. It was first known, and used extensively, through tutia (zinc oxide) which was one of the stones (*aḥdjār*). Later, as we shall see, zinc (*rūḥ al-tūtiya*) was known as a distinct metal. Tutia is usually the pure zinc oxide which is obtained from natural zinc carbonate. Various authors described the method of producing the pure product from the natural one. The ore is placed in furnaces which contain long ceramic rods. Upon heating the ores, the smoke of tutia ascends and adheres in films to the ceramic rods. Al-Muḳaddasī, 470, saw the "curious tall furnaces in the mountain villages" in Kirmān. They later also attracted the attention of Marco Polo when he visited the same area. Before the 10th/16th century, *rūḥ al-tūtiya* (zinc) as a metal was known and was used with copper to form brass. It replaced *kharṣīnī* as the seventh metal. Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* gives several compositions employing *rūḥ al-tūtiya* (E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschafts-Geschichte*, i, Hildesheim 1970, 706).

Antimony was obtained from antimony sulphide (Sb_2S_3) and was one of the constituents of copper alloys. Arabic chemical books described this process.

Arsenic was unimportant as a metal. But we read a description of the "preparation of the mercury of arsenic sulphide". This was a preparation of metallic arsenic from its sulphides. We may note that these metals which were not among the original seven were given such names as *rūḥ al-tūtiya* or "mercury of arsenic sulphide". The same remark applies to mineral acids, which were not classified originally, and hence were attributed to their salts.

Copper and its alloys. Copper was usually obtained from the sulphide ores. It seldom occurred as oxides or carbonates. These latter ores required only the simple treatment of heating with charcoal, while the sulphides (*zādjāt*) required roasting, smelting with fluxes and partial oxidation. An interesting discovery took place in Spain. The sulphide ores, on exposure to air in the presence of water, are oxidated to soluble sulphates. "The Moors then found that if water containing copper sulphate is allowed to run over iron, pure copper is deposited and the iron dissolved. As iron was cheap and abundant in Spain, this discovery yielded an efficient method of recovering copper from sulphide ore, and direct mining of copper ore became less necessary" (Singer *et alii*, *A history of technology*, ii, Oxford 1979, 11).

Bronze (*ṣafr*, *isfidrūy*) is an alloy of copper and

tin. It was much used for plain kitchen wares and implements, and was the alloy upon which coppersmiths based most of their work.

Brass (*shabah, birindj*) is an alloy of copper and zinc. Zinc with copper forms an alloy which is stronger, harder and less malleable than pure copper. Various kinds of brasses are obtained by varying the zinc content. A 20% brass simulates the colour of gold. When zinc was not known as a metal, copper was heated in a mixture of powdered zinc ore and charcoal. A proportion of the zinc formed in the vicinity of the copper was diffused into it by cementation. Later we read in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* about three qualities of brass with increasing amount of zinc content: one is ductile in the cold state, the second is ductile when it is heated, and the third is not ductile but can be cast (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 706-7).

A cheaper quality of alloy was called by al-Bīrūnī *bitrūy* and by some authors *rūy*. This was a kind of bronze alloyed from copper and lead. It was also *shabah mufragh*, and was used for hardware.

Kharṣīnī was a metal (or alloy) which was listed as one of the seven metals of early Islamic alchemy. It was attributed to China. All Muslim writers said that it was not available and was extinct. A time came when it was replaced by zinc in the list of the seven metals. Some historians now think that *kharṣīnī* was zinc. Others believe that it was a cupronickel alloy. *Ṭaliḳūn* was another alloy (or metal) of uncertain composition. This uncertainty existed since al-Bīrūnī's days, but the general opinion is that it was a kind of copper alloy.

5. *Iron and steel.*

The importance of iron (*ḥadīd*) in Islamic civilisation is exemplified in Sūrat al-Ḥadīd, LVII, 25: "God sent iron down to earth, wherein is mighty power and many uses for mankind". Indeed, iron was considered as essential as food and clothing and it was always a source of power. Even after the sword had ceased to be a major military weapon, the manufacturing of iron and steel in our days is a basis for industrial civilisation and hence for economic and military power.

We have seen that iron mines in the Islamic empire were spread from Spain in the west to Transoxania in the east and there were famous steel production centres like Harāt, Bukhārā, Damascus, Yemen and Toledo. Iron and steel technology in the Islamic lands has had a long and flourishing history, associated with the sword until recent times, and the excellence of steel for these swords was represented by Damascus steel. As is the case with other major issues in the history of technology, the history of iron and steel, and the history of Damascus steel in particular, have been a source of controversy. Islamic iron technology was ignored and the important sources were not taken into consideration. At one extreme, some writers have alleged that Damascus steel was alien to Damascus and to Islamic lands.

In this vast subject, we can only give extracts from some of the major Arabic sources, the best authorities on this subject known until now being al-Kindī and al-Bīrūnī, both of whom had critical minds that rejected legends and subjected scientific knowledge to actual observation and testing. The second main group of sources is the alchemical and chemical treatises of Djābir, al-Rāzī, al-Djildakī and others. The third group is the military treatises which discussed the manufacture of steel for swords, its heat treatment and the care for its *firind*; but there are numerous other sources of information, all of which deserve attention.

Types of iron and steel. From studying some of these sources, we conclude that the following main kinds of iron and steel were utilised in Islamic metallurgical centres: (1) Wrought iron (*narmāhin*); (2) Cast iron (*dūṣ*); (3) Meteoric steel (*shabūrḳān*); and (4) Manufactured steel (*fūlādh*).

Wrought iron (*narmāhin*) is soft and it is the "female". It could not be heat treated, but could be used where strength was not important, and it was used as a raw material for manufacturing steel (*fūlādh*).

Cast iron (*dūṣ*). It is very important to know that cast iron was produced, since this was not realised by historians of technology and was totally ignored. al-Bīrūnī says in his *Djamāhir* that *dūṣ* is the water of iron and that it is the liquid which flows during the melting and the extraction of metal from iron stones. Al-Rāzī defined *al-dūṣ* as water of iron. In a commentary by al-Djildakī on the *Kitāb al-Ḥadīd* by Djabīr, we read the following description of the production of cast iron: "Chapter. Learn, brother, that it is your comrades who found (*yaskubūn*) iron in foundries [especially] made for that purpose after they have extracted it (i.e. the ore) from its mine as yellow earth intermingled with barely visible veins of iron. They place it in founding furnaces designed for smelting it. They install powerful bellows on all sides of them after having kneaded (*yaluttūn*) a little oil and alkali into the ore. Then fire is applied to it (i.e. the ore) together with cinders and wood. They blow upon it until it is molten, and its entire substance (*djismuhu wa-djasaduhu*) is rid of that earth. Next, they cause it to drop through holes like [those of] strainers, [made in] the furnaces so that the molten iron is separated and is made into bars from that earth. Then they transport it to far lands and countries. People use it for making utilitarian things of which they have need" (ms. 4121, Chester Beatty Library, fols. 1a-2b).

The properties of this cast iron can be summarised from al-Bīrūnī's *Djamāhir* as follows: (1) It is quick to flow like water when smelting iron ores; (2) It is hard and whitish-silvery in colour. Its powder had sometimes a pinkish reflection; (3) It cannot be forged to make swords; (4) It does not resist blows. Its shatters into pieces: "breakage and brittleness are characteristic of it"; and (5) It is mixed with wrought iron in crucibles for making steel. *Dūṣ* was sold as a raw material in the 9th/15th century. We learn that there were at least two commercial brands, one from ʿIrāḳ, the other from Iṣṭakhr.

Meteor steel (*shaburḳān*) is often mentioned in early Arabic literature, with the comment that this was a rare material.

Manufactured steel (*fūlādh*). *Fūlādh* was usually manufactured in the molten state. It was made, in some cases, from wrought iron bars by cementation. The iron bars were packed with charcoal and heated until they absorbed enough carbon. In the molten state, steel was made in Islamic lands by the following methods: (1) By decarbonisation of cast iron; (2) By carbonisation of wrought iron; and (3) By the fusion of a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron; here we obtain two qualities of steel, depending upon the degree of fusion.

We have given above a text from al-Djildakī commenting on Djābir describing the production of cast iron. Let us now give the rest of the text to see

how the rods of cast iron are utilised to produce steel by carbonisation: "As for the steel workers, they take the iron bars and put them into the founding-ovens (*masābik*) which they have, suited to their objectives, in the steel works. They install firing equipment (*akwār*) in them (i.e. the ovens) and blow fire upon it (i.e. the iron) for a long while until it becomes like gurgling water. They nourish it with glass, oil and alkali until light appears from it in the fire and it is purified of much of its blackness by intensive founding, night and day. They keep watching while it whirls for indications until they are sure of its suitability, and its lamps emit light. Thereupon, they pour it out through channels so that it comes out like running water. Then they allow it to solidify in the shape of bars or in holes made of clay fashioned like largely crucibles. They take out of them refined steel in the shape of ostrich eggs, and they make swords from it, and helmets, lanceheads, and all tools". This refining of iron from its blackness is a decarbonisation process; already, the *Lisān al-ʿArab* states that steel (*fūlā*<u>*dh*</u>) is refined iron.

The other method of producing molten steel in crucibles by carbonising wrought iron is described by the following text from al-Bīrūnī in his *Dj*<u>*a*</u>*māhir*, 256:

"Mazyad b. ʿAlī, the Damascene blacksmith, [wrote] a book describing swords, specifications for which were included in al-Kindī's treatise. He commenced by dealing with the steel composition and the construction of the furnace (*kūr*) as well as with construction and design of crucibles, the description of [the varieties] of clay, and how to distinguish between them. Then he instructed that in each crucible five *raṭl*s of horseshoes should be placed, and their nails, which are made of *narmāhan* (Pers. "soft iron"), as well as a weight of ten *dirhāms* each of *rusu*<u>*kh*</u>*ta*<u>*dj*</u>, golden marcasite stone, and brittle magnesia. The crucibles are plastered with clay and placed inside the furnace (*kūr*). They are filled with charcoal and they (i.e. the crucibles) are blown upon with *rūmī* bellows, each having two operators, until it (i.e. the iron) melts and whirls. Bundles are added containing *ihlīla*<u>*dj*</u> (myrobalan), pomegranate rinds, salt [used in] dough and oyster shells (*aṣdāf al-luʾluʾ*, lit. "pearl shells"), in equal portions, and crushed, each bundle weighing forty *dirhams*. One [bundle] is thrown into each crucible; then it (i.e. the crucible) is blown upon violently for an hour. Next, they (i.e. the crucibles) are left to cool and the eggs are taken from the crucibles".

The third method of producing molten steel in crucibles from a mixture of cast iron and wrought iron was also described by al-Bīrūnī. This was the method of producing cast steel in Ḥarāt. Two qualities of steel can be obtained. One is obtained if the components are "melted equally so that they become united in the mixing operation and no component can be differentiated or seen independently". Al-Bīrūnī says that "such steel is suitable for files and similar tools". A second quality of steel is obtained if the degree of melting of wrought iron and cast iron is different for each substance "and thus the intermixture between both components is not complete, and their parts are shifted and thus each of their two colours can be seen by the naked eye and it is called *firind*".

Some of the above important texts were confirmed by observers and travellers who described the making of crucible steel in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā in the last century. In 1820 Anossoff, a Russian expert, was in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā and found that crucible steel was made by carburising wrought iron with charcoal and other organic matter. Later Massalski, another expert who was also in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā, wrote in 1841 that Damascus steel was made there from a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron, as al-Bīrūnī had reported 900 years earlier from Harāt. Observers thought that these reports were conflicting, but it is now clear that there is no contradiction; steel was made from different materials, and the quality obtained varied with these materials and with other manufacturing conditions (P. Annossoff, in *Annuaire du Journal des Mines de Russe, 1841*, 192-236; Massalski, in *ibid.*, 297-308).

The Damascus sword and the *firind*. C. S. Smith noted that "In comparison with the relative neglect of structure by the European metallurgist, the enjoyment and utilisation of it in the Orient is impressive. In the Orient, etching to display patterns depending on composition difference was in use contemporaneously with the European pattern-welded blade, and was thereafter continually developed to a high artistic level" (*A history of metallography*, Chicago 1965, 14). The best achievement in this direction is the Damascus sword, which were made in all the Islamic centres and in India. Because of its excellence, its name was given later to all swords with a pattern. Islamic lands exported and imported steel and swords. They imported from India and they exported to it. Al-Bīrūnī mentions that steel eggs were cast in Harāt and then sent to India. Al-Idrīsī says that iron was exported from the Ma<u>gh</u>rib to India. In general, we may say that Islamic lands and India formed one area of Damascus steel culture.

Patterned swords (with a *firind* or <u>*dj*</u>*awhar*) were in use before Islam. Imruʾ al-Ḳays (d. *ca.* 540 A.D.) describes the *firind* of the sword as resembling the tracks of ants. Another poet, Aws b. Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar, a contemporary of his, describes the blade of the sword as if it has a water whose wavy streaks are like a pond over whose surface the wind is gliding. In fact, in Arabic poetry the beauty of the sword with the *firind* was always a source of inspiration. Damascus steel was thus a speciality of the Islamic world and India for many centuries; as Smith notes, "The geographical distribution of these swords seems to have been practically coextensive with the Islamic faith, and they continued to be made well into the nineteenth century" (*op. cit.*, 14).

In Europe, steel was produced by hearth-carbonisation of wrought iron rods. To imitate the *firind* or pattern of the Damascus sword, they resorted to placing together strips of iron and steel and welding these together; but these imitations never matched the qualities of the true Damascus steel.

Cast iron was first produced in Europe in the 15th century A.D. and crucible steel in the 18th one. But a steel comparable in quality to Damascus steel was still required. For more than 150 years, a large number of metallurgists in European countries carried out extensive research on Damascus steel, including eminent scientists like Faraday. Smith, in a chapter "European attempts to duplicate Damascus steel", says that these attempts failed to reproduce true Damascus steel; what happened later was that the "interest in the duplication of the blade declined as European steelmakers developed their own techniques and the introduction of Bessemer and Siemens processes gave homogeneous steel more adaptable to large-scale production".

There were, however, some advantages behind

this research, in that we came nearer to an understanding of the structure of Damascus steel. According to Smith, "Damascus blades are made of a very high carbon steel (about 1.5-2.0%) and owe their beauty and their cutting qualities alike to the inherent structure of the cakes of steel from which they were forged". "The light portion contains numerous particles of iron carbide (cementite), while the dark areas are steel of normal carbon content (approximately eutectoid). The structure, of course, is clearly visible only after etching, which was done with a solution of some mineral sulphate". It is amazing how close is this modern interpretation of the *firind* to that of al-Bīrūnī.

Welded "Damascus" gun barrels and swords. Another beautiful technique which flourished in later centuries in Islamic lands and India was the welding technique for gun barrels and swords, which was quite different from that of cast Damascus steel, but which was also called "Damascus". According to Smith, "the technique seems to have originated in the Near East in the sixteenth century, and such guns were a famous product of the Kashmir smiths in the early nineteenth century" (*op. cit.*, 30). The manufacture of barrels of this type in Europe started in the 18th century, and during the 18th and 19th centuries great efforts were exerted in Europe to use this technique for both gun barrels and blades.

In 1798 Nicholson made a Damascus-textured metal by compressing fillings of steel and wrought iron in a die, restriking the compact at a welding heat and forging it into a plate; Smith says that this is an interesting anticipation of modern power metallurgy. But according to al-Bīrūnī, a somewhat similar procedure was practised in the 4th/10th or 5th/11th century: "I was told by somebody who was in the land of Sind that he sat by a smith who was making swords. He looked into them and found that their material was wrought iron (*narmāhin*), on which he was sprinkling a finely pulverised drug (*dawāʾ*) whose colour gave a reddish shade. He sprinkles and welds by driving the powder deep, then he takes it out and elongates it by forging and he sprinkles again and repeats the work several times. He said: Then I asked him what that was. He glanced at me derisively. Then I looked carefully into it and realised that it was cast iron (*dūṣ*) which he mixes with wrought iron (*narmāhin*) by forging to elongate and hammering [to drive in] to obtain a steel similar to that of the eggs that are obtained in Harāt by melting".

6. *Furnaces, crucibles and other equipment.*

We can learn much about Islamic metallurgical equipment from a study of the alchemical equipment. The *istinzāl* operation is mainly the smelting of ores to obtain metals. There was, according to al-Rāzī, "equipment for melting metals (*a<u>dj</u>sād*) and stones" and there was "equipment for the further processing of these metals". Iron melting was given special attention in the alchemical apparatus. We can safely assume that the alchemical equipment was the pilot-plant size of the actual metallurgical equipment. Sometimes the details in construction were identical, as we shall presently see. Iron production from ores was achieved by blast furnaces. Further research will reveal how the design of these furnaces had developed in Islamic lands. We know that cast iron was produced before the 4th/10th century. Al-<u>Dj</u>ildakī (see above) gave a description of the melting process; historians reported experiments on the casting of large field cannon from cast iron at the turn of the 10th/16th century in Egypt; and at the end of the 12th/18th century, a typical blast furnace in the Lebanese mountains was 16 spans (3.84 metres) high by 7 spans (1.68 metres) wide and was constructed from masonry. Twenty men worked on the site. Layers of fresh wood and iron ore were stacked in the furnace; two horizontal bellows gave the necessary blast of air, each being operated by one man. The air from the bellows was combined in one outlet, and iron that accumulated at the bottom was taken out in small amounts. This iron was decarbonished in several hearth furnaces and forges on the same site in order to produce wrought iron for making useful articles. About 450 kg. a day were produced from this furnace; similar furnaces were in use in the Ma<u>gh</u>rib.

Crucible steel was melted in small crucibles. The text by al-Bīrūnī which was cited above on the making of crucible steel by a smith in Damascus shows that several crucibles were put in the furnace. Several bellows were used, each operated by two men. Such an installation was still used in 1840 in Bu<u>kh</u>ārā to make Damascus steel, and was of the same design as that described by <u>Dj</u>ābir ten centuries earlier.

Bibliography: (in addition to works cited in the text): A. Y. Al-Hassan, *Mining and metallurgy*, in idem and D. R. Hill, *Islamic technology*, in press; Al-Hassan, *Iron and steel technology in medieval Arabic sources*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, ii/1 (1978), 31-43.

(A. Y. AL-HASSAN and D. R. HILL)

3. MINERAL EXPLOITATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Our treatment of the subject of mining and metallurgy in the Ottoman Empire is based on the assumption that both in terms of the laws enforced and the organisational principles applied, and even the types of minerals exploited, Ottoman mining can be clearly divided into two distinct periods. The first period spans all of Ottoman history up until the mid-19th century, while the second is concentrated in the last few decades of the existence of the Ottoman state as the mining industry developed under the impact of foreign investment. Because of the wide scope of the subject both from the standpoint of periodisation and the profusion of ancillary topics involved, the focus is limited to those time periods whose first-hand archival documentation we have studied most closely (i.e. the 9th-11th/16th-18th centuries) and those subjects which have been least fully studied in the published literature. For the principal publications in the important fields of Ottoman mining law, and Islamic and Ottoman metallurgy, see *Bibl.*, sections II-III, and for developments in Ottoman mining during the 19th century section V.

In what follows, mining law and administration are first discussed under the following headings: A. Administrative modes, and B. Organisation of labour, and then there is a description of the principal mineral types and their geographical distribution. In this second section, the principal subdivisions are as follows: (A) Classification of mineral types and (B) Marketing and distribution:

A/I. Bullion and other smelted ores, i.e. 1. Gold; 2. Silver; 3. Copper; 4. Iron; 5. Steel (including some data on prices of the principal metals).

A/II. Crystaline formations and other minerals mined from pits in their solid state, or extracted through a process of distillation from their liquid state, i.e. 1. Alum; 2. Sulphur and Saltpetre; 3. Salt [see MILḤ]

Finally there is a short summary of major developments in Ottoman mining in the post-*Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, and brief discussion of mining technology in both the classical and the modern periods.

Introductory remarks on the economic importance of the mines and uses of metals in the Ottoman Empire.

Possession of and control of the sources of mineral wealth was of critical importance to the state. The Ottoman interest in the conquest of Serbia from the early 8th/14th century arose in part from a desire to secure the rich silver production of the Balkan mines, thus providing a vital financial basis for further expansion. In a very real sense, the mines were the ultimate source of prosperity for the emerging Ottoman state and an assured supply of metals of military importance such as lead, iron and tin was essential to state security. Because of the critical importance of their uninterrupted production, mineral resources were carefully protected and closely regulated by the Ottoman government (see section below on market organisation, distribution and supply).

One of the principal uses for precious metals was to supply the imperial mints located throughout the empire, usually in the vicinity of the mines. While during the reign of Süleymān I (926-74/1520-66) the treasury enjoyed an abundant surplus, requiring even the opening of a treasury annex at the Yedi Kule fortress in Istanbul, in the 11th/17th century production levels lagged far behind money in circulation. Information from the state treasury budgets from the time of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-39) indicates that while the mines produced silver for striking some 160 million *aḳçes*, deficit spending at the level of 200 million *aḳçes* a year and more was common (see the Kepeci budgets listed in the *Bibl.*). In order to balance the budget, recourse was commonly made to the practice of debasing the currency. The following list shows the steady drop in the silver content of the *aḳçe* over the 150-year period 1490-1640:

Date	no. of *aḳčes* struck from 100 *dirhams* raw silver
half-century leading up to 1566 *	420
1566-1584	450
1584-1600	800
1600-1611	950
1611-1640	1,000

Source: Barkan (1970), 571-7.

* For an idea of the relative stability of the *aḳče*'s silver content before the 16th century, compare the table in İnalcık (1951), 678.

Despite these measures, the surpluses stored in the Sultan's inner treasury (*khazīne-yi enderūn*) periodically became depleted to dangerously low levels. According to the report of the Venetian *bailo* Contarini, after the large outlays for the Ottoman recapture of Baghdād in 1048/1638, the inner treasury reserve sank to only 15 million gold pieces (Barozzi and Berchet, *Relationi*, i/1, 363). No new sources of silver were either discovered or exploited, and by the 19th century state bankruptcies became an almost chronic problem, leading in the end to the establishment of a foreign-controlled public debt commission (see DUYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE). Parts of the silver-producing areas of Serbia had been ceded to Austria as early as the treaty of Passarowitz in 1130/1718, and from that date the Ottoman mineral resource base in the Rumelian provinces continued to shrink.

According to Islamic law, minerals and hidden treasures made up a special category, *rikāz*, whose product was made subject to the payment of a one-fifth tax, the so-called *khums-i sherʿī* (Ḥalebī, i, 150-1). Building on these principles laid down in the canonical law, the Ottomans introduced some refinements and customary practices in their own administrative law as it applied to mines, taking into account new conditions and changes as they occurred over the course of time. The reign of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512) was perhaps the most important period for the standardisation and codification of Ottoman mining law. Since there already exists a rich literature on this subject (see *Bibl.*, section II), there is no need to enter into the details here except to emphasise the fact that Ottoman practice incorporated applied knowledge from previously existing Saxon mining law. The extent of their indebtness to their predecessors in this field is indicated by the use in the Ottoman *ḳānūn-nāmes* of Saxon and Slavic loan words for many technical terms and specialised skilled professions.

Administrative modes: the factors determining Ottoman mining activity through the ages.

There were three principal ways in which mining activity was organised in the Ottoman Empire and the choice as to which mode was to be employed was determined to a large degree according to the source of the capital invested to bring a mine into active production. The expenses for equipment, fuel to operate the forges and the wages of the mine workers were considerable, and since such large investments were beyond the means of the average individual, most large-scale mining operations tended to be undertaken either directly by the government itself or by means of investment partnerships. The three commonly used administrative modes were: (1) *emāneten*, direct administration of mines or mining districts through state-appointed superintendents; (2) *iltizāmen*, farming out of mining revenues to investors on a short-term contract basis (the usual term for these contracts in the mining context was six years); and (3) *iḥāle*, long-term concessionary leasing of state lands for purposes of mining exploration to licensed individuals or mining companies. These broad generalisations may help to clarify the position of the lands administered under each of these headings, but in actual practice we often find that a mixture of government and private financing, as well as the phenomenon of subcontracting of mining leases, resulted in some hybrid form of two or more of these administrative categories. Nevertheless, generally speaking it may be said that direct state administration tended to be applied in the case of disused mines or those requiring a relatively greater level of investment to render them profitable. In such cases, after careful analysis of ore samples (*čashnī*) and estimation of requisite expenditures for improvements by technical experts, the state agreed to undertake all risks and meet all expenses for operation and development of the mine. When, on the other hand, it was a question of operative mines with a known and regular yearly production which could be auctioned competitively, the usual procedure was to farm out the operation of these mines to private investors. In such cases, the investor gambled that he would make up his original investment consisting of the *bedel-i iltizām* payment on entering the contract

plus costs. The third category, *iḥāle*, seems to have been widely used only beginning with the 13th/19th century when new types of minerals came into demand. This system was used to encourage mineral exploration in abandoned (*mawāt*) lands and lands of low population density. Although usually no previous mining activity would have taken place on such lands, after a determination had been reached on the basis of expert reports that they did possess a potential for development, the investor undertook to make whatever improvements were needed to realise maximum productiveness. According to the terms of the *iḥāle* system, the original investment consisted of the *resm-i berāt* or *fermān kharḏjî* paid to register a claim to work the land, but unlike the *iltizām* system, the government then claimed only a small percentage of the mineral production realised, ranging from between 1-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits, and between 1-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits, and between 10-20% for unrefined ore occurring in concentrated deposits. Although we have no way of estimating the proportion of lands which fell into one category as opposed to another, the following table gives an idea of the extent to which the *iḥāle* method was employed in the 19th century, particularly for the mining of coal and other near-surface minerals:

Statistics on mining concessions in the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 20th century

type of mineral needed	extent of land exploited (in *djerībs*) *	% of total
chrome	19,076	7.0
lignite	13,340	5.0
argentiferous leads	12,357	4.6
other (coal, etc.)	225,227	83.4
Total	270.000	100%

Source: *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt-i māliyye*, 1325/1907, 100.
* one *djerīb* = 10 *dönüms* = approx. 1 hectare.

From the above discussion, it may be seen that ability to invest was an important factor in determining the mode of administration selected for a given mining enterprise. A second factor which was critical in determining the intensity of mining activity at a particular time was the price of metals on the international market. The fluctuation in the price of metals in turn was tied to levels of production in the three principal mining centres of America, Europe and the Ottoman Empire, as well as to the relative balance between the three at given time. Thus for instance, while we know that production of silver in the Americas increased five-fold in the century 1520-1620, the impact of this influx of cheap metal was felt more sharply and immediately in Europe than in the Ottoman lands. While European mining suffered an almost immediate collapse, the Ottoman mines continued to find markets for their production, both as a result of long-lasting disruptions in the heartlands of the European mining industry during the Thirty Years' War and because of continued upward pressure on prices based on rising demand for basic metals in the military and industrial sectors of the internal economy of the Ottoman Empire. Until now, it has been generally assumed (particularly among the Balkan historians, see *Bibl.*, works of Dinić, Kovaćević, etc.) that the production of the Balkan mines suffered an irreversible collapse coinciding with the Turkish occupation of Serbia completed in 1460. The issue of mining decline is considerably more complex than that, and depends on a detailed study of price fluctuations of precious metals over the long term. Since this study has not been undertaken for the Ottoman Empire, it is at present very difficult for us to present any conclusive evidence or to chart accurately the course of periods of expansion and decline in the mining industry. A further factor to be considered, linked with the question of price and having a direct bearing on intensity of mineral production, is the application of new technology and mechanisation in mining. Since it was only when demand for a metal was high that investment in technical improvements was economically feasible, such improvements were usually introduced through state planning and initiative (examples in Refik, 45 (doc. dated 1029/1618), in which the government provides 150,000 *aḳçes* to install four new water-wheels (*čarkh*) to power the lifts and pumps of a silver mine at Inegöl; and Refik, 52 (doc. dated 1128/1716), in which the government approves the transfer of money from a provincial treasury to allow for continuation of work on a drainage channel which has been abandoned by private developers due to insufficient funds).

Dramatic improvements both in the quantity and the quality of mineral production were achieved in the 19th century as the result of the introduction of mechanical aids. While the purity of copper smelted in small forges equipped with hand-operated bellows was uneven at best, with the erection of large, state-built and state-operated smelting houses with mechanically-driven bellows, a consistent level of purity of 85% was achieved (for examples describing the impact on production of the building of state smelting houses at Ergani in 1266/1850 and subsequently at Tokat, see *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt-i māliye, 1325/1907*, 263; on the effect of mechanisation on mining yields in the 13th/19th century, see below). Nevertheless, the price was always the final determinant in deciding whether a proposed improvement was cost effective. When, as a result of downward market pressures of foreign competition the price of a metal fell, this could result in the closing of a mine which had been profitable and even worthy of investment for improvement under the earlier pricing structure.

The organization of labour

In order to ensure that an adequate work force was available to operate the mines, workers in the state mining operations (*maʿdendjis*), like the guardians of the mountain passes (*derbendjis*) and keepers of the way-stations on the imperial highways (*menzildjis*), were registered in the cadestral surveys under a special category of functionaries exempt from the payment of the extraordinary *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] taxes. As an example of how this system operated, a survey of 1082/1672 covering 155 mining villages attached to Srebenica is illustrative (BBA, KK 5175, pp. 60-2). In this survey, each individual village is assigned a specific duty in connection with the mining process. Some were assigned as excavators (*ḳuyudjus*), others were charged with preparing charcoal for the forges (*kömürdjüs*) or as lumbermen and wood-cutters (*domrukdjular we odundjular*). Tasks ranged from the very specialised, as in the case of one village whose people were designated as makers of rope for operating the pulleys in the mine shafts (*urghandjis*) to unspecified casual

labour (*aylāḳ*). Those villages were required to provide work crews as long as the mining operations in their region continued, and *maʿdendji* status was even passed on from father to son and from generation to generation. In order to insure against production loss due to absenteeism, the *maʿdendjis* were also required not to leave the mine for any period of time without specific permission from the supervisor of the mine (Refik, 26). On the other hand, they were exempted from being called away for the performance of other kinds of labour, such as road repair and fortress building, which was required as a compulsory service (*mukellef khidmet*) in partial satisfaction of the *ʿawāriḍ* tax obligation of other *reʿāyā* (see orders preventing summoning (*iḥḍār*) of mine workers for other tasks on the part of the provincial governors, Refik, 27-9, 32-3, etc.). As skilled workers, the conditions under which the registered *maʿdendjis* performed their jobs in the mines were carefully specified in special regulations, and care was taken to enforce their application. In the first place, mining activities tended to be seasonal, most intensive work taking place in the $7^1/_2$-month period between *Newrūz* (21 March) and *Rūz-i Ḳāsim* (7 November). In addition, the working week was defined as lasting five days, the remaining two days being designated as idle days (*awāre*) (Anhegger-İnalcık, 7, 12, 14, 15, etc.). Since registered *maʿdendjis* with some experience were usually in short supply, their numbers had to be bolstered by the use of hired labour. Statistics from salt mining operations published by Güçer suggest that the proportion of workers registered as *tuzdjus* and enjoying a share of the mine's production (sometimes $^1/_{12}$, sometimes $^1/_9$) was about equal to those workers taken on seasonally and paid a cash wage (example in Güçer, 106-7, citing the case of the Beçin salt works in Muğla province where of a total of 415 workers 195 (47%) were registered *tuzdjus* and the remaining 220 hired labour). Due to the hard physical nature of work in the mines, crews were normally expected to work only two-hour shifts with rest periods in between. By means of revolving duty, the mines could be kept in continous operation on a 24-hour basis. A document of 1126/1714 (Refik, 50-1) suggests that a work crew of 20 men could be kept working for 20 days at this pace, but every 20 to 30 days a fresh crew would be called in to replace them. During the period in which they were engaged in working at the mines, mine workers were provided with food rations and shelter at government expense. In 1126/1714, in addition to weekly wages amounting to one *ḳurush* for every simple labourer (*irghāḍ*) hired to work in the mines, an allowance of two *paras* each day was paid as a cash equivalent for food rations. Sometimes however the food rations were paid in kind in the following amounts: 141 pounds (50 *wūḳiyyes*) of wheat per month per worker, with a weekly supplement of $5^1/_2$ pounds (2 *wūḳiyyes*) of leavened bread (*khamir*). In an interesting document dealing with the terms of operation of a state salt works in Zwornik province published by Handžić (see *Bibl.*, Handžić [1959]), we learn that working conditions and the share of workers in the profits of a mine could even become a subject for collective arbitration. In this example, the workers' share in the salt works had previously been determined as the product of three days' work, and the treasury share as the product of four days' work each week. However, on consulting with the parties concerned, the workers proposed a more equitable accommodation whereby they agreed to take their share in the proceeds of the mine each day in kind, in an amount defined in detail and guaranteed in the specific wording of their agreement (*muḳāwele*). This latter system of apportioning shares in kind, rather than as the product of a particular day's work, protected both the workers and the treasury, since it was in neither party's interest to slow down or abandon production on the days devoted solely to the other's account. Other examples from different mining operations and forms of organised group labour show that the working conditions, and terms of recompense for workers, even those recruited for compulsory services such as fortress building, were negotiated so as to equal or to better the current rates in effect at the time (see Murphey, *Mosul*, 167).

Apart from the simple labourers who did the hard physical work excavating the mines, there was a whole range of more specialised skilled workers and supervisors. Their positions, like those of the *maʿdendjis*, were confirmed by imperial diploma (*berāt*) and carried with them certain special conditions and privileges. As an example (BBA, Ibn ul-Emin, "Meʿādin", no. 108) a document confirming the inherited position as *maʿdendji-bashī* to a certain Meḥmed in charge of inspecting all the mining shafts and forges at Gümüsh-khāne in order to ensure smooth operation and to guard against concealment or theft of silver ore, states that the holder of this office was to enjoy a customary revenue (*ʿawāʾid*) of one basket of ore for every forge under his inspection. The distribution of the mineral production between these various experts, foremen and inspectors working in a mine followed long-established tradition and was based on a division of the production of each mining shaft into 66 distinct shares (*ḥiṣṣe*) (Beldiceanu 1964, 86). However, further deductions (*kesim*) and fees both in pure metal and as cash assessments were set aside as the share of the money coiners (*ṣarrāfīn*) and other mint officials to whom the refined ore was usually sold.

Because of the risks and expenses involved in mining exploration, and the hard physical nature of the work, we find in some instances that the local populace deliberately falsified prospecting reports and tried to discourage the opening of new mines in their districts or the reopening of abandoned shafts (see Refik, 46-57, doc. dated 1112/1700, in which the populace of Sidrekapsı oppose the reopening of an abandoned mine in order to avoid forced labour requirements). With the intensified production of the 13th/19th century, in particular in the coal mining industry, the labour situation changed completely (on this, see the study by Quataert in *Bibl.*).

One should note as a preliminary that the sites exploited by the Ottomans were to a very large extent centres which had been known and mined since ancient times. In the pre-Ottoman period, the major mining centres were in Serbia (see survey by Jireček based on records preserved in the Ragusan archives) and in northeastern Anatolia (for ancient times, see P. de Jesus; for the Byzantine period, Vryonis). Contrary to what is sometimes claimed (in particular by the Balkan historians, see above), the establishment of the Ottoman state in these lands did not result in a collapse of the indigenous mining industry. In fact, with regard to the Serbian mines, for instance, we know from the observations of Iacopo de Promontorio in 1475 (cited by Vryonis, 15) that the Ottomans were responsible for dis-

covering and exploiting new sites which had previously lain idle, thus opening the way for a new period of expansion in Balkan mining.

Categories and regional distribution of Ottoman mineral resources.

In the fifteenth section of the *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim* (Nuruosmaniye ms. 3426, fols. 349b-351a), Meḥmed ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ organises his information under three broad headings: precious metals (*filid̲h̲āt*), precious stones (*aḥd̲j̲ār*) and precious oils (*edhān*). In accordance with the traditional classification, the first group (fols. 347b-352b) is subdivided into the seven principal metals (*haft hos̲h̲*), i.e. gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron and speculum metal (*k̲h̲ār-i ṣīnī* [*q.v.*]).

The sources for gold mentioned by ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ as most productive in his time (fol. 349b) were the mines in the environs of Sid̲j̲ilmāssa [*q.v.*]. Another source for fine quality gold used in the Cairo mint was in the same region at Ud̲j̲le (S. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization ... of Ottoman Egypt*, 128). An indication of the extent of the production of these mines is given when one remembers that the yearly treasury contribution (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]) of Egypt was fixed at 500,000 gold pieces (Shaw, *op. cit.*, 284-5). Although a part of the *irsāliyye* was sometimes paid with other coins, it was typically made up of at least one-half gold (see orders to that effect to the governors of Egypt dating from the reign of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-39); University Library, Istanbul, ms. T.Y. 6110, fols. 46b-47b, 80a-80b, 91a-92b, all dealing with *k̲h̲azīne irsālī*).

The principal silver mines of the Ottoman Empire were concentrated in Serbia, with other important centres in Thrace (Sidrekapsı and Pravišta) and Macedonia (Üsküb/Skopje, Kratova, etc.). The value of the annual production of ten of the largest of these mines is summarised in the following table:

Name of mine or mining region	yearly value of lease of tax-farm (*muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*])	*year*
Skopje	4,695,915	1584
Zaplana	4,600,000	1603
Sidrekapsı	3,690,000	1585
Demirhisar	1,710,000	1589
Lofča and Berkofča	1,633,333	?
Pravišta	851,182	1590
Srebrenica	848,105	1858
Trepča	333,333	1585
Rudnik	273,333	1585
Novobrdo	216,666	1585

Source: R. Murphey, *Silver production* ..., 82-5.

Although estimates for overall production levels of the silver mines in Rumelia vary considerably, official statistics from the turn of the 11th/17th century indicate an annual production of silver somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,600,000 ounces (Murphey, *Silver production*, 79).

As for Anatolia, silver deposits were to be found in the mines at D̲j̲and̲j̲a near present-day Gümüs̲h̲-k̲h̲āne. Register MM 922 in the Istanbul archives gives us an idea of the scale of this mine's production in the year 1010/1601. At this date, during a four-month period, a quantity of 149,949 *dirhems* or 14,802 troy ounces was produced. This indicates a yearly production of silver at D̲j̲and̲j̲a of around the 450,000 *dirhems* level. However, after the 11th/17th century, silver was no longer produced in large quantities at D̲j̲and̲j̲a. This was due partly to a failure to recover from disruptions during the D̲j̲alālī rebellions [*q.v.*] period, and partly to natural exhaustion of the surface veins. Peysonnel's report of 1787 indicates a significant decline in the intensity of mining activity in the mines around Gümüs̲h̲-k̲h̲āne by stating that in his day only eighteen forges remained in operation (Peysonnel, 82). Both silver and gold were also produced in the mines at Ergani, in the northwest sector of Diyārbekir province. A document dating from 1155/1742 (BBA, KK 5192) indicates that during a twelve-month period a total of 201,157 *dirhems* of gold (19,885,06 troy ounces) and 1,136,810 *dirhems* of silver (112,208,04 troy ounces) were smelted in 3,982 separate forges, each under the direction of an expert known as the *ifrāzd̲j̲i*. Each *mit̲h̲āl* of gold (1 *mit̲h̲āl* = 1.5 *dirhems*) was valued at 460 *aḳčes*, while silver was priced at 12.5 *ḳurus̲h̲s* per *čeki* (1 *čeki* = 100 *dirhems*) or 15 *akčes* per *dirhem* at the standard rate of 120 *aḳčes* to the *ḳurus̲h̲*. A second register compiled five years previously in 1149/1737 (BBA, MM 18,404) records that 3,216 forges were in operation, producing a yearly quantity of 134,521.5 *dirhems* (13,277 troy ounces) of gold and 522,272 *dirhems* (51,548 troy ounces) of silver. Unlike the silver mines at D̲j̲and̲j̲a, at Ergani a high level of production was maintained well into the 19th century.

Apart from gold and silver, with regard to other mineral resources the Ottoman Empire was in a particularly favorable position. Copper was supplied from the mines in the province of Ḳasṭamonu, in particular the mine of Küre in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Inebolu and the mines in the township of Čankiri [*q.v.*] (*Ḳasṭamonu wilāyeti sālnāmesi, sene 1316 H.*, 533-4). Copper production at the Küre mine is well documented from archival sources. The earliest account dates from 919/1513 (BBA, Ibn ul-Emin Tasnif, "Meʿādin", no. 3) and records the operation of 29 forges producing 28,638 *wuḳiyyes* (36.74 metric tons) for an 8½ month period. The pure copper once extracted was valued at 68 *aḳčas* per *wuḳiyḳe*. Subsequent records for the year 1081/1670 (BBA, MM 15997) give only the lump-sum valuation of the tax-farm lease for the operation of the mine fixed at 3,500 *batmans* or 24.85 metric tons, without specifying actual production. However, a still later register dating from 1200/1785-6 (BBA, KK 2945), while not exclusively concerned with the Küre mine but recording shipments of copper ore from the Black Sea region as a whole, permits us to make some more precise estimations about overall levels of copper production. This register records 23 separate shipments made from the port of Samsun in the early months of 1200/1785-6, including 22,243 pieces constituting a total weight of 71,911 *batmans* or 510.57 metric tons (note: the equivalent of 431,466 *wuḳiyyes*, 150 *dirhems*, given for the shipments totalling 71,911 *batmans*, allows us to fix the true weight of the *batman* in use for metals at this time at 5.5379 *wuḳiyyes* or 7.1 kg). Since, however, these shipments were made directly to the cannon foundry in Istanbul, they cannot be regarded as accurately reflecting the overall output of even the mines of the Black Sea area. D. Urquhart writing in 1833 describes Küre as "perhaps the richest copper mine in the world" and notes that its yearly production reached some three million *oḳḳas* or 3,800 metric tons. One-quarter of this total was supplied directly to the imperial arsenal in Istanbul for gun casting, one-third was consumed by local industry, and the remaining surplus of about 41%

exported to foreign markets, in particular India. Peysonnel (see summary statistics in *Bibl.*) also provides some information on copper exported from the Black Sea ports. Aside from Küre, we know from Edwards' account of Ottoman mining in 1914 (Edwards, 195) that there were rich copper deposits in the Hendek basin east of Adapazarı, in addition to which Solakian (62-70) speaks of dozens of small mines along the Harshit river valley near Tirebolu. (For further information on copper production, see also the Farley report cited in *Bibl.*, and Issawi, 278-9.) According to Meḥmed ʿĀshıḳ (*Menāẓir al-ʿawālim*, fol. 351b), there existed some copper deposits in the Osogovska mountains near Kratovo and in various locations in the mountains of Bosnia.

Iron ore was excavated in large quantities in the mines of Samakov in present-day Bulgaria, and shipped to Istanbul for various uses in civil and military construction via the Black Sea port of Ahyolu (Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami*, i, 367). There were numerous other smaller mining centres throughout Bosnia which could also be mobilised in time of need (on the smaller iron-producing mines in the vicinity of Novo Brdo, see *Bibl.*, Handžić, 1976). An interesting example of the reopening of a mine at Kamengrad in northern Bosnia is to be found in vol. xxi of the *Mühimme defter*s for the year 980/1572. The document is addressed to the governor of Bosnia and specifies that, in order to meet a pressing need for cannon balls at the front, the responsible authorities in the area are to recruit the necessary workmen from the neighbouring villages without delay and resume production at the mine immediately. A fact which should not be overlooked when analysing the pattern of Ottoman mining activity is that, in addition to the richness of a given deposit, geographical proximity to the place where military need was the greatest could also be a major factor in determining which mines were exploited and also the level of production which was sought in particular locations.

Information about the two largest consumers of iron products, namely the imperial naval yards (*tersāne-yi ʿāmire*) and the imperial arsenal (*djebe-khāne*) allow us to make rough estimates about the levels of production in the major iron-producing regions. In the case of the naval yards, a register dated 1073/1663 (BBA, MM 1800) specifies that 1,328 *ḳanṭar*s or about 75,000 kg. of raw iron were provided from Samakov at a cost of 623,267 *aḳče*s or approximately 470 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar*. An *idjmāl* register prepared by the overseeing agent (*nāẓir*) of the Samakov mine covering a two-year period from Muḥarrem 1025 to Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1026/January 1616 to December 1617 (BBA, MM 2067) indicates that the following finished goods were sent to the arsenal in that year: 1,024 shovel blades (*küreks*), 2,552 picks (*ḳazmas*), 2,000 axes (*balṭa*) and 14 crowbars (*küskü*). Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi, 128) speaks of a yearly quantity of 8,000 wagonloads of raw iron being sent to the central lands of the Empire chiefly via the seaport of Salonica. In Anatolia, one of the principal iron ore deposits exploited by the Ottomans was at Kiği in the mountainous region southwest of Erzerum. (on the production of cannon balls and other finished iron products at Kiği, see Murphey, *The construction of a fortress* ..., documents in the addenda). Another centre of iron production in Anatolia, at least one that was active in the 19th century, was in the township of Zeytūn north of Marʿash. According to the yearbook for Aleppo province for the year 1321/1906 (446), there were two active mines producing a yearly quantity of 2,500 *wuḳiyye*s of raw iron (on these mines, see also Edwards, 193, and Solakian, 51-2).

The provenance of steel used in the Ottoman Empire was various. From the east, it was brought from India and Caucasia, in particular Derbend, and found its way to Damascus, where it was fashioned into various finished products, such as sword blades, by the celebrated artisans of that city (see *Bibl.*, section iii). Some steel also came from Europe and was known as *frengi*, although there were also indigeneous centres in the Rumelian provinces at Buda and Samakov. Because of its foreign origin and the costly nature of the process by which it was refined, tempered steel, referred to as "Frankish steel" (*čelik-i frengi*), fetched the highest unit price among the baser metals, commonly being sold at 4,000 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar* (91 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*) and in one instance for as much as 4,300 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar* or 98 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* (BBA, MM 6760, register dated 1006/1597-8). The regulated prices as set in 1049/1640 fixed a maximum price of 70 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* for the *čelik-i frengi* supplied to the rasp-makers' guild (*türpüdjüyān*) in Istanbul (*Esʿār defteri*, Topkapu Sarayı Library ms. Revan 1934, fols. 107a-108b), but clearly there were extensive gradations in quality. The official price regulations of 1049/1640 established the following four categories:

(1) *frengi čelik* - 70 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*;
(2) *Peshte čelik* - 35 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*;
(3) *Samakiv čelik* - 25 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*;
(4) *čelik* of low quality not suitable for use by the file-makers - 20 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye*.

For the prices of various other metals used in the production of ordnance, an account register of the imperial cannon foundry (*ṭop-khāne-yi ʿāmire*) from 1006/1597-8 gives us some precise data (BBA, MM 6760). At this date, *copper* was supplied to the foundry at a price of forty *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* (1 *wuḳiyye* = 1.2828 kg.). Tin varied in price between 3,800-3,900 *aḳče*s per *ḳanṭar* (1 *ḳanṭar* = 44 *wuḳiyye*s), or 86-89 *aḳče*s per *wuḳiyye* according to its provenance. In one notation, an item of expense of 1,372 *aḳče*s for the cost of a pack horse to transport tin from Semendire is recorded.

Other minerals

Apart from the seven precious metals (*haft-i hosh*), another class of minerals was made up of ores of low intrinsic, but high practical value. Principal among these ores were alum (*shab*), sulphur (*kükürt*) and saltpeter (*göherčile*).

Alum was used in the textile industry during the dying process, as well as in the paper-making and other industries. Its manufacture in Turkey dated back at least to the 8th/14th century (İnalcık, *Classical age*, 134; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 160-1; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 565-71). Until alternative sources were discovered, Anatolia was the major and almost unchallenged supplier of alum to the European textile industry, principally through the intermediacy of Genoese merchants. A Florentine merchant of the early 14th century lists five fully distinguishable grades and regional varieties of alum from Anatolia, as follows: (1) Kütahya alum; (2) alum from Ḳaraḥiṣār (= Shebin-Ḳaraḥiṣār); (3) alum from Phocea (= Yeñi Foča); (4) alum from around Ulubād on the western shore of Apolyont Gölü; and (5) impure alum from the various islands of the Marmara sea (known as

alum of Cyzicus (= Ḳapudaghī yarīm-adasī) (Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 43, 293, 369). (For the reversal of this state of affairs with regard to the Turkish predominance in the production and supply of alum to the West by the 12th/18th century, see below.) The principal alum pits were found in north-central Anatolia at Shebin-Ḳaraḥiṣār and in western Anatolia in the area around Kütahya. The toponym Shabkhāne still in use today in the vicinity of Gediz, and other variants such as Shabdji near Tavshanlī, attest to the former importance of the alum deposits in this region. Additional deposits were found at Maronea near Gümüldjine [*q.v.*] in Thrace (*Sharʿiyya* court records of Aleppo, *Ewāmir-i sulṭāniyye*, xiv, 70-1) and at Ipsala (Singer, 89-94).

Since sulphur and saltpetre were two of the principal ingredients used in the manufacture of gunpowder [see BĀRŪD], it is not surprising that supply of these essential materials was controlled by means of a special regulatory system. The accounting system applied for securing gunpowder supplies was known as the *odjaḳlīḳ* or special fund allocated for purchases and requisitioning of essential supplies (the same system was used to secure supplies for the imperial kitchens, the imperial navy and other branches of state service). The regions whence the essential minerals for the production of gunpowder could be procured within the Empire were limited. For supplies of sulphur, the government turned to either extreme of the Empire. A document dated 978/1570 indicates that a yearly quantity of 2,000 *ḳanṭārs* was supplied to the government by the governor of Hakkārī province from his own region together with Erdjish (Refik, 7-8). On the other side of the empire, an indication of sulphur being mined in Selānik province is found in a budget for the year 1079-80/1669-70 (Barkan 1955, 249), where an expenditure of 33,000 *aḳčes* is recorded for hiring of pack animals to transport the ore. Since we know from other sources (Refik, 7-8) that the standard rental fee for each draught animal was 200 *aḳčes*, we may interpret these figures as representing 165 animals, each bearing the standard load of 18 *batmans* or about 300 pounds. Saltpetre, too, because it required specially humid climatic conditions, such as those found on the edges of the salt lakes of Ḳaramān province, or in the Nile delta of Egypt, though more abundant than sulphur, could only be produced in certain places. Like sulphur, it too was supplied to the government by means of the yearly fixed contribution in kind. The level of this contribution was supposed to be constant, but additional extraordinary requests could be made in time of need. The yearly level fixed for Ḳaramān province as a whole was 500 *ḳanṭārs* or 28,222 kg. (Konya, *Sharʿiyya* court records for the year 1040/1630, 30). More often than not, the saltpetre was produced in a number of smaller workshops or distilleries called *kennes* (*Derleme*, viii, 2744), to be collected and transported to centrally-located factories for the manufacture of gunpowder. One such centre was at Bor, which annually produced a quantity of 91,000 *wuḳiyyes* (approx. 2,000 *ḳanṭārs* or 112,890 kg.) of finished gunpowder for delivery to the arsenal in Istanbul (Önen, 21). Egypt's regular contribution (*irsāliyye*) was 3,000 *ḳanṭārs* (Ferīdūn, ii, 201-2), but in some years it reached as high as 10,000 *ḳanṭārs* (see the order addressed to Tabānī-Yassī Meḥmed Pasha, governor of Egypt 1038-40/1628-30, in *Ṣuwer*, fols. 43b-44a).

Table. Statistics on Anatolian mining in the 10th-11th/17th-18th centuries

Minerals found	Location*	Yearly value of the *muḳāṭaʿa* in *aḳčes*	Yearly volume of production	Price per unit	Source of information	Date
silver	(Aleppo)	17,346			MM 7075, p. 8	1046/1636
silver	(Tokat)	67,000			MM 7075, p. 26	1046/1636
silver	Djandja (Gümüsh-khāne)	1,500,000			MM 7075, p. 12	1046/1636
silver	Inegöl (Bursa)	80,000			MM 7075, p. 32	1046/1636
silver	(Aleppo)	17,346			MM 7075, p. 8	1046/1636
silver	Djandja (Gümüsh-khāne)		450,000 *dirhems* **	9.5 *aḳčes* for pure silver, 1.5 for ore	MM 922	1010/1601
silver	Ergani		1,136,810 *dirhems*	15 *aḳčes*	MM 5192	1155/1742
gold	Ergani		201,157 *dirhems*	306 2/3 *aḳčes*	MM 5192	1155/1742
copper	Ardanuč (Erzerum)	300,000			MM 7075, p. 15	1046/1636
copper	Küre (Ḳasṭamonu)		28,638 *wuḳiyyes* ***	68 *aḳčes*	Ibn ul-Emin, Meʿādin, no. 3	919/1513
iron	Čankiri (Ḳasṭamonu)	117,879 ****			MM 7075, p. 28	1046/1636
iron	(Muğla)	6,333 *****			MM 7075, p. 38	1046/1636
alum	Ḳaraḥisār-i Sharḳī	1,382,650			MM 7075, p. 15	1046/1636
alum	Gediz (Kütahya)	316,666			MM 7075, p. 35	1046/1636

* Place-names given between parentheses designate *sandjaḳs*. This is used both as an aid to location and in order to differentiate individual figures for specific mines from summation figures for a district as a whole; ** One *dirhem* equals 3.07 g; *** One *wuḳiyye* equals 1.2828 kg; **** This figure of 117,879 also reflects some revenues from the salt works of Čankiri; ***** Tax-farm of the smelting works (*ḳal-khāne*).

Mineralogical map of Anatolia.

1. IRON: Biledjik (Refik, 1-4), Čankiri (MM 7075), Muğla (MM 7075), Divriği (Kātib 624), Kiği (Refik, 15, 21, 46);
2. COPPER: Ardanuč (Refik, 54, and MM 7075), Kağizman (Refik, 45-46), Küre/Ḳasṭamonu (ʿĀshıḳ, f. 351b);
3. LEAD and SILVER: Gümüsh-khāne (Ewliyā II, 405 and MM 7075) Ergani (Refik, 29, 39) Inegöl/Bursa (Refik, 45, and MM 7075), Ispiye/Tirebolu (Refik, 30, 31, 34);
4. SULPHUR: Erdjish (Refik, 7-8), Hakkārī (Refik, 7-8);
5. SALTPETRE: Erdjish (Refik, 13), Ḳaramān (Refik, 11-12, 18), Bor (Ewliyā, iii, 190);
6. ALUM: Shebin Ḳaraḥiṣār (MM 7075), Gediz (MM 7075).

Sources:

ʿĀshıḳ = Meḥmed ʿĀshıḳ, *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim*, Nur-i Osmaniye Library ms. 3426;
Ewliyā = Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, 10 vols., Istanbul 1314/1896, to 1938;
Kātib = Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732;
MM = Başbakanlık Archives, Maliyeden Müdevver series;
Refik = A. Refik, *Osmanlı devrinde Türkiye madenleri* (967-1200), Istanbul 1931.

For the purpose of quick reference, a table follows which shows the scale of various mining enterprises in Anatolia. An accompanying map shows the geographical distribution of the principal minerals.

Market organisation: distribution and supply.

The principal purpose of the state regulation of mines was to ensure self-sufficiency, particularly in materials of strategic significance. It seems moreover that in order to achieve this, the state was even willing to sacrifice a measure of efficiency in production. This is most obvious in those mines administered by *iltizām* (see above and MÜLTEZIM). Under this system, after deducting expenses for materials and payment of the treasury tithe, an investor was left with only some 60% of the production with which to pay his workers and realise a profit for himself. As is indicated in a memorandum on the subject written in about 1600 (see Murphey, *Silver production*, 90), this left little margin for experimentation with new techniques or investment in production-boosting improvements. In point of fact, the Ottoman Empire was independent of outside sources of supply for all significant minerals with the possible exception of tin (on the import of tin from the Cornish mines, see BĀRŪD at i, 1063, and H. İnalcık, *The socio-political effects* . . ., 215 ff. Also, Ewliyā Čelebi mentions that the supply of tin for the Istanbul craft-guilds came from England (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, i, 579: *Ingiltere diyārından*). Modern geological exploration has determined that the only place in the Middle East where tin occurs in any appreciable deposit is the Lebanon (see de Jesus, i, 53, and ii, 395, map). However, there is no evidence that the Ottomans made use of this site (on the 17th century tin trade between England and Turkey, see Hedges, 84-5).

While mining production itself was also carefully monitored, strict government control was exercised, particularly in the marketing phase. One aspect of state regulation of the market place was the limiting or total prohibition of export of some mineral products at times when local stocks became depleted. Examples of the periodic imposition of trade restrictions in iron and lead, as well as other metals, are recorded in the well-indexed catalogue volumes of the Public Record Office in London (see *Bibl.*). These trading bans were imposed only as an exceptional measure, but with regard to the sale and distribution of certain scarce resources within the empire itself there was a whole range of restrictive regulations, ranging from government price control to the enforcement of artificial market boundaries known as *örü*.

To illustrate the fundamentally protectionist principles of the state with regard to mineral production and distribution, the conditions regulating the state alum mines are particularly revealing. Details on the marketing of alum mined at Shebin-Ḳaraḥiṣār (Ḳaraḥiṣār-ı Sharḳī) for use in the manufacture of gunpowder and other products are provided in the *sharʿiyya* court records from Aleppo. In an order dated 11 Muḥarrem 1194/19 January 1780 to the authorities in Aleppo, one of the restricted areas where the ore could be sold, the government barred the competition of European traders (*efrendjiler*)

who sought to flood the market with cheaper alum. Ship captains were warned that if they persisted in attempting to sell their cargoes at the deflated price of six *ḳurush̲s* per *ḳanṭar* (56.443 kg.), as opposed to the fixed price of forty-three *ḳurush̲s* per *ḳanṭar* set for the produce of the state-operated mines at Ḳaraḥiṣār, their cargoes would be confiscated (Damascus, *Markaz al-wat̲h̲āʾiḳ al-taʾrīk̲h̲iyya: Ewāmir-i sulṭāniyye* (*Ḥalab*), xv, 384-6). Another order dated 25 Muḥarrem 1191/5 March 1777 provided guarantees for the maintenance of treasury revenues deriving from alum sales by blocking access to the market to all suppliers until such time as all the state-produced alum had been sold. The order also provided that any shipments of alum not authentically proven to have originated from the state mines by the issuance of a treasury agent's permit (*tedh̲kire*) would be made subject to immediate confiscation, as well as to the payment of an indemnity amounting to twice the value of the seized shipment (*Ewāmir al-sulṭāniyye* (*Ḥalab*), xiv, 70-1). Such harsh restrictions and overtly monopolistic marketing practices based on defined areas called *örü* were applied in connection with a limited number of mineral products such as salt and alum. Nevertheless, the government applied similar restrictions on some precious metals as well, both with an eye to protecting treasury revenues, and to assuring the availability of scarce materials which, by their very nature, could easily be made the subject of hoarding and speculation. Thus the sale and circulation of raw silver was strictly controlled by the government. A limit was fixed for the use of the jewellers and related craft-guilds (such as the *sīrma-kesh̲ān*) by the comptroller of the mint (*ḍarb-k̲h̲āne nāẓīrī*), and unauthorised export of silver was also forbidden (on this question, see the references in Murphey, *Silver production* . . ., 89). Furthermore, by periodic regulation of the coinage (*taṣḥīḥ-i sikke*) to account for fluctuations in the market value of silver, official government rates of circulation (*rāʾidj̲*) for all major currencies, both internally and externally-minted, were determined and were universally applied in all provinces of the empire. Thus all phases of Ottoman mineral production, minting, and circulation followed the same rule of strict government regulation and control aimed at preserving self-sufficiency and at assuring abundance in the supply of precious metals for the home market.

Concerning the distribution for use of mineral resources, it is clear that the greater part of the empire's mineral production was set aside and made directly available to the state for two principal uses:

(1) *military use*

- a. the imperial cannon foundry (*top-k̲h̲āne-yi ʿāmire*)
- b. naval shipyards (*tersāne-yi ʿāmire*)

(2) *use in civil construction*

- a. buildings serving the public need
  - (1) mosques
  - (2) schools
  - (3) hospitals
  - (4) *ʿimārets*
- b. buildings reserved for state use
  - (1) royal palaces
  - (2) residences of high government functionaries.

A relatively smaller proportion was distributed to the craft guilds for the production of household utensils and consumer goods. Manufacture of common household items such as copper cooking pots (*ḳazg̲h̲an*), charcoal burners for household heating (*mangal*) and copper eatingware (*ḳab*) also used up large quantities of metal. According to Ewliyā's list (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, i, 579) in Istanbul alone there were some 1,000 separate metal founders' shops (*dökmedj̲is*) employing some 1,300 skilled craftsmen. It was only when these two needs had been fully satisfied, that is to say, the needs of the state and the needs of the internal consumer market, with a substantial surplus kept in reserve in case of emergency need, that the issue of export could even arise. When export did occur, the state also carefully supervised all aspects of these transactions in order to determine the appropriate trading partners, the volume of the trade, and the proper price level.

These peculiarities of the Ottoman marketing system are nowhere more in evidence than with respect to the distribution and sale of salt [see MILḤ]. For purposes of salt sales, each production district or *örü* was further divided into sub-units called *dīwāns*, to which salt was distributed for sale on the basis of carefully calculated population estimates. The purpose of such a system was obviously to guard against the occurrence of shortage caused by price speculation on the part of merchants who knew how to profit from a naturally occurring price differential based on the geographic proximity of their potential markets to the centre of production. Figures for several salt works in Anatolia and Rumelia published by Gücer indicate that the distribution of salt typically followed a repeating pattern: 85% of the salt produced in a given production district (*örü*) was blocked for distribution at fixed prices to local industries (bakeries, etc.), while only 15% made its way outside the confines of the *örü*, either as a contribution to a state organisation such as the imperial kitchen (*maṭbak̲h̲-i ʿāmire*) or for distribution in another *örü* experiencing a temporary shortage. Of the total of 85% consumed locally, Güçer was able to determine that 70% was sold directly at the mine or in its immediate environs, and a further 15% was sold in remote rural sales districts (*dīwāns*) with limited access to the mine. Far from being oppressive, these sales restrictions were designed to ensure equitable distribution of commodities which were either naturally scarce or liable to become the object of price speculation.

Nineteenth-century developments in Ottoman mining.

In considering the development of Ottoman mining in the 13th/19th century, one should note the three areas of fundamental change:

(a) Mining law. (For this, see the relevant articles from the *Düstür* listed in the *Bibl.*, section II. On the law governing capital investment and ownership of land by foreigners, see Engelhardt, i, 211 ff., and Solakian, 5-6. On the concessionary régime, see IMTIYĀZĀT.) (b) New mineral types exploited in the 19th century and the role of foreign capital in the development of Ottoman mining. (c) New technology and the impact of mechanisation. Only the major themes and issues relating to the last two topics, in particular, that of mechanisation in Ottoman mining (see below), will be treated here.

The exploitation of other mineral resources in the Ottoman Empire such as chrome and nickel and the more intensive exploitation of existing fields as in the coal industry, began on a large scale relatively late in Ottoman history. Under the impetus of increased demand sparked off by the Industrial Revolution in Europe, mineral exploitation rights in

Table. Statistics on Anatolian mining in the 19th century

Minerals found	Location	Yearly volume of production	Price per unit	Source of information	Date
copper	Erğani	6,172 metric tons	72 *para*	*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 263	average over 1859-1907
gold	Bulgar Dağı (Adana)	6¼ *oḳḳa*s (8.4 kg.)		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 263	average over 1805-25
silver	Bulgar Dağı	922 *oḳḳa*s (1,183 kg.)		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 263	average over 1805-25
copper	Küre (Ḳasṭamonu)	340 metric tons		Issawi, 279	1851
fuller's earth	Ankara	7,408,720 metric tons		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 265	average over 1820-5
meerschaum	Eskişehir	5,648 *ṣandiḳ*s (one *ṣandiḳ* = approx. 35 kg.)		*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 264	average over 1820-5

Anatolia became the subject of intense competition between the various capitulatory nations and were often made a specific article of agreement in the bilateral negotiations for the financing of such large-scale projects as the Ḥidjāz railway. In order the better to coordinate the leasing and exploitation of the state mines and to increase their profits, a separate Department of Mines attached to the Ministry of Public Works (*Nafʿiyya*) was established in 1887.

The most significant development in the new period was the intensive exploitation of the empire's coal reserves with the participation of foreign capital. This sector of the mining industry has been thoroughly studied by Quataert (see *Bibl.*), so there is no need to enter into details here. Two points which should be stressed, however, are firstly that the marked rise in mineral output in the late 19th century was almost entirely used for export outside the empire and not to fuel internal industrial activity (according to Owen, 213, 80%-90% of all coal production was exported, according to Quataert somewhat less, whereas Solakian (10) provides statistics from the first decade of the 20th century showing that minerals alone usually accounted for between 60-70% of all exports), and secondly that of all the minerals, coal was far and away the most important, comprising nearly 80% of all mineral output (see statistics in *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 100). The table below excludes coal production (for which, see Quataert and statistics on the Ereğli mine in *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 262-3) so as to give a more balanced picture of developments in the 19th century as compared with the earlier period. With reference to this table, it should be noted that two quarried minerals which were also intensively exploited during the new period, once again primarily for export, were fuller's earth and meerschaum (for statistics on these, see *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, table 27, at pp. 102-3, which gives the mineral output of the empire by province according to two categories, mines (*maʿdin*) and quarries (*ṭash odjaḳlarī*).

Mining technology.

1. The earlier period. Some interesting details of the technological aspects of Ottoman mining are provided through the first hand observations of Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ, who was in residence during a three-year period between 994/1586 and 997/1589 in the mining town of Sidrekapsı. According to his description, the mine shafts were typically dug to a depth of some 150 to 200 *dhirāʿ*s (one *dhirāʿ* = approx. 75 cm). A system of mechanically operated surface pumps linked to the subterranean water channels was installed to facilitate drainage. The process whereby the ore was smelted and purified in small forges is also described by him. As the by-product of the first smelting, the ore was divided into pure silver ingots and a quantity of litharge. The litharge could then either be sold in its raw state or else further refined to produce lead for roofing or ammunition. As described by Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ, the forges at Sidrekapsı were rather small in size, with a central heating chamber connected to an exterior collecting chamber where the smelted ore was left to solidify. The major technical difficulty seems to have been overheating, particularly in the winter months when the water circulation needed for cooling was impeded by freezing temperatures, which gave rise periodically to the explosion and collapse of the small, clay-built forges. A document which further describes the operation of the smelting houses (*ḳal-khānes*) attached to the imperial mint and which specifies the percentage of metal lost during each stage of the assaying process, has been discovered in the Topkapu Sarayı archives (D. 9572) (see further, Beldiceanu 1964, 95-7). Ewliyā Čelebi's 11th/17th century description of the iron works in Samakov gives evidence of the use of hydraulic power to work the iron-stamping presses (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, vi, 128).

2. The 19th century. We have already referred to the application of improved techniques in order to raise yields, a notable example being the construction of a centralised smelting plant at Tokat to process ore from mines throughout northeastern Anatolia (see above). Alongside improved technology, mechanisation in key areas such as the transport and loading of ore had a dramatic impact on mineral output at the turn of the 20th century. To take an example from the Ereğli coal fields, the building of a rail link and installing of cranes for rapid loading of the ships in the port are singled out by Quataert as the critical factors leading to a three-fold increase in production within a few years of the establishment of the French Company, the *Société d'Heraclée*, in 1896 (see Quataert; Owen, 213, taking a longer time frame, speaks of a better than ten-fold increase in coal output between 1855 and 1913). Proximity to existing railway lines also affected the decision to exploit known deposits in other sectors of the mining industry. The development of chrome mining in the province of Aydīn, and intensified exploitation of the beds of schist at Hendek for extraction of copper, became economically viable only by virtue of the proximity of these areas to existing railway lines. In the case of the Hendek operations, we are told by Edwards (196) that at the time of his report in 1914 there were as many as 26 separate concessionaires working in an area only 80 miles square. As a result of intensified mining activity and mechanisation in the industry, in a single decade at the turn of the 20th century overall mining production in all sectors of the industry doubled from about 600,000 tons to 1.15 million tons (Solakian, 9). This improvement in output was

achieved without a significant increase in the number of mines operated (Solakian, table at p. 9, shows that the number of mines operated fluctuated between 82 and 94 over the period 1901-10), and in the absence of new mineral finds of any significance.

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Below this is inscribed the instruction *987, 990, 991, 992, 1015, 1024, 1025, ve 1043 senerleri dahī görüle*; MM 22, 148 = completed draft of the above survey containing data spanning the years 990-1041/1582-1631; State Treasury budgets from the KK series: KK 1919 = budget for 1036-7/1626-7 KK 1921 = budget for 1037-8/1627-8 KK 1927 = budget for 1039-40/1630-1. Istanbul, Topkapu Sarayı Arşivi, Defter 9572 = a document dealing with the administration of the mint at Sidrekapsı dated 944/1537. For a brief description on archival sources on mining, see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekalet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955, 78-81. In particular, see BBA, KK 5167, KK 5169, KK 5171, KK 5175, KK 5184, KK 5185, KK 5196 = registers dealing with the Rumelian mines, and BBa, KK 5190, KK 5191, KK 5192, KK 5195, KK 5204 = registers dealing with the Anatolian mines. 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4. In Islamic art.

Materials and techniques.

In Muslim civilisation as in classical antiquity, precious metals and alloys of copper, tin, lead and iron were used for artistic purposes. We have only scanty information about the metals, and particularly about the alloys of which metalware was made. Our ignorance in this respect stems from a number of reasons. One is that most of the Islamic metal objects have never been properly analysed, and terms like "bronze" or "brass" are used indiscriminately in catalogues and other scholarly publications. Another reason is that the mediaeval Islamic terminology for metals and their alloys is often ambiguous and therefore difficult to evaluate (Aga Oğlu, *A brief note*, in *JAOS*, lxv [1945], 218-23). It would seem, however, that from the early Islamic period to at least A.D. 1200, materials conform with those used in classical antiquity and with those mentioned by al-Djazarī, namely: gold (*dhahab*); silver (*fiḍḍa*); with bronze (*isfādrūh*, from the Persian *sapīd rūy*, a bronze with heavy content of tin, antimony and lead); bronze (*ṣufr*); brass (*shabah*); copper (*nuḥās*), and tin (*raṣāṣ al-ḳalʿī*). In early Islamic times the use of iron (*ḥadīd*) seems to have been negligible. It became important, however, for the production of steel for weapons and tools, and may have also been used instead of bronze for the plating of doors and city gates.

Together with the unbroken tradition in the use of metals and their alloys, there was a technical conservatism in the fashioning of Islamic metal objects. Several methods of casting—one of the oldest arts in the world—were practised in Islam. One was the cire-perdue or lost wax process, applied in cases of closed shapes. An accurate, though somewhat sketchy description by al-Djazarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], active in Diyārbakr in the second half of the 6th/12th century, testifies that in northern Mesopotamia the lost wax technique was well-established. Dated mid-6th/12th century objects indicate its use in Iran too (L. T. Giuzalian, *A bronze qalamdān*, 97). Another method described by al-Djazarī was casting with green sand. This method, which is of obscure origin, is mentioned also in Chinese sources contemporary to al-Djazarī. (For the first description in Europe, see Biringuccio, *De la pirotechnia*, 1540.)

Casting in open or piece moulds was used for works in the round or for more composite shapes, and required soldering. Hollow, primarily circular vessels, were often produced from disks or sheet metal, such as brass or white bronze, by burnishing the shape on a lathe. This technique, discovered by Roman artisans and known today as spinning, presumably passed to Islam from late Roman and Byzantine sources. No written documents on this technique, comparable to al-Djazarī's book on automata [see ḤIYAL in Suppl.] have so far come to light. The same applies to the widely employed method of raising—or sinking—in which comparatively thin metal sheets were transformed by hammering into jointless, hollow vessels of almost any shape. Among the objects fashioned in this technique are jugs, bottles, cups and bowls raised in precious metal or white bronze, covered brass vessels with fluted bodies and lids, and the like.

The most common method employed for decoration were punching, chasing and bossing, tracing, engraving and inlay. None of these techniques was

entirely new. Their originality lies in the application of these conventional methods to create surface decorations of unprecedented Islamic character and artistic feeling.

(1) Punching: This method, known also as ring-matting and executed by stamps which terminate in a small ring or hole, is particularly appropriate for soft metals. It was employed by Chinese and Soghdian gold- and silversmiths primarily as background pattern, while in Islamic metalwork punched circles were also applied to objects made of bronze and its alloys. The most common use of ring-matting was to set off the main decoration or an inscription from the ground. Yet particularly on early metalware, punched circles also formed the principal decoration. On bronzes, ring matting appears to have gone out of fashion by the early 7th/13th century. The latest dated example of ring-matting on bronze known to the writer occurs on an inlaid penbox, which was made in 607/1210-11 by Shādhī for Madjd al-Mulk al-Muẓaffar, one of the viziers of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh.

(2) Chasing and bossing (*tandjīr*): Repoussé, or ornamental relief work, is produced by hammering metal sheet, and like punching it is closely linked to the work of the gold- and silversmith. We still possess a relatively fair number of chased and bossed gold and silver objects. The bulk of the surviving objects comes from Iran and antedates the 7th/13th century. Reports of later Muslim travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa imply, however, that such vessels continued to be manufactured also outside Iran and in larger quantities than the surviving examples suggest. The application of repoussé to bronze in order to create an over-all decoration, which was practised in the Near East since remote antiquity, was relatively rare in Islam. It is known foremost from a group of late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century candlesticks and some stylistically closely-related rectangular tray-like objects (see also Rice, *A Seljuq lamp from Konya, SIMW. V*). In modern times, chasing and bossing of brass and copper is practiced all over the Islamic world.

(3) Tracing and engraving (*ḥafr*): The decoration of the majority of Islamic metal objects was done either with chisels to produce grooves, or with gravers in order to remove the metal which once filled these grooves. Both techniques are not related to any specific material, and were employed singly and in conjunction with other techniques. They were used for unpretentious decorations of household utensils; for tracing intricate arabesque patterns; for preparing the grooves for copper and silver inlay, or to enrich repoussé or other decorations. Both tracing and engraving are still practiced in almost any bazaar workshop.

(4) Inlay: Inlay in metal (*takfīt* or *tarṣīʿ*) is a technique by which the artist enriches a metal object by overlaying parts of its surface with patterns formed from wires or sheets of a different metal. Although this craft too is of considerable antiquity, it was not popular before the mid-6th/12th century. On early bronzes, as for instance a pear-shaped ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum (434-1906), an often-discussed ewer in the Hermitage, or a ewer in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (47.100.90), a thin piece of red copper was hammered into a small cavity in order to mark the eyes or feathers of a bird or to indicate a fruit or floral motif. Silver wire, which in later centuries had become a common medium for inlay, was only rarely used with these early examples. The wider use of inlay with copper and silver is documented only from the mid-6th/12th century onwards. According to al-Djazarī, the inlaying of the doors at Diyārbakr in the last third of the 6th/12th century was done by cutting the pattern for the inlay from metal sheets, casting the grooves in the lost wax technique, and finally fitting both parts together. Although this method was known in ancient times, inlaid Islamic metal objects from the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries point to two different techniques. In the first, the so-called dove-tailing employed for red copper and silver inlay, the design was traced into the bronze or brass with a blunt tracer. The channels, or spaces to receive the copper or silver wire, were roughened and undercut, and the silver hammered into these "dove-tailed" grooves. Where the space to be inlaid was greater than a wire would fill, a piece of sheet metal instead of wire was beaten down into the undercut spaces and subsequently engraved. No undercutting took place in the second method of inlay. In this method, which was employed for gold and is documented since the mid-7th/13th century, shallow grooves following the contours of the design were traced, and the thin gold leaf was secured by hammering it into the grooves. When larger panels were prepared to receive the gold, the bottom of the respective ornament was thoroughly roughened with a punching tool.

On the majority of mediaeval bronze and brass objects, chased lines or background scrolls are filled with a black, bituminous substance the composition of which has so far not been analysed. Similarly, the composition of the niello powder used in Islamic times on gold and silver ware is still unknown.

Types of metalware.

Broadly speaking, Islamic metalwork falls into five categories. The first and largest are objects made for domestic and religious use. They are well represented in museums and private collections and therefore better known than the rest. The second group are doors and windows and their accessories. It includes knockers, locks, keys and window grills. Scientific and medical instruments, astrolabes, globes, knifes and scissors form the third group of metalwork. The interest in these instruments lies primarily in the history of science and technology. Yet in their excellent craftsmanship and beautiful decoration they are often real works of art. The fourth group are arms and armoury. They too are often of excellent craftsmanship, though for evident reasons they differ in design and workmanship from the former categories. The same applies to jewellery, which for technical and other reasons deserves a separate study [see DJAWHAR, ii, in Suppl.]. The last three categories are therefore not included in this section. Artistically-outstanding examples will be mentioned below.

Objects made for domestic and religious use.

(1) Lighting implements. Islamic lampstands basically follow Byzantine, Mediterranean models. Two types, both common in pre-Islamic Iran, Syria and Egypt, had particular influence on the formation of the Islamic stands. The first is characterised by a post made up of baluster-shaped links, and is topped by a pan and a faceted spike to hold the lamp. The second type has a plain shaft which is bordered above and below by either disks, rings or a squat knob. Both kinds rest on three pawed or hoofed animal feet. The base is formed by three curving trefoils with a raised sharp edge along the centre,

or, more rarely, rises in the shape of a shallow dome. The artistic changes brought about by Islam did not so much affect the main elements of the Roman-Byzantine models than their stylistic transformation. This is expressed in the preference for segmental shapes, faceted shafts, or geometric, flattened renderings of the zoomorphic feet or trefoil bases (Barrett, *Islamic metalwork*, Pls. 3, 4a). Another Roman variation, the pricket-type lamp stand, recurs primarily among early Mamlūk specimens (cf. Louvre, no. 6030; Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. I 655, repr. H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin 1925, Pl. 441). In later centuries, lampstands of the above-mentioned types became less adequate as lighting utensils and are therefore rare.

Mediaeval Islamic oil lamps also follow the Roman-Byzantine tradition. Their oval, or occasionally bulbous body has one or several nozzles for the wick, a hinged lid to cover the central filling hole, and is often applied with a handle at one end of the longitudinal axis. In contrast to the Roman specimen, the Islamic oil lamps were not made for a pricket stand, and are either footless or rest on a splayed, often faceted foot. This last form is generally regarded as an Iranian, particularly East Iranian feature and associated with 6th/12th to 7th/13th century Khurāsānian workshops. Many of them had animal or bird-shaped finials.

Zoomorphic oil lamps, too, were created both by Christian and by Islamic artisans. Yet whereas the shapes of the Byzantine and Coptic lamps were restricted to birds of symbolic content, in mediaeval Islam no clear preference for one or the other animal shape seems to have existed. The species of birds or quadrupeds became more and more differentiated and imaginative, and many are provided with burners attached to the breast or head of a fabulous creature.

In contrast to the lighting implements mentioned so far, the models for the mediaeval types of Islamic candlesticks are as yet obscure. Since about the end of the 6th/12th century the dominant type of these objects consisted of three clearly-marked elements: a truncated base, a socket which on a smaller scale repeated the form of the base, and a tubular neck serving as a link between the two. Aside from different proportions and sizes—candlesticks manufactured for mosques or public institutions may have reached a height of more than 50 cm.—base and socket took on a variety of shapes. There were two basic trends. In the first, the truncated cone of these elements had straight sides. The general appearance of those candlesticks was therefore heavy and somewhat sturdy. In the second, and more elegant variety, the flanks were contracted. In addition, the surface was often faceted, subdivided into straight vertical flanges, into raised ogee-shaped arches or two registers of pentagonal compartments. In a "transitional" type between the faceted and truncated forms, body and socket projected strongly towards their base, and the body rested on a slanting foot. This strong projection is counterbalanced by a protruding, flat shoulder (Ferhérvári, nos. 159-60; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le bronze iranien*, 52-3). In a special category of Iranian 10th/16th to 11th/17th century candlesticks, base, neck and socket were unified and turned into a cylindrical, and occasionally faceted stand with a slanting foot (Melikian Chirvani, *op. cit.*, 116-17). In most of these so-called pillar candlesticks, some traces of the basic three sections in the form of low mouldings or rings have been retained.

Mosque lamps, polycandelons and chandeliers belong to a variegated group of suspended float-wick lamps, of which relatively few examples have survived. To judge by the few complete and the numerous fragmentary metal mosque lamps so far known, they closely resembled glass lamps. They were either fashioned of sheet metal or cast in bronze, had a bulbous perforated body, a flaring neck and low foot, and three suspension rings were attached to the middle of their body. Suspension arms, also made of sheet metal, were hooked to these rings. The few specimens which have survived do not allow a closer typological classification. By the late 7th/13th century, their place appears to have gradually been taken by glass or ceramic lamps.

The number of polycandelons—a suspended lamp consisting of several glass containers fitted into a metal frame—is even smaller. This type, which stems from the Roman-Byzantine tradition, was developed in western Islamic countries rather than in the east, and was transformed in Mamlūk Egypt into huge prismatic, many-tiered or pyramidically-shaped chandeliers.

(2) Perfume vessels. The most common type of incense burner (*mibkhara* or *mabkhara*) had a cylindrical body with an inner shallow bowl for the incense, a domed cover, straight handle soldered horizontally to the body, and three, often zoomorphic feet. The cover, and in many cases also the body, were pierced for the emission of the smoke. The shape of these incense burners stems ultimately from Byzantine of Coptic thurification vessels, and also the feet in the form of animal paws in different degrees of stylisation correspond to the feet of Byzantine and Islamic lampstands mentioned previously. Between the early 7th/13th and the end of the 8th/14th century this traditional Byzantine type dominated in Syria and Egypt, while in Iran it seems to have been less abundant. Another kind of Mamlūk incense burner common in Syria and Egypt consisted of two, partly perforated hemispheres held together by clasps, which had no feet and were either suspended or rolled on the floor. To hold the charcoal they enclosed a small iron bowl which was set in gimbles to move freely when the incense burner was rolled or swung. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, such vessels were widely exported to Italy and then produced by Mamlūk artists who resided in Venice. Similarly-shaped incense burners occur already among Chinese silver vessels which are generally attributed to the T'ang period. The Chinese specimens are, however, much smaller, and their relation to the Islamic incense burners is so far obscure. Some early 4th/10th to early 7th/13th century East Iranian incense burners with a square or cylindrical body seem to relate to a Buddhist, Central Asian tradition. They rested on low feet of a type also common in other East Iranian bronzes, and certain details in their decoration, such as lotus petals and blossoms are reminiscent of pinnacles on Buddhist stupas or votive vessels. A variant of these East Iranian incense burners, which was also popular in East Iranian households between the late 4th/10th and the 7th/13th centuries, was fashioned in the form of a cylindrical, hooded receptacle. It also rested on three zoomorphic, generally faceted feet; its low body had a niche-like upper aperture with an arch-shaped opening, and the front of the semi-dome was flanked by a pair of flat, projecting bird heads.

Another type of incense burner was fashioned in the form of highly-stylised felines or birds. These

vessels, which are generally assigned to North-East Iranian workshops, seem to have been in vogue throughout the 6th/12th century. Their body was hollow-cast and perforated. In the feline-shaped incense burners, the animal-head was removable to permit placing the incense in the body, while the bird-shaped examples had a drawer for the charcoal in the bird's breast. There is still much uncertainty about zoomorphic incense burners in Fāṭimid Egypt. Although a considerable number of animal-shaped, presumably Fāṭimid objects have been preserved, their function is not always clear, and the group comprises fountain heads and objects which may have served various decorative purposes.

The identification of mediaeval Islamic bottles as perfume flasks (*ḳumḳum*) is often ambiguous. Among the extant flasks and bottles the following types almost certainly served this purpose. One is a group of Persian, 15-21 cm. high silver or parcel gilt bottles attributable to between the late 5th/11th and the mid-6th/12th century. They have a globular body resting on a low, splayed footring and a narrow, tubular neck. A small fluted cover with a ring, which probably once held a chain by which it was attached to the neck, has been preserved in some of these specimens. To prevent the evaporation of the perfume they would have required an additional stopper (*Survey*, Pl. 1350). A second group of Persian 12th century bottles is characterised by a funnel-shaped neck, a bell-shaped, longitudinally-fluted body, and a flat horizontal link between collar and neck (*Survey*, Pl. 1311 B.E.). Other bottles of this type have oblique or softly-rounded shoulders. Their bodies are cylindrical or facetted, and occasionally the mouth of the neck is sealed with a small filter. Similarly-shaped pottery and glass vessels with a pierced filter and a filling hole at the bottom make an interpretation of these bottles as perfume-sprinklers even more likely. Small, 8-9 cm. long bronze perfume flasks with a facetted, slightly flaring neck, a rectangular body and four tooth-shaped feet, which evidently were fashioned after a widely-used type of glass and rock crystal flasks, bear further witness to the affinities between bronze and glass flasks of that kind (C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin 1929-30, i, 160-2; ii, Pl. 59; cf. idem, *Das Glas von Samarra*, Berlin 1928, Pl. VII).

Mamlūk perfume bottles were particularly appropriate for sprinkling odoriferous oils. Fashioned in an ovoid shape, these bottles had a long tapering neck that terminated in a pointed end and a base that was fitted with a plug, resembling the filling holes of the Persian perfume flasks, (Cairo, *Cat.*, 1969, no. 79, Pl. 15).

(3) Mirrors. Islamic mirrors fall into two categories. The first and larger category consists of mirrors with a central perforated boss for fitting a cord and is based upon Chinese prototypes. They are relatively small—the average diameter varies between 10 to 20 cm.—the face of the mirror is cast in relief decoration, and the reverse is smoothly polished. In the second and smaller group the mirror was furnished with a handle, which was cast either separately or in one piece with it. This second category stems from a Mediterranean tradition, and dates back to classical antiquity. Mirrors of this type appear to have served primarily as toilet accessories, while the originally Chinese type presumably had a magical or talismanic purpose. In spite of the considerable number of extant mirrors, which include inscribed and even dated specimen, these objects have never been properly studied, and both categories need further investigation.

(4) Inkwells and penboxes. The most common type of inkwell (*dawāt* or *miḥbara*) had the shape of a cylindrical pot and was covered with a separate domed lid. It was used in Iran since Sāmānid times, and only the proportions, the profile of the cover and the decoration changed in the course of the centuries. The extant specimens fall chronologically into three groups. The first consists of Persian inkpots from the second half of the 6th/12th century. They are relatively small, 7 to 13 cm high. The base is either flat or has three low, almond-shaped feet cast together with the vessel. The cover has a fluted, dome-shaped centre, and lid and body are furnished with loops or tubular appendages for fastening the pot to the hand of the scribe. In the second group, which appears to have been used also in Syria in the 7th/13th century, the dome is hemispherical and rests directly on the level surface of the lid. In the last group, represented by Persian inkpots of the 10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries, the body is slender, and its width hardly exceeds the width of the domed cover.

Penboxes (*ḳalamdān*) fall into several categories. The most common are rectangular boxes with a separate hinged cover and differently-shaped compartments for the ink and other writing implements. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally rounded. The rectangular shape was more characteristic for Mamlūk Syria and Egypt and for Ottoman Turkey. Pencases which were placed in the belt were more delicately shaped. The first and earlier type was wedge-shaped. It was made of two parts, and the inner, compartmented box could be entirely removed. Most of the extant specimens of this kind are Iranian in style and attributable to the 7th/13th century. The second type, known from 10th/16th to the 12th/18th centuries, apparently West Persian examples, consisted of a flat, either tubular or rectangular pencase and a cylindrical inkpot attached to it (*Survey*, Pl. 1387 A). A similar type was used by Ottoman officials.

(5) Caskets and boxes. The earliest preserved metal caskets come from 4th/10th century Spain. They are made of silver, mostly gilt and inlaid with niello, and their shape and proportions closely follow contemporary Spanish-Islamic rectangular ivory caskets with gabled lids (Migeon, *Manuel*, ii, 16-17, fig. 220). In the Eastern Islamic lands, silver caskets of this type are rare, and not known before the Saldjūḳ invasions. Two particularly fine examples are said to come from a Persian hoard and are kept in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum in Jerusalem (*Survey*, Pl. 1352 A, B). Brass and bronze caskets made between the late 6th/12th and later 8th/14th centuries are more numerous. The earlier specimen (Rice, *SIMW. VI*, Pl. VI) have a flat base and closely follow in their proportions the silver caskets. Later 7th/13th and 8th/14th century examples become higher, relatively shorter and wider, rest on low feet and generally have slightly slanting sides (Barrett, Pl. 37; *Survey*, Pls. 1359, 1360 B). A derivative of the former caskets has a flat top and a partial lid which is secured to the fixed portion of the roof by hinges. Their form, too, is paralleled in ivory and ceramics (Rice, *SIMW. VI*, Pls. I-III; *Survey*, Pl. 1303, dated 593/1197).

Ḳurʾān boxes are square and of larger dimensions. They are generally plated and not cast. The Mamlūk specimens have a bevelled lid (Berlin, *Cat.* 1971, no. 19, Pl. 69), while Iranian Ḳurʾān boxes

have often flat covers. Along with angular, round and cylindrical boxes occur caskets of less conventional shape or exceptionally small size. To the last category belongs an oblong miniature box of remarkable artistic quality by Ismāʿīl b. Ward al-Mawṣilī, dated 617/1220 (Rice, *SIMW, II*, Pl. IX), or a kidney-shaped box in the British Museum which is attributable to an Egyptian or Syrian workshop of the middle to second half of the 7th/13th century. Similarly unusual in shape are a shallow, but relatively large, hemicircular box in the Harari Collection (*Survey*, Pl. 1305 C) or a "casket" in the Louvre. The last follows the shape of cylindrical, late 7th/13th century candlesticks with narrow, contracted waists, and has a low convex lid which is fastened to the container by hinges.

In the 8th/14th century, Persian metalworkers produced also a variety of polygonal caskets of various sizes. Among the preserved specimens are a small octagonal box (*Survey*, Pl. 1360 A) and four larger dodecagonal caskets, all of which have been assigned to a workshop in Fars (Melikian-Chirvani, *Le bronze iranien*, 80-2). Mamlūk, usually oval-shaped lunch boxes form a category by itself. They consisted of one to three separate units which were placed one on top of the other, and had a lid with a handle that could also be used as a foot. To prevent food poisoning, they were made of tinned bronze (J. Allen, *Later Mamluk metalwork, II*, in *Oriental Art*, N.S. xvii/2 [1971], 156-64; Barrett, Pl. 31).

(6) Ewers and jugs. In spite of the relatively large number of preserved ewers (*ibrīḳ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and their importance as art historical documents, they have not yet been sufficiently studied. The suggested typological evolution, and most of the chronological or geographical attributions, are therefore tentative. Particularly difficult is the classification of ewers from the first four to five centuries A.H., where one finds an exceedingly large number of shapes and combination of forms for which so far no models have been traced. Among these ewers are vessels with slender, oval and heavily bulging-out bodies; with and without shoulders; with elegantly contracted and long tubular necks; with tubular or bird shaped spouts and a large variety of straight, gently curved and zoomorphic handles. Between the end of the 4th/10th and the 6th/12th centuries new forms appear to have been introduced from the Eastern Islamic world, which include types of ewers with an oil-lamp like spout. Signed specimens of that kind have been found in ancient Farg̲h̲ānā and Us̲h̲rūsana by Russian scholars who dated them to the mid-5th/11th century. While these early examples were either plain or only little decorated, later 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century K̲h̲urāsānian ewers of that type were inlaid with silver and copper, and attest to the new artistic trends of that time (*Survey*, Pl. 1309A). After about the first half of the 7th/13th century, more emphasis was put on decoration, while shapes became more standardised. The Mesopotamian standard type of ewer with a pear-shaped body, a low, splayed foot and a straight, tubular spout was retained as a model for Iranian and Mamlūk ewers, which in Egypt and Syria developed more strongly swelling bodies, high splayed feet and top-heavy necks (for an ewer of Ḳāʾit Bāy, see Rice, *SIMW. IV*, Pl. VI). The development of Ṣafawid and Ottoman ewers is known from a small number of examples only. Among their typical elements one can tentatively single out curving spouts and handles, waisted necks with a bulging ring and boat-shaped openings, which presumably stem from the lamp-shaped openings of the earlier mediaeval tradition.

Jugs and pitchers (*kūz*, pl. *akwāz*), on the other hand, were fashioned in simple conventional shapes —a squat globular body and low foot, a short neck and a curved handle. The earliest extant models of gold and gilt silver date from the second half of the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries (*Survey*, Pl. 1345; 1349, now in Jerusalem, L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum. For a jug made for Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, see Kühnel, *Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden*, in *ZDMG*, cvi [1956], fig. 6). Ṣafawid and Ottoman specimens basically conform to the Būyid prototypes. In addition to the conventional type of jug, there occur zoomophic hollow-cast vessels which resemble the European aquamanile. The purpose of these objects is often ambiguous. Some may have served for pouring water (bird in the Hermitage by Sulaymān, dated 180/796; bird in Berlin, *Cat.* 1971, fig. 37; bird in the Monastery on Mount Sinai). Others were presumably fountain heads. Several specimens of the last category, such as "hares", "lions" or "horses" were either of Fāṭimid or Spanish origin.

(7) Bowls, cups and goblets. Mediaeval Islamic cups and bowls reflect a particularly long-lasting affinity to Iranian and Soghdian gold and silver models. Of particular interest in this respect is the continuity of hemispherical, either plain or fluted bowls, like the early 7th/13th century "Vaso Vescovali" (Rice, *Wade Cup*, Pl. 16), the "Wade Cup" (*ibid.*, Pl. 2) or a parcel gilt silver bowl in the Keir Collection (Fehérvári, Pl. G). In a more restricted sense this also applies to the continued use of ring handles with projecting thumb knobs. Although ultimately such handles appear to derive from Roman drinking cups, they too were introduced into Islamic civilisation via Soghdian silver vessels and persisted in metal cups until at least the early 5th/11th century (Melikian Chirvani, *White bronze* fig. 15), while with ceramic cups this feature lasted even much longer. By the later 7th/13th century, bowls with strongly-projecting walls, similar in profile to contemporary ewers, as well as new types of cups, bowls and goblets, began to appear simultaneously in Syria, Egypt and Western Iran. Among the new shapes were cups with a strongly contracted base and a high, funnel-shaped foot turned upside down (Barrett, Pl. 34); footless bowls with walls that project strongly up to about one-third to one-half of their height, and bowls that have a nearly angular profile (Rice, *Two unusual Mamluk metal works*, Pl. I; VII; Barrett, Pl. 36 for a late 8th/14th century Iranian example). Bowls with strongly curving-out profiles continued to be made in Ṣafawid Iran. However, many of the 10th/16th to 11th/17th century bowls hark back to the more gently-rounded 7th/13th century models, which seem to have more agreed with the taste of the time.

Doors and windows and their accessories.

(1) Doors. Although plating of doors was practiced since early times (Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and tr. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 81, for door bearing the name of the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn at the Aḳṣā Mosque, and p. 28 for iron-plated door in Diyārbakr; D̲j̲azarī-Hill, 191-5, 267-8 for description of later 6th/12th century door), no specimen made before the beginning of the 7th/13th century is as yet known. The earliest preserved door at the mosque of Cizre or D̲j̲azīrat ibn ʿUmar (C. Preusser,

Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler, Leipzig 1911, Pl. 36 and p. 25) is inscribed with the name of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. Sandjar Shāh (605/1208?). Nearly contemporary are three iron-plated doors from the constructions of the Ayyūbid al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (606-7/1209-10) at the citadel gates of Aleppo. Bronze or iron-faced wooden doors were particularly widespread in Mamlūk Egypt (for elements from door platings of Baybars, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture*, Oxford 1924, fig. 232). Plaques from Mamlūk doors as well as complete door wings are preserved in the Islamic Museum in Cairo). The 8th/14th century doors of the Mosque of Sulṭān Hasan, re-employed at the Mosque of al-Muʾayyad in Cairo, are a very good example of its kind (Migeon, *Manuel*, ii, 82-4, fig. 259). While the majority of extant doors were plated with iron or alloys of bronze, some 10th/16th to 12th/18th century silver, or silver-plated, doors have also remained (Mayer, *Metalworkers*, "Ilyās"; "Yahūda"). It may be safely assumed that earlier silver doors have been melted down and that their material has been re-used for other purposes.

(2) Doorknockers. In contrast to the plating, which was generally made up of flat bronze straps and polygonal lattice work panels, doorknockers were cast in heavy bronze. Aside from polylobed rings which were filled with arabesques in openwork (Sevilla, Puerta de Pardón; Cairo, Sulṭān Ḥasan *madrasa*), numerous zoomorphic doorknockers are known. Earlier specimen, like the doorknockers of the Ulu Cami in Cizre (Djazīrat ibn ʿUmar) are formed by a pair of confronted dragons which are suspended from hinges attached to a lion mask (Ülker Erginsoy, in Gönül Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu mimarisinde süsleme ve el sanatları*, Ankara 1978, 168, fig. 141; The David Collection, *Islamic art*, Cat. Copenhagen 1975, 69. An identical knocker of unknown provenance is in the Berlin Museum). In later renderings, as for instance in a Mamlūk example with the name of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn in Hebron, the ring is formed by a pair of facing dragon heads (a similar example is in the Louvre. See also knocker on door of the Mosque of Ḳadjmās al-Iṣḥāḳī in Cairo, 885-6/1480-1).

(3) Window grills. Aside from a few silver and gold inlaid brass balls from monumental window gratings, no window accessories have been preserved. (The number of wooden accessories preserved *in situ* and in museum collections is however considerable.) Three of these balls bear the name of the Īlkhānid Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda Shāh (703-16/1304-16). The rest cannot be precisely dated, although their resemblance to the inscribed specimen places them in the same category.

(4) Locks and keys. On the whole, little attention has been devoted by art historians to locks and keys. They are poorly represented in museum and other collections, are seldom signed or dated, and once removed from the area in which they were made are difficult to identify. For stylistic and other reasons, most of the preserved pieces are said to be Iranian, though for lack of information this cannot be verified. Most of these locks are padlocks and were intended for chests, boxes, trunks or similar containers. They are generally very small—the average proportions are 5 cm width and 3.5 cm height—and fashioned in a variety of shapes. Yet a typical Iranian preference for animal shapes, inherited from ancient times, has been retained until today. Judging from the recently- catalogued locks in the P. Tanavoli Collection (Parviz Tanavoli and John T. Wertime, *Locks from Iran*, the Smithsonian Institution and P. Tanavoli, 1976), certain animal forms were in vogue at particular times only, while others were favoured throughout the centuries. A special category of padlocks was used as amulets and bear inscriptions of protective character.

Keys of the Kaʿba form a class by itself (J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Clefs et serrures de la Kaʿba*, Paris 1971). Many carry names and titles of the sultan for whom they were made and are therefore dated or datable. On the whole, they are historical documents rather than works of art.

The decoration.

Although Islamic decoration follows some general, ubiquitous principles by which designs were interchangeable between various media, one can nearly always detect certain strains which characterise any specific form of art. This applies also to metalwork, which seems to have developed certain preferences with regard to ornaments or decorative schemes as well as to iconographic themes.

(1) Geometric patterns. In addition to primary geometric grids by which the surface of every object was subdivided and its decorative elements organised, metal workers employed all the geometric forms used by artisans working in other media. Designs obtained by means of intersecting parallel bands to form an overall surface pattern of squares or lozenges, which could also easily be perforated, were often adopted for incense burners or mosque lamps (Rice, *SIMW. V*). To avoid the monotony of these patterns, artisans used to fill the empty spaces by adding a punching mark or circular cavity at the points of intersection, matting the interior of the lozenges or filling them with a floral design. Small circles were employed also to create continuous lines and geometric patterns. Particularly on early metal objects, artisans succeeded in producing a variety of patterns of tangent or overlapping circles and ring-matted geometric forms set into the interspaces (see for instance, Melikian-Chirvani, *The white bronzes*, 136 ff.). As a rule, the artists omitted certain portions of the circles in order to create new variants of interlacings. Patterns of this kind, which were often imbued with a remarkable inner tension (Barrett, Pl. 2a), were employed up to at least the 8th/14th century for single and repeat patterns alike. Between the second half of the 7th/13th to about the middle of the 8th/14th century, circles inscribing six or eight interlaced roundels became a favourite design of Syrian, Egyptian and Persian metal workers. In these later examples, many of these patterns have lost their former inner tension (Baer, *Nisan tası*; cf. 8th/14th century Persian penbox, *Hayward cat.*, no. 206).

As in architectural decoration, hexagons formed also the base for surface and star patterns. Six-armed clockwise or anti-clockwise wheel patterns (erroneously called swastika), which were common in brick architecture as early as the 5th/11th century, were not employed in metalwork before the first third of the 7th/13th century, and until the second half of the 8th/14th century they remained a favoured design for filling petals or circles. Hexagonal star patterns were particularly popular in East Iranian and Afghanistan workshops, which in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries developed them into intricate designs or into notched or looped motifs interwoven with a variety of geometric forms. By the second half of the 7th/13th century, this type of pattern disappeared from the répertoire of Persian and Meso-

potamian metalworkers, and its place was taken by medallions formed by overlapping circles.

In spite of the common geometric language which metal objects share with other fields of Islamic art, there is a clearly noticeable difference in emphasis. In contrast to architectural ornament, in metal the geometric patterns are confined to close borders; they are generally combined with other designs, and only rarely form the main decorative feature. They either form a grid or a network into which other motifs are set, or function—like "swastika" or basket-weaving—as background pattern. In Ṣafawid and Ottoman metalwork, certain geometric interlacings continue to fill medallions or other inscribed spaces (*Survey*, Pl. 1385). On the whole, these objects bear however floral and epigraphic decorations.

(2) The floral répertoire. As in other artistic media, vegetal ornaments on metalware fall into three main types: motifs derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean and non-Hellenistic Iranian models; infinitely curling scrolls and arabesques; and blossoms and foliations that stem from Far-Eastern prototypes. Motifs of the first type—acanthus leaves, palmettes, vine scrolls or stalks bearing grapes or pomegranates—continue to figure in traditional and new compositions. One some early bronze and silver objects these motifs appear in sophisticated combinations (Dimand, *Some early Islamic bronzes from Iran in American collections*, in *Akten 24. Intern. Orientalisten Kongress*, 1957, Munich 1959, 347-9). On less ambitious objects, undulating stalks and branching-off shoots carrying vine and palmette leaves constitute the only decoration.

Fully-developed arabesques do not appear before the 4th/10th century. From this time onwards, two types of arabesques—a flowing, constantly changing design, and an arabesque based on axial symmetry—recur on metalwork of all periods. Another form of arabesque which gained much popularity on metalwork consists of pairs of knotted, bifurcated palmettes which blossom out from a crescent-shaped loop (Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ*, fig. 8). Modifications of such floral interlacings, in which a crescent-shaped loop is either substituted by a bar, or transformed into lotus blossoms, or even completely omitted, remain a favourite motif in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century brasses in the east and west alike.

Winding, often hooked stalks, whose foliage is reduced to small buds and split palmettes, serve as background pattern and filling device alike. On Iranian, 7th/13th to 8th/14th century metal objects the background scrolls tend to be light and airy and wind regularly, while the Syrian types are heavily loaded with buds. On early Mamlūk brasses, the heraldically-composed arabesque never reached the popularity it had gained in Iran. Background patterns on Egyptian metalwork of the first half of the 8th/14th century are formed by continuously winding and freely intersecting scrolls. Most delicately drawn arabesques, carrying tiny buds and flowers occur on 10th/16th to 11th/17th century steel helmets, daggers, steel or iron belts, pierced plaques and surgical instruments.

As in other artistic media, varieties of lotus blossoms, peonies and morning glories are encountered on both Mamlūk and Persian metal objects. Persian artists made, however, a somewhat wider use of these motifs than their Mamlūk contemporaries. On later 7th/13th to early 8th/14th century West Iranian metalware, the flowers grow "naturally" from the ground. Sprouting between and behind the figures, they form the background for figurative motifs or cover the entire surface of an object. A tendency towards more symmetric composition can be detected on Mamlūk metal objects (Rice, *Two unusual Mamluk metal works*, Pl. V), while the individual, carefully engraved petals have generally retained a naturalistic flavour.

(3) Animals and imaginary creatures. On mediaeval metalwork, animals and imaginary creatures were one of the most conspicuous themes. The frequency in which these motifs were employed, as well as the species depicted, were determined by different factors. Yet even at times when animal decorations did not constitute a major theme, they did not disappear from the répertoire. Because of their abundance, and often intricate iconographic implications, the present survey includes only the most current animal motifs and compositions.

Many of the animal motifs were carried on in Islamic metalware from Sāsānid and Soghdian silver (Barrett, Pls. 1, 4b). The same is true for compositions, such as a single bird or quadruped inscribed within a round or polylobed medallion. The preference for heraldic compositions, inherent in Near Eastern and Iranian art, applies also to animal designs, even if the prominence given to these compositions varied. Broadly speaking, in earlier metalwork they are more monumental in size and style, while on later objects they are integrated in a larger decorative scheme. In many of these heraldic compositions the central axis is taken by a plant design or a curtailed "tree of life", a knotted motif or other derivative of the "tree of life". Pairs of ducks flanking a crescent-shaped motif are characteristic for North Mesopotamian, Mamlūk and Persian metalware from the mid-7th/13th to the second half of the 8th/14th century. Physically-linked pairs of animals or imaginary creatures do not occur on metalware after the early 8th/14th century, while the motif of heraldic birds or quadrupeds, set into cartouches or pendants, was carried on in Ṣafawid and later metalwork. Other ancient Near Eastern animal motifs employed in metalwork are animal friezes, animals in combat (Baer, *Inkwell*, particularly 206-8), and real and imaginary creatures revolving around a central axis. In 6th/12th and early 7th/13th century examples from Eastern Iran, Afghanistan and Northern Mesopotamia, the ears, wings or necks of the centrifugally-rotating creatures meet—or intersect—in the centre (Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ*, figs. 1-3; Ettinghausen, *Wade Cup*, figs. L, P, 21, 34). In later 7th/13th to 8th/14th century examples, the rotating creatures are no longer physically linked. In the last phase in the development of this pattern, the real or imaginary creatures are substituted by flying birds, and the rotating movement is no longer consistently adhered to (for a typical Mamlūk example, see *Cairo cat.* 1969, no. 58, Pl. 8).

Another motif is that of animal (or *wāḳ-wāḳ*) scrolls, in which animal bodies or busts are attached to, or amalgamated with a vegetal design. Spreading from Syro-Mesopotamian and Persian to Egyptian metalware, it appeared in the first half of the 7th/13th century (*Hayward cat.*, no. 200) as abruptly as it disappeared in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century (for a late example, see E. Combe, *Cinq cuivres musulmans datés des XIII, XIV et XV siècles de la Collection Benaki*, in *BIFAO*, xxx [1931], 56-7. On textiles and carpets, the motif survived, however,

in various related forms. See for instance, *Survey*, Pls. 1172, 1212B).

The animal decoration in later metalwork closely follows the mediaeval répertoire. Conventional themes, such as combatant or chasing animals, friezes, flying birds, peacocks or animals of prey were carried on, and are re-employed in modern metalwork (*Survey*, Pls. 1380, 1383, 1386B. For armoury see also Pls. 1408 D, E, 1418, 1430-31 D).

(4) Epigraphy. Stylistic peculiarities. In metalware, the first epigraphic bands which carry not only a message but have a clear decorative function occur on 3rd/9th to 4th/10th century mosque lamps (Rice, *SIMW*. *V*; for earlier inscriptions, cf. a 2nd/8th century bronze ewer in the Tbilisi Museum, or bird-shaped vessel in the Hermitage, dated 180/796-7, and on 4th/10th to 5th/11th century bronze and silver objects (*Survey*, Pls. 1343, 1345-6). From this time onwards, particularly since the mid-6th/12th century, epigraphy remained a constant factor in the decoration of metalware. The formal integration of the script, being set into continuous or compartmentalised bands, cartouches or medallions, complies with the general stylistic tendencies of the time. On Mamlûk metalware, inscriptions appear not only in continuous and intersecting bands which may occupy a considerable part of an object, but also in a circular arrangement in which the hastae of the letters point towards the centre. Starting from the mid-8th/14th century, such radiant inscriptions are most prominent.

The stylistic development of script on metalware, and the possible divergencies from other artistic media, still remain to be studied. In the present state of our knowledge, there appears to be only one type of script which at least in its later stages of development is unique to metalware. This is a script in which either the whole letter or part of it are made to assume human or animal forms. According to the figural features which dominate in each of its variations, it falls into four types: ornithomorphic, human-headed, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic (Rice, *Wade Cup*; Baer, *Metalwork*). Out of these, only the first is known from objects other than metalware, occurring on Sāmānid ceramics about 150 years prior to the first dated evidence of figural script on metal, the "Bobrinski Bucket", which was made in Harāt in 550/1163 (Ettinghausen, *Wade Cup*). The figural script had disappeared almost completely by the end of the 7th/13th century.

The integration of the script into the overall composition of a decoration, like its artistic development, is however only one aspect of these inscriptions. Aside from their artistic value, these examples are texts which, if properly read and interpreted, may provide valuable information which is not available from other sources. Although the general categories —eulogies, and dedications, religious inscriptions, moral dicta, inscriptions connected with the usage or quality of the object and verses from Persian literature—are known, only a very limited number of inscriptions have actually been read. A proper investigation and evaluation of each of these categories has therefore been postponed until we possess a comprehensive corpus of inscriptions on metalwork (for some ideas, see Baer, *Metalwork*).

(5) The thematic répertoire. The thematic répertoire of mediaeval Islamic metalwork falls into three main groups. The first and by far the largest are representations of pleasure and pastime. They include, aside from banqueting scenes, dancers and musicians, a rich selection of hunting methods, falconry, hunting with the cheetah and phases of the animal's training and fowling. Visual renderings of this last game are rare in other artistic media. Other pastimes, like polo games and travelling in a howdah on camel-back, have parallels in ceramics or miniature paintings. Sailing in a pleasure boat, a princely pastime which could be practiced only in Mesopotamia and Egypt, seems to have no analogues in ceramics, textiles and the like (Baer, *A brass vessel*, 299-325). Representations of outdoor activities in a rural environment appear to be characteristic of a small group of early 7th/13th century Mesopotamian-style metal objects, while tournaments or battle scenes seem to have been a favoured theme in the later 7th/13th to 8th/14th century in Syrian, Egyptian and West Iranian metalwork alike. On the whole, these scenes were less popular on Iranian brasses than on contemporary Mamlûk objects (Rice, *Baptistère*), The second category are cosmic and terrestrial cycles. It comprises representations of the Labours of the Months, the planets and the zodiac, and scenes in which a princely image is shown in a cosmic setting. The first and the third theme are as yet known from metal objects only (for Labours of the Months, see Rice, *The seasons and labors*, 1-40; E. Atil, *Two Il-khanid candlesticks*, 1-33). Astrological signs, on the other hand, are not limited to metalwork. It would seem, however, that on metalwork the iconographic programme of this theme is particularly rich and has no known analogues in other artistic media (Hartner, *The Vaso Vescovali*; Baer, *An Islamic inkwell*. For the princely image in cosmic setting, see Baer, *Metalwork*).

Epics, legends and religious themes serve as an inspiration for the third group. It comprises illustrations of certain episodes of the *Shāh-nāma*, and ornamental designs based upon popular belief and folklore. Both relate to pottery and the art of the book. Their iconographic meaning is allusive (Baer, *Fishpond ornaments*).

In a group of mid-7th/13th century North Syrian and North Mesopotamian metalware, Christian religious themes are combined with traditional Islamic decorations. In addition to saints or high church officials, they depict cycles of the life of Christ. Themes so far identified are "The Entry into Jerusalem", "The Nativity", "Baptism", "The Presentation in the Temple" and "The Virgin and the Child enthroned". However, the problem of Christian subjects on Islamic metalwork needs further research.

Workshop centres.

Our information on centres of manufacture of metalwork stems from two main sources. One is written evidence provided by mediaeval geographers and historians. It is generally reliable, but often exceedingly brief, and even when the author reports on his native town (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *K. al-Buldān*, 253, ll. 19-20, for Hamadān), the products are often only listed but not described (for an exception see al-Maḳrīzī, below). The second source of information is inscriptions which figure on the objects themselves. Two types are particularly suggestive. One are inscriptions referring to the place of manufacture. So far only a relatively small number of places have been deciphered. Future systematic collection of these inscriptions may provide new evidence (the following place names appear so far on one object only: Baṣra, ewer by Ibn Yazīd, dated 67 or 69/688-7 or 688-9, Mayer, *Metalworkers*, 48; Ḳashan or Ḳasan

(?), bird-shaped vessel by Sulaymān, dated 180/796-7, Melikian-Chirvani, in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. Islam*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler, 1973, no. XVI; Mosul, "Blacas Ewer", decorated by Shudjāʿ b. Manʿa in 629/1232, *Hayward cat.*, no. 196; Miṣr, candlestick by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, dated 668/1270, Wiet, *Objets en cuivre*, Pl. 27).

The other type of inscription on metalware is that of signatures giving not only the name of the artist but also his *nisba*. An often-made assumption that intrinsically the *nisba* means that the artisan was active in this centre has to be discarded. It may have been carried by an artist who had left his native town many years ago and was working hundred of miles away. It can therefore be considered significant only if taken in conjunction with other elements. One of the most striking examples for the continuous use of a *nisba* by artists who were active in another centre is the *nisba* al-Mawṣilī, found on at least 30 objects made throughout the 7th/13th and the first quarter of the 8th/14th century, out of which only one single specimen stems unequivocally from Mosul (Rice, *Inlaid brasses*. To Rice's list add a candlestick by ʿAlī b. Kusayrāt, working in Damascus, and a Ḳurʾān box by Aḥmad b. Bāra, *Cairo cat.* 1969, nos. 56, 60).

On the basis of the above mentioned criteria, only three larger centres can so far be singled out. One is Damascus, which at least since the 4th/10th century and throughout Mamlūk times exported metalware to all parts of the Islamic world, including Cairo (al-Muḳaddasī, 181, l. 1; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 52, l. 13; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 112. For metal objects inscribed with this provenance, see Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, 326, no. 16; *Cairo cat.* 1969, no. 56).

The second centre which, like Damascus, had flourishing workshops during the Mamlūk period is Cairo (for a detailed description of the Market of metal Inlayers—*sūḳ al-kuftiyyīn*— in which bronze vessels were inlaid with gold and silver, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 105. For metal objects inscribed with this provenance, see Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, nos. 23, 24, 26). At the time of al-Maḳrīzī's account, i.e. after 820/1417, this industry had already declined.

The third reasonably-documented centre, famous for its richly-inlaid bronze objects, is Harāt (Ḳazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 322, l. 30-323, l. 1). Two objects, the "Bobrinski Bucket" dated 559/1163, and an ewer in the State Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi, dated 557/1181, carry an inscription stating that they were made in Harāt (the exact text of the Tiflis ewer has, however, never been published. See Mayer, *Metalworkers*, 59, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad; Ettinghausen, *Bobrinski "Kettle"*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1943, 196). Four other 6th/12th century inlaid pieces of metalworks, worked in similar style and technique, and signed by artists using the *nisba* al-Harawī, suggest that these artists had already left Harāt and were active in another centre. Information on other centres of manufacture is even more scanty. Places put forward by art historians should therefore be used with caution.

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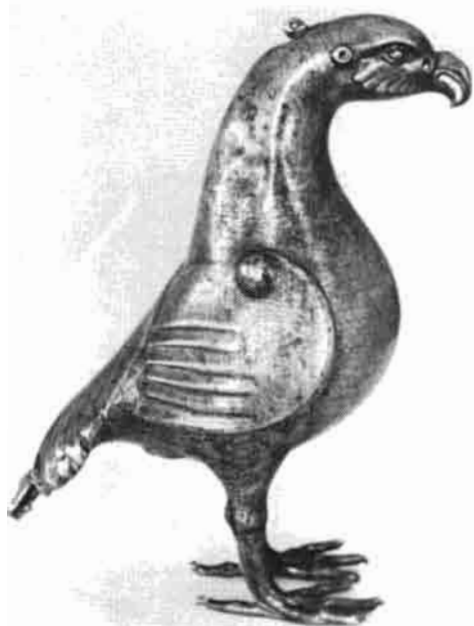
(EVA BAER)

AL-MAʿDIN (A.) "the mine" is, by antonomasia, the name of a certain number of villages in

1. Bird-shaped vessel. H. 38 cm. Bronze, hollow cast, engraved, some silver inlay. Made by Sulaymān in 180/796-7. The Hermitage, Leningrad, no. IR 1565. Photograph courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

2. Ewer. H. 36 cm. White bronze, incised, copper inlay on rim. Made by Muḥammad (?). Late 1st/7th to early 2nd/8th century, Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 434—1906. Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

3. Lantern. H. 30.5 cm. Sheet bronze, perforated. Prob. later 3rd/9th century, Iran. L. A. Mayer Memorial, No. M 73-69. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial. Photograph E. Baer.

4. Oil lamp. H. 14.5 cm. Bronze, cast and pierced. 6th/12th century. Iran. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. no. 1051.39. Courtesy Fogg Art Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

5. Tray (?). L. 29.5 cm. Sheet bronze, worked in repoussé, punched. 6th/12th century, Iran. Private Collection. Photograph E. Baer.

6. Inkwell. H. 13 cm. Bronze, cast, engraved, inlaid with silver and copper. Late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century, Iran. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, no. 30.1.45 A and B. Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased: The Elizabeth Wandell Smith Fund.

7. Cylindrical box. H. 10.2 cm. Brass, engraved, inlaid with silver. Inscribed with name of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ. Made between 631/1233 and 659/1259, prob. in North Mesopotamia. British Museum, London, no. 78.12—30. Photograph D. S. Rice, Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

8. Candlestick. H. 34 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver. Made by Ḥādjdj Ismāʿīl, inlaid by Muḥammad b. Faṭṭūḥ, journeyman to Shudjāʿ al-Mawṣilī. After 629/1232. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15121. Photograph D. S. Rice. L. A. Mayer Memorial.

9. Ewer. H. 34 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver. Made by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. Damascus, 657/1259. Musée de Louvre, Paris, no. 7428. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

10. Mirror. D. 22 cm. Cast bronze, inlaid with silver and gold. Made by Muḥammad al-Wazīrī. Second quarter of 8th/14th century, Syria (?). Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

11. Door knocker. Cast bronze, inlaid with silver. Made by order of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, for Shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, Hebron. Syria or Egypt. First quarter of 8th/14th century. Photograph E. Baer.

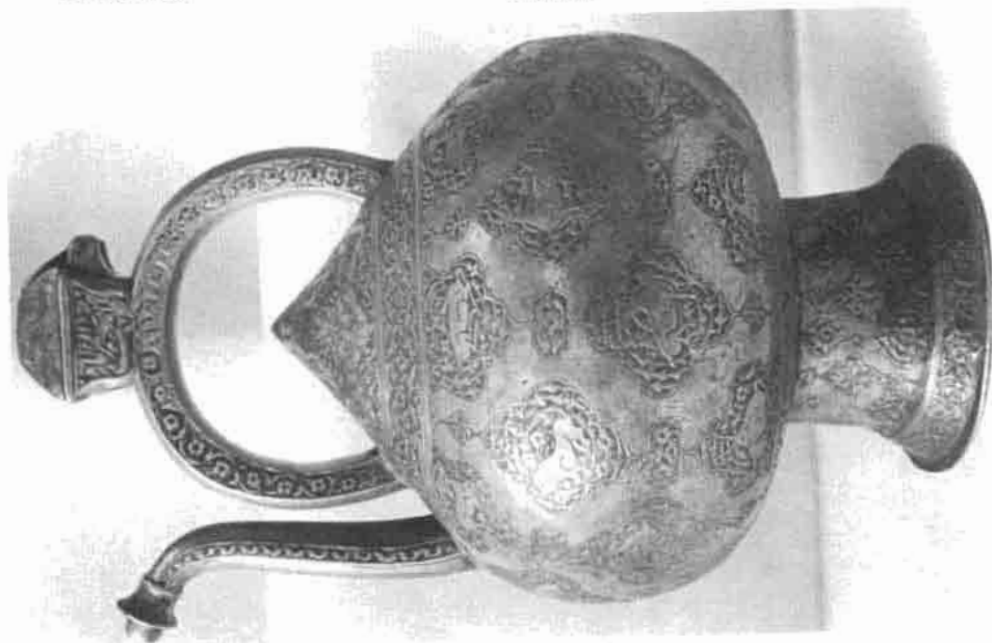
12. Stand. H. 25 cm. Mid 7th/13th century. Ex Sambon Coll. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial

13. Jug. H. 30 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Made for the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, before 743/1342. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo. no. 15126. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

14. Arabesque decoration. Detail from lampstand by Ibn Maḥmūd, made for Amīr Bek. Early 11th/17th century. Iran. St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis no. 86.23. Photograph E. Baer.

15. "Baptistère of St. Louis". H. 24.4 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Made by Muḥammad b. al-Zayn. Syria or Egypt, later 7th/13th to early 8th/14th century. Musée de Louvre, Paris. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

16. Bowl. H. 11.5 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Mid-8th/14th century. National Museum, Florence (Bargello) no. 361. Photograph D. S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

17. Jug. H. 13 cm. Brass, engraved, inlaid with silver. Made by Ḥabīb Allāh b. ʿAlī Bahārdjānī in 866/1461-2. Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 943-1886. Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

18. Ewer (*Āftābe*). H. 33 cm. Brass, engraved. Dated 1011/1602-3. Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum. London, no. 458-1876. Crown Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer.

Arabia and other parts of the Orient (see Yāḳūt, s.v.), and is also found in the toponomy of the Iberian peninsula. Under the form Almaden, this term refers to the locality in the province of Ciudad Real, 125 km. to the north of Cordova, in the Sierra de Almadén (A. Djibāl al-Maʿdin), which has one of the richest deposits in the world of mercury (A. *ziʾbaḳ* and variants, whence Spanish *azogue* and the fullest form of the place name Almadén de Azogue). According to Garciá Bellido (*España y los españoles hace dos mil años segun la Geografia de Strabón*, Madrid 1945, 79-81), these deposits were already being exploited in the 4th century B.C., since the Greek philosopher Theophrastes (*ca.* 372-287) mentions the cinnabar of Iberia. At the present time, they still produce each year about 1,800 tonnes of mercury.

The Portuguese town of Almada, situated opposite to Lisbon on the southern bank of the Tagus, owes its name (A. Ḥiṣn al-Maʿdin) to the grains of gold dust thrown up by the sea on to this bank (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 184, tr. 223 = *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1975, v, 547).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 294; see also Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *al-Djughrāfiya wa 'l-djughrāfiyyūn fi 'l-Andalus*, Madrid 1967.

(C. F. Seybold - [M. Ocaña Jiménez])

MADĪNA, urbanism. [See Supplement].

AL-MADĪNA (usually Medina in English, Médine in French), residence of the Prophet Muḥammad after the *hidjra* and one of the sacred cities of Islam.

Medina is situated in the Ḥidjāz province of Saʿūdī Arabia in latitude 24° 28′ N, longitude 39° 36′ E, about 160 km. from the Red Sea and about 350 km. north of Mecca. It has developed from an oasis on relatively level ground between the hill of Uḥud on the north and that of ʿAyr on the south. East and west are lava flows (in Arabic *ḥarra* [*q.v.*] or *lāba*). There are several *wādī*s or watercourses which cross the oasis from south to north. Though these normally contain water only after rain, they maintain a fairly high water table, so that there are many wells and springs. After heavy rains the central area of al-Munākha used to form a lake, and a number of serious floods are recorded which threatened the stability of some of the buildings. On one occasion the caliph ʿUthmān erected a dam as a protection against flood-waters (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 11). Serious floods are also recorded in 660/40, 734/116 and 772/156. The water is in places salt and unpalatable, and in the past various governors of the town built aqueducts to bring good water from wells further south. The soil consists of salty sand, lime and loamy clay, and is everywhere very fertile, especially in the more southerly part. Date-palms were numerous before the time of Muḥammad, and cereals were also grown. At a later date oranges, lemons, pomegranates, bananas, peaches, apricots, figs and grapes were introduced. The winters are cool with a slight rainfall, and the summers hot but rarely sultry. In former times, the air was reckoned pleasant but conducive to fevers (al-Balādhurī, 11 f.; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 31; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 243). The Umayyads called the town *al-khabitha*, "the dirty", in contrast to the honorific name of *Ṭayba*, "the sweet-smelling", given to it by Muḥammad (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 37; al-Balādhurī, 11).

(i) History to 1926

1. *The pre-Islamic settlements*

In pre-Islamic times the common name was Yathrib, though this is said to have been applied originally to only part of the oasis (al-Samhūdī, i, 8-10). This name occurs once in the Ḳurʾān (XXXIII, 13). Iathrippa is found in Ptolemy and Stephanus Byzantinus, and Ythrb in Minaean inscriptions. *Al-Madīna* is properly "the town" or "the place of jurisdiction", corresponding to Aramaic *medīnta*. The word *madīna* as a common noun occurs ten times in the Ḳurʾān and the plural *madāʾin* three times, all in stories of former prophets. In four relatively late verses (IX, 101/2, 120/1; XXXIII, 60; LXIII, 8) *al-madīna* appears, referring to the oasis now inhabited mainly by Muslims, but it is possible that it has not yet become a proper name. The same holds of its occurrence in the last clause of the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 341-4), since in the preamble and other two clauses of this document the name Yathrib appears by itself. It is often suggested that the name is a shortened form of *madīnat al-nabī*, "the city of the Prophet", but this is unlikely in view of its use in the Ḳurʾān, especially in LXIII, 8, where it is spoken by Hypocrites. Of the poets of the oasis, the pre-Islamic Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm [*q.v.*] speaks only of Yathrib, whereas Muḥammad's contemporaries Ḥassān b. Thābit and Kaʿb b. Mālik [*q.vv.*] use both names.

Medina was at first not a compact town, but a collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date-palms and cultivated fields. For defence, therefore, a large number of forts or strongholds (*āṭām*, sing. *uṭum*; also *ādjām*, sing. *udjum*) had been constructed, perhaps about 200 in all. In these the local inhabitants took refuge in times of danger. The idea of the *uṭum* probably came from the Yemen (cf. H. Lammens, *Ṭāʾif*, 72 = *MFOB*, viii [1922], 184).

The later Muslim historians (cf. al-Samhūdī, i, 156-65; *bāb* 3, *faṣl* 1) had no reliable information about the earliest history of Medina, and the views expressed appear to be conjectural; e.g. that the first cultivators were ʿAmālīḳ [*q.v.*]. It seems probable that before the arrival of any Jews there were some Arabs at Medina, doubtless the ancestors of those found subordinate to the Jews at the time of the settlement of al-Aws and al-Khazradj. It was probable because of this close relation to the Jews that certain small Arab clans (Khaṭma, Wāʾil, Wāḳif, Umayya b. Zayd, sections of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf) did not at first accept Muḥammad as prophet.

There is also obscurity about the earlier history of the Jews of Medina. It seems probable that some were refugees from Palestine, perhaps men who left after the defeat of Bar Kokhba; but others may have been Arabs who had adopted Judaism as a religion. Certainly, the Jews of Medina intermarried with Arabs and had many customs similar to those of their Arab neighbours. It is clear from the Ḳurʾān, however (e.g. II, 47/4 ff.), that they claimed to be of Hebrew descent, despite the fact that the names of the clans and most of the names of individuals are Arabic. Early Arabic poems ascribed to Jews are indistinguishable in literary form and in content from those of desert Arabs (Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, 52 ff.). While there may have been some simple agriculture before the coming of the Jews, they almost certainly developed the cultivation of dates and cereals here as in other oases such as Khaybar (cf. W. Caskel in G. E. von Grunebaum, ed., *Studies in Islamic cultural history*, Menasha 1954, 43; = *American Anthropologist*, lxvi/2, Memoir no. 76).

There were three main Jewish groups in Medina at the Hidjra, the clans or tribes of Ḳurayẓa, al-

Naḍīr and Ḳaynuḳāʿ. Of these, the first two had some of the most fertile land in the oasis, while the third had no land but were armourers and goldsmiths, besides conducting a market. In addition, al-Samhūdī lists about a dozen other purely Jewish groups, of whom the most important was the Banū Hadl, which was closely associated with Ḳurayẓa. He further mentions among the Jewish groups a few which are sometimes given Arab genealogies, such as Unayf and Mart͟had (parts of Balī), Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārit͟h (of Sulaym), and D͟jad͟hmāʾ and Nāg͟hiṣa (of al-Yaman).

The Jewish domination of Medina came to an end some time after the settlement of two large Arab groups, al-Aws and al-K͟hazrad͟j [*q.vv.*], sometimes called together the Banū Ḳayla, but mostly referred to as the Anṣār or "helpers" of Muḥammad. They are among the Arabs said to have left South Arabia after the breaking of the dam of Maʾrib [*q.v.*]. At first these Arabs were under the protection of some Jewish tribes, and a sign of their inferiority was that Fiṭyawn, the leader of the Jewish-Arab group of T͟haʿlaba, exercised a *ius primae noctis* over their women. This was resented by Mālik b. al-ʿAd͟jlān (of the clan of ʿAwf of al-K͟hazrad͟j), and he revolted successfully and became independent. Subsequently, with help from either a G͟hassānid or a South Arabian ruler (according to somewhat legendary accounts), he enabled the other clans of al-Aws and al-K͟hazrad͟j to become independent of the Jews. It is sometimes said that the Jews now became subject to these Arabs. This is not borne out, however, by the historical accounts of the period up to 5/627. The main Jewish groups, though doubtless now weaker than the Arabs, retained a measure of independence and continued to occupy some of the best lands. They were not politically united by their religion, but different groups were in alliance (*ḥilf*) with different Arab clans, and were sometimes involved on opposite sides in the fighting between Arab clans. Some of the groups of judaised Arabs seem to have gradually become merged with Arab clans (as the Banū Zaʿūrāʾ with ʿAbd al-As͟hhal).

The historical accounts make it clear that the effective political units in the pre-Islamic period were not the tribes of al-Aws and al-K͟hazrad͟j, but smaller units, which may be called clans. Those mentioned in the Constitution of Medina (see below) were al-Nabīt, ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Aws Manāt (later Aws Allāh) among al-Aws, and al-Nad͟jd͟jār, al-Ḥārit͟h, ʿAwf, Sāʿida and D͟jus͟ham among al-K͟hazrad͟j; but even smaller groupings were also important. From at least fifty years before the Hid͟jra there had been a series of blood-feuds between Arab groups, behind which, at least latterly, there may have been an economic factor, namely, desire for better lands. These feuds led to fighting described as "wars". The earliest recorded was between Mālik b. al-ʿAd͟jlān of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Uḥayḥa b. al-D͟julāḥ of Sālim (Ḳawāḳila). Four small "wars" occurred between this and the "war of Ḥāṭib", which was the bloodiest and culminated after several fights in the battle of Buʿāt͟h [*q.v.*] in about 617 A.D. Most of the clans of al-Aws took part under the leadership of Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, and most of the clans of al-K͟hazrad͟j under ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa. The Jewish clans of Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr on this occasion supported Ḥuḍayr because ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān had killed hostages they had given him. One or two Arab clans and some prominent leaders, notably ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, did not take part in the battle. The fighting was severe and both leaders were killed, but neither side had a decisive advantage and no formal peace was made. This unresolved conflict was doubtless one factor leading the Arabs of Medina to invite Muḥammad to go there.

Al-Aws and al-K͟hazrad͟j were noted for their devotion to the deity Manāt, whose shrine was at al-Mus͟hallal between Medina and Mecca (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 26; T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 123). The Medinan poet Ḳays b. al-K͟haṭīm has references to *Allāh* (*Dīwān*, ed. Kowalski, Leipzig 1914, 5.6; 6.22; 11.8; 13.12), but these may reflect not so much Jewish or Christian influence as the widespread belief in a supreme god or "high god" often called Allāh (cf. J. Teixidor, *The pagan God*, Princeton 1977, 17, 162, etc.). There seems, however, to have been some movement towards monotheism before the contact with Muḥammad; e.g. Asʿad b. Zurāra and Abu 'l-Hayt͟ham (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 139, 22), and Abū Ḳays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas (Ibn His͟hām, 348). Another man, known as Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib, though a monotheist and ascetic previously, became an opponent of Muḥammad (Ibn His͟hām, 411 f., 561; etc.).

2. *From the Hid͟jra to the caliphate of ʿAlī*

There was probably some knowledge in Medina of Muḥammad's mission from an early date. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, who died before the battle of Buʿāt͟h, is said to have accepted the Ḳurʾān (Ibn His͟hām, 283-5). The first definite converts were six men of al-K͟hazrad͟j who came to Muḥammad probably in 620. At the pilgrimage of 621 they brought a party of twelve men (including two from al-Aws), and the party formally accepted Islam and made certain promises. This was the Pledge of the Women, or first Pledge of al-ʿAḳaba. In 622 seventy-three men and two women from Medina, who had become Muslims, made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and promised to protect Muḥammad and his followers as they would their own nearest kinsmen. This was the second Pledge of al-ʿAḳaba or the Pledge of War (*bayʿat al-ḥarb*). On the basis of this agreement, some seventy of Muḥammad's Meccan followers with their dependants emigrated, or made the *hid͟jra*, to Medina in small groups. Muḥammad and Abū Bakr came last, and reached Ḳubāʾ in the south of the oasis on 12 Rabīʿ al-Awwal (= 24 September 622). The Emigrants (*muhād͟jirūn*) from Mecca were given hospitality by the Muslims of Medina. Muḥammad himself did not accept any of the many offers of hospitality, but ostensibly allowed his camel to make the choice for him. It halted on a piece of land belonging to two orphans, and Muḥammad bought the land and used it for his mosque and for his own house. It was probably because of the same desire not to have a special relationship with any of the rival clans in Medina that none of Muḥammad's marriages was with a woman of either al-Aws or al-K͟hazrad͟j.

At al-ʿAḳaba in 622 Muḥammad had asked for the appointment of twelve "representatives" (*nuḳabāʾ*). The number twelve was probably suggested by the tribes of Israel and the disciples of Jesus; but the fact that when the first representative of the clan of al-Nad͟jd͟jār died Muḥammad took his place (one of his great-grandmothers had been a woman of al-Nad͟jd͟jār) suggests that the *nuḳabāʾ* were part of a political structure for Medina which fell into disuse. The effective structure of the community is doubtless that indicated in the document often known as "the Constitution of Medina" (Ibn His͟hām, 341-4; discussed by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 65-83; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 74-81;

Caetani, *Annali*, i, 391-408; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 221-8; R. B. Serjeant, *The "Constitution of Medina"*, in *IQ*, viii (1964), 3-16; idem, *The Sunnah Jāmiʿah, pacts with the Yat͟hrib Jews, and the taḥrīm of Yat͟hrib*, in *BSOAS*, xli [1978], 1-42). The document is composite, as is shown by repetitions. In its present form it would seem to belong to a date after the Ḳurayẓa affair in 5/627, but some of its articles may go back to the Pledge of War at al-ʿAḳaba. By this document all the people living in Medina are constituted a single *umma* or community in accordance with traditional Arab ideas of confederacy. There are nine primary members of the confederacy, eight local "clans" (three of al-Aws and five of al-K͟hazrad͟j) and the group of Emigrants from Mecca. Although the underlying political conceptions were pre-Islamic Arab, the confederacy was one of Muslims, since at least the leading men in each of the eight clans had accepted Muḥammad as prophet. Many of the articles speak of "the believers", and there are several references to God. About ten distinct groups of Jews are mentioned in separate articles, and are confirmed in the practice of their own religion, as well as having certain rights and obligations. Even unbelievers or idolaters in the Arab clans appear to have been accepted as members of the community, though with restricted rights. There are some two dozen general articles dealing with various matters conductive to the smooth running of the community. Muḥammad is given no special powers, but is recognised as prophet and is to have disputes referred to him. At least until 5/627 he could not issue commands but had to consult the clan leaders and get them to agree to what he proposed. After the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, however, his authority was unchallenged as a result of Muslim successes. When Arab tribes accepted Islam and became allies of Muḥammad they were presumably included in the confederacy, and the Muslim community ceased to consist solely of the inhabitants of Medina. Al-Aws and al-K͟hazrad͟j, as Muḥammad's earliest allies, were called the Anṣār or "helpers".

The period from the Hid͟jra to Muḥammad's death was characterised by a series of over 70 expeditions or razzias (*mag͟hāzī* [*q.v.*]), in which the number of participants varied from a handful to 30,000. In the first few small expeditions, only Emigrants from Mecca took part, but in the expedition of 2/624 which culminated in the battle of Badr the Muslims of Medina constituted about three-quarters of Muḥammad's force. After the victory at Badr most of the Muslims of Medina were committed to Muḥammad's general policies, though a few, the Hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]), opposed them. This opposition within Medina was dangerous for Muḥammad when the Meccans invaded the oasis in 3/625 and the Muslims of Medina suffered many casualties, and again in 5/627 when the Meccans with many allies attempted to besiege Medina. There was also opposition from some of the Jews, and this led to the expulsion of the clans of Ḳaynuḳāʿ and al-Naḍīr (in 2/624 and 3/625) and the execution of the men of Ḳurayẓa and selling into slavery of its women and children (in 5/627). Jewish verbal criticisms of the Ḳurʾān had been felt to threaten the acceptance of Muḥammad as prophet, while Ḳurayẓa had apparently been intriguing with the Meccans during the siege. After 5/627 the remaining Jews of Medina gave no further trouble. In succeeding years, many Arab nomads on accepting Islam came to settle in Medina and were attached to the group of Emigrants; and this further strengthened Muḥammad against the Anṣār. On the whole, he managed to keep the peace between the rival groups in Medina, though at times he was able to use the hostility of al-Aws and al-K͟hazrad͟j to further his own ends. After the conquest of Mecca and the acceptance of Islam by many of the leading Meccans, both sections of the Anṣār felt threatened by these last (cf. Ibn His͟hām, 824, 855 f.), and this division in the Anṣār gradually ceased to be of political importance. The opposition to Muḥammad from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] and his supporters, known as the *munāfiḳūn*, seems to have faded out at the time of the siege of Medina, for ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy participated in the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya. About 9/630, however, another group of *munāfiḳūn* appeared. During the expedition to Tabūk an attempt on Muḥammad's life was planned, but was foiled. About the same time a mosque had been completed in the southern part of the oasis, the Masd͟jid al-Ḍirār or "Mosque of Dissension", but instead of honouring it by his presence Muḥammad sent men to demolish it, having realised that it was designed to be a focus of intrigue against himself. (For the details of all these events, see MUḤAMMAD.)

After the great expedition to Tabūk, Muḥammad did not leave Medina except to make the Pilgrimage of Farewell to Mecca in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 10/March 632. About two months later he fell ill, and asked permission of his wives to remain in ʿĀʾis͟ha's apartment (instead of spending one night with each in turn). He died on 13 Rabīʿ I 11/8 June 632 and was buried in this apartment. He had made no arrangements for succession to his political authority, except that he had appointed Abū Bakr to lead the public prayers. The Anṣār met in the hall (*saḳīfa*) of the clan of Sāʿida and appointed the leading K͟hazrad͟jī, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, as their ruler. ʿUmar and Abū Bakr, however, heard of what was happening, hurried to the hall, and persuaded the Anṣār that only a man of Ḳuray͟sh could be accepted by everyone as head of the community. They then appointed Abū Bakr who took the title of "caliph (*k͟halīfa*) of the Messenger of God".

Abū Bakr continued to reside in Medina and to follow a policy of expansion by sending expeditions northwards. Most of his brief reign (11-13/632-4), however, was occupied in subduing revolts among various Arab tribes (the wars of the Ridda). His successors ʿUmar (13-23/634-44) and ʿUt͟hmān (23-35/644-56) also resided in Medina, apart from brief visits to recently conquered provinces. Medina was thus briefly the capital of an empire, but had little of the dignity associated with such a role. The caliph lived in his private house, and had no guards. Thus when insurgents from the provinces attacked ʿUt͟hmān in his house, his only support was from the sons of some of the leading men of Medina who had been sent as a token force. When the insurgents attacked seriously, there was virtually no resistance and ʿUt͟hmān was killed. Upon this, the Muslims in Medina accepted ʿAlī as caliph, but they were now only a small proportion of the whole Muslim community, and their choice of caliph was not accepted in all the provinces. The Muslims of Syria favoured their governor Muʿāwiya, while Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr opposed ʿAlī, first from Mecca and then from Baṣra. ʿAlī, feeling constrained to counter the moves of these two, left Medina for ʿIrāḳ in October 656 and never returned. In effect, Medina was replaced as capital by Kūfa, and, after the acknowledgement of Muʿāwiya as caliph in 661, by Damascus.

3. *From 661 to 1926*

After it ceased to be the centre of the caliphate, Medina became something of a backwater politically. For a brief moment in 63/683 it came into the historical limelight. Many of the leading men of Medina disliked Yazīd's succession to his father Muʿāwiya in 60/680. Some may have been moved by the hope of regaining for Medina some of its former influence. Others seem to have sympathised with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] who was organising opposition to the Umayyads from Mecca. A large body of the Muslims of Medina, led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala, formally renounced allegiance to Yazīd, and forced a thousand members of the Umayyad family and its supporters to take refuge in the quarter of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], the head of the family in Medina, though of a different branch from Muʿāwiya. Yazīd sent an army of from 4,000 to 12,000 Syrian troops under Muslim b. ʿUḳba, but before they arrived the rebels had allowed the Umayyad party to leave Medina for Syria. Muslim's army encamped on the Ḥarra to the north-east of Medina and invited the rebels to submit. Instead they marched against him and were severely defeated, and Medina is alleged to have been pillaged for three days by the Syrians. There seems to be some anti-Umayyad exaggeration in the accounts of this battle of the Ḥarra [*q.v.*] and its aftermath. These events did not greatly alter the position of Medina, except perhaps to reduce its political importance still further.

In 130/747 a group of Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] who had established themselves in the Yemen sent an army into the Ḥidjāz and, after defeating the governor of Medina and a locally raised force, occupied Medina for three months until defeated by an army from Syria (Wellhausen, *Die Oppositionsparteien*, ch. xii; Eng. tr. *The religio-political factions*). After the establishment of ʿAbbāsid rule, Medina was the centre of two short-lived and unsuccessful Ḥasanid revolts, that of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the "pure soul" (*al-nafs al-zakiyya* [*q.v.*]) in 145/762 and that of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the *ṣāḥib Fakhkh* [*q.v.*], in 169/786. Another incident that has been recorded was the defeat in 230/845 by the Turkish general Bughā al-Kabīr of the nomadic tribes of Sulaym and Hilāl who had been making depredations in the region of Medina. About two years later they escaped from prison, but were put to death by the people of Medina (Ṭabarī, iii, 551 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 230, 232). For the first three centuries of Islam these are the main events involving Medina.

Even in the reign of Muʿāwiya, Medina was becoming remote from the caliph and his government, and was beginning to attract those who wanted to keep aloof from political turmoil and maintain an attitude of neutrality between the opposing groups. Prominent among the neutrals was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*]. To Medina also came al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] after renouncing his claim to the caliphate in 41/661, and to Medina were brought al-Ḥusayn's wives and son after his death at Karbalāʾ. Another son of ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], also lived quietly in Medina. As already noted, too, an important section of the Umayyad family, not closely involved in the government of Muʿāwiya and Yazīd, resided in Medina. Many others of the Ḳuraysh of Mecca also settled there. Such people were able to enjoy the wealth brought to them by the wars of conquests, and life in Medina became notorious for its luxury. The caliph Marwān II expressed surprised that one of the participants in the rising of 127/745 had not been held back by the wine and singing-girls of Medina (Ṭabarī, ii, 1910).

At the same time, however, Medina became an important centre of Islamic intellectual life. From the beginnings of Islam, it would seem, men had met in mosques to discuss matters of religious interest. In Medina in the Umayyad period such discussions led to criticisms of current legal and administrative practice on the ground that these were not in accordance with Islamic principles. As these discussions and criticisms became more systematic, Islamic jurisprudence began to take shape. The early school of Medina seems to have been important (though J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 223, etc., thinks it was subordinate to the ʿIrāḳī schools). There are many references to "the seven lawyers of Medina", a group of men who died a little before or shortly after 106/718; the lists of the seven vary somewhat [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA AL-SABʿA in Suppl.]. One of the most prominent was ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], who was also a collector of *ḥadīth* and of historical information about the life of the Prophet. Among his pupils were his son Hishām and (Muḥammad b. Shihāb) al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742 [*q.v.*]), one of the greatest scholars of the time in several fields. The real flowering of the legal school of Medina, however, came through the work of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) [*q.v.*], who was the founder of one of the four Sunnī legal rites. The textual study of the Ḳurʾān was represented in Medina by Nāfiʿ al-Laythī (d. 169/785), the authority for one of the seven canonical sets of readings. Ibn al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ al-Makhzūmī (d. 130/747) from Medina was also highly thought of for his textual studies. In the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān an important place was held by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam (d. 182/798), whose father had been noted as a lawyer. A pupil of Mālik's, Ibn Zabāla, wrote one of the first histories of Medina (Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 343); it has not survived, but is occasionally quoted by al-Samhūdī.

No wall was built round Medina until it was felt to be threatened by the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt. In 364/974 the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla built a wall enclosing the central part of the town. This was restored in 540/1145 by a Zangid vizier, but a few years later in 557/1162 the Zangid Atābeg of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways. After the Ottoman conquest, Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī (1520-66) built walls about 12 m. high of basalt and granite, with a trench in front. He also built a covered aqueduct to bring water from the south. These walls were raised to 25 m. by Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76).

In 601/1203 the people of Medina were involved in a quarrel between the governors of Mecca and Medina, but, though there was some fighting, an agreement was eventually reached. Half-a-century later, in 654/1256, Medina was threatened by a volcanic eruption. After a series of earthquakes, a stream of lava appeared, but fortunately flowed to the east of the town and then northwards. After this, little is recorded of Medina until the 19th century. In 1804 the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] took the town, plundered the jewels, pearls and other treasures of the Prophet's Mosque and prevented pious "visits" to his tomb there. In 1813 it was recaptured for the Ottomans by Ṭūsūn, a son of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, and in 1815 the Wahhābī *amīr*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd, recognised Ottoman sovereignty over the holy places in the Ḥidjāz, and there was no change in this respect until the First World War. Shortly before that, in

1908, the Ottoman government built the Ḥidjāz railway from Damascus to Medina. Though primarily intended for pilgrims, this had some military importance, and was the object of attacks after November 1916 when the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], revolted against the Ottomans. A contingent of Ottoman troops, under Fakhrī Pasha, however, maintained themselves in Medina until after the peace in 1918, not surrendering until 10 January 1919 with his 9,800 men (see A. L. Tibawi, *The last knight of the last caliphs*, in *IQ*, xv [1971], 159-63). In 1924 after the abolition of the caliphate by the Turkish republic the Grand Sharīf (now King) Ḥusayn assumed the title of caliph, but met with much opposition from Arabs and other Muslims. In particular, Ibn Suʿūd invaded the Ḥidjāz in August 1924; Ḥusayn abdicated in favour of his son ʿAlī, but the latter too had to leave the Ḥidjāz, and in January 1926 Ibn Suʿūd became "King of the Ḥidjāz" as well as of Nadjd. Medina was thus incorporated into the Suʿūdī kingdom.

Bibliography: Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, and *Khulāṣat al-wafāʾ* (Brockelmann, II, 223 f.); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, ii, Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ser. i; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. De Goeje,. 2-22; Maḳdisī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, in *BGA*, iii, 80-3; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 23 f. (*Ḳubāʾ*), 458-68; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1929; R. F. Burton, *Personal narration of a pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, London 1857, part 2; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1, 2 ("Medina vor dem Islam", "Die Gemeindeordnung Muhammeds"), Berlin 1889; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908 (Eng. tr., London 1976); L. Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930; J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée de Médine*, Paris 1947; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956.

(W. M. WATT)

(ii) THE MODERN CITY

As early as 1923, growing hostility between the Hāshimite king, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, and the Suʿūdī sultan, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, led to fears that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Ikhwān [*q.v.*] might capture al-Madīna. In fact, the redoubtable Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, Ikhwānī leader and chief of al-Muṭayr tribe, had raided into al-Ḥidjāz, where he destroyed track of the already defunct Ḥidjāz Railway and generally frightened the population. By late 1342/June 1924, al-Madīna had been largely cut off from outside supplies; nevertheless, at the time of the Suʿūdī/Ikhwān capture of al-Ṭāʾif (4 Ṣafar 1342/5 September 1924) and the subsequent fall of Makka, an exodus began from the latter which brought a surge of refugees into al-Madīna. During 1343-4/1925, occasional loads of supplies reached the beleaguered city, but by September when the Ḥarb [*q.v.*] tribe defected to the Suʿūdīs, al-Madīna was completely isolated. By the beginning of October, the garrison commander, ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-"Mifa'ie", was down to a 20-day supply of necessities, and the population began to slip away. By November, the citizens who remained approached ʿAbd al-Madjīd and one ʿIzzat Effendi, controller of the railroad, and asked them to negotiate the city's surrender. The terms were to open the gates if a general amnesty were to be declared and if the Ikhwān would guarantee the safety of the defenders and of the populace. From the Suʿūdī point of view, the city could have been captured soon after the capture of al-Ṭāʾif and Makka, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz apparently preferred to wait until Muslim opinion had digested the new régime's control of Makka. Indeed, false, but not implausible reports that Suʿūdī artillery had damaged the famous green dome over the Prophet's tomb had already in October 1925 brought an Iranian mission of investigation as well as protests from foreign consuls in Djudda [*q.v.*] and from all over the world. Not long before the city's fall, Philby, en route to Rābigh, reports that he saw a detachment of the Suʿūdī army under the sultan's third son, Muḥammad, marching on al-Madīna. According to Philby, in the last weeks of the siege Medinese fear of the Ikhwān led ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to have food smuggled into the city in order to prevent Fayṣal al-Dawīsh from effecting the capture. In any case, the surrender took place on 19 Djumādā I 1344/5 December 1925 and was accepted by Amīr Nāṣir b. Suʿūd and Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Faḍl. The Ikhwān soon entered the exterior fortress of al-Salaʿ but not the city. Amīr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz entered on 6 December, prayed in the Prophet's mosque, and then ordered his troops to distribute 1,000 bags of rice and 2,000 of flour to the hungry citizenry. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh aspired to the post of governor of al-Madīna (which is a town on the Nadjd plateau unlike Makka, a city of the coastal plain) and its dependent villages. His failure to receive it may have been one cause of his participation in the subsequent Ikhwān revolt. But from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's point of view, since the Muṭayr *dīra* already reached from the confines of al-Aḥsāʾ [*q.v.*] almost to al-Madīna, a further extension of his power would have given him a possibly preponderant influence from the Red Sea to the Gulf. The first governor appointed was Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subḥān, a relatively liberal-minded native of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*].

The Wahhābī [*q.v.*] zealots were in the end served following the arrival of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bulayhid, the chief Wahhābī *ḳāḍī*. He soon assembled the local *ʿulamāʾ* and asked them to give him, after due deliberation, an opinion on the legality of the elaborate tombs erected over the years in al-Baḳīʿ cemetery. After some two weeks of discussion, a *fatwā* [*q.v.*], motivated partly by fear, was issued by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, with reluctant approval from his colleagues, which sanctioned the Wahhābī view that the tombs, cupolas, etc., should be destroyed. Shaykh Muḥammad was for the rest of his days referred to with opprobrium as "the Wahhābī". Ibn Bulayhid now had legal justification to implement the Wahhābī view. He had, however, a problem: there were almost no Wahhābīs in al-Madīna, and the regular population was reluctant to implement the *fatwā*. In the end, he had to hire the Shīʿī pariah class al-Nakhāwila (see below) to perform the task, When Eldon Rutter visited the city just after these events, he found that al-Baḳīʿ looked like a razed town. It was strewn with a rubble of earth, timber, iron bars, bricks, cement, etc., through which paths had been cleared. It was said that 10,000 of the Companions of the Prophet had been buried there, but all graves, from those of the Prophet's family, of ʿUthmān, Mālik b. Anas and other well-known Muslims, to the palm-frond graves of the poor, were systematically destroyed. Some of the Nakhāwila, who had never been allowed to bury their own dead in al-Baḳīʿ cemetery, were still raking over the rubble when Rutter visited the site. Also, outlying religious buildings such as the mosque of the tomb of Ḥamza were destroyed.

Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subhān was soon replaced, but there was one saving grace amidst the carnage. Full public security throughout the peninsula, unknown for long years, provided the basis for a future of far greater hope.

In 1926 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to use his new title, visited the Prophet's city and conducted diplomatic negotiations with the British Agent and Consul, Mr. S. R. Jordan, but little came of them. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had been absent from Nadjd for two years, had to return to affairs there. The only other high-level meetings which modern al-Madīna has known was in early 1945 when King Farūḳ b. Fuʾād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Egypt visited King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and invited him to visit Cairo, which he did in January 1946.

The population of the captured city was much depleted, but there are no exact figures. Estimates with source for the 19th and 20th centuries are as follows:

1814	16-18,000	Burckhardt
1853	16-20,000	Burton
1877	20,000	Keane
1908	30,000	Wavell
1910	60,000	al-Batanūnī
eve of World War I	80,000	Philby
1925	6,000	Rutter
early 1930s	15,000	Philby
early 1940s	20,000	*Western Arabia and the Red Sea*
1950s	40,000	Lipsky
1962	71,998	census
1968	90,000	Sogreah Co.
1970	112,000	Doxiades
1972	137,000	Robert Matthews Co.
1974	198,186	census
1976	150,000	*Area handbook*
2000	250-400,000	Makki

One could assume that by 1983 the population was approaching 200,000. Current estimates for the province of al-Madīna are approximately 500,000, but it should be emphasised that the estimates are only estimates. The compulsory recording of births dates only from 1965. In 1972 it was estimated that average population density was 2332/km² with a centre-city density of 30-40,000/km². The Robert Matthews Co. survey of 1972 showed that 36% of heads of families were born in al-Madīna; 28%, elsewhere in Suʿūdī Arabia; and 36%, outside the kingdom. As to age distribution, the 1974 estimate was that 50% of the population was below age 15, and in addition that the economically active age group was only 23% of the total. A curious phenomenon in al-Madīna is that the age group over 65 is larger than the 60-64 group which in turn is larger than the 55-59 age group. This is explained by what might be called "religious retirees"—those who wish to retire and spend their last days in the Prophet's city. Oil-stimulated immigration consisted on the one hand of professionals (teachers, doctors, engineers) who came largely from Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, and labourers who were primarily but not exclusively from Yemen. Yemenis constituted some 75% of all foreigners. It should be noted that the economic activity rate of migrants was higher than that of Saudis, whereas family size was smaller.

The population of the somewhat dazed or even partially ruined city that the Suʿūdīs took over in 1925 spoke a Medinese dialect distinct from that of other Ḥidjāz localities. It has affinities both to Syrian and Egyptian Arabic, and Turkish words and phrases are still heard in the last quarter of the 20th century. There were considerable areas of the city that were abandoned and semi-ruined, especially those outside the northern and western walls where wealthy Turks and others had built homes, especially after the coming of the railroad. Traditionally, the population lived in clearly compartmented quarters (*ḥawsh*, pl. *aḥwāsh*) and, in addition to native Medinese, included North Africans (attracted by the tomb of Mālik b. Anas), Indians, black Africans (Takārina), Mauritanians (Shanāḳiṭa) and Central Asians. A newer "immigrant" group are tribesmen: those of Ḥarb are concentrated in the eastern *ḥarra*; those of Djuhayna in the western. In addition, there was Ḥārat al-Āghāwāt, which was the home of the eunuch and other servants of the mosque (*al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī*). These included *imāms*, *muʾadhdhins*, caretakers, etc.

Religiously, the population is mostly Sunnī, of whom the large majority is Ḥanafī with a few Shāfiʿīs. There are also several groups of Shīʿīs. One of the most interesting of these is the Nakhāwila (sing. Nakhwalī). This is a twelver Shīʿī pariah class who formerly had their own *ḥawsh*, which was, however, broken up by the Suʿūdī régime first, apparently, in the 1920s and, definitively, following serious communal disturbances in the mid-1970s when a large highway was run through it. The origin of the Nakhāwila, who are currently roughly estimated to number between five and ten thousand, is obscure. They themselves claim to be descendants of the Anṣār; others believe they are descendants of African slaves, that they came from eastern Arabia or from Iran, etc. Some date their ostracisation from the time of the caliph Yazīd I. The name derives from their specialisation in cultivating palm trees. They also perform other menial services. Rutter reports that they were not allowed to live within the city walls, although they came in during the day to sell vegetables near Bāb al-Salām. In addition, the Nakhāwila were not allowed to pray in the Prophet's mosque, nor do they bury their dead in al-Baḳīʿ, but rather in their own cemetery east of Ḳubāʾ. Popular Sunnī feeling, according to Rutter, was that they would pollute these localities. They practice *mutʿa* [*q.v.*], and it was said they rent their houses to Iranian pilgrims during the *ḥadjdj* season. It may also be noted that the late Ottomans effectively prevented them from participating in elections, and King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, following a general protest against their participation in voting for the *madjlis al-shūrā* in 1937, followed the Ottoman precedent. There are also a few Shīʿīs of the Banū ʿAlī section of Ḥarb and the Banū Ḥusayn of al-Sādāt. It may also be noted that there is a small upper class group of Shīʿīs in al-Madīna. These, originally from ʿIrāḳ, are to a considerable degree integrated with the Sunnī upper class and basically come from two families, ʿUmrān and Mashhadī.

Among the well-known Sunnī families are the Khuraydjīs, of Nadjdī origin but long connected with trade in al-Madīna, who in the mid-1930s had the finest residence in the city; the Saḳḳāfs, whose scion ʿUmar was for some years Suʿūdī Foreign Minister, and newer rich families such as the Asʿads and the Kurdīs who made fortunes in land speculation in the 1970s.

The febrile modernisation of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, has largely destroyed all of the old *aḥwash* and has promoted a considerable homogenisation of the people, but slums remain in certain parts of

the old city, and these continue to have ethnic settlement patterns. On balance, Philby's judgment continues to be sound, that the people of al-Madīna, favoured as they are by location, water supplies, and relatively abundant agriculture, "lead more spacious lives" with something of the patrician and the patriarchal about them, in contrast to their neighbours in Makka.

The physical appearance of al-Madīna has changed dramatically in the six decades since the Wahhābīs first took it over. Rutter was told that the houses in the oldest sections of the city around the mosque, but especially between the *ḥaram* and al-Baḳīʿ, were built so incredibly close together in order to prevent the *samūm* from penetrating them. These houses, which were built of granite or basalt blocks and some of which had pillared halls opening on bathing pools, were typically three or four stories tall. Almost every house had a well with a hole directly above it on each floor. The hole itself had a small room (*bayt al-biʾr*) built around it which served as a bathing and siesta room for the people on that floor. The bucket was on a rope which operated from a pulley in the ceiling, and thus people on each floor could get water as needed. The water, which was not in short supply, was normally about five metres below the surface of the ground. The whole city was enclosed by a substantial wall with various gates, and there was also an outer wall extending from southeast of the old city westward and then north to tie into the main citadel at al-Bāb al-Shāmī on the northwest of the inner city. Finally, the Hāshimite King Ḥusayn built another wall from the northeast section of the old city north and then westward, but the Hāshimite kingdom ceased to exist before the new wall reached the existing outer wall on the west. With the coming of the *pax Suʿūdiana*, the whole system became obsolete, and gradually the walls disappeared before bulldozers. Philby reported in 1957 that they were gone, but some fragments still exist.

Modernisation has brought completely different

Fig. 1. Al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī before the Suʿūdī reconstruction (after E. Rutter, *The holy cities of Arabia*). 1. The Prophet's tomb (*ḥudjra*) — 2. Fāṭima's tomb — 3. Bāb Djibrīl — 4. Storeroom — 5. The Agha's platform — 6. Bāb al-Nisāʾ — 7. Miḥrāb — 8. Women's prayer place — 9. Minaret — 10. Madrasa — 11. al-Bāb al-Madjīdī — 12. Bāb al-Raḥma — 13. Bāb al-Salām — 14. al-Miḥrāb al-Sulaymāniyya — 15. Minbar — 16. al-Rawḍa — 17. Miḥrāb al-Nabī — 18. Miḥrāb ʿUthmān — 19. Platform — 20. Well — 21. Fāṭima's orchard — 22. Open courtyard.

Fig. 2. al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī after the Suʿūdī reconstruction (after ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Anṣārī, *Āthār al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, 2nd. ed.). 1. The Prophet's tomb — 2. Fāṭima's tomb — 3. Bāb Djibrīl — 4. Bāb al-Nisāʾ — 5. Minaret — 6. Miḥrāb ʿUthmān — 7. Bāb ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz — 8. Bāb ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān — 9. Bāb ʿAbd al-Madjīd — 10. Bāb ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb — 11. Bāb Suʿūd — 12. Bāb al-Raḥma — 13. Bāb al-Ṣiddīḳ — 14. Bāb al-Salām — 15. Open courtyard (reconstructed) — 16. New courtyard.

Fig. 3. Map of the modern city of al-Madīna (after H. M. Bindagji, *Atlas of Saudi Arabia*, Oxford 1398/1978, and W. C. Brice (ed.), *An historical atlas of Islam*, Leiden 1981, 23).
1. al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī — 2. al-Bāb al-Miṣrī — 3. ʿUmar's garden — 4. ʿĀrif Hikmet Library — 5. Mosque of al-Ghamāma — 6. Mosque of ʿUmar — 7. Mosque of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī — 8. Mosque of Ḳubāʾ — 9. Masdjid al-Djumʿa — 10. Mosque of Mālik b. Anas — 11. Mosque of Abū Bakr — 12. Mosque of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

architectural approaches and materials, and much of the old has been swept away. Courtyards have been replaced by balconies, and cement and bricks are now standard. Sometimes old and new are combined, with traditional materials used on the ground floor and concrete blocks above. The latter, being lighter, allow larger rooms than would stone. The new construction is less insulating than the old, but air conditioning offsets this loss. Much of the growth of the city has been uncontrolled. Immigrants have settled on the eastern and western *ḥarra*s and bidonvilles have emerged. Some of the more prosperous immigrants have replaced their shanties with substantial structures, but growth in these areas has been chaotic. Running water did not exist as late as about 1980; electricity reached the *ḥarrāt* only about 1978.

By the 1960s, a city plan emerged. It features wide streets, street lighting, plantings, pavements for pedestrians and parks. Various new streets were cut, others were widened. The castle at al-Bāb al-Shāmī was demolished and replaced by apartment houses, and certain streets formerly connected by stairs were placed on the same level. The *aḥwāsh* disappeared; buildings were built across the water course that cut through the southern part of the city on a northwest-southeast axis.

In general, the central business district near the Prophet's mosque has not shifted, but there are satellite suburbs which have grown rapidly. These include al-ʿAwālī to the southeast, Ḳubāʾ to the south (which with its orchards and cafés is a suburb of the affluent), and Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ to the north-east.

The old layout of the city continued to impose itself on some developments. The Ḥidjāz railway station and the Ottoman barracks were both located in the southwest just inside the outer wall. The straight road, Shāriʿ al-ʿAnbariyya, which led to the centre of town at al-Bāb al-Miṣrī, had also by 1925 attracted the public or Egyptian kitchen, the governor's residence, and other private mansions. In the late 60s, the barracks were demolished and replaced by a large government building. Other

multi-story buildings soon followed. The location of the residence of the *amīr* exerted a pull on the location of upper-class housing. As long as the governor's house was in the south, the well-to-do lived there, but when in the 60s the *amīr*'s palace moved to the north of the city, Sulṭāna Street, which led northwest towards the old (Sultana) airport, and the community of al-ʿUyūn (7 km. away) began to attract affluent villas. The new airport located about 14 km. northeast of the city has also been an attraction northwards, and in general the area between Shāriʿ al-Maṭār (airport road) and Sulṭāna Street has filled in. West of Sulṭāna Street, Djabal Salaʿ, a difficult and substantial rocky outcrop, impeded development, but by the 80s villas were appearing north of it as well. To exemplify the overheated inflation in land prices, one can cite a garbage area north of the outer (Ḥusayn's) wall where no one would build. Cleaned up in the 60s, land was selling there for $ 2,500/m² by the mid-70s.

Other points of interest are that industry has generally moved outside the city where land was cheaper and there was room to expand. Public open spaces in al-Madīna are below international standards (totalling, in about 1980, 2,321 m²), but this inadequacy is partially compensated for by recreational use of the green areas, which are themselves diminishing, north and south of the city.

Traffic has always been a problem in al-Madīna. Rutter reports that streets in the old sections in 1926 were so narrow that on occasion a person had to walk sideways to pass. During the restoration of the mosque under Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd (1848-60), a breach (al-ʿAyniyya) was made in the inner wall, and a straight street driven through to near the southwest gate of the mosque (Bāb al-Salām) so that columns and stone blocks could be brought in from Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ. As long as camels discharged their loads in the area (al-Manākha) west of the inner wall reserved for that purpose and goods were then taken in by donkey or porter, the narrow streets could also be used by pedestrians, but with the coming of motor vehicles the situation became acute, especially as there was a severe shortage of parking space. One major parking lot does, however, exist in a portion of the old railroad yards.

Streets were added and widened in two stages: (1) 1950-5, when by private contract the *aḥwāsh* and *aziḳḳa* were greatly altered, by building new roads, especially Shāriʿ al-Maṭār and Shāriʿ Abī Zār which runs north and south to the east of the old city, by widening others, and by asphalting others; (2) 1961-5, when the municipality itself carried the process a stage further, installing *inter alia* a one-way traffic system in some sections and traffic lights. There continued in the early 1980s to be some unasphalted streets. The increase in vehicles can be gauged by the fact that in the period 1948-72, 6,511 vehicles were licensed, whereas in 1973-4 along 6,158 were licensed. In addition, at *ḥadjdj* time many outside vehicles appear. One may also note Shāriʿ al-Khawādjāt, which links, north of the city, the airport with Abyār ʿAlī some 8 km. southwest of the city, where there are TV and power stations. Designed as a road which non-Muslim technicians would be allowed to use (hence its name), it has become the main truck route because it bypasses the heavy city traffic. The city boasts two bus stations and taxi companies (cabs can be ordered by phone). Traffic, however, apparently remains a serious problem. Makki reports that accidents and ensuing violence between drivers are common, that parking fines are not levied, and that roads are hazardous for pedestrians.

The economy of al-Madīna may be conveniently considered under three headings: agriculture, commerce and industry, and the pilgrimage. Agriculture and agricultural self-sufficiency have constituted one of the glories of Islam's second city. Palms ripened early in June, and the main harvest was about a month later. The grapes, of which the best were a long white variety called Sharīfī, were also well known. Modernisation, however, has come disastrously close to ending the city's agricultural sector for three reasons. One is that urban sprawl in the 1950s overtook those farms which immediately surrounded the city. A second reason is the economic opportunity which the oil-driven economy of the country presented in other economic sectors; and the third cause is the fall in the water table because of unprecedented demands for water. By the 1950s, the formerly planted banks of Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ had become barren and the desolation of the natural acacia forest, al-Ghāba, the traditional outdoor recreational area of the Medinese, and a source of wood, located some 7.5 km. north of the city, was well under way. This process was accelerated by the successive construction of small dams (ʿAḳūl, 1956; al-ʿAḳīḳ, 1958; and Buṭḥān, 1966) which prevented destructive flash floods in al-Madīna, but also prevented water from reaching al-Ghāba. Makki believes (1982) that the process might still be reversed, but notes no sign of the required effort. The agricultural areas south of the city have held up more successfully, though some decline is noted there as well. The decade 1962-72 showed a total reduction in agricultural land of 16.8% from 8.14 to 6.77 km². Over 40% of the total is in al-ʿAwālī and Ḳubāʾ south of the city. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, crop distribution in 1962 was as follows: 64% palm trees, 21% fruit trees, 14% alfalfa, and 1% garden vegetables, including tomatoes, eggplant, carrots, potatoes, squash, peppers, cucumbers, watermelons, cabbage, and cauliflower. It may be noted that the date trade was especially important as an export (to Syria, Egypt and the Indian subcontinent) crop. The dates in fact had a religious aura as a kind of blessing for the eater. There are many varieties, of which Rutter says the best three are al-ʿAnbarī, al-Shalabī and al-Ḥalwa.

The estimated percentage distribution of the non-agricultural and non-religious work force is, after Makki, as follows:

Activity	1972	1974
delivery services	22.01	24.23
scientific and vocational services	10.84	20.00
governmental services	24.50	12.72
primary industries	1.61	11.20
construction and maintenance	4.90	10.12
transport	6.67	7.73
other	17.75	6.71
education	7.78	4.84
handicrafts	1.20	2.21
electricity and water supply	2.65	.83

Highlights of the local economy are as follows. Industrial activities are principally date packing and vehicle repair. These are located on the periphery of the city on a totally unplanned basis. In 1971 manufacturing firms numbered 107, most of which employed 10 or less workers. Of the total, 35 were in car repair, 17 in building tile manufacture, 15

in bricks, 4 dairies, and 2 large date-packing factories. Estimates are, for 1971 and 1974 respectively, that there were 1,452 and 3,517 industrial workers and 3,105 and 6,207 commercial workers. Hotels and hospices, including a Sheraton, numbered 8 in 1971 and employed some 1,225 workers in 1974. In 1971 there were 2,208 retail and 28 wholesale stores and the *sūḳ* system received its first challenge in that same year with the establishment of two supermarkets, one in the city and one on Ḳubā' Street. The social importance of the *sūḳ* has also declined with changing life-styles, because accompanying traditional social activities such as public baths and coffee shops have almost disappeared. According to Makki, men's barbers, often Indian or African, are still conspicuous as they work outside on the sidewalk attending to the needs of, especially, Yemenis and other unurbanised immigrants. At the same time the new life-style has given rise to ladies' coiffeuses who use modern equipment but operate from their private homes. Of the three known to Makki (two in Ḳubā' and one in al-Bāb al-Madjīdī), two were run by foreign teachers and one by a Medinese lady.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the impact of the *ḥadjdj* on the economy of al-Madīna. Rutter estimated in 1926 that the number of those who served the *ḥaram* was about 1,000. This number included, in addition to the *shaykh al-ḥaram*, his deputy, and the treasurer, *imāms*, preachers, lecturers, *mu'adhdhins*, overseers, doorkeepers, sweepers, lamp cleaners, water carriers, etc. Most were supported at least in part by *waḳfs*, many originating in Egypt. He reports that King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz initially reduced the number to 200. The corps of eunuchs numbered about 50. They were popularly believed to be wealthy, and they had *inter alia* black boys in training to enter the mosque service. In more recent times, Long has estimated that the guild of guides alone received some $ 800,000 in fees (gratuities are also important) in 1972 when pilgrims numbered about 480,000. His estimate of gross *ḥadjdj* income, including public sector expenditures, in that year was $ 213 million. Of this, one could guess that al-Madīna might be allocated one-third. Other estimates are higher. Robert Matthew Co. estimated for the same year that *external* pilgrims spent just under $ 100 million, of which two-thirds was for gifts. Makki's fieldwork in the same year indicates that average pilgrim expenditures were 583 Suʿūdī *riyāls* (SR; $ 1.00 = SR 4.15 in 1972) broken down as follows:

gifts	SR 331
other	99
lodging	71
food	52
transport	17
religious donations	13
	SR 583

He estimates total revenue from *external* pilgrims at SR 381.4 million (= $ 91.9 million). Total pilgrims on Makki's projection produced a revenue of SR 558.5 million (= $ 134.5 million).

The *Ḥaram al-Nabawī* of course is the central focus of al-Madīna, although other buildings and localities have high religious significance. The exact area of the sacred territory (*ḥaram*) from which non-Muslims are excluded is unclear. There is indeed a certain ambiguousness about the *ḥaram* quality of al-Madīna. Abū Ḥanīfa said it was not a *ḥaram*. Rutter reports that "common opinion" held that the area is bounded by the lava fields on the east and west, by Djabal ʿAyr on the south and Djabal Thawr ("behind Ohod") on the north, an area about 16 by 3 km. Philby wrote in the early 1930s that the whole district from Ḳubā' to Djabal Uḥud was *ḥarām*. Nallino reports that, according to the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate convention, it was defined as a radius of 30 km. around the walls of the city—a significantly smaller area. Non-Muslims now regularly travel the *Shāriʿ al-Khawādjāt* and stay in such hotels as the Sheraton.

When the Wahhābīs first arrived, they discouraged the visit (*ziyāra*) to al-Madīna as constituting idolatrous tomb worship, but King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for whom the revenues had some interest, justified it on the ground that he permitted pilgrims to pray in the mosque but not to visit the Prophet's tomb. For Rutter, the mosque with its green dome and golden apex ornament rising high above the walls to one-half the height of white minarets was "a picture of the most striking beauty and magnificence." Philby opined that it was the "chief architectural feature not only of Medina but of all Arabia." Rutter noted that many of the religious students had fled, but others were still studying at the feet of teachers such as Aḥmad al-Ṭanṭāwī and Ibn Turkī. Philby, who visited the city in 1931, found that all the tombs (other than those in the *Ḥaram*) were in ruinous condition. He also reports that the Shīʿīs of India had offered King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz £ 50,000 to spare the tomb of Fāṭima, but that it, like others in al-Baḳīʿ, was then almost gone. In 1934 when Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Sulaymān visited the city, many of the historic tombs were tidied up, and basalt borders and simple headstones set in place.

As to the Prophet's mosque itself, it has undergone substantial changes under Suʿūdī rule. The first known attention to it took place during 1934-8 when, largely through the generous efforts of Ṭalʿat Ḥarb of Egypt, badly needed repairs were carried out. These included installation of a new marble floor, and a new wooden screen to separate the women's section from the much larger men's part. Major enlargements followed. On 12 Shaʿbān 1368/9 June 1948 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote an open letter to the Muslims of the world (published in *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, no. 301, 5 Ramaḍān 1368[/1 July 1948]) indicating his intention to enlarge the mosque. A committee of notables to assess the value of those properties that were condemned and an office with some 50 officials was established in Shaʿbān 1370/May-June 1951. For actual building, a team of 14 architects, 200 artisans and 1,500 labourers was assembled. A workshop area was established at Abyār ʿAlī both for the repair of equipment and also for making mosaics. Equipment and supplies were brought in from Yanbuʿ and included cement, iron and 30,000 tons of timber. The foundation stone was laid on 13 Rabīʿ I 1373/20 November 1953 before 2,000 dignitaries, and the inauguration of the new structure took place on 5 Rabīʿ I 1375/22 October 1955 with King Suʿūd, who had succeeded to the throne, officiating. The total cost was $ 11 million. The total new area added to the mosque was 6,024 m². Other new features included 474 square and 232 round pillars. The lengthening of the building to the north was 128 m. and the new northern wall is 91 m. long. Essentially, what the builders did was to double the size of the mosque by integrating a whole new building on to the northern end of the original one. The new section has its own courtyard plus minarets at the new northern corners. (The old Ottoman style minarets at the former

northern corners as well as the minaret just north of Bāb al-Raḥma were torn down.) The building itself is in neo-Moorish style; the minarets, neo-Mamlūk. In addition, as the accompanying Figs. 1 and 2 indicate, the Suʿūdī builders straightened out the asymmetrical shape of the exterior of the earlier structure and rebuilt the east, west, and north structures surrounding the original courtyard. West of the reconstructed mosque a large permanently canopied area was built in 1974-8 to provide shade for the vehicles and bodies of the hundreds of thousands who visit annually, although many old residences in the *aḥwāsh* were thereby destroyed. Finally, in Radjab 1403/May 1983 King Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ordered a further expansion of the mosque—basically on the east and west—from the present 16,000 m² to a staggering total of 82,000 m² with 90 m. minarets, the whole to be air conditioned. Little will remain of the old city.

There are of course other religious buildings and sites in al-Madīna, and in 1980 they constituted about 1 % of the total city area (down from 6.4 % in 1950). The most important is al-Baḳīʿ, the cemetery lying to the east of the mosque. This tract, which has been used by all Medinese except the Nakhāwila since the Prophet's time, was expanded in 1953 to an area of 52,741 m². It cannot in practice be moved because it holds the graves of many famous people. Makki estimates that bodies decompose in al-Baḳīʿ within six months, after which a grave can be re-used. Sometimes at the height of the *ḥadjdj*, 2 bodies are put in one grave.

Other well-known sites include the mosque of al-Ḳiblatayn, the so-called al-Masādjid al-Khamsa and the mosque of Ḳubāʾ. In the city proper are also the al-Ghanāma, Abū Bakr and ʿAlī mosques near al-Manākha street. A common characteristic of mosques in al-Madīna is that they have a courtyard surrounded by roofed columns. In addition to the cemetery and mosques, there are a number of so-called *zāwiya*s or chapels in private homes. These often have a door opening directly on the street, but by 1980 many had been abandoned. In Ottoman, Sharīfī and early Suʿūdī days, the Ramaḍān cannon was fired from the Ottoman fort on Djabal Salaʿ, but with the modern growth of the city it could not be heard; other cannons were set up in various locations.

The logistics and management of pilgrims in al-Madīna differs from that in Makka, but still constitute an annual event of massive proportions. The differences are that only about three-fourths of the *ḥādjdjī*s make the visit (*ziyāra*) to al-Madīna and that they may come either before or after the *ḥadjdj* proper. As in Makka, however, guilds have arisen to service the visitors (*zāʾir*, pl. *zuwwār*): the *muzawwirūn* (sing. *muzawwir* "he who conducts a visit") and the *adillāʾ* (sing. *dalīl* "guide"). The former are those who conduct the visitor through the religious customs, such as reciting the proper formulas; the latter are responsible for the physical needs of the *zuwwār*, such as food, lodging and local transport. This dual system constrasts with that of Makka, where the *muṭawwifūn* (sing. *muṭawwif*, he who conducts the *ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]) are responsible for both spiritual and physical needs. The *adillāʾ*, like the *muṭawwifūn*, are divided into subguilds by nationality, and since the issuance of a decree in 1356-7/1938, there has been a government-appointed *shaykh al-adillāʾ*. Governmental control evolved because by the late 1930s, internal transport had improved to the point where the visit to al-Madīna could be made from Makka or Djudda in a matter of hours and the number of visitors steeply increased. Usually the *adillāʾ* are also *muzawwirūn*, but not every *muzawwir* is a *dalīl*. Traditionally, almost every native Medinese served at one time or another as a *muzawwir*. As spelled out in the regulations, the responsibility of a *dalīl* is: (a) to receive the *ḥadjdjī*s on their arrival at the official reception centre; (b) to assist them to find lodgings and to move in; (c) to guide them to the principal shrines and to assist in devotions; and (d) to assist them in arranging onward travel (which is usually to Makka, Djudda, or Yanbuʿ). The 1972 regulations, as cited by Long, specify the shrines as: *al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī al-Sharīf*, al-Baḳīʿ cemetery and "other shrines." Offices of the Directorate of Ḥadjdj Affairs of the Ministry of Ḥadjdj and Waḳfs are located at the main sites to hear complaints.

Like pilgrims proper to Makka, visitors to al-Madīna have come by every form of transport, certainly not excluding walking and, before World War I, including the railroad. However, since the Suʿūdī takeover, the railroad from Damascus has remained derelict and walking has practically ceased. As early as 1929 the number of visitors who came by camel caravan had declined to about half, while most of the other half came by motorcar. The first visitors to arrive by air came in January 1936 as the result of a contract made by the Suʿūdī government with the Egyptian Misr Airlines (now Egypt Air). In 1937 the aircraft made two flights per day from Djudda to the old Sulṭāna airport with five passengers per flight. In all, 105 visitors came at a cost of £E 30,500, of which half was tax. In 1939 the aircraft developed engine trouble, and the service was discontinued. By 1950, according to Long, the camel had practically disappeared as a means of transporting pilgrims. Roads to the holy cities received very high priority immediately after World War II, and the Djudda-al-Madīna sector was paved by 1958. Exact figures for mode of travel to al-Madīna in more recent years are not available, but a rough idea may be obtained from the following. In 1972 there was a total of 1,042,007 pilgrims to Makka, of which 479,339 came from abroad and 562,668 from within Suʿūdī Arabia (of these 178,378 were from Makka itself and presumably did not visit al-Madīna). Of those who came from abroad, 20 % came by sea, 30 % by land and 50 % by air. One could assume by 1980 that motor vehicles and aircraft brought all but the smallest handful of *zuwwār* to al-Madīna.

Some idea of various charges paid by *zuwwār* in modern times can be garnered. In the late 1920s, the round trip automobile fare from Makka to al-Madīna was taxed £ 7.50 ($ 36.00), but this impost was lowered by 1931 to £ 6 ($ 28.80). Transportation fees, round trip (? from Djudda), were listed in 1948 as follows: first class (car), £ 24; second class (bus), £ 12; third class (truck), £ 8. In 1972 the fees are more exact:

Single person fare	SR	$
Bus from Djudda or Yanbuʿ to al-Madīna and back to Djudda or Yanbuʿ	90.	21.69
Car from Djudda or Yanbuʿ to al-Madīna and back to Djudda or Yanbuʿ	144.	34.70
Car from Djudda or Yanbuʿ and thence to Makka	160.	38.55
Bus from Makka al-Madīna and thence to Djudda or Yanbuʿ	101.25	24.40

By royal decree of 1384-5/1965, the fee for a *dalīl* was fixed at SR 10 (= $ 2.22; from 1378-9/1959 to 1390-1/1971 the exchange rate was $ 1 = SR 4.5). Accommodation is a private sector matter, but there are government-suggested prices. According to the 1391/1972 regulations, SR 20 ($ 4.82) was the suggested daily rent for a "house." The Ḥadjdj Accommodation Control Committee of the Ministry of Ḥadjdj and Waḳfs is charged with regulating abuse. In all, it has been estimated by Long that in 1972 *adillā'* were paid SR 3.6 million ($ 867,470), assuming that 360,000 visited al-Madīna.

Al-Madīna had been famous for libraries and learning from early Islamic times, but Rutter found a mixed situation in regard to both. The library of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey [*q.v.*], a former Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām* who had also served as *mullā* of al-Madīna in 1239/1823 and following, was one of the richest in al-Ḥidjāz, with estimated holdings of 17,000 volumes. Although Fu'ād Ḥamza opines that "in the Ottoman period" a considerable part of the collection had been removed, others do not corroborate his contention. Located just off the southeast corner of the *Ḥaram*, the library was open to the public but non-circulating. Rutter describes it as a building composed of two domed rooms set in a walled garden. Access was through a large ornamental iron gate. Within, Rutter remarks on the cleanliness and high level of upkeep. The principal attendant and his assistant were both highly competent Turks, and several people were reading. Philby indicates that the library contained unique manuscripts. In regard to the very recent siege and Suʿūdī accession to power, the assistant told Rutter that "we do not eat of the hand of the king, neither from the hand of El Husayn, nor from the hand of Ibn Saʿūd. Our provision comes from the waqf bequeathed by the Shaykh [ʿĀrif Ḥikmet]. Therefore, it is of no account to us who is king or who is sultan; we render praise to God, Who is Lord of All." Although it had presumably withstood the siege intact, the Sulṭān Maḥmūd library (4,569 volumes), adjoining Bāb al-Salām, could not be examined by Rutter because the key could not be found. Other libraries (Bashīr Āghā [2,063 volumes], the al-Shifā' school, ʿUmar Effendi and Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [1,659 volumes]) were simply gone. Various explanations were offered: the books had been stolen when the inhabitants fled; they had been sold by their caretakers; the Wahhābīs had burnt them. The *Ḥaram* itself contained approximately 100 large Ḳur'āns.

At the time of the Suʿūdī conquest, Nallino counted public schools as one elementary (*ibtidā'iyya*) and two preparatory (*taḥḍīriyya*). By 1937 this had increased modestly to one elementary, three preparatory and one school for adult illiterates. But there were also some eight private schools, including Dār al-Ḥadīth, which had 49 students, as well as Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya with 394 students. In all, the private schools enrolled 873 students. By 1938 these institutions had been increased by the addition of an Italian orphanage. A different type of educational institution also appeared in 1354-5/1936—namely, the four-page weekly *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, which was owned by ʿAlī and ʿUthmān Ḥāfiẓ and managed by the latter.

Nallino signals six Medinese writers of prominence in the 1930s: (1) Aḥmad al-ʿArabī (b. *ca.* 1327-8/1910), who was sent by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on a mission to Dar al-ʿUlūm in Cairo and graduated from al-Azhar. On his return, he taught at Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and became in 1935 the director of the prestigious Madrasat al-Umarā' (school for princes) in al-Riyāḍ. (2) ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Anṣārī (1324-1403/1906-83). A prolific writer, al-Anṣārī received his diploma in 1346/1927-8 from al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya, worked in the *dīwān* of the amīrate of al-Madīna and taught Arabic literature at his *alma mater*. His important prose works include *Āthār al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (Damascus 1935) and *Bayn al-ta'rīkh wa 'l-āthār* (Beirut 1969). (3) ʿAbd al-Haḳḳ al-Naḳshabandī (b. 1322/1904-5), a poet, who after primary studies in al-Madīna, accompanied his father during World War I to Syria. After returning to al-Madīna for further study, he went to India, where he earned a teaching certificate, after which he taught at al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya. (4) ʿAlī Ḥāfiẓ (b. 1321/1903-4), a poet, studied in *al-Ḥaram*, became *kātib ḍabṭ* (secretary) of the higher court in al-Madīna and then head secretary. He was a founder of *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*. (5) ʿAzīz Ḍiyā' al-Dīn b. Zāhid (b. 1332/1913-4), a poet and prose writer, who, following primary studies in al-Madīna, studied in the "health school" of Makka (closed in 1347/1928-9). He became secretary to the Directorate General of Health and then went to the Directorate of Police. (6) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ʿAnbar (b. 1326/1908-9), a prose writer who both studied and taught at Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya.

In more recent years, the Islamic University of al-Madīna has been the institution of highest learning in al-Madīna. This institution was founded in the early 1960s, with encouragement from members of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn driven into exile by President Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir of Egypt, as an international seminary modelled at least in part on al-Azhar and designed to propagate Islām. It contains both a secondary (*thanawiyya*) curriculum and a university-level programme. The secondary section schedules 34 classes per week for three years, and the total hours per week per subject for the three-year curriculum are as follows: *sharīʿa* 12, *tafsīr*, 12, Arabic language 12, *ḥadīth* 10, *tadjwīd* 9, *tawḥīd* 9, history of Islam 6, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* 4, *furūḍ* 4, semantics 4, principles of *tafsīr* 3, principles of *ḥadīth* 3, speech and composition 3, Arabic reading and literature 3, literary techniques 3, Ḳur'ān 2, handwriting 2, Islamic morals 1.

The university-level programme lasts four years. Students take 25 classes per week in the first two years and 24 in the last two. The total hours per week devoted to each subject are as follows: *sharīʿa* 16, Ḳur'ān 14, *tawḥīd* 12, *ḥadīth* 12, Arabic language and grammar 12, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* 8, vocabulary of *ḥadīth* 4, semantics 4, Islamic morals 3, speech and composition 2, literary techniques 2, and one hour each for each of the following: *sīra*, history of the caliphs, Islamic history, contemporary Islamic world, social doctrines of Islām, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mādja.

The university, led for many years by the well-known ultra-conservative ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (and more recently by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-ʿUbayd) is academically under a Higher Consultative Council, which in 1974 was almost equally composed of well-known foreign and Suʿūdī educators, *ʿulamā'*, or religious administrators. At that time these included, e.g., Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf, former *muftī al-diyār al-Miṣriyya*; Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥusaynī of Palestine; and ʿAbu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Mawdūdī, former president of al-Djāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya of Pakistan. In 1975 the journal published by the university (*Madjallat al-Djāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya*) indicated that, at the university level, there were three faculties:

Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿa, Kulliyyat al-Daʿwa and Kulliyyat Uṣūl al-Fiḳh, and that these faculties grant the "higher *idjāza*" which bestows on its holder the same rights as equivalent degrees granted by the secular universities of the kingdom.

Despite the great increase in educational facilities illiteracy continues to be a major problem. According to Makki's analysis of the 1974 census, about 74% of the Suʿūdī labour force in al-Madīna was illiterate, and 51% of the foreign labour force was illiterate. A major explanation of continuing high illiteracy rates is the influx of illiterate people from desert and rural areas into the city.

Medical facilities have also burgeoned in al-Madīna since 1925—not least because of the pilgrimage, its medical problems and the public relations aspects thereof. One early milestone in this development was the establishment in 1356/1937 of an Italian-Muslim hospital under the auspices of the king of Italy. The hospital was under local control and was financed by a *waḳf* from Tripoli, Libya. By the mid-1960s, a 50-bed hospital of tropical medicine as well as enlargement of the main general hospital were both under construction, and by 1975 a control station for schistosomiasis (bilharzia) had been opened. Patients treated in Medinese hospitals reached 903,635 in 1969, but declined in the subsequent year. Death rates have also generally declined, and the death rate of *zuwwār* dropped from 1.6% in 1942 to 0.31% in 1974. It might also be noted that the city gave its name to the parasitic Guinea Worm, as in *Dracunculus medinensis*, *Vena medinensis* or *Filaria medinensis*.

Modern communications in al-Madīna cover the following: roads, facilities for air travel, telecommunications and rail service. Revival of the Hidjāz railroad from Damascus to al-Madīna has been discussed by the Syrian, Jordanian and Suʿūdī governments throughout the post-World War II period. Periodical announcement of positive decisions have been made, but nothing has been done up to 1405-6/1985. The evolution of the telephone service has been steady since 1313/1896, when a line connecting the city with al-ʿUlā, Tabūk, ʿAmmān and Damascus was installed. In 1323-4/1906 a second line was put in place, and by 1333-4/1915 there was a 50-line exchange located outside al-Bāb al-Shāmī and reserved for military use. Philby reports that a wireless service to Djudda began under the Ottomans. The Hāshimites spread the telephone service to other government offices. The Suʿūdīs installed, in 1932, new Marconi (British) equipment with 21 exchanges of 100 lines each. In this period there were some 1,890 lines in all, of which 1,458 were private and the remainder official. A new radio telephone was installed in 1395-6/1956, and automatic service arrived in 1391-2/1972, as well as a co-axial cable to Yanbuʿ, Djudda, and al-Ṭāʾif. In that year there were 3,737 telephones in use, with long waiting lists. A local television station arrived in 1388-9/1969. The first airport was located near Sulṭāna, northwest of al-Madīna, and was derelict from World War I until 1936, when Bank Misr opened, briefly, its *ḥadjdj* service, but the modern airport, in use by the mid-1960s, is located 15 km. northeast of the city on the road to al-Ḥanakiyya. By the early 1980s, al-Madīna was linked with neighbouring population centres in all directions by a completely modern highway network. Al-Madīna again benefited from its religious importance and was given early priority in the development of roads for that reason. The Djudda-al-Madīna sector was completed as early as 1392-3/1953. Finally, it may be noted that although the Suʿūdī government joined the International Postal Union in 1345-6/1927, in 1357-8/1939 al-Madīna's post office was one of only four (the others: Makka, Djudda and Yanbuʿ) in the country that could handle all operations specified by the international conventions. In 1357-8/1939, the al-Madīna postal service was twice per week.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the administration of al-Madīna. The Hāshimite surrender was taken by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the following is a quite incomplete list of *amīr*s (with known dates of incumbency) compiled from various sources:

Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subḥān	1926
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm	1932
ʿAbd Allāh al-Sudayrī	1936, 1937
H.R.H. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	1952
H.R.H. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	1981

The main function of the *amīr* is the maintenance of public security. The city was one of five in the Ḥidjāz that had had a municipality in Ottoman and Hāshimite times. The highest body was composed of a president and four members. In Ṣafar 1345/August 1926 "fundamental instructions" on rule were issued by the still juridically separate Kingdom of the Ḥidjāz. According to article 34, an administrative council (*madjlis idārī*) was established for al-Madīna. It was to be composed of the *ḳāʾim maḳām* (head of the amīral secretariat), his assistant, the heads of the various departments and four people nominated by the king. Al-Madīna was one of only three cities in al-Ḥidjāz that had police at the time of the Suʿūdī takeover; overwhelmingly, members of the police force were, all over the Suʿūdī realm, from ʿAsīr and Nadjd. Other administrative aspects may be mentioned. In 1347/1928-9, notaries (sing. *kātib al-ʿadl*) were instituted in al-Madīna as well as in Makka and Djudda. (Elsewhere, *ḳāḍī*s performed this function.) Justice was, in the period till World War II at least, administered by a summary (*mustaʿdjila*) court under a single *ḳāḍī* and had jurisdiction over petty civil cases and criminal cases not involving execution or loss of limb. The higher court (*al-maḥkama al-kubrā*) has a *ḳāḍī* as president and two "substitutes." In cases involving capital punishment or loss of limb, the decision had to be pronounced by the full court. Al-Madīna also had a customs office which was a branch of the Djudda office. Originally, *waḳf* administration in al-Madīna was independent and reported to the local *amīr*; however, by a royal decree 1354/1936 the *waḳf* administration in Makka was upgraded to a directorate-general with the Medinese director to report thereto. Finally, because of the importance of water and its interrelation with various properties in and outside the city, a special authority, Hayʾat ʿAyn al-Zarḳāʾ, composed of five members, was established. It was in part financed by special *waḳf*s, but was also written into the state budget as early as 1926. The name of the authority was changed in 1978 to the Water and Drainage Department. Writing in 1936, Fuʾād Ḥamza (*al-Bilād*, 184, 186, 193, 236) gives the names of most of the then incumbents of the various posts.

By the 1980s, water was for most Medinese piped into houses, offices and apartments from desalinisation plants on the Red Sea coast, but when the Suʿūdīs took the city over the situation was very different. Al-Madīna's not unplentiful natural water

supply came from three main interrelated sources, but basically from the south: (1) south of the city in and around Ḳubā'; (2) ground water throughout the area of al-Madīna; and (3) north of the city in and around al-ʿUyūn. In addition, several *wādīs* intersect more or less in al-Madīna and often generated destructive flash floods. These wādīs have gradually been dammed, starting with a dam built in the 1940s to the northeast of the city and including the 1966 dam across the upper course of Wādī Buṭhān which used to flood the city frequently. However, the dams reduce the water available in the northern agricultural areas and thus lead to a decrease in cultivation. Actual rainfall in al-Madīna fluctuates greatly. From 1957 to 1978 it ranged annually from zero to almost 104 mm. and averaged 38.04 mm. Historically, the most important source of domestic water has been ʿAyn al-Zarḳā', which was actually a series of wells connected by covered conduits in the Ḳubā' area, where they joined into a single double-decker aqueduct. The upper channel carried drinking water to ten public watering places (*manhal*, pl. *manāhil*). The lower channel is a drain for the upper channel and for the *manāhil*. North of the city this aqueduct emerged above ground, and the water was used for irrigation. The *manāhil* were about 10 m. below ground and were reached by steps. The aqueduct passed under only two buildings: the former al-Bāb al-S̲h̲āmī and the mosque. There were also ordinary *sabīl*s up until the early 1960s. The first pipes and public taps were installed in 1909, and in 1957 there were 49 of these taps (*kabbās*, pl. *kabbāsāt*) from which water was often led to individual houses by hose. By 1965 there were 1,500 *kabbāsāt*, but by 1974 their number had declined to 600 because of the spread of indoor plumbing; those that remained were in outlying areas of the city beyond which water tankers delivered to the poorer population. Water meters began to be used in 1959. In addition, in the earlier period brackish water was readily available at depths of 4-10 m. and most houses had wells to tap this water. Recent use has now lowered the water table significantly, and the supply is inadequate. All have been abandoned, as well as the unusual *bayt al-bi'r* architectural feature (described above) which provided summer cooling for generations.

The situation with agricultural water is parallel. The natural springs in the al-ʿUyūn area which irrigated 500,000 palm trees in 1915 were by 1980 all dried up. Owners have compensated for the decline in the water table by pumping. Philby reported that around 1954 pumping was well established and expanding, and Makki (on whom most of this analysis of water is based) indicates that 672 diesel pumps were in use in 1962. Makki pleads eloquently for the ʿAyn al-Zarḳā' Authority to control well-digging and pumping. A further development has been the erection in 1968-71 of a large concrete tank on top of D̲j̲abal Salaʿ, whither water is pumped from the Ḳubā' pump station. Other tanks on high ground also ensure adequate water pressure.

There are two additional pressures on the natural water supply. The first is the recent increase in paved and asphalted areas which, with their run-off characteristics, reduce infiltration; and the second is sewage problems. There was no disposal system prior to the 1970s. Rather, each building had its own cesspool (*bayyāra*) which was cleaned (? by the Nak̲h̲āwila) periodically. This practice made for special difficulties in the *ḥarrāt* because it is difficult to dig to depth and impossible without dynamite. Most of the waste was dumped in an area east of the city called "al-Manasie" (Makki's spelling). Water pollution is a growing problem; at least one well has had to be closed. On the other hand, a full sewage treatment plant was initiated in 1970 and located behind D̲j̲abal Uḥud. By 1976 a considerable portion of the city had been tied into the system.

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AL-MADĪNA AL-ZĀHIRA, a city founded in 366/978-9 to constitute a court by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] in a place called Ālas̲h̲, Ballas̲h̲ or Manzil Ibn Badr, on the right bank of the Guadalquivir to the east of and a short distance from Cordova. Al-Zāhira's existence was of short duration, since it was sacked and utterly destroyed in 399/1009, at the time when Muḥammad II al-Mahdī revolted against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, whom he had imprisoned and killed, and usurped the caliphate, dethroning His̲h̲ām II. The ploughshare subsequently caused the last traces of the city to disappear, whose site, some years later, was no longer known.

The Arab chroniclers do not supply as many details on al-Madīna al-Zāhira as on Madīnat al-Zahrā' [*q.v.*], but they mention in their texts some very precious evidence for determining the exact site of the dictator's city. They tell us, for example, of the general name of the area where al-Zāhira was built:

Shabulār or Ramla, i.e. "sandy terrain" (in Spanish *arenal*). This terrain is still called "Cortijo del Arenal", an important part of which, the "Pago de Tejavana", is easily identified with the main nucleus of the old city. Today the traces which remain are not very significant, but they show us that the buildings of al-Madīna al-Zāhira were made of materials of mediocre quality—bricks, quarries stones, clay wall etc.—and, consequently, without possible comparison with the riches and majestic edifices of its rival Madīnat al-Zahrā'. However, the palaces of al-Zāhira were notably endowed with fine, sculpted marble cisterns in the form of Roman sarcophagi and intended as fountains, of which the museums preserve marvellous examples which were executed—as their inscriptions testify—at al-Zāhira for the Banū ʿĀmir.

Finally, it is worth noting that, according to the historian al-Ḍabbī (*Bughya*, biogr. no. 1544), the famous Munyat al-ʿĀmiriyya was one of the palaces of al-Madīna al-Zāhira and, consequently, was not located alongside Madīnat al-Zahrā', as some contemporary authors presume, who confuse this *munya* with the Munyat Wādī 'l-Rummān given to the caliph al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir by his great *fatā* Durrī al-Aṣghar in 362/973.

Bibliography: see principally ḲURṬUBA, and also L. Torres Balbás, *Al-Madīna al-Zāhira, la ciudad de Almanzor*, in *al-Andalus*, xxi (1956), 353-9 (with a very complete account of the historical notices concerning the city supplied by the Arab chroniclers and geographers).

(M. OCAÑA JIMÉNEZ)

MADĪNAT SĀLIM, the Arabic name, which has become MEDINACELI, of a small town in north-eastern Spain, on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, and almost equidistant from these two cities; it lies at an altitude of more than 3,280 feet/1,000 m., on the left bank of the Jalón. It owes its name to a Berber from the Maṣmūda, Sālim, who repaired a Roman fortress which Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*], according to Yāḳūt, iii, 13, had found in a ruinous state.

The Arab geographers give brief descriptions of Medinaceli. According to al-Idrīsī, it was a large town built in a hollow with many large buildings, gardens and orchards. Abu 'l-Fidā' says that this town was the capital of the Middle March (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*).

Through its geographical position, Madīnat Sālim was of considerable strategic importance for the Umayyads from the 4th/10th century onwards. It was on many occasions, as the last stronghold on Muslim territory, the point from which forces assembled at Cordova finally started for expeditions against the Christians of the north-east of the Peninsula and to which they retired. Though somewhat decayed down to the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, it was rebuilt, if we may believe the detailed evidence of a chronicler quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī, in 335/946: this ruler put the work in charge of his client, the general Ghālib, and all the garrisons of the country lent their aid in the work. This Ghālib remained governor of Medinaceli and all the Middle March until the power was seized by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abi ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. It was in Medinaceli that this famous *ḥādjib* died on 27 Ramaḍān 392/10 August 1002, on returning from his last expedition against Castile. In the following century, Medinaceli was frequently taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims, before being finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Castile.

Madīnat Sālim should not be confused with Madīnal Ibn al-Sālim or Ibn Sālim, which was situated in the region of Seville, probably the modern Grazalema in the province of Cadiz (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 342).

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MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀ', governmental city of the Umayyad caliphs of Cordova.

According to the texts which recount the construction of this *madīna*, it was the monumental work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III who had it built to satisfy the whim of a *djāriya* of his *ḥaram*, al-Zahrā'. The city was constructed 5 km. as the crow flies to the north-west of Cordova, on the southern flank of the Djabal al-ʿArūs ("the Bride's Mountain") of the mountain chain called today Sierra Morena. The work was begun at the beginning of the year 325/19 November 936, under the direction of the Crown Prince al-Ḥakam, with the technical collaboration of the architect Maslama b. ʿAbd Allāh. During the *fitna* or civil war which was to lead to the fall of the caliphate of Cordoba, the Berbers of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn occupied Madīnat al-Zahrā' by force and it was sacked and destroyed (401/1010). The ruined city later fell prey to pillage and systematic destruction, especially in the Almoravid and Almohad periods.

When Cordova was conquered by Ferdinand III in 1236, the old site of the royal *madīna* was a vast terrain, occupied by ruined walls, which someone called "Castillo de Cordoba la Vieja"; the monarch gave this terrain to the Cordoban Municipal Council, and hewn stones continued to be taken to build palaces, churches, convents and bridges in the capital. In 1408, the Council gave the ruins to the monks of St. Jerome who exploited them intensively to build in a nearby orchard a monastery called "Valparaiso", in which Ambrosio de Morales, the great Cordovan historian, stayed in *ca.* 1532; he sought to identify the neighbouring ruins, but, in his study published in 1575, he asserted that they were of Roman origin and that their site was that of the famous Colonia Patricia. In 1627, another Córdovan historian, Pedro Diaz de Rivas, demonstrated that they were not Roman but Arab and belonged, in a concrete manner, to a great palace erected by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III; and this same thesis was upheld by P. Francisco Ruano in 1760 and Antonio Ponz in 1792. The painter and historian J. A. Ceán Bermùdez was the first researcher to identify "Córdoba la Vieja" with Madīnat al-Zahrā' (1832), and this identification was confirmed in later years, when European Arabists began to publish the Arabic sources for the history of Muslim Spain, so that, in 1854, Pedro de Madrazo and Pascual de Gayangos were charged by the Spanish state with carrying out an archaeological exploration at "Córdoba la Vieja", but their work was not crowned with success.

Meanwhile, the architect Ricardo Velázquez was to inaugurate, in 1911, a new period of exploration which he continued until his death in 1923, with excellent results: the discovery of a sector of the

northern part of the city, where the principal drawing-room of the caliph was excavated, richly decorated —which Ricardo Velázquez called the "Salón Occidental"—and, on the other hand, a large *madjlis*—for its discoverer, the "Salón Oriental"—clearly marked by its austere decoration which proclaims a military purpose. The excavations carried out by Ricardo Velázquez were not conducted following a preconceived programme, and it was at his death that a local commission was named in Cordova (Rafael Jiménez, Rafael Castejon, Ezequiel Ruiz, Félix Hernández and Joaquin Ma de Navascués) which had as its aim the delimiting of the extent of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ and the establishing of a plan of work to follow in future excavations. The survey of the ruins which flourished under the covering of vegetation allowed Hernández, the architect of the commission, to draw up, in 1924, the topographical plan on a scale of 1:800 of the terrain where the city was located. Later the same architect drew up, in 1926, a plan on a scale of 1:200 of the part explored by Velázquez, of which the drawing-rooms, courts, vaulted passages, etc., were enumerated following the chronological order of their discovery, and this order has prevailed until the present. Quite soon after, excavations were pursued and the two principal sectors discovered by Velázquez were gradually enlarged until they constituted a good cohesive group. At the beginning of the year 1930, the commission having been reduced to only two members, Castejòn and Hernández, the reconstruction was begun, up to a prudent height, of the northern wall encircling the city. The same system was followed during the following years, with all the walls separating the terraces which had been discovered, before the re-establishment of the masonry in its broad outline. The civil war of 1936 paralysed the work until 1941, when it was pursued according to the system presented above. Simultaneously, excavations were undertaken in some then unexplored sectors belonging to the southern part of the Alcazar of the city, where in 1944, a magnificent reception *madjlis* was discovered, whose architectural work was a dreadful ruin, while its revetments of sculpted stone, although very fragmented, remained almost complete. This important discovery proved in an indisputable manner that the plunderers had pillaged everything that could be utilised for future constructions—hewn stones from the walls, capitals, shafts and bases of columns, etc.—and had disdained the surface decoration of the halls, generally composed of thin stone plaques which would be useless to dislodge and place in pieces in another construction. The year 1944 signals, in the excavations of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the beginning of a new age characterised by the reconstruction of halls by means of the preliminary recomposition of the decorative plaques and the restoring of these plaques on the walls and rebuilt arches. While the structure of the reception *madjlis* was rebuilt, excavations were pursued in the same sector and there was discovered, in the course of the following years, the whole architectonic entirety of which the *madjlis* was the heart: a vast terrace, delimited on the east, south and west by a very thick wall fortified with towers; a small *ḳaṣr* or pavilion placed opposite the *madjlis* and separated from it by a large pool; a *ḥammām* or steam bath, and some drawing-rooms with courts, staircases and public conveniences. According to the epigraphy placed at the time in this sector, the *madjlis* was built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir during the years 342-5/953-6, under the direction of his *fatā* Shunayf, as was the pavilion, but under the direction of the *fatā* Djaʿfar (the Djaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was to be the *ḥādjib* of al-Ḥakam II). In 1964, Basilio Pavón explored, with the assistance of Hernández, the sector corresponding to the site of the *djāmiʿ* of the city, perfectly illustrated in the topographical plan of 1924; this building had been totally destroyed by the plunderers, but all the principal elements of its structure have been identified and they will shortly allow for the reconstruction of the mosque. At the end of 1969 Hernández remained the sole director of excavations, which were then concentrated in a new sector located in the Western wing of the great Alcazar of al-Zahrāʾ and probably belonging to the house of Djaʿfar, the *ḥadjib* mentioned above. Finally, in 1975, on the death of the great master of Hispano-Moorish art Félix Hernández, the direction of the works fell to the architect Rafael Manzano, who has continued the enormous task of restoration begun by his predecessor.

The Arab chroniclers and geographers have supplied us with excellent descriptions of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ and plenty of accounts and pieces of information acquaint us with the motive for its foundation; the choice of its site; the duration of its construction; the number of the workmen there, camels, mules and the materials and large sums spent on it; the palaces, reception halls, outbuildings, baths, pools, gardens, barracks, etc., built in its enclosure; the principal wonders contained in its buildings; the people who lived there; the bureaucratic services of the state which moved from Cordova to the new court; the memorable feasts celebrated in honour of the great dignitaries and ambassadors or to recall the memory of important events; the twilight of the city; and, finally, its destruction and ruin. Furthermore, excavations have confirmed for us that the foundation of al-Nāṣir was a dazzling city built within a rectangular rampart which measured 750 m. from north to south and 1,500 m. from east to west, flanked by towers regularly spaced. This rampart was formed by two walls separated by a corridor, except in the central tier of its northern flank, where a single wall was defended, it seems, by another rampart placed in from of it up to the ridges of the neighbouring hills and attached to the general enclosure. The buildings constituting the Alcazar of the city—Royal Palace, Civil Headquarters, Military Headquarters and prodigious reception halls with their secondary annexes—were laid out on stepped terraces and adapted to the relief of the lower slopes of the mountain and supported by solid reinforcing walls. The area occupied by the Alcazar, the whole northern sector of the city, was approximately 45 hectares, of which only 12 hectares have been explored at present, although corresponding to the central part of this supreme architectural complex. Owing to the fact that the unexplored parts are, for the moment, greater (33 hectares) than those which have been explored, it is still not possible to identify the buildings discovered in terms of the documentation supplied by the texts; consequently, the Arabic names which have been given to these buildings are also gratuitous rather than definitive. For the moment we must be satisfied with contemplating the exceptional spectacle which, following the most recent work, Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ offers to the visitor to the ruins: a reception *madjlis* of the 4th/10th century reconstructed with its origin-

al decoration, whose themes sculpted in stone and marble reveal the high degree of experience and exquisite artistic sensibility of all the artisans who worked for the great Cordovan caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir.

Bibliography: see principally ḲURṬUBA, and also E. García Gómez, *Algunas precisiones sobre la ruina de la Córdoba omeya*, in *al-And.*, xii (1947), 267-93; idem, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por ʿĪsā ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, Madrid 1967, and H. Terrasse, *Islam d'Espagne*, Paris 1958.

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MAḌĪRA (A.), a dish of meat cooked in sour milk, sometimes with fresh milk added, and with spices thrown in to enhance the flavour. This dish, which Abū Hurayra [*q.v.*] is said to have particularly appreciated (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 403 = § 3562, where a piece of poetry in praise of *maḍīra* is cited), must have been quite well sought-after in mediaeval times (al-Djāḥiẓ, however, does not cite it in his *K. al-Bukhalāʾ*; see nevertheless al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 12, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 46). Its principal claim to fame comes from al-Hamadhānī's *al-Maḳāma al-maḍīriyya* (no. 22 in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's edition), in which ʿĪsā b. Hishām records solely at the beginning of the *maḳāma* an occurrence which he witnessed and then tells the story, it goes without saying, in the mouth of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī, of an adventure which had happened previously to this last. In effect, this story is the satirical portrait of a nouveau riche who invites Abu 'l-Fatḥ to his house in order to try some *maḍīra*, but goes on at such length about his skill in acquiring the house and other objects, whose praises he sings with such a wealth of details that the invited person, overwhelmed, takes to flight. Pursued by street urchins, he hurls a stone which wounds one of these last grievously, and spends two years in prison. Hence he has vowed never more to eat *maḍīra*, thus explaining why, at the beginning of the *maḳāma*, he refused a dish of it.

The *maḳāma* has been translated into German by O. Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-Litteratur*, v, Leonberg 1913; into English, by W. J. Prendergast, *The Maqámát of Badíʿ al-Zamán al-Hamadhání*, Madras 1915 (2nd ed. with Preface by C. E. Bosworth, London-Dublin 1973); into Italian, by F. Gabrieli, *La maqāma maḍīriyya di al-Hamadhani*, in *Rend. Lincei*, 8th Ser., iv/11-12 (1949), 509-15; and into French by R. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Al-Hamadānī, choix de Maqāmāt*, Paris 1957 (with the title: *La séance de la maḍīra ou Le parvenu*) and by R. Dagorn, in *IBLA*, 153 (1984/1), 113-23. (ED.)

AL-**MADIYYA**, AL-MADYA, LEMDIYA, in French MÉDÉA, a town of Algeria situated about 100 km./60 miles to the south of Algiers (in lat. 36° 15′ 50″ N., long. 2° 45′ E.), at an altitude of 920 m./3,018 ft. and on the northern border of the mountainous massif which divides the high plateau from the Mittīdja. Down to the French occupation, it could only be reached by a bridle-path over the Muzāya pass (979 m./3,270 ft.). The building of a road through the gorges of the Chiffa, alongside of which a railway runs, has made access to it easier. The town itself is built at the foot of slopes covered with vineyards which yield wines of superior quality and orchards in which, as a result of the temperate climate, fruit trees grow very well. In the neighbourhood, a number of villages have grown up in which the cultivation of cereals is combined with that of the vine. There is also a fairly busy market, but it is losing in importance since the railway has been extended to Djelfa at the southern end of the high plateaux. The population, which, in 1926, was 13,816, of whom 2,225 were Europeans, has today increased considerably.

Médéa occupies the site of a Roman settlement, Lambdia, which A. Pellegrin, *Essai sur les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie*, Tunis 1949, 98, proposes to connect with the Berber root *b.d.* "to rise, stand up". According to Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 154, tr. ii, 6, this region was inhabited by the Ṣanhādja tribe of the Lamdiyya, whose name survives in the ethnic name Lemdānī which people originally from Médéa bear. In 349/960, Buluggīn b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] restored and enlarged (but did not "found", as the sources say) the urban complex (see Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*; al-Bakrī, *Description*, 65-6, tr. 136; Yāḳūt, iv, 413, s.v. Mattīdja; H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, 28 and index). We know virtually nothing about the town's history. Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 351-2), who, having stayed there two months, apparently wanted to stay there, and, following him, Marmol, *Africa*, ii, 394, merely tell us that after having belonged to the sultans of Tlemcen who kept a garrison there, it passed into the hands of the sultans of Tenès, and then of the Turks when the Barbarossas [see ʿARŪDJ] established themselves in Algiers. Under Ḥasan Khayr al-Dīn, Médéa became the capital of one of the three provinces (*beyliks*) of the Regency, the *beylik* of the south or of Titteri, to which at a later date was added the lower valley of the Sébaou in Kabylia. Down to about 1770 we therefore find the bey of this province alternately at Médéa and Bordj-Sébaou. It was not until this date that, the region of Sébaou having been incorporated in the *Dār al-Sulṭān* governed by the dey, the bey of Titteri settled permanently at Médéa, where he was in a better position to control the nomadic tribes of the plateaux. He had, however, no authority over the inhabitants of the town itself, who were under the authority of a *ḥākim* appointed by the *agha* of Algiers. The population, which did not exceed 4,000-5,000, among whom were many Kulughlis [see ḲUL-OGHLU] and Turks retired from the service, became wealthy through its trade with the south. Caravans brought thither the produce of the Sahara and also negro slaves, who were sold to the citizens of Algiers.

During the years which followed the capture of Algiers, the French on several occasions (Nov. 1830, May 1831, April 1836) occupied Médéa, without taking permanent possession. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] however placed a bey in it and had his ownership of it recognised by the treaty of the Tafna. The outbreak of hostilities again between the *amīr* and the French led to the final occupation of Médéa by the latter on 17 May 1840. It was in Médéa that, shortly afterwards, the future poet Jean Richepin was to be born.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see F. Pharaon, *Notes sur les tribus de la subdivision de Médéa*, in *R. Afr.* (1857); Federmann and Aucapitaine, *Notice sur l'administration du beylik de Titteri*, in *ibid.* (1869).

(G. YVER)

MADJALLA [see MEDJELLE]

MADJAR, MADJARISTĀN, name given to the Hungarians or Magyars and to Hungary in the Ottoman period.

1. IN PRE-OTTOMAN PERIOD

(1) The names for the Hungarians and Hungary in the Arabic and Persian authors of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. The earliest mention of the Hungarians (Magyars) occurs in

the *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* of Ibn Rusta (Ibn Rosteh), written between the years 290-300/903-12-13 on the basis of the geographical treatise of al-Djayhānī (*ca.* 300 A.H.) who used, in the composition of this work, an anonymous historical account dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe and dating from the second half of the 3rd/9th century. In this source the Hungarians appear with the name of *al-Madjghariyya*, i.e. the Magyars. In this period they inhabited the plains adjacent to the Black Sea, between the Don and the Lower Danube, their eastern neighbours being the powerful Turkish tribe of Badjanāk (Pechenegs). It was under pressure from this tribe that they were compelled to withdraw, in *ca.* 889-92 A.D., into the basin of the Carpathians, where they founded a state which survived, within its 9th-10th century frontiers, until the end of the First World War.

It seems that the same *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century is also the basis for the description of the country al-Madjghariyya (Ar. *bilād al-Madjghariyya*) contained in the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī (*ca.* 460/1068). In fact, the Hungarians mentioned in this account led a nomadic existence, and their territories, situated on the Black Sea, bordered on the provinces of the Byzantine Empire (Ar. *bilād al-Rūm*).

A description of the al-Madjghariyya people is also found in the *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* of Sharaf al-Zaman Ṭāhir al-Marwazī [*q.v.*] composed in *ca.* 514/1120. Analysis of this description reveals that the period in question is prior to the years 889-92, a period during which the Hungarians were still a nomadic people inhabiting the plains of Southern Russia, between the rivers *Dūnā (Danube, erroneously in the Arabic text Rūtā), and Atil or Etul (Don). The description of al-Madjghariyya contained in the work of al-Marwazī is also based on the treatise of al-Djayhānī.

The anonymous Persian geographical treatise entitled *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* written in 982 A.D. mentions the Hungarians with the name of *Madjghari*. According to the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, the country of the *Madjghari* was situated to the west of a range of mountains which corresponds to the Carpathians and to the north of a Christian people called Wanandar. This latter people must be identified as the Bulgar tribe of the Onugundurs who, in the 6th-7th centuries A.D., occupied the north-western Caucasus, in the region of the Kuban. It is known from Byzantine sources that, under the command of Asparukh, part of this tribe left the region of Kuban and travelled towards the Lower Danube which it crossed over in 679 A.D., founding to the south of this river the Turko-Slavic state of the Bulgars. The new arrivals were baptised in 864. The information given by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* concerning the frontiers of the territory of the Hungarians is therefore not derived from the *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century, but from another anonymous source composed later, in the 4th/10th century, after the conquest by the Hungarians of the Carpathian basin in 889-92 A.D.

The name *Madjghari* or rather *Madjghariyān* (the plural in Persian of *Madjgharī*) is also found in the *Zayn al-akhbār*, a Persian historical treatise composed in the years 441-4/1048-52 by Gardīzī (or Gurdēzī). Gardīzī considers this people to be Turkish. In the paragraph of the *Zayn al-akhbār* devoted to the Madjghariyān, Gardīzī has used two different sources, these being the *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century compiled by al-Djayhānī and an anonymous source of the 4th/10th century, the same one that was used by the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. The Bulgars of the Danube are here called Nandar.

In his *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* al-Marwazī also calls the Hungarians (whom he knew still in their ancient homeland to the north of the Black Sea, between two rivers which may be identified as the Don and the Danube) *al-Madjghariyya*. He considers this people as being of Turkish origin. Like Ibn Rusta, he too has taken his account concerning the Hungarians from the *Anonymous account*, the work dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe compiled by al-Djayhānī.

The name *al-Madjghariyya* is also found in the *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, a geographical work by Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), in a passage probably derived from the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī. For this reason this author calls the capital of the said people Madjgharī.

In another passage of his *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ also mentions the Magyars under another form of this name, sc. *Mādjār*. According to this passage, the people in question lived, alongside the Serbs (Ar. *al-Sarb*), the Vlachs (Ar. pl. *al-Awlāḳ*) and other "infidel" (Christian) peoples in mountains called Ḳashḳā Ṭāgh (Kashka-Dagh), where the Danube (Ar. Ṭunā) has its source and which may be identified with the Carpathians, linked to the Alps on one side and to the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula on the other.

In his cosmographical treatise entitled *Kitāb Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿadjāʾib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*, al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) also mentions the Mādjār or Hungarian people among the tribes inhabiting the territories situated on the tributaries of *Nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba wa 'l-Rūs* (here, the Danube and the Tisza, wrongly considered as tributaries of the Dnieper). Besides the Mādjār, al-Dimashḳī also mentions among these tribes the *Bashkird*, which he takes to be a separate people but which was, as will be demonstrated below, simply another name given to the Hungarians by the mediaeval Arab geographers.

The Arabic and Persian names *al-Madjghariyya*, *Madjghari*, *Madjghariyān* and *Mādjār* produce the Finno-Ugrian ethnonym *Magyar* which is also known from mediaeval European sources. Thus for example, the Byzantine author Constantine Porphyrogenitus (writing in 949-52) mentions among the Hungarians who were settled in the basin of the Middle Danube, a clan called Μεγερη (Hungarian Megyer). The Hungarian chronicler Simon of Kéza (writing in 1282-5) states in his *Gesta Hungarorum* that the ancestor of the Hungarians bore the name of Mogor. It may further be noted that in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the Hungarian author called Belae regis Notarius (*ca.* 1200), the territory occupied by the Hungarians before their arrival in the Carpathian basin (889-92) bore the name of Dentumogor (Hungarian *Dontö magyar*). The second part of this name, i.e. *-mogor*, corresponds to the name of the ancestor of the Hungarians according to Simon of Kéza, while the first part, i.e. *Dentu-*, seems to be the origin of the name of Dāna, known from the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Ibn al-Faḳīh (290/902) as being that of the territory situated on the Lower Don, and also the name of Tanat, mentioned in a letter of the Khazar king Joseph in the 10th century A.D. The Italian geographical charts of the 13th-14th centuries call this region Thanatia.

The second name by which the Arab geographers

of the 4th-8th/10th-14th centuries designated the Hungarians was that of Bashkirs. The latter were in fact a Turkish tribe which had lived, since the 3rd/9th century if not earlier, in the territory corresponding to the old Russian provinces of Penza and Orenburg; they had nothing in common with the Hungarians, who spoke and still speak a Finno-Ugrian language. Thus the use of the name Bashkirs to denote the Hungarians (in addition to the correctly-named Turkish Bashkirs) is an enigma which has yet to be solved, despite the efforts of numerous historians and linguists, Hungarian and others. The Turkish Bashkirs were called Bashkird by the mediaeval Arab authors (thus for example in the work of Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*], *ca.* 310/922). The same, or analogous, names were also used by the Arab geographers to denote the Hungarians.

The first Arab author to give the Hungarians the name of Bashkirs was al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956). Describing in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* the war fought by the Hungarians and their allies the Pechenegs against the Byzantines in the years 320-32/932 to 43-4, this author denotes the Hungarians by two different but related names, these being *Badjghird* and **Bazkirda*, making of them two different, though kindred, peoples.

In his *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik*, al-Iṣṭakhrī also uses the name *Basdjirt* to denote both the true Bashkirs and the Hungarians. The Basdjirt/[true] Bashkirs lived, according to this geographer, between the Oghuz-Turks (al-Ghuziyya) and the Bulgars of the Kama (Bulghār), under the domination of the latter, while the Basdjirt/Hungarians were based in the vicinity of al-Rūm, i.e. of the Byzantine empire. They were neighbours to the Badjanāk or Pechenegs who lived at this time between the Don and the Lower Danube. The work of al-Iṣṭakhrī was the principal source for the geographical treatise of Ibn Ḥawḳal entitled *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* or *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (first edition prior to 356/967, second edition in *ca.* 367/977, definitive version in *ca.* 378/988), which likewise mentions the Hungarians under the name of Basdjirt.

The name of Bashkirs (written *Bāshghird*) as that of the inhabitants of the country called *Unḳūriyya* (Hungary) is also encountered in the work of the Arab traveller and writer Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 565/1169-70) called *al-Muʿrib ʿan baʿḍ ʿadjaʾib al-Maghrib*. He arrived in Unḳūriyya in 545/1150-1, stayed three years and left the country in 547/1153, leaving behind his eldest son who had married the daughters of local Muslims. This same author provides another description of Hungary in his second work, the *Tuḥfat al-albāb*. In this latter book, the Hungarians bear the name of *Bāshghūrd*.

In his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) likewise calls the Hungarians and their country *Bashghirdiyya* or Bashkirs. This writer met a group of Bashghirdiyya at Ḥalab (Aleppo) in Syria. Yāḳūt also mentions, in this account, the European name of Hungary as *al-Hunkar* (*al-Hungar*).

Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) divides the Hungarians into two different nations: *al-Bashḳird* (Bashkirs) who are, according to him, Muslim Turks and who live to the south of the river Dūma (correctly *Dūna*, in Hungarian *Duna*—Danube) and *al-Hunḳar* who are Christians. He does not appreciate that the Bashghird and al-Ḥunḳar are one people which is divided only by religion. Ibn Saʿīd's great geographical work in which these ideas are contained was used by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ in his *Taḳwīm al-buldān*.

The Arab cosmographer Abū Shams Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) also mentions, in his *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿadjāʾib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*, the Bashghird people which he locates in south-eastern Europe alongside the Mādjār or Hungarians. He does not appreciate that they are in fact the same people. Possibly al-Dimashḳī intended in this fashion to distinguish the Muslim Hungarians from the Christian Hungarians, as Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī had done.

In his *Āthār al-bilād*, the Arab cosmographer al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 683/1283) also mentions the Muslim Hungarians whom he calls Bāshghirt.

The Persian writers of the Mongol period also use the name of Bashkirs to denote Hungary and the Hungarians. Thus for example, in the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) these Bashkirs are mentioned, alongside the Ās (Yasī Alans of the Russian chronicles) the Urūs (Russians), the Čerkes, the Ḳîpčaḳ and the Kelar (in other words, Christian Hungarians, see below) among the subjects of these descendants of Čingiz Khān who dominated the western portion of his empire.

It has been stated above that al-Bakrī uses the term *al-Madjghariyya* in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* to denote the Hungarians at the time when they were still leading a nomadic existence on the shores of the Black Sea (before 889-92). However, to describe the Hungarians as established, after the year 892 A.D., in the Carpathian basin, he employs two other terms which he has taken from the account of the Jewish merchant and traveller from Tortosa in Spain Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al-Ṭurṭūshī (355/965-6) [*q.v.*], these being *al-Unḳali* (gen. pl. *al-Unḳaliyyīn*) and *al-Turk* (pl. *al-Atrāk*). Leaving aside, for the moment, this last-mentioned name, which will be discussed below, the ethnonym *al-Unḳalī/al-Unḳaliyyīn* deserves attention. Now, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb mentions this tribe in a brief list of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, between the **Ṭudushkiyyīn* (Germans) on the one side and the *Badjānākiyya* (Pechenegs), *al-Rūs* (Russians) and Khazars on the other, and stresses that all these peoples speak Slavic, in view of their close connections with the Slavs. Kunik, the first commentator on that part of the geographical work of al-Bakrī which deals with Central Asia and with Eastern and Central Europe, had already identified the *Unḳaliyyīn* with the Hungarians, a conclusion also admitted by F. Westberg and T. Kowalski. The reason for this identification has been confirmed by the information concerning *al-Unḳaliyyīn* found in the chapters of al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-'l-mamālik* which were unknown until edited, very recently, by Abdurrahman Ali El-Hajji (Beirut 1387/1968). One such mention is contained in the paragraph intitled *Dhikr balad al-Unḳaliyyīn* which also seems to belong to the account by Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb. Now, according to the paragraph in question, we are dealing here with a Turkish tribe (*djins*) settled in proximity to the Slavs, between the land of Buwayra (Bavaria) and the kingdom of Būyaṣlāw, i.e. Boleslas I of Bohemia (935-67 A.D.). According to the same passage, the Russians were the neighbours of *al-Unḳaliyyīn* to the north, the Pechenegs to the east and the Bulgars to the south. There is no doubt that this localisation favours the identification of *al-Unḳaliyyīn* with the Hungarians. Al-Bakrī also mentions another ethnonym written in a similar fashion, *al-Inḳilish*. It is cited in a paragraph of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* intitled *Bilād Ifrandja* ("Land of

the Franks"). According to al-Bakrī, these *al-Inkilish* belonged to the *al-Madjūs* [*q.v.*] (in this case Danes and Norwegians) who were neighbours of the Slavs (in fact, the Slavic tribe of the Obodrites who formerly lived in what is now Mecklenburg were neighbours of the Danes on the south-eastern side). Now, these *al-Inkilish* had nothing to do with the Hungarians; it is more likely that they were the English who, shortly before the time of al-Bakrī, lived under Danish domination (1012-42). The name *al-Unkaliyyīn* belongs to the same group of names for the Hungarians as the Old Slavic *Ugri* (*Ųngri*), the Byzantine *Ungroi*, the Latin *Hungari*, *Ungari*, *Ungare*, *Hungaria* and *Ungaria* and the Polish *Węgry* (pronounced *Wengry*). All these names derive from that of *Onogur*, a nomadic Turkish people known from Latin and Byzantine sources of the 6th century A.D. As for the transformation of the phoneme *r* to *l* in the names *Unkalī* < *Ungari*, this is not an isolated phenomenon in the Hungarian language. In fact, the Germano-Latin proper name Gerard became Gellert in Old Hungarian (11th century).

In the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāk*, al-Idrīsī's geographical treatise composed in Sicily in 548/1154, Hungary bears the name *Unkariyya*, which probably represents the Latin *Ungaria* or even the Italian *Ungheria*.

Belonging to the same groups of names is also *Unkūriyya* (for **Unguria* or **Onoguria*), the name for Hungary employed by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī in his *al-Muʿrib*. The name of the inhabitants of Hungary was, in this treatise, as has been observed *above*, *Bāshghird*.

One of the names for the Hungarians employed by Yāķūt is *al-Hunkar* (for *Hungar*), a name derived from the Latin **Hungar*(*i*). Another orthography of this ethnonym is *al-Hunkar* (**Hungar*(*i*)); it is employed by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) in the extract from his great geographical treatise used by Abu 'l-Fidā'.

Besides *al-Unkalī*/*al-Unkaliyyīn*, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿķūb also uses, to denote the Hungarians, another name, *al-Turk* (pl. *al-Atrāk*) "the Turks". It seems that the term was borrowed by this author from the Byzantines. In fact, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was writing some fifteen years before Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿķūb, calls the Hungarians *Turkoi* and their country situated in the Carpathian basin *Turkia*.

To be mentioned finally is a wholly isolated nomenclature, this being *Kelar* or *Kilar*, which concludes the list of names for the Hungarians and Hungary used by the Muslim geographers, historians and travellers of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. This nomenclature is mentioned several times in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* as the name of a people mentioned with the Bashkirs, the Ās (Alans, Russian Yasī), the Urūs (Russians), the Čerkes and the Ķîpčaķ among the subjects of the descendants of Čingiz Khān. In all probability, these *Kelar* or *Kilar* are nothing other than the subjects of the *király* (Hungarian, "king") of Hungary. This Hungarian word was already known to al-Gharnāṭī, who had heard it during his stay in Hungary in 1151-3 and who wrote it in his *Muʿrib* as *k.zālī* instead of **k. rālī*. It is possible that by the name *Kelar*/*Kilar*, Rashīd al-Dīn understands the Christian Hungarians, while he denotes the Muslim Hungarians with the term *Bashkirs*.

(2) The Hungarian Muslims in the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. It seems that the most ancient Muslim elements which may be identified among the Hungarians appeared as early as the second half of the 3rd/9th century, thus in the period when the tribes constituting the Hungarian federation were still leading a nomadic existence between the Don and the Lower Danube, as neighbours and allies of the great Turkish state of the Khazars [*q.v.*], whose capital Ātil [*q.v.*] or Itil was situated close to the estuary of the Volga. The population of this state, which was of a heterogeneous nature, included, among others, numerous Muslim groups, among which were pure Khazars, partially Islamised, according to the Arab chronicles, from the 8th century A.D. onwards, Iranian Muslims of the Sarmatian tribe of Arsiyya (ancient Aorsi) who formed the guard of the Khazar Khagans, Khwārazmians, and finally a great number of Muslim traders, of very diverse origins, who lived in the Khazar capital where there were mosques and Ķur'ān schools. According to the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān, there was in Ātil a Friday mosque, and the leader of the local Muslims was one of the pages of the king of the Khazars. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, there were in Ātil 10,000 Muslim inhabitants and thirty mosques. Similarly, in the Khazar city of Samandar (situated in what is now Dāghistān) there were Muslims and mosques. The Khazar state and the heterogeneous population of this empire exerted a great social and cultural influence on the tribes of the Hungarian (Magyar) federation, especially at the time when this federation was joined, in the second half of the 9th century A.D., by the great rebel Khazar tribe known as Kabars (or Kavars) which took flight following an abortive revolt against the Khazar Khagan. It is known from the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that the Kabars played a leading role in the organisation of the Magyar federation and that they were at the head of this federation at the time when the Hungarians decided on the conquest of the Carpathian basin. It is also more than likely that this tribe, which no doubt included both Jewish and Khazar-Muslim elements, was the one joined by groups of Arisiyya and of Muslim Khwārazmians, as well as more or less numerous groups of Muslim traders from Ātil and Samandar and the neighbouring provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. But it should be stressed that all of this is only a conjecture which requires verification.

The earliest substantiated information concerning the presence of Muslim elements in the midst of the Magyar federation, at least in the context of written sources, does not appear until the first half of the 4th/10th century, some four decades after the Hungarians had conquered the land situated on the Middle Danube and the Tisza which subsequently became historic Hungary.

The first written information telling of Muslims living among the Hungarians in historical Hungary comes from al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj*, in which he refers to the subject in his description of the war waged by the Magyars in alliance with the Pechenegs against Byzantium in 320-32/932 to 943-4. The Pechenegs, who at this period were leading a nomadic existence between the Don, the lower Danube and the Carpathians, are denoted in the *Murūdj al-dhahab* by the twofold name *Badjanāk* and *Badjanā*, and the Hungarians (Magyars) are called here by two different names, *Badjghird* and **Bazkirda*. Among these two tribes there lived, if al-Masʿūdī is to be believed, numerous Muslims divided into two quite different groups. To the first of these groups belonged the Muslim traders who came from

the land of the Khazars, also from Ardabīl, from Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) and from other places situated within the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, while the other found its recruits among the Hungarians and Pechenegs proper who had been converted to Islam. In addition, it should not be forgotten that among the Magyars who had come to Hungary from the steppes of southern Russia and among the Pechenegs immigrants to this country there were also Iranian Muslims, including Khwārazmians and probably also Arsiyya, descendants of the ancient Aorsi and kinsmen of the Alans. At all events, the Khwārazmians appeared in Hungary in large numbers at least as early as the 11th century A.D., at which time they are mentioned for the first time in Latin sources emerging from Hungary. As for the Muslim traders who came from the land of the Khazars and the provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and who lived, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, among the Hungarians and Pechenegs, these were so numerous that, according to al-Masʿūdī, they were able to form the entire vaguard of the "Turkish" army, that is, the allied Pechenegs and Hungarians, in the war against the Byzantines.

Furthermore, the Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin during the 4th/10th century maintained political and economic relations with lands situated to the south of the Caucasus and belonging to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate where their kinsmen lived. In fact, after the arrival of the Pechenegs in the steppes of southern Russia, the Hungarians, displaced by them, split into two parts, of which the first withdrew, in 889-92, towards the Midde Danube and the Tisza, while the second, less numerous, made its way towards the south-east in the direction of Transcaucasia. This is known from Constantine Porphyrogenitus who, in his *De administrando imperio* calls this second Hungarian group *Sabartoi asphaloi*; they were settled, according to this author, "in the lands of Persia". These *Sabartoi asphaloi* (the meaning of the second part of the title, *asphaloi*, remains obscure) are known in the Armenian chronicles by the name of *Sevord-ikʿ* (the termination *-ikʿ* is the sign of the plural in Armenian) and among the Arab historians of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries by the name of *al-Sāwardiyya* (al-Balādhurī) or that of al-Siyāwardiyya (al-Masʿūdī). According to the latter author, the tribe in question lived on the banks of the river Kur, on the frontiers of Ādharbādjān and Georgia. Al-Baladhūrī knew them, furthermore, immediately before the year 279/892. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Hungarians established in the Carpathian basin often sent merchants to visit these *Sabartoi asphaloi*, who sometimes returned to Hungary with official messages. Little is known concerning the religion professed by the *Sabartoi asphaloi* but it is most likely that, living under Muslim domination, they were exposed to the influence of Islam.

The second author writing in Arabic who tells of the existence of Muslims in Hungary is Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb. In the course of a visit to the countries of Central Europe, this traveller made his way as far as Prague (Ar. F. rāgha) and he describes, among other things, the commercial life of the city. According to him, among the foreign merchants who came to this city from Hungary, besides the "Turks", i.e. Hungarians proper, there were also Jews and [*ahl*] *al-islām*, i.e. Muslims.

According to a passage in the Hungarian chronicle known as the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum* composed in 1196-1203, there arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony (?955-972 A.D.), a group of Ishmaelites, i.e. Muslims, originally from *terra Bular* (Bulgaria), led by two semi-legendary figures, these being Billa (Ar. Bi 'llāh ?) and Bocsu(?). The majority of scholars who have studied this problem are of the opinion that the reference here is to Bulgaria of the Kama, a land which had been islamised several decades before. However, it is not impossible that the source used by the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum* relates here rather to Bulgaria of the Danube, where there were numerous Muslims from as early as the middle of the 9th century A.D. In fact, a letter exists written by Pope Nicholas in the year 866, in which he orders the extirpation of the Saracens in Bulgaria of the Danube. The Bulgars of the Danube were a Turkish tribe, sister of the Bulgars of the Kama who settled to the south of the Lower Danube in 679 A.D., and soon adopted the Slavic language. It is interesting that the name of a settlement of people from *terra Bular*, according to the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum*, bears the name of Pest (read Pesht) which is without any doubt of Slavo-Bulgar origin and signifies "furnace"; it is today a quarter of Budapest, capital of Hungary.

It seems that after the conversion of Hungary to Christianity, which took place during the reign of King Stephen I (997-1038), one group of Hungarian Muslims ostensibly adopted the Christian faith while remaining, in reality, crypto-Muslim. Prominent among this group were the Khwārazmians (in Hungarian, Káliz) who will be considered below.

In mediaeval Latin documents and in the ancient Hungarian chronicles written in Latin, the Muslims of Hungary are known by numerous names, which may be divided into four main categories, as follows:

(a) *Saraceni* (in the years 1206, 1221, 1231), *Saracenos sive Ismaēlitas* (1233), also *Sarateni*, in Hung. *Szereczen* "Saracens". This is how the Latin sources emanating from Western Europe denoted the Muslim Arabs. These are also the *Sarakenoi* of the Byzantine sources. It is stated, for example, in the *De administrando imperio* that the *Sarakenoi* were a people who followed "the false prophet Mouameth". The aristocratic Hungarian family *Szereczen* is known from documents dating from as early as the years 1138, *ca.* 1165, 1215 and 1222.

(b) *Ismaēlitae* (year 1233), *Hysmaelitae* (1192), *Hysma-helitae* (1222), "Ishmaelites". These are the descendants of Ismāʿīl, son of Abraham who was, according to Arab sources, the progenitor of the Arabs. According to the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a **Nizaros* (in the ms. incorrectly written *Zinaros*), Arabic Nizār, descendant of Ismāʿīl, was "father of all the *Sarakenoi*". It is not impossible that by the name of *Ismaēlitae* the ancient Latin sources of Hungary specifically designated not the Muslim Arabs, but the Islamised Pechenegs who had settled in Hungary (to be further considered *below*). If this is the case, the ancient Hungarians followed the view of the ancient Russians who considered (as emerges from the chronicle of Nestor, beginning of the 12th century A.D.), that the Pechenegs, as well as the Oghuz Turks ("Torki"), the Turkōmans and the Comans (Polovtsī) were descended from the Biblical Ismāʿīl. In addition, the term "Ishmaelites" in certain Hungarian documents written in Latin also designated other groups of Muslims. It is known for example that the *Hysmaelitae* mentioned in a document of the Hungarian king Emeric in 1196, written on the occasion of the market at Eszek (the former county of Valkö, currently Osijek on the lower Drava in Yugoslavia)

were not Pechenegs, but rather Káliz or Khwārizmians.

(c) *Bissermini, Bezzermini, Bisirmani, Bezermen, Buzurman.* This is the transcription, in ancient Hungarian documents written in Latin, of the Hungarian word *Böszörmény* "Muslim". This is not the only usage of the word in Central and Eastern Europe. In fact, it is found in Polish, in Old Czech and in Russian, where the words *bisurman* (*busurman*), *besermen* and *basurman* (*busurman*) signify "Muslim". It is interesting to note that John Plano Carpini, the famous envoy of Pope Innocent IV to the Khān of the Mongols (1245-7), also mentions in his work a people which he calls *Bisermini*, correctly identified by I. Hrbek with the Khwārizmians living on the lower reaches of the Āmū-Daryā. Thus it is not impossible that the *Bisermini* of Hungary may also be identified, at least in part, with the Hungarian Khwārazmians. However, in two Hungarian vocabularies composed in *ca.* 1400, the terms *Ysmaelita* and *bezerman* and *ismaeliticus* do not refer to any ethnic group but indicate the Muslims in general. It should further be added that the name Böszörmény is attested in numerous Hungarian toponyms, in four or five administrative districts of Hungary, within its historical limits, and also in certain mediaeval documents. For example, in a document of 1248, *villa Nogbezermen* (in Hungarian, Nagy Böszörmény "the great Böszörmény") is the name of a village situated to the east of the middle Tisza, in the district of Nyir (Nyr).

(d) *Caliz* (year 1111), *Kalez* (1156), *Qualiz* (1156), *Kualez* (1212), modern Hungarian *Káliz*, in the German chronicles *Kotzel, Cozlones, Koltzens* "Khwārazmians". This name was mentioned for the first time in Hungarian sources in a Latin document of the year 1111, where there is a reference to people called "in Hungarian" *Caliz.* The Byzantine equivalent of this name is *Khalisioi*. According to the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos (writing 1150-65), this people was subject to the King of Hungary and, in the middle of the 12th century, as auxiliaries of the Hungarians, fought alongside the Dalmatians against the army of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus. The opinions of this historian regarding the religion of the *Khalisioi* are very confused; in one place he considers this people as being of Persian (i.e. Islamic) religion, while in another passage he states that they professed the Mosaic faith. The Hungarian name of *Káliz*, as well as the Byzantine denomination of *Khalisioi*, corresponds to that of *Khvalisī* which was the old-Russian term for the Khwārazmians and Khwārazm; it is encountered for example in the Russian chronicle of Nestor composed at about the beginning of the 12th century. The Hungarian name of the Khwārazmians is also found in that of *al-Khazar al-khaliṣ*, "the *Khazar-Khaliṣ*", an ethnic group identical to the Khwārazmians which lived, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, in the western part of Khazar (Ātil), capital of the Khazar realm, with the king of this state and his army. The Khwārazmians-Khaliṣ appeared in the Khazar realm prior to the 8th century A.D. In fact, the bishop of *Khoualēs* is mentioned in a list of bishops composed before the year 787 A.D. These were the bishops subject to the metropolitan of Doros in the Crimea, and the list probably includes all the bishops of the Khazar empire. The bishop of *Khoualēs* is placed here immediately after that of Astel, i.e. the Khazar capital Ātil. According to Kulakovsky and Vasiliev, *Khoualēs* was a town situated in the Khazar realm, near the estuary of the Volga and near the Caspian Sea, which bore, in the chronicle of Nestor, the name of *Khvalinskoč more*, "the sea of *Khvalinsk*" (it was perhaps the eastern part of the Khazar capital, of which the western part was called *Astel* (Ātil). A section of the Khwārazmians of the of the Khazar realm had probably joined, prior to the years 889-92, along with the Khazar tribe of the Kabars or Kavars, the Hungarian (Magyar) federation and settled in historic Hungary after the conquest of this land by the Magyars. It seems furthermore likely that another group of Khazar Khwārazmians joined the Pechenegs. In fact, al-Bakrī says that in his time (1068 A.D.) there were among the Muslim Pechenegs (of which the main bulk was then leading a nomadic existence in the steppes of South Russia) considerable numbers of *al-Khawāliṣ* (*al-Khvalis*), that is to say, of Khwārazmians. This was the name given by the Pechenegs, says al-Bakrī, to [Muslim] foreigners, slaves who had come to them from Constantinople or from other lands. The Pechenegs gave them the choice of staying in their country, where they could marry their daughters, or of leaving for another country of their choice. It may be added furthermore that Anna Comnena mentions, in her *Alexiad*, a Pecheneg chief named *Khaliṣ*. Nor should it be forgotten that the ancestors on the maternal side of the great aristocratic Pecheneg-Hungarian family Aba, which gave Hungary the king Samuel Aba (1041-7) were, according to the Hungarian chronicles, of Khwārazmian origin (*de gente Corosmina, de Corosminis orta*).

It is certain that a number of Hungarian Muslims became Christians at the time of the conversion of Hungary to Christianity which took place during the reign of King Stephen I (997-1038). But subsequently, these converts reverted in part to their former religion. Such was the situation towards the end of the 11th century. This is known from the resolutions of the Hungarian Diet held at Szabolcs in 1092 during the reign of King Ladislas the Holy (*cap.* 9), which decreed that those Muslims who, after being baptised, reverted to Islam and were again performing the rites of this religion, must be removed to other villages. The successor to Ladislas the Holy, King Coloman III (1095-1114), was also the author of an edict containing resolutions directed against the Muslims. This was furthermore the time of the First Crusade, and it is easy to understand the hostility of the Hungarian clergy and Christian aristocracy towards Muslims in general in this period. According to the decree in question, all Ishmaelites caught in the act of performing their religious rites were to be taken before the king's tribunal, and a part of their property was to be forfeited to the one who had denounced them. According to the same decree, the inhabitants of Ishmaelite villages must build, in the middle of each village, a church which was to be maintained by the local Muslims. Besides this, half of these Ishmaelites must leave the village in question and settle in purely Christian villages in order to become assimilated with the local Christians. It was envisaged by the king that this scheme would lead to the conversion of these people to Christianity. Accordingly to another resolution of this decree, the Ishmaelites must give their daughters in marriage to Christians and, if entertaining Christian guests, must eat with them only pork. Obviously, this last requirement constituted a violation of one of the sternest prohibitions of the Muslim faith. Nevertheless, in spite of the decrees of Ladislas the Holy and Coloman III, a large number of the Ishmaelites of Hungary remained faithful

to Islam. It is even the case that in the 12th century there took place a major expansion of this religion in Hungary, especially during the reign of King Géza II (1141-61) who was, according to the account of the Arab traveller al-Gharnāṭī, a good friend of the Hungarian Muslims.

It is to this latter individual, both scholar and traveller, that there is owed an important illustration of the situation and the life of the Muslims in Hungary towards the middle of the 6th/12th century. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī was born in the neighbourhood of Grenada in 473/1080-81 and left his native country for good in 500/1006-7, travelling to Egypt and subsequently to Syria to study there and to learn *ḥadīth*. In 516/1123-4, he left Syria and made his way to Baghdād, where he stayed for some time as a guest of Ibn Hubayra al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] the eminent statesman, general, scholar and future vizier of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī; this politician became his protector and patron. Later, in 524-5/1130-1, Abū Ḥāmid travelled to Persia, to the Caucasus and subsequently to Khʷārazm, a land which he visited three times. Later, he travelled from this country (which had for many years maintained close relations with the land of the Volga), to Sadjsīn or Saḳsīn, a large Turkish commercial town situated on the lower reaches of the Volga. It seems that he settled there in 525/1131 and stayed for some twenty years until 545/1150. It is known that he possessed a house there and had concubines and sons. During his stay in Sadjsīn, he made a journey to Bulghār on the Volga, where he was seen in 530/1135-6. In 545/1150-51, Abū Ḥāmid made his way to Bāshghird, in Hungary, passing through the town of Bulghār and subsequently embarking on the *Nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba* or "River of the Slavs" (this name is to be taken as covering a whole system of rivers, including the upper Volga, its tributary the Oka, the Desna, tributary of the upper Dnieper, and finally the Dniepr itself, probably as far up as Kiev). Subsequently, he travelled towards the south-west, passing through South Russia, and arrived, having crossed the Carpathians, in Hungary. Abū Ḥāmid's stay in the latter country lasted three years, until 1153. In this year he left Hungary, making his way to the town of Ghūrkūmān (*Mankermān or Kiev) and later to Sadjsīn. On this occasion, the king of Hungary entrusted to him the mission of recruiting Turkish archers from South Russia and Sadjsīn for his army. In 549/1154-5, Abū Ḥāmid left the town of Sadjsīn for good with the object of making the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and travelled to Baghdād. During his second stay in the capital of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, he composed his *al-Muʿrib ʿan baʿḍ ʿadjāʾib al-Maghrib*, which contains a rich store of information concerning Eastern and Central Europe and, *inter alia*, a long description of Hungary and of South Russia. In 566/1161, he travelled to al-Mawṣil, where he composed, the following year, his second work, the *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, a work which also contains a considerable quantity of information concerning Eastern Europe and Hungary. Later, towards the end of his life, he went to Syria where he stayed for five years (560-5/1165 to 1169-70), in Aleppo and subsequently in Damascus, where he died at the age of eighty.

Abū Ḥāmid's descriptions of Hungary contained in the *Muʿrib* and in the *Tuḥfa* are very important and factual, and they reveal some extremely interesting details. The account here will be limited to the information concerning the Hungarian Muslims. Our author, who lived in Hungary, as stated above, for three years, knew very well the Muslim milieu of this land, one to which he was joined by personal links; in fact, his eldest son Ḥāmid, who had accompanied his father on his journey to Hungary and had settled in the country, married the daughters of two local Muslim dignitaries and stayed in Hungary after his father's departure for the Orient in 1153. According to *al-Muʿrib*, there were in Hungary two distinct types of Muslims, these being the *awlād al-Maghāriba* "descendants of the people of the West" and *awlād al-Khʷārazmiyyīn* "descendants of the Khʷārazmians". In the case of the first of these groups, their name *al-Maghāriba* ("the Maghribīs") remains mysterious. It is true that Abū Ḥāmid speaks of the existence of "sons of the Arabs of the Maghrib" (*awlād al-ʿArab min al-Maghrib*) at Sadjsīn on the Volga, an important East European commercial centre, which could be true, especially as these people professed, according to this author, the Mālikī law school like the true Maghribīs; but in another passage of *al-Muʿrib*, he gives the name of *abnāʾ al-Maghāriba* "sons of *al-Maghariba*" to people with no connection whatsoever with true Maghribīs. In the second case, it is a question of some thousands of people living in the vicinity of *Mankermān "Kiev" who had "the appearance of Turks, spoke the Turkish language and shot their arrows like Turks". According to this passage of *al-Muʿrib*, the Maghāriba of the neighbourhood of Kiev also bore the name of Badjana, meaning Pechenegs (it may be recalled, in fact, that one of the two names given to the Pechenegs by al-Masʿūdī was Badjanā, without final -*k*). Thus it appears that the Maghāriba of Hungary were identical to the al-Maghāriba/Badjana of the Kiev region, and that one is dealing with numerous groups of Pechenegs (Abū Ḥāmid counts these Maghāriba/Pechenegs in thousands) living between the 10th-15th centuries A.D. in the Carpathian basin as a subsidiary people to the Hungarians. These Pechenegs (in the mediaeval Latin sources *Bisseni* or *Bysseni*, from the Hungarian *Besenyö*, read *Beshenyö* - *Badjana*/*Bedjene* or *Pačana*/*Pečene* of the Arabic sources) arrived in historic Hungary from the steppes of South Russia in several waves. The earliest of these waves apparently arrived in Hungary in the time of the prince Arpad, at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The new arrivals who were, according to the Hungarian chronicles, led by a certain Chaba, received from Arpad land situated in the Matra mountains. As for the second wave, a very important group of Pecheneg immigrants, it arrived in Hungary (if credence is to be given to the chronicle *Anonymi Belae Regis Notarii de gestis Hungarorum*, composed in *ca.* 1200 A.D.) during the reign of the prince Zoltan who lived in the first half of the 10th century A.D. These Pechenegs were settled by Lake Fertö, near the north-western frontier of Hungary to protect the young Hungarian state against attacks by the Germans. Soon afterwards, there arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony (? 955-72), a new and very numerous group of Pechenegs led by Thonuzoba, a person of princely origin. Taksony gave him, as a seat, land situated in the vicinity of Kemey, extending as far as the river Tisza. During the reign of the prince Géza (972-7), there arrived in Hungary a new group of Pecheneg immigrants. This is known from the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Simon of Kéza (13th century), who calls the newcomers *Bessi*. The new wave was linked to the victory of John, *comes* of Sopron, a county situated in the

north-west of Hungary. In 1072, according to the *Chronicle of Thurocz*, the latter routed a large detachment of Pechenegs in the service of the Byzantine governor of Belgrade, taking prisoner several thousand Pechenegs whom he probably settled in his domain. The last wave of Pechenegs arrived in Hungary in 1122-3. These were the remnants of a large Pecheneg group which, in withdrawing from the steppes of South Russia, had attacked the frontiers of the Byzantine empire and had been defeated by the army of that state. These remnants settled in Hungary under the command of their Khān, named Tatar. The newcomers were received very amicably by the Hungarian king Stephen II (1115-31). This wave was the last phase in the long series of Pecheneg immigration into Hungary which had lasted almost two hundred years. The Pechenegs who were settled as guards on all the frontiers of Hungary, as well as those who lived in the interior of the state, were required to supply troops of horsemen, who constituted the light cavalry of the Hungarian army. The first information regarding Pechenegs as forming a part of the Hungarian army comes from the year 1052 A.D., at the time of the Hungarian war against the Germans on the river Leitha. In 1116 Pecheneg warriors are found in the army of Stephen II. Later, in the year 1146, the Pechenegs, who probably made up two detachments of the garrison troops on the Austrian frontier, were included in the formation of the Hungarian army during the war against the Austrian Duke Henry Jasomirgott, in the battle near Moson. They were commanded by two Pecheneg "counts". In the year 1150, the Pechenegs constituted, along with the Khalisians (Khʷārazmians) Hungarian auxiliary troops in the war of the Hungarians and the Serbs against Byzantium. The question of the participation of the Pechenegs in the Hungarian army has yet to be studied. However, it should be noted that in the battle between the Hungarians and the King of Bohemia Přemysl Ottokar II near Kressenbrun in 1260, the Pechenegs are not mentioned among the auxiliary troops of the Hungarians.

There were two different types of Pecheneg settlement in Hungary, these being settlements situated close to the frontiers and establishments located in the interior of the country. The colonists settled near the frontiers had the duty of defending the wooden stockades which surrounded the entire territory of Hungary. They were called in the Hungarian documents written in Latin *speculatores* or *confinarum custodes*. Pecheneg guards of this type existed as early as the time of St. Stephen (997-1038) and even before this period. They were settled in groups quite close together, not far from the western frontier of Hungary, notably in the counties of Sopron and Moson. This latter territory was even called, in *ca.* 1230, on account of the large number of Pecheneg military colonists, by the name of *terra Bissenorum* ("the land of the Pechenegs"). The Pecheneg guards settled near the Bohemian frontier were also very numerous, in contrast to the northern, eastern and southern borders, where their numbers were relatively small. As regards the Pecheneg settlements in the interior of Hungary, these may be divided into four groups, these being the group of Fejervár-Tolna (or of Sarviz), the group of Körös and the group of Csanad or Aranka. The largest of these four groups of villages, and at the time the largest group of Pecheneg settlements in Hungary in general, was the group of Fejervár-Tolna situated between the Danube and Lake Balaton, along the river Sarviz, in the southern half of the county of Fejervár and the northern half of that of Tolna. All these settlements had the duty of defending from the enemy the town of Székes-Fehérvár, the royal capital of Hungary under the Arpads (in the year 1192 Belgrade, 997 Alba Regia; in German Stuhlweissenburg). These Pecheneg villages enjoyed a degree of independence and various privileges. It may be added that besides this last group of villages, in the territory situated between Lake Balaton and the Danube, numerous other villages of the Pechenegs are encountered. Thus it may be stated that the largest number of settlements of Hungarian Pechenegs was situated in western Hungary, to the west of the middle Danube. Besides this, there were more than ten Pecheneg villages situated in western Slovakia, about twenty on the upper Tisza, some fifteen between the Tisza and the middle Danube, another fifteen in the basin of the Maros and a further ten in Transylvania.

The Pechenegs who arrived in Hungary through numerous waves during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, were for the most part pagans professing the primitive religion of the ancient Turks. However, there were considerable numbers of Muslims among the newcomers, as may be judged from al-Masʿūdī's account regarding the war waged by the *Badjanāk/Badjāna* in alliance with the Hungarians against the Byzantines in 320-32/932 to 943-4. This has been mentioned above. Later, however, Islam disappeared without trace among the Pechenegs of the steppes of South Russia, and al-Bakrī (460/1068) states in his geographical treatise that, according to the reports of Muslim slaves returning from Constantinople, this people professed, until the year 400/1009-10, the pagan faith (*dīn al-Madjūsiyya*). However, immediately after this date, there came among them a learned Muslim *faķīh* who succeeded in converting a number of Pechenegs to Islam. This, according to al-Bakrī, marked the beginning of an active Islamising campaign among the Pechenegs, which ultimately led to war between the new converts and their compatriots who had remained pagans. According to al-Bakrī's informants, the converts to Islam, who numbered only 12,000 warriors, succeeded in defeating the pagans. A large number of the latter were massacred, and the others became Muslims. According to al-Bakrī, this event took place prior to the year 460/1068. At this time there already were among the Pechenegs, if al-Bakrī is to be believed, *faķīhs*, scholars and Ķurʾān readers. If the account given by al-Bakrī is true, the conversion to Islam of the vast majority of the Pechenegs cannot have been other than superficial, with the retention of numerous pagan rites. In view of his account, it is not impossible that the Pechenegs taken prisoner by the Hungarians in 1072 A.D., in the Hungarian war against the Byzantines, and subsequently established, probably as guards, close to the frontiers of this kingdom, could have professed, at least in part, the Islamic faith. Similarly, it is quite possible that the last wave of Pechenegs immigrants which was established in Hungary in 1122-3 A.D., consisted of people half-Islamised, among whom there were *faķīhs* and Ķurʾān readers. If this is a case of Pechenegs very superficially Islamised, the fact is also confirmed by the image of the *Maghāriba/Badjana* (Pechenegs) presented by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnaṭī in 1151-3. These people had only the vaguest ideas of the rites and duties of Islam. Thus, for example, they drank

wine, which was forbidden them by Abū Ḥāmid. Before his arrival, they knew neither the Friday prayer nor the *khuṭba*; they learned these only, this traveller boasts, after his arrival in Hungary. Nor did they practise, before the coming of Abū Ḥāmid, polygamy and concubinage as enjoined by Islam. As regards the former crypto-Muslims of Hungary (these were, for the most part, Bulgars and Khʷārazmians converted to Islam and later, during the reign of Stephen I, officially compelled to renounce this religion), their knowledge of the principles of Islam must, no doubt, have been considerably greater. The general situation of Muslims in Hungary in this period was relatively propitious, since King Géza II who reigned at this time, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "loved the Muslims". The *Maghāriba/Badjana* were, like a great many of the Khʷārazmians, warriors, and Abū Ḥāmid speaks of their participation in the war of Hungary against Byzantium. They were very numerous, "thousands of people" according to this author, referring both to the crypto-Muslims and to the Muslims openly professing their faith. As for the number of places inhabited by these two types of Muslims, there were, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "more than ten thousand"; this latter estimate seems much exaggerated.

It is known that the Pechenegs established between the 10th and the 15th century in Hungary possessed their own aristocracy and nobility. In fact, the various groups of Pecheneg immigrants arrived in Hungary led by their khāns (*dux* in the mediaeval Hungarian sources written in Latin) who enjoyed, in the first period of the Pecheneg presence in Hungary, that is in the 10th-13th centuries A.D., considerable respect. Among these khāns belonged, for example, *Zultan, princeps Bissenorum* of the ancient Hungarian chronicles, as well as other Pecheneg khāns named in these sources, for example Aba, Kemey, Botund, and the *dux nomine Tatar* known from the war between the Pechenegs and Byzantium in 1123, who settled in Hungary in the time of King Stephen II. It is known that the prestige of these Pecheneg khāns in Hungary was so great that one of these persons, Samuel Aba, became in 1041-7, king of Hungary. Later, the different groups of Pechenegs settled in various parts of Hungary were placed under the authority of representatives appointed by the Hungarian kings who bore the titles of *comes* or of *judex* and who were, in the majority of cases, of Pecheneg origin. These *comites* and *judices* also commanded the Pechenegs in times of war, as was, for example, the case of the *comes* of the Pechenegs in the Arpas locality in 1222. The descendants of the khāns and the Pecheneg nobility obtained posts in the administration of the Hungarian state and in the royal court. Thus, for example, a certain Pecheneg named *Mag* (*Magh, Moch*) whose name seems to derive from the Arabic Madjūs, was palatine of Hungary and *comes* of the district of Bácska situated between the Danube and the lower reaches of the Tisza. Another Pecheneg, named Benedict, was, in 1329, *comes* of the district of Baranya. In 1404-6 a certain *Paulus Byssenus de Eorghede* was governor (*ban*) of Dalmatia, of Croatia and of Slavonia. As for the Pecheneg aristocrats who made careers in the Hungarian royal court, there was for example a certain *Aba Bissenus* (of the Pecheneg family of Aba of Kemey) who was, in *ca.* 1226, a *homo regius* of King Andrew II. Besides the aristocrats, there were in Hungary a fair number of less exalted Pecheneg nobles. The mediaeval documents mention several of these nobles, who are designated by the title *nobilis* (for example, *nobiles bisseni de Kwzefalu*). It seems that it is from these Pecheneg khāns who came to Hungary as immigrants that Ismāʿīl b. Ḥasan was descended. He was, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "the descendant of valiant Muslim princes" of Hungary, and he accompanied this traveller on his journey from Hungary to "the land of the Slavs", that is, to Kiev. Abū Ḥāmid also states that his eldest son married the daughters of two respected Muslims of Hungary. It seems that the persons in question here were Islamised Pecheneg nobles (*nobiles bisseni*).

To return to the second group of Hungarian Muslims mentioned by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī, these are the Khʷārazmians: the Káliz of the Hungarians, *al-Khawāliṣ* or *al-Khaliṣ* of the mediaeval Arab sources, the *Khalisioi* of John Kinnamos and the *Khvalisī* of the Russian Chronicle of Nestor. According to Abū Ḥāmid, there were thousands of them in Hungary (this author even states in one passage that they were "innumerable"); according to him they were in the service of the king of Hungary. Officially, they called themselves Christians and they disguised their Islam, in contrast to the Maghāriba/Pechenegs, who overtly professed the Muslim faith and served the Christians (meaning the king of Hungary) as soldiers. It is also known, from Hungarian documents, that the Káliz sometimes fulfilled the function of administrators of the royal treasury (*institores regii fisci, quos hungarice caliz vocant*). One Caliz (Khʷārizmian) named *Etheius* (from the Arabic ʿAṭiyyat [Allāh]) who occupied this post in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) is known to us from a Hungarian document of the year 1111 A.D. In the same document there is reference to another Káliz who was administrator of the royal treasury and at the same time count (*comes*) of the mint. His name was *Magiug* (Ar. Madjūdj). These two individuals must have been, judging by their names, Muslims overtly professing their faith. At about the middle of the 6th/12th century, Khʷārazmians (*Khalisioi*) lived, among other places, in the county of Szerém (in ancient times, Sirmium, currently Mitrovica in Slavonia) in the south of Hungary in its historic frontiers. The memory of this ethnic group is also preserved in some fifteen toponyms in the counties of Fejér, Veszprèm, Zala and Somogy (all four of these being situated to the west of the Middle Danube), in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) in western Slovakia, in the counties of Közép-Szolnok and Zemplén (both situated on the upper Tisza) and in the county of Pest situated immediately to the east of the middle Danube. The mediaeval Hungarian documents written in Latin also mention a road which takes its name from the Khʷārazmians (1212: *in valle Kualuz*), located in the county of Fejér. A colony of these people (*generatio Kalez*) also lived, according to a document of the year 1135, in the village of Budakálasz; it may be noted that the second part of this last name, i.e. *-kálasz*, has also retained the designation of its former Khʷārazmian inhabitants. A document of 1185 also mentions a road called *Kaluzwt* (Kaluz-ut) which in another document dating from the year 1208 bore the name of *Caluzutu*. The road in question was an important highway which led from Szeged, a town situated on the eastern bank of the middle Tisza, to Bátmonostor. In the Middle Ages, this road played an important role in the Hungarian salt trade and its name indicates that, in this case at least, the salt trade was managed by the Káliz or Khʷārazmians.

It is most probable that the Khʷārazmians also

sometimes hid themselves under the name of Böszörmény or "Muslims" (*Bissermini* of the Hungarian documents written in Latin). It is thus very likely that the Böszörmény toponyms which are encountered in four or five counties could also designate villages formerly inhabited by Khwārazmians. In the *Register* of Várad (13th century), concerning the eastern frontiers of Hungary as it then was, there is mention of a *Villa Nogbezermen dicta* (1248). According to the *Register*, this locality was the centre of the Ishmaelites (*Ismaēlitae*) of Nyr, a territory extending to the north of Várad. It is not impossible that the name of this village denotes the Khwārazmians. It is very probable that the terms *bezermen* and *buzermen* (*Bözörmény*) and *Ismaēlitae* do not refer to an ethnic group, in most cases, but quite simply indicate the Muslim religion. It is in this sense, for example, that the name of the *Bezermenkwt* well, situated in the region of Pest and mentioned in a document of the year 1325, refers not to an ethnic group (the population of this area was composed not only of Bulgars but also of Khwārazmians and Pechenegs converted to Islam) but to Muslims (in Hungarian, Böszörmény) in general. Similarly, the name *Saracenus* (Saracen) referred not to a people but only to the Muslim religion. This name is also identified with that of the Ishmaelites (in the mediaeval documents *Ismaēlitae*, *Hyzmaelitae*, etc.). So, for example, a village of the county of Bodrog (between the Danube and the lower Tisza) was called in 1192 *villa Hysmaelitarum*, and in 1206 *villa Saracenorum*. The Muslim soldiers who were sent to the aid of the Emperor's troops, at the time of the siege of Milan in 1161, according to one chronicle bore the name of Saracens (*Saraceni*). The Muslims of Pest, probably of Bulgar, or possibly of Khwārazmian (*káliz*) origin, who in the 12th century bore the name of Ishmaelites, are called Saracens in a document of 1218. On the other hand, the letter sent by the Czech King Přemysl Ottokar II to Pope Gregory IX, in which there is reference to the battle between the Czechs and the Hungarians near Kressenbrun (1260), distinguishes the *Bezzermini* from the *Hysmahelitae*. It is possible that in this case the first of these names denotes the Káliz or Khwārazmians (it will be recalled that the Khwārazmians were called *Bisermini* by John of Plano Carpini), while the second may refer to the Islamised Pechenegs.

The situation of the Muslims of Hungary which was, if al-Gharnāṭī is to be believed, very prosperous in 1141-61, during the reign of King Géza II, and continued to be favourable at the beginning of the 13th century, in the time of King Andrew II (1205-35). At first, this king also was a friend of the Muslims, but later he was forced to change his attitude under pressure from the clergy. The Hungarian Muslims were at this time still very numerous. In fact, in a papal letter of the year 1221 there is a reference to *multitudo Saracenorum Hungariae*. It is from the period of Andrew II that there emerges the description of the Hungarian Muslims supplied by Yāķūt in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*. His account is based on information which this author received from a group of these Muslims (Yāķūt calls them *al-Bashghirdiyya*) whom he met at Ḥalab (Aleppo). The date of this meeting is not known exactly. It is known, however, that Yāķūt spent some time there in 613/1216-17, in 614/1217-18, in 621/1224 and finally in 626/1229, shortly before his death. According to this author, the *al-Bashghirdiyya* were people with very red (or blonde) hair, and with complexions that were also very rosy (here = white—Yāķūt uses in both cases the Arabic word *shukr*); they professed the law school of Abū Ḥanīfa. Yāķūt asked one of the members of this group for information on their country and their way of life, and received the answer that their country was situated beyond Constantinople among a population belonging to the Franks (in other words, Western Christians) who were called *al-Hunkar* or Hungarians. They were subjects (Ar. *raʿiyya*) of the *al-Hunkar* king, and were settled in the most distant parts of his domain, where they inhabited some thirty villages. It seems probable that these were the Muslim Pechenegs of which the most important groups had settled, in the 10th-13th centuries, in the counties of Sofron and Moson and between the middle Danube and Lake Balaton, in the western part of Hungary, on the Austrian frontier and around the ancient capital of the Arpads, Székes-Féhervár. According to Yāķūt's informant, each of these villages was large enough to resemble a small town. However, these places were not surrounded by walls. In fact, the king of Hungary did not allow the local Muslims to fortify their villages with walls, for fear lest they rebel against him. According to the remainder of this account, the language of *al-Hunkar*, as of *al-Bashghirdiyya*, was the same as that of the Franks. It is very likely that Yāķūt's informant was thinking here of Latin, which was the official language of the Hungarian state in the Middle Ages. According to other information from this source, the *al-Bashghirdiyya* dressed like the Hungarians and were liable for military service, as were all the other inhabitants of Hungary. In fighting the enemies of the country, Yāķūt states, the Hungarian Muslims were also engaged in the Holy War, the *djihād*, in view of the fact that Hungary was surrounded by infidels hostile to Islam. Yāķūt also asked his informant how the Muslims came to be living in Hungary, among infidel countries. He was told that according to the sayings of the ancestors of *al-Bashghirdiyya*, there came to Hungary, from the land of the Bulgars (*bilād Bulghār*), in ancient times, seven Muslim individuals who settled among the *al-Bashghirdiyya* and converted them to Islam. This tradition corresponds to that of the Hungarian chronicle known as *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum*, composed in 1196-1203, according to which there came to Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony a group of Ishmaelites from *terra Bular* (Bulgaria of the Kama or rather, of the Danube). This has been discussed above. Yāķūt's informant adds that the *Bashghirdiyya* who have performed the *ḥadjdj* are highly respected by the Hungarian Muslims, who entrust to them control of their religious affairs. He also says that the *Bashghirdiyya* who engage in military service in Hungary shave off their beards, as the Franks do, in other words in the Christian fashion. However, this is not the case as regards the others, those not performing military service. In view of the fact that the people met by our geographer at Aleppo had shaven beards, they would have belonged to the military caste. Elsewhere in Yāķūt's article it is revealed that the road leading from Hungary to Aleppo passed through Constantinople and was four months' travelling time in length. It was already known, from the account of al-Gharnāṭī, that the route used by Hungarian Muslims in their travels in the Orient also passed through Ķūniya (Konya) in Asia Minor.

It has been stated above that King Andrew II, who was initially well-disposed towards his Muslim subjects, was compelled, in the year 1222, to pro-

claim a charter, also known as the *Golden Bull*, defining the rights of the Hungarian people. The second edition of this *Bull* appeared in 1231, and the document contained numerous restrictions imposed on the Muslims and Jews of Hungary. It emerges from these documents that, until this time, the Muslims (*Hysmaelitae, Saraceni*) and the Jews of the country had the right to take on public functions, in particular, supervision of the mint and of the salt works (year 1222: *Comites camere monetarii, Salinarii et Tributatii Hysmaelitae fieri non possunt*; 1231: *Monetae et Salibus, ac aliis publicis officiis Saraceni non praeficiuntur*; 1232: *Saraceni praeficiuntur camerae et publicis officiis*; etc.), which were forbidden them in the *Golden Bull*. However, all these restrictions, in the period 1222-31, existed only on paper, as is shown by an edict of Archbishop Robert of Esztergom dating from 1232, an edict declaring the excommunication of Hungary. According to this edict Andrew II, after proclaiming the *Golden Bull*, again appointed Muslim dignitaries to public offices; he also tolerated the presence of Muslims in his estates. According to another passage of Archbishop Robert's edict, it was a royal chamberlain named Samuel who was especially favourable towards the Muslims and the "false Christians", i.e. the Patareni. The Archbishop forbade Christians to do business or maintain other relations with Hungarian Muslims, except those who had freed their Christian slaves (or slaves of Christian origin) who were of Hungarian, Bulgar, Cuman or any other race. Following the excommunication by Archbishop Robert, King Andrew II repented and concluded, on 12 August 1232, an agreement with the legate of Pope Gregory IX, in which he promised that in future the Saracens would be forbidden to administer the mint or the revenues of the state, and would be barred from occupying other public posts. He also undertook in this pact that in future the Saracens and Jews would be obliged to carry signs to distinguish them from Christians. They would in future be unable to buy or possess Christian slaves. The king further promised that each year there would be a census of Saracens and Jews carried out by the Palatine, or some other senior state official, who would be authorised, on behalf of the bishops, to take from the Saracens and the Jews any Christian slaves and Christian wives. According to the same undertaking by Andrew II, marriages of Saracens and Jews with Christians were to be dissolved or annulled, and both parties would be punished by the loss of their property and their freedom. Thus it is probably from the year 1232 that there began the most serious oppression of the Hungarian Muslims by the Church, and it is only from this time onward that one can speak of the Christianisation of this part of the Hungarian population. This Christianisation is marked especially by the building of Christian churches and monasteries, which began at about the middle of the 13th century in villages occupied by the Pechenegs who until this time had remained superficially Islamised or even pagan. It is in the documents of this period that phrases appear such as *ecclesia de Besenu* or even *abbatia de Besenu* (from Hungarian *Besenyő* "Pecheneg").

There is no doubt that the invasion of the Mongols (Tatars) in 1241 also contributed, in the highest degree, to the reduction of the Muslim element in Hungary, an element composed for the most part of soldiers in the service of the kings of Hungary. On account of its tenacious resistance, this element suffered particularly severe losses at the hands of the Tatars. This issue will be discussed further, in the context of an analysis of the description of Hungary given by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī.

It is quite possible that there were also Muslims (or at least people superficially Islamised) among the Comans (in Hungarian, *Palocz*), a Ḳïpčaḳ tribe which took refuge in large numbers in Hungary in their flight from the Mongols, who appeared in 1223 in the plains by the Black Sea where the Comans were leading a nomadic existence during the 11th-13th centuries.

Moreover, these were not the first Coman groups to settle in Hungary. In fact, it is known that as early as 1080-7 the Hungarian king Solomon summoned a military detachment of this people into Hungary, and that another Coman group settled in Hungary in 1110-20 probably in the Matra mountains. These newcomers were exposed, in the steppes of South Russia (like other Turkish tribes who led a nomadic existence there and were in general animists and sharmanists), to the influence of Islam. They could thus add to the number of Muslims (or rather of superficially Islamised animists) in Hungary. In this manner, the Muslim presence in this country was maintained in spite of pressure from the Church and in spite of the losses suffered during the Mongol invasion of 1241. It is stated, in fact, in a letter of the king of Bohemia Přemsyl Ottokar II, addressed to the Pope and giving a description of the battle of Kressenbrun between the Czechs and the Hungarian King Béla IV (1260), that among the auxiliary units of the Hungarian army which took part in this battle, there were an *innumerum multitudinem hominum Comonorum et Ungarorum et diversorum Sclavorum, Siculorum quoque et Walachorum, Bezzerminorum et Hysmahelitarum, Scismaticorum etiam ut pote Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Rusciensium et Bosnensium haereticorum*. It has been demonstrated above that *Bezzermini* is the name not only for Muslims in general, but also for the Khʷārazmians (Káliz) and that the word *Hysmahelitae* (Ishmaelites) can also specifically denote the Muslim Pechenegs.

It is from approximately the period of the battle of Kressenbrun that there comes the last Arabic source concerning the Muslims of Hungary. The source in question is a short account of Hungary (*al-Hunkar*) and of the Hungarian Muslims (*al-Bashghirdiyya*) by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī. This account, part of his major geographical work, has been reproduced in the *Taḳwīm al-buldān* of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. According to this text, Hungary was divided at this time into two parts, of which one, situated in the east of the country, was inhabited by *al-Hunkar* (the Hungarians), a Christian people, while the western part of the country was inhabited by another people, known as *al-Bāshkird* and professing the Muslim faith. This people lived on the river Dūmā (to be corrected to Duna, "Danube") as neighbours to the Germans. The capital of the *bilād al-Bāshḳird*, according to Ibn Saʿīd, bore the name of *Ḳ.rāt* and was situated in the south of the country. In all probability this word is simply an Arabic transcription of the Slavic term *grad* "town" and represents the second part of the name *Belgrad* (the "White town") which was the Slavic name for *Székes Fehérvar*, the capital of Hungary under the dynasty of the Arpads. This name figures, with different forms, in numerous Latin documents of Hungary in the 11th-13th centuries. Its mediaeval Latin equivalent is *Alba civitas regalis*, in German it is *Stuhlweissenburg* and in Hungarian, as has just been stated, *Székes Fehérvar*. Al-Idrīsī calls this town

Bal(a)ghrāta or *Bal(i)ghrāta*. Ibn Saʿīd adds that the *al-Bashkird* people were converted to Islam by a Turkoman *faḳīh* "who taught them the rites of the faith". It seems that the mission of this *faḳīh* (who was not the first Muslim missionary to visit Hungary, a land where, as has been shown above, Islam had been present since the 4th/10th century) cannot have taken place until after the end of the 11th century, a time at which the Turkomans, a Turkish tribe mingled with Iranian elements, was living in a primitive state in Central Asia, as neighbours of the Saldjūḳ Turks. When the latter conquered Asia Minor towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkomans united with them and lived in this land, recognising the authority of the Saldjūḳ rulers of Konya. During his stay in Hungary in 1151-3, al-Gharnāṭī saw Turkoman mercenaries in the service of Byzantium taken prisoner by the Hungarians. Seeing that the route taken by Hungarian Muslims who, according to Abū Ḥāmid, made their way to the East and especially to Mecca, passed through Konya, the arrival in Hungary of a Turkoman missionary, probably a native of Asia Minor, seems entirely probable. It may also be noted that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (757/1356) uses the name Turkomāns to denote the Ottoman Turks.

The *bilād al-Bashkird* was invaded, according to Ibn Saʿīd, by the Tatars (1241) who slaughtered many of the inhabitants. According to another passage in the work of this author, the *Bāshkird*, as allies of (or rather, subjects of) the Hungarians, took part, in the same year of 1241, alongside the Germans and the Hungarians, in a battle near Sebenico (Šibenik in Croatia), in which the Tatar forces were annihilated. The facts given by Ibn Saʿīd are also confirmed by the Latin sources, including the *Rogerii carmen miserabilis* where there is reference to the armed resistance of the Hungarian Muslims against the Tatars. In another Latin document of this period there is mention of the Saracen district called Bew which was entirely devastated during the Tatar invasion of 1231.

Little is known of the later history of the Muslims of Hungary because the Arab or Christian sources concerning this religious group become less and less numerous. However, it is stated in a Latin document that in 1290, at the time when the Hungarian King Ladislas IV left his capital, going to live as a nomad with the Comans (Hungarian Palocz) who lived in the Matra mountains and in some other districts of Hungary, he handed over all responsibilities of state to a Muslim dignitary named Mizse (Ar. Mūsā ?), who had himself baptised immediately after this appointment. As regards the Arabic sources of this period, the one most worthy of mention is the *Āthār al-bilād* of al-Ḳazwīnī who gives an interesting description of Hungary (he calls it "the land of *Bāshghirt*") composed on the basis of the account of a *faḳīh* who was a native of this country. This account was written, as can be seen from its content, some time after the Mongol invasion of 1241 (the *faḳīh* in question calls the invaders *al-Tatar*). According to this account, the *Bāshghirt* are a great people whose king has a large army at his disposal and of whom the majority is Christian; among them there is also a multitude (Ar. *djamʿ*, also "crowd", "mass of people") of Muslims who observe the law school of the *imām* Abū Ḥānifa. These Muslims pay a tax (*djizya*) to the Christians, just as the Christians pay a tax to the Muslims in lands of Islam. Of less value is a passage from the *Nukhbat al-dahr* of al-Dimashḳī. This author also mentions the Bāshghird people, which he locates in south-east Europe, alongside the *Madjar* or Hungarians. He does not take account of the fact that these are two branches of the same people. It is quite likely that he meant by this means to distinguish, as had been done by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, the Hungarian Muslims whom he calls *Bāshghird* from the Hungarian Christians whom he calls *Mādjār*.

It seems that Islam was maintained in pre-Ottoman Hungary until approximately the year 1340, the period in which the Hungarian King Charles-Robert of Anjou (1308-42) compelled all those of his subjects who were not yet Christians to embrace Christianity or to leave the country.

However, the Pechenegs, although converted to Christianity in the 14th century at the latest, retained until the end of the 15th century, even after the loss of their ancestral language (by this time they were speaking the Magyar language), some traces of Muslim culture. This is known from the work of A. Bonfinius, who has provided a vivid description of the Hungarian Pechenegs in his *Rerum Hungaricarum Decadis*, ii. liv, p. 220, Hanover 1606. According to this author, "they wore long beards and long moustaches and . . . dressed in the Persian fashion, in tunics of silk that were ruffled by the wind".

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(T. Lewicki)

(ii) The Ottoman Period

After the occupation of Belgrade in 1521, Sultan Süleymān I led three campaigns into Hungary in 1526, 1529 and 1532, but by these he did not extend the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire to the north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube. It was only in 1541, after the death of János Zapolya, that the Sultan occupied the fortress of Buda, in order to prevent the Hapsburg Ferdinand, who laid claim to the whole of Hungary, from taking possession of it. In 1543 Süleymān launched another campaign against Vienna in accordance with his commitment as part of Franco-Turkish co-operation to attack the Hapsburgs from two sides. But the Turkish army suddenly stopped on its way to Vienna at the fortress of Esztergom because the Sultan had not received any reassuring news either about the activities of his fleet in the Mediterranean Sea or of the military operations of his French allies. So he had to content himself with occupying a few of the more significant fortresses in western Hungary, sc. Esztergom, Tata and Székesfehérvár, and then he started back for home with his army. Subsequently, the *beglerbegi* of Buda and later the *beglerbegi* of Rumelia began to enlarge the Turks' base in Hungary in the form of a wedge against the Hapsburgs by occupying several other fortresses and castles, sc. Visegrád, Nógrád, Hatvan, Temesvár, Szolnok, etc. The first phase of Turkish expansion in Hungary ended with Süleymān's last campaign, the occupation of Szigetvár and Gyula in 1566.

Administration in the Hungarian territories that had fallen under Turkish rule was gradually organised in the wake of the expansion, although the establishing of *sandjaḳ*s did not take place immediately after the occupation of even the more significant fortresses. The process of re-organisation in Hungary cannot have been so fast as was suggested by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, who claimed that the Turks annexed the Hungarian territory possessed by János Zapolya to the Ottoman Empire in 1541, converted it into the *beglerbegilik* of Buda, which consisted of twelve *sandjaḳ*s, and appointed the *beglerbegi* of Baghdād, Süleymān Pasha, to be its head (*Osmanlı tarihi*², ii, Ankara 1964, 344). It is true that the Sultan appointed Süleymān Pasha to be *beglerbegi* of Buda. This post, however, could not involve the government of twelve Hungarian *sandjaḳ*s because, besides the territory of the *sandjaḳ* of Buda, which was just being formed under the protection of the strongholds of Buda and Pest, it was only Titel which was in Turkish possession north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube at that time. Therefore, the *beglerbegilik* of Buda had to be formed from *sandjaḳ*s which were south of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube, i.e. Eszék/Ösek, Semendire, Izvornik/Zvornik, Aladjahisar/Kruševac and Vulčitrin/Vučitrn. If these remote *sandjaḳ*s had not been joined to Buda, it could have been governed only by a *sandjaḳbegi* in 1541.

Between 1541 and 1566 the Turks established the following *sandjaḳ*s north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube: Buda (1541); Mohács (1542); Szeged and Istolni Belgrad, i.e. Székesfehérvár (1543); Eger (1544), although the fortress of Eger itself had not yet been occupied, only its vicinities; Esztergom, Hatvan, Nógrád and Simontornya (1545-6); Siklós (1549); Koppány (1550); Becse and Becskerek (1551-2); Görösgál, Szekszárd, Temesvár and Csanád (1552); Lippa, Arad and Szolnok (1552-3); Szécsény (1553-4); Veszprém (1554); Fülek (1555); and Gyula and Szigetvár (1566). In the meantime, they formed the *beglerbegilik* of Temesvár (1552) from the *sandjaḳ*s of Temesvár and Csanád (the latter including Becse and Becskerek), to which they attached the *sandjaḳ*s of Semendire, Aladjahisar and Vidin, and later the *sandjaḳ*s of Lippa, Arad and Gyula, respectively.

The backbone of the Turks' base in the central part of Hungary was the *beglerbegilik* of Buda, but its upkeep against the Hapsburgs was very costly. According to the cash-book of the Treasury of Buda for the years 1559 and 1560, there were 10,300 Turkish troops in the fortresses belonging to the *eyālet* of Buda, for whose pay and equipment an annual sum of 260,000-80,000 gold pieces had to be brought in from Istanbul, because the taxes and duties obtained in Hungary covered but one-third of their expenses. The transport of money from Istanbul to Buda was necessary not only in the decades that followed, but also in the 17th century. According to Pečewī, the annual tax-yield of Egypt, 300,000 gold pieces, was sent directly to Buda (*Taʾrīkh-i Pečewī*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 36). The new campaigns also increased the expenses of retaining the Hungarian territories, and the burden which the newly-occupied fortresses imposed on the empire was clearly greater than the advantage they offered. Thus, e.g., when Eger (1596), Kanizsa (1600), or Várad (1660) and Ūjvár (1663) fell into Turkish hands, each of these fortresses had to be made the seat of a new *beglerbegilik*, so that greater forces could be concentrated for their defence in case of emergency. In accordance with their custom, the Turks formed new *begler-*

begiliks by a re-organisation of formerly-occupied territories. However, while earlier they were able to extend the boundaries of the new *beglerbegiliks* by further conquests (see e.g. the *beglerbegiliks* of Buda and Temesvár), they were no longer able to do so in the 17th century.

The decline in the military preponderance of the Ottoman empire is well-characterised by two episodes which happened in two phases of Turkish rule in Hungary, in the 16th and the 17th century respectively. In the first phase, when the Hapsburgs' envoy, Ferenc Jurkovič, appeared in a robe of state and with a sword on his side before Sinān Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Buda, in 1587, the Pasha had the envoy's sword broken to pieces. In the second phase, however, when Gáspár Tassi, a deputy, went to Murtaḍā Pasha of Buda in 1627 to lodge a complaint against the *ḳāḍī* of Hatvan, the Pasha immediately ordered that the *ḳāḍī* be given 500 lashes on the soles without hearing any witnesses. The Turks' attacks in the 17th century were chiefly mere flare-ups of enthusiasm. During one of them, the siege of Vienna in 1683, they displayed such military weakness that it was soon followed by the coalition of western powers and the eventual liberation of Buda in 1686. Within a decade after this, the Turks lost nearly all their conquests in Hungary except the *beglerbegilik* of Temesvár, which they managed to retain until 1718.

The effect of the Turkish rule in Hungary on general European conditions is variously evaluated in the literature of the subject. According to a noteworthy statement by B. H. Slicher van Bath, the rise in meat prices in Europe after 1550, which was partly due to the growth of population, was primarily caused by the fact that the Turks had occupied Hungary and so the import of cattle from South-Eastern Europe had decreased (*The agrarian history of western Europe A.D. 500-1800*, London 1963, 204). It seems likely, however, that the rise in European meat prices was due to other factors, because, according to Turkish customs registers, that part of Hungary which was under Turkish rule exported to the west 60-80,000 head of cattle yearly around the middle of the 16th century.

However prosperous cattle-breeding was in Hungary under Turkish rule, it was a negative phenomenon from the point of view of economic progress since it meant a return to extensive animal-keeping. The fields of a number of Hungarian villages destroyed in the Turkish wars lay uncultivated, deteriorated into pasture and were hardly fit for anything else than animal grazing. This explains how it was possible even after the Fifteen Years' War (1593-1608) for an English merchant to write the following words about the abundant cattle-stock of Hungary: "This Countrey doth much abound in cattle suffiecient to feed all Germany, the store is so great, that they yearly sell to their neighbours 80 or 100 thousand Oxen" (Lewes Roberts, *The merchant mappe of commerce*, London 1637, 177). When evaluating this attractive figure, however, one has also to consider the fact that such significant towns in southern Hungary as Pécs and Tolna lost the greater part of their vineyards, the source of their former wealth. For example in Tolna, a town with 5000 inhabitants, where, according to Turkish financial accounts, a yearly amount of 6,800 hectolitres (about 150,000 gallons) of wine was produced in the 1560s and 70s, wine-growing completely lost its importance in the course of the 17th century. The worsening of the economic situation can be traced on the basis of Turkish sources, not only along the Danube but also in the area of the River Tisza. For example, in the villages of Gyó and Tāpé, two imperial *khāṣṣ*-estates near Szeged, both the number of the inhabitants and the amount of their agricultural production had dropped to one-half of the original figure between 1550 and 1670, although these figures could have doubled in 120 years.

The demographic conditions of Hungary in the period of the Turks can be fairly well estimated on the basis of the *taḥrīr defterleri*. After their first conquests, as soon as they had strengthened their posts in Hungary, the Turks started to make written records of the settlements within the *sandjaḳs*, which they established with rather vague boundaries. As was written in one of the Sultan's instructions to the *sandjaḳbegi* of Mohács in March 1545: "The state of the local settlements and the conditions of *reʿāyā* must be examined in the same way as in the other provinces" (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 12321, p. 142). The first registers were made in the *sandjaḳs* of Mohács and Istolni Belgrad in 1545-6 by Čandarlīzāde Khalīl Beg, who was specially sent to Hungary with that task. Of these two *taḥrīr defterleri*, only the one of the *sandjaḳ* of Mohács has survived to this day. In the same years, Khalīl Beg prepared the registers of the *sandjaḳs* of Buda, Esztergom, Nógrád, Hatvan, Szeged and Simontornya as well; these *taḥrīr defterleri* and the *timār defterleri* compiled on their basis are all extant today. New registers of the *sandjaḳs* were usually made every ten years up to 1590. Later, however, the administrative organisation of the Ottoman empire became so loose that new registers were made only in the newly-occupied territories, while in other parts the old registers were re-copied. This is evident from certain income figures; e.g. a *timār*'s income in the *sandjaḳ* of Buda was exactly as many *akčes* in 1676 as in 1590, although the value of money had considerably changed in the meantime.

In the first half of the 16th century, the Turkish *taḥrīr defterleri* still presented a relatively favourable picture of Hungary's demographic conditions. In the town of Szeged, for example, where there were 1,449 families in 1522 before the Turkish occupation, 1,345 heads of family were entered in the first Turkish register of 1546, i.e. the population of Szeged decreased by only about 100 families after the battle of Mohács and the first Turkish occupation. After the subsequent wars and devastations, however, the Turks could levy the *djizye* tax on no more than 315 heads of family in the same area in the last years of the century.

Of course, this does not mean that the greater part of the Hungarian population perished, because, as is well-known, a large number of Hungarians escaped to territories of Hungary which had not passed under Turkish rule. As one can read in a Hungarian letter written as early as 1550: "The people of the land, especially in the country of Pest, left their homes in multitudes, seeking refuge in the counties of Zala and Somogy" (there had already been Turks in the county of Pest, but not in the counties of Zala and Somogy as yet). In spite of all this, there were relatively few Turks who came to settle down in Hungary. It is true that a few towns such as Esztergom, Visegrád and Nógrád, were evacuated after their occupation for strategic reasons and were inhabited almost exclusively by Turks in later times as well. Besides such places, however, it was only in Buda, Pest, Vác,

Tolna and the area of Szeged that a few hundred Turkish families settled down.

Süleymān and his successors made no deliberate efforts to settle large numbers of Turkish families in Hungary as they did in the Balkan peninsula. Neither did Islam gain any ground. Today there are but few architectural remnants to evoke the memory of the Ottoman period, and this is not because subsequent wars destroyed them but because the Turks preferred transforming old buildings to constructing news ones in Hungary. Similarly, present-day Hungarian vocabulary contains very few Ottoman Turkish loan-words; spoken Hungarian has preserved only a faint memory of former Turkish rule.

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(GY. KÁLDY-NAGY)

AL-**MADJARRA**, the Galaxy or Milky Way. This remarkable celestial phenomenon was well-known to the peoples of the Islamic world. Its popular assimilation to the traces of spilt milk seems to be of Greek origin (cf. τὸ γάλα [Aristotle], ὁ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος [Euclid, Geminus], ὁ γαλακτίας [κύκλος] [Ptolemy], ὁγαλαξίας [κύκλος] [other authors]; see Liddell and Scott, *s.vv.*), whereas in the Near East the image of traces of lost straw, or chaff, prevails (cf. Pers. *rāh-i kāhkashān*, Turk. *samanyolu*, etc., and already Syriac *shbhīlā d-thebhnā* (A.D. 660), also colloquial Arabic *darb al-tabbāna*, etc.; see Wiedemann [1], 1 f., and [2]; and Eilers [1], 108-11; [2], 15 f.; [3], 4; for the Syriac, Severus Sēbhōkht, ii, 2 [p. 349]; xi, 1.3 [pp. 392-3]).

In Arabic, the indigenous designation is *al-madjarra*, which is derived both by classical Arabic lexicographers and by modern scholars from the root *dj-r-r* "to pull, or draw" and would designate a place, or path where something is drawn (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwā'* 123; al-Djawharī, in *LA*, iv, 129a; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, 8; al-Marzūḳī, ii, 9; Ibn Manẓūr [2], 173; Eilers [1], 111). The mediaeval Latin translator of the Arabic *Almagest*, Gerard of Cremona, generally retained the Arabic designation *al-madjarra* as *almaiarati* etc.; but in one instance he added a gloss: *id est arca que mouetur*, in which he understood *al-madjarra* as a drawer that can be pulled (cf. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 139). Occasionally there occurs in Arabic texts a confusion between the name of the Milky Way, *al-madjarra*, and the graphically closely-similar word *al-midjmara*, which is the Arabic version for the Greek constellation name τὸ Θυμιατήριον, the Altar, *Ara* (see Kunitzsch, 203); cf., e.g., *al-madjarra* for *al-midjmara* on a celestial globe by Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Sahlī, dated 478/1085, described by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*,

i, Barcelona 1931, 55 ff.; the same confusion of *al-madjarra for al-midjmara*, in *Les mansions lunaires des Arabes. Texte arabe en vers de Moh'ammed El-Moqri*, trad. et ann. par A. de C. Motylinski, Algiers 1899, 99 (no. 11) and n. 2, where the translator did not realise and correct the mistake; cf. also ms. d of the Arabic *Almagest* in Kunitzsch, 346, no. 640. A literal Arabic translation from the Greek, in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, was *al-falak al-labanī* (al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar), and *al-dā'ira al-mushabbah lawnuhā bi-lawn al-laban*, or shortly, *al-dā'ira al-labaniyya* (Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn) (see Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 139).

The Milky Way was known to the Arabs in their classical period; cf. a collection of classical and post-classical Arabic verses naming *al-madjarra*, in Wiedemann [1], 673-5 (see also Ibn Manẓūr [2], 118 f.). In lexicographical texts, the positions of several fixed stars are described in relation to the Milky Way. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895) gave a description of the course of the Milky Way in the sky as seen by the Arabs in their "pre-scientific" period (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūḳī, ii, 9 f.; tr. Wiedemann [1], 664-6).

Further, it was observed and mentioned by the Arabs that the position of the Milky Way in the sky changed in different seasons according to the annual revolution of the sky (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūḳī, ii, 10 f. = tr. Wiedemann [1], 666-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, 123; al-Ḳazwīnī, 21 = tr. Ethé, 44). A late description based on personal experience was given around A.D. 1490 by Aḥmad b. Mādjid, the famous navigator of the Indian Ocean (see Aḥmad b. Mādjid, 149 f.; tr. Tibbetts, 140). It should be noted that some of these non-scientific authors understand the Milky Way as a dense accumulation of faint stars that appears to the observer's eye as a nebulous mass, a theory which seems to have originated from independent observations not influenced by the teachings of Greek philosophy (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, 124; al-Ḳazwīnī, 21 = tr. Ethé, 44; Aḥmad b. Mādjid, 149 = tr. Tibbets, 140).

A scientific astronomical description of the Milky Way was given by Ptolemy in his *Almagest* (book viii, ch. 2), which became known in Arabic through a series of translations from the end of the 2nd/8th to the end of the 3rd/9th centuries. Abū Ḥanīfa's description, however, apparently was not influenced by the *Almagest*, since he uses descriptive elements of pure Arabic origin only. Also, his description of the galactic circle begins and ends in the constellation of Scorpius, near the ecliptic, whereas Ptolemy's description begins and ends in the constellation of Centaurus, in the southernmost region of the sky visible to him in Alexandria.

Cosmological theories of the Milky Way were conveyed to the Arabs by translations and paraphrases of Greek philosophical works, as, e.g., Aristotle's *Meteorology* (for the chapter on the Milky Way, see *al-Āthār al-ʿulwiyya*, ed. Badawi, 12-15; ed. Petraitis, 23-6 [Arabic]; ed. Schoonheim, 66/67-70/71; ed. Daiber, 62 f.), and their commentaries. While Aristotle taught that the Milky Way is a vaporous phenomenon belonging to the sublunar sphere, other philosophers such as Democritus, and younger commentators as Olympiodorus, etc., believed the Milky Way to be far out in space, similar to the fixed stars, and belonging to their sphere (cf. Petraitis, 23 [Arabic], n. 2; Daiber, 93-5). Muslim scholars apparently favoured these latter theories against Aristotle's one (see the texts cited by Wiedemann [1], 669-71, and Daiber, 93-5, and the following quotations from Ibn al-Haytham and al-Bīrūnī). Especially interesting are the scientific deductions of Ibn al-Haytham (d. *ca.* 432/1041), who arrived at the conclusion that the Milky Way does not form part of the air (the sublunar sphere) but must be far out in the space (see Wiedemann [1], 672, and the literature quoted there). Also, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* (written around A.D. 1030) says that, contrary to the teachings of Aristotle and his followers, *al-madjarra* is of the same height (above the earth) as the fixed stars because the moon and the planets are not influenced by it when crossing in front of it, as should happen if the Milky Way was below them, and because it shares all the peculiarities of the fixed stars as described by Ptolemy, *viz.* that it is found in their sphere and unvariably keeps the same relations in distance and shape just as the fixed stars do (al-Bīrūnī [2], iii, 992, 16-993, 1; nearly identical with this is the quotation from Barhebraeus (d. A.D. 1286) in Wiedemann [1], 671).

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(P. Kunitzsch)

MADJĀZ (A.), a term in rhetoric, means "trope" and, more generally, the use of a word

deviating from its original meaning and use, its opposite being *ḥaḳīḳa* ("veritative expression").

In Arabic literature. — The different modes of expression labelled as *madjāz* by the Arabic theorists were divided into twelve categories by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) without, however, following a consistent system of criteria (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ed. Cairo 1282, i, 171). A more refined and detailed version of this classifying system was put forward by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (*Itḳān*, ed. Calcutta 1856, 550 ff.). From the structural point of view, the *madjāz* systematology by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1221), a younger contemporary of al-Rāzī, is more satisfactory.

Al-Sakkākī offers five different binarily-divided categories of *madjāz* (*Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Cairo 1318, 154 ll.-9 ff.; in detail 155-69). The two main categories are denoted as linguistic and intellectual *madjāz* (*lughawī* and *ʿaḳlī*). The intellectual *madjāz* comprises expressions which attribute the effect of a deed not to its proper author but rather to a piece of imagery or mediate one, as is shown in the instance, "their trade did not make a good bargain" (Ḳurʾān, II, 15). The linguistic *madjāz* is either lexicographically classifiable or relates to the context. The contextual *madjāz* comprehends ellipses which, for the remaining expression, entail a modification of the syntactical status. An instance of this is given in Ḳurʾān, XII, 82 "ask the village (acc.)", whereas it should read "ask the inhabitants of the village (gen.)". The lexical tropes may be divided into those having a proper value of meaning and use and those not having it. The latter group includes the transference of generic names of parts of the body from one genus to another, as is shown in the use of "labium" for the camel's lip. The expressive *madjāz* may be used to mean either a metaphor or some kind of metonymy; it merely depends on whether there exists a comparison or some less precise connection between the actual meaning and the mode chosen to express it. An instance for the latter may be found in the use of "hand" for "benefaction", as the latter is brought about by the former.

The conceptual elements of this system date from a period anterior to al-Sakkākī, one of its most meritorious promoters being ʿAbd al-Ḳahīr al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). We owe to him the distinction between linguistic and intellectual *madjāz* (*Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, 342 ff., 376; see also his statements in *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, ed. Khafādjī, Cairo 1969, 286 ff.). The notion "inexpressive trope" is based on a classification of metaphors that goes back from al-Djurdjānī (*Asrār*, 29, ll. 5 ff., 373 ff.) to al-Ḥātimī (d. 288/998) (*al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa*, ed. Nadjm, Beirut 1965, 69 ff., 90 ff.; cf. also ISTIʿĀRA). Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) already pointed out that the metaphor constitutes the most important form of *madjāz* (*Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Ṣaḳr, 114). First attempts to classify tropical expressions were made by Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825) in his *Kitāb Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Sezgin, Cairo 8 ff., cf. J. Wansbrough, *Majāz al-qurʾān; periphrastic exegesis*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii [1970], 248-54); however, they correspond more with those of al-Rāzī than with those of al-Sakkākī.

The *madjāz* theory received its first impulse from the study of Ḳurʾānic hermeneutics, scholars being guided by the want of a correct philological interpretation of the holy text. In its beginning, *madjāz* did not mean "trope" in the proper sense of the word, but more generally denoted any turns of phrase that, from the semantic, lexicographical or syntactical point of view, were not self-evident and needed explanation. An instance of this stage of the *madjāz* theory is represented by the *Kitāb Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* by Abū ʿUbayda (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 35 ff., 48).

Parallel to the purely philological studies, research work on Ḳurʾānic hermeneutics was undertaken by theologians, whose investigations seem to have had a still greater bearing on the development of the *madjāz* theory. All theological groups, in fact, resorted to the Ḳurʾān in order to support their statements, since the text allowed quite contradictory interpretations. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. *ca.* 100/719) had already pointed out in his anti-Ḳadarī discussions that occasionally in the Ḳurʾān an effect proper to God is ascribed in its cause to a created being, and he thus anticipated the notion of *madjāz ʿaḳlī* (cf. Van Ess, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977, 105, 108 ff.). An instance of this phenomenon is given in the verses "The spring-time made the herbage come forth", the effect of bringing forth herbage not being ascribed to the Creator but to the spring [see AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN]. If credence may be given to Ibn Taymiyya, the corresponding pair of expressions *madjāz-ḥaḳīḳa* equally had its origin in theological and not in philological tradition (cf. W. Heinrichs, *Literary theory*, in *Arabic poetry, theory and development*, ed. Von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden 1973, 30, n. 50). The Muʿtazilis, for their part, took refuge in tropical interpretation in order to eliminate the anthropomorphisms of the Ḳurʾānic representation of God (cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, repr. Leiden 1952, 110 ff.). It likewise happened that in discussions with other religions, attempts were made to shift the difference from the mental to the verbal plane, thus making use of the *madjāz* theory. Ibn Ḳutayba actually thought it convenient to deprive the Christian term "Son of God" of its shockingness by taking refuge in a tropical interpretation (*Taʾwīl*, 10e, ll. 5 ff.).

It was, however, due to the theological aspects of the Ḳurʾānic *madjāz* that the question was raised how far tropical expressions might be valuable and useful. One of the major reproaches brought forward against the use of *madjāz* was that tropical language was likely to falsify the image of reality. Already Ibn Ḳutayba drew attention to this fact (*Taʾwīl*, 132 f.; see also Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 550, 11-10 ff.). It proved more rewarding, however, to tackle the positive aspects of the problem, as tropical expressions used in the Ḳurʾān were liable to express more clearly and more completely the intended meaning than would have been possible by means of a veritative expression. A number of excellent single studies relating to the above subject were brought together by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) in his *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī madjāzāt al-Ḳurʾān* (see also the statements made by Ṭabāna in *al-Bayān al-ʿarabī*, Cairo[3] 1968, 36 ff.). It thus happened that the discussion on *madjāz* was shifted into the field of interest of the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (*iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*).

Bibliography: Shorter or longer treatises on *madjāz* are to be found in all manuals and studies relating to rhetoric or the rhetorical art since the 5th/11th century, but especially in the works of the school of al-Sakkākī (see also AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN). The *madjāz* literature equally includes everything written on *istiʿāra*; see particularly W. Heinrichs, *The Hand of the northwind*, Wiesbaden 1977.

(B. REINERT)

In Persian literature. — The use of the term *madjāz* by Persian writers has always been subject to the influence of the Arabic doctrine outlined above. A distinction between more borrowing on the one hand and autonomous development on the other can in each instance only be made on the basis of extensive and chronologically differentiated data which are not yet available. For that reason, no more than a rough sketch of Persian usage can be given here and questions concerning the origin and the history of specific aspects must be left aside.

The first writer who dealt with *madjāz* as a rhetorical term was, to our knowledge, Shams-i Ḳays, a contemporary of al-Sakkākī's. He defined it as an inclusive category of figurative speech being opposed to the category of literal, "true", speech (*ḥaḳīḳat*). His definition also comprises the necessity of a common aspect (*wadjh-i ʿalāḳat*) providing a link between the figurative and the literal meanings of an expression by means of which the real intention of the speaker can be established. The most important type of *madjāz* is the metaphor (*istiʿārat*) which can be used in all kinds of speech. Another type consists of allegorical devices occurring especially in poetic descriptions such as the tenzone (*munāẓara*) in which inanimate objects or animals are introduced as speakers in an exchange of arguments (*al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. Tehran 1338/1959, 365 ff.). A much more complicated terminology is presented in the textbooks of the post-classical period, e.g. in the *Ḥadāyiḳ al-balāgha* of Mīr Shams al-Dīn Faḳīr-i Dihlawī (1141-83/1728-69), a digest of which was made by J. Garcin de Tassy (*Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1873, see esp. 40 ff. and 66 ff.). Recently, a summary of later Persian theory has been given by Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī (*Funūn al-balāghat wa ṣināʿāt-i adabī*, Tehran 1354/1975, 247 ff.). Two technical terms among the many dealt with in these surveys deserve mention here. The presence of a clue or *ḳarīna* (also called *ḳarīna-yi ṣārifa*, as it "leads" the mind the intended meaning) is required to express the relationship (*ʿalāḳat*) between a *madjāz* and the corresponding *ḥaḳīḳat*. Such a clue is either implied in the context or specifically added, e.g. in the example *shīr-i shamshīrzan* in which the adjective points to the actual meaning of "valiant warrior". If the trope is not based on a similarity of form but on abstract relationships (between a condition and the place where it manifests itself, a whole and its parts, a cause and its effects etc.) it is called *madjāz-i mursal* ("free trope", according to the interpretation of Humāʾī).

An especially Persian use, for which the authority of the early lexicographer Fakhr-i Ḳawwās (*fl.* ca. 700/1300 in India) is invoked, restricts the application of *madjāz* to metaphors based on terms which either refer to an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) or to imaginary things (*muṣawwarāt*) (cf. al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, ii, 963 f.).

In Persian grammar, a connection of one substantive to another by means of the *kasra-yi iḍāfa* is called 'figurative' (*iḍāfa-yi madjāzī*) if it reflects only an estimation (*iʿtibār*) of the speaker. This includes the *iḍāfa-yi tashbīhī* in which the particle of the *iḍāfa* denotes a comparison (*e.g. čashm-i āhū*, "an eye like that of a gazelle") and the *iḍāfa-i istiʿārī* (*e.g. tīgh-i adjal*, "the sword of death") which implies a metaphorical personification (see further, M. Muʿīn, *Iḍāfa*, Tehran 1341/1962, 140-52).

Outside rhetorics and philology, *ḥaḳīḳat* and *madjāz* have been used frequently for binary expressions in mystical terminology. Real love (*ʿishḳ-i ḥaḳīḳī*), directed towards the Eternal Beloved, has as a counterpart "figurative" love (*ʿishḳ-i madjāzī*), which concentrates on another object but only as a temporary substitute for the true goal of mystical love (see for early instances Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341/1962, 879; ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī, *Kitāb Insān al-kāmil*, Tehran-Paris 1962, 115 ff.). Similar terms were coined to indicate the distinction between as well as the interdependence of the sphere of divine existence and the present world. Expressions like *wudjūd-i madjāzī*, *hastī-i madjāzī* or *sarāy-i madjazī* reflect the view that the latter can be predicated to be in existence by way of a trope only.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article, see in general M. Muʿīn, *Farhang-i fārsī-yi mutawassiṭ*, Tehran 1345/1966, iii, s.v. *madjāz*. (J. T. P. de Bruijn)

In Turkish. — Although several neologisms, such as *addeğişimi* and *değişmede* have been proposed since 1928, this Arabic term continues to be in vogue in the sense of "trope" or "figurative language" as one of thousands of literary terms acquired from the Arabs and Persians by the Turks as they became practitioners within the Islamic literary tradition. In the process of borrowing, they also inherited much of the confusion and ambivalence that characterised the periodic definition and classification of the three divisions of the science of *balāgha* [*q.v.*]. By the end of the Middle Ages, when the Turks began to formulate their tropological utterances according to the Islamic perception of figurative language, they also accepted the assignation of *madjāz* to the "expression" (*bayān* [*q.v.*]) division of the Islamic system of rhetoric.

Until the 19th century, the Ottoman Turks did not produce any literary manuals of their own, preferring instead to refer to the standard Arabic and Persian texts or to their Turkish translations of these. This reliance on the works of their literary mentors was especially marked in the case of rhetorics, the productions of al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), Shams-i Ḳays (*fl.* 600-27/1204-30), al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1226) and al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389) [*q.vv.*] apparently amply meeting their need for reference works on this subject until the *Tanẓīmāt* period (1839-76). Thereafter, the new generation of Ottoman writers and teachers, now under strong European influence, began to create original works dealing with all aspects of literature. Reference works by literary innovators like Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] and Ekrem Bey [*q.v.*], who wrote mainly for the new schools, and the efforts of their continuators since the Republic (1923), point to an understanding of the meaning and use of the trope that is more in keeping with the syntax and morphology of the Turkish language. This activity, however, did not entirely eliminate the problems of definition and classification. Nonetheless, there is general agreement on the division of tropes into two major classes of *madjāz-i mursal* (synechdoche and variants) and *istiʿāra* (metaphor and extensions).

(1) *Madjāz-i mursal* (Mod. Tkish. *kapsamlama addeğişi*) in which the objects featured in the figurative expression have a relationship that is not described in terms of direct comparison. This type of trope is itself broken down to several variants of which the most frequently encountered are:

a. *ʿumūmiyya-khuṣūṣiyya*, the particular for the general, genus for species, etc., and vice-versa, "Every *sail* on the Marmara is flying merrily."

b. *awwaliyya*, referring to the projected state of the object, "Light the fire!"

c. *ḥāliyya-maḥalliyya*, position and locale conjuncture, "Emerging from *prayer*, they went to the *promenade area*."

d. *sababiyya-musabbabiyya*, cause and means relationship, "This *shop* has *earned* much money."

(2) *Istiʿāra* (*iğretileme*) in which the comparative elements of the relationship between objects are stressed in various degrees. There is no uniform agreement as to exact relationship and classification of these. The generally accepted two major divisions are:

a. *istiʿāra-i muṣarraḥa* (*açık iğretileme*) or explicit metaphor, in which the comparison is achieved by direct reference to an object, "Our *lions* are off to the battlefield."

b. *istiʿāra-i makniyya* (*kapalı iğretileme*) or implicit metaphor in which the comparison is achieved by reference to an attribute of an object without mentioning the object itself, "A cool stream *sang lullabies*."

Each of the above divisions is subdivided even further on the basis of other pertinent considerations affecting, or affected by, the nature of the attributive relationship between the referrer and the referred objects.

Bibliography: W. G. Andrews, Jr., *An introduction to Ottoman poetry*, Minneapolis 1976; Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha, *Balāghāt-i ʿothmāniyya*, Istanbul 1298/1881; *Edebiyat ve söz sanatı terimleri sözlüğü*, Türk Dil Kurumu, ii, 14, Istanbul 1948; Redjāʾizāde Maḥmūd Ekrem, *Taʿlīm-i edebiyyāt*, Istanbul 1299/1882; Ahmet Kabaklı, *Türk edebiyatı*, i, Istanbul 1967; M. N. Özön, *Edebiyat ve tenkid sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1954; Tâhir-ül Mevlevî, *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973.

(J. Stewart-Robinson)

MADJD AL-DAWLA, Abū Ṭālib Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī, Kahf al-Umma, ruler of the northern Būyid amīrate of Ray and Djibāl (387-420/997-1029).

When Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*] died in Shaʿbān 387/August-September 997, his young son Rustam succeeded him at the age of eight (thus according to the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh wa 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 1318/1939, 396, giving Rustam's birth-date as Rabīʿ II 379/July-August 989, and Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 69, but according to al-Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 297, and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 132, at the age of four). Actual power was exercised by his mother as regent, the redoubtable Sayyida, who was probably the sister of the Marzbān b. Rustam, ruler of Firrīm [*q.v.* in Suppl. and also bāwandids] and author of the *Marzubān-nāma* (a name apparently inverted by ʿUtbī into Rustam b. Marzbān in his account of the capture of Shahriyārkūh by Shahriyār b. Dārā in 388/998, *Yamīnī*, with comm. of Manīnī, ii, 192); and the Būyid *amīr* of ʿIrāḳ and Fars, Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was acknowledged during the latter's lifetime as supreme Būyid ruler over the confederation, with his name appearing on Madjd al-Dawla's coins.

The death of Fakhr al-Dawla and the accession of a weaker *amīr* allowed the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*] to return to his former lands in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, and he could not henceforth be dislodged by the Būyids. In 397/1006-7 Madjd al-Dawla attempted to break loose from the tutelage of his mother, but was captured by his brother Shams al-Dawla of Hamadhān and the Kurdish chief Badr b. Ḥasanūya [see ḥasanwayh] and imprisoned for a year before his release and return to Ray; and in 405/1014-5 Shams al-Dawla was able temporarily to occupy Ray.

Sayyida died in 419/1028, leaving Madjd al-Dawla totally unfitted for assuming the reins of the government after over 30 years' exclusion from the substance of power; the sources speak of his sensuality, so that his numerous wives and concubines gave him 30 children. According to Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyaḍ[1], 263, the powerful and aggressive Ghaznawid Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin had for long refrained from attacking Ray and Djibāl because he regarded the region as effectively neutralised under a feminine *de facto* ruler. Now, with Madjd al-Dawla unable to control the turbulent Daylamī soldiery in Ray and with mounting public disorder there, the helpless *amīr* unwisely appealed to the Ghaznawid sultan for help. With this ready-made pretext to hand, Maḥmūd sent westwards an army, which deposed and seized Madjd al-Dawla and subjected Ray to a frightful sacking, the grounds for this, according to Maḥmūd's *fatḥ-nāma* sent to the caliph al-Ḳādir, being the need to extirpate Muʿtazilī, Ismāʿīlī and other extremist Shīʿī heresies which had flourished in Ray under Būyid tolerance. Ray was now used as a base for Ghaznawid military operations in northwestern Persia. Madjd al-Dawla and his son Abū Dulaf were kept in honourable confinement in India and then Ghazna by Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, according to Gardīzī, with the ex-*amīr* eventually dying at Ghazna.

Madjd al-Dawla enjoyed some reputation as a patron of culture and learning, probably a reflection of the continuing heritage at Ray from the celebrated vizier the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's patronage of literature; he himself had had the privilege of having the philologist and grammarian Aḥmad b. Fāris [see ibn fāris] as his tutor.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 192 ff.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 91, 97; Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 296-300, 311; *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 38-40; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 132, 140, 203-4, 268-9, 369-72; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, ed. Browne, 390, 426-9. 2. Studies. M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 80-3, 191-2; Spuler, *Iran im frühislamischer Zeit*, 117-18; Bosworth, *The Imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids*, in *Islamic Studies, Jnal. of the Central Inst. of Islamic Research*, i/3 (Karachi 1962), 69-72 = *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 53, 85, 234; *Cambridge hist. of Iran*, iv, 176-7, 215 ff., 295-6; v, 28, 37. For Madjd al-Dawla's coins, see Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 173-6, 177-86, noting that this *amīr* bore the title *Shāhānshāh*.

(C. E. Bosworth)

MADJD al-Dīn [see hibat allāh b. muḥammad].

MADJD AL-MULK, Abu 'l-Faḍl Asʿad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī al-**BALĀSĀNĪ**, *mustawfī* or director of finances under the Saldjūḳ sultan Berk-yaruḳ [see barkyāruḳ] in the early years of his reign and then vizier (490-2/1097-9), but whose death was brought about by the great military commanders in Shawwāl 492/September 1099 on an accusation of Shīʿī sympathies, and even of Ismāʿīlī ones, which he was said to have displayed during the struggle against the rival sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Cambr. hist. of Iran*, index; C. L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate, a study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 42, 46-8, 92, 105-6; C. E. Bosworth, in *Encycl. Iranica*, s.v. *al-Balāsānī*. (CL. CAHEN)

MADJDHŪB ("the attracted one"), in Ṣūfī literature the name for the representative of a type of piety which is chiefly of a passive nature (*munfaʿil*: al-Rundī), in contradistinction to the more active (*fāʿil*) "striding one" (*sālik*), a characteristic which is expressed in numerous other pairs of opposition, like: *mudjāhada-mushāhada*, *makāsib-mawāhib*, *maḳām-ḥāl*, *murīd-murād*, *muḥibb-maḥbūb*, *mukhliṣ-mukhlaṣ*. While the *madjdhūb*, on the way to God, may abandon himself to be drawn by divine attraction (*djadhba*, *djadhb*, Persian *kashish*), the *sālik* depends on his own exertions (*kūshish*), which is, however, in the same way as the attraction, a gift (*bakhshish*) of God. Usually, mixed forms occur, as is clear from the works of Nadjm al-Dīn-i Kubrā [*q.v.*] and Nadjm al-Dīn-i Dāya, for whom the "strider" is the one who, while striding, is attracted gently, and the *madjdhūb* the one who, while striding, is attracted intensely. Others, like ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, Maḥmūd-i Kāshānī and ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, speak of a "strider who is attracted" (*sālik-i madjdhūb*) when the striding came earlier in time, and of an "attracted one who is striding" (*madjdhūb-i sālik*) when the being attracted came earlier in time. The general principle is that neither the one who is merely striding, nor the one who is merely attracted, is qualified to be a *shaykh* and to lead others on the mystical path, since the former has never arrived at his aim, while the second, as being only attracted, has never stridden along the path by himself. With regard to personal progress, it is true, the word of the Prophet holds good: "One single attraction by God is equivalent to the activity of men and *djinn*", but only the one who has personal experience of striding, its labours and dangers, is able to assist others in advancing.

In more recent literature in particular, *madjdhūb* is a frequently used extenuating and exculpating designation of eccentric ecstatics, love-maddened persons, holy fools, and despisers of the law. Occasionally, the term is also used as a nickname, like in Ibrāhīm-i Madjdhūb (7th/13th century).

Bibliography: ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, ch. x, 16-20, German tr. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden 1978; Nadjm al-Dīn-i Rāzī-i Dāya, *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. M. Amīn-i Riyāḥī, Tehran 1353, 375-6; ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, *Maḳṣad-i aḳṣā*, lith. 1353, 143-4; Maḥmūd-i Kāshānī, *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn-i Humāʾī, Tehran 1323, 108-10; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Djāmī, *Ashiʿʿat al-lamaʿāt*, 1353, 14; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, i, 686-7; ʿAbd al-Ṣamad-i Hamadānī, *Baḥr al-maʿārif*, Tabrīz 1293, 105, ll. 5 ff.; R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, ii, Wiesbaden 1976, 189-94 (where further literature is given).

(R. GRAMLICH)

AL-**MADJDHŪB**, surname of the Moroccan holy man whose complete name is Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAyyād al-Ṣanhādjī al-Faradjī al-Dukkālī. He came originally from Tīṭ, in the district of Azemmūr, but lived in Fās, where one of his disciples was in particular Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Fāsī, whose great-grandson, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [see AL-FĀSĪ, in Suppl.] left behind a work called *Ibtihādj al-ḳulūb bi-khabar al-shaykh Abi 'l-Maḥāsin wa-shaykhihi al-Madjdhūb* (extracts in ms. Rabat 522/6; see Lévi-Provençal, *Catalogue*, 252). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb died in the Gharb in 976/1569 and was buried in Meknès. He is especially famed for his gnomic poetry which took the form of quatrains in dialectal Arabic [see MALḤŪN] and which, towards the end of the 19th century, attracted the attention of H. de Castries (*Gnomes de Sîdy Abder-Rahman el-medjedoub*, Paris 1896). Basing himself on this publication and on citations in various works, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Nūr al-Dīn has had lithographed in Algiers (at the beginning of the 1950s) *al-Ḳawl al-maʾthūr min kalām al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb*, which contains 127 quatrains with a commentary in classical Arabic; they have been published, translated and commented upon by J. Scelles-Millie, *Les quatrains de Mejdoub le sarcastique (poète maghrébin du XVIe siècle)*, Paris 1966.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316, ii, 221; Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ*, lith. Fās 1316, 112-20; Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312, iii, 41; *Archives marocaines*, ii, 169-72, xvii, 376-7; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 142; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 267; see also Ostle (ed.), *Studies in mod. Ar. lit.*, 170. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MADJDJĀWĪ**, ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM, Algerian teacher and scholar, born in 1266/1848 in Tlemcen and died in 1331/1913 in Algiers.

Following the example of his father who had lived for a long time in Morocco where he had studied and taught, especially at al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*], before returning to his native city to practise there the duties of *ḳāḍī*, al-Madjdjāwī travelled to this country at a very early age. At Tangier and later at Tetouan he undertook classical studies which he completed at Fās as a pupil of distinguished *ʿulamāʾ*, including Mawlāy Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī, Muḥammad b. al-Madanī Gannūn, Ṣāliḥ al-Shawī, Aḥmad b. Sūda and Djaʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī. Returning to Algeria in 1869, in 1873 he was appointed *mudarris* at the Sīdī al-Kattānī mosque of Constantine, which he left in 1877 for the official *madrasa* of the town, where he spent more than twenty years. His very conscientious teaching was already complemented by personal scholarly work. Transferring to Algiers in 1898, he was in addition entrusted with the duties of *imām* and *khaṭīb* at the Sīdī Ramaḍān mosque. His widespread knowledge and cultured personality attracted to him the affection of numerous disciples, among whom it is appropriate to mention in particular Ḥamdān al-Wanīsī, who was to become the patron of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs, al-Mawlūd b. al-Mawhūb, a teacher at the *madrasa* and Mālikī *muftī* of Constantine, ʿAbd al-Karīm Bāsh Tarzī, Ḥanafī *muftī* of the same town, Ḥammū b. al-Darrādjī, Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* of Algiers, and Muḥammad Saʿīd Ibn Zakrī, a teacher at the *madrasa* and Mālikī *muftī* of Algiers.

A teacher by nature and by profession, al-Madjdjāwī revealed his views on educational issues in three monographs (see below). On the other hand, his tastes as well as the specialised responsibilities of the two chairs that he occupied in Constantine and Algiers led him to take an interest in the traditional disciplines of law and of religion. Deeply committed to orthodoxy, he allied himself with scholars who, in the name of the Ḳurʾān and of the Sunna, denounced superstitious practices, impious innovations (*bidaʿ*) and the popular demon-

strations encouraged by the leaders of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. He also tackled with equal confidence such varied subjects as morphology, syntax, rhetoric, astronomy, cosmography, mathematics and economics. Through his writings, al-Madjdjāwī aims to present the image of an *ʿālim* of encyclopaedic learning. To this end, he introduces into his texts numerous and lengthy quotations not only from the Ḳurʾān and from *ḥadīth*, but also from the works of jurists, philosophers, historians, poets and even of obscure writers. Faithful in this respect to scholastic method, he demands from the ancient scholars more than simple references or entertaining curiosities. His borrowings have a relevance that goes beyond words and forms; he is indebted to the Arabo-Islamic tradition which provides him with the models for life and thought, and he takes it upon himself to convey this tradition in its entirety to his contemporaries.

The corpus of al-Madjdjāwī's work comprises eighteen titles, of which the list is as follows: 1. *Irshād al-mutaʿallimīn*, Cairo n.d.; 2. *Naṣīḥat al-murīdīn*, Tunis n.d.; 3. *Sharḥ Shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, Constantine n.d.; 4. *Sharḥ manẓūmat Ibn Ghāzī fi 'l-tawḳīt*, Constantine n.d.; 5. *Sharḥ al-Madjdjāwī ʿalā manẓūmat Muḥammad al-Madjrād* (*sic*) *al-Slāwī*, Constantine 1878; 6. *Sharḥ al-Lāmiyya al-mudjradiyya fi 'l-djummal*, ʿAnnāba 1894; 7. *Sharḥ ḳaṣīdat Muḥammad al-Manzilī al-Tūnisī*, Algiers n.d.; 8. *Nuzhat al-ṭarf fi 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-ṣarf*, Algiers n.d.; 9. *Kitāb al-ifāda li-man yaṭlub al-istifāda*, Algiers 1901; 10. *al-Farīda al-saniyya fi 'l-aʿmāl al-djībiyya*, Algiers 1903; 11. *al-Mirṣād fī masāʾil al-iḳtiṣād*, in collaboration with ʿUmar Brihmāt, Algiers 1904; 12. *al-Iḳtiṣād al-siyāsī*, Algiers n.d.; 13. *Sharḥ al-djumal al-naḥwiyya*, Algiers n.d.; 14. *al-Durar al-naḥwiyya ʿalā 'l-manẓūmat al-shabrāwiyya*, Algiers 19(?); 15. *Risāla fī masāʾil al-kasb wa 'l-ikhtiyār*, Algiers n.d.; 16. *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fi 'l-djabr wa 'l-ikhtiyār*, Algiers n.d.; 17. *al-Kawāʿid al-kalāmiyya*, Algiers 1910; 18. *al-Lumaʿ ʿalā naẓm al-bidaʿ*, Algiers 1912.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥafnāwī, *K. Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, ii, Algiers 1909, 449-50; Maḥmūd Kaḥḥūl, *al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Madjdjāwī*, in *al-Taḳwīm al-djazāʾirī*, 1st year (Algiers 1911), 105-7; Saʿd al-Dīn Ibn Abī Shanab, *al-Nahḍa al-ʿarabiyya bi 'l-Djazāʾir fi 'l-niṣf al-awwal min al-ḳarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar li 'l-hidjra*, in *Djāmiʿat al-Djazāʾir, Kulliyyat al-ādāb*, i (1964), 50-2; Anwar al-Djundī, *al-Fikr wa 'l-thaḳāfa al-muʿāṣira fi shimāl Ifrīḳiya*, Cairo 1965, 225; Muḥammad ʿAlī Dabbūz, *Nahḍat al-Djazāʾir al-ḥadītha, al-maṭbaʿa al-taʿāwuniyya*, i, 1965, 82; Ch. R. Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871-1919)*, Paris 1978, ii, 914 n. 8; J. Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, Paris 1975, 97; J. Berque, *L'intérieur du Maghreb, XVe-XIXe siècle*, Paris 1978, Ageron, *Hist. de l'Algérie contemporaine*, ii, Paris 1979, 181; R. Bencheneb, *Le séjour du šayḫ ʿAbduh en Algérie (1903)*, in *SI*, liii (1981), 127.

(R. BENCHENEB)

MĀDJID B. SAʿĪD, Sultan of Zanzibar, 1856-70, was born *ca.* 1835, the sixth of his father's twenty-seven known sons, and of an Ethiopian mother. He married a kinswoman, Asha, and had one child only, Khamfura.

When his father, Sayyid Saʿīd, left Zanzibar for Masḳaṭ for the last time on 16 April 1854, he had appointed his second son, Khālid, as governor and successor in the event of his death. Khālid died in November 1854, and shortly afterwards orders came from Masḳaṭ appointing Mādjid in his stead, thereby passing over three older brothers, Thuwaynī (later Sulṭān of ʿUmān), Muḥammad (Governor of Sumayl), and Turkī (also later Sulṭān of ʿUmān). At this time Mādjid was about twenty-one years old, and from childhood had suffered from a mild form of epilepsy, which at times handicapped him as *sulṭān*. Shortly after his appointment as governor, he was approached to denounce his father's treaties and edicts against the slave trade, but firmly declined. His sister Salma says that during his regency he "contrived to gain the goodwill of all by his kind and gentle manners". At the beginning of his reign, the real power behind the throne was the British consul, Atkins Hamerton, and his death in July 1857 was a severe blow to Mādjid. Fearing assassination, he took refuge on one of his warships, returning to the palace only after the arrival of Hamerton's successor, Rigby, on 28 July 1858. Very shortly after, Saʿīd's third son, Thuwaynī, who had been designated *sulṭān* in ʿUmān by his father, attempted to gain control of his father's African dominions by sending an armed expedition. It was turned back at sea by a British man-of-war. Next, a plot was uncovered to dethrone Mādjid and to replace him by his brother, Barghash. In October 1859 Mādjid ordered him to leave Zanzibar for Masḳaṭ; but, after being placed under house arrest, he managed to escape to a country palace known as Marseilles, where armed slaves and Arabs of the al-Ḥarthī tribe rallied to his support. Mādjid then invoked the assistance of the British Navy. The palace was bombarded, and Barghash fled back to Zanzibar, whence he was deported to Bombay.

In Masḳaṭ, Thuwaynī still insisted that his father's eastern African possessions were part of his heritage. He was able with justice to claim that for many years the government of ʿUmān had been sustained by revenues collected from Zanzibar. Mādjid therefore agreed to an annual payment to Thuwaynī of 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers *ex gratia*, but Thuwaynī construed this as tribute. After Thuwaynī's abortive expedition of 1858, Mādjid discontinued payment, denying any question of tribute. Eventually the dispute was submitted to the arbitration of Lord Canning, Viceroy of India. His award stated that Mādjid should be recognised as lawful successor to his father's African possessions; and that the ruler of Zanzibar should pay to the ruler of ʿUmān an annual subsidy of 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers. He further stipulated that this payment should not in any way be construed to imply the dependence of Zanzibar upon ʿUmān. The settlement and the independence of the two sovereigns was recognised by an Anglo-French Declaration on 13 March 1862. Mādjid paid the annual subsidy until 1866, when Thuwaynī was murdered by his son Sālim, declining thereafter to pay the subsidy to a parricide. For two years Mādjid remitted the annual payment to Bombay under protest, but this he refused to do after Sālim's deposition by his kinsman ʿAzzan in 1868.

Weak and procrastinating, Mādjid was greatly under the influence of a certain Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, one of his ministers whom Mādjid's sister Salma describes as a dandy and a libertine. Rigby and his successors had great difficulty in persuading Mādjid to control the so-called "northern" Arabs, Arabs from the small principalities of the Gulf, who were determined to evade the treaties against the slave trade. A trade treaty was signed with the Hanse towns in 1859, and German trade was soon second

only to that with British India. It was through this connection that Mādjid's sister Salma succeeded in making contact with one of the employees of the German consulate, Heinrich Ruete, whom she subsequently married. In 1861 Mādjid led an expedition to reassert his authority in Pate, which had rebelled; but he failed in 1866 when there was a similar, but more determined, rebellion in Witu.

Mādjid's decision that led to the foundation of Dar es Salaam, the present capital of Tanzania on the mainland, taken in 1862, has been obscured by differing claims. The French claim that the idea was initiated by the French consul is surely exaggerated. The British claim, originated by (Sir John) Kirk, is that Mādjid thought of it as "a place to retire to when consuls trouble him or when he is kicked out of the island". These seem to leave out of account the facts that Arab, Indian and Swahili traders were increasing in number of the mainland, and that the harbour of Dar es Salaam in its landlocked bay was far more convenient than the open roadsteads then in use at Bagamoyo and Mboamaji. Building seems to have begun only in 1865-6, and included a palace for the *sulṭān*, parts of which still stand. Here, in September 1867, Mādjid gave a "dinner in the European manner" for the American, British, French and German consuls, apparently by way of a formal inauguration.

There are several descriptions of Mādjid, notably by Richard Burton and Fr. Horner. He had a light complexion and pleasing manners, and generally resembled his distinguished father. He sat to hear causes and complaints three times a day, in a long, bare reception hall paved with black and white marble from Marseilles, and with some dingy chandeliers and "three rows of common wooded-bottomed chairs". There were French clocks and bureaux, cheap prints, gaudy china and shabby artificial flowers. The *sulṭān*, nevertheless, took great interest, as his father had so broadmindedly done, in both explorers and missionaries. A learned ornament of the court who attracted even Burton's respect for his learning was the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳaḥṭānī.

Mādjid died in 1870, and was succeeded by his brother Barghash [*q.v.*].

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

AL-**MADJISṬĪ** [see baṭlamiyūs].

MADJLIS (a.), a noun of place from the verb *djalasa* "to sit down" and, by extension, "to sit", "to hold a session"; starting from the original meaning of "a place where one sits down, where one stays", thence "a seat" (J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, index), the semantic field of *madjlis* is of very wide extent (see the dictionaries of Lane, Dozy, Blachère, etc.). Among the principal derivative meanings are "a meeting place", "meeting, assembly" (cf. Ḳurʾān, LXVIII, 12/11), "a reception hall (of a caliph, high dignitary or other personage)" and "a session which is held there", "a hall in which a professor's courses are given or a judge's sentences delivered" (hence "praetorium, tribunal"), or further where the debates of an assembly take place (hence "council").

1. In social and cultural life
2. In Ismāʿīlī usage
3. In Indian Shīʿī usage
4. In the sense of representative institutions
   A. In the Middle East and North Africa
   B. In Afghānistān
   C. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

1. In Social and Cultural Life

From the pre-Islamic period, *madjlis* designated an "assembly or council of the tribe's notables" [see badw, III, c] and this institution is still alive (see e.g. J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971, 55), sometimes under another name [see djamāʿa; below, 4. B. In Afghānistān; djirga in Suppl.]. In various states of the Middle Ages, an elaborate governmental structure contained a series of *madjālis*, councils given precise powers (see notably al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, index, 421-3). This usage plainly justifies the adoption of this term to designate in the contemporary age any council (*madjlis al-baladiyya* "municipal council", *m. al-wuzarāʾ* "council of ministers", etc.), an elected assembly (*m. taʾsīsī* "constituent assembly"), a chamber of deputies (*m. al-nuwwāb*), a senate (*m. al-shuyūkh* or *al-aʿyān*), etc. The historical account of the legislative assemblies and parliaments in the Muslim countries will be the subject of section 4 below, and the present notice will be limited to a brief survey of the *madjālis* which played a rôle in the social, religious and intellectual life of the Muslims of the Middle Ages.

The first to be considered is that of the sovereign who dedicated part of his activity to "public or private meetings (*majlis*, pl. *majālis*), where political and judicial decisions were adopted, plaintiffs, panegyrists and other visitors gathered, and questions of literature or law were debated—for this was also regarded as a normal function of the head of state" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 37). These sessions followed a ceremonial which varied according to the dynasties and the character of the monarchs.

The etiquette of the court under the Umayyads is not well-known, and it is not known exactly what respective place was occupied by the representatives of the different social classes regularly admitted to the caliph's *madjlis*. For the ʿAbbāsid period, we possess a manual falsely attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ, the *Kitāb al-Tādj* (ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, Cairo 1914; French tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le Livre de la couronne*, Paris 1954; cf. F. Gabrieli, *Etichetta di corte e costumi Sasanidi nel* Kitāb aḫlāq al-mulūk *di al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *RSO*, xiii/3 [1932], 197-247), which sets forth, mainly for the people and part of the aristocracy unfamiliar with the customs, the rules of royal protocol of the Sāsānid court which it was proper to adopt, and supplies us with information derived from Islamic history only on the entertainment

sessions. For the Fāṭimids (see M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin*, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 355-420), the information is more detailed. The caliph habitually held a public audience on Mondays and Thursdays each week and sat on a golden throne separated from these attending by a grill (*shubbāk*) and a curtain (*sitr*) which was raised after he was seated. Among the title-bearers with public and private functions who had their places, according to their rank, in the reception hall, there must be noted the presence of a *ṣāḥib al-madjlis*, a high-ranking eunuch entrusted with organising the session and advising the dignitaries as soon as the caliph had taken his place on his throne (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-8; cf. B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York, etc. 1974, i, 201-8). We also possess some information on the status of the people admitted into the audience chamber: for Muslim Spain, e.g., it consisted of elements constituting the *khāṣṣa* [see AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-ʿĀMMA]; for Tunisia in the time of the Ḥafṣids, see R. Brunschvig, *op. laud.*, ii, 28-9.

In these public audiences, plaintiffs and petitioners were present, but poets and scholars who were admitted to the ruler's presence also participated, and for those who solicited the same honour it was an occasion to be introduced to this privileged circle by the mediation of someone already established at court, to recite a panegyric and receive an immediate reward.

The crowning of this process was well on the way when the ambitious man was retained at the royal table after the public audience or at another time of the day. The majority of caliphs actually were accustomed to surrounding themselves with a group of *nudamāʾ* (pl. of *nadīm*), companions who had in theory to respect quite strict rules, of which one can gain an idea from the *Kitāb al-Tādj* (11-20, tr. 39-48) and to possess a certain number of qualities and kinds of knowledge that al-Masʿūdī detailed in his *Akhbar al-zamān* (see *Murūdj*, viii, 103-4 = §§ 3229-30).

A long account will not be given here of the entertainment evenings which many of the Muslim rulers organised regularly and in the course of which they gave themselves up to "pleasure" or *ṭarab* provoked by the music, singing and drinking. The *Kitāb al-Tādj* (31-9, tr. 59-66) enumerates those who, surrounded by women slaves and eunuchs, hid themselves behind a screen and those who showed themselves shamelessly to their familiars and to the musicians and singers; among the latter, al-Rashīd is said to have been the first to follow the example of the Sāsānids and establish divisions. This work makes no allusion to the presence of poets and story-tellers in these sessions, which were evidently distinguished from the meals of which al-Masʿūdī speaks and during which a certain dignity surely reigned. As R. Blachère says with reference to Sayf al-Dawla (*Motanabbî*, 130), during intimate meetings known as *madjālis al-uns*, "the cups were passed round, the social barriers fell, giving way to a semi-intimacy where protector and protégés treated one another with simplicity, at times even with familiarity", without too much casualness, it seems. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 102 = § 3229) supplies some details on the conversations held in the *madjlis* of al-Muʿtamid and mentions that their proceedings were recorded in writing; poetry occupied an important place there, as al-Ṣūlī confirms, who, describing a meeting of this kind around al-Rāḍī (see *Akhbâr ar-Râdî billâh wa'l-Muttaqî billâh*, French tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946, i, 60 ff.), indicates the place of each of the guests designated by name, cites the subjects approached and reproduces the verses recited on this occasion.

This is not the place to dwell on the rôle of poetry considered as an instrument of government and propaganda by some monarchs, always inclined to make use of the eulogies which were presented to them by versifiers of talent. Often skilled in stirring up rivalries, the caliph would put into competition poets, story-tellers, grammarians or *fuḳahāʾ*, to rejoice in the victory of some and sneer at the discomforture of others. The ruler's *madjlis* also became a circle which J. E. Bencheikh (*Les voies d'une création. Essai sur la poésie arabe à Bagdad dans la première moitié du III*ᵉ*/IX*ᵉ *siècle*, thesis Paris 1971, 130; idem, *Poétique arabe*, Paris 1975, 22 ff.; idem, *Le cénacle poétique du Calife al-Mutawakkil* ..., in *BEt.O*, xxix [1977], 33-52) describes as "a court of legitimation", adding that "the creator confronts there a well-informed prince, formidable men of learning, uncharitable colleagues; in short, criticism is made immediately and pronounced without appeal. On the other hand, it plays a basic role in the diffusion of masterpieces: the scholars comment on them, the musicians are inspired by them, the listeners spread their renown". These general considerations inspired by the study of a limited period of the history of poetry in Baghdad are perfectly applicable to the majority of courts of Muslim sovereigns who were friends of letters and the arts to any extent and concerned about their reputation as patrons.

In addition, before even the dismemberment of the ʿAbbāsid empire was accomplished, parallel to the caliph's *madjlis*, there were some literary groups directed by provincial governors and high dignitaries who had it at heart to gather around them, to ensure their prestige, poets and scholars frequently attracted by ethnic or politico-religious affinities, but also for basely material reasons, for the isolated man of letters or scholar could only live sparsely, if he were without fortune; in any case, if he were not particularly ambitious, he had to appeal to a patron, who, in default of the caliph, he could find in the provinces, then at the court of the dynasts who flourished from one end to the other of the Muslim world.

This necessity was undoubtedly prejudicial not only to the quality of the work at least of the poets, but also to their dignity, for they could not help but compromise themselves, to obey the tastes of the patrons and their entourage, and to adopt at times a politico-religious attitude contrary to their own convictions. In any case, the study of patronage in the history of Arabo-Islamic civilisation (which remains to be undertaken, for it has only been so far sketched out, e.g. by R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 544-51) would be really instructive; based on the literary groups and salons in evidence from the Middle Ages to our own days, it would provide a global idea of the influence that the latter exercised on the evolution of literature.

In a society where, as R. Blachère (*Motanabbî*, 130) writes "the life of the salon occupied an important place, no-one could aspire to public admiration, if he were not also a man of the world, an agreable conversationalist with a lively mind and prompt at repartee, skilled in creating situations which he could turn to his advantage". These remarks, valid for the *madjālis* of kings and princes, hold

good for those who, at an inferior social level, stayed simply in the home of well-to-do poets and writers and even in the shops of merchants who practised in their own way a form of patronage. So some *madjālis* were and still are constituted which are real literary salons, where good speech is honoured and extemporisation reigns.

When the person who "held session" was a professor, his *madjlis*, which could possibly be transformed into a côterie, was the place (mosque, *madrasa*, personal home, etc.) where he dispensed his teaching; the same term designated the whole body of his audience, the session during which he dictated his course and, finally, the course itself; his lessons, once recorded by his pupils, were "published" most often under the heading *amālī* "dictations" [see TADRĪS], but also at times *madjālis* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 83-5); one of the most famous works of this category is the *Kitāb al-Madjālis* or *al-Amālī* of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

2. IN ISMĀʿĪLĪ USAGE.

Here, *madjlis* referred to a formal session of religious instruction, the place of it, and also to the lecture or sermon read in it by a *dāʿī* [*q.v.*] to the faithful. These lectures were known more properly as wisdom sessions (*madjālis al-ḥikma*). In the Fāṭimid age, their preparation and delivery twice weekly was the official duty of the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*. Outside the capital Cairo, they were read by his deputies (*nuwwāb*). The sessions were the occasion for the payment of a religious duty known as "the [fee for] confidential discourse (*nadjwā*)". According to al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* prepared the lectures, submitted them to the caliph for approval, and then read them separately to various groups of different sex, social and religious rank. Describing later Fāṭimid practice, Ibn al-Ṭuwayr states that they were drafted by the chief assistants (*nuḳabāʾ*) of the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* employed in the Dār al-Ḥikma and read by him, if possible, to the caliph who would affix his mark of ratification (*ʿalāma*) to the text. Collections of such lectures are extant, like the *Taʾwīl daʿāʾim al-Islām* of Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the *Madjālis Mustanṣiriyya*, of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Wahb al-Mālīdjī (wrongly ascribed to Badr al-Djamālī), and the *Madjālis Muʾayyadiyya*, containing 800 lectures of al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1077; see on this work, Brockelmann, S I, 326). On the other hand, the *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* of the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) is a kind of account of sessions held with the caliph al-Muʿizz (ed. Ḥ. al-Faḳī, I. Shabbūḥ and M. al-Yaʿlāwī, Tunis 1978). In the post-Fāṭimid age, the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* assumed the teaching function of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, and collections of *madjālis* of some of them have also been preserved.

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3. IN INDIAN SHĪʿĪ USAGE.

This term is especially used in the Indian subcontinent for the Shīʿī mourning assemblies held during Muḥarram to commemorate the tragedy of Karbalāʾ. These assemblies are organised in private homes or, more properly, in the *imām-bārās* [*q.v.*], where miniature replicas of al-Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalāʾ, made out of paper or other material, are kept throughout the year. The *madjlis*, though dating back to earlier times, acquired real prominence in the 12th/18th century with the impetus given to it by the *Nawwābs* of Awadh or Oudh (1722-1856). Under these rulers, Lakhnaw [*q.v.*] or Lucknow, which was the seat of administration, became the undisputed centre of Shīʿī culture in India and a place where the *madjlis* found its full development. Since then, the *madjlis* has retained much of its traditional character. The central theme of the ceremony is the recital, in prose or verse, of the events connected with the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn, followed by lamentations and the beating of the breast, in which the whole assembly takes part. The service ends with the distribution of sherbet, sweets or food to all those present in the *madjlis*. An important outcome of the institution was the emergence of individuals performing distinct functions in the *madjlis* proceedings. As related by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar, these included the *ḥadīth-khwāns* (*ḥadīth* reciters), recounting the virtues of the Prophet's family; the *wāḳiʿa-khwāns* (narrators of anecdotes), describing the misfortunes of those martyred at Karbalāʾ; the *marthiya-khwāns* (reciters of elegies), whose poetic narration of the events was accompanied by gesticulations and facial expressions; and the *sūz-khwāns* (singers of dirges), who were accomplished musicians. Among these various activities, the singing of dirges, in particular, enjoyed much popular appeal, despite its disapproval by the religious leaders. In its literary role, the *madjlis* contributed to the development of the *marthiya* in Urdu, as illustrated by Anīs (1802-74) and Dabīr (1803-75), the recognised masters of that genre [see MARTHIYA, 4. In Urdu].

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4. IN THE SENSE OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

A. In the Middle East and North Africa

The terms *Madjlis* (Arabic), and *Medjlis* (Ottoman Turkish), *Meclis* (Modern Turkish) and *Madjles* (Persian), meaning "Parliament", appear in various word-combinations as indicated below. In Arabic, the synonym *Barlamān* (borrowed from the French) has also been in frequent use, as has *Pārlāmentō* in Ottoman Turkish (from the Italian), *Parlâmento* in modern Turkish (mostly used for parliaments outside Turkey) or *Pārlemān* in modern Persian (from French). *Madjlis* (usually in *Madjlis al-nuwwāb*, or *Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) assumed this connotation in the 19th century, as the concept of parliamentarism became widespread, thanks to the impact of Western influence on the Middle East, without, at least initially, implying parliamentary government. While it is not certain when the term was first used in this sense, its first official use appears to have been in 1866, with the promulgation of Khedive Ismāʿīl's *Ḥudūd wa-niẓām-nāmat madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb al-miṣriyya* of Radjab 1283 (see below, under (xvi) *Egypt*).

The following article attempts to outline and evaluate the advent and fate of parliamentarism in the Ottoman Empire, Republican Turkey, Iran, Arab states and Middle Eastern countries with Muslim

minorities, such as Israel and Cyprus. In certain countries, parliamentary bodies were convened in response to growing demands for political participation by individuals or groups impressed by Western patterns of democratic government, who hoped to use such bodies as national instruments for obtaining (or preserving) independence, overall progress and especially for curbing absolutism. The above were established by local rulers, usually in response to popular demands. Sometimes, they were established by the local ruler on his own initiative, originally in an advisory capacity only; in this latter case, these bodies eventually showed greater political awareness and demanded more than anticipated. During the colonial period, especially in Arab areas under British and French control after the First World War, parliamentary institutions were set up by the foreign Power. Elsewhere, as in Iran and Turkey, they were established by independent régimes, generally during the first half of the 20th century. On the whole, the latter proved to be more durable than the former. However, when adapted to the social, economic and political realities of the country, all such parliaments did continue to function, even those which were colonial creations, as in Lebanon or the Maghrib.

Parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa, whether dating from the colonial or independent era, in general were modelled on Western patterns and functioned with varying degrees of effectiveness, especially during the first half of the 20th century. Most parliaments in Arab states were considered mainly consultative bodies by the government. In recent years, under the new, revolutionary, highly centralised régimes they have lost much of their effectiveness (after having been challenged by Islamists and right- and left-wing groups). In many cases, party competition has all but disappeared and the role of parliament (if at all extant) in the initiation of legislation and public policy-making has diminished, as have its representational attributes. In reality, parliaments in Iran and most Arab states—eagerly hailed by nationalist movements both as symbols of emancipation and desirable vehicles for political expression—had failed, largely because of their inability to resolve or even regulate the sharp conflicts rooted in socio-economic, ethnic and political differences. Such parliaments had indeed identified with the status quo forces. On the other hand, that of Turkey, with a longer parliamentary tradition, has maintained its importance to date (1978).

In summary, parliamentary institutions in each of the countries discussed below have reflected the local political culture of the time. Their impact on national affairs, however, has been merely marginal in most cases, as parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa (Turkey and Israel excepted) have rarely provided political leadership, except through legislation. Their probable main function has been to *legitimise* the new states, *moderate* internal conflict by allowing argument and *integrate* diverse elements. Most Middle Eastern parliaments have succeeded only partially in carrying out these functions, especially the last one.

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(i) *The Ottoman empire*

The first Ottoman parliament was inaugurated in 1877, although local parliamentary institutions had occasionally convened prior to that time in certain parts of the Empire, such as Egypt (see below). Earlier, in 1845, a General Assembly, or *Medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, was convened in Istanbul by ʿAbd al-Medjīd, seating one Muslim and one Christian from each province. It met for two months, concerning itself with improvement of local matters. However, it could hardly be considered as more than a mere forerunner of a genuine parliament. Ottoman reformists ("The Young Ottomans"), had indeed discussed the principle of representation, especially since the mid-nineteenth century; many thought of it as a cure for the Empire's ills.

The First Ottoman Parliament. Convocation of a parliament was one of the stipulations of the 1876 Constitution, granted by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] at the instance of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and his supporters. The Sultan convened a parliament for two principal reasons: firstly, Ottoman reformists and liberals were firmly convinced that a Western-style parliament, anchored in a written constitution, was essential for curtailing absolutism and propelling the Empire on the road to its salvation; secondly, representatives of the European Powers, then meeting in the Constantinople Conference, would thus be impressed with the Ottoman Government's earnest desire to rule more democratically and guarantee individual freedoms more effectively.

The 1876 Constitution stipulated that parliament, or *Medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, would comprise an elected Chamber of Delegates, *Medjlis-i mebʿūt̲h̲ān* and an appointed Senate, literally a Chamber of Notables, *Medjlis-i aʿyān*. The former Chamber, although intended to play the major role, was nevertheless limited chiefly to debating, since initiation of legislation was to be a prerogative of the Ministers who were not responsible to the *Medjlis*; also, a Member of the Chamber of Delegates could initiate a bill only via the Grand Vizier's office, which then forwarded it for the Sultan's approval, while the Sultan retained the right of veto. Voting on the budget was the sole meaningful task of the Chamber of Delegates, and even this could be circumvented. Consequently, the Chamber's real importance was not in its powers, but rather, in its very establishment as a debating forum rendering it a possible restraint on despotism.

According to an *irāde* dated 28 October 1876 (the draft of the electoral law was promulgated only in 1908), elections for the Chamber of Delegates commenced in December 1876 and continued throughout the Empire for several weeks—with the noteworthy exception of Egypt, Tunisia, Montenegro and Serbia (these had special international status and were consequently excused) and of Mount Lebanon (where the Maronites and Druzes refused to vote, lest it affect their special status). In theory, every 50,000 male Ottoman subjects were to elect one delegate. In practice, members of various administrative councils wrote in the delegates of their choice on the ballots, Muslims and non-Muslims alike (although the latter were subject to a quota). All ballots were checked at the provincial governor's office by a public committee headed by the governor himself; they were then counted and despatched to Istanbul for verification. Elections in the capital itself followed a slightly different procedure.

The *irāde* stipulated that the Chamber of Delegates comprise 130 Members. However, only 119 were elected and attended the first session; in the second, which commenced in December 1877—after new elections had been held—there were 113 delegates, including 55 who had attended the first session as well. All sessions convened in Istanbul, where the Chamber—along with an appointed Senate of 31 (4 others were appointed subsequently)—met from 19 March 1877 until 13 February 1878, when the Sultan dissolved parliament. It appears that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II considered reconvening it, but then changed his mind; Parliament was not to convene again until 1908.

Senate meetings were closed to the public and little is known of them (other than that it debated several bills passed by the Chamber); sessions of the Chamber of Delegates were open, however. These dealt with foreign demands on Ottoman territory and subsequently with the Turco-Russian War—all with patriotic spirit They discussed bills presented by

Ministers, passing a number of them with certain changes. Most significant were the Provincial Administration Law, the Municipalities Law and the Electoral Law for the Chamber. They debated finances (e g. they sharply criticised the Baghdād Railway concession) and made some pertinent observations thereupon to the Ministers. Their most noteworthy contribution, however, was most likely the constant stream of criticism of the Government's handling of the war, bureaucratic mismanagement and administrative corruption. These manifestations of an independent stand received coverage in the local press, which commented approvingly on their lively character.

Many Members of the Chamber of Delegates were former government officials, including several members of the administrative councils supervising the elections. Socially, most seem to have been of the middle and upper middle classes, hence their interest in administrative reform and their conservative approach to most socio-economic issues. On the religious and ethnic levels, they were much more of a mixed gathering. In the first session, there were 71 Muslims, 44 Christians and 4 Jews; in the second 64 Muslims, 43 Christians and 6 Jews. They belonged to various ethnic groups throughout the Empire: a contemporary observer counted ten: Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgars, Albanians, Bosnians, Vlachs and Jews. There was an even greater diversity of languages, though Turkish was the official language of proceedings. Rich and poor, educated and uneducated, they were not unrepresentative of the Empire's overall population. Despite their disparate character, they succeeded in cooperating and in publicising personal, local and national grievances to such an extent that the Sultan was prompted to send them home.

Parliaments in the Second Constitutional Period. The 1876 Constitution was reinstated (it had never been officially abrogated) in August 1908, after the Young Turk Revolution; parliament was thus revived. The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] and other groups sought to assert themselves—and limit the Sultan's powers—via the Chamber. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II re-inaugurated parliament in Constantinople on 17 December 1908; it functioned until April 1920, when the last Ottoman parliament was dissolved.

Elections were held according to an electoral law which modified the *irāde* of 28 October 1876 but retained the limited franchise and voting through administrative councils. The CUP was in conflict with other groups in the Chamber, which opposed it on either ideological or ethnic grounds (Greek members, for example). Still, it generally held an uneasy majority, useful during the historical meeting of Chamber and Senate, sitting as a single National Assembly (22 April 1909) which decided to depose ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II after his counter-revolution had failed. This was one of the high points in the annals of parliaments of the Second Constitutional Period. A partial result of this decision was the debate and subsequent passage of various amendments to the 1876 Constitution, rendering the Chamber an important component of the state. Concurrently, the once unconditional sovereignty of the Sultans was restricted; their prerogative to appoint Ministers and nominate others to high office became the right of parliament or the cabinet. Even the cabinet itself was made responsible, and to some extent subservient, to parliament.

During its early years, the Chamber debated and passed numerous laws, chiefly of a financial, administrative, or judicial character (list and summaries may be found in Sarrou—see Bibliography); during the First World War, several laws of military significance were considered. However, the CUP itself, in firm executive control, strove to curtail the powers of parliament, achieving only limited results. The CUP enjoyed more success in passing legislation in the Chamber from 1909 onwards. It was generally aimed at centralising the Empire's administration and strengthening their own position at its head. Examples are the Laws of: Vagabondage and Suspected Persons; Public Meetings; the Press and Printing; Associations; and the Prevention of Brigandage and Sedition. These were intended to curb individual as well as public opposition and to limit the freedom of the press. Such measures did not pass without determined opposition; the Chamber included a group which resisted these restrictions, along with the limitation of the Chamber's powers in favour of the Sultan, whom the CUP manipulated. In April 1912, new elections were held with the CUP obtaining strong support, reportedly by pressure and bribery. Yet another Chamber was inaugurated in May 1914, which prolonged its tenure in April 1918 (by amending the Constitution), after its four-year term had ended. However, in December 1918, Meḥemmed VI dissolved parliament. Elections were held a year later; the new Chamber convened on 12 January 1920, adjourned itself in March and was dissolved on 11 April 1920. It convened briefly, again, in March 1921; however, for all practical purposes, the sessions of parliament in Istanbul had come to an end.

The composition of parliament during the Second Constitutional Period was no less heterogeneous than in 1877-8. The nationalism of the Young Turk leaders had a market ethnocentric tenor, bolstered to a degree by their Islamic policy. Consequently, increasing preference was shown to Turks and Arabs in the elections, although the Turks, a minority in the Empire, constantly maintained an absolute majority in the Madjlis. The CUP was suspicious of Arab and Armenian nationalism, on the one hand, and impatient with Greek and Albanian criticism within the Chamber, on the other. The following table (from Feroz Ahmad—see Bibliography) demonstrates this trend.

Bibliography: For the reconstructed records

Ethnic Representation in the Ottoman Chambers during the Second Constitutional Period

Year	Turks	Arabs	Albanians	Greeks	Armenians	Slavs	Jews	Total
1908	147	60	27	26	14	10	4	288
1912	157	68	18	15	13	9	4	284
1914	144	84	—	13	14	—	4	259

of the 1877 Chamber's proceedings, see Hakkı Tarık Us, ed., *Meclis-i mebʿusan 1293-1877 zabıt ceridesi*, Istanbul 1939-54, i-ii. The verbatim records of the Young Turk parliaments were printed in *Taḳwīm-i Veḳāyiʿ* and distributed by the *Medjlis-i mebʿūthān*. A register of all the meetings of the Young Turk parliaments, the laws discussed and their contents, and their approval or rejection, with dates, was published regularly as *Medjlis-i mebʿūthānīñ . . . idjtimāʿīndaki khulāṣa-yi mesāʿīsīnī we teshkīlātīnī mübeyyin defterdir* (Istanbul). A parallel publication summed up the Senate debates. The laws passed are available in *Meclis-i tanzimat defterleri*, in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul; cf. S. J. Shaw, in *IJMES*, vi (1975), 99. The Public Record Office, London, under FO 198/93, has a collection of documents relating to the Young Turk parliaments 1908-14, several with English translations. 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(ii) *Turkey*.

Turkey's Grand National Assembly (GNA), or *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, forged during Turkey's War of Independence, was soon given a legal basis; attention to legality has, in fact, characterised this body throughout its existence. Mustafa Kemal and his advisers were careful to maintain legal continuity: When the GNA opened as a Constituent Assembly in Ankara, on 23 April 1920, twelve days after the Chamber in Istanbul had been dissolved (see *Ottoman empire*, above), it comprised no fewer than 92 Members of the dissolved Chamber, including its erstwhile president (who now became vice-president of the GNA). Nevertheless, the GNA may be considered as a distinctly new institution. As early as 20 January 1921, the GNA adopted a provisional constitution for Turkey, entitled *The Law of Fundamental Organisations*, which vested all legislative authority and executive power in the GNA and charged it with governing the state.

The amendment of 29 October 1923 declaring Turkey a republic and the 1924 Constitution institutionalised the above in a more detailed manner. All powers were centred in the unicameral GNA which was to be elected by universal male suffrage. The GNA would elect the President of the Republic, who in turn, would appoint the Prime Minister. The GNA reserved the right to approve the latter and his Cabinet, all of whom were responsible to it. The size of

the GNA remained fluid, adjustable to population fluctuations. Until 1945, the GNA housed (with brief exceptions) a single party, the People's Party (later renamed the Republican People's Party [see DJÜMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ FİRḲASİ]; several experiments with including additional parties were short-lived. During the post-1945 era, several parties have vied for power in the GNA.

The 1961 Constitution (passed by a Constituent Assembly convened after the military intervention of 27 May 1960 and subsequently approved by a popular referendum on 9 July 1961) greatly resembled that of 1924, with certain modifications concerning the GNA. It became a bicameral body comprising a National Assembly (*Millet Meclisi*) of 450 members, elected for a maximum term of four years and a Senate (*Senato*) of 150 members elected for six years (with one-third renewed every two years). This Senate included 22 of the ex-officers who had engineered the 1960 intervention (and became Senators for life), another 15 appointed by the State President, as well as all surviving former State Presidents. The National Assembly was the more important body of the two, as Cabinets had to obtain its vote of confidence; in addition, it had the right to initiate and support legislation in the event of a dispute with the Senate. The powers of parliament and the cabinet were considerable; however, a Constitutional Court, established at that time, was able to rule on the constitutionality of parliamentary laws and decisions (among its other powers).

There have been several changes in the laws governing parliamentary elections. Up to 1945, elections were indirect and thus liable to manipulation. Women were enfranchised in 1934. Between 1945 and 1950, with the transition to a multi-party system, the electoral laws were modified. In 1946, direct elections replaced indirect ones (first applied in the 1950 elections) and a secret ballot and public vote-counting were guaranteed. In 1950, supervision of elections passed from the executive to the judiciary. The simple plurality system continued until the 1960 military intervention, when a modified system of proportional representation was instituted for elections to the National Assembly. According to the new electoral laws passed by the Constituent Assembly in April-May 1961, each of Turkey's 67 constituencies (identical to its administrative districts) was assigned its share of the 450 seats, proportional to its population. Each party received a number of seats relative to its vote in each constituency. In the Senate elections of 1961, the party winning the majority in a constituency carried all its seats (Istanbul and Ankara excepted). Since 1964, the Senate elections system was adapted to resemble that of the National Assembly. Since 1961, all Turkish citizens aged twenty-one or over (barring convicted criminals) could vote: candidates for the National Assembly had to be literate and aged 30 or over; for the Senate—university graduates aged 40 or over. Membership in the GNA was considered incompatible with service in the state bureaucracy, the armed forces or the judiciary. Democratisation of the electoral process was bolstered by the requirement that parties hold primary elections six weeks before voting-day and that party representatives participate in the supervision of the balloting.

Parliamentary history in the Republic of Turkey appears to be divided into three major periods: 1923-46, 1946-60, 1961 to date (1978). During the first period, the single-party era, general elections to the GNA were held in 1923, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939 and 1943. The GNA was not only identified with the cadres of the People's Party but was, to a certain extent, an extension of the party itself, co-operating with it in a single-minded effort towards rapid modernisation. The second period ranges from the beginning of the multi-party era until the first military intervention. General elections to the GNA were held in 1946, 1950, 1954 and 1957. This period witnessed the orderly transfer of power from the ruling party to the Democrat Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTI], which obtained and kept a comfortable majority in the GNA for ten years (1950-60). While opposition within the GNA had been negligible during the first period, it was active indeed during the second. Although several smaller parties had a minor share in electoral competition and parliamentary contests, most of the campaigning was undertaken by the two mass parties, the Republican People's Party and the Democrat Party; their rivalry for power engendered a constant see-saw in parliamentary debates on legislation and general policy. The third period commenced with the establishment of a bicameral system under the new constitution. General elections to the National Assembly were held in 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973 and 1977, general elections to the Senate in 1961 and partial elections in 1964, 1966, 1968, 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1979. The see-saw continued, this time between the Republican People's Party and the Justice Party (heir to the Democrat Party in many respects), although with three principal differences:

(a) The relative liberalisation of political party activities, initiated in 1961, enabled several radical groups to form legal parties, stand for election and enter parliament. Examples were: the socialist Workers' Party of Turkey, active since 1961, in parliament since 1965; the Republican Peasant's Nation Party (renamed Nationalist Action Party), active in its pan-Turk ultra-nationalist character and in parliament since 1965; and the strongly Islam-oriented National Salvation Party, active (under a different name) since 1970 and in parliament since 1973. All this reflected a diminishing of the national consensus and increased the difficulties of passing legislation, especially since some of the other parties broke up as well.

(b) For the first time in Turkey's parliamentary history, coalition cabinets were required in order to obtain votes of confidence in the National Assembly. While the Justice Party obtained an absolute majority in the general elections of 1965 and 1969, in those of 1961, 1973 and 1977 the Republican People's Party obtained only a relative majority (see table of Election Results below) and rather unstable coalition cabinets had to be formed. This hindered meaningful legislation in both Houses and encumbered policy-making in the Cabinet (although the parliament and cabinet still could—and did—move decisively in times of national crisis, as in Cyprus, in July 1974).

(c) Frequent elections were held; scarcely a year went by without an election for the National Assembly, the Senate or local authorities. Thus public excitement never abated; on the contrary, it increased, often to the point of physical violence. Indeed, violence appealed to several extra-parliamentary groups, small but vocal and active, supported by those who had despaired of obtaining speedy socio-economic and other reforms by parliamentary means, especially during the years of coalition government stalemate. Consequently, political processes in contemporary Turkey appear to continue

on two different levels, only one of which is centred in the GNA and follows the parliamentary rules-of-the-game; the other level is extra-parliamentary, radicalised and favours violence.

The GNA has attracted many well-educated persons; approximately 70%-80% of its members, in all sessions combined, had studied at the university. However, the socio-economic and occupational composition of parliament in Turkey reflects more accurately the transition to a multi-party régime and the changes brought about by modernisation. The key-date for this process is 1950, as it was then that a counter-élite was largely substituted for the Kemalists. Analyses conducted separately by Frey and by Tachau (see Bibliography) have established that prior to 1950, the GNA comprised—in descending order—former government officials, retired officers, lawyers, merchants and businessmen, and educators. After 1950, the main groups—again, in descending order—were lawyers, merchants and businessmen (i e., the groups with more experience in a competitive system) followed by former government officials and retired officers. Before 1950, a much larger proportion of the GNA came from the more developed areas in Western Turkey; since then, there has been a much more equitable distribution. In the sessions between 1927 and 1943, 63% or more of the membership had already served in parliament; since then, the proportion has dropped to below 50%, with new members entering not only for natural reasons but also thanks to new ideologies enjoying some popular support. The above indicates a broadening of the Turkish political élite, as expressed in the GNA, as well as a freer élite circulation and greater competition between rival élites, reflecting the growth of pluralism in Turkish society and the increase in its upward mobility during the multi-party era. Electoral participation has been quite a crucial factor, as it has generally been rather large, between 64.3% and 89.3% (56.2%-81.0% for the Senate). Voting has usually been heavier in the rural, less-developed areas in Central and Eastern Anatolia, perhaps because of the influence of local landlords. This status-quo factor has been offset, however, by the considerable internal migration from village to town and city, on the one hand, and to a lesser extent, by the impact of Turkish workers returning from Europe, on the other. In recent years, the Justice Party and the National Salvation Party have been particularly strong in rural, less developed areas and have consequently enjoyed electoral support there. The Republican People's Party, enjoying more electoral support in the cities, has benefitted in recent elections from population migration into the cities. It is not easy to predict how all this will be affected by the military intervention of 12 September 1980, one of whose first measures was to dissolve both Houses of Parliament in Turkey.

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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN TURKEY 1950-1977 (by parties, percentages and seats)

	Voting Participation	Democrat Party		Democratic Party		Freedom Party		Justice Party		Nation Party		National Salvation Party		Nationalist Action Party		New Turkey Party		Republican Nation Party		Republican Peasants Nation Party		Republican People's Party		Republican Reliance Party		Union Party of Turkey		Workers Party of Turkey		Independents		
Date	%	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	Total Seats
1950	89.3	53.3	408	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39.9	69	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.8	9	487
1954	88.6	56.6	490	—	—	0.6	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.8	—	—	—	34.8	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.5	10	535
1957	76.6	47.3	419	—	—	3.8	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.0	4	—	—	40.6	173	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	2	602
1961	81.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	34.8	158	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.7	65	—	—	14.0	54	36.7	173	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8	—	450
1965	71.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	52.9	240	6.3	31	—	—	—	—	3.7	19	—	—	2.2	11	28.7	134	—	—	—	—	3.0	15	3.2	—	450
1969	64.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	46.5	256	3.2	6	—	—	3.0	1	2.2	6	—	—	—	—	27.4	143	6.6	15	2.8	8	2.7	2	5.6	13	450
1973	66.8	—	—	11.3	45	—	—	29.8	149	0.6	—	11.8	48	3.4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	33.3	185	5.3	13	1.1	1	—	—	2.8	6	450
1977	72.4	—	—	1.9	1	—	—	36.9	189	—	—	8.6	24	6.4	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	41.4	213	1.9	3	0.4	—	0.1	—	2.5	4	450

Notes: The Democrat Party was forbidden to participate in politics after the 1960 military intervention. The Democratic Party is a new group which seceded from the Justice Party.
The Nation Party and the Republican Nation Party were run by the same leadership-core, essentially.
The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969.
The Workers' Party of Turkey, closed down in 1971, re-entered electoral contests in 1977.

SENATE ELECTIONS IN TURKEY, (by parties, percentages and seats)

	Voting Participation	Democratic Party		Justice Party		Nation Party		National Salvation Party		Nationalist Action Party		New Turkey Party		Republican Peasants Nation Party		Republican People's Party		Republican Reliance Party		Union Party of Turkey		Workers Party of Turkey		Independents		
Date	%	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	Total Seats
1961	81.0	—	—	34.5	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.0	27	12.5	16	36.1	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.9	—	150
1964	60.2	—	—	50.3	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.5	—	3.0	—	40.8	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.3	1	51
1966	56.2	—	—	56.9	35	5.3	1	—	—	—	—	2.4	1	1.9	1	29.6	13	—	—	—	—	3.9	1	0.0	—	52
1968	66.3	—	—	49.9	38	6.0	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.0	—	27.1	13	8.6	1	—	—	4.7	—	1.7	—	53
1973	65.3	10.4	—	31.0	22	—	—	12.3	3	2.7	—	—	—	—	—	33.6	25	5.9	1	2.1	—	—	—	2.0	1	52
1975	58.4	3.1	—	40.8	27	—	—	8.9	2	3.2	—	—	—	—	—	43.4	25	—	—	0.5	—	—	—	0.1	—	54
1977	73.8	2.2	—	38.3	21	—	—	8.4	1	6.8	—	—	—	—	—	42.5	28	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	—	50

Notes: In 1961, elections were held for all 150 Senate seats that were earmarked for election (other Senators were appointed).
Since 1964, elections were held in about a third of the constituencies, for a third of those seats and for those that had become vacant.
The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969.

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(iii) *Iran*

No significant representative institutions existed in Iran until the 1906 Revolution, when the Iranian Parliament was established, reflecting the basic intention of the Fundamental Law of 30 December 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 8 October 1907 (both principal components of Iran's first Constitution) to curb the absolute monarchy of the Ḳād̲j̲ārs. These laws, largely patterned after the Belgian Constitution of 1831, provided for a National Consultative Assembly (*Mad̲j̲lis-i s̲h̲ūrā-yi millī*), to which was added a Senate (*Mad̲j̲lis-i Sinā*) in 1949 (first meeting in April 1950). The former body was not only much older, but also far more influential in public life than the latter: it was empowered to discuss all national affairs, pass laws, approve the budget, grant concessions and ratify treaties. The all-Muslim Senate, half of whose 60 Members were nominated by the Shah, was largely intended as a check on the Assembly's powers.

Up to the 1978 revolution, the National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, excluding the armed forces and convicted criminals but since 1963 including women, who might both vote and be elected. Election was by simple plurality in constituencies. A number of seats were earmarked for Armenians, Assyrians, Jews and Zoroastrians (but only a Muslim might be Prime Minister). In 1957, the number of seats was increased from 136 to 200; it was subsequently raised to 219 and currently (1978) stood at 268. The Assembly's term of office was extended from two to four years (the Senate's term was four years as well) in 1956. The last elections under the Shah's régime were those of 20 June 1975 for the 24th Assembly and the 7th Senate. These were held on one day, whereas formerly they had lasted for weeks and even months. Furthermore, these were the first held under the single-party system. In those elections, all Iranians aged twenty and above could vote in the Assembly elections in 173 constituencies; those aged twenty-five and up could vote for the Senate as well. There were 6,805,647 votes cast for the Assembly, about 51% participation; and 5,834,666 votes for the Senate in 30 constituencies, amounting to nearly 50% of eligible voters. Twenty women entered the Assembly and one the Senate.

The 24 Iranian Assemblies from 1906 to 1978 have had an uneasy and sometimes tumultuous history of in-fighting and of struggling with the Shah for power. The First Assembly began as a nationalist and reformist parliament, which improved fiscal controls and dealt with the administration of justice (including anti-bribery measures) and the organisation of municipalities and provincial councils. Muḥammad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh forcibly dissolved it in June 1908. The Second Assembly, elected in November 1909, moved in the same direction as its predecessor, reorganising the state bureaucracy, but passing laws on education, health and taxation as well. When it rejected an ultimatum from Tsarist Russia, it too was dissolved in December 1911. The Third and Fourth Assemblies which met during and immediately after the First World War were short-lived and achieved but little. Beginning with the Fifth Assembly, elected in November 1921, Iranian parliaments had to contend with the forceful personality of the new ruler Riḍā K̲h̲ān, who became Prime Minister in 1923 and the new Shah in 1925. Riḍā S̲h̲āh banned all political parties and ensured the subservience of the Assemblies by influencing the elections, silencing potential opposition and circumscribing opportunities for reaching national prominence through the Assembly. Turnover decreased and capable, ambitious persons sought other avenues to power during the term of the Sixth until the Thirteenth Assemblies.

The abdication of Riḍā S̲h̲āh in August 1941 immediately released suppressed energies and brought about the creation of political parties and groups and a flurry of Assembly activity. Constant bickering also characterised the Fourteenth Assembly, elected during wartime, which introduced many few faces (nearly half the Members). Unruly behaviour and lack of legislation caused the new Shah, Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī, to convince parliament to grant him the right to dissolve the Assembly and add a Senate (1949). Meanwhile, nationalist fervour led to the election of a veteran Member of the Assembly, Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ, as Prime Minister (1951). Muṣaddiḳ worked against the Shah, nationalised oil (which worsened Iran's economy for a time, as it brought about an international boycott) and alienated many of the Shah's sympathisers. Muṣaddiḳ, however, enjoyed less certain support in the Assembly than he did amongst Tehran's population. His dissolving of the Assembly was countered by a pro-government coup, supported by pro-Shah forces. Muṣaddiḳ was arrested and political parties were banned.

More than half the membership of the Eighteenth Assembly, elected in 1954, was new. The Shah consolidated his power and Assembly Members were invited to join one of two court-sponsored parties. In 1961, the Shah dissolved parliament indefinitely and began to rule by decree (promulgating more than 600 laws in two-and-a-half years). A popular referendum approved the Shah's impressive new plans for a "White Revolution", calling for the re-distribution of land, improvement of agriculture and industry, and increasing literacy. When a new Assembly was elected in September 1963, the Ḥizb-i Īrān-i Nuvīn party predominated. This party comprised technocrats and former civil servants; it supported the Court (probably having been initiated by it), identifying with the policies of the Shah and his Ministers. Later on, the Rastak̲h̲īz Party followed suit. This co-operation, which characterised all subsequent assemblies, was justified by continuous economic growth and an increase in military power.

In Assembly-Shah relations, the Assembly was in ascendance in 1906-25, when it was a partner in the removal of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty and again in 1941-53, when a nucleus of its leaders even succeeded in temporarily exiling the Shah. The Shah subdued the Assembly in 1926-41 and again since 1954, mostly because of his prestige and central position, his executive control over legislative recruitment and endemic divisiveness within the Assembly. Even then, Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh has consistently praised the positive role and great importance of parliamentary democracy in Iran. In actual practice, the Assembly had had a long (although mixed) record in legislation, as well as in criticism of the Cabinet and administration (although not of the Shah and armed forces).

The character of the *Mad̲j̲lis* was determined by the electoral laws, by the bargaining which ensued, and sometimes by official manipulation, but even more so by Iran's socio-economic and political

realities. Indeed, at least until the early 1960s, most political parties in the *Madjlis* were recognisable by their affinity to the person of a leader, rather than their being held together by a cogent ideology. Socio-economic ties were, characteristically, more relevant. Originally, the electoral law institutionalised the situation, by stipulating that the Members of the *Madjlis* were to be elected under a system of indirect balloting, which curtailed popular voting, placing it under the supervision of electoral committees representing six social groups (or classes, *ṭabaḳāt*): nobles, landlords, men of religion, businessmen, traders, and farmers. The 1963 Electoral Law substituted workers and peasants for the first two groups; nevertheless, several members of aristocratic families continued to be elected to the *Madjlis*. Other characteristics were, however, no less evident among *Madjlis* Members: in general, Members of the *Madjlis* had to be well-to-do; in 1906, they were required to be property owners and pay a minimum annual tax. Later on, it was still necessary to be a person of means, in order to assume campaign costs. In addition, they had to be somehow identified with the "Establishment" headed by the Shah and his Court—with the exception of the first few Assemblies, which were essentially revolutionary, and of groups in the Assemblies immediately following the Second World War, which included outspoken members identifying with leftist, ultra-nationalist and extreme religious factions.

The average educational level of *Madjlis* Members has risen steadily: university degree holders made up 62% of the total in the 21st Assembly (1963-7). Landlord representation, although still strong, is declining against an increase in the members of the technical and free professions, with clear emphasis on former mid-to high-ranking government employees (69% of the membership in the 21st Assembly). Mullahs have all but disappeared from the *Madjlis* in recent years. Even so, the *Madjlis* remains an élitist institution, although less so than the Senate. J. A. Bill (in his article, in Lenczowski—see Bibliography) has calculated that during the years 1906-67, the "Forty Families" of Iran have held, between them, 66 seats in the Senate and 410 seats in the Assembly. It is this élitism in membership that secured prestigious character for the Iranian *Madjlis* and warranted—no less than the formal constitution—its participation in the conduct of public affairs. After the "Islamic Revolution" of 1979, the new *Madjlis* opened on 28 May 1980.

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(iv) *ʿIrāḳ*.

The parliamentary history of ʿIrāḳ commenced virtually simultaneously with the inception of the British Mandate. Following the signing of the Anglo-ʿIrāḳi Treaty of 10 October 1922, King Fayṣal I, in a Royal Decree dated 21 October, called for elections to a Constituent Assembly. These elections were held in two stages during 1923 and the first Constituent Assembly, numbering 100 members, was inaugurated by Fayṣal on 27 March 1924. The Assembly's main task was to ratify the 1922 Treaty, to draft an Organic Law—approved by Fayṣal on 21 March 1925—and to adopt an Electoral Law. When this was accomplished, the King dissolved the Assembly.

The Organic Law and the 1924 Electoral Law regulated between them the elections to the Chamber (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and the functions of parliament. Elections were to be held by administrative departments, in two degrees, with every 20,000 male citizens, aged 20 or over returning one Elector. Barred were criminals, the insane, those not paying a minimal state or local tax, policement and soldiers —unless on leave. The Electors, aged 25 or over, elected the Members of the Chambers by simple majority vote, one Member for every 250 Electors. Provision was made for the election of minority ethnic groups in three of ʿIrāḳ's constituencies, as follows: one Christian and two Jews in Baghdād; two Christians and one Jew in Mosul; one Christian and one Jew in Baṣra.

The Organic Law—the basic for ʿIrāḳ's first constitution—established a bicameral parliament (*Madjlis al-umma*), partially based on the British model, consisting of a Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-aʿyān*). The former was elected, as above, for four years; its membership, originally 88, was increased to 108 in 1935, 118 in 1943 and 135 in 1952. The Senate was appointed by the King for eight years, with half the Senators concluding their term of office every four years (they could be reappointed). The number of Senators, 20 at first, was not to exceed a quarter of the Chamber's size. Deputies had to be aged 30 or over, Senators 40 or over. Both Houses were supposedly equal, although only the Chamber had the right to pass the budget and vote on a no-confidence motion in a Minister or the entire Cabinet. Both Houses passed legislation although it was generally initiated in the Chamber, through several standing committees; joint sessions resolved disagreements. Both Deputies and Senators enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The Cabinet was to be made of Deputies and/or Senators; no Minister could serve more than six months without being (or becoming) a Deputy or Senator. Parliament was to convene in Baghdad for four months a year, from November to the end of February (in practice, it frequently sat for longer periods, due to unfinished business).

In July 1925, Fayṣal nominated the first Senate and convened it together with the recently-elected Chamber for an extraordinary session. Since then, parliamentary life has been characterised by a great deal of controversy. One type of conflict was between the Chamber and the King—first Fayṣal and then his son, Ghāzī (since 1933). The two attempted to influence, if not manipulate, the general elections held in 1928, 1930, 1933, 1935 and 1937, in order to ensure a more compliant parliament; they then tried to assert their power, in defiance of the Chamber. The Chamber invested no little effort in asserting itself against both the King and the British, who were suspected of plotting to perpetuate and even enhance their special status as Mandators of ʿIrāḳ.

Later on, another type of conflict envolved on political and socio-economic grounds. In ʿIrāḳ, as in Syria and about the same time, the two-degree electoral system favoured the influential landowners and their urban allies. Furthermore, the constituency system often helped the same families and groups to obtain perennial representation. With the advent of political parties, chiefly after the Second World War, the power of the established, conservative circles within the Chamber was challenged. Heated arguments were carried on concerning the internal socio-economic situation and ʿIrāḳ's foreign policies towards Arab states and international alignments. Most effective decision-making in ʿIrāḳ took place outside parliament—to a greater extent, perhaps, than in certain other Middle Eastern states. This continued even after ʿIrāḳ had formally obtained its independence in 1932. While parliament was characterised by haranguing, the King and the Cabinet of Ministers continued to be the true foci of power, with the British still very influential; since the mid-1930s the military became increasingly involved in politics as well. While the parliament's low status owed more to the then-prevalent political culture in ʿIrāḳ than to anything else, certain corrective steps, principally of a formal nature, were attempted, especially in electoral reform.

During the early 1940s, electoral reform had been increasingly suggested as a palliative; the Chambers elected since 1939 appointed committees to debate the subject. In 1946, a new electoral law for the Chamber was promulgated. Essentially, it was based on the 1924 Electoral Law, although it modified constituency zoning, increased the representation of ethnic minorities (six Christians and six Jews) and imposed legal restrictions on the arbitrariness of local officials supervising the elections. It did not, however, transform the two-degree system into a one-degree system as was vociferously demanded by those desiring democratisation of the popular vote; this was achieved only by a 1952 decree, later

incorporated into the Electoral Law of 1956. The 1952 decree set membership in the Chamber at 135, including eight Christians (but no Jews), re-dividing ʿIrāḳ into 72 constituencies. The decree also insisted upon secret ballots and regulated the ways and means of electoral propaganda.

Considering the electoral reforms of 1946, 1952 and 1956 as a whole, one tends to attribute them, at least in part, to the increasing pressure of ʿIrāḳi political parties on public life. Of moderate consequence before the Second World War and banned during the War itself, parties were permitted to function once again in 1946; old and new ones alike increased their activity, both in and out of parliament. Concomitantly, the Government and its supporters, obviously considering these parties as rivals, took steps to limit their chances of success in the elections and their power within the Chamber. Various parties boycotted the elections of 1947, 1948 and 1952. The January 1953 elections were particularly unsuitable for free voting: several parties were banned, the press severely censored and martial law imposed in Bag͟hdād. The mood was such that only 57 seats were contested; the others were filled without opposition. As a result, Nūrī al-Saʿīd's Constitutional Union Party came within one seat of winning an absolute majority.

Opposition to suppression and repression by the government became pronounced among various political parties and groups: Kurdish strongholds in the north, S͟hīʿīs in the Lower Euphrates Valley and residents of the main cities and environs of Bag͟hdād, Mosul and Baṣra. Political and socio-economic ideologies within and without parliament concerning ʿIrāḳ's joining a Western pact (later named "The Bag͟hdad Pact"). The Government decided on new elections, which were duly held on 9 June 1954. These were the first direct elections to be held with ʿIrāḳ not under martial law, thus allowing free electioneering by all major political parties. Although the balloting was not secret, the Constitutional Union Party, still the largest parliamentary group, obtained only 50 seats, losing its majority; but all conservative groups together still managed to obtain a majority (counting many independents); however, the Government considered this situation unsatisfactory and dissolved the Chamber after less than two months, holding new elections on 12 September of the same year. With most parties split over the issue of boycotting the elections, only 13 out of 135 seats were contested. Consequently, the Opposition was heavily defeated; only 7 out of the 32 Opposition Members of the Chamber elected in June were returned again in September. Many, perhaps most of the independents elected in September were partial to Nūrī al-Saʿīd's policies. The Cabinet enforced its position by issuing, on 22 September 1954, an Association Ordinance. This effectively banned some political parties and restricted the activity of others.

Holding three general elections within twenty months and eliminating much of the opposition from the Chamber of Deputies, the Government succeeded in making most opposition extra-parliamentary. The above Association Ordinance drove many civilians and soldiers underground. The 1954 Chamber was even less representative than several of the preceding ones, so that in the following general elections, on 5 May 1958, only 27 seats of the then-expanded Chamber of 143 were contested; the press hardly reported the voting, which was very sparse, in any case, even though women were enfranchised for the first time. Consequently it is hardly surprising that when the military revolution occurred soon afterwards, on 14 July 1958, none came to the Government's assistance.

With the end of the monarchy, the ʿIrāḳi parliament passed into history as well. One of its last acts had been to approve the Arab Union of ʿIrāḳ with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on 13 May 1958 (the Union's constitution provided for a joint parliament with 20 delegates from each component). The Arab Union, too, disappeared with the 14 July revolution. During the following years, succeeding governments and their spokesmen repeatedly mentioned the establishment of some sort of parliament, but no practical steps towards this end have been taken. A National Council of the Revolutionary Command, formed soon after the revolution, has assumed both executive and legislative functions; its title has changed, but its powers have not. The Provisional Constitution of 27 July 1958 mentioned no parliament. The Interim Constitution of 29 April 1964 spoke of vesting legislative power in a National Assembly. However, this has remained a dead issue so far. A law promulgated on 14 December 1964 amended the constitution with the aim of instituting an advisory body for legislation (each member to be elected by 70,000-100,000 inhabitants). In February 1967, the Government issued an electoral law, with the (unfulfilled) intention of holding elections before May of the same year. When it became effective on 16 July 1970, the Provisional Constitution of September 1968 had an amendment which mentioned the eventual convening of a National Assembly. On 15 November 1972, President al-Bakr issued a National Charter—the basis for a permanent constitution—which once again spelled out the intention of having a 100-member National Assembly, to be nominated by the Revolutionary Command Council. The latter did indeed approve a law instituting such an Assembly in July 1973. It was to be elected by the various political, economic and social organizations in ʿIrāḳ and would legislate in all non-military and non-security matters. ʿIrāḳ's 1974 Constitution repeated this intention. Such ʿIrāḳi leaders as ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim in 1962, ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif in 1965, Prime Minister al-Bazzāz in 1965 and others promised to restore parliament—but to no avail. The Revolutionary Command Council retained all executive and legislative powers.

Revolution leaders of republican ʿIrāḳ have hesitated to restore parliament at least partly because of its very modest success during the monarchy. Parliamentary history in ʿIrāḳ may be divided into two principal periods: before and after independence in 1932; however, its character remained essentially the same throughout both periods. Elections appear to have been mismanaged to such an extent that relations between Chamber and Cabinet were anything but productive of healthy criticism. None of the 59 Cabinets serving from 1921 to 14 July 1958 was ever brought down by a no-confidence vote. A principally landed oligarchy, mostly conservative in outlook, generally supported preservation of the status quo. Political parties, to the extent that they were allowed to run in parliamentary elections, were sometimes corrupt and frequently ineffectual within the Chamber. Indeed, many important decisions were made outside the Chamber, with obvious results for the future of parliamentarism in ʿIrāḳ. Only on 20 June 1980 were general elections held in ʿIrāḳ for a National Assembly. For 250 seats, 840 candidates ran. This was, however, intended

to be mainly a deliberative body, with the final decisions remaining with the Revolutionary Command Council staffed by the Baʿth.

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(v) *Syria*.

The history of parliament in Syria is a turbulent one, not uncharacteristic of this country's political culture in recent years. Indeed, the Syrian parliament has been both an agent of and a contributor to the politics of instability. At first, parliament was dependent upon relations with the authorities of the French Mandate; then, after complete independence was achieved at the end of the Second World War, it became subject to political vicissitudes: constitutions have been proclaimed and abolished and parliaments convened and dissolved.

When Fayṣal entered Damascus in October 1918, with the declared intention of setting up an Arab government, a Syrian Congress was convened, holding three sessions between 3 June 1919 and 19 July 1920. This first experiment at parliamentarism in Syria even considered the draft of a constitution (although it did not have the opportunity to approve it) providing for a bicameral legislature (among other stip-

ulations). Its work was cut short, however, by the armed intervention of the French forces, which instituted the Mandate over Syria.

The parliamentary history of Syria under the French Mandate centres around the struggle between Syrian nationalists, who desired a constitutionally-guaranteed parliament endowed with independent powers, and the French authorities, who sought to limit them. At first, the French authorities experimented with Representative Councils in the various "states" of Syria. Elected in two degrees, these Councils were regarded by Syrian nationalists as partial and even subservient to the French. The 1925-7 revolt convinced the French of the need to reach some accommodation with the Syrians. In February 1928, the French High Commissioner Ponsot charged a moderate provisional government with holding general elections for a Constituent Assembly. These were held in April and the Assembly first met on 9 June. It elected a leading nationalist, Hāshim al-Atāsī, as its Speaker and a draft-commission of 27 to prepare a constitution. The nationalists, although not clearly in the majority, were the only group well-organised in a National Bloc (*al-Kutla al-waṭaniyya*). They inscribed their own views into the Constitution, which was approved by the Constituent Assembly in August 1928. The French objected to several paragraphs, but the Assembly stood firm. The High Commissioner therefore adjourned the Assembly, in February 1929, *sine die* and dissolved it in May 1930. He then proceeded on his own to proclaim the same Constitution, with a few minor changes.

Among its other provisions, the 1930 Syrian Constitution established a 60-member unicameral Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis*), elected every four years and meeting in two sessions of two-and-a-half months annually, from mid-March and from mid-October. Voting was in two stages, each adapted to Syria's administrative divisions, resulting in quite an accurate representation of local, religious and socio-economic interest; it also assisted a well-established oligarchy in obtaining and maintaining control of parliament. Every Syrian male aged 20 years or over was able to vote and every literate Syrian male aged 30 years or over could be a candidate. The number of seats in the Chamber increased over the years according to Syria's population growth. The Chamber's duties were: to legislate, elect the President of the State (for a five-year term), approve the budget and vote confidence in the Government.

The first Chamber, elected in March 1932, met on 7 July of that year. The main subject of dispute between nationalists and moderates concerned relations with France on the nature of Syrian statehood. The Chamber was adjourned again in November 1933 and dissolved in 1934. Only in November 1936 were general elections held. The Chamber was to consist of 86 members, of whom 16 were to represent minority religious denominations and another represented Bedouin tribes. The National Bloc had an overwhelming majority in the Chamber, which convened in December. They elected Hāshim al-Atāsī as State President. The Chamber's most important achievement was to approve a treaty with France, signed by both the Syrian Cabinet and the French High Commissioner but never ratified in Paris. Hopes for Syrian independence were dashed once again—and nationalists both within and without the Chamber reacted accordingly. In July 1939, the High Commissioner suspended the Chamber again, as well as the Constitution, in view of the tense international situation.

The Second World War, in particular the fall of France, strengthened the hand of those Syrians striving for independence. After the Free French and British forces had occupied Syria and Lebanon in 1941, General Catroux, representing de Gaulle, proclaimed Syria's independence on 28 September. Early in 1943, the French, surrendering to nationalist demands, restored the Syrian Constitution of 1930 and ordered general elections. These were held in July and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the National Bloc, now led by Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī. The new 124-seat Chamber met on 17 August electing al-Ḳuwwatlī State President. One of the main tasks of this Chamber was to bring about a full French retreat spelling total independence.

The vicissitudes of Mandatory Syrian parliaments continued in independent Syria as well. The first Chamber of independent Syria was elected in May 1947 and sat until dismissed by Colonel Ḥusnī Zaʿīm, who seized power at the end of March 1949. The 1947 Chamber, increased in membership to 140, was elected according to the new Electoral Law of 29 April 1947, which provided a seat for every 6,000 voters or fraction thereof exceeding 3,000 (in reality, only 135 members took office). A local journalist, Ḥabīb Kaḥḥāla, reported later (in his *Dhikrayāt nāʾib*) that this very mixed parliament was merely "a bundle of contradictions" in social composition, organisation, literacy and dress. This certainty could have applied to its ethnic make-up also, for representation took into account the mosaic of minorities. Representation of the National Bloc, which had had a majority in the 1947 Chamber, dwindled to a mere 24 out of 135 seats, while the opposition commanded 53 and the independents 58 seats. Distribution of representation by district and religious denomination was as follows (based on George Haddad—see Bibliography):

The Syrian Chamber of 1947, According to District and Religious Denomination

District	*Muslims*	*Christians*	*Druzes*	*Jews*	*Total*
Damascus	24	4	—	1	29
Ḥims	6	2	—	—	8
Ḥamā	5	1	—	—	6
Aleppo	30	7	—	—	37
Ḥawrān	5	—	—	—	5
Djabal al-Durūz	—	1	3	—	4
al-Lādhiḳiyya	16	2	—	—	18
Euphrates	11	—	—	—	11
al-Djazīra	6	1	—	—	7
Bedouin Tribes	10	—	—	—	10
Total	113	18	3	1	135

Further analysis indicates that the Muslim members comprised 100 Sunnīs, 12 ʿAlawīs and one Ismāʿīlī, while the Christians consisted of seven Greek Orthodox, two Greek Catholics, two Syriac Orthodox, one Syriac Catholic, two Armenian Orthodox, one Armenian Catholic, one Maronite and two other Christians.

The electoral decree of 10 September 1949 stipulated a seat in the Chamber for every 30,000 inhabitants, or fraction thereof exceeding 15,000 and lowered the voting age to eighteen. Nevertheless, membership was set at 114—100 Muslims and 14

Christians—thus modifying the overall ratio only insignificantly. This Christian presence in the Chamber (and in Syria in general) most likely prevented the Chamber from proclaiming Islam as state religion in the 1950 Constitution, adopting instead a formula which established Islam as the religion of the Head of State (essentially repeating the text of the 1930 Constitution). No less significantly, in the November 1949 elections Syria proved to be the first Arab state to enfranchise women (albeit only those holding at least an elementary school certificate). In November 1949, elections were held for a Constituent Chamber, rapprochement with ʿIrāḳ being one of the main electoral issues The National Bloc and several other parties boycotted these elections, suspecting the military of mismanaging them. The People's Party thus achieved a plurality of 50 seats, while another 5 seats apiece were won by the Republican and by the Renaissance Party respectively and another 54 (nearly half of the total membership) by independents. The most useful task of this Constituent Chamber was most likely the drafting and subsequent approval of a new constitution on 5 September 1950, following which the Constituent Chamber became the Chamber of Deputies.

The 1950 Constitution did not differ essentially from that of 1930, insofar as the legislature was concerned. The unicameral Chamber of Deputies was to be elected every four years by direct universal suffrage of Syrians aged eighteen and over; candidates, however, had to be male. The Chamber was to sit twice a year for a total of five-and-one-half months in public sessions (unless otherwise decided). Legislation was the Chamber's prerogative (although it could also be initiated by the State President). The Chamber elected the State President for a five-year term; Chamber interpellations and votes of confidence controlled the Cabinet, whose Ministers could be Members of the Chamber. All Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity.

Adīb al-S̲h̲īs̲h̲aklī, the Colonel who had engineered the third coup d'état in 1949, dissolved the Chamber on 29 November 1951, sensing correctly that it could hamper his dictatorship. Under his guidelines, a draft for a new constitution was prepared and approved by a popular referendum on 10 July 1953. The 1953 Constitution strengthened the Executive at the expense of the Legislature. The three principal limitations on the attributes of the Chamber were: (a) The Chamber no longer elected the State President; (b) The Constitution abolished the post of Prime Minister and made the Cabinet responsible to the State President alone; and (c) The Chamber was to convene from October to February only; during the remainder of the year, a token Chamber, composed of 25% of its total membership, would deliberate and legislate.

Under the provisions of this constitution, elections to a new Chamber are held on 9 October 1953. Suffrage was universal: any Syrian citizen aged 18 and over could vote and any Syrian citizen aged 25 and over could stand for election. One member would be elected for every 30,000 inhabitants. Not unexpectedly, S̲h̲īs̲h̲aklī's own party, the Arab Liberation Movement, obtained 72 out of a total of 82 seats; one of the remaining seats went to the Syrian Social National Party and another nine to independents. However, the 1953 Constitution and the 1953 Chamber remained only brief episodes in Syria's parliamentary history. After S̲h̲īs̲h̲aklī's downfall on 25 February 1954, the Chamber of 1949, dissolved in 1951, re-convened. One of its first acts was to re-establish the 1950 Constitution and restore the parliamentary regime in Syria.

General elections were held again, on 24-5 September (with a new round, for undecided seats, on 4-5 October) 1954, for a new Chamber of 142 members: 126 Muslims—including 9 Bedouins—and 16 Christians. This time, however, no special seats were earmarked for any religious or other groups. Apart from dealing with internal issues, this electoral campaign was largely concerned with Syria's joining a Western-inspired defence treaty. The elections themselves were characterised by their free atmosphere; secrecy was enforced for the first time. The results were as follows: People's Party—30, the Baʿt̲h̲—22, National Party—19, Popular Syrian Party—2, Cooperative Socialist Party—2, Arab Liberation Movement—2, Communists—1, and independents 64 (or 45% of the total membership). The Chamber met in November 1954 and functioned until Syria's union with Egypt in February 1958; it came closer than any preceding Chamber to completing its four-year term and legislated energetically. It ceased to exist with the establishment of the United Arab Republic, when Syrians sent 200 of the joint parliament's 600 members to Cairo (see Egypt, below).

After Syria seceded from the UAR, on 28 September 1961, its separate parliamentary life was soon restored. General elections were held on 1-2 December, with a simultaneous referendum on a new provisional constitution (approved by a 97.6% majority). Voting for the Chamber was secret and free; despite Egyptian appeals to boycott the elections, participation reached 63%—the highest in Syrian parliamentary elections. The outcome was again a sharply-divided Chamber, lacking a comfortable working majority: the People's Party received about 22% of the vote, with 14% for the National Party (heir to the National Bloc), besides 32% independents and several smaller groups. The Cabinet, based on broad right-of-centre support in the Chamber, aimed to rescind the nationalisation decrees and the agrarian reform of the UAR era. Displeased military groups repeatedly intervened in politics, leading to the dissolution of the Chamber, at the end of March 1962 and then to the seizure of power by the Baʿt̲h̲ Movement, in March 1963.

The Baʿt̲h̲, in power since then (despite factional strife and personal changes), has altered perceptibly the structure and functions of parliament, rendering it subservient to the Executive. At the beginning of the Baʿt̲h̲ régime, a National Council of the Revolutionary Command (*al-Mad̲j̲lis al-waṭanī li-ḳiyādat al-t̲h̲awra*) was established, comprising military officers. Under a provisional constitution, this council—both executive and legislative— exercised the real power. In 1964, it was renamed The National Revolutionary Council (NRC) and was expanded to 95 members, mostly civilians: 20 ranking Baʿt̲h̲ officials, five members of the former National Council of the Revolutionary Command, five representatives of the military, 14 trade unionists, 13 peasants, seven women representatives, seven representatives of the teachers' union, five selected from the free professions, two university professors and 17 "progressive citizens". NRC, Syria's parliament, could enact laws (its main function), pass the Budget, amend the constitution, supervise referenda and elect a five-man Presidential Council—the principal executive body. In February 1966, NRC was expanded from 95 to 134 members, ousting

30 and adding 69, thus changing the balance of power. Two weeks later, a military coup by Ṣalāḥ al-Djadīd put an end to this experiment and dissolved NRC; legislative authority was henceforth vested in the President's office and in the Cabinet. However, on 1 May 1969, a new constitution was promulgated by the Regional Command of the Baʿth. This stipulated the establishment of a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*), to be elected for a four-year term, by a method to be determined. Its main attributes were to be the drafting of a permanent constitution, approving laws, debating the budget, ratifying agreements and treaties, electing the State President, and interpellating Ministers. This constitution, however, was never put into practice.

During the rule of Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, from 1970 to date (1978), the character of the Syrian parliament was changed to suit even more the socialist ideology of Asad's faction within the Baʿth. Under the amended Provisional Constitution of 1971—promulgated as permanent on 31 January 1973—legislative powers are vested in a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*), comprising 173, then 186 and finally (since 1977) 195 members, elected by popular associations and trade unions, with the proviso that at least half of the members be peasants and workers. The People's Assembly is elected every four years by secret ballot in constituencies, convening for three sessions annually. In theory, the People's Assembly passes all laws; the State President, who may veto its laws, must nevertheless submit to the Assembly's will if it passes the same law again by a two-thirds majority. In addition, the Constitution grants the People's Assembly the following powers: to approve the candidate for Presidency of the Republic, debate government policy, withdraw confidence from Ministers, approve the budget and ratify all foreign agreements and treaties concerning state security. In practice, the Assembly has generally limited itself to discussing matters of internal relevance, displaying little if any independence of the Executive. The Syrians were not unaware of this: in the 1973 and 1977 elections for the People's Assembly, only a small part of the eligible voters participated.

The People's Assembly nominated by Syria's President, Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, in February 1971, consisted of 87 Baʿthists, or just over half of the total 173; another 36 represented the General Union of Peasants. In the Assembly elected on 25 May 1973, the Baʿthists numbered at least 111 out of a total 186, while another 46 labelled themselves independents; 97 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers. In the Assembly elected on 1-2 August 1977, Baʿthists numbered 125 out

Occupations of Members in the Syrian Chamber, 1919-1954

Chamber of	1919		1928		1932		1936		1943		1947		1949		1953		1954		Totals	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Public service																				
Central Admin.	5	24	6	12	9	16	9	9	6	5	2	2	6	6	6	9	4	3	53	7
Judiciary	1	5	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	6	5	2	2	3	4	5	4	22	3
Local Admin.			2	4	3	5	5	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	1	1	4	3	25	3
Professors											3	2	3	3	1	1	3	2	10	1
School Teachers											2	2	4	4	2	3	4	3	12	2
Gov't. Doctors and Engineers													2	2	1	1	1	1	4	1
Diplomats											2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	8	1
Military			2	2			5	5	3	3	1	1			1	1			12	2
ʿUlamāʾ	2	10	4	8	2	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	2			2	2	17	2
Total public	8	38	15	29	16	28	23	24	15	14	21	17	24	23	17	25	25	20	164	22
Private																				
Lawyers	2	10	7	13	3	5	10	10	11	10	18	15	15	14	11	16	26	20	103	14
Physicians			3	6	1	2	4	4	3	3	5	4	4	4	8	12	5	4	33	4
Journalists and Writers			1	2	3	5	1	1	4	4	6	5	5	5	1	1	5	4	26	3
Other Free Professions							1	1							3	4	3	2	7	1
Merchants and Bankers	1	5	3	6	3	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	7	7	2	3	5	4	37	5
Industrialists									7	6	3	2	2	2	3	4	1	1	16	2
Rural Landlords	7	33	13	25	23	40	30	31	42	38	40	33	30	29	16	24	33	26	234	31
Tribal-notables	1	5	6	12	7	12	19	20	18	16	20	17	15	14	6	9	21	16	113	15
Professional Politicians	2	10	4	8	2	3	4	4	5	5	3	2	3	3			4	3	27	4
Total private	13	62	37	71	42	72	74	76	94	85	101	83	81	77	50	75	103	80	596	78
Total Known	21	100	52	100	58	100	97	100	110	100	122	100	105	100	67	100	128	100	760	100
Unknown	38		20		12		9		13		14		9		15		15		145	
Total Seats	59		72		70		106		123		136		114		82		143		905	

(Source: Winder, in *MEJ*, xvii (1963), 50)

of a total 195; another 36 labelled themselves independents, and 99 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers.

The history of Syrian parliaments is not easily divided into distinct periods. Nevertheless, it may be divided into three main eras: (a) The French Mandate, during which time the Chambers were distinguished by the struggle for Syrian sovereignty and independence; (b) Independence, when Chambers were marked by even deeper internal strife with determined efforts by the Cabinet and the party (or parties) to gain power, at the Chamber's expense, against equally determined opposition; and (c) Dependence, first on Egypt, during the UAR years, then on the guidelines set for it by the Ba^cth-military coalition which governed Syria after the UAR broke apart. One may conclude with some justification that the role of parliament in Syria has diminished, from one era to the other, at least regarding its impact on public decision-making.

Syrian parliamentarians were characterised by factors besides distinct and religious denomination (which were relevant during the first two eras of the Chamber). An investigation of these periods based on Winder—see Bibliography) concludes as follows: (a) Parliamentarians were youthful—the median age (at time of entering each Chamber) was between 39 and 46; this was perhaps chiefly due to a fairly large turnover; (b) The proportion of Members with university education rose consistently, reaching 48% of the Chamber in 1954; there was also a steady rise in the proportion of those exposed to Western culture, particularly with respect to facility in foreign languages; and (c) With regard to occupations of members, rural landlords have continuously comprised the largest single group; the tribal-notable group was regularly second or third in size. Together they dominated the Chamber and generally appeared to form a conservative, pro-status quo force. Lawyers were, no doubt, an important group, gradually increasing in size and becoming second only to the landlords. On the other hand, very few Members were either *^culamā[>]* or military officers.

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(vi) *Lebanon.*

The Lebanese parliament was first initiated by the French Mandatory authorities in 1922. It was intended to support the Mandate, but gradually became more independent and attracted various leaders of public opinion, thus enabling it to work for independence during the Second World War. Its weakness, however, became increasingly more apparent since the achievement of Lebanese statehood in 1943 and of complete independence in 1945—when the French departed and all responsibilities of government passed into Lebanese hands.

Although the Lebanese parliament contributed only modestly to policy-making and was inefficient as a check on both the executive and the bureaucracy, it has been an integral part of the political system nonetheless. Its powers have been hampered constantly by the lack of public consensus on central issues, the personal character of politics, the important role of religious communities and the peculiarities of the electoral system. These constraints have hindered the Lebanese parliament from fulfilling the role of conflict-resolution; rather, it has assumed a role of conflict-accommodation which, in practice, frequently meant conflict-postponement.

Lebanon's Constitution, unwritten guidelines (usually called the "National Pact" of 1943), government structure, parliamentary system and elections, as well as many of the laws, are peculiarly suited to an involved complex of rivalries and based on the desire to maintain an equilibrium between them—with at least a semblance of consensus. The electoral system in particular has harmonised with traditional pluralism. Constantly relying on the need for compromise, the Lebanese parliamentary system has consequently displayed weakness. Checks and balances are considered essentially desirable in democratic regimes. However, distribution of key positions in Lebanon among various religious denominations, although allowing for much-needed compromise, does not necessarily ensure smooth effective functioning either within or without parliament.

The character of the Lebanese parliament was essentially determined early during the French Mandatory period. In March 1922, the Mandatory authority instituted a consultative Representative Council of 30 members, to be elected in two degree-voting by male suffrage. Seventeen of its seats were earmarked for Christians and 13 for Muslims. Thus representation by denominational groups became institutionalised in the legislature; it was soon to be the main organisational feature of the entire public administration. A second Representative Council was elected in 1925. Two days after the promulgation of the 1926 Constitution, it became Lebanon's Chamber of Deputies. A 16-member Senate (seven of them appointed by the State President, the others elected) was established to check this Chamber; the two houses fused in 1927.

In 1926, the Representative Council adopted a constitution which, as amended, has essentially remained in force to date. The main provisions concerning the legislature were as follows: in addition to the Senate, elected for six years, a Chamber would be elected, in two degrees, for four years; its two annual sessions would be of two and two and one-half months duration, respectively. The formal powers of parliament were legislation (which could also be initiated by the executive); approving the budget and taxation; electing the State President, for three years (since 1929—for six years); supervising the Cabinet (by interpellations and no-confidence votes) and amending the constitution.

The unicameral body, the Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) still kept its partly-appointed character for some time, undoubtedly in order to ensure compliance; between one third and two-fifths of the membership was appointed by the Lebanese President and Cabinet. Since the 1943 general election, the entire Chamber is elected. The final denominational ratio in parliament dates from 1943, the year when the Chamber set it at 30 Christians and 25 Muslims and Druzes. This ratio of 6:5 has remained unchanged, although the actual numbers have varied. There were 55 members after the 1947 elections (the first after the evacuation of the French), followed by 77 (1951), 44 (1953) and 66 (1957). The number of members was set at 99 for the 1960 elections and did not change for the 1964, 1968 or 1972 elections (no elections were held in 1976, due to the civil war). The following is the official, pre-determined breakdown by religious denominations.

Denominational makeup of the Lebanese Chamber (1960, 1964, 1968 and 1972 Elections)

Christians		*Muslims and Druzes*		*Grand Total*
Maronites	30	Sunnīs	20	
Greek Orthodox	11	Shīʿīs	19	
Greek Catholic	6	Druzes	6	
Armenian Orthodox	4			
Armenian Catholic	1			
Protestant	1			
Smaller groups	1			
Total	54		45	99

This ratio no longer reflects the demographic breakdown of Lebanon's population (the last census was taken before the Second World War). This has been only partly offset by frequent changes in the number of electoral constituencies and the resultant re-zoning. Since 1960, these have corresponded to the state's administrative districts; a serious attempt has thus been made to represent Lebanon's regions fairly and still keep the religious denominations reasonably happy. Each district now elects from two to eight Members of the Chamber (the only single-Member district is Ṣaydā) according to a pre-determined breakdown by denomination (roughly reflecting the assumed ratio). For example, the district identical with the city of Tripoli elects four Sunnīs and one Greek Orthodox. Similarly-composed slates of candidates (in the above example, of four Sunnīs and one Greek Orthodox) run against each other. Single candidates may also compete, although they have consistently met with little success. Every eligible voter in the district, whatever his denomination, votes for the candidate or slate of his choice, provided he observes the denominational breakdown prescribed by law. An obvious advantage of the system is that, on the one hand, it compels candidates to ally themselves with others from different denominations and on the other, to show moderation and refrain from antagonising any particular denomination in the district. A possible drawback is that many Members of the Chamber are rather tame individuals who have run as compromise candidates. Political parties competing in these elections are under the same constraint in forming slates of candidates by denominations, thus possibly limiting their activities.

Emphasis on a denominational "key system" has

served as an obstacle to structural political change —for better or worse, depending on one's viewpoint. It has also bred antagonism, hardly mitigated in the Chamber by the above electoral arrangements: loyalty to affiliation to a religious denomination is only one variable in parliamentary politics. When Members do not vote by religious denomination, they take sides according to the local interests of their constituencies. There are also ideological differences in the Chamber, of which the longest-standing has been support for Lebanon as a separate political entity versus a union or federation with one or more Arab states. Furthermore, there is competition among the political parties, which frequently, although not always, are identified with the respective denominations; in the 1960s, only one-quarter to one-third of the Members were officially affiliated to parties. Within the wide scope of denominations, one finds smaller, feudal-loyalty groups as well. Personal parties are also often identified with denominations (chiefly Christian) as are several ideological ones, such as the Phalangists or Progressive Socialist Party; the Baʿth and several others, however, are not so, identified.

Under the aggregate pressure of denominational, local, ideological and party competition, as well as personal rivalry, the Lebanese Chamber has been fracile and cautious—and consequently limited in policy-making. It expects that a good share of the decision-making and executive policies be carried out by a Cabinet, whose Ministers are drawn from the Chamber and which works closely with the State President. Even legislation has been a lengthy and sometimes inconclusive process, although its overall record is impressive; during the years 1953-72 the Chamber passed 2,106 bills (or an average of 105 annually). The Chamber has often skirted divisive issues, at least insofar as decision-making is concerned. On the whole, its role appears to have been chiefly deliberative; argumentation in the Chamber displays a high level of competitiveness, within the framework of political and cultural pluralism. However, this has afforded satisfaction only to the participants themselves rather than to those Lebanese who have no access to it and to disenfranchised groups, such as the Palestinian refugees, who have been largely instrumental in using extra-parliamentary, increasingly violent ways to make themselves heard. By 1975 they had succeeded in fracturing the delicate minimum consensus concerning Lebanese polity and shattering the precarious status-quo of which the Chamber had been both an exponent and an advocate. It is symptomatic that two earlier serious national conflicts—in 1952 and 1958—were settled by the Chamber's agreeing on the election of a State President. During the civil war (since 1975), the Chamber has met several times, in order to elect a new State President (in June 1976); it has accomplished little else, however, not really succeeding at resolution of the conflicts which keep violence alive. Its inability to agree on action in urgent issues has prevented the Chamber from taking a stand, also, on an important suggestion of President Farandjiyya (in a speech on 14 February 1976). He then suggested altering the Muslim-Christian ratio in the Chamber from 5:6 to 1:1; the Chamber, however, has not even debated this.

The socio-economic composition of Lebanese Parliaments has had little to do with the rate of voter participation. While countrywide participation has usually been between 50 and 61 per cent (women were enfranchised in 1953), rural turnout has regularly been proportionately higher than the urban, possibly due to recruitment by landowners and local leaders. In addition, rural districts have had a slight relative edge in the seats allocated them in the Chamber. The reason seems to be that the Lebanese Chamber is an exclusive club, reserved in practice for those with better-than-average education who can afford the registration fee and campaign expenditures. Indeed, every slate of candidates includes at least one who finances the campaign; he is generally a prosperous businessman hankering for political power (incidentally, this has provided an avenue for the nouveaux riches to penetrate the power system, avoiding a cleavage between the political and economic élites). The outcome, however, has been that the well-to-do generally represent the poor. Even among the former, however, there are meaningful differences in socio-economic make-up, as the following table (based on Hudson and Harik, see bibliography) indicates:

The shift is most interesting: landlords comprised the largest single group between 1943 and 1953; lawyers predominated in 1957. The business and professional groups made up more than half the membership betweent hem. Otherwise stated, the top political élite in the first decade of the Republic failed to hold its own in parliament; the typical Member of the Chamber nowadays is an educated person of upper or middle income, actively engaged in business, law or some other free profession.

Bibliography: The minutes of parliamentary proceedings have been published regularly, since the 1940s, in the official *Madjlis al-nuwwāb—al-dawr al-tashrīʿī* (Beirut). The laws passed in parliament have appeared in the official *al-Madjmūʿa al-ḥaditha li 'l-ḳawānin al-Lubnāniyya*. The periodical publication *al-Ḥayāt al-niyābiyya*, issued since 1924, comprises original material about parliamentary debates as well as research on the Lebanese parliament. See also: V. de Saint Point, *La vérité sur la Syrie par un témoin*, Paris 1929, 170-220; H. Kohn, *Die staats- und verfassungsrechtliche Entwicklung der Republik Libanon*, in *Jahrbuch des Öffentlichen Rechts*

Socio-economic composition of Lebanese Chambers

	1943		1947		1951		1953		1957		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Landlords	31	53	29	53	36	45	18	41	22	33	26	27	28	28	28	17	20	14
Lawyers	23	39	17	31	29	36	20	45	26	39	27	27	30	30	44	27	38	27
Businessmen	19	32	14	25	28	35	12	27	12	18	27	27	31	31	45	27	48	34
Professionals	15	25	15	27	23	29	13	30	19	29	43	43	42	42	48	29	35	25

(In several cases, the figures may add up to more than the number of Members or to more than 100%, as more than one occupation was listed).

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(vii) *Jordan.*

The Emirate of Transjordan, carved out by ʿAbd Allāh in 1921 and recognised by the British as such in May 1923, has displayed strong British influence in its parliamentary structure and procedure, both during the Emirate itself and in the subsequent independent Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan (further: Jordan).

As early as July 1923, ʿAbd Allāh formed by decree a Committee to prepare an electoral law for a representative assembly. The law was ready in June 1924, although the entire Assembly project was postponed, reportedly due to British discouragement of the idea. In October 1926, a group of notables was convened to prepare another electoral law, meeting with similar results. More tangible progress was achieved, however, after the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty was signed on 20 February 1928. In accordance with

this Treaty, an Organic Law was promulgated on 16 April setting up a Legislative Council (*Madjlis tashrīʿī*), to be elected for three years by two-degree male suffrage. It was to consist of 16 Members, with guaranteed representation for the Christians (3), Circassians (2) and Bedouins (2). There was no Cabinet responsibility towards the Council. Laws passed by the latter required the approval of both the Emir and the British Resident, while the Council could not override the Emir's veto.

Despite repeated protests by nationalists that the Council was in effect merely consultative and unrepresentative of the people, it remained the basic instrument of parliamentary activity until 1946. In actual practice, it demonstrated greater independence than had been anticipated. The first Council demanded and obtained immunity and freedom of debate for its Members and was dissolved by the Emir on 9 February 1931, when it refused to approve the financing of the Desert Patrol. The lesson was not lost and the following four Councils appear to have been considerably less oppositionist towards the Emir.

Following the new Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 22 March 1946, which recognised Jordan's independence with ʿAbd Allāh as its King, a new constitution and an appropriate electoral law were promulgated. The constitution provided for a bicameral National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*). The Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) was to consist of 20 Members (12 Muslims, 4 Christians, 2 tribal representatives and 2 for the Circassians and Sheshans), elected by all male Jordanian citizens aged 18 or over. Candidates had to be at least 30 years of age; they were required to deposit a sum of money which would be forfeited in case of failure to be elected. The Senate (*Madjlis al-aʿyān*) was to number precisely half the membership of the Chamber and was to be appointed by the King, for eight years, from among more mature persons (at least 40 years of age), with half the Senators completing their terms every four years (as in ʿIrāḳ).

General elections were held on 20 October 1947, over the objections of nationalist circles that the King retained too much power under the 1947 Constitution and the Cabinet was not responsible to the Chamber. The only party running, the government-sponsored *al-Nahḍa* ("Revival"), obtained 4 seats; other seats were won by independents, also identified with the Establishment. In general, this Chamber —dissolved on 1 January 1950—was no different in character and tone from the Legislative Councils it had superseded.

More substantive change occurred after Jordan's annexation of a part of the West Bank in 1950 and the granting of citizenship (including the franchise) to its inhabitants. Since then, the political history of Jordan has been largely the struggle between an embattled monarchy and its Palestinian subjects. One of the fronts of this struggle was the Chamber (a cautious nomination policy prevented clashes in the Senate), practically the sole forum for uninhibited criticism and unhampered propaganda. General elections were held on 11 April 1950, with high voter participation, reportedly about 70 %. With the increased number of eligible voters, the Chamber's membership was increased in 1950 to 40, equally divided between East Jordanians and West Bankers. The latter also obtained 7 seats in the Jordanian Senate, whose membership was expanded to 20. The system favoured East Jordan by minimising representation of the more populous West Bank. Nevertheless, the West Bankers—who were more politically-conscious and less attached to the Royal House than the East Jordanians—ultimately altered much of the Chamber's character. Most of the Chamber's West Bankers introduced an ideological dimension both into electioneering and the Chamber's deliberations through their relations with political parties. This was so even when those parties were not legally permitted to run, which was virtually the general practice (since 1957, all parties have been banned). The following table illustrates the party affiliations of Members of the Chamber during the first twelve years after the enfranchisement of the West Bankers (based on Abu Jaber, see Bibliography).

The first Chamber to comprise West Bankers (Jordan's second since independence) had a nucleus of six or seven oppositionists, all West Bankers who, although a minority in the Chamber, often took the lead in the debates. Briefly stated, this Chamber behaved much as did the first Legislative Council in 1931. It refused to pass the budget and consequently was dissolved by the King in May 1951, with new elections called for 29 August. Although ʿAbd Allāh was assassinated on 20 July 1951, the August 1951 elections were held on time (with a voter participation of about 50%). In the new Chamber, the Opposition was even stronger and numbering about 14 of the 20 West Bankers. It was also more vociferous and passed a new constitution on 8 January 1952, which made the Cabinet (singly and jointly) responsible to parliament: a two-thirds majority no-confidence vote in the Chamber was to result in the dismissal of the Cabinet. Furthermore, the 1952 Constitution provided for legislation in both Houses and a joint session in case of disagreement; the King's veto could be overriden if each House re-adopted the law by a two-thirds majority. Foreign treaties and financial agreements were to be ratified in parliament. Immunity was reaffirmed and interpellation of Ministers introduced.

Parties in the Jordanian Chamber 1950-1961

Party	Second Chamber 20/4/50-3/5/51	Third Chamber 1/9/51-22/6/54	Fourth Chamber 17/10/54-26/6/56	Fifth Chamber 14/10/56-20/10/61
National Socialists	10	11	1	11
Communists	2	2	2	3
Baʿth	2	3	—	2
Arab Constitutional	8	9	17	4
Community (*al-Umma*)	2	1	—	1
Muslim Brethren	—	—	4	4
Liberation (*Taḥrīr*)	—	—	1	1
Independent Candidates	16	14	15	14
Total	40	40	40	40

The increase in the legislature's powers and concomitant curtailment of those of the Executive were noteworthy, even though in practice King Ḥusayn and the Cabinet frequently succeeded in circumventing these constitutional provisions during the turbulent years which followed. Nevertheless these provisions remained a frame of reference for the Opposition, which soon demanded and passed a constitutional amendment that established a simple majority (instead of two-thirds) as sufficient for a vote of no-confidence. Alarmed, the Palace dissolved the Chamber in January 1954, and reportedly rigged the general elections of 16 October 1954 (in which participation was about 57%). This election brought in a more compliant Chamber: (half of the Members of the previous Chamber were defeated and only 3 out of 18 Opposition Members were re-elected). Consequently, about 35 (of the 40) Members were loyal to the Government; much of the opposition became extra-parliamentary, with foreign elements allegedly inciting mob violence.

The general elections of 21 October 1956 almost entirely concerned foreign issues, and brought in the most radically nationalist Chamber until then. Most matters involved a traditional, pro-Western orientation versus a Pan-Arab (i.e., pro-Egyptian) policy. The King, favouring the former trend, won this contest of ideologies and succeeded in replacing some of the more radical Members of the Chamber. Meanwhile, the Chamber's membership had been raised to 50 and that of the Senate to 25. Elections to all subsequent Chambers were reportedly influenced by the Government and the Chambers were considerably more conservative politically. Although not always docile (several had to be dissolved), Chambers generally did find a *modus vivendi* with King and Cabinet.

In the general elections for the Sixth Chamber, held on 22 October 1961, only about a tenth of the electorate participated. Under the new Electoral Law of 22 May 1960, the Chamber's seats had been increased to 60 (with 10 earmarked for Christians and 2 for Circassians) and the Senate's to 30 (in both cases, half of the seats were earmarked for West Bankers). However, only 20 seats were contested in the 1961 elections. The Chamber was dissolved on 1 October 1962; general elections for the Seventh Chamber were held on 24 November. These elections were freer in nature and about 70% of the electorate participated. The Chamber was still politically moderate, perhaps due to the official ban on political parties. Still, it was bold enough to bring down the Cabinet in April 1963 and was consequently dissolved. During this period, the Baʿth had taken over in both ʿIrāḳ and Syria, firing the imagination of Pan-Arab nationalists in Jordan as well. Elections for the Eighth Chamber were held on 8 July 1963 and for the Ninth on 15 April 1967. Both elections yielded fairly conservative Chambers, probably the result of manipulation, with 21 and 7 candidates, respectively, returned unopposed.

Since the Six-Day War of June 1967, there have been no parliamentary elections in the Israeli-held West Bank, although some West Bankers visited ʿAmmān and assumed their seats in both Chamber and Senate several times. Since 1967, the ratio between East Jordanians and West Bankers has been maintained through the tactic of having Members decide how to fill vacant seats. Ḥusayn has continued to appoint Palestinians to the Cabinet, although the key Ministries have gone to East Jordanians. Lately, seeking to broaden its popular East Bank representation, the Jordanian Cabinet—acting on instruction from King Ḥusayn—decided (1 April 1973) to amend the state's electoral law in order to grant women both passive and active voting rights for the Chamber. Keeping Jordan's options open concerning its future relations with the West Bank, the Chamber—on the King's initiative—passed a constitutional amendment which empowered the King to dissolve the Senate as well and to postpone general elections for a period of up to one year. On 5 February 1976, the two Houses were called upon to approve another amendment, empowering the King to postpose the elections *sine die* and, meanwhile, to reconvene parliament as required.

However, the semblance of a king governing in consultation with his people had to be maintained. On 13 April 1978, Ḥusayn requested his government to enact a temporary law, providing for a National Consultative Council to assist the Executive. The new Council, nominated Governorate by Governorate, ought to comprise legal and competent persons, representing various public sectors. On 17 April, a royal decree promulgated the law instituting the National Consultative Council (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-istishārī*). It stipulated that the Council would be composed of 60 nominated Members, men and women, Jordanians, aged 30 or over, not simultaneously employed elsewhere, nor Senators. Its duties were to study and discuss all draft laws and advise the Cabinet before it approved them. The Members of the Council had full authority to demand explanations from the Ministers, on any subject, and to speak freely. The Council would be formed every two years. The King had the right to dissolve it at any time, or relieve a Member of his position. The Council was to be dissolved automatically when the suspended parliament was revived, after new elections.

There are apparently three main periods in Jordan's parliamentary history. During the first, when the country was still called Transjordan, the Emirate's Legislative Council was generally compliant with ʿAbd Allāh's wishes. During the second, commencing with independence and the annexation of the West Bank, the Chamber of Deputies (although not the Senate) witnessed the growth of a real Opposition. The Opposition, comprising part of the West Bankers' contingent, was concerned less with socio-economic affairs than with essentially political ones, chiefly relating to foreign policy, such as the non-recognition of Israel, a tougher border policy and the strengthening of Jordan's relations with one or more of the Arab states. The third era begins in 1967, when Jordan rules the West Bank no more and West Bank connexions with the parliament in ʿAmmān, although still extant, become weaker and less frequent.

The character of the Jordanian legislature has been markedly conservative, particularly during the first period, although later on as well, due to the regulation that gave the right-of-vote to tax-payers only. The Legislative Councils elected between 1931 and 1946 always comprised the same people (or their relatives)—all belonging to thirty six leading families. In the Chambers of Deputies elected between 1947 and 1967, despite the addition of the West Bankers and the increase in the number of Members, only 230 individuals, representing 183 prominent famlies, occupied the available 437 seats (details correct only for candidates originally elected, not for replacements).

This explains why the socio-economic character of the Chambers in the second period varied but

little. As to the educational level, West Bankers surprisingly had only a slight edge over the East Jordanians in the Chamber, perhaps because the latter sent some of their best men there (the less educated came from amongst the Bedouin). Even these differences disappeared by the mid-1960s with the overall increase in the educational level of the Chambers, as illustrated in the following table (based on Abu Jaber—see Bibliography).

Comparison of the level of education of members of the Second and Fifth Jordanian Chamber of Deputies

Level	Second Chamber 1950-1951		Fifth Chamber 1956-1961	
Elementary	5	12.5%	3	7.5%
Secondary	10	25.0%	13	32.5%
College	21	52.5%	23	57.5%
Illiterate	1	2.5%	1	2.5%
Unknown	3	7.5%	0	0
Total	40	100%	40	100%

Bibliography: The proceedings of the Legislative Council have appeared as *Mudhākarāt al-madjlis al-tashrīʿī al-Urdunnī*, ʿAmmān 1929-1946. Since 1947, they have appeared, in ʿAmmān, as *Mudhākarāt madjlis al-nuwwāb* and *Mudhākarāt madjlis al-aʿyān*. The laws passed by the Jordanian parliament are published in the official gazette, *al-Djarīda al rasmiyya* or its *Mulḥaḳ* (supplement). An English translation of many of them has been published by C. R. W. Seton, *Legislation of Transjordan 1918-1930*, i ii, London n.d. [1931]. See also Giannini, *Le costituzioni* ..., 385-422; Davis, 303-24; Davis[2], 235-66; E. Wright, *Abdallah's Jordan: 1947-1951*, in *MEJ*, v/4 (Autumn 1951), 439-60; *Constitution of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in *ibid.*, vi/2 (Spring 1952), 228-40; King ʿAbdallah of Jordan, *My memoirs completed* (*al Takmilah*), Washington, D.C. 1954, 13-22; Giannini, *Nuove costituzioni* ..., 54-70; R. K. Blandin, *Jordanie*, Givors 1955, 99-102; Levin, 93-128; al-Sayyid Ṣabrī, 279-87; Godchot, 263-87; France—Présidence du Conseil—Direction de la Documentation, *Constitution de la Fédération arabe* (*Iraq et Jordanie*) (*19 Mars 1958*), Paris 1958 (= *Notes et Études Documentaires*, 2413); A. Dearden, *Jordan*, London 1958, 95-109, 125 ff.; G. L. Harris, *Jordan: its people, its society, its culture*, New York 1958, 90-1; R. Patai, *The Kingdom of Jordan*, Princeton, N.J. 1958, 46-7, 92-3; Munīb al-Māḍī and Sulaymān Mūsā, *Taʾrīkh al-Urdunn fi 'l-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*, n.p. 1959; B. Shawdran, *Jordan: a state of tension*, New York 1959, 171-7, 291-2, 340-2; G. Sparrow, *Hussein of Jordan*, London 1960, 43-4, 108-16, 142-3; idem, *Modern Jordan*, London 1961, 41-55; Ye. Orlov and N. Sashko, *Gosudarstvenniy stroy Yordanii*, Moscow 1961, 37-50; King Hussein, *Uneasy lies the head*, n.p. 1962, 153 ff.; Muhammad Khalil, i, 43-75; *Sovremennaya Yordaniya* (*spravočnik*), Moscow 1964, 135-9; A. H. H. Abidi, *Jordan: a political study 1948-1957*, London 1965, 66 ff., 88 ff., 96 ff., 117 ff., 130-1, 142 ff., 185-7; France—Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement—Direction de la Documentation, *Constitution du Royaume de Jordanie Hachemite* (*texte mis à jour en 1965*). Paris 1966; C. Bailey, *The participation of the Palestinians in the politics of Jordan*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, New York 1966, 101-3, 117-24, 138-9; Peaslee[3], ii (1966), 534-57; A. M. Goichon, *Jordanie réelle*, N.P. 1967, i, 358-68; Ḥasan al-Ḥasan, *al-Anẓima* ..., 299-313; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Politics and the military in Jordan*, London 1967, 47-51; al Marayati, *Middle Eastern constitutions* ..., 139-97; K. S. Abu Jaber, *The legislature of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: a study in political development*, in *MW*, lix/3-4 (July-Oct. 1969), 220-50; W. Sands, *The Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in Ismael, ed., *Governments* ..., 283-303; Abboushi, *Political systems* ..., 267-84; Nasser H. Aruri, *Jordan: a study in political development* (*1921-1957*), The Hague 1972, 100-13, 122-7, 133-8, 148-50, 174-81; Blaustein and Flanz, eds., *Constitutions* ..., vii (1972): *Jordan*; *Madjlis al-umma al-Urdunniyya fī khamsīn ʿāman*, ʿAmmān 1972; Gholam H. Razi, *Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in al-Marayati, ed., *The Middle East*..., 230-54; P. Snow, *Hussein: a biography*, London 1972, 98 ff.; R. F. Nyrop *et alii*, *Area handbook for the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, Washington, D.C. 1974, 136-7, 139-40, 155 ff.; M. Haas, *Husseins Königreich: Jordaniens Stellung im Nahen Osten*, Munich 1975, 15-26, 201 ff.; Bailey, *Cabinet formation in Jordan*, in A. Sinai and A. Pollack, eds., *The Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank: a handbook*, New York 1977, 102-13; Huzzāʿ al-Madjālī, *Mudhakkirātī*, Jerusalem n.d.; M. ʿA. B. Shirdān, *al-Urdunn bayn ʿahdayn*, n.p., n.d.

(viii) *Saudi Arabia*.

Saudi Arabia has not yet established anything resembling a parliament, although the matter has been occasionally mentioned among the ruling circles as something to be dealt with in the future. The King has delegated authority to various councils and committees, although no representative institution has been set up to date (1978). The King retains most powers and is a *Madjlis* unto himself (as vividly described in *Time*, 29 May 1978, p. 23). The Ministers, headed by the King, fulfill the function of a legislative as well as executive body. A Ministry of Justice co-ordinates laws and regulations with the injunctions of the *shariʿa*.

Bibliography: Davis[2], 371 ff.; Levin, 421 ff.; Godchot, 27 ff.; France—Présidence du Conseil—Direction de la Documentation, *Textes constitutionnels sur l'organisation des pouvoirs publics en Arabie Séoudite* (*règlement du 4 mai 1958*), Paris 1958 (= *Notes et Études Documentaires*, 2465); G. A. Lipski *et alii*, *Saudi Arabia: its people, its society, its culture*, New Haven, Conn. 1959, 106 ff.; Muhammad Khalil, i, 235 ff.; Peaslee[3], ii (1966), 1088 ff.; G. J.-L. Soulié and Lucien Champenois, *Le royaume d'Arabie Saoudite face à l'Islam révolutionnaire, 1953-1964*, Paris 1966; Ḥasan al-Ḥasan, *al Anẓima* ..., 335-47; al Marayati, *Middle Eastern constitutions* ..., 293 ff.; Abdul H. Raoof, *The kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, in Ismael, *Governments* ..., 353 ff.; D. E. Long, *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, in al-Marayati, ed., *The Middle East* ..., 255 ff.; Hamad Sadun al-Hamad, *The legislative process and the development of Saudi Arabia*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Southern California 1973; Muḥammad Ismāʿīl ʿAlam al-Dīn *et alii*, *al-Mabādiʾ al-ʿāmma li 'l-tashrīʿ fī 'l-Mamlaka al-ʿArabiyya al-Suʿūdiyya*, n.p. 1395/1975; Blaustein and Flanz, eds., *Constitutions* ..., xi (1976): *Saudi Arabia*; R. F. Nyrop *et alii*, *Area handbook for Saudi Arabia*[3], Washington, D.C. 1977, 172 ff.; D. E. Long, 27-8.

(ix) *Kuwait.*

Independent since June 1961, Kuwayt soon began to introduce some changes in the paternalistic, absolute rule of its Amīr. In 1938, a Consultative Assembly had been established. Although headed by the Crown Prince and mostly nominated, it voiced criticism of foreign concessions in Kuwayt. It was dissolved soon afterwards because of anti-British sentiment expressed by its nationalists. Following a decree of the Amīr on 26 August 1961, an electoral law, decreeing a Constituent Assembly, was issued on 7 October 1961, granting the franchise to all literate male citizens aged 21 or over; candidates were to be literate male citizens, aged 30 or over. Elections were held that December for 20 seats in the Constituent Assembly; Ministers constituted the other members. The Assembly first met on 20 January 1962 and drafted a constitution, promulgated on 11 November.

The constitution provides for a National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*), elected every four years, comprising 50 members. The right to vote is granted to literate male citizens aged 21 or over, with ten constituencies each electing five members. Candidates stand as individuals (as no political parties are allowed); they must be male citizens aged 30 or over. The Assembly is in session eight months per year. The main powers of the National Assembly are legislative (although the Amīr has the right of veto), discussing general policy and ratifying foreign agreements. Members enjoy parliamentary immunity. Ministers are responsible *singly* before the Assembly and *collectively* before the Amīr alone; this means that the Assembly cannot topple the Cabinet by a no-confidence vote. Both this and the right-of-veto reflect the paternalistic attitude of the Amīr towards the National Assembly.

The first elections were held on 23 January 1963, then in January of 1967, 1971 and 1975. The electoral base was very narrow, only about 50,000 Kuwaiti citizens having the right to vote. In every Assembly, several members formed an opposition, noted for its leftist views, to the Amīr and his government; although a minority, they were usually educated, articulate and active, often demanding more powers for the National Assembly. In April 1963, they requested abrogation of the defence arrangements with Great Britain and rapprochement with Egypt or Syria. In December 1965, seven opposition members resigned from the National Assembly, protesting limitations on individual liberties and on the Kuwayti press. Late in 1972, an opposition group succeeded in persuading the Assembly to refuse the ratification of Kuwayt in the Oil Participation Agreement. The Amīr, who had had enough of such activities, suspended the constitution and the National Assembly on 29 August 1976.

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(x) *Al-Baḥrayn.*

The Shaykh of al-Baḥrayn held both executive and legislative powers until independence was declared in August 1971. Soon afterwards, the Amīr announced his intention to draft a written constitution. After some consultation, he promulgated a decree on 20 June 1972, establishing a Constituent Assembly for the drafting of a constitution; a later law, promulgated on 16 July, specified the manner of election to the above Assembly. It was to comprise 22 members, elected in 8 districts by all male citizens aged 20 or over, excepting the military, the police and criminals; candidates had to be aged 30 or over and literate. In addition, the Assembly was to include another ten members nominated by the Amīr and his Ministers. Both the above laws closely followed the Kuwayti model, as did the subsequent constitution.

Elections for the Constituent Assembly were held on 1 December 1972, after a fairly heated campaign in which candidates appeared to consider seriously statements by the Amīr concerning the advantages of democracy. This mood probably helped bring about the very large voter participation of 88.5%. Efforts by leftist groups to influence the electorate failed, while moderate, conservative candidates generally succeeded in these elections. The Shīʿī minority cast bloc-votes for candidates of their own denomination. Consequently, elected members were mostly Shīʿī (14 out of 22), young (11 of the 22 were under 39 years of age) and well-educated (8 of the 22 were university graduates and another 2 had studied at universities for two years or more). The Amīr and his Cabinet, always cautious to maintain the Sunnī-Shīʿī balance, corrected the above ratio by their own nominations (so that the Assembly comprised 21 Sunnīs and 21 Shīʿīs).

The Constituent Assembly, which was first convened on 16 December 1972, approved a constitution in June 1973—essentially the draft submitted by the Cabinet, although several additional safeguards for constitution and Assembly were worked in. This constitution provided for a National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī*) of 30 elected members (the second legislature was to have 40) and no more than 12 Ministers, to be elected every four years. The Assembly's powers were mainly legislative, although one of its attributes was the authority to grant conces-

sions concerning the natural resources of al-Baḥrayn.

The first election to the National Assembly, held on 7 December 1973, was even livelier than the Constituent Assembly campaign. About 250,000 people had the right to vote. The number of constituencies had been increased from 8 to 20, half of which elected two members each and the other one member each. Not unexpectedly, this gave rise to charges of gerrymandering. The issues ranged from socio-economic (women's suffrage, unemployment, inflation) to religious (Shīʿīs versus Sunnīs) to political (various ideologies competed, although parties were banned). A count of those sympathetic to the nationalists and the socialists indicates radicalisation in the make-up of the National Assembly, as compared to that of the Constituent Assembly. Consequently, the December 1973 Assembly displayed independence towards the Amir and even criticised his policies; therefore, the Amīr dissolved the Assembly on 26 August 1975. By 1978, it had not yet been re-convened.

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(xi) *Ḳaṭar*.

The Shaykh of Ḳaṭar maintained all executive and legislative powers until 2 April 1970, when a provisional constitution was promulgated (even before Ḳaṭar became independent). This provided for a Consultative Assembly (*Madjlis al-shūrā*), comprising 33 members: 30 elected, 3 nominated by the ruler (in practice, from his own family) and ten Ministers. Ḳaṭar was divided into ten constituencies, each electing four members, the ruler himself ultimately selecting three out of each four. Candidates had to be born Ḳaṭar citizens, aged 24 or over, with no criminal record. No political parties were allowed, as elections were meant to be personal. The Consultative Assembly is elected for three years (with the option of another three-year extension). It meets eight months per year (with at least one meeting each month) and is to deliberate and pass laws submitted to it by the Cabinet; to approve the budget; and to discuss overall policy-making in Ḳaṭar.

Ḳaṭar became an independent Amīrate in September 1971; an amended Provisional Constitution was promulgated in April 1972. On 23 April, the Amīr nominated the first Consultative Assembly. In May 1975, its term was renewed by the Amīr for another three years. It appears to have consistently obeyed the Amīr. The only constraints over his powers are Islam and family relations.

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(xii) *United Arab Emirates*.

The United Arab Emirates, a federation of seven former Trucial Coast principalities [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA in Suppl.], was established, after protracted negotiations and some initial difficulties, on 2 September 1971. A provisional constitution was agreed upon on 18 July 1971 and extended for another five years in November 1976. This constitution and other agreements declared that although the patternalistic rule of each Amīr was to continue, matters of federal interest were to be settled by the Supreme Council (*al-Madjlis al-aʿlā*) of the seven Amīrs, aided by an appointed federal Cabinet.

Legislative authority was vested in the Federal National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-aʿlā*), comprising 40 members delegated by the seven states according to the following distribution:

Abū Ẓabī	8
Dubayy	8
al-Shāriḳa (Sharja)	6
Ra's al-Khayma	6
ʿAdjmān	4
Fudjayra	4
Umm al-Ḳaywayn	4
Total	40

The mode of selection was left to each member state (in practice, they are nominated by the respective Amīrs). The Assembly's term is two years; sessions commence each November and last for six months. Its main functions are to debate the federal budget and drafts of laws presented to it by the federal Cabinet. The Cabinet must inform the Assembly about international agreements. Voting is by simple majority and Assembly Members enjoy immunity. The President of the United Arab Emirates—who has continuously been the Amīr of Abū Ẓabī—may dissolve the Assembly.

In actual practice, the Federal National Assembly is merely a consultative body, debating mostly matters of internal interest to the federation. Its character is largely determined by the fact that all members are appointed by the Amīrs, who select males from their own families or from among the community of wealthy merchants and businessmen, interested in preservation of the status quo. In addition, the powers of the Federal National Assembly are limited, in practice, by the fact that each state legislates individually according to the *sharīʿa*. Abū Ẓabī even has an Advisory National Council (*al-Madjlis al-istishārī al-waṭanī*) of its own, comprising 50 nominated members, although with no meaningful power.

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(xiii) *ʿUmān.*

The Ibāḍī Imām of ʿUmān (and Muscat) is its Sultan as well. In these two capacities, he functions as an absolute ruler. The Sultan and his family have not yet considered (1978) the establishment of parliamentary institutions in ʿUmān, nor have they promulgated any sort of constitution.

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(xiv) *Yemen.*

The Yemen Arab Republic (formerly Yemen, sometimes referred to as North Yemen) has had a fairly recent and brief parliamentary history. Under the Imāmate, the Imām was an absolute ruler, subject to the Ḳurʾān and the *sharīʿa*. He alone held executive, legislative and judicial powers and there were no representative institutions. Although Yemen joined with Egypt and Syria in a United Arab Republic on 8 March 1958, it did not send any representatives to the National Assembly of the UAR in Cairo. The revolution of 26 September 1962 gave birth to the Republic and touched off a six-year civil war. The republicans promulgated their first constitution on 27 April 1964, which also provided for a Consultative Assembly to be selected from among Yemen's learned men for a three-year term. Its main tasks were to be passing laws and advising the government in public policy. During the civil war, however, this constitution was not put into practice.

Since March 1963, Yemen had a legislature, the 45-member consultative National Council, nominated to afford a fairly wide occupational and geographical representation. It comprised 20 *shaykhs* (tribal and rural), 9 *ʿulamāʾ*, 8 more persons with formal education and 8 merchants. The Council's first task was to elect the President of the Republican Council —who was also to be State President, and head of the republican government at Ṣanʿāʾ. In the summer of 1970, its membership was increased to 63, including 12 Royalist representatives.

Several provisional, Islam-oriented constitutions were drafted, beginning with the one promulgated on 3 October 1962. The permanent constitution of 28 December 1970 described Yemen as "an Arab Islamic state", with the *sharīʿa* as the source of all legislation. It established a Consultative Assembly (*Madjlis shūrā*), as a legislative body to supervise the Executive. The Assembly comprised 159 members, of whom 139 were elected and 20 nominated by the Executive. Voters had to be at least 18 and candidates, 25; the Assembly's term was set at four years.

The first elections to the Consultative Assembly were held in February-March 1971, without the participation of political parties (banned in the Republic). Elections were two-degree: villages and tribes selected their representatives, which then elected 139 Members of the Assembly. After nomination of the remaining 20, the Assembly met to select a three-man Presidential Council—which, in actual practice, was responsible for nearly all major decisions, while the Consultative Assembly offered advice only when asked to do so.

After a bloodless military coup in Ṣanʿāʾ on 13 June 1974, the Military Command Council suspended both the constitution and the Consultative Assembly; a new, provisional constitution was promulgated, granting the Military Command Council both executive and legislative powers. Nevertheless, the Consultative Assembly was re-convened in November 1974, under the pressure of tribal chieftains, then suspended again in September 1975, without much achievement. Its critics argued that it had been a forum for self-interested cliques, with no real understanding of national development. Brief and unstable in its history, parliamentarism in Yemen appears to lack a firm foundation to this very day.

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(xv) *South Yemen.*

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (sometimes called South Yemen) was established on 30 November 1967, upon the departure of the last British troops from Aden. This withdrawal followed the failure of the British to bring about a Federation of South Arabia between the Colony of Aden and the former Protectorates bordering it. The issue had been hotly debated in the Legislative Council, the only apparent representative institution in the Colony of Aden. Inaugurated in 1947 as an entirely nominated body, it was changed in 1955 to include an elected element—largely because of pressure by the Aden Association (a group formed in 1950-1 to promote greater Adenese participation in the government, which consequently advocated independence). In the 1955 elections, 4 of its Members were elected; and in 1959 and 1964, 12 (out of 24).

The Front for the National Liberation of South Yemen has ruled the new state since 30 November 1967. Soon becoming the sole legal party and renamed the National Front, its General Command circulated a draft of a constitution in order to obtain reactions; in November 1970, this constitution was promulgated. It vested legislative powers in the Supreme People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb al-*

aʿlā) of 101 members, elected for three years. Of these, 86 were to be elected by all those aged 18 or over, through local councils, under the supervision of the General Command of the National Front, and another 15 by the Trade Union Federation. A quota was reserved for women among the 86 (though they could run independently as well).

The formal powers of the Supreme People's Assembly were fairly wide-ranging: election of the state President and Cabinet; debating and passing of laws, including the budget and development plans; ratification of international agreements and the anouncing of a state of emergency. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity.

As the local councils required for the elections were not in existence in 1970, a provisional Supreme Peoples' Assembly was nominated by the National Front. It first met between 31 July and 4 August 1971, in order to elect certain state officials, as directed by the National Front. Insofar as can be ascertained, this nominated Supreme People's Assembly has continued to meet regularly, passing laws presented to it by the Cabinet and debating and approving economic plans. However, the Assembly's constant subservience to the National Front has minimised its effectiveness considerably. The first elections in South Yemen to the Supreme People's Assembly were held on 18 December 1978; it is not known whether its powers versus the National Front have changed since.

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(xvi) *Egypt*

Egypt was the first part of the Ottoman Empire to experiment with parliamentary bodies (in 1866). Earlier, in 1829, Muḥammad ʿAlī had instituted a Consultative Council (*Madjlis al-mas̲h̲wara*), although it was merely an advisory board, meeting only once a year. Ismāʿīl was the first to endow Egypt with a representative assembly modelled on Western European parliaments, even though he undoubtedly intended it to remain solely advisory. This body, the "Assembly of Delegates" (*Madjlis s̲h̲ūrā al-nuwwāb*) was constituted in November 1866 by Khedivial decree (for the text of this decree, see Bibliography—*Ḥudūd wa-niẓāmnāmat madjlis s̲h̲ūrā al-nuwwāb al-miṣriyya*). The 75 members, Egyptians aged at least 25, were to be elected for three years, indirectly, as befitted a partially-illiterate population; in addition, it enabled the Khedive to exercise better control over the results. This intention was also manifested in the paragraphs prohibiting Delegates from receiving petitions, limiting them to debate over purely internal affairs and to proffering advice on projects submitted to them by the Khedive's Council of Ministers (*Madjlis al-wuzarāʾ*). In any event, all decisions had to be ratified by the Khedive, who nominated the Assembly's President and Vice-President and had the exclusive right to convene, adjourn and dissolve it. The Assembly's name was changed to *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* at the end of Ismāʿīl's rule, although its functions underwent no essential changes. These Assemblies were convened for several weeks per year, most likely in order to impress Egypt's creditors—especially the European Powers—with the supposed liberal-constitutional views of its ruler. However, the general ferment in Egypt in the late 1870s and 1880s led to the Assemblies demanding a greater share in decision-making, which they did obtain in February-March 1882. Soon afterwards, however, the Assemblies were adjourned, during the events leading to the British armed intervention; they were never convened subsequently.

Soon after the British Occupation, Lord Dufferin issued a special report suggesting the institution of a Legislative Council (*Madjlis s̲h̲ūrā al-ḳawānīn*) and a General Assembly (*al-Djamʿiyya al-ʿumūmiyya*), both of which functioned from 1883 to 1912. The first was to consist of 30 members of whom 14, including the President, were to be appointed by the Khedive and his Ministers; the other 16 were to be elected for 6 years by indirect balloting. It would debate (but not initiate), legislation and discuss the budget. The second was to consist of eighty-two members, including the Ministers, the Legislative Council and another 46 members elected for 6 years from among candidates over 30 years old, literate and who paid at least £ E. 50 per annum in direct taxes. The first body met 5 times per year and the second—at least once every two years to debate more important matters, including new taxes. While these partly-appointed bodies were less representative than the Assembly of Delegates, they had a greater share in approving government expenses.

These bodies were superseded by a unicameral Legislative Assembly (*al-Djamʿiyya al-tas̲h̲rīʿiyya*), according to a Fundamental Law, issued on 1 July 1913, initiated by Lord Kitchener, then Great Britain's Consul-General in Egypt. In addition to the Ministers and 66 elected members, this Assembly was to include another 17, nominated in order to guarantee minimal representation for the Copts, Bedouins, merchants, physicians, engineers and teachers. Elections were to be indirect, with candidates aged at least 32, literate and paying a minimum amount of taxes. The mandate of the members was to be for six years, with one-third of the membership renewed every two years. Most important amongst the prerogatives ascribed to the Legislative Assembly were that no new law could be passed before it had been debated and no new tax imposed before it had been duly approved. The Assembly met several times during 1914, although its convocation was postponed again and again following the outbreak of World War I and it never reconvened subsequently.

The Constitution of 19 April 1923, superseded by a less liberal one on 22 October 1930, was reinstated on 12 December 1935. Essentially modelled on the 1830 Belgian Constitution, it provided for a monarchy largely in control of parliament. The latter was to be bicameral, comprising an Assembly of Representatives (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*). The former was to be elected for five years by indirect balloting; candidates were to be at least 30 years old and literate. Two-fifths of the latter were appointed and three-fifths elected by indirect balloting. The term of office was ten years, with half of the Senators, appointed and elected alike, leaving every five years. Senators had to be at least 40 years old and enjoy a certain social and economic status. The King and either House had the right to initiate legislation. Every law had to be passed by both Houses; the King had the right of veto, although it could be over-ridden by a two-thirds majority. The Assembly had a slight advantage over the Senate in discussing the budget and voting confidence in the government; however, unlike the Assembly, the Senate could not be dissolved, but merely ajourned.

Attempts by King Fu'ād [see FU'ĀD AL-AWWAL] to increase his prerogatives at the expense of Parliament—despite opposition by the Wafd Party—culminated in his promulgating a new constitution, by Royal Decree, on 22 October 1930. The new constitution raised obstacles to parliamentary censure, increased the proportion of appointed Senators from two to three-fifths (60 out of 100) and empowered the Executive to legislate during the parliamentary recess. In addition, the Assembly of Representatives could not initiate financial laws, while the King could do so. Modifications in the electoral law favoured the King and his supporters; the number of Representatives was reduced from 235 to 150.

The 1923 Constitution was reinstated, on 12 December 1935, with all its former parliamentary attributes; it remained in effect until the Revolution of 23 July 1952. The constitution was formally abolished on 10 December 1952 and political parties disbanded on 13 January 1953. Since April 1954, the new régime had declared repeatedly its intention to return to some form of parliamentary rule. The new constitution of the Republic of Egypt was promulgated on 16 January 1956 and approved by a popular referendum. It provided for a 350-member unicameral National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*), to be elected every five years by general, secret and direct balloting, controlled by the National Union (established in May 1957 and the only political grouping permitted). For the first time, women were granted the passive and active franchise, although voting was compulsory for males only. Voters had to be aged 18 or over, with no criminal record; candidates had to be 30 or over and literate. Some 2,528 candidates filed papers, although only 1,318 were approved after a screening by the National Union, including 5 out of the 16 female candidates (of the 5, two were elected—the first women to serve in any Arab parliament). Elections were held on 3 July 1957.

Most, although not all legislation was vested in the National Assembly; legislation was, in fact, its only significant attribute. It first met from July 1957 to February 1958, when the United Arab Republic (UAR) of Egypt and Syria was established. The 1957 parliament was dissolved and a new provisional constitution for the UAR was promulgated on 5 March 1958, providing for a joint National Assembly, to be convened in Cairo, with 400 Egyptian and 200 Syrian members. The first UAR National Assembly, mostly nominated by Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], duly met on 21 July 1960. Its powers and tasks approximated to those of the 1957 National Assembly, although legislation continued to be promulgated largely by presidental decree.

The joint parliament was dissolved when the UAR broke up on 28 September 1961. The 1962 founding of the Arab Socialist Union (as successor to the National Union) and the Constitution of 25 March 1964—which later was the basis (with a few modifications) for that of 1971—determined anew the prerogatives of parliament. The new National Assembly first met on 26 March 1964; its first act was to ratify the provisional constitution. It met regularly and was renamed The People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*) in May 1971. Its 350 members are elected for five years, by general, secret and direct balloting in 175 constituencies (two members in each). Candidates must be approved by the Arab Socialist Union; at least half of those elected must be peasants (owning no more than 25 acres of land) and workers. Another 10 members are nominated by the State President. Members enjoy parliamentary immunity, although they may be deprived of their seats by a motion of twenty members and a subsequent vote of two-thirds of the Assembly. The President of the Republic, his Ministers and members of the Assembly may initiate legislation. Proposed laws are studied and screened in parliamentary committees and subsequently submitted for voting in the plenary.

The most recent People's Assembly elections to date (1978) were held on 28 October 1976, with a second ballot on 4 November for those candidates who did not obtain 51 % of the vote in their constituencies in the first round. There were about 9,500,000 registered voters; participation was compulsory for men and optional for women. There were 1,531 candidates, of whom more than half were running for the first time. About 56 % of all the candidates were independents, while concerning the others, a novel situation had arisen. The Arab Socialist Union was then, officially, still the only party allowed to contest the elections. In 1976, however, it served more as an organisational framework, within which several parties were competing with one another (a situation legalised, *post facto*, by the June 1977 Party Law). In 1976, these were the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt (centrist) the Socialist Liberals (right-of-centre), and the Patriotic Progressive Unionist Alignment (left-of-centre). In the first round, the first won 280 seats, the second 12, the third 2, and independents 48. After the remaining 8 seats were decided, in the second round, the State President appointed another 10 Members (all of the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt), and several independents and others crossed the lines; the final allegiances were as follows:

The Arab Socialist Party of Egypt	312
The Socialist Liberals	11
The Patriotic Progressive Unionists Alignment	3
Independents	34
Total	360

On 29 June 1977, the People's Assembly adopted the new Party Law, liberalising the situation within limits and legitimising certain groups, which had previously been forced to act clandestinely. The debate within the Assembly became livelier, regarding both legislation and policy-making, and frank criticism was expressed more frequently. The government, however, remained secure in the Assembly's support. On 22 July 1978, President Anwar al-Sādāt

announced the formation of his own party, the National Democratic Party, which 306 of the Arab Socialist Party Members in the People's Assembly joined on 21 September 1978. Following this merger, the National Democratic Party became the ruling party in the state and in the People's Assembly (subsequently winning a handsome majority in the 7 June 1979 general elections to this body).

The history of parliamentary institutions in Egypt may be divided into three principal periods. The first, from 1866 to 1914, is the stage of experimentation with Western parliamentary models, advising the ruler and largely dependent on him (or on the British Occupation, after 1882), with no political parties playing any significant role. The second, from 1924 to 1952, represents the closest approach in Egypt to a multi-party representative body, debating policy, passing legislation and in frequent conflict with the executive, particularly until Fuʾād's death and Fārūḳ's accession in 1936. Even so, during this period, only one parliament completed the five-year term allotted to it (1945-50). The Wafd Party, victorious in the Assembly in the first elections (1924) with 150 out of 211 members, frequently (although not always) repeated its victories, thus compelling the King to dissolve parliament. The third period, from 1957 to date, represents a move towards the single-party parliamentary model (with a reported turnout of over 90% of the voters and nearly 100% support), generally subservient to the executive power of the President of the Republic. This has been particularly evident since 1967, when the Assembly empowered the President of the Republic to issue laws by decree, indefinitely. During the late 1960s, some 6,000 such laws were issued annually. However, the situation has changed somewhat since the Assembly elections of October-November 1971, particularly due to the relative liberalisation of the regime under Anwar al-Sādāt—one sign of which has been the renewal of multi-party activity. Consequently, opposition to the State President is being voiced more freely now (1978) and the standing of the People's Assembly has risen, even though it has to its credit few crucial policy-making decisions.

Due to the limited role of parliament in the decision-making process, Egyptian parliamentarians can hardly be considered a very important component of the country's political élite, except, perhaps, during the multi-party era. Nevertheless, the socio-economic make-up of Egypt's Assemblies may serve as an indication of the shift in the balance of power. To some extent, this has been determined by the electoral system—indirect balloting in the first period, which facilitated the decision of public functionaries. Indirect balloting during the multi-party period, subverted by the power structure and the wealthy (as Egyptians were the first to admit), enabled constant re-election of the politicians and the rich. The single-party controlled election system under the Republic enabled those trusted by the new régime to enter parliament.

While no definite studies of the socio-economic composition of the Assemblies are available, some incomplete data confirm the trends influenced by the electoral system. In the first Assembly, elected in 1866, there were 58 *ʿumda*s out of a total membership of 75; the proportion of *ʿumda*s decreased from one Assembly to the other. Since 1924, parliament has become more broadly representative, although landowners, businessmen and professionals (chiefly lawyers) played an important and possibly decisive role. In the Republic, the Assemblies of the late 1950s and early 1960s comprised a relatively large proportion of lawyers, businessmen, bureaucrats, officers and landowners, but very few workers and peasants. For example, according to the calculations of H. Hopkins, 332 ff. (see Bibliography), the Assembly of 1957-8 comprised one-third lawyers and businessmen, nearly one-third senior civil servants, ex-Ministers, former officers and landowners, and about one-third village *ʿumdas* and *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s—but very few peasants and even fewer workers. This situation was reversed by legislation in the Assembly elected in 1964, where only 76 members—out of a total of 360—had served in previous Assemblies. Out of the 350 elected members, about 114 had registered as *fallāḥīn* and another 75 as workers. Other groups—academics, journalists, lawyers, physicians and Bedouins—numbered considerably fewer. The Christians elected were under-represented (one Copt and one Greek); this was partially corrected by allotting 8 out of the 10 appointed seats to Christians. Since 1964, more than half (actually, 50% to 60%) of the membership has comprised workers and peasants, although few indeed hold important positions (such as Ministers or chairmen of parliamentary committees).

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(xvii) *Sudan.*

Sudan's parliamentary history commenced later than that of Egypt and several Maghrib states; the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, set up in 1899, did not provide for development of any meaningfully representative institutions. It was only in September 1943 that the British authorities, aware of rising nationalist sentiment, announced their intention of setting up an Advisory Council (*Madjlis istishārī*), comprising 18 members elected by all of Sudan's northern districts; another 2 elected by the Chamber of Commerce; and 8 others nominated by the Government General (to secure representation for social and economic groups). The Governor-General himself was to be the Council's president; the civil, financial and legal secretaries were to be full members. The Advisory Council was inaugurated on 15 May 1944, despite the protests of Egypt, which had not been consulted and of some Sudanese, who criticised its partially-nominated character, its being restricted to advisory functions and the exclusion of representatives from southern Sudan. Nevertheless, in retrospect, the creation of the Advisory Council may be seen as the first serious

British attempt to come to terms with Sudanese nationalism.

After the end of the Second World War, Sudanisation proceeded swiftly and comprised representative bodies as well. A joint British-Sudanese administrative conference met for several months during 1946 and 1947, suggesting the foundation of a Legislative Assembly and Executive Council, based largely on the British model. As the Egyptian government was reluctant to commit itself to a project which endangered its future ties with Sudan, the British went ahead alone and on 14 June 1948 authorised the governor-general to promulgate an ordinance establishing the above institutions. According to this ordinance, the Legislative Assembly (*Djamʿiyya tashriʿiyya*), elected for three years, was to represent all of Sudan; the inclusion of the south in the Assembly was a significant step in Sudanese integration. It provided for 52 elected members to represent the north and another 13 to represent the south. The governor-general could nominate up to 10 members; several were to present the executive. Of the 65 elected members, 10 would be elected directly in towns and the others by indirect elections in the rest of the Sudan. Voters must be Sudanese, male and aged 25 or over; candidates must be Sudanese, male and aged 30 or over. An Executive Council (*Madjlis tanfīdhī*), comprising between 12 and 18 members (at least half of them Sudanese), headed by the leader of the Legislative Assembly, was to supersede the governor-general's Council. The governor-general still retained important powers: vetoing decisions of the Executive Council, the right to legislative by ordinance, and excluding certain matters from the Legislative Assembly's competence. Nevertheless, Sudan's parliament had come into its own. The elections held in November 1948 were boycotted by political parties favouring union with Egypt. The first Legislative Assembly met on 15 December 1948, with the Umma party —favouring self-determination for the Sudan and amicable relations with the British—in the majority. Another influential group was that of the north Sudan tribal chieftains—self-styled Socialist Republicans.

The first Legislative Assembly, using both Arabic and English, debated economic matters, such as the Budget, local affairs, labour legislation and the introduction of Arabic in the administration and education of southern Sudan. Its most immediate concern, however, was relations with Britain and Egypt in the context of Sudan's own political future. A "Self-Government Statute" was enacted by the Legislative Assembly on 23 April 1952, providing for an entirely Sudanese Cabinet responsible to a bicameral parliament—a Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*); the governor-general would retain some authority on internal affairs—particularly in public services and in southern Sudanese matters—and exclusive powers in foreign relations. After initial strong opposition, Egypt eventually accepted the Statute. In the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953, however, Egypt made a bid for popularity in the Sudan against the British and suggested several modifications in the Statute, which the British could not reject. An elaborate plan was worked out for a maximum three-year transition period from self-government to self-determination. This provided, among other arrangements, for a specially-elected Constituent Assembly to decide between complete independence for the Sudan and links with Egypt. An internal commission supervised the elections to this Assembly, in November-December 1953. Voting was by constituencies; voters had to be 21 or over and resident in their respective constituencies for a period of not less than six months. The National Unionist Party on a decisive victory in both Houses (51 out of 97 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 22 out of 30 elected seats in the Senate).

The new Sudanese parliament, meeting as a Constituent Assembly (*Madjlis ta'sīsī*), was convened on 1 January 1954. The majority National Unionist Party, formerly assumed to favour union with Egypt, correctly interpreted the mood of the country and gradually changed direction. On 19 December 1955, the Chamber of Deputies declared Sudan's independence; the Senate declared its support three days later. A transitional constitution, largely based on the 1952 Self-Government Statute, was adopted and the Republic of Sudan was proclaimed on 1 January 1956. The struggle for independence gave way to translating sovereignty into practical terms, which meant parliamentary debates and decisions on numerous issues, including relations between North and South Sudan. Sudan's parliament was rather hampered by a spirit of factionalism, expressing itself through groups leaving the political parties and forming strong new *rapprochements*.

Parliament was dissolved on 30 June 1957. General elections were held between 27 February and 9 March 1958, with the number of Members of the Chamber of Deputies raised from 97 to 173, to be elected by constituencies of 50,000-70,000 inhabitants each. The Senate remained the same: 50 members of whom 30 were elected. The new parliament met on 20 March 1958 with the Umma party holding 63 seats; it formed a Coalition Cabinet with the People's Democratic Party, a group which had broken away from the National Unionist Party. The disparity between these two partners, the constant bickering between the other factions and rumours of corruption in high circles discredited both parliament and government. The military, led by Ibrāhīm ʿAbbūd, thereupon seized power on 17 November 1958. Among its first acts were to suspend the transitional constitution, ban political parties and dissolve parliament. The work of the Legislative Assembly ceased; moderate legislative powers were granted to a Central Council, two-thirds of whose members were elected by provincial councils and one-third nominated by the President of the Republic. The Central Council's term of office was two years; the first Council, which convened on 15 November 1963, served a shorter term, as less than one year later, in October 1964, civilian rule was restored following a popular revolt.

The new elections held in northern Sudan during April-May 1965 were based on the 1958 Electoral Law, with a few modifications, most important of which were: institution of a unicameral legislature (the Senate was done away with), reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18, and enfranchisement of women. Fighting in the south led to postponement of elections to March-April 1967. Now that independence had been achieved, the main issues were the state of the economy, the character of Sudanese society and the question of the south. In 1965, the Umma Party achieved the largest plurality (92 seats) in the north, while the National Unionist Party was second with 73. The other parliamentary groups were much smaller and the Legislative Assembly (meeting again as a Constituent Assembly) included 18 independents as well. A coalition cabinet of the

two largest parties, supported by the People's Democratic Party and the Muslim Brethren—all four forming a so-called United Front—was characterised by friction among the partners and among the various party components. Disagreements were so frequent and serious and parliamentary work was so hampered that the Cabinet decided to dissolve the Assembly in February 1968.

General elections were held in April-May, 1968 for an enlarged Assembly, seating 215. The National Unionist Party and the People's Democratic Party had merged into a Democratic Unionist Party and obtained 101 seats; the Umma Party obtained 73. Other seats went to smaller groups, including 10 independents. Again, the two largest parties formed a coalition cabinet suffering from essentially the same discord as the preceding one. Efforts at approving a permanent constitution failed and bickering prevailed. It was against this background of disillusionment with parliamentary democracy that the "Free Officers", led by Colonel Dja^cfar al-Numayrī, seized power by a bloodless coup on 25 May 1969. The constitution was suspended, the Legislative Assembly dissolved and all parties banned. The government which had seized power soon vested all executive and legislative powers in a ten-man Revolutionary Command Council, nine of whom were military officers.

It took some time until the new military régime of the Democratic Republic of Sudan felt secure enough to experiment with parliamentary institutions. On 12 August 1972, al-Numayrī announced that a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-sha^cb*) of 207 members would draft a new constitution, after which it would disband and new elections would be held, based on the constitution. In September-October 1972, 175 members were elected and another 32 nominated by al-Numayrī including 13 women. On 12 April 1973, the first permanent constitution was approved by the People's Assembly; it became effective on 8 May 1973, superseding the 1954 provisional constitution. The first People's Assembly, acting as a legislature, was elected—according to the 1973 Constitution—under the supervision of the Sudanese Socialist Union, the only legal party. Candidates for the Assembly were nominated by the Sudanese Socialist Union; they had to be members of the party, Sudanese citizens aged 21 or over, literate and not deprived of their political rights. The Assembly itself is elected for a four-year term and sits for at least six months annually. Constitutionally, it has vast legislative powers, it may approve the budget, confirm the government's action and vote no-confidence (by a two-thirds majority). The Assembly elected in 1974 comprised 250 Members: 125 were directly elected from geographical constituencies, 70 elected by occupational organisations (workers, businessmen) and popular associations (youth and women's unions), 30 by provincial People's Councils, and another 25 (no more than 25 % of the total) nominated by the State President. The Sudanese Socialist Union has been very active in the Assembly elected in 1974 and is responsible for legislation and general policy.

The cease-fire agreement of April 1972, ending a 17-year civil war between North and South, granted Southern Sudan its own, separate Assembly. First meeting in April 1974, it enjoys wide autonomous powers; the head of its Executive Council is the Vice-President of the Republic. Southern provinces also send delegates to the People's Assembly in Khartum.

Sudanese parliamentarism has been too brief for any detailed evaluation. Commencing with a stage of preparation and guidance by the British, the bicameral legislature got off to a fair start, although it was rather hampered both by the north-south dichotomy and by factional bickering. Its development has been twice interrupted—first between 1958 and 1964, then since 1969. Both interruptions —the result of military interventions—led to the establishment of unicameral legislatures, subservient to the respective heads of the military régime, although still indicating perhaps that parliamentarism had struck sufficient roots in the Sudan so as not to be wholly eradicated. This is also confirmed by the fact that all parliamentary elections held under civilian rule were generally carried out smoothly and fairly.

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(xviii) *Libya.*

The Kingdom of Libya was established on 24 December 1951, largely as a result of the inability of the Great Powers to agree on the future of this area, which had been vacated by a defeated Italy. Prompted by the United Nations, a 60-member National Constituent Assembly (referred to as *Djamʿiyya waṭaniyya* or *Madjlis taʾsīsī*) of Libya met, beginning 25 November 1950 and resolved, on 3 December, that Libya should be a federal kingdom under the Amīr Muḥammad Idrīs, henceforth called King Idrīs I. By October 1951, it had also adopted a constitution, considering that the new state was made up of three rather disparate components—Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Strong rivalry existed between the first two: Tripolitania was the most populous, Cyrenaica the base of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] and of its then leader, Libya's Idrīs I.

The constitution provided for legislative assemblies in each of the three provinces and for a federal National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*). The latter was bicameral and consisted of: (a) The Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*), directly elected on the basis of one member per 20,000 male inhabitants aged 21 or over (candidates had to be 30 years or over and literate). The first Chamber comprised 55 members: 35 from Tripolitania, 15 from Cyrenaica and 5 from Fezzan. (b) The Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*, comprising 24 members aged 40 or over, equally divided among the three provinces: four Senators were nominated by the legislative assembly of each province and the remaining 12 by the King. The main task of the National Assembly was to enact legislation on issues of national significance, such as foreign affairs (local matters were essentially left to the respective legislatures of the three provinces). The King, or either House, could initiate legislation, although the privilege of initiating financial laws remained with the Chamber alone. The King could vote legislation and dissolve the Chamber at his own discretion. The Chamber's usual term was four years and the Senate's eight, with half the latter leaving every four years. Ministerial responsibility was to the Chamber only, where a two-thirds majority was required for a no-confidence vote.

On 7 April 1962 and 25 April 1963, legislation was passed in both Houses of the National Assembly to alter the 1951 Constitution and change Libya from a federal to a unitary state, based on its ten administrative districts instead of on its three provinces (which thus lost their special privileges). All of the Senate, rather than half of it, was to be nominated by the King. The Chamber was to be elected as formerly, although women were enfranchised and the number of seats was raised from 55 to 103. Some of these changes were a response to nationalist pressures for a unitary rather than federal state and an expression of the government's desire to decrease local and provincial rivalries and conflict between the National Assembly and the King and Cabinet.

The first elections to the Chamber were held on 19 February 1952 (based on the Electoral Law of 6 November 1951). The principal issues were relations with the Arab States and the Western Powers. Candidates opposing the King and the new régime grouped together in a National Congress Party, based on Tripolitania and supported by Egypt; its platform was strongly nationalist and opposed foreign bases in Libya. Elections were held on time in all constituencies, despite rioting. The National Congress Party won in and around the city of Tripoli, but lost elsewhere. Forty-six out of the 55 Members of the Chamber supported the King and government; the National Congress Party obtained only 7 seats. The first duly elected National Assembly convened in Benghazi on 25 March 1952. Subsequently, it met regularly and was concerned with debating and passing legislation. Although Assemblies were generally compliant, not infrequent criticism of government internal and external policies was voiced, particularly in the Chamber—frequently expressed by interpellations.

The successive general elections of January 1956, January 1960 (with secret balloting imposed on the whole state), October 1964 (with women voting for the first time and the number of constituencies increased to 103) and May 1965 (after King Idrīs had dissolved the Chamber on 13 February 1965) were

held on a personal (or family) competition basis (as political parties were not permitted to function legally). In the 1965 elections the number of constituencies was decreased to 91; all successful candidates were apparently pro-government—16 ran unopposed.

One of Libya's main problems during the first two decades of statehood was a lack of personnel trained in the skills required for running the state. Nevertheless, the many skilled Libyans serving in the National Assembly or its administration sufficed to cause Muʿammar al-Kadhdhāfī to annul the constitution and dissolve the Assembly after his coup of 1 September 1969 (the Assembly was, obviously, also one of the bases of power of the King he had deposed). All executive and legislative authority was vested in the Revolutionary Command Council. Libya's provisional constitution, promulgated by the new régime in December 1969, reaffirmed that the Revolutionary Command Council of the Libyan Arab Popular Republic (as the state was now called) holds sovereign power and is to promulgate laws and decrees. Al-Kadhdhāfī declared, in January 1971—and has reaffirmed since—his intention of convening a legislative assembly, but has not done so to date (1978). This postponement is compatible with his views, as expressed in his *Green book*, that parliament is not sufficiently representative and that direct participation by the masses is preferable. A National Congress (*al-Muʾtamar al-ḳawmī*) of the only legal party, the Arab Socialist Union, represents trade unions, professional groups and popular associations. Its main task is to debate the ideological premises of the régime and ratify its policy decision. However, this 618-member body, established by decree on 13 November 1975, has to date apparently convened in January 1976 only. Since then, it seems to be in cold storage. Instead, again following the principle of direct participation, al-Kadhdhāfī has been convening (once or twice per year) a "General Assembly of the People". First called in March, 1977, this 970-member *Madjlis* is selected in 178 constituencies by popular councils and trade unions. It is officially supposed to discuss all policy-matters, but in effect it approves (and legitimises) the decisions of the Libyan leadership.

Libya's parliamentary history, which came to an end with the abolition of the monarchy in September 1969, was brief, but not necessarily a total failure. The National Assembly's greatest merit was in its assisting King and government in welding together Libya's disparate areas into one unitary state. During its first decade, at the very least, it also curtailed the Monarch's autocratic tendencies. The ban on political parties and, since 1965, the almost complete subservience of the National Assembly to King and Cabinet, minimised whatever significance the Assembly still had in public life and paved the way for those who eliminated it in the military coup.

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(xix) *Tunisia*.

Under French rule, Tunisia had experimented with several French-imposed semi-representative

advisory institutions. The Consultative Conference (*Conférence Consultative, Hay'a istishāriyya*), established in 1891 (with defined powers since 1896), comprised only Frenchmen, elected by universal direct suffrage since 1905; from 1907 on, they were joined by 16 Tunisians, nominated by the French Governor General (*Résident général*). At first, the French and Tunisians met together, and later (since 1910) separately. The main task of the Consultative Conference was to advise concerning the budget.

In 1922, the French replaced the Consultative Conference with the Grand Council (*Le Grand Conseil de Tunisie, al-Madjlis al-Kabīr li 'l-Iyāla al-Tūnisiyya*). Elected for six years, it comprised two sections possessing equal rights: one of 56 French members, elected by the French in Tunisia and the other of 41 Tunisians, elected by other Tunisians. The task of the Grand Council was to discuss the budget; in case the two sections differed, the decision rested with an Upper Council (*Conseil Supérieur*), comprising the Governor General, several Ministers and ranking secretaries, as well as seven members from each of the Grand Council's two sections. The Grand Council could also raise and discuss any economic or financial matters, but not political or constitutional ones. Although the powers of the Council were limited and minimal, the Vichy Government was still wary and abolished it on 21 November 1940, transferring its authority to a Consultative Committee (*Comité Consultatif*) of 5 Frenchmen and 5 Tunisians.

After the end of the Second World War, the Grand Council was re-established; its make-up and powers were altered on 15 September 1945. After then, it comprised two sections, French and Tunisian, each numbering 53 Members elected for six years. The franchise for the French section was extended to include all Frenchmen and Frenchwomen in Tunisia, aged at least 21 (candidates—at least 25), with direct voting and proportional representation. The franchise was also somewhat extended for the Tunisian section as well, including all Tunisian males aged at least 25 (candidates—at least 30), who either paid direct taxes, were war veterans, or had completed secondary school. Voting was in two stages. Although the Grand Council essentially remained concerned with economy and finance, its powers were increased to cover advising the government on all legislation—although the government could still bypass it in urgent cases. Even so, the Grand Council was not convened from the end of 1951 until 1954, when its powers were slightly extended.

Tunisian nationalists were obviously not happy with the limited powers of the above-mentioned Conference, Council and Committee, nor with their selective representation, which disenfranchised many Tunisians and afforded preferential voting to the French minority. As early as 1921, the Destūr Party demanded the creation of a representative assembly, to which Ministers would be responsible. When the Neo-Destūr was set up in 1934, it demanded the establishment of such an assembly as an instrument of national sovereignty and for limiting the arbitrary government of the Bey or of France. Consequently, the Neo-Destūr rejected the reforms suggested by the French in March 1954. These reforms provided for a legislative assembly, including French representatives, with full powers in social and economic matters, to be elected by universal suffrage. Under the pressure of the Neo-Destūr and more radical nationalists led by Ṣāliḥ ben Yūsuf, the Bey signed a decree, establishing a Constituent Assembly, on 29 December 1955.

The Neo-Destūr, a "dominating party" (in Duverger's sense) has continued since to consider itself as the instrument of "national will". Hence in order to dominate the 98-seat Constituent Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-Ḳawmī al-Ta'sīsī*), it insisted on an electoral law (promulgated on 6 January 1956) which would favour it over smaller parties and groups. All Tunisia was divided into 18 constituencies: and the slate of candidates obtaining a relative majority of the vote in each was considered as "winner take-all".

Complete independence was the main issue in the 25 March 1956 elections to the Constituent Assembly. The National Front, led by the Neo-Destūr Party, won an impressive victory (597, 813, out of a total of 610,989 votes, or 97.84%). Consequently, it induced the Assembly to pass regulations granting considerable parliamentary powers to the Assembly, its Bureau and six committees. Adoption of those regulations enabled the political bureau of the Neo-Destūr to control the proceedings of the Assembly efficiently and to delay the formation of any meaningful opposition within it. The wide and often unanimous support of the Assembly was skilfully exploited by the Neo-Destūr, especially by its leader, Ḥabīb Būrgība, who was also the Assembly's first Speaker; in April 1956, he left this post to become Prime Minister. The party utilised Constituent Assembly support to extend the powers of the Assembly beyond those of the Bey, his government and the French, on the one hand, and to achieve full independence for Tunisia, on the other. The Constituent Assembly increasingly considered itself sovereign; one of its most significant steps was to proclaim the republic on 25 July 1957. No less significantly, it established the norms for future Assemblies, both by its own practice and by adopting the June 1959 Constitution.

This constitution grants the National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*) wide powers, limited, however, by the very essence of Tunisia's presidential regime: the State President is elected by universal suffrage and neither he nor the various Ministers are responsible to the National Assembly. The National Assembly is elected in constituency voting for five-year terms by all Tunisian citizens aged 20 or over (candidates must be 30 years or over). In theory, it is the only legislative body and its members enjoy parliamentary immunity. However, the State President also has the right to initiate legislation—taking priority over the Assembly; he may also enact decrees while the Assembly is in recess (subject to the Assembly's subsequent confirmation). Thus, further restrictions are imposed upon the Assembly's legislative prerogatives.

The National Assembly elections of 8 November were, in many respects, similar to the 1956 Constituent Assembly elections. Once again, a National Front led by the Neo-Destūr ran without serious competition. However, Tunisia was independent in 1959 and women were enfranchised for the first time. Separate polls determined the composition of the Assembly and elected the President of the Republic. The National Front won in the Assembly and Būrgība was elected President. All 90 Members of the National Assembly belonged to the Neo-Destūr Party or were independents sponsored and supported by it. As a result, main policy decisions were initiated and controlled by Būrgība and the party in the 1959-64 Assembly; in this respect, the National Assembly in Tunisia may be considered as an extension of the Neo-Destūr Party, renamed the Socialist Destūr

Party in October 1964. However, as Tunisia achieved full independence and secured its place in international relations, internal affairs increasingly took precedence, and wide divergences of opinion became apparent in the Assembly, both because of the various interests represented in the single party and because the Assembly could not help but be influenced by the extra-parliamentary demands and reactions of those socio-economic and political groups excluded from the official political game.

Much of the above holds true for subsequent National Assemblies as well. In the Assembly elected on 8 November 1964, the Socialist Destûr Party again held all 90 seats (a majority of the outgoing Members of the Assembly including its only woman, were re-elected). The 2 November 1969 National Assembly elections (increased to 101 seats) were essentially a repetition of earlier ones, with heavy voter participation and the election of the party's own candidates, even though the issues debated at this time chiefly concerned the government's economic policies, which had led to considerable controversy. Consequently, economic problems occupied much of the attention of the National Assembly elected in 1969. The results of the elections of 3 November 1974 to the Assembly (increased to 112 seats) were no different from previous ones. The party obtained all seats, although 71 of its Members were elected for the first time, including many representatives of the younger generation. Concurrently, several Members who had opted for a more liberal political and economic régime, thus opposing the line of Būrgība and the party leadership, had been dropped from the candidates' list.

Although there is no detailed statistical breakdown of the Members of all National Assemblies in Tunisia, available material indicates several characteristics. As mentioned above, all Assembly members were selected from within the single party; the top party leadership—identical with Tunisia's political leadership—had occupied the Assembly. The first National Assembly, elected in 1959, comprised 12 members of the party's political bureau, 9 Ministers, the director of Būrgība's Cabinet, 8 former Ministers, 4 former governors, the secretary-general of the Neo-Destūr youth and 7 former and then current party political commissioners. Members of that Assembly were remarkably well educated: 31 had graduated from French universities, and another 25 from modern secondary schools; thus 56 out of the 90 had had a good French education. Most of the others had had traditional education; only one was illiterate. Professionally, the Assembly comprised 15 lawyers, 15 businessmen, 14 manual or clerical workers, 12 professors, 12 farmers, 7 physicians, 6 school teachers, 5 senior civil servants and 4 others While later elections obviously introduced new members, the essential characteristics of the Assembly elected in 1959 have not changed substantially.

The parliamentary history of Tunisia since the 1950s indicates that the Constituent and then the National Assemblies have generally been of secondary importance to the single party. The latter has been the real focus of most important decisions, even in legislative matters. The Assembly's work is scheduled by its Bureau, usually after due consultation with the party. Assembly control is minimal, as nearly all its work is done in committees; on the average, only fifteen plenary meetings take place each year, mostly to approve legislation submitted by Būrgība. On the whole, the Assembly has displayed docile subservience, rarely demonstrating a will of its own or even reflecting differences of opinion within the party itself.

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(xx) *Algeria*

The French, who ruled Algeria from 1830, introduced several moderately-representative institutions on 23 August 1898. The decrees established the Financial Delegations (*Les Délégations financières*)—intended to represent economic interests—which existed until 1945. The franchise changed several times, while candidates consistently had to be French citizens aged 25 or over, residing in Algeria at least three years. All were elected for six-year terms, half of them leaving every three years. Two of the three Delegations comprised 24 European Members each; a third, with 21 (later 24) non-European Members, included six who were nominated. Each Delegation was concerned solely with its own economic interests. Delegations served in an advisory capacity only, concentrating on the budget. United into one body by a decree in 1918, their powers remained unaltered. During 1945-1947 they were transformed into a Financial Assembly (*L'Assemblée financière*) of 37 elected members with broader representation but the same essential capacities.

The Financial Assembly was obviously unsatisfactory to proponents of Algerian nationalism, particularly during the period following the Second World War. All legislation was still passed by the National Assembly in Paris or by the French Governor-General in Algeria. Pressured by Algerian nationalists and by its own Algerian and French Members, the National Assembly in Paris approved a new Statute for Algeria (*Statut Organique de l'Algérie*, or *al-Ḳānūn al-asāsī*), setting up an Algerian Assembly on 20 September 1947.

This Statute provided for an Algerian Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-Djazāʾiri*) of 120 Members, elected for six years—with half renewed every three years—in two separate "colleges" of 60 members each. The franchise was granted to all French citizens of legal age (although participation of Muslim women was deferred) in two-stage constituency voting. Candidates were subject to the same criteria but had to be at least 23 years old. Members of the Assembly enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The Assembly was to convene in Algiers, for three sessions per year, each lasting not longer than six weeks (probably to prevent it from becoming too powerful). Much of its work was to be done in six committees. As legislation for Algeria remained the prerogative of the National Assembly in Paris, the Algerian Assembly's function was chiefly to apply—with some modification—French laws and regulations to Algeria. The Algerian Assembly could also transmit its proposals to the National Assembly in Paris.

The first elections to the new Assembly under the Statute were held in April 1948, with partial elections in February 1951 and January 1954. It soon became evident that the Statute satisfied no one; it was too much for the local French and too little for the Muslims. Nationalism, expressed in moderate to extreme anti-French terms, was the main issue in the elections. Nevertheless, the Nationalists obtained only 16 seats in the 1948 Assembly and even fewer in subsequent elections—perhaps because the two-stage voting, the constituency-system and the enfranchisement of French citizens only favoured upholders of the status quo, supported by the French Administration. The three Assemblies devoted much time to economic and financial matters—particularly Algeria's annual budget; they were also responsible for instituting social security throughout the country. However, debate moved increasingly towards politics, largely as a result of the rise in nationalist, anti-French campaigns, now impelled into extra-parliamentary activity after the total failure of the nationalists in the 1954 elections. This appears to be the main reason for the Assembly's dissolution on 12 April 1956. Algeria's sole parliamentary representation remained in the National Assembly in Paris alone, which (in 1957-8) was concerned with drawing up a new constitution for Algeria, providing for a Federal National Assembly. However, this concept was never put into practice, because of growing unrest and violence in Algeria.

Parliamentary life revived only after the end of the war in Algeria; the Evian Agreements spelled out the necessity for electing a representative assembly. A Constituent National Assembly was elected accordingly on 20 September 1962, first meeting on 25 September. Its powers included legislation, promulgation of a constitution and selection of a provisional government. It comprised 196 Members, about one-third of whom had been guerilla leaders and another 16 European Algerians. The 60-Member Front for National Liberation (known by its French acronym—FLN) dominated the Constituent Assembly, which had elected Aḥmad Ben Bella Prime Minister, and dedicated only part of its time to legislating, as Ben Bella and the government were busy decreeing laws. However, the Constituent Assembly did initiate a fruitful exchange of opinions, with free criticism, meeting increasing disapproval from Ben Bella and his close advisers. Thus there was a marked difference between the level of tolerance for the opposition during the first year of the Assembly, presided over by liberal-minded Farḥat ʿAbbās and during the second, when others presided. In the second year, political debates became increasingly infrequent and most attention was focused on economic matters, in which there were fewer differences of opinion.

Elections to the National Assembly took place in September 1964, in accordance with the August 1963 Constitution, approved by popular referendum on 8 September. This aimed at legitimising personal rule in Algeria, as well as the predominance of the party over the National Assembly. The constitution declared FLN as the only legal party and consequently empowered it to control the National Assembly. It provided for a unicameral National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭani*), seating candidates endorsed by FLN and duly elected by a general, direct vote for five-year terms. The Assembly and the State President were to initiate legislation; the latter exercised direct legislation under certain circumstances. The Assembly was also supposed to control the government's policy-making. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly's committees, whose members could interpellate them. Members of the Assembly enjoyed parliamentary immunity. According to a new electoral law, adopted in the Assembly on 25 August 1964, the number of seats was reduced from 194 to 138, which proved useful to the FLN government in eliminating members who were considered oppositionist. Nevertheless, about 43% of the Members were indeed re-elected. This Assembly, however, was short-lived and its achievements unspectacular, as more and more laws were promulgated by Presidential decree. Būmedyen's coup of 19 June

1965 resulted in the suspension of both the 1963 Constitution and the National Assembly.

In June 1975, Bûmediyen announced his intention to hold elections for a new representative assembly. Algeria's new constitution, approved by a popular referendum on 19 November 1976, provides for a National People's Assembly, to be elected for a five-year term by direct secret and universal suffrage at the proposal of the single Party's leadership. A number of seats is to be reserved for representatives of peasants and workers. Legislation is to be the prerogative of both the Assembly and the State President, although only the latter may introduce bills on national defence. The Assembly is to hold two annual sessions of not more than three months each, while its sub-committees meet regularly. Members are to enjoy parliamentary immunity. A National People's Assembly has not yet been elected to date (1978) and the Council of the Revolution, headed by Bûmedyen, is the state's supreme executive and legislative organ.

There is only meagre data available on members of the various parliamentary bodies in Algeria. During the pre-independence era, most were middle-class and were frequently identified with circles co-operating with the French and interested in preservation of the status quo. More specific data are available for the post-independence Constituent National Assembly, which sat for two years, between 1962 and 1964. Among its 194 members, 15 were of European origin; 10 were women. The average age was 39—fairly young as parliamentary bodies go. Its occupational breakdown was as follows:

Occupational breakdown of 183 of the 194 Members of the Algerian Constituent Assembly, 1962-1964 (%)

Military	18 %	Students	10 %
Free Professions	18	Workers	7.2
Merchants	14	Party cadres	4
Teachers	12	Salaried	3.2
Peasant-farmers	10.6	Officials, clerks	2.6
		Total	99.6 %

(Source: Anisse Salah Bey—see Bibliography).

The "military" component was a direct result of the Algerian war; some had probably had a different background initially. The proportion of merchants and clerks seems high for a revolutionary Assembly. Those representing the free professions, on the other hand, comprised a relatively small group; apparently, however, some of the military had formerly been professionals. In any event, it was a well-educated body: some 25 % of the Members had had university education and many others secondary school training. More than 75 % spoke French, which was consequently the language used in the Assembly.

Algeria's parliamentary history falls into two main periods: the colonial era, until 1956, when the nature of the Assemblies, determined by the French, remained largely consultative, although some autonomy was acquired gradually; and the brief experience in independent Algeria, with the Assembly controlled by and largely subservient to the FLN.

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(xxi) *Morocco*.

Under the French Protectorate, Morocco was an absolute monarchy, in which the Sultan and the French (particularly the latter) ruled without any parliamentary institutions. A first step forwards parliamentarism was taken by the Protectorate in 1919, with the establishment of a Government Council (*Conseil de Gouvernement*), comprising the representatives of the French in Morocco; local Moroccans joined during subsequent years. From 1926 on, the Council comprised three French sections (*collèges*), elected by economic groups (agriculture, commerce, industry) and one, nominated Moroccan section. The Council served only as a debating forum and its decisions were purely advisory.

When independence was achieved, King Muḥammad V considered the issue of parliamentary bodies. Morocco had had no experience with political elections; even its political parties were divided as to the benefits of immediate representative government. Therefore, the King nominated a 76-member Consultative National Assembly (*Assemblée Nationale Consultative, al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-istishārī*) on 3 August 156, striving to make it as representative as possible of the three major political parties, of the different regions of Morocco and of various socio-economic groups. The King inaugurated the Assembly on 12 Novembre 1956.

The powers of the Consultative National Assembly, amplified by a royal decree on 27 November 1956, were clearly advisory. The Assembly meets twice a year, in spring and autumn. Most of its work is carried out in four (three since 1958) committees comprising between 12 and 24 members each (every member may belong to one committee only). The Assembly's regular term is two years, although the King may prolong it (in 1958 it was prolonged by six months) and Members enjoy immunity. Since the Moroccan Cabinet preceded the convocation of the first Assembly, the Ministers were neither part of the Assembly, nor responsible to it, although the Members of the Assembly could interpellate them. Ministers were responsible to the King alone, who succeeded in imposing his will on the Assembly thanks to both the definition of its powers and to his own standing and prestige. Hence there were large pro-government majorities in practically every vote on all important matters during the Assembly's first two years. Only during its third year were there signs of growing independence—and even increasing criticisms and opposition, probably reflecting the overall political climate outside the Assembly. This seems to have led Muḥammad V to allow the Assembly to die a natural death in May 1959; its term was not renewed, nor did the King convene another Assembly during his reign.

Muḥammad V's son and heir, Ḥasan II (mounted the throne in 1961), contributed to the course of parliamentarism in Morocco. On 2 June 1961, the new king promulgated a Fundamental Law, which was mainly a declaration of principles. This was enhanced by Morocco's first constitution, prepared by a commission and submitted by Ḥasan II to a popular referendum on 7 December 1962. Some 80% of those eligible voted, with a heavy majority in favour (3,706,732 versus 112,879).

The 1962 Constitution provided for a bi-cameral legislature—a Chamber of Representatives (*Chambre des Représentants, Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Chamber of Counsellors (*Chambres des Conseillers, Madjlis al-mustashārīn*). The former was to be elected for four years by direct universal suffrage and the latter for six years (with half the membership changing every three years)—by and from colleges consisting of local assemblies (two-thirds of this body) and chambers of agriculture, commerce and industry, artisans and trade-unionists (one-third). Both Chambers debate policy and legislate, although the Chamber of Representatives has greater authority. For example, the latter may bring about the resignation of the Cabinet by a vote of censure (Ministers are nominated by the King, who has also the right to dismiss them). While the Representatives have greater authority, legislation in both Chambers is hampered, in practical terms, by their meeting for only two annual two-months sessions. Furthermore, the King may withhold approval of laws indefinitely and may submit laws for popular referendum without prior consultation with the two Chambers. Members of both Chambers enjoy parliamentary immunity.

Although the 1962 Constitution was criticised by both traditionalists and modernists in Morocco as being too modern or too traditional, respectively, it remained in force for several years; the first two Chambers were elected following its provisions and those of a subsequent Electoral Law.

Elections to the 144-seat first Chamber of Representatives were held on 17 May 1963, following a simple majority system with single-member constituencies, of which 117 were rural. There were 694 candidates running; each was required to deposit 1000 *dirhams* (then about £ 70), to be forfeited if the candidate obtained less than 5% in his constituency. About 73% of the 4,650,000 eligible voted. The Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions, a pro-King and pro-Government group, won 69 seats, four short of an absolute majority. Next came two nationalist groupings, the *Istiḳlāl* with 41 seats and the National Union of Popular Forces with 28, together equalling the number of seats obtained by the Front, with Independents holding the remaining 6 seats. Elections to the 120-seat Chamber of Counsellors were held on 13 October 1963; the Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions won decisively with 107 seats, the *Istiḳlāl* received 11 seats, and independents another 2. Ḥasan II opened the first Moroccan parliament on 18 November, re-

linquishing the post of Prime Minister which he had filled until then.

The achievements of the 1963 parliament were not particularly remarkable and ended abruptly in June 1965, with the declaration of a state of emergency by Ḥasan II (all within the framework of the constitution). There followed a pause in parliamentary activity, restored by the 1970 constitution published by the King on 8 July. It was reportedly approved by a 98.7% majority in a popular referendum held on 24 July. These official figures are questionable, however, as many have indicated the strong opposition of most parties and many organisations to the new constitution, largely caused by its differing from that of 1962 in that it further strengthened the powers of the King at the expense of the Prime Minister and parliament. According to the 1970 Constitution, the King was empowered to amend the constitution at will, promulgate decrees in almost any matter (even to declare war) and reject parliamentary bills and requests. Conversely, the nature of parliament was altered; it was now to be a unicameral Chamber of Representatives of 240 seats: 90 elected directly, 90 by members of local councils and 60 elected in two-stage voting by chambers of commerce and industry (including professional and workers' groups), all elected for six-year terms.

As most parties boycotted the 21 and 28 August 1970 elections to the Chamber of Representives, the majority of candidates were independents supported by the government. Many candidates were returned unopposed and the government claimed huge participation despite the boycott. The Chamber comprised 158 independents (nearly all pro-government), 60 members of the pro-government *Mouvement Populaire* and 22 belonging to other parties and groups. The Chamber achieved little during its two-year lifespan and was sharply criticised from many quarters, prompting Ḥasan II to promulgate yet another constitution.

Morocco's third constitution was promulgated on 10 March 1972, following a popular referendum which approved it on 1 March. It was slightly more liberal regarding parliamentary powers; two-thirds of the unicameral Chamber of Representatives (of 264 seats) were to be elected by direct, universal suffrage and only one-third by two-stage voting of local councils as well as professional and employees' organisations. The Cabinet was made responsible to both the King and the Chamber. Nevertheless, the King's position remained pre-eminent, particularly as he had postponed the holding of new elections several times, ruling by decrees in the interim.

Under the 1972 Constitution, elections to the Chamber of Representatives were held on 3 June 1977. For the benefit of illiterate voters, each party was allotted a specific colour for its ballot. Some 82.36% of those eligible voted. Independents, mostly pro-Government, held 141 seats and *Istiḳlāl* candidates, 49; the pro-Government *Mouvement Populaire* held 44 seats and other groups 30. The King enjoyed a comfortable majority of his supporters in this Chamber, which he inaugurated on 14 October 1977.

The characteristics of Moroccan parliamentarians have not yet been studied in detail. Both the will of the Sovereign and subsequent electoral laws ensured that all Morocco's regions were represented, with rural areas favoured somewhat. Many of the Members were young: according to official figures, about 40% of the Members of 1963 parliament and 60% of those of the 1970 Chamber, were between 25 and 40 years of age. When nominating the Members, the King and his officials strove to strike some balance among political parties, non-political leaders, economic and social groups and diverse occupations. In November 1956, the occupational distribution was as follows: free professions – 10, agriculture – 19, commerce and industry – 17, workers – 16 and religious personalities – 5. In later Chambers the distribution appears to have been more diversified.

Independent Morocco's hither-and-thither experience with parliamentarism at first continued the tradition of the French Protectorate in nominating the whole institution, then moved towards elections, although the King did preserve his special powers in both the written constitutions and in the practice of imposing a two-stage electoral system (for at least a part of the membership) on parliament, ensuring the election of a largely-compliant body. Legislating by decree, without the benefit of parliamentary participation, completed the circle of the King's powers vis-à-vis the elected Chamber. This is all the more remarkable in light of Morocco's multi-party system.

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(xxii) *Mauritania*

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, independent since 1960, had already experience of a legislative assembly under French rule. Since 1925, the Governor-General of the Afrique Occidentale Française or AOF (of which Mauritania was a part) was assisted by an appointed advisory council, functionally representative of the federation's major interest groups (military and civil servants, businessmen, Africans). Meaningful measures concerning representative bodies in Mauritania were introduced, however, only in 1946, as part of the new French policy in the region. Representation was then provided on three levels: (a) Territorial: a General Council (*Conseil Général*), called the Territorial Assembly (*Assemblée Territoriale*) since 1952, has had extensive control over the budget, although it functioned solely in an advisory capacity on any other issue. In Mauritania, it first comprised 20, then 24 members, divided into two sections (*collèges*)—the first (6, then 8 members) elected by Europeans and the second (14, then 16 members), by Africans. They were reorganised into one *collège* in 1952; (b) Federal: Mauritania sent five delegates, elected from its General Council (Territorial Assembly) to the AOF's General Council; and (c) National (French): Mauritania elected a *député* to the National Assembly in Paris. The winner of the legislative elections of November 1946 was elected by 6,076—or about two-thirds—of all votes cast. Several weeks later, Mauritania's first General Council was elected. In 1947, the General Council's French section duly elected a *Sénateur* to the French Senate in Paris and its African section a representative to the recently established Assembly of the Communauté Française.

The 1946 French Constitution gave the right of vote to but a few: members of certain local associations, trade unions and co-operatives, government officials, wage earners, owners of registered property and war veterans. Consequently, few were eligible to vote in the 1946 Mauritanian elections. In 1947, the literate were added and in 1951, heads of households and mothers of two or more children. The following table indicates the sizable increase in the number of eligible voters.

By 1956, the franchise was universal, so that the population was not unprepared for the new *Loi cadre*.

The *Loi cadre* of June 1956 bestowed a larger measure of autonomy on France's overseas territories, vested in respective elected Territorial Assemblies and in Councils of Government (*Conseils de Gouvernement*), comprising senior French officials and Ministers elected by the Assembly. Each Territorial Assembly could formulate its own policies in such local affairs as agriculture, forestry, trade, health and primary and secondary education. In Mauritania's first elections to the Territorial Assembly, held on 31 March 1957 (the first held under universal suffrage), the Mauritanian Progressive Union (Union Progressiste Mauritanienne) won 33 out of the Assembly's 34 seats, obtaining 252,898 out of the 272,474 votes cast. This party represented both the administration and traditional attitudes, as well as tribal chieftains; it had already participated in the 1952 election to the General Council (Territorial Assembly), winning 22 out of 24 seats. It was led by Mukhtār Ould Dādda, a lawyer-turned-politician who was to lead Mauritania to independence and serve as its first president.

Mauritania's heavy "yes" vote in the De Gaulle referendum of 28 September 1958 signified its approval of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic and its autonomous membership in the new Communauté Française. Mauritania's Territorial Assembly was converted into a Constituent Assembly (*Djamʿiyya taʾsīsiyya*), on 28 November 1958, with the task of drafting a constitution. Prepared by former administrators, the Assembly approved and promulgated a constitution on 22 March 1959, providing for a 40-seat Legislative Assembly (*Assemblée législative*, *Djamʿiyya tashrīʿiyya*), to be elected for five years by direct, universal and secret voting. The Assembly was to meet for two sessions annually, not exceeding two months each. Its powers were mainly legislative, although it also elected the Prime Minister, who in turn appointed the rest of the

Registered voters, and votes cast in Mauritania in elections for the National Assembly in Paris, 1946 and 1951

Registered voters		Votes cast, 1946		Votes cast, 1951	
1946	1951	Number	°/₀ of registered votes	Number	°/₀ of registered votes
16,271	135,586	9,539	58.6	52,181	40.2

(Source: Thompson and Adloff—see Bibliography)

Cabinet. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly, which could bring the Cabinet down by a no-confidence vote. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The first elections to the Legislative Assembly were held on 17 May 1959, with some 326,000 out of about 373,000 participating. This time, the Mauritanian Progressive Union, renamed *Parti du Regroupement Mauritanien* (since 1958), captured all 40 seats.

After negotations with France, the independence of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1960. A new constitution, required for a sovereign state, was adopted by the Assembly on 20 May 1961 by a vote of 31 to 2, with one abstention. The 1961 Constitution—amended in 1972—was basically a modification of the former one, adapted for a presidential régime. It established the office of a state president, absorbing that of the prime minister, strengthening it at the expense of the Assembly. The 1961 Constitution provided for a 40-seat National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale) (50-seat since 1971 and 70-seat since 1975), elected for five years, legislating only in a limited number of areas, including the budget. The Assembly convenes for one four-month session per year. It cannot pass a vote of no-confidence in the President or the Ministers (although it may impeach them). Ministers are responsible to the President but not to the Assembly. The President has priority in legislation and right of veto, but cannot dissolve the Assembly.

In the early 1960s, the Assembly produced much-needed legislation, such as the establishment of an adequate judicial system for Mauritania (1963). It also discussed policy, sometimes displaying an independence of spirit which caused considerable friction between the National Assembly and President Ould Dădda. The latter succeeded in strengthening his position, however, particularly since a constitutional amendment was passed, institutionalising the Mauritanian Progressive Union as the only legal party. Since this action of his, it is the single party (led by Ould Dădda), rather than the National Assembly, which has served as the main focus of power in Mauritania and dominated its politics. This has been at least partly motivated by Ould Dădda's intention to use the party as Mauritania's main vehicle for modernisation, as traditionalists still have a strong hold in the National Assembly.

Consequently, in the general elections for the National Assembly held on 9 May 1965, the party, whose name had been changed to Mauritanian People's Party (*Parti du Peuple Mauritanien, Ḥizb al-sha*ʿ*b*), won all 40 seats; it obtained 445,644 votes or 92.1% of the 447,660 valid votes cast (out of a total of 482,305 eligible to vote). Such results were repeated in the general elections for the National Assembly, held on 8 August 1971, when the party won all 50 seats, obtaining 502,547, out of 502,945, valid votes cast (nearly 100%). Again, in the general elections held on 26 October 1975, the party won all 70 seats obtaining 99.9% of all valid votes cast.

In February 1976, Mauritania participated with fourteen other African states, in Agadir, in the establishment of a Union of African Parliaments (*Union des parlements africains*), whose avowed aim was "to strengthen parliamentary institutions by improving the functions of representative democracy". Mauritania was represented in this new body by one of the Union's Vice-Presidents, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sall, President of Mauritania's National Assembly and by Muḥammad Fall, who entered the Union's Executive Committee. Mauritania's own parliament, however, was suspended following the July 1978 military coup.

Not much is known about the socio-economic composition of the National Assembly, although the 1965 Assembly reflected the administrative character of the single party; 39 out of the 40 members were civil servants. There is every reason to believe that this group has continued to predominate.

The parliamentary history of Mauritania falls into two periods: until independence, the Assembly was virtually led by the French, who even had a special collège within it to protect the interests of France and French settlers. Since independence, it has been dominated by President Ould Dădda and his single party, generally (although not invariably) serving in a rather docile manner.

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(xxiii) *Israel.*

Israel is one of the few Middle Eastern states with a sizable Muslim minority sharing in its parliamentary life. Upon the establishment of the State, on 14 May 1948, Israel had a population of about 156,000 Arabs, out of some 750,000 people; on 1 October 1978 there were approximately 590,000 (including those in East Jerusalem) out of a total population of 3,708,300. With some variation, the Arabs generally comprised some 70% Muslims, 20% Christians and 10% Druzes (all the above statistics refer to Israel proper and not to territories held by Israel since 1967. Inhabitants of those territories refuse to opt for Israeli citizenship and consequently may not vote in its parliamentary elections).

All Israeli citizens aged 18 and over may vote in elections for Israel's unicameral, 120-seat parliament, the *Kĕneset*. Elections are universal, direct, equal, and secret; the entire country is considered as one constituency and voting is by proportional representation, so that every vote counts. Israel's Arabs have indeed participated heavily in all nine general elections held in 1949, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973, and 1977. In all except the first (1949) and ninth (1977) elections, their participation has been relatively greater than that of Jews, reaching a peak of 92.1% of those eligible to vote in elections for the sixth *Kĕneset* (1965). Rural Arab voting has consistently been heavier than urban.

Slates of candidates are usually put forward by the political parties. Arabs, like Jews, vote for the slate of their choice, frequently those comprising Arab, or Jewish and Arab, candidates, generally seating between 6 and 8 Arabs in each *Kĕneset*. Arabs connected with the Establishment through left-of-centre parties such as MAPAI (later the Labour Party) and MAPAM have become Deputy Ministers, like Sayf al-Dīn al-Zuʿbī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Zuʿbī, or Deputy Speakers of the *Kĕneset*, like Sayf al-Dīn al-Zuʿbī. Those active in the Communist Party have been prominent in the Opposition. During the past twenty years, Arab electoral support for the Communist Party has increased, probably due to the success of the nationalist Arab image created by this party. The following are the percentages of Arab votes for the Communist Party, out of the total Arab vote, in recent *Kĕneset* elections: 1959 - 10%; 1961 - 22%; 1965 - 23%; 1969 - 29%; 1973 - 33% (about 48,000 votes); 1977 48% (about 70,000 votes). This party, formerly strongly principally among Christians, has made considerable inroads among Muslims and Druzes in recent years. As aresult, its representatives in the *Kĕneset* have increasingly claimed to speak for all Israel's Arabs and have frequently insisted upon using the Arabic language there (Israel has two official languages—Hebrew and Arabic).

Most (although not all) of the Arab *Kĕneset* Members connected with the Establishment have been farmers; one was a Bedouin *shaykh*. Those voted in as Communists, however, have generally been townspeople. All have been—or have become—professional politicians. The education level of Arab *Kĕneset* Members, like that of Jewish ones, has risen from one legislature to the next; the Arab contingent has increasingly comprised journalists and writers.

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(xxiv) *Cyprus*

Cyprus is another Middle Eastern state with a large Muslim minority: although estimates vary, the Turkish community there numbers close to 20% of the island's inhabitants—the second largest after the Greek community.

The island was a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1571 to 1878. One of the first measures of the British, after they had taken over Cyprus in 1878, was to institute some form of representation for its inhabitants. Their first experiment, in August 1878, was a nominated Council of 4 to 8 members, with official and unofficial appointees in equal numbers. Soon, however, in the March 1882 Constitution, promulgated by an Order in Council, a more representative Legislation Council was appointed. This could initiate discussion in certain matters, although some financial matters were not within its competence. The Legislative Council comprised 12 elected members (9 Greeks and 3 Turks) and 6 appointed members, generally officials, with the British High Commissioner or another senior official presiding and having a casting vote in case of a tie. The members were elected within their respective communities. On 6 February, 1925, the membership was increased to 24: 12 Greeks, 3 Turks, and 9 officials. The British intention appears to have been to be able to offset a collective vote of the Greek majority against the Turkish community. In practice, however, the British officials voted almost regularly together with the Turkish members. This led to no little frustration on the Greek side and to its increasingly introducing extreme politics into the Council, chiefly in its support for Enosis, which the Turks (with frequent British support) opposed with equal determination. Consequently, the Legislative Council, instead of serving for accommodation, sharpened the inter-communal conflict; instead of being a training-ground for self-government, it promoted inter-communal strife. The fact that three languages were officially used (English, Greek and Turkish) was no help, either. On 12 November 1931, following disturbances on the island, the Legislative Council was dissolved, all legislative authority being vested since in the Governor, aided by a six-man Executive Council. As from 1933, the Governor was assisted by a handpicked Advisory Council of five Cypriots—4 Greeks and 1 Turk, nominated and merely consultative.

After the end of the Second World War, the British appeared to be more inclined towards granting the Cypriots limited self-government. A Constituent Assembly was convoked by the British on 6 November 1947, to discuss a new constitution. Of the 40 invited, only 18 attended, including 7 Turks and 1 Maronite; because of Greek Cypriot opposition, within the Assembly and without (and some Turkish Cypriot reservations, too), the Assembly was dissolved on 12 August 1948, with the matter left pending. In 1954, 1956, and 1958, new British proposals for a constitution for Cyprus were rejected by the Greek Cypriots.

The Zürich Agreement of February 1959 and its ratification in the London Conference of February 1960 provided the legal and constitutional basis for the Republic of Cyprus. The 1960 Constitution has a marked bi-communal character, institutionalising and legitimising Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot interests. It ensures bi-communal participation on all levels of government, at a ratio of 70% for the Greek, and 30% for the Turkish community. The Cabinet has 7 Greek, and 3 Turkish, Cypriots—who may be Members of the House. Legislative authority is vested in a House of Representatives, elected for five years; it is made up of 35 Greek Cypriots and 15 Turkish Cypriots, elected within their communities. The Speaker of the House is a Greek Cypriot, the Deputy Speaker a Turkish Cypriot. While the President of the Republic (a Greek) or the Vice-President (a Turk) alone may initiate financial bills, the House discusses them. The House's powers are limited further by the absolute right of veto of the President and Vice President in foreign affairs, defence and security, as well as by the establishment of separate communal Chambers of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, which have competence in all religious, cultural and educational matters, and by the decisions of the communal courts in matters of personal status. Both Greek and Turkish are official languages.

The first House of Representatives was elected, according to the pre-independence Electoral Law of 31 December 1959, in 6 multi-member constituencies; each community voted only for its own candidates. The first elections to the House of Representatives were held on 31 July 1960. Those to the Communal Chambers were held on 7 August; the Turkish Cypriots elected, to all the 15 seats of their Chamber, the National Front of Fazıl Küçük.

From the start, Turkish Cypriots stood fast for protecting their constitutional rights, while the Greek Cypriots argued that their rivals were taking an unfair advantage of the constitution. Constant friction continued in the House and other levels of government, sometimes reaching crisis dimensions. As with the Legislative Council a generation earlier, the House of Representatives served to emphasise discord rather than accommodate conflict. Without the moderating British presence, however, legislation slowed down frequently and policy debates turned to bickering. Deadlock sometimes ensued, and in November 1963 Makarios, the State President, proposed various constitutional amendments; the main ones were to do away with the separate voting of Greeks and Turks in passing certain laws, and to abolish the privilege of the State President and Vice-President, separately, of vetoing legislation. The amendments were energetically rejected by the Turkish Cypriots, who argued that the amendments would undermine the régime. When disturbances, late in 1963 and early in 1964, prevented the Turkish Cypriots from attending the House, the Greek Cypriots passed the above amendment, anyway, on 23 July 1965, modifying also the 1959 Electoral Law to make voting general, instead of by communities. The Turkish Cypriots rejected all the above—and the joint House of Representatives ceased to exist, becoming a Greek Cypriot body. The Turkish Cypriots reacted by boycotting the House and instituting their own "Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration" (December 1967).

General elections for the House of Representatives were held on 5 July 1970 (the former House, elected in 1960 for five years, had had its term prolonged, annually, by Presidential decree). The Turkish Cypriots, on the same day, elected their own 15 Representatives to the House, These, however, continued to boycott the House and, together with the 15 Members of the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, formed a joint 30-Member Chamber, part of the Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration. After Turkey's military intervention in July 1974, an Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration was established, with an Executive Council and a Legislative Assembly. Following the decision, on 13 February 1975, to create a Turkish Cypriot Federated State in the whole area under Turkish control, a 50-Member Constituent Assembly (*Kurucu Meclis*) was elected in the same month, comprising 25 Members of the joint Chamber and another 25 Members selected by various organisations. This body prepared a new, separate constitution for the Turkish Cypriot Federated State, which was approved with a large majority, by a popular referendum, on 8 June. Elections for the President and for the first 40-Member Legislative Assembly (*Yasama Meclisi*) were held on 20 June 1976. The National Unity Party, led by Rauf Denktaş, obtained 30 seats, the Communal Liberation Party 6, the Populist Party and the Republican Turkish Party 2 each.

The parliamentary history of the Turkish community in Cyprus falls into three main parts. Under British rule, the Turkish Cypriots sat—from 1882 until 1931—as a minority group together with the Greek Cypriots and the British, usually voting with the British for what they saw as their special interests. In the independent Republic of Cyprus, from 1960 to 1963, they sat with the Greek Cypriots in a House of Representatives, as a minority group, but with special safeguards for their community. Since 1963, first in their own area in the Republic, later in what they consider the Turkish Cypriot Federated State, they have maintained their own, all-Turk, representative institutions.

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(J. M. LANDAU)

B. In Afghānistān.

Afghānistān has known two distinct types of representative assembly, the *djirga* and the *madjlis*. Their origins, development and functions are quite different and they are best discussed separately.

The *djirga* is a tribal council operating at all levels from the family upwards and reflecting the collective authority of the group over the individual. At the lowest levels its membership comprises all adult males; at higher levels various units are represented by men chosen primarily on the basis of seniority, but also for skill in negotiation or family reputation. *Djirga* decisions represent a consensus, weighted according to age and reputation. The functions of the *djirga* embrace all matters, but especially the resolution of disputes within the group and the relations of the group with outside organisation. The authority of the *djirga* depends upon the distribution of power within the group concerned. In state affairs, two varieties of *djirga* were employed. One was the permanent council of chiefs, members of the royal family and other notables, which was consulted frequently on all matters of state business and which offered detailed advice. References to such an institution under various names are common from the time of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] Abdālī onwards. The second, usually known as the Loya Djirga, dealt with the most important matters. It was a much larger body, including all men of influence in the region or country, and it was usually summoned to deal with one issue alone and subsequently dismissed. It was called in cases of succession where the legitimacy of the claims of a candidate to the throne were in doubt and where some broad expression of national endorsement was required. In 1747 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī Abdālī was elected ruler by a *djirga* of Abdālī and Ghalzay tribal chiefs and religious figures; in August 1880 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMAN KHAN] was chosen by an assembly of tribal chiefs; and in February 1919 Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was proclaimed *amir* by a gathering of tribal chiefs and notables at Kābul. Bačča-yi Saḳaw legitimised his claim to the throne through the *ʿulamāʾ* and in March 1929 was challenged by his rival, Nādir Khān, to submit his claim to a national *djirga* of all Afghān tribal chiefs. In September 1930 Nādir Khān himself secured confirmation of his own claim to the throne from a Loya Djirga of 286 notables. The Loya Djirga was also used to obtain national approval or confirmation of major policy decisions. According to Munshī Sulṭān Muḥammad, for ordinary purposes ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (like his predecessor, Shīr ʿAlī) employed an advisory council of *sardārs*, *khāns* and *mullās*, but in time of war, or other national emergency, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sought the advice and assistance of a murch larger assembly (Loya Djirga) of notables and *mullās*. In 1915 Ḥabīb Allāh [*q.v.*] was reported to have called a Loya Djirga to discuss Afghān foreign policy during the First World War, although when the ruler determined to adopt an unpopular policy of neutrality he changed the meeting into a great *darbār*, summoned to hear his decision, not to discuss it. In 1921 Amān Allāh summoned a Loya Djirga, the decision of which formed the justification for the issue of the 1923 constitution, which in turn was submitted to the approval of another Loya Djirga. As well as setting up other permanent bodies (including the Darbār-i ʿĀlī, an assembly of elders chosen in the manner of the Loya Djirga to review the work of each year), the 1923 constitution provided for the summoning by the ruler at his discretion of a Loya Djirga. Amān Allāh made use of this provision. In July 1924, following the Khōst [*q.v.*] rebellion, a Loya Djirga was called to amend the constitution; and in August 1928 another one, 1,000 strong, was called for a similar purpose and to hear Amān Allāh's plans for reform. In 1941 a Loya Djirga was called to endorse Afghānistān's foreign policy in the Second World War following the Allied demand for the expulsion of German citizens; and in 1949 and 1955 Loya Djirgas (possibly representing only certain tribes) were called in connection with the Pakhtūnistān dispute. The constitutions of 1964 and 1977 were also submitted to Loya Djirgas for approval. In keeping with its inclination towards parliamentary democracy, the 1964 constitution considerably reduced the role and importance of the Loya Djirga. The Loya Djirga of January-February 1977, which considered the new constitution and elected Muḥammad Dāwūd as President of the Republic of Afghānistān, provides good evidence of the development of the Loya Djirga and its continuing importance as a major source of legitimation. In the Presidential proclamation of 28 December 1976, which announced the summoning of the Djirga, it was stated that "in accordance with the conventions of our society Loya Djirgas in the course of the history of Afghānistān have been convened on sensitive and important occasions and have deliberated vital national issues". The Loya Djirga was described as a supra-parliamentary body. Article 65 of the 1977 constitution defined the composition of the Loya Djirga, which was represented as "the supreme manifestation of the power and will of its [Afghānistān's] people". The 1977 Loya Djirga consisted of elected representatives, members of the government, members of the central committee of the only political party, the high judicial council, the constitutional drafting committee, military officers, and other persons appointed by Presidential decree. The Djirga sat for twenty-six sessions and made several amendments to the constitution before finally approving it [see further DJIRGA in Suppl., in particular, for the institution on the Indian side of the Frontier].

The institution of the *madjlis* proper has a much shorter history. Until 1923 Afghānistān knew only consultative councils appointed by the ruler from among the notables. The 1923 constitution provided for three national bodies: a council of ministers; the Darbār-i ʿĀlī; and an advisory state council, half nominated and half elected. The state council was the first Afghān institution which possessed some likeness to a Western parliament, but its role was severely limited, and it seems to have played an insignificant role in Afghān public life. The 1923 constitution also provided for regional advisory councils, an innovation continued under Nādir Shāh. The 1931 constitutions provided for a two-chamber Parliament: the Upper House or *Madjlis-i Aʿyān* consisted of twenty or more (later limited to forty-five) "experienced and far-sighted persons" approved by the king; and the Lower House or *Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī* consisted of 116 (later 173) representatives elected for a three-year period. In form, the Afghān parliament bore a strong resemblance to the European institutions upon which it was, no doubt, modelled, although in his defence of the constitution Nādir Shāh argued (in the manner of

the Islamic modernists from the time of Nāmiḳ Kamāl onwards) that the Afghān Parliament was derived from the early Islamic precept of consultation which, he claimed, had survived in Afghānistān in the form of the *djirgas*, which he described as "regular governmental channels of the people of Afghānistān". Between 1931 and 1964 eleven Afghān Parliaments met, being chosen every three years as provided in the constitution. With the exception of the seventh, so-called "Liberal Parliament" (1949-52), all functioned as rubber stamps for government policy. The group of liberals in the seventh parliament did attempt to interrogate ministers and agitated for greater parliamentary power, but the government eventually reacted sharply and imprisoned the liberals. Parliament thereafter reverted to its former docile role. The 1964 constitution also provided for a two-chamber parliament, chosen for a four-year term. The Upper House (Meshrano Djirga) consisted of eighty-four members, partly appointed and partly elected; the Lower House (Wolesi Djirga) consisted of two hundred-and-sixteen elected members, Two Parliaments met during the so-called constitutional period: the first (twelfth) sat from 1965 to 1969 and was notable for the presence of vociferous radicals in it and for its attacks on the government of the period; and the second (thirteenth) which sat from 1969 to 1973 showed a smaller number of radicals (traditional leaders having apparently decided that membership of Parliament conferred more power than formerly and exerted their influence to obtain election themselves) but maintained an appearance of hostility to the governments, although their criticisms were of a conservative rather than a radical character. Throughout the constitutional period, Parliament saw its role as destructive rather than constructive. The 1973 revolution brought the parliamentary period to an end. The constitution of February 1977 (articles 48-64) provided for a single-chamber parliament (the Millī Djirga) elected for four years from men nominated by the single National Revolution Party (*Ḥizb-i Inḳilāb-i Millī*). Half of the parliamentarians were to be peasants or workers. The Millī Djirga was due to meet for the first time in December 1978, but the April 1978 revolution supervened and, for the time being, has brought to an end the experiments of Afghānistān with parliamentary government.

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(M. E. Yapp)

C. In India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Under British rule in India, Muslims were involved in two forms of assembly. There were the sessions of the various Muslim organisations, the most important of which were those of the All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906, in which major matters concerning Indian Muslims were discussed and resolutions passed. But for most of its existence the League was not a particularly representative organisation; support was limited in the main to landlords and professional men from provinces where Muslims were in a minority, *ʿulamāʾ* refused to join, some Muslims preferred to support the Indian National Congress, others supported regional organisations of Hindus and Muslims like the Unionist party in the Pandjāb or the Krishak Proja Samiti in Bengal. The League's fundamentally limited appeal was emphasised in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1937, when it won a mere 104 out of 489 seats reserved for Muslims. Only in the years 1937-47, as the meaning of Congress government was revealed and as the League began to campaign for a Muslim homeland of Pakistan, did the organisation come to win the support of most Muslims and its sessions to embrace their views. The extent of this support was demonstrated in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1945-6, when the League won 439 out of 494 seats reserved for Muslims.

The second form of assembly in which Muslims participated was the system of legislative councils which the British began to introduce in the second half of the 19th century. These operated at two levels, there being a legislative council for the whole of India and a legislative council in each province. When, from the beginning of the 20th century, the British began to make elections the main way of choosing council members, Muslims demanded special measures to protect them against Hindu majorities, which they feared. Each time the franchise was extended and council powers were increased, that is in 1909, 1919 and 1935, Muslims were given separate electorates and, where appropriate, extra seats to take account of their "political importance". Each time the result was to raise the Muslim proportion of seats above their proportion of the population where they were in a minority, to reduce their number of seats where they formed a large majority of the population, and to destroy the possibility of a majority of seats where they formed a small majority of the population, notably in the key provinces of Pandjāb and Bengal. Up to 1937, although quick to defend Muslim interests when they saw them

threatened, whether it was the matter of money-lending in the Pandjāb or local schools in the United Provinces, Muslims did not in general operate in council politics from a specifically Muslim platform, tending to belong to supra-communal groupings of landlords, local interests or nationalists. But all changed after the Indian National Congress formed governments in seven out of eleven provinces following the 1937 elections and the prospect of independence began to loom during World War II. Now Muslims realised that they must either support the Indian nationalist cause or follow the Muslim League. Most chose the latter course. Between September 1942 and March 1947, helped both by the mistakes of the nationalist leadership and the skill of its own, the League was able to form governments in the provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, Assam, Bengal and the Pandjāb.

After the partition of the subcontinent, 40 million Muslims remained scattered in minorities throughout the provinces (now known as states) of independent India, except in Kashmīr where they formed a large majority. The new Indian constitution, promulgated in 1950, abolished the old Muslim safeguards of separate electorates and reserved seats; the law forbade any political appeals on the basis of religion. Nevertheless, distinctively Muslim political parties persisted; the relics of the pre-independence Muslim League survived in Kerala and spread to the northern states in the 1960s; in 1957 the Madjlis Ittiḥād al-Muslimīn revived in Hyderabad and a decade later was petitioning the Government of India for the foundation of a purely Muslim state on India's eastern coast; in 1964 the Madjlis-i Mushāwarat was formed to press for specifically Muslim concerns through the political system. But, beyond winning a few seats and striking the occasional bargain with other parties at state level, these communal parties had little success in promoting Muslim interests or in winning large-scale Muslim support. Most Muslims have entered both state assemblies and national Parliament as members of the Congress Party, which has come to be seen, among the unsatisfactory alternatives available, as the best protector of Muslim interests. Indeed, so firm has been Muslim support that it has been recognised as one of the main sustainers of Congress dominance in Indian politics since 1947. The weakening of their support is marked down as a major cause of the Congress's defeat in the general elections of 1977; the return of their support as a cause of its victory in the general elections of 1980.

In the Muslim state of Pakistan, we are concerned less with Muslim representation in assemblies than with the fortunes of assemblies themselves. At independence there were the old provincial legislatures inherited from the British period, and these elected a Constituent Assembly whose task was to frame a constitution for the new country and at the same time to act as a national legislature. Framing a constitution proved immensely difficult. Amongst the many problems were those of balancing the claims of East Pakistan, where a majority of the people lived, against those of West Pakistan, and finding an appropriate place for Islam in the country's constitution. The Assembly worked with much rancour and increasing slowness. When in 1954 it moved to curb the powers of the Governor-General, he replied on 24 October of that year by dismissing the Assembly and declaring a state of emergency. In June 1955 the provincial legislature elected a second Constituent Assembly and on 29 February 1956, nearly nine years after independence, the Assembly adopted Pakistan's first constitution which provided for a federal and parliamentary system of government with a strong centre, adult franchise and direct elections. There was to be one house of Parliament and its members were to be divided equally between East and West Pakistan [see DUSTŪR xiv]. General elections were proposed for 1958, but they were not held. Politicians squabbled. Faction, violence and corruption were rife. The public lost all respect for political institutions. On 7 October 1958 President Iskandar Mīrzā, under pressure from General Ayyūb Khān, declared martial law, abrogated the constitution and dissolved all legislatures. Thus democracy lost its first struggle with authoritarianism in Pakistani life. In the first eleven years of its existence, the National Assembly met for a mere 338 days and passed only 160 laws. For the rest of the time, the executive had unrestricted power and issued 376 major ordinances.

On 1 March 1962 President Ayyūb Khān promulgated a new constitution, which provided for two provincial assemblies, one for East and one for West Pakistan, and a National Assembly of 156 members whose seats were equally divided between the two wings of the country. Members were to be elected by a college of 80,000 "Basic Democrats" who had been directly elected by the people. The first meeting of the National Assembly was convened on 8 June 1962, but from the beginning it met with powerful opposition in the country. As political parties were forbidden, and as all executive and much legislative power was in the hands of the President, the Assembly seemed less a forum for democracy than a weapon of dictatorship. Eventually, opposition grew so great that Ayyūb Khān was forced to declare martial law in March 1969 and to dissolve the Assembly. Agitation continued. On 25 March 1969 the Commander-in-Chief, Yaḥyā Khān, took over power from Ayyūb Khān and abrogated the 1962 constitution. On 28 November 1969 he reaffirmed a pledge to restore parliamentary government and announced that general elections would be held on the basis of one man, one vote, in autumn 1970 to elect a National Assembly to draft a constitution. Parity between the East and West wings of the country was now abandoned; on the basis of its population East Pakistan could now control 56% of the seats. On 7 December 1970 Pakistan held its first general elections. The ʿAwāmmī League won 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan and therefore had a potential majority in the National Assembly. On 1 March 1971 Yaḥyā Khān, under pressure from the West Pakistani leader, Zulfiqar Ali (Dhu 'l-Fiḳār ʿAlī) Bhutto, decided to postpone the National Assembly, and events were set moving which led to the transformation of East Pakistan into the new state of Bangladesh in December 1971.

In 1972 the National Assembly of the now truncated Pakistan began to meet and agreed that the country should have a federal and parliamentary system of government. There were to be four provincial assemblies and two houses of Parliament, a National Assembly and a Senate. This, the first constitution framed by a directly elected assembly, was adopted on 10 April 1973 and came into force on 14 August. The National Assembly was dominated by the Pakistan People's Party whose leader, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, resigned the presidency of Pakistan to become Prime Minister. In 1977 Mr Bhutto called Pakistan's second general elections for March. His party won 155 of the National Assembly's 200 seats. Soon it became evident that the elections had been

rigged on a huge scale. The nine opposition parties which had coalesced to form the Pakistan National Alliance refused to accept the results, launched a mass movement to press for Mr Bhutto's removal and for fresh elections supervised either by the Judiciary or by the Army. On 5 July the Army took the leaders of both sides into "protective custody", declared martial law and disbanded the national and provincial assemblies. The Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia-ul-Haqq (Ḍiyāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ) promised elections for 18 October. They were postponed. He promised elections again for 17 October 1979. They did not take place. Now, General Zia-ul-Haqq has promised to establish a government of people's representatives who are to be chosen through the "Islamic mode".

In Bangladesh, a Constituent Assembly met on 23 March 1972 which comprised those members who had been elected from Bangladesh to the Pakistan National Assembly and the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly in the general elections of 1970. On 4 November 1972 the Assembly adopted a constitution which provided for a Parliament (Jatiya Sangsad) of one house. Three hundred members were to be directly elected by universal adult suffrage, and a further fifteen seats were reserved for women who were to be elected by the members of Parliament. General elections were held on 7 March 1973 in which Shaykh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman (Mudjīb al-Raḥmān)'s ʿAwāmmī League won 291 seats. But then, by means of a series of amendments passed between 1973 and 1975, Mujeeb-ur-Rahman changed the constitution, creating a presidential and one-party system in which all the powers of government were concentrated in the President, and the power of the legislature to control the executive was virtually destroyed. On 15 August 1975 an army faction killed Shaykh Mujeeb. Martial law was declared, Parliament was dissolved, Shaykh Mujeeb's subversive constitutional amendments were repealed and elections promised for 28 February 1977. These elections were eventually held on 18 February 1979 and produced a majority in Parliament for the Bangladesh National Party, the party of General Zia-ur-Rahman (Ḍiyāʾ al-Raḥmān), Chief Martial Law Administrator and President.

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(F. C. R. Robinson)

MADJLIS AL-SHŪRĀ, the name given to extraordinary, *ad hoc* consultative assemblies in the last century-and-a-half or so of the Ottoman empire. While it had long been customary in the Ottoman Empire, and in earlier Islamic states, to hold special consultations about urgent matters [see MASHWARA], such meetings appear to have become especially frequent among the Ottomans between the Russo-Ottoman War of 1182-88/1768-74 and, roughly, the abolition of the Janissaries in 1241/1826. Referred to by a variety of synonymous terms, such as *medjlis-i shūrā*, *dār al-shūrā*, *medjlis-i meshweret* (or *müshāwere*), or *endjümen-i meshweret*, these assemblies were convened *ad hoc* as need arose, and included a variable list of high-level officials: the grand *wezīr*, the *sheykh ül-Islām*, the senior military commanders, top scribal officials, and perhaps others. The place of meeting was also variable: the palace, the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-i ʿālī* [*q.v.*]), the headquarters of the *sheykh ül-Islām* (*bāb-i meshīkhat* [*q.v.*]), military headquarters in the field, or even provincial administrative centres. The increased frequency of such consultations clearly reflected the gravity of the crises of the time; it may have been related, too, to the decline of the old system of *dīwāns* [*q.v.*]—meaning, in Ottoman usage, conciliar bodies, rather than government

bureaux. The pattern of convening consultative *medjlises* continued to some degree until the end of the empire (Devereux, 37-8, 45-6, 96-7, 243-4; Davison, *Reform*, 348-9, 354, 356, 363, 368, 393-4; Pakalın, *OTD*, iii, 361; Findley, 245).

Ottoman histories of the late 18th and early 19th centuries provide many accounts of consultative *medjlises* (e.g. Wāṣif, i, 99-102, 175-7, 316-9; ii, 9-10, 12-4, 18-9, 21-2, 46-7, 85-6, 104-5, 135-6, 175-6, 221-2, 235, 238-9, 294-6; Shānīzāde, i, 61-6, 199-201; ii, 96-102; iii, 198-9; iv, 2-5, 37-8, 155-8, 201-4; Djewdet, ii, 242-3, 276-8; iii, 35-47, 53-6, 74-5; iv, 154-60, 187-95, 289-91; vi, 52, 53; vii, 28-9; ix, 180-1, 300-2; x, 17-20; xi, 95, 186-7, 272-5; xii, 147-51, 158-9; Meḥmed Esʿad, 14-15; Luṭfī, i, 291-2; v, 172; cf. d'Ohsson, vii, 228-32; Shaw, *Old and new*, 73-5). These accounts contain some of the most vivid documentation available for any facet of Ottoman history. Often, they include what purport to be extended quotations from the participants. The remarks may be quite heated, and are sometimes expressed in plain language sharply in contrast with the normal style of the author who quoted them. It is not impossible to find different accounts of the same assembly, in which a given remark will be rendered in "plain Turkish" according to one author, and in highflown Ottoman according to another. In recounting an assembly of 1808, for example, Djewdet Pasha commented on the "reckless" (*lā-ubāliyāne*) way in which ʿAlemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha then grand *wezir*, expressed himself. Djewdet went on to quote the ʿAlemdār as using the plainest of language to say that his earlier action had been mistaken (*gidishimiz yolsuz ve bilishimiz yañlish*; Djewdet, ix, 5). Shānīzāde's earlier history recounts the same assembly, but there the same remark is "translated" into Ottoman (*sülūkümüz ʿayn-i khaṭāʾ ve fehm-i ʿtiḳādīmiz wehm-i bī-maʿnā olub*; Shānīzāde, i, 63). At moments like this, one senses that the published accounts of the assemblies have their source in minutes that were taken at the meetings, were full enough to record at least some of what was said verbatim, and were preserved in the archives. Wāṣif seems to confirm this, albeit laconically, in introducing an account of an assembly of 1182/1768-9 with the statement that he was transcribing the "copy of the assembly" in full (*ṣūret-i medjlis ʿaynī ile bu maḥalle ḳayd olundī*: i, 316-7; here, the "copy" itself is sketchy by later standards).

The issues laid before the councils were characteristically ones that the sultan and grand *wezir* could not decide, or did not wish to take responsibility for deciding, alone. The sessions appear normally to have begun with the reading of instructions from the sultan and other documents relevant to the issue. Discussion would then begin, with the highest-ranking participants speaking first. Lesser figures were typically reluctant to speak their minds following men of such weight as the grand *wezir* or the *sheykh ül-Islām*. Given the insecurity of officials in relation to the sultan and their superiors, and given the traditionally very narrow scope of consultation, there was reason for hesitancy. Still, it was common to urge the participants to speak, with strong reminders about the sultan's commands for consultation and about the seriousness of the matter under discussion, and with promises not to hold anyone's statements against him after the meeting (Djewdet, iii, 37-8, 332; iv, 360; vii, 28-9; ix, 302). Such assurances did not allay all fears. Yet lively debate could ensue, particularly when the issue at stake meant the choice between peace on unfavourable terms and war with almost certain prospect of defeat. At such moments, the proceedings could become highly dramatic. The *sheykh ül-Islām* might become so agitated that he would threaten to take a gun in hand and set out on the *djihād* himself (Shānīzāde, iv, 201; cf. Djewdet, iii, 40). The senior military men would answer such effusions with sober talk of what war really meant for a state in the position of the Ottoman Empire (Djewdet, iii, 38, 42). Certainly, one of the tensest consultative assemblies occurred at Ṭopḳapī Palace in 1241/1826, just prior to the decisive strike against the Janissaries. With the sultan himself hesitating due to uncertainty over the outcome, it was an impassioned speech by one of the participants that incited him to rush into the chamber where the mantle of the Prophet (*khirḳa-yi sherīf* [*q.v.*]) and other relics were kept, bring out the banner of the Prophet, turn it over to the grand *wezir* and *sheykh ül-Islām*, and thus symbolically launch the attack (*ibid.*, xii, 158).

In general, the accounts of the *medjlises* of the late 18th and early 19th centuries convey a number of interesting points about what such assemblies were supposed to be and do. On a comparative note, first, it is worth comment that Shānīzāde ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 1242/1826) already knew enough about parliamentary institutions to compare the Ottoman consultative assemblies with what sound like bicameral parliaments (Shānīzāde, iv, 3). Probably by design, Shānīzāde omitted references to the legislative function of the assemblies of the "well-ordered states" (*düwel-i munta̤ẓama*), but he did give a recognisable account of such features as popular election of members, majority rule (*ḥükm-i aghleb*), and membership in two "classes", described as government servants and agents or representatives of the subjects (*khademe-yi dewlet we wükelāʾ-i raʿiyyet*). This comparison of Ottoman assemblies with those of the West is of particular interest as an early illustration of a theme to which later writers often returned [see SHŪRĀ]. As for Shānīzāde, his point in making the comparison was to argue—with appropriate reference to the authority of the sultan and the *sunna* of the Prophet—that Ottoman assemblies ought not to be as large as those of the states he was describing. He argued that some of those invited to participate in the larger of the Ottoman assemblies had nothing to add to the discussion. In fact, the issue was not so simple. Particularly as the problems at hand grew more threatening, the Ottomans discovered a variety of needs, of which some reinforced, but others conflicted with, the tradition of a narrow scope of consultation.

One of the first concerns to emerge out of the consultative assemblies of the late 18th century was for greater care in maintaining the confidentiality of proceedings. At first, it appears that there had been little care to have the councils meet in closed session (Djewdet, ii, 243) or otherwise maintain secrecy. By the 1780s, however, great concern had developed over this point. Participants were sometimes made to swear secrecy. Threats were invoked upon those who divulged what they had heard or later criticised decisions they had supported in council (*ibid.*, iii, 35, 43, 332; iv, 188, 360; vi, 135; x, 18). Maḥmūd II carried out such a threat on at least one occasion, by exiling Kečedjizāde ʿIzzet Mollā, father of the future grand *wezir* Fuād Pasha, for criticising a measure that he had not opposed in assembly [see ʿIZZET MOLLĀ].

Perhaps the most striking procedural trait of the consultative *medjlises* of this period was the

demand that the participants arrive at their decisions in "unanimity of opinion" (*ittifāḳ-ı ārā'* or equivalent expressions; Wāṣıf, i, 177, 317; ii, 14, 235; Shānīzāde, i, 62, 64; Djewdet, iii, 38, 43, 333; iv, 360; v, 270; vi, 6, 10; ix, 3; x, 18; xi, 201). "Consensus" would perhaps be a more exact rendering of what was really desired. Still, the idea of "unanimity" is a striking sign of desire to maintain unity of decision even while broadening participation in decision-making. This desire, like the need for secrecy, would have suggested keeping the consultative assemblies small in size.

By the time of Maḥmūd II, however, there were clearly situations where it seemed necessary to enlarge the councils, or even use them as means for mobilisation of mass opinion. One example of this occurred in 1223/1808, when the grand *wezīr*, ʿAlemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha, himself one of the provincial *aʿyān*, held a great assembly in Istanbul, to which he invited not only high officials of the central government, but also other provincial notables, to conclude an agreement between the *aʿyān* and the sultan (Shānīzāde, i, 62; Djewdet, ix, 3; Lewis, 75-6; Shaw and Shaw, 1-3). In the 1820s, with the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, there were *medjlis*es to which an unusually large range of military officers and even such non-officials as the agents (*ketkhüdā*) of various guilds were summoned (Shānīzāde, iv, 2, 37, 201); these were the assemblies that Shānīzāde criticised as being too large. By this time, however, the concerns of the government had clearly extended beyond secret consultation into mass mobilisation of Muslim opinion. The "crowded" (*djemʿiyyetlü*) assemblies contributed to this purpose by making, or legitimating, decisions that were communicated to the populace through the non-official participants, or by such other means as dispatching circular orders to local officials or sending out public criers (*münādī*; Shānīzāde, iii, 203-6; iv, 201-4; Djewdet, xi, 272-5; xii, 159; al-Shihābī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 102-3).

Appeals to Muslim solidarity are a special illustration, finally, of perhaps the most important feature of the *medjlis*es: the emphasis on Islamic ideals and values. Such appeals were a general theme of traditional Ottoman culture; even so, they appear particularly prominent where the consultative assemblies are concerned. It is surely no coincidence that these important assemblies were designated by the term *shūrā* [*q.v.*] or its derivatives, or that Ottomans were quick to cite *ḥadīth* in support of the consultations or the procedures followed in them (Shānīzāde, iv, 3; Djewdet, iii, 35). More important was the role of the *ʿulemā'* in the *medjlis*es, and the care taken to verify the conformity of decisions to the *sheriʿat* (Wāṣıf, i, 317; ii, 13; Shānīzāde, iii, 199; iv, 37; Djewdet, iii, 41, 43; iv, 158, xii, 149-50, 158, 263-6). That the problems confronting the assemblies could challenge the *ʿulemā'* in their capacity as legal scholars became clear on at least one occasion when, in 1227/1812, the *fetwā emini* [*q.v.*] found that since there was no clear traditional response (*naḳl-ı ṣarīḥ*) on an issue, he would have to reason by analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]; Shānīzāde, ii, 100; cf. Djewdet, iii, 43). The statement is a harbinger of a later theme of Islamic reformism (cf. A. Merad, IṢLĀḤ, iv, 152-4). A more conspicuous harbinger of the same phenomenon is the perception, which gradually emerged in the assemblies, that the problems under discussion were threats, not just to the Ottoman state, but to the "heart of Islam" (*beyḍa-yi islāmiyye*) or the entire Muslim community (*djümle-yi ümmet-i Muḥammad*) and would require its combined efforts in response (Shānīzāde, ii, 99-100; iv, 202; Djewdet, x, 19; xi, 273).

During the *Tanẓīmāt*, both this Islamic emphasis and the *medjlis-i shūrā* itself, quickly faded as features of Ottoman decision-making. The reasons for the decline of the Islamic emphasis must include the political consolidation of the new civil-bureaucratic élite, as well as the alienation of the leading *ʿulemā'* from policies that it seemed impossible, after the Gülkhāne Decree of 1255/1839, to rationalise in terms of defence of the empire as an Islamic state. It is significant in this regard that Djewdet Pasha, who was trained as an *ʿālim* prior to his transfer into the civil bureaucracy and who was politically quite conservative, was consistently critical of the capacity of the *ʿulemā'* to contribute to the *medjlis*es that we have been discussing. If Djewdet's opinion is debatable for the period before the 1830s, it points to a problem in relations among governmental élites, and to a feature of policy, that was unmistakable thereafter (Djewdet, iii, 38; iv, 195, 261-2; v, 27-35, 231; xii, 82-3; Heyd, 63-96; Findley, 61-3).

As for the apparent decline of the *medjlis-i shūrā*, on the other hand, there are signs that this signifies, not a loss of interest in consultation, but rather an adaptation and institutionalisation of the deliberative *medjlis* in a variety of settings. The fact that the term *medjlis* from this time on virtually supplanted the term *dīwān* as a designation for conciliar bodies suggests that the frequent *medjlis*es of preceding decades indeed form the major link through which the Ottoman *dīwān* tradition evolved into the 19th century.

As early as 1832, then, we find a military council (*shūrā-yı ʿaskerī*; Levy, 479-89). A key moment in the proliferation of councils occurred in 1838, when, as part of an effort to abolish the grand vizierate and redistribute its powers, Maḥmūd II set up two councils, the Consultative Assembly of the Sublime Porte (*dār-ı shūrā-yı bāb-ı ʿālī*) and the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*medjlis-i wālā-yı aḥkām-ı ʿadliyye*). The latter was supposed, like the imperial *dīwān* of earlier times, to meet at the palace (Luṭfī, v, 106-8, 178-9; vi, 92-6; Kaynar, 198 ff.; Shaw, *Legislative councils*, 54-7; Findley, 141). Following Maḥmūd's death in 1255/1839, the grand vizierate was quickly restored; and the various ministers (*nāẓır*), whom Maḥmūd had begun to appoint on European example in the mid-1830s, were grouped into a "council of ministers" (*medjlis-i wükelā'*) or "privy council" (*medjlis-i khāṣṣ*). The *shaykh ül-Islām* also served as a member of the cabinet. Of the two councils created in 1838, only the *medjlis-i wālā-yı aḥkām-ı ʿadliyye* survived. It assumed the function of drafting the new legislation called for under the Gülkhāne decree. It also served as the highest court for trying cases under the new legislation. Thus the *medjlis-i wālā* embarked on a long evolution, in course of which it turned, in 1868, into the Council of State (*shūrā-yı dewlet* [*q.v.*], later the *Danıştay* of the Turkish Republic). In the late Ottoman period, the council of state was the most important civil administrative body after the council of ministers; it also normally retained top-level responsibility for administrative justice (Shaw, *Legislative councils*, 57-84; Findley, 172, 174-6, 247-50, 307-9).

The early history of the *medjlis-i wālā*, as well as that of the military council created in 1832, also included important steps in the development of Ottoman ideas of conciliar procedure. Procedural

regulations for the *medjlis-i wālā*, dating from *ca.* 1255/1839, began by citing problems experienced in earlier deliberative assemblies. The document went on to require changes such as circulating documents on important issues prior to meetings, requiring those who wished to speak to sign up in advance and speak in order of signing (thus without regard to rank), and—most important—taking decisions by majority approval (*ekt̲h̲eriyyet-i ārāʾ*), rather than by unanimity. At this point, Western ideas of parliamentary procedure, known in some measure at least since S̲h̲ānīzāde, began to be incorporated into Ottoman practice. The fact that a French translation of the new regulations for the *medjlis-i wālā* reached the British embassy almost immediately may be a sign of direct European influence on their formulation (Kaynar, 206-8; Levy, 480-1; Findley, 198-9, 385 n. 129).

As the council of state took shape, the *Tanẓīmāt* also witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of smaller, specialised *medjlises*, many of which subsequently disappeared. In part, this is because they served as committees to perform new tasks for which, up to that point, there were no permanent administrative agencies to assume responsibility. Some of the specialised *medjlises* evolved into such agencies. This is clearly how the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture emerged; traits of the pattern also appear in the formation of the Ministry of Justice. In other cases, *medjlises* continued to supplement the regular bureaucratic apparatus where it remained thinly developed (Findley, 176-7, 179, 181, 245, 253). The clearest example of this is the local administrative councils, first created in 1840 and ultimately known as *medjlis-i idāre*. These administrative councils were originally intended to supplant the *dīwāns* of the *ḳāḍīs*, at least in the roles that these had acquired in local administration, as well as the *dīwāns* of the provincial governors. Emulation of conciliar institutions created under Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt and Syria may also have stimulated the development of the Ottoman local councils (Heidborn, i, 164-6; Maʿoz, 87-107; Russell, i, 159, 322-3, 325-8; Guys, 143-9; Barker, i, 144-8, 316-7; Davison, *Advent*, 98 ff.; İnalcık, *Tanzimat'ın uygulanması*, 623 ff.; idem, *Application of the tanzimat*, 100-1, 107-10; Kornrumpf, 44-57; Ortaylı, 13 ff, 42 ff.). As organised in 1840, the councils included not only the local officials and religious leaders, but also indirectly-elected representatives of the notables. These councils were thus the first Ottoman governmental institutions to include representatives of the people as a matter of system. In 1261/1845, there was even an experiment—clearly following an Egyptian model—with the convening of a consultative assembly in Istanbul, to which each province of the empire was to send two delegates. The Istanbul assembly of 1845 had no sequel in the years immediately following, but the local administrative councils became permanent fixtures. Since they exercised not only administrative functions, but also local responsibility for cases tried under the new legislation of the *Tanẓīmāt*, they also represented the starting-point of an important organisational development of a different kind: the emergence of what eventually became the distinct system of *niẓāmiyye* courts [see MAḤKAMA. 2. The Ottoman Empire excluding Egypt. ii. The Reform era]. Even as the *niẓāmiyye* courts became separate from the local administrative councils, they retained marks of their origins in being known, until the 1860s, as *medjlis* or *dīwān*, rather than *maḥkeme* (*Düstūr*[1], i, 610-12, 615-18; Heidborn, i, 226 n. 57), and in continuing until the end to be collegial bodies.

In terms of elaboration of the underlying organisational form, the most important of the organisational progeny of the Ottoman *medjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā* was the Ottoman parliament. The link to the earlier councils appears both in the Ottoman name for the parliament, *medjlis-i ʿumūmī* [see MADJLIS. 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, section i] and in the adoption, which S̲h̲ānīzāde had anticipated, of the concepts of *s̲h̲ūrā* and *mes̲h̲weret* to refer to parliamentary government. The parliament also represented the ultimate extension among the Ottomans of the representative principle first introduced in the local administrative councils. In this sense, whatever the shortcomings of the Ottoman parliaments, their emergence indicates the extent to which the scope of political participation, or at least the demand for it, had continued to broaden since the convocation of the consultative assemblies of the 18th century.

Organisations like the Ottoman *medjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā* and its derivatives appeared in other Islamic political centres as well. In Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was as attached to conciliar deliberation as he was to the centralisation of ultimate decision-making. Under him, the development of conciliar institutions advanced to the point that the *dīwāns* —a term referring in Egypt to administrative bureaux—were sometimes displaced by councils with corresponding functions (Deny, 33-4, 108). This happened with his civil and military councils (*medjlis-i ʿāli-i mülkiyye, medjlis-i djihādiyye*). The former of these was also known by designations including the terms *medjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā* or *medjlis-i mes̲h̲weret* and was in existence from 1240/1824-25 to *ca.* 1254/1838. As with some of the Ottoman councils, the responsibilities of this council included matters of administrative justice (*ibid.*, 108-9; Lane, i, 141-2). Muḥammad ʿAlī also had a "cabinet" referred to as the *s̲h̲ūrā-yi k̲h̲āṣṣa* (Deny, 109, 151). Beginning in 1245/1829, there was an annual "general assembly", including leading officials, together with provincial notables and the leading *ʿulemāʾ*. This assembly was known by a variety of names, such as *medjlis-i ʿumūmī, djemʿiyyet-i ʿumūmiyye, medjlis-i mes̲h̲weret* (or *s̲h̲ūrā*), and *endjümen-i mes̲h̲weret* (*ibid.*, 110-1). There was also a "comprehensive and regular system of local councils", at least in Syria and Palestine, while they were under Egyptian control in the 1830s (Maʿoz, 90; al-S̲h̲ihābī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 72; idem, *Lubnān*, iii, 865; Rustum, ii, 358, no. 3204). The local councils of Egyptian-ruled Syria may have provided a model for the Ottoman local administrative councils. Subsequently, under the Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-79), when Egypt acquired a "parliament", it was known as the *madjlis s̲h̲ūrā al-nuwwāb*. It was in fact an advisory assembly of delegates, most of whom were local notables. This assembly did not attempt to assume any more active role before 1879 (Deny, 515-7; Schölch, 27-30, 77-88, 93-4, 173-85, 188-96, 207-8, 234; see also MADJLIS. 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, sections v, Syria, xvi, Egypt.

Ḳād̲j̲ār Iran also eventually acquired consultative assemblies resembling, and to some degree inspired by, those of the Ottoman Empire. Like Maḥmūd II before him, Naṣr al-Dīn S̲h̲āh decided in 1858 to rule without a prime minister (*ṣadr-i aʿẓam*). Instead, he appointed a six-man council of ministers, as well as—a year later—two advisory councils, a *madjlis-i s̲h̲ūrā-yi dawlatī* and a larger *maṣlahat-*

khāna. Both were expressly intended to give larger numbers of people a chance to participate in affairs of state (Bakhash, 4). Of these two assemblies, the *madjlis-i shūrā-yi dawlati* had a membership of higher standing and was expected in some sense to make decisions, while the *maṣlaḥat-khāna* was to do little more than generate ideas and recommendations. Much as in the earlier Ottoman *medjlis-i shūrā*, however, the members of the councils concentrated on figuring out the shah's wishes and expressing their opinions in the same terms (*ibid.*, 91-3). It is not clear how long either of these two councils functioned; but by 1871, Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh was moved to reinstate the office of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, assigning it to Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, ambassador to Istanbul *ca.* 1859-70 and an important conduit for ideas acquired there (*ibid.*, 43-9). Just prior to this appointment, the shah also created a new deliberative assembly, known as the *dār al-shūrā-yi kubrā*, appointing to it a number of individuals who had served in the earlier councils. In 1872, Mushīr al-Dawla went on to reorganise the ministries and set up a cabinet, the *darbār-i aʿẓam* (*ibid.*, 93-4, 96-7).

Over the years that followed, the "cabinet" and the *dār al-shūrā* went through many changes. The *dār al-shūrā* was at best an approximation of the Ottoman council of state (*shūrā-yi dewlet*). Yet it suffered in that both its membership and the purpose of the consultative processes that were supposed to occur in it remained ill-defined. Ten years after the creation of the *dār al-shūrā*, its members were still unclear as to whether they were empowered to initiate legislation. Not surprisingly, the *dār al-shūrā* faded into oblivion in the early 1890s (*ibid.*, 138, 152-65).

In the long run, then, the development of consultative assemblies proved less extensive in Ḳādjār Iran than in the Ottoman Empire. It should be noted, however, that the meaning of the term *medjlis-i shūrā* eventually expanded in Iran, too, to refer to parliamentary institutions. By the 1890s, Mīrzā Malkum Khān [*q.v.*] was expounding the concept of a "great national consultative assembly" (*madjlis-i shūrā-yi kubrā-yi millī*) in his journal *Ḳānūn*. This was to be a representative body with powers of legislation and budgetary review (*ibid.*, 337-39; cf. Algar, 236). The Iranian parliament created after the revolution of 1906 was in fact known as the *madjlis-i shūrāyimillī* [see MADJLIS. 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, section iii, Iran].

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(C. V. FINDLEY)

MADJLISĪ, MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR, known also as ʿAllāma Madjlisī and Madjlisī-yi Thānī (1037-1110/1627-98), an authoritative jurist, a most prolific *ḥadīth* collector, an unprecedentedly influential author in the world of the Twelver Shīʿa. He was also a distinguished expert in bibliog-

raphy, a well-read man in Islamic philosophy and mysticism, and an active authority in politics, social and judicial matters during the late Ṣafawīd period. He belonged to a distinguished clerical family; his father, Muḥammad Taḳī, mostly referred to as Madjlisī-yi Awwal [*q.v.*], his ancestors as well as his descendants, have been mentioned among men of knowledge.

Madjlisī, in line with his family tradition, became "eager for learning various Islamic sciences and noble branches of arts right from ... early youth" (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, i, Tehran 1887, 3). He successfully studied Islamic subjects such as *fiḳh* (jurisprudence), *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (fundamentals of jurisprudence), commentary of the Ḳur'ān, *kalām* (theology), philosophy, mysticism, etc., under his father and many other professors such as Sayyid Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shūlastānī (d. 1060/1650) and Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Tustarī (d. 1075/1664); the names of eighteen of his teachers and other authorities who granted him certain certificates are given in Ḥusayn Nūrī, *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī fī tardjama al-ʿAllāma al-Madjlisī*, Tehran 1887, 12-13 (attached to the first volume of the old edition of the *Biḥār*). At a certain point in life, however, Madjlisī decided to abandon all those fields of knowledge which had then become popular, and to concentrate only on the study of prophetic traditions which were, in his belief, beneficial for him in the hereafter, though they had then a depressed market (*kāsid*) (*Biḥār*, i, 4).

Henceforth, Madjlisī devoted the most part of his life not only to lecturing on the Shīʿī subjects to the students, whose number at times exceeded one thousand (*al-Fayḍ*, 13-8; in this book, only forty-nine of them are introduced with some bibliographical information), but also to collecting the scattered and forgotten Shīʿī *ḥadīth*s and to compiling them into various Arabic and Persian books. His main work in this field is the immensely voluminous Arabic book *Biḥār al-anwār* whose outline he sketched out in 1070/1659 and completed its compilation *ca.* 1106/1694. He also wrote books in Persian, a number of these being translations of different sections of the *Biḥār*. His aim in writing in Persian, as he himself repeatedly mentioned, was to make the prophetic traditions easily accessible to "the masses of believers and common Shīʿa" who had "no familiarity with the Arabic language", hoping that his works "may give life to the hearts and spirits of the dead-hearted people" (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, Tehran 1952, 4). In his efforts, in fact, Madjlisī was quite successful because his *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* alone reportedly converted 70,000 of the Syrian Sunnīs to Shīʿism (Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamā'*, Tehran n.d., 205).

Madjlisī had very close relations with at least two of the Ṣafawīd monarchs, Shāh Sulaymān (d. 1106/1694) and Sulṭān Ḥusayn (d. 1125/1713). In compiling his book, he received effective financial and other types of support from them, and in return he praised those rulers and dedicated several of his books to them. In reference, for instance, to Shāh Sulaymān, he used many phrases of a hyperbolic nature (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*, i, 1869, 3; the second volume of this book is translated into English by James L. Merrick under the title of *The life and religion of Mohammed as contained in the Sheeʿah tradition of the Hyât-ul-kuloob*, Boston 1850). He used also highly eulogistic expressions for Sulṭān Ḥusayn (see, for instance, Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Zād al-maʿād*, 1903, 2-3).

In 1098/1686, Madjlisī was appointed as the official *Shaykh al-Islām* by Shāh Sulaymān. Madjlisī's title was changed to *Mullābāshī* on Sulṭān Ḥusayn's accession to the throne in 1106/1694. While holding these highest, institutionalised clerical offices, Madjlisī "personally undertook all proceedings of law and legal matters" (Ḥusayn Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il wa-mustanbaṭ al-masā'il*, iii, Tehran 1903, 408). He used his power and influence to suppress anything which appeared to him as heresy and infidelity. He ordered the Indian idols of Iṣfahān to be demolished in 1098/1686 (*al-Fayḍ*, 3) and "suppressed the agressors and transgressors who were adherents of sectarianism and innovation, and were enemies [of the right religion], especially the heretic Ṣūfīs" (Yūsuf Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-baḥrayn fi 'l-idjāzāt wa-tarādjim ridjāl*, Nadjaf n.d., 55). These "aggressors and transgressors" also included Zoroastrians and the Sunnīs (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, chs. 3-4, 6).

During the last four years of his state position under Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Madjlisī was practically the actual ruler of Iran. With his vast power and influence in the country, he undertook so strict a religious policy against the Sunnīs that, in some authors' opinion, it expedited the Afghān invasion of Iran in 1135/1722 (cf. *inter alia* Hamid Algar, *Shīʿism and Iran in the eighteenth century*, in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.), *Studies in eighteenth century Islamic history*, London and Amsterdam 1977, 288-302, 400-3). It is interesting to note that Madjlisī wrote his famous *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* when the execution of his anti-Sunnī policy was about to reach its culmination. In this book, written one year before Madjlisī's death (1110/1697), he clearly declared the first three Sunnī caliphs, i.e. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, to be hypocrites and unbelievers who deserved God's curse (Tehran 1968, 154-278, 519, and *passim*).

There is no doubt that the culture and tradition of Twelver Shīʿism enjoyed an unprecedented florescence through Madjlisī's efforts, and the influence of his teachings and practices on later generations —common believers as well as clerical circles and leaders—is undeniable. One of Madjlisī's fundamental teachings is that the Shīʿa should have full respect for the rulers. He emphatically warns that anyone "who despises the kings" will suffer abasement; he says that "one who does not obey the kings, has not in fact obeyed God". He also reminds his audience that "the hearts of the kings and those of all mankind are in the hands of God; one must have regard for all tyrannical kings and other oppressors, and it is even compulsory to exercise dissimulation before them, to prevent [oneself] from their harms, and not to expose [oneself] to their wrath" (*ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, 560-7).

Among the distinguished clerical leaders who, following Madjlisī's teachings, had regard for the tyrannical kings by not opposing their oppressive rule and never despising them was Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864) [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whose aloofness from state affairs seems to have been taken as a sign of his asceticism (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djānirī Anṣārī, *Ta'rīkh-i Iṣfahān va Ray va hama-yi djahān*, Tehran 1943). One may also mention Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Iṣfahānī, known as Āḳa Nadjafī (d. 1332/1913) [*q.v.* in Suppl.) as a good example of those Shīʿī religious leaders who followed Madjlisī's pattern of strict religious policy by putting heavy

pressures upon religious minorities in Iran (cf. *inter alia* Abdul-Hadi Hairi, art. *Āqā Najafī*, to appear in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*). It is not, therefore, unexpected to see that the latter cleric made strenuous efforts to propagate in favour of Madjlisī's ideas by translating into Persian, summarising and publishing several volumes of Madjlisī's books (Khānbābā Mushār, *Muʾallifīn-i kutub-i čāpī-yi fārsī va ʿarabī az aghāz-i čāp tā kunūn*, ii, Tehran 1961, nos. 198-203).

Madjlisī's thoughts, teachings, and practices, however popular and influential, have not been secure from the criticism made by a number of Shīʿī religious thinkers since Madjlisī's time. Mīr Lawḥī [*q.v.*] for instance, accuses him of the distortion of the sense of some *ḥadīths*, and suggests its reason to have been either ignorance or wordly interests (Muḥammad Mīr Lawḥī, *Kifāyat al-muhtadī fī maʿrifat al-Mahdī*, ms., no. 1121, Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, 21-2). ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, another contemporary of Madjlisī, criticised him particularly over the Friday Prayer which Madjlisī and his father had revived (Muḥammad Bāḳir Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa al-sādāt*, Tehran 1947, 131) and which ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *inter alios*, believed that in the absence of the Twelfth Shīʿī Imām should not be performed. He also criticised Madjlisī because "he authorised every imbecile and wicked person to transmit *ḥadīth* on Madjlisī's authority" (ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Raḍawī Kāshānī, *Ḥadīḳat al-Shīʿa*, Arabic ms., Madjlis Library, no. 3770, p. 110). A Persian Ṣūfī of the Ḳādjār period believed that Madjlisī was inconsistent in his ideas (Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, i, Tehran 1960, 279 ff.). In reference to some of the *ḥadīths*, quoted from *Biḥār*, which indicate the Shīʿī Imāms' humiliation at the hands of contemporary caliphs, a Persian author of our time writes that if any person trusting Madjlisī happened to read some of Madjlisī's writings he (or she) would certainly lose his (or her) belief in the Shīʿī Imāmate. This author is deeply disturbed by the fact that the custodians of Shīʿism have been able to tolerate and pass in silence over these types of "terrifying insults" that Madjlisī has reported against the infallible Shīʿī Imāms (ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, *Tashayyuʿ-i ʿAlawī va tashayyuʿ-i Ṣafawī*, Tehran 1971, 189-99).

Since the late 19th century, Iran has experienced a number of anti-government movements, all of which were led by the clerical leaders. The *ʿulamāʾ*'s active participation in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11/1324-9 (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977) and their unquestionable leadership in the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (Ḥamīd Rūḥānī, *Barrasī va taḥlīlī az nahḍat-i Imām Khumaynī dar Īrān*, Ḳum 1979) were certainly in sharp contradiction with Madjlisī's teachings. Although the *ʿulamāʾ* rose against the political establishments in these revolutions, they seem in reality, one may say, to have revolted against the legitimacy of many of the legacies of Madjlisī.

Bibliography: No comprehensive and critical study of Madjlisī's life and work seems to have been yet undertaken. The most informative available biography of Madjlisī is *al-Fayḍ*, written in 1302/1884 and mainly based on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbahānī's work still in manuscript entitled *Mirʾāt al-aḥwāl-i djahān namā*, Persian ms., Madjlis Library, no. 5551; this valuable, original book, written between 1210/1796 and 1225/1810, is skilfully outlined in Abdol Hossein Haeri, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-yi madjlis-i shūrā-yi millī*, xvii, Tehran 1969, 6-19. Madjlisī's own books may well be rated as the best sources of information concerning his thought as well as his links with the Ṣafawīd monarchs. Over 50 Persian books are ascribed to Madjlisī, and 13 Arabic books are also listed under his name, all in *al-Fayḍ*, 6-9. Madjlisī's major work is the *Biḥār*, which was first published in twenty-five large volumes in Tehran in 1305-15/1887-97, and a new edition of it has recently appeared in 110 volumes (Tehran 1956-72). This edition, however readable, finely printed and handily accessible, is not only devoid of any notably valuable editorial work, but since no pagination of the old edition is given in the new edition, the researcher has to face certain difficulties in collating the references to and quotations from the old edition with the new one. An extremely useful alphabetically-arranged guide to the *Biḥār* is ʿAbbās Ḳummī's *Safīnat al-biḥār wa-madīnat al-ḥikam wa 'l-āthār*, i-ii, 1943, but its abbreviation systems apply only to the old edition. Some of Madjlisī's books have been translated into other Islamic languages; many of his books have also been published, but only forty-five of them are listed in Mushār, *Muʾallifīn*, ii, nos. 23-42.

In addition to the sources introduced above, see also Muḥammad Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, i-ii, Baghdād 1965; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, i-ii, Tehran [?] 1952; E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv; C. de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and part of the East Indies*, i-ii, London 1737; Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh Djazāʾirī, *al-Anwār al-nuʿmāniyya*, iv, Tabrīz 1962; ʿAbd al-Karīm Djazī, *Ridjāl-i Iṣfahān yā tadhkirat al-ḳubūr*, 1949; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shiʾite religion*, London 1933; Abbé Martin Gaudereau, *Relation de la mort de Schah Soliman roy de Perse et du couronnement de Sultan Ussain son fils, avec plusieurs particularitéz touchant l'état present des affaires de la Perse*, Paris 1965; Muḥammad ʿAlī Kashmīrī, *Nudjūm al-samāʾ fī tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ*, Ḳum 1974; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Khātūnābādī, *Waḳāyiʿ al-sinīn wa 'l-aʿwām*, Tehran 1973; ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Hadiyyat al-aḥbāb fī dhikr al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunā wa 'l-alḳāb wa 'l-ansāb*, Tehran 1950; idem, *Fawāʾid al-raḍawiyya fī aḥwāl ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab al-djaʿfariyya*, ii, Tehran 1948; Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Mahdī-yi mawʿūd*, tr. ʿAlī Dawwānī, Tehran 1971 (translator's introd.); Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, iii, Tehran 1950; Iʿdjāz Ḥusayn al-Nīsābūrī al-Kantūrī, *Kashf al-ḥudjub wa 'l-astār ʿan asmāʾ al-kutub wa 'l-asfār*, Calcutta 1912; Karl Heinz Pampus, *Die theologische Enzyklopädie Biḥār al-anwār des Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi, ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Šīʿa in der Safawidenzeit*, diss., Bonn 1970; Walīḳulī Shāmlū, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Khāḳānī*, photographed ms., Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, no. 69; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, Tehran 1953; Muḥammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Tehran and Nadjaf, 1936- , in over twenty volumes.

(Abdul-Hadi Hairi)

MADJLISĪ-YI AWWAL, Muḥammad Taḳī (1003-70/1594-1659), a prominent Shīʿī religious leader and author of the Ṣafawīd period.

Originally, he was on his mother's side from

Djabal ʿĀmil (southern Lebanon) because, according to his son Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī [*q.v.*], Darwīsh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿĀmilī, a great *mudjtahid* of Djabal ʿĀmil, was his maternal grandfather (Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, ii, Tehran n.d., 551); the latter was also called Naṭanzī from his stay in Naṭanz, north of Iṣfahān, for a certain period of time (Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxx, Damascus 1949, 371-3). Muḥammad Bāḳir Khwānsārī [*q.v.*] has held that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's place of origin also on his father's side was Djabal ʿĀmil because Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Djābir, a *mudjtahid* from the same region, was his paternal cousin. This view, however logical and acceptable, seems difficult to combine with the fact that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's son and great grandson claimed descent from Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh of Iṣfahān (d. 430/1038) (*Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-sādāt*, Tehran 1947, 74-5, 130; see also *Nāma-yi dānishwarān-i nāṣirī dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i shishṣad tan az dānishmandān-i nāmī*, vii, Ḳum n.d., 1-21). At any rate, he himself was born in Ardastān, north-east of Iṣfahān, and brought up and lived in Iṣfahān (Walīḳulī Shāmlū, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Khāḳānī*, photographed ms., no. 69, Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, 370); and owing to the above-mentioned personal and familial background, he sometimes called himself "al-Iṣfahānī al-Naṭanzī al-ʿĀmilī" (Muḥammad Taḳī Madjlisī, *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibḳirānī*, i, Tehran 1913, 363).

Having been born into such clerically distinguished family, he began his religious education very early in life. He himself writes that at the age of four he knew about God, prayers, paradise and hell, and used to preach to children according to the verses of the Ḳurʾān and passages of the *ḥadīths* which his father had taught him (Madjlisī-yi Awwal, *Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, Tehran n.d., i, 903). He studied with remarkable steadiness under a number of teachers, including Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn Shūshtarī. He writes, at the age of sixty: "I spent over fifty years of my life in doing research on the traditions of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and on those of the infallible Imāms . . . First of all, I read the ordinary books written on theology (*kalām*), fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl*), and jurisprudence (*fiḳh*); secondly, I studied whatever [works] our Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* and others had compiled" (Muḥammad ʿAlī Kashmīrī, *Nudjūm al-samāʾ fī tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ*, Ḳum 1974, 61). Madjlisī-yi Awwal seems to have begun to be exceptionally prolific towards the end of that fifty-year period, because he wrote his voluminous work *Rawḍat al-muttaḳīn* within approximately two years, i.e. from *ca.* 1063/1652 to 1064/1653 (*Nudjūm*, 63; cf. also Muḥammad Taḳī Madjlisī, *Rawḍat al-muttaḳīn fī sharḥ man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faḳīh*, 1973, i, 1-3; this book is being published in many volumes, the twelfth of which appeared in 1979), and translated a substantial portion of it into Persian during the years 1065/1654-1066/1655 (*Lawāmiʿ*, i, 363, and ii, Tehran 1906, 409).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal has been recognised as one of the outstanding Shīʿī *mudjtahids* who, after the accession of the Ṣafawīds to power, began to promulgate the Shīʿī *ḥadīths*, especially in the Persian language. He in fact enjoyed good relations with the Ṣafawīd monarchs. In some of his own writings, Madjlisī-yi Awwal describes a dream he saw while visiting the shrine city of Nadjaf. He tells us that in his dream ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib urged his immediate return to Iṣfahān in order to prevent the confusions which ʿAlī told him would follow the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I (1038/1628). Madjlisī-yi Awwal, therefore, returned to Iṣfahān a few months earlier than originally planned; the dream was told by one of his friends to Shāh ʿAbbās's heir to the throne, Sām Mīrzā (later Shāh Ṣafī) (Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, 131) and must have played a role in the strengthening of his ties to Shāh Ṣafī (d. 1052/1642). The extent of Madjlisī-yi Awwal's intimate friendship with another Ṣafawīd monarch, Shāh ʿAbbās II (d. 1077/1666), can be seen by the fact that, upon the latter's request, he translated his Arabic commentary on Ibn Bābuwayh's *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faḳīh* into Persian. The Arabic title of the book is *Rawḍat al-muttaḳīn* ("The garden of the pious") which addresses itself to the people of piety, whereas Madjlisī-yi Awwal not only dedicated the Persian version, with a great deal of highly eulogistic expressions, to the Shāh, but he also changed its title to *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibḳirānī* ("The shimmerings of the invincible and just king"), a title that does not honestly represent the contents of the book written on the Shīʿī *ḥadīths* (*Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, i, 4-10).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal has been described by many of his biographers as a Ṣūfī, and a number of his books also attest this fact (cf. *inter alia*, his *Tashwīḳ al-sālikīn*, 1893; for a list of his other works, see Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, iii, Tehran 1950, 460-2). However, his famous son, Muḥammad Bāḳir, and many other authors who considered Ṣūfism as heresy, have attempted to exonerate him from any truly mystical ideas or practices, and some of them have questioned the authenticity of Madjlisī-yi Awwal's authorship of those mystical books which have been ascribed to him (*Nudjūm*, 59-64). Muḥammad Bāḳir writes that his father had close associations with the Ṣūfīs during the early part of his life and that he tactically pretended to be a Ṣūfī in order to lead them to the right path. Towards the end of his life, however, he found his efforts to have been useless and henceforth he openly turned against the Ṣūfīs and even declared them unbelievers (Muḥammad Bāḳir Nadjafī Yazdī, *Sharḥ-i kitāb-i iʿtiḳādāt-i Islam bi ḳalam-i ʿAllāma Madjlisī*, Tehran 1975, 393-4). Muḥammad Bāḳir's statement, however important and thought-provoking, may well be questioned by the fact that his father's *Lawāmiʿ*, written as late as 1065-6/1654-5, that is to say four years before his death, contains many favourable references to Ṣūfism (cf. 1-2, 38, 44, and *passim* in the new edition of vol. i; for an interesting discussion on this particular subject, consult Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, i, Tehran 1960, 268 ff.).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal's deep ties to Ṣūfism were also demonstrated by the spiritual stages he was known to have attained and by his asceticism, which became proverbial. He, despite his close friendship with a tyrannical ruler such as Shāh ʿAbbās II, claims to have established certain relations with the Shīʿī Imāms and the Prophet Muḥammad, who gave his sanction to the path Madjlisī-yi Awwal was pursuing (*Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, i, 1-2). With regard to his attitude towards ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Madjlisī-yi Awwal points out that while paying a visit to the shrine of ʿAlī in Nadjaf and "becoming occupied with an earnest spiritual striving (*mudjāhadat*), many things which weak intellects cannot bear were unveiled to me (*mukāshafāt*) through the blessing of that honourable [Imām]" (ʿAbbās Ḳummī,

Fawāʾid al-raḍawiyya fī aḥwāl ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab al-djaʿfariyya, Tehran 1948, ii, 444).

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the text, see MADJLISĪ, MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ.

(i) ARAB COUNTRIES.

Madjmaʿ, pl. *madjāmiʿ*, lit. "a place of collecting, a place in which people collect, assemble, congregate" (Lane i/2, 459), became in the second half of the 19th century, as *madjmaʿ ʿilmī*, a technical term for Academy of Science, *madjmaʿ al-lugha* being an Academy of [Arabic] language. There is thus a close relationship between both kinds of *madjmaʿ*, since the striving for science takes place in an Arabic language made capable of it.

Whereas *madjlis* [*q.v.*] had been the current term in earlier Arab civilisation for [the place of] an informal literary gathering and developed the meaning of "council", *madjmaʿ* and *nādī* came to be used in the second half of the 19th century for private academies and cenacles or clubs which met to discuss language and literature as well as other problems. The rise of such scientific and literary *madjāmiʿ* and *nawādī* is connected with *al-Nahḍa al-ʿarabiyya*, "the Arabic renaissance". The rise of Arabic as an official language in Egypt under the Khedive Ismāʿīl (over against Turkish); its development in Lebanon, Egypt and elsewhere with a new style of writing, expanded vocabulary and simplified grammar, with translations from western languages; the development of journalism with its needs to write in a clear and easily understandable language; the extension of the reading public and its social background; and of course the progressive modernisation of thought and its direction towards hitherto unknown subjects and problems: all these and other factors were posing a challenge to the classical Arabic language (*al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*). On the one hand, they gave new impulses for its further development; on the other hand, they meant a crisis for the fixed forms which the classical language had taken. These turned out to be inadequate for modern use, and consequently there was a threat to the language. The crisis had a religious aspect, inasmuch as classical Arabic became desacralised and demystified. This was less critical for the Christian than for the Muslim Arabs, whose religious scholars, seeing Arabic as the language of the Ḳurʾān, opposed such a modernisation of the language. Among Muslims, the call for *iṣlāḥ* or reform in language is consequently parallel to that for *iṣlāḥ* in religion. It was, however, the modernisation of society itself which finally forced such a modernisation of language. The problem of how to develop Arabic without abandoning the *fuṣḥā* as an essential part of Arabic culture may be considered to have been at the basis of the foundation of *madjāmiʿ* and *nawādī*, which in the beginning were of a private nature. This implied a confrontation between what were called "progressive" and "conservative" views of the Arabic language.

Fāris al-Shidyāḳ appears to have been the first person to suggest founding an academy for the Arabic language (in *ca.* 1870). The idea was taken up by others and supported and even promoted by journalists who, for professional reasons, were in need of a "modern" Arabic. This call for an academy of language had, besides its linguistic purposes, political and cultural aspects. It aimed at a rehabilitation of Arabic and the Arabs after three and a half centuries of Turkish domination, and represented the rediscovery of a common cultural heritage and a common language of discourse. In the *nahḍa*, there was a clear parallel between linguistic and political aspirations, which were directed first against the Turks and later against the British and French. Moreover, an openness existed towards modern science and instruments of knowledge and their assimilation in Arab society. These aspirations, together with the religious aspects, gave to all discussions on science and language a particular acuteness.

(1) Private *madjāmiʿ*

Several private *madjāmiʿ* of language and scholarship arose as a consequence, though their existence was short-lived. In Beirut, *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Sharḳī* was established in 1882 with the co-operation of Fāris Nimr (1856-1952). In Egypt, the Institut d'Égypte founded by Napoleon in Alexandria in 1797 and transferred to Cairo in 1859 stood as the model for different *madjāmiʿ* in Cairo. Thus a *madjmaʿ* existed there in 1892-3 due to the initiative of Shaykh al-Sayyid Tawfīḳ al-Bikrī (1870-1933). An equally short existence was enjoyed by a *Djamʿyyat tarḳiyat al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* founded by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (1847-1906), Djurdjī Zaydān (1861-1914) and Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935). Former students of the Dār al-ʿUlūm, like Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1855-1919) and ʿĀṭif Barakāt Bey, founded the *Nādī Dār al-ʿUlūm* in 1907 with the explicit purpose of "Arabising" foreign words. This circle disappeared, as well as a similar *nādī* which was founded by Fatḥī Zaghlūl (1863-1914) around the same time. The same fate overcame the *Ladjnat al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ʿilmiyya* founded by Aḥmad Ḥishmat Pasha when he was Minister of Education, and of which Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1860-1934) was a prominent member. A *madjmaʿ* founded by Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963) [*q.v.*] in 1917 and presided over first by Shaykh Salīm al-Bishrī (1832-1917) and then by Shaykh Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Djizāwī (1847-1927) existed from 1917 until 1919 with 28 members, among whom were a Persian, a Syrian Christian and a Jew. From 1921 to 1925 there existed a *madjmaʿ* in Cairo which was presided over by Idrīs Rāghib Bek. Manṣūr Fahmī (1886-1959) and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973) were counted among its members. It had as its explicit purpose the composition of a modern Arabic dictionary; but this was abandoned in 1925 because of the lack of official support.

(2) Official *madjāmiʿ*

(a) *Syria*. On 8 June 1919, the Arab government of King Fayṣal I in Damascus requested Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī to found and organise an Arab Academy which would replace the *Shuʿbat dīwān al-maʿārif* which had been founded on 2 February 1919. This was an off-shoot of *al-shuʿba al-ūlā li 'l-tardjama wa 'l-taʾlīf* established some two months earlier. The first meeting of *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿArabī*, which had been organised on the model of the Académie Française, took place on 3 July 1919 in Damascus, where it was established in the Madrasa ʿĀdiliyya. Later, a section was established in Ḥalab (Aleppo). The Academy consisted at that time of eight members and a president, and it administered the *Djāmiʿ Sūriyya* (where courses were given in Arabic) from 17 June 1923 until 15 March 1926. Its constitution (*niẓām asāsī*) was recognised officially on 8 May 1928 and published in vol. xii (1932) of the *Madjalla* of the Academy (pp. 765-8); its "house rules" *niẓām dākhilī*) followed on the recognition of the constitution. Constitution and house rules have

subsequently been amended. Administratively, the Academy depends on the Ministry of Education, but it has financial autonomy. In 1960 a fusion took place with the Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo.

Besides the active members (*ʿāmilūn*), whose number is fixed at present at fifteen, there are corresponding members (*murāsilūn*) without a fixed number. All members and the president are elected and then appointed by the head of State. Well-known presidents were Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī (1868-1956) and Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī (1893-1968). The president, vice-president and permanent secretary have the direction of the Academy. The Academy has published the *Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿilmi al-ʿarabī* since Rabīʿ II 1339/January 1921 at first as a monthly and since 1949 as a quarterly. Besides the journal, which has a wide scope of interests, the Academy publishes separate articles and text editions. In addition, it organises lectures (*muḥāḍarāt*) and sends representatives to congresses, etc. abroad. It does not publish special word lists as the Academy in Cairo does. The Academy also administers the *Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya* (al-Ẓāhiriyya) founded in 1296/1878 in Damascus, the historical Archives and the Museum of Antiquities.

Article One of the constitution of 1928 describes the task of the Academy (*Madjalla*, xii [1932], 765) as being to guard and perfect the Arabic language, and to research into the history of Syria and the Arabic language. The *fuṣḥā* and its principles are to be a starting point and norm, since that is the noble language (*lugha sharīfa*) of the Ḳurʾān and of classical literature, and Arabic is the common patrimony of all Arabs. The aims of the Academy are more specifically:

i. To preserve the language (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā salāmat al-lugha*), in particular from the dialectal language, foreign orthography, archaisms and incoherences;

ii. to protect the purity of the language (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā faṣāḥat al-lugha*) against foreign (*dakhīl*) terms and style figures (*aʿdjāmī*); and

iii. to adapt the language to modern needs.

Bearing these aims in mind, the Academy can be of assistance to authors and translators as far as their use of language is concerned. Unlike the Academy in Cairo, the Academy in Damascus does not consider its decisions with regard to new general scholarly terms to be definite: they are preferences (*tardjīḥāt*) or propositions (*iḳtirāḥāt*) which are submitted to others. The articles in the *Madjalla* are published under the responsibility of their authors, not of the Academy.

Most of the work of the Academy is done in committees (*lidjān*), of which three have been in existence since the beginning: the administrative committee, the linguistic and literary committee (*ladjna lughawiyya adabiyya*), and the scientific and technical committee (*ladjna ʿilmiyya fanniyya*) which has as its task the spreading of science and the arts in Syria. Later, more specialised committees were added: for general principles (*al-uṣūl al-ʿāmma*), for the dictionary (*al-muʿdjam*), for the journal (*al-madjalla*), for the neologisms (*waḍʿ alfāẓ ʿarabiyya djadīda*), and for the dialects (*al-lahadjāt*). The committees work in closed sessions (*djalasāt khāṣṣa*), either according to a plan which is fixed at the annual meeting of the Academy, or in response to a particular problem. As an example of the latter, one could mention the project to enquire about words which are not found in the great Arabic dictionaries (*al-kalimāt ghayr al-ḳāmūsiyya*). Representatives of particular professions and groups can be consulted by the committees. Once a year, there is an annual general meeting, with both closed (*djalasāt ʿamal khāssa*) and plenary (*djalasāt ʿamal ʿāmma*) sessions where all members meet together with notable figures (*al-aʿyān*) and men of letters (*al-udabāʾ*). In 1960 the name of the *Madjalla* became *Madjallat madjmaʿ al-ʿarabiyya—Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿarabī sābiḳan*.

As to the work which has already been done, Rachad Hamzaoui characterises the attitude of the Academy as trying to maintain the status quo, while introducing reforms where needed. Subjects which have been treated include questions of orthography; (simplification of) grammar; and the banishing of dialectal Arabic. Important work has been performed on modernising the Arabic vocabulary by means of *istinbāṭ* (resurgence of pure ancient Arabic words), *ishtiḳāḳ* (derivation by means of *ḳiyās* or analogy conforming to given *awzān* or schemes), *naḥt* (composition of words) and *taʿrīb* (borrowing from foreign languages), in this order of precedence. No definite solutions have been offered for the problems of orthography, grammar and dialectal Arabic. The fact that the *fuṣḥā* was taken as norm could not but restrict in advance the possibilities and means of the modernisation of language as it was striven after.

(b) *Egypt*. On the initiative of King Fuʾād I and the Senate (*Madjlis al-Shuyūkh*), the Minister of Education in 1928 requested that three reports be submitted by Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Aḥmad Ḥāfiẓ ʿAwaḍ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bishrī concerning the creation of an official Academy, and this led to its foundation in 1932. This was accelerated by a previous suggestion made by King Fayṣal I of ʿIrāḳ (1883-1933)—who had already established the Academy of Damascus in 1919—presented by Nūrī al-Saʿīd to the Islamic Congress held in Jerusalem in December 1931, to establish an Islamic University in Jerusalem as well as an Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo. The *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya al-malakī* was then founded independently by a royal Decree of 14 Shaʿbān 1351/13 December 1932, when Muḥammad ʿĪsā Pasha was Minister of Education in the cabinet of Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī Pasha, which had been in power since the promulgation of the Constitution of 22 October 1930. The text of the constitution of the *madjmaʿ* which was promulgated was modelled on the Académie Française, dating from 1629. Its specific tasks included guarding the integrity of the Arabic language and adapting it to the needs of present-day life. In order to achieve these aims, the Academy was to compose dictionaries and word lists, compile a historical dictionary of the Arabic language, carry out studies on Arabic semantics and study modern Arabic dialects in Egypt and other Arab countries. The Academy was also to treat all those subjects which the Minister of Education submitted to it with the aim of developing the Arabic language. There would be twenty active members on an international basis. The first active members would be nominated directly by the King. Subsequently new members would be elected and then nominated by royal decree, or by decree of the head of state. In addition to the active members, there would be corresponding members. The president of the Academy was to be selected by the Minister of Education from a list of three names chosen by a majority of the members, and then nominated by decree of the head of state.

A royal decree of 16 Djumādā II/6 October 1933 appointed the first twenty members: ten Egyptians, among them three Azharites, one Christian and one Jewish scholar, five European orientalists and five scholars from other Arab countries. Some opposition came from religious and conservative circles, and in particular, the presence of five orientalists on the list gave rise to fervent discussions. In the press, protests were made against both the methods and the results of the work of the *mustashriḳūn* with regard to the Arab-Muslim world; they were also thought to be collaborating with Christian missionaries against whose activities in Egypt a press campaign was carried out. As a result, A. J. Wensinck (1882-1939) was replaced as a member by E. Littmann (1875-1958). Authors like Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī (*Nūr al-islām*, iv [1352 A.H.], 599-607) attacked Wensinck because of his articles on Ibrāhīm and the Kaʿba in *EI*[1] (cf. OM, xiii [1933], 594-5). Besides orientalists, Egyptian scholars like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, who had opposed traditional conceptions of language, culture and religion, were also attacked. Seen in a wider perspective, attacks on orientalists reflect a zeal for total arabisation; though their vast knowledge was recognised, they were not seen as being loyal to the cause of Arabic language and culture and Arab self-affirmation in general during the period concerned. Such attacks notwithstanding, within the Academy the European orientalists—A. Fischer (1865-1949), H.A.R. Gibb (1895-1971), E. Littmann (1875-1958), L. Massignon (1883-1962) and C. A. Nallino (1872-1938)—worked together successfully with the arabophone scholars, although from 1962 onwards non-Arabs could only be corresponding members of the Academy.

The first session of the *Madjmaʿ* took place on 14 Shawwāl 1352/30 January 1934, after which the "house rules" were established and the chief officials were chosen. Presidents were successively Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Rifʿat Pasha from 1934 until 1944, Luṭfī al-Sayyid from 1945 until 1963, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn as his successor until 1973. Permanent secretaries of the Academy were Manṣūr Fahmī (1886-1959) from 1934 until 1959, and Ibrāhīm Madkūr (b. 1902) from 1960 onwards. The administration is carried out by an administrative director (*al-murāḳib al-idārī*). After 1938, the name of the Academy was *Madjmaʿ Fuʾād al-Awwal li 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*. In 1955, this was changed officially into *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*. As a result of the Egyptian-Syrian union of 1958, the two Academies of Cairo and Damascus were joined together in 1960. Their new constitution gave internal autonomy, a moral personality (*shakhṣiyya iʿtibāriyya*) and an autonomous budget to the Academy; the Minister of Education, however, became then the supreme president (*al-raʾīs al-aʿlā*) of the Academy. Its aims were extended toward unifying scientific terms in Arabic, reviving the Arab heritage of learning and stressing its links with the other cultural heritages of mankind, furthering the development of the language in general and in particular its orthography, and simplifying its grammar. The conclusions reached by the Academy should be applied and brought into practice by the Ministry of Education. Later, the Minister of Culture became Honorary President of the Academy. The number of its members rose to 60: 40 Egyptians and 20 representatives of other Arab countries. Apart from its committee meetings, the *Madjmaʿ* holds a weekly meeting for its Egyptian members and an annual conference which is also attended by corresponding members from elsewhere. Whereas the first generation of Academicians consisted of men of a broad culture in language and literature, following generations tended to be more specialised in particular fields such as the sciences, mathematics, law, medicine, *sharīʿa*, history, geography and psychology. As a result, later decisions taken by the Academy could imply more radical innovations. Besides the great general meetings, a *madjlis al-madjmaʿ* was established to carry out the decisions of the Academy and to divide the work to be done among the committees. The two Academies of Cairo and Damascus received a permanent secretariat in Cairo, *al-maktab al-dāʾim*. Notwithstanding the fact that the Académie Française is the model for the Egyptian Academy, there are some interesting differences: the Egyptian *Madjmāʿ*'s pan-Arab and also international character, its annual meetings, and its functioning as an Academy not only of language but also of arts and sciences make it comparable to the Institut de France. Its stress on the *fuṣḥā* implies that classical Arab humanism, as transmitted by the pure Arabic language, should be conserved.

Most of the actual work is done by special committees: of finances (*ladjnat al-māliyya*), of general principles (*l. al-uṣūl al-ʿāmma*), of mathematics (*l. al-riyāḍiyyāt*), of physical and chemical sciences (*l. al-ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿiyya wa 'l-kimiyya*), of biology and medicine (*l. ʿulūm al-ḥayāt wa 'l-ṭibb*), of social sciences (*l. al-ʿulūm al-idjtimāʿiyya*), of letters and arts (*l. al-ādāb wa 'l-funūn*), of the dictionary (*l. al-muʿdjam*), of the dialects (*l. al-lahadjāt*), of the journal (*l. al-madjalla*) and of the library (*l. khizānat al-kutub*). In their sessions, specialists in various fields can be invited as experts whenever the Academicians are not sufficiently competent. As the number of specialisations has grown, the number of committees has increased and sub-committees have been founded where needed, as well as technical committees. The committees submit annual reports to the President of the Academy; they should keep moreover records of their meetings (*maḥāḍir al-djalasāt*). The conclusions of the committees are provisional until they have been presented to and adopted by the general meeting of the *Madjmaʿ*. Members can publish their work outside the responsibility of their committee or of the Academy; a special part of the *Madjalla* is reserved for this purpose. The Minister of Education has always been very much alert as to the consequences of the decisions taken by the *Madjmaʿ* for schoolbooks.

Special mention should be made of the precious collection of cards (*djuzāzāt*) which have been prepared for the historical dictionary and for the dictionary of technical and scientific terms. Massignon used to lay great stress on this project and the need for a correct organisation of the cards, but it took some time before the system was introduced. August Fischer, whose project of a historical dictionary of the Arabic language was officially accepted by the Academy in 1938, made some 100,000 cards of his private collection available, which were transported from Leipzig to Cairo, but were neglected after his death in 1949. The cards for the scientific dictionary and for the historical dictionary have been differently organised; they have been placed in rooms not accessible for the public, and apparently they have been filled out only partially. In 1948 an office of registration (*maktab al-tasdjīl*) was established with the task of classifying all terms accepted by the Academy.

The Academy has acted as patron for certain works and book publications, and it has given awards to certain manuscripts of quality which could be published as a consequence. The Academy has an international audience and is represented at international conferences dealing with the Arabic language. It has contributed to the organisation of the Union of Arab Academies and to that of the Arab Scientific Union.

In its efforts to adapt the Arabic language to the demands and needs of modern times, it has paid attention primarily to problems of vocabulary and, in particular, to the creation of neologisms. Studies of grammar and especially of morphology serve in part to facilitate this work and to contribute to the making of modern dictionaries. Compared with this, studies on orthography, phonetics, dialects, syntax and stylistics have been less prominent. Work has concentrated on semantics and the grammar of the *fuṣḥā*; the more conservative members have always tended to defend at all costs the integrity and purity of the language. Members try to avoid an accumulation of synonyms. The rule has been established to prefer whenever possible one term to two or more if a neologism has to be made, or otherwise—if it is not possible to find one Arabic term—to proceed by means of a literal translation of the foreign term. Another rule is to study anything which could simplify Arabic writing as well as the rules of syntax and morphology. In particular, the Ministry of Education stresses the need for simplification of grammar. The interest taken in dialect studies derives from the desire better to know the *fuṣḥā*, so that a decision can be taken about the integration of the dialectal Arabic. Attention has been given to the transliteration of foreign words, starting with geographical names. Throughout the discussions, the history of Arabic grammar, the place of the Ḳurʾān as a norm for the Arabic language, and the role of linguistic norms as such, have come up again and again. Although some attempts have been made to propose a simplification of orthography for the purpose of printing, problems of writing and orthography, like those of phonetics, have hardly been dealt with. Most important has been lexicography (*al-muʿdjamiyyāt*) and the technical procedure of composing dictionaries; this has entailed, besides the creation of neologisms, the evaluation of data of classical lexicography. Through its discussions since 1934 the *Madjmaʿ* has established a sort of linguistic *idjmāʿ* for Arabic, though the discussions themselves have taken place in a non-systematic way.

In the conclusion of his study about the *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, R. Hamzaoui observes two features by which it distinguishes itself from other academies. In contrast to the Academies of Damascus and Baghdād, it concentrates completely on the Arabic language, and in its decision-making it tries to arrive at a linguistic *idjmaʿ* of its members before giving any authoritative statement. As in the Academy of Damascus, the work of the Academy of Cairo takes its departure from the *fuṣḥā* and aims to ensure a cultural and linguistic continuity from the beginning of Arabic literature until the present day. This often leads to a purist stand, seeking to defend the *ʿarabiyya* against encroachments by foreign languages, in particular modern western ones. This approach to the modernisation of the Arabic language and of Arabic culture in general leads to compromise solutions and the rejection of any radical solutions which may be proposed.

Among the major publications of the *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* are *al-Muʿdjam al-wasīṭ* (2 vols., Cairo 1960-1) and *Muʿdjam alfāẓ al-Ḳurʾān* (3 vols., Cairo 1953) as dictionaries; five volumes of *Maḥāḍir al-djalasāt* (1936-48), four volumes of the subsequent *al-Buḥūth wa 'l-muḥāḍarāt* (1959-62) as reports on the work being done and papers read by Academicians; the *Madjmūʿat al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ʿilmiyya wa 'l-fanniyya*, of which eight volumes appeared between 1959 and 1968, and specialised listings of neologisms created by the Academy for particular fields; finally, the *Madjallat madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* from 1934 onward as the regular journal of the Academy. One special volume was published of *al-Muʿdjam al-lughawī al-taʾrīkhī* (*Ḥarf al-hamza ilā abad*), the project of the historical dictionary initiated by August Fischer but later abandoned (Cairo 1387/1967, 53 pp.). Two specimen volumes were published of the great *al-Muʿdjam al-lughawī al-kabīr* meant to be an Arabic *Larousse Encyclopédique*: *Ḥarf al-hamza—akhi* (Cairo 1956, 519 pp.), and *Mawādd min ḥarf al-hamza* (Cairo 1381-2/1962-3, 155 pp. in typescript). Several studies on the Cairo Academy have been published, as is shown in the *Bibliography* below.

(c) *ʿIrāḳ*. The history of *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī* goes back to 1945 when a *ladjnat al-taʾlīf wa 'l-tardjama wa 'l-nashr* was established in the Ministry of Education in order to expand the sphere of scientific activities in ʿIrāḳ and to keep up with such activities in the more developed countries. Due to the initiative of Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī and his collaborators, amongst them Fāḍil al-Djamālī, *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī* was founded by the government in 1947 and organised by the Ministry of Education. Its aims were more far-reaching than those of the preceding Committee as mentioned in Article 2 of the Regulations of the Iraq Academy (no. 62, 26 November 1947): *Madjalla*, i [1950], 10):

(i) to maintain the purity of the Arabic Language and seek to adapt it to the demands of the arts and sciences, and of the affairs of modern life;

(ii) to undertake research and writing in the fields of Arabic literature, the history of the Arabs, the history of the peoples of ʿIrāḳ, their languages, sciences, and civilisation;

(iii) to study the part played by the peoples of Islam in the propagation of Arabic culture;

(iv) to maintain in safe-keeping rare Arabic manuscripts and documents, and revive them by publishing them according to the latest scientific methods; and

(v) to undertake research in the modern arts and sciences, encourage original writing and translation in these fields, and promote the spirit of scientific enquiry in the country.

The *Madjmaʿ* clearly wanted to provide an impetus to the scientific *nahḍa* in ʿIrāḳ, as had been the purpose of the *Madjmaʿ* in Damascus, founded after World War I, for the scientific *nahḍa* in Syria. On 25 June 1949 (no. 40), ten Articles were promulgated as an Amendment to the Regulations. The first meeting of the *Madjmaʿ* was held on 12 January 1948 and up to 30 June 1950, 66 sessions were held as well as 150 committee sessions. At this stage, there were ten active members, all ʿIrāḳīs. At the beginning of 1949, the *Madjmaʿ* was considered to be a government body, and since by law the accumulation of ministrial or parliamentary functions with any other state positions was forbidden, several members had to leave the Academy; later that year Fāḍil al-Djamālī and Mattā ʿAḳrāwī left ʿIrāḳ on official duty and had to be replaced by

others, though they remained honorary members of the Academy. At this stage also, 28 corresponding members were elected, both among ʿIrāḳī and among Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese scholars; four western orientalists also became corresponding members, A. Guillaume, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Marçais and L. Massignon.

The activities of the Academy in Baghdād consisted from the beginning both of purely internal activities and of activities directed towards the outside world: giving public lectures, bringing about publications, allocating funds in order to support the publication of books and awarding prizes for essays on particular subjects fixed by the Academy. Since 1950 it has published the *Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿirāḳī* on a yearly basis, to which Academicians and other scholars have contributed on a number of scholarly subjects. The public lectures organised by the Academy may be published in its *Madjalla* or separately. Each issue also contains a number of book reviews. In 1950 the Academy was able to acquire a printing-press. In its internal sessions, the Academy has established a number of new scientific and technical terms which are published in part in the *Madjalla* and in part on separate lists sent to various Ministries at their request. It should be noted that ʿIrāḳ during the early years did not yet possess a university, the University of Baghdād being established only in 1958. Well-known Presidents of the Academy have been Munīr al-Ḳāḍī as from 1949 onwards, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī from 1958 onwards, and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Muḥyī al-Dīn since the later sixties, Yūsuf ʿIzz al-Dīn being its permanent secretary since that time. The Law no. 49 of 1963 introduced certain changes in the Regulations of the Academy.

The Academy has continued to hold its regular sessions and committee meetings and also to give financial assistance to the publishing of books and to acquire books for its library as well as microfilms of manuscripts. In 1970 the library counted some 25,000 books, more than 300 periodicals and some 400 manuscripts on microfilm. It had developed a card-index system, assigned prizes to winners of poetry festivals and participated in inter-Arab conferences on cultural subjects. The Academy also gave its opinion on cultural treaties which ʿIrāḳ was concluding with other countries. The Academy was liberal in giving its publications to numerous official institutions and personalities in the country and abroad; it gave assistance to students and scholars, photographed manuscripts from public and private libraries. Members participated in Committees for the Protection of Monuments, for a Translation Programme, etc. At present the Academy has active members (not exceeding fifteen ʿIrāḳī scholars), associate members, honorary members and corresponding members, the last two categories including both ʿIrāḳī and other nationalities.

(d) *Morocco.* Although not a *madjmaʿ* in the formal sense of the word, a similar institution in Rabat may be mentioned. After the first International Congress on Arabisation held in Rabat in 1961, a Bureau Permanent de l'Arabisation was established in Rabat and recognised by the League of Arab States in 1968. Subsequently, this became the Bureau de Coordination de l'Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes à Rabat, which was integrated in the ALESCO (Arab League, on the pattern of a regional UNESCO) in 1971, its definite regulations being established in 1973. Since 1964 this Bureau has published *al-Lisān al-ʿarabī*, with lists of neologisms and further articles of linguistic interest; it also publishes specialised listings of terms in particular fields with the Arabic, French and English equivalents. The members of the Bureau participate in meetings of the Academies in Damascus, Cairo and Baghdād. In its work on the modernisation of the Arabic language, the Bureau de Coordination de l'Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes follows less conservative lines than the established Academies and appears to work more efficiently. Finally it should be noted that by a *ẓahīr* (dahir) of 24 Shawwāl 1397/8 October 1977, the king of Morocco created a royal academy (*al-Akādimiya al-malakiyya*), which consists of 60 members, 30 of which have the Moroccan nationality while 30 are foreign correspondents. The statutes of the academy have been published in *al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī*, xxviii (1398/1978), 125-44.

A Union of Arab Academies was founded in Cairo on 30 March 1957, by Decree no. 1329.

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(J. D. J. WAARDENBURG)

(ii) IRAN

The establishment of the first Iranian language academy (*Farhangistān-i zabān-i Īrān*) resulted from developments representing two separate but related types of concerns, both stemming from the advent of modernisation in the early 19th century, and resulting in the double nature of the activities of the two academies. These two sets of developments were: (a) the desire for purifying Persian from the foreign (mostly

Arabic) words, and (b) the need for new words created by the introduction of new concepts (technical and general). The history of the language academies and related events can be divided into five periods:

(1) Historical background (up to 1921).
(2) The immediate setting (1921-35).
(3) The first *Farhangistān* (1935-41).
(4) Between the two *Farhangistāns* (1941-70).
(5) The second *Farhangistān* (1970-).

(1) *Historical background* (*up to 1921*). Attempts to write in a Persian devoid of Arabic words go as far back as at least the 4th/10th century. In recent times, the opposition to foreign words was triggered by nationalism, and was strengthened by the relative loss of the status of Arabic as part of the educational curriculum. The first manifestation of this opposition in recent times appeared in the 19th century, when a number of writers and poets wrote in *Fārsī-yi sara* "pure Persian", and some of them promoted it through research on the subject. These efforts continued, and became increasingly more extensive as time went on. During the same century, a new factor was introduced by the need for words to designate concepts brought in by modernisation in ever-increasing numbers. When the two factors overlapped, a three-sided debate developed: Should the new concepts be called (1) by their European names; or (2) by Arabic names (already in use in the Arabic-speaking countries or Ottoman Turkey, or to be coined in Iran itself); or (3) by native Persian words (existing or to be coined)? In practice, (1) was used most often, and (3) least often, especially at the earlier stages. In addition, a number of loan translations were introduced.

(2) *The immediate setting* (*1921-1935*). Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī took over the government in 1921, and became king in 1925. Because of the encouragement of nationalism by the new régime, and the emphasis on the glories of ancient Iran, the debate on the foreign elements in Persian gained greater prominence. Opposition to loanwords grew and became more serious as their numbers increased. The debate spread to newspapers and journals. The government, and several of its agencies, also became involved, issuing public orders as well as internal memoranda, forbidding the use of European words and names, and even ordering that Persian writings on store signs should be made more prominent than anything in foreign scripts. Foreign words were considered "worse than a foreign army", their use a "literary disaster". The subject came up in parliamentary debates, and Riḍā Shah himself took a direct personal interest.

Riḍā Shāh launched a series of reforms, mostly in the outward aspects of life, and practically all conducive to the importation of Western objects and Western institutions. This resulted in a greater need for new words. The need for coining new terms, often in combination with the interest in purification, led to the formation of a number of groups, which differed in longevity, efficiency, and their impact on the language. The first such group seems to have been the *Andjuman-i ʿIlmī* (Scientific Society), formed in the 1920s. In November 1924, the Ministry of War, in consultation with the Ministry of Education, formed a group made up of several high-ranking officers from the *Shūrā-yi ʿĀlī-yi Niẓām* (Supreme Military Council), as well as civilians from both ministries, charged with coining military terms. The words *hawāpaymā* "airplane", *khalabān* "pilot", *furūdgāh* "airport", and others adopted by the group are now well-established in the language.

There were other groups. The longest-lived and best-organised was the *Andjuman-i Waḍʿ-i Lughāt wa Iṣṭilāḥāt-i ʿIlmī* (The Committee for Coining Scientific Terms), founded by Dr. ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ at the *Dār al-Muʿallimīn-i ʿĀlī* (National Teachers' College), since renamed as *Dānishsarā-yi ʿĀlī*, of which he had just been appointed dean. This student committee, under a faculty sponsor, adopted a constitution, with a set of principles and guidelines. Active from February-March 1933 to September-October 1940, it adopted about 3,000 terms in all, of which some 400 are said to have become fully-accepted. This committee continued its work even after the establishment of the first *Farhangistān*.

In 1935, the Ministry of Education founded the *Ākādimī-yi Ṭibbī* (Medical Academy), whose membership was made up of a number of well-known physicians and scholars. The group passed a constitution which listed 10 types of activities for itself, including the coining of medical terms. It was this group which adopted the word *farhangistān* for "academy". (*Farhang*, originally meaning "politeness, knowledge, education", etc., and also "dictionary". In recent decades, it has come to be used also in the sense of "culture", and in the 1930s it replaced the Arabic *Maʿārif* in the name of the "Ministry of Education". More recently, in the name of the newly-founded "Ministry of Culture", it has been used in the sense of "culture", and the compound *Āmūzish wa Parwarish* has replaced it in the name of the "Ministry of Education".)

(3) *The first Farhangistān* (*1935-41*). By 1934, the efforts to purify Persian of its foreign element had acquired the proportions of a movement. Starting mostly in some periodicals, it soon spread to the various government offices, and to a major department of the Madjlis. A widespread hunt was on for "pure" Persian words to replace many common Arabic words. The words were found in dictionaries as well as other sources, including the *Shāh-nāma*. Articles written in *Fārsī-yi sara* were accompanied by glossaries, without which readers would have been at a loss, but nevertheless correspondence in this style was often unintelligible. Difficulties often arose in intra-governmental communication, since each person felt free to use "pure" Persian words which he had found, and there was little or no common ground among the many enthusiasts.

Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī visited Turkey in 1934, where a movement for purifying Turkish from Arabic and Persian words was afoot, supported by the government of Kemal Atatürk, on whose order the Turkish Linguistic Society had been founded on 12 July 1932 (see section 3. below). Upon Riḍā Shāh's return to Iran, approached by a number of purification supporters, he ordered a committee to be selected in the Ministry of War to adopt Persian equivalents for military terms. The Army Staff had already adopted native Persian equivalents for a large number of military terms, which had been reported to the king and put in use. These included the words *afsar* "officer" and *artish* "army", both now established terms (and both objectionable from the etymological point of view).

The Ministry of Education, which was opposed to the movement, tried to subvert the new committee. Within a few hours after the committee's first meeting, Prime Minister Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī, an experienced politician and a respected scholar, and unsympathetic to the cause of purification, recruited for the task by the equally unsympathetic Ministry of Education, suggested to the king that

a group of scholars be commissioned to study the matter, and to prepare the way for the establishment of an academy (*farhangistān*).

The idea of establishing a language academy was not entirely new. In 1903, the government decided to establish a *Madjlis-i Ākādimī*, which, however, did not last long. One of its coinages was *rāh-i āhan* "railway", a translation of French *chemin de fer*, now a well-established part of Persian vocabulary. The idea continued to come up from time to time, until Furūghī was permitted by the Shah to found an academy. Furūghī charged ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ with preparing a plan for an academy. He drafted a constitution, based in part on that of the Académie Française. After some changes, it was approved by the Council of Ministeries on 19 May 1935, and sent to the Ministry of Education on 26 May 1935 for action.

Article II of the constitution specifies the responsibilities of the *Farhangistān* in twelve items. Items 1, 2, 4-7, deal with collecting, adopting, and coining words. Items 8-11 concern literature. Item 12 calls for "inquiry into the reform of the Persian script". References to purification of Persian are mild, and almost casual: Item 2 states that the words to be chosen "in all domains of life" should be Persian "as much as possible". Item 3 states the responsibilities of the *Farhangistān* as "pruning (*pīrāstan*) from the Persian language inappropriate foreign words".

The *Farhangistān* held its first meeting on 2 June 1935, chaired by Furūghī. Other ordinary (*paywasta*) members present included Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*], ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Abu 'l-Ḥasan Furūghi, Badīʿ al-Zamān (Furūzānfar), Ḥusayn Gulgulāb, ʿAlī Asghar Ḥikmat, Maḥmūd Ḥisābī, Saʿīd Nafīsī, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Ḳarīb, Ghulam Riḍā Rashīd-Yāsimī, ʿĪsā Ṣādiḳ, Ṣādiḳ Riḍāzāda Shafaḳ, Ḥusayn Samīʿī, Ḥasan Wuthūḳ, and others. Among members added later were Ibrāhīm Pūr-Dāwūd, ʿAlī Akbar Siyāsī, ʿAbbās Iḳbāl Āshtiyānī, Muḥammad Ḥidjāzī, Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Aḥmad Bahmanyār and Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī. Among the associate (*wābasta*) members elected at various times were the Iranian novelist Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda, and a number of foreigners, including Professors A. Christensen (Denmark), Henri Massé (France), Jan Rypka (Czechoslovakia) and Muḥammad Ḥasan Haykal (Egypt).

The *Farhangistān* adopted its internal by-laws on 4 August 1935, and later slightly modified them. Other by-laws were adopted later. The internal by-laws called for the establishment of seven committees. Although the designations of these committees, and the description of the tasks of the *Farhangistān* found in its constitution, set down a wide variety of tasks for it, in practice it spent all of its time and energy in adopting Persian words to replace foreign words.

According to its constitution, the officers of the *Farhangistān* consisted of a president, to be appointed by the king, and two vice-presidents and two secretaries elected for two years by a majority of the ordinary members. The first president was Premier Furūghī. He resigned as premier a few months later and after that did not attend its meetings. In March-April 1936, Ḥasan Wuthūḳ succeeded him.

Riḍā Shāh was dissatisfied with the speed with which the *Farhangistān* was progressing, and ordered it to be reorganised. This reorganisation took place on 28 April 1938. Several new members were added; and three members, including Wuthūḳ and Dihkhudā, were removed. The presidency of the *Farhangistān* was henceforth to be given to the Minister of Education. The first president under the new system was ʿAlī Asghar Ḥikmat. He was succeeded by Ismāʿīl Mirʾāt three months later. Mirʾāt's presidency lasted until September 1941. The committee structure also was changed. Of a total of eight committees, five were charged with coining terms. The work of the *Farhangistān* was now practically restricted, both officially and in fact, to the coining of terms.

Not everyone was in sympathy with the aims and the activities of the *Farhangistān*. Indeed, its founder, Furūghī, himself apparently became involved in it more to keep those whom he considered extremists from controlling it than to help the purification movement. In fact, in a public lecture he gave a few months after the *Farhangistān* began work, he tried to correct what he considered mistaken ideas about the organisation's work; e.g. the idea that it was a "word-manufacturing plant", and that its raison d'être was "purging Persian of Arabic words completely". In March-April 1937, the *Farhangistān* published an expanded version of this lecture under the title *Piyām ba-Farhangistān* ["Message to the *Farhangistān*"]. Throughout this message, he stressed the importance of Arabic for Persian, and preached moderation in the attempts to purify Persian, and patience in introducing new Persian words and reviving old ones.

The first *Farhangistān* was active for little more than six years (though it continued to exist on paper until *ca.* 1956). During this time, it invented, revived and adopted over 2,400 words. These words were widely circulated in the press and in book form. The largest number of the words were technical terms in banking, medicine, zoology, arithmetic, geology, physics, botany, geometry, and government. In addition, it adopted Persian equivalents for some 200 Arabic expressions used in Persian; e.g. *nawsāz* for *djadīd al-iḥdāth* "newly built". It also changed some place names, mostly from Arabic or Turkish to Persian; e.g. Muḥammara was changed to Khurramshahr, Anzalī to Pahlawī. In their forms, the words adopted by the *Farhangistān* fall into several categories: (a) simple words; *angal* "parasite"; (b) compounds, e.g. *pāyān-nāma* (from *pāyān* "end" + *nāma* "letter") "thesis, dissertation (for a college or university degree)"; (c) words made with affixes, e.g. *dādgāh* (from *dād* "justice" + *-gāh*, a suffix of place) "court"; *bāzdāsht* (from *bāz-*, a prefix comparable to the English prefix *re-* + *dāsht*, past stem of the verb "to have") "detention". A few of the *Farhangistān* words were European loanwords; e.g. *mīn* "mine" from French *mine*. Most of them, however, were made up of native Persian elements, and can be classified in several categories: (a) old words revived, e.g. *pizishk* "physician"; (b) old words given new or specialised meanings, e.g. *dāwar* (originally "judge") "arbitrator", *arz* ("value") "[foreign] exchange"; (c) assignment of different meanings to members of a doublet (or triplet, etc.), i.e. the different phonological forms of what was historically a single word, e.g. *āgāhī* "secret police": *āgahī* "advertisement"; (d) differentiation of meaning among a set of synonyms or near-synonyms, as in the geological terms *dawr* "epoch"; *dawra* "period"; *dawrān* "era"; *rūzgār* "age"; (e) in a few instances (mostly in place names), a slight change in the form of an existing word making it more Persian in appearance, e.g. from *ḳaranṭīna* to *ḳarantīn* "quarantine", from *ziyārāt* (orig. Arabic "pilgrimage") to *Ziyār* (an obsolete Persian masculine name); (f) in a few cases, Persianising the spelling of a word, mostly in place names,

e.g. from *ṭūfān* to *tūfān* 'storm', from Ṭihrān to Tihrān. Some *Farhangistān* words were loan-translations. There were three types of these: (a) a simple Persian word given a new (additional) meaning on the model of a foreign word, e.g. *čang*, meaning "clutch" given the additional meaning of "clutch" of a car; (b) a compound Persian word formed on the model of a foreign compound and given the meaning of that compound, e.g. *nakhust wazīr* "prime minister", modelled on the English *prime minister*; and the river named Siyāh Āb, from the Turkish Ḳara Sū, literally "Black Water"; (c) a word made with an affix in similar fashion, e.g. *bī-nām* "limited company", modelled on the French *anonyme*.

Many *Farhangistān* words have never been commonly accepted; e.g. *anbāra* "accumulator" (in physics), *bihindjār* "normal", *pūshina* "capsule". Some words, however, have clearly come into common use: terms dealing with governmental administration (including names of the various ministries, departments, etc.); names of cities and towns; and a few scientific terms.

A number of words coined by the *Farhangistān*, presumably from native Persian elements, are questionable, or clearly wrong from the points of view of semantics, grammar or etymological history, as pointed out by several scholars. Thus *ashkūb* "floor (of a building)" is Aramaic; *khāwar* "east" was used by classical writers in the sense of "west" as well as "east"; *dastgīr kardan* was chosen for "to capture, arrest", its derivative *dastgīrī* for "municipal assistance".All in all, some of the words coined by the *Farhangistān* show imprecision, unfamiliarity with, or disregard of, Persian grammatical rules, especially rules of word formation, and an absence of consistent principles and methods.

The *Farhangistān*'s words created problems for the people, partly because of the large numbers of new words introduced at short intervals, partly because they were not always fully explained, partly because of the inherent difficulty of substituting new (and often unfamiliar) words for those well-established in the language through centuries of use. Sometimes the new words were misused.

(4) *Between the two Farhangistāns* (1941-70). During the Second World War, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī abdicated in September 1941, three weeks after Iran was occupied by the British and Russian forces. With the support of the powerful ruler removed, the *Farhangistān* lost its vigour. Its opponents now became active, denouncing it openly in the press. The *Farhangistān* reconsidered some of those of its adopted words to which objections had been made. The Ministry of Education issued a memorandum authorising the return to traditional mathematical terms which had been replaced with newly-coined words in school books.

After the occupation, Furūghī once again became the President of the *Farhangistān* in December 1941 or January 1942. He died on 26 November 1942, and the presidency went to Ḥusayn Samīʿī, Adīb al-Salṭana. After his death in January-February 1954, no successor was appointed to the presidency. The *Farhangistān* ceased to exist even on paper, despite continued occasional attempts to revive it. In the meantime, the need for new terms grew because of expanding education, increased translation activity, etc. After a time, a number of groups were organised was henceforth to be given to the Minister of Educa- for the purpose, but most were short-lived and non-productive.

The inactivity and later disappearance of the *Farhangistān* did not for long weaken the movement for purification. After Riḍā Shāh, the debate on purification was revived, with the opponents once again becoming active and vociferous. They included ʿAbbās Iḳbāl Āshtiyānī and Waḥīd Dastgirdī, whose journals, *Yādgār* and *Armaghān* respectively, published attacks on the *Farhangistān*. The major spokesman for the opposition was Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda [*q.v.*]. The chief advocate of language *reform*—not the same as *purification*—was Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī [*q.v.*], who, however, disagreed with the majority of the proponents of purification. Both of these men became active in this area during Riḍā Shāh's reign. They exerted their greatest influence after his abdication, however, and for this reason it is appropriate and convenient to discuss them at this point. Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda was a well-known, widely respected, influential politician, diplomat, and scholar. In 1935, he had attacked purification in an article published in the journal of the Ministry of Education. His reference to "the intervention of the sword in the work of the pen" as being "contrary to the taste and dignity of Iranians" was taken as an insult to the Shah, and the article was cut out of the issue and replaced. This paper was reprinted in 1942. On 24 February 1948, he gave a lengthy lecture entitled *Luzūm-i ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi faṣīḥ* ("The necessity of preserving eloquent Persian") at the *Dānishsarā-yi ʿĀlī* (National Teachers' College) in Tehran. Almost three-quarters of it is given to the question of Arabic words in Persian. Among the points he made were that many Arabic words in Persian had been "naturalised"; that expulsion of Arabic loanwords was a "malicious attempt on the Persian language and Iranian nationality" and would impoverish the language; that purifying Persian would gradually cut off Iranians from the neighbouring Muslim nations; that Arabic was an extremely rich language; that words for new concepts should preferably be borrowed from "the more familiar, easier Arabic words common in Egypt and Syria or . . . those common in old Persian books". Finally, he believed that choice of new words should be left to writers, and that "legal and coercive force must not enter it".

The major proponents of purification since the discussion grew serious in the 1930s included Dhabīḥ Bihrūz (d. 1971); Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Āzād Marāghaʾī (d. 1946); and Aḥmad Kasrawī Tabrīzī (1890-1946). Kasrawī was the most active of the purification advocates, and the most enduring. He was also the most relentless in ignoring the *Farhangistān* and its instructions even in its heyday during Riḍā Shāh's reign.

Kasrawī was a historian, a linguist, and a jurist. In the early 1930s he also became an advocate of far-reaching social change in all areas of culture. It was in close connection with his extensive writings and lectures on Iranian society and its ills that he pursued language reform. Kasrawī believed that, through the centuries, Persian had come to be a language fraught with problems in all its aspects, including grammar and semantics. The foreign element in it was only one problem. On this subject, he disagreed with those who advocated purification on nationalistic grounds, and those who opposed it on religious grounds. He argued that each language should have its independence, and that its borders should not be left open indiscriminately to foreign words, as Persian has for many centuries been left open to Arabic words. He believed that uncontrolled importation of Arabic words into Persian has been more responsible than anything

else for the current decayed state of Persian—both its vocabulary and its grammar; and this decadence has harmful psychological effects on the speakers of Persian. On the Arabic words in Persian, he believed that those Arabic words that were common in Persian, and for which no native Persian equivalents existed any longer should be retained; that, except for scientific terms, no words should be invented, but people's usage should be followed; that needed new words should be coined from Persian materials (by compounding and affixation); that Persian words selected should be correct; that they should be so formed as to make possible the derivation of other words from them; that there is no need to find a Persian equivalent for each and every foreign word, since many of the latter words were superfluous; that each word should have only one meaning; and that each meaning should always be expressed by the same words, thus eliminating synonymy. Furthermore, he repeatedly emphasised that the question of language reform was a scientific matter and that to undertake such a reform was a scientific endeavour, requiring certain qualifications.

Like Taḳīzāda, Kasrawī was opposed to the establishment of an academy. He felt that language reform should come about through the efforts of writers, who should improve their styles, and thus provide models for the people at large. Kasrawī, however, would permit the establishment of an organisation for coining and selecting scientific and technical terms.

(5) *The second Fārhangistān (1970-).* Kasrawī was assassinated in March 1946. For the next twenty years or so, there was a virtual lull in the debate on language purification and reform. The first break in the lull was a lecture by Dr. Muḥammad Muḳaddam of the University of Tehran in December 1963, and an interview with him published in 1966. Muḳaddam believed that Persian was poor in technological and scientific terminology, but was fully equipped to meet its needs; that Persians should not, as was frequently suggested, confine themselves to the language of their literary classics; that, contrary to the suggestion made by many, full use of analogy should be made in the coining of words; that Persian's own resources should be used for the purpose; that the otherwise very simple Persian language has become confused by the Arabic forms in it, resulting in numerous mistakes made even by university students; and that, again contrary to the claim of many, coining new words from Persian resources would not cut off Iranians from other speakers of Persian, since no one was advocating the replacing of Arabic words with Persian in the writings of the past—that, in fact, the other Persian-speaking peoples should welcome the new terms which Iranians would be making available to them.

Soon, discussions of language reform began to appear in the daily press (e.g. *Kayhān*), and in journals, such as *Waḥīd*, *Yaghmā* and *Talāsh*. In 1970, the Ministry of Culture and Art sponsored a conference for discussing the Persian language, held on October 28-30, in Tehran. At the opening session, a message was read from Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, in which he announced that he had already approved the constitution of the Imperial Foundation for the *Farhangistān*s of Iran, which was to be established. He said that the constitution provided for a *Farhangistān-i zabān-i Īrān* ("Language Academy of Iran"). On the last day of the conference, the Minister of Culture and Art presented the members of that *Farhangistān* to the Shāh: Dr. Ṣādiḳ Riḍāzāda Shafaḳ, Ḥusayn Gulgulāb, Dr. Maḥmud Ḥisābī, Dr. 'Īsā Ṣadīḳ, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz, Djamāl Riḍā'ī, Muḥammad Muḳaddam, Yaḥyā Māhyār-Nawwābī, Muṣṭafā Muḳarrabī, Marshal 'Alī Karīmlū and Ṣādiḳ Kiyā, who was appointed president of the body by imperial order.

In his message, the Shah referred to the old *Farhangistān* and to the new one as an expansion of the old one. Four members of the new one (Gulgulāb, Ṣadīḳ, Ḥisābī and Shafaḳ) had been members of the old one also. Another member, Bihrūz, had served on one of its committees. President Kiyā had for many years been a collaborator with Muḳaddam in language-reform activities.

The new *Farhangistān* differed from the old one in that it was to be one of several such organisations. The *Farhangistān-i Hunar wa Adab* ("Academy of Art and Literature") was founded soon afterward. However, the Language Academy was the main focus, received the greatest financial support, and became very active.

The new body had an elaborate organisation, consisting of a Council, made up of the ordinary members; four *Puzhūhishgāh*s (Research Centres); a library; a phonetic laboratory; and a secretariat. The four *Puzhūhishgāh*s were: (1) *Wāzha-guzīnī* (Adoption of words); (2) *Wāzhahā-yi Fārsī* (Persian words), which was charged with "collecting Persian words and showing the capabilities of this language in making words"; (3) *Zabānhā-yi bāstānī wa miyāna wa guyishhā-yi Īrānī* (Old and Middle [Iranian] languages and Iranian dialects); and (4) *Dastūr-i zabān-i Fārsī* (Persian grammar). The first of these centres has been the most active. It began with 13 groups, each responsible for terms in a specific field or fields. By the end of 1975, they had proposed 30,000 Persian equivalents for some 15,000 foreign words.

One feature of the procedure followed by these groups is the publication of lists of words for which Persian equivalents are being sought, in monographs entitled *Pīshnihad-i shumā čist?* ("What do you propose?"). These monographs are distributed worldwide. The proposals received were to be considered when deciding on new terms, which were to be approved by the Shāh before becoming final.

As far as their forms and etymological histories are concerned, the words adopted by the second *Farhangistān* are by and large similar to those adopted by the first one. Several points are worth mentioning, however: (1) greater and bolder use of affixation and compounding; (2) greater consistency among the various adopted words; (3) greater tendency to revive obsolete or archaic words unknown to the majority of Persian speakers; (4) formation of words from Middle and Old Persian bases; e.g. *pardīz* "park" (cf. Mod. Pers. *firdaws* "paradise", and English paradise, and its cognates in other European languages); *pardīza* "campus" (related to the preceding); and (5) insistence on replacing some quite common words; e.g. *mihrāz* for *mi'mār* "architect"; *dāwkhwāh* for *dāwṭalab* "candidate"; *farhikhtārī* for *farhang*, *āmuzish-wa-parwarish* for *ta'lim-wa-tarbiyat* 'education'; *pargīr* for *muḥīṭ* and *pīrāmūn* "environment"; etc.

Conclusion

A brief comparison between the old and the new *Farhangistān* might be useful: (1) The new one is a far more serious undertaking—as evidenced in its elaborate organisation and procedures. (2) Its work is not

confined to word-making but covers the entire language. (3) Its members, as a group, believe in their work, while the old one was organised and at least at first controlled by people (e.g. Furūghī) not in sympathy with language purification. (4) Its members and those outsiders working with them are professionally more highly qualified than their predecessors, in linguistics and other relevant fields. (5) It is a more open operation, in that it consults the public, or at least the scholarly community. (6) Its work is more systematic, and its procedures more elaborate.

As for the future of the academy, and of language purification, it is difficult to predict after the February 1979 overthrow of the monarchy by a revolution with strong religious overtones. The *Farhangistān* is now inactive, if not in fact defunct. If the atmosphere prevailing during the first nine months of the new régime continues, any undertaking of his type would most likely discontinue, or at least be weakened and restricted. Under such conditions, the activities of any language academy would very likely be confined to the coining and adoption of technical terms.

Bibliography: A short history of the two language academies and similar organisations in Iran and of language reform is provided in M. A. Jazayery, *Farhangistān*: *la Academia Irania de la Lengua*, Mexico City (forthcoming), which contains a comprehensive bibliography. A shorter account, from a somewhat different perspective, will be found in his article *The modernisation of Persian vocabulary and language reform in Iran* (forthcoming). For a list of the persons writing in pure Persian from the earliest times, see ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, *Pārsi-yi naghz*, Tehran 1951, where examples of such writings are given. See also M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1943. Information on the various terminology and purification groups is found in Muḥammad Muḥīṭ-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Nigahbānī-yi zabān-i Fārsī*, in *Yaghmā*, xxiii (1971), 569-75; Muḥsin Shāmlū, *Taʾrīkhī az wadʿ-i lughat dar Īrān*, in *Waḥīd*, v (1968), 834-8; and in the Jazayery monograph cited above. On the committee at the *Dānishsarā-yi ʿĀlī*, see ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ, *Yādgār-i ʿumr*, Tehran 1959-75, ii, 105 ff. The constitution and internal by-laws of the *Farhangistān*, lists of its members and committees, and of words adopted up to 21 March 1942, are found in *Wāzhahā-yi naw ki tā pāyān-i sāl-i 1939 dar Farhangistān padhirufta shuda ast*, Tehran 1973 (repr. of the original 1942). A brief analysis of the words approved by the two *Farhangistāns* is given in Jazayery's book and in A. Shakoor Ahsan, *Modern trends in the Persian language*, Islamabad 1976, 111-30. On the developments between the two *Farhangistāns*, see also *Luzūm-i ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi faṣīḥ*, in *Yādgār*, vi (1948), 1-40. On Kasrawī, see now (in addition to *Bibl.* in the article, s.v.), *Niwishtahā-yi Kasrawī dar zamīna-yi zabān-i Fārsī*, ed. Ḥusayn Yazdāniyān, Tehran 1979. For an analysis of Kasrawī's views on, and methods of, language reform, see Jazayery, *Yāddāshthā-yi dar pīrāmūn-i kūshishhā wa andīshahā-yi Kasrawī dar zamīna-yi zabān*, which appears on pp. 11-47 of that book in lieu of an introduction. On the second *Farhangistān*, see Jazayery's monograph and article cited at the beginning of this bibliography, the Ashan book cited, and the publications of the *Farhangistān* itself. The latter include *Farhangistān-i zabān-i Īrān*: *hadaf, sāzman, waẓīfa, rawish-i faʿʿāliyyat*, Tehran 1972, and the *Pishnihād-i shumā čist* monographs of which four were published, Tehran 1972-6. Samples of its adopted words are found in *Barābarhā-yi Fārsī-yi barkhī az wāzhahā-yi āmuzishī*, Tehran 1974.

(M. A. Jazayery)

(iii) Turkey

There are two academies in Turkey, the Society for Turkish History and the Society for the Turkish Language, both set up on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*], who supervised their work closely until his death in 1938, whereupon nearly all his estate was divided evenly between them. Both during and after his lifetime, these academies closely followed his views on the interpretation of Turkish history and the reform of the Turkish language respectively. In brief, they maintained that the Turks were an ancient people, connected with Anatolia since the oldest times, with a language of their own and responsible for major contributions to world civilisation. The operational results of this approach, which the academies were expected to foster, were to be an increase in pride among Turks regarding their past and their language and the will again to play a role in world civilisation through rapid modernisation.

The Türk Tarih Kurumu (TTK) or the "Society for Turkish History" had as its predecessor the Türk Tarihi Tetkik Heyeti or "Committee for Research into Turkish History", founded in 1930. In 1931, this was succeeded by the Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti or "Society for Research into Turkish History", whose own name was changed to Türk Tarih Kurumu (meaning the same) in 1935.

The scope and goals of the TTK were to study the history of the Turks and of Turkey and to publish and disseminate the results of this research. The following methods were suggested for attaining these objectives: 1. Research and investigation of sources relating to the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 2. Translation (into Turkish) and publishing of these source materials. 3. Convening of congresses for discussion of new findings and other scholarly topics. 4. Despatch of scholars (individuals of groups) for investigation of documents which shed light upon the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 5. Cooperation with local and foreign scholarly institutions regarding the study and publication of relevant material.

The TTK, organised like other academies and learned societies throughout the world, is housed in its own building in Ankara, with an impressive library (including archival materials, 901 manuscripts, 189 microfilms, 172 photocopies of manuscripts, numerous local and foreign journals and 73,166 books and offprints, by late 1979) and its own printing press. It serves as the centre for the TTK's manifold activities, which include research, lectures, exhibitions and international congresses—convened approximately once every five years since 1932—as well as publication of the proceedings of these congresses under the title *Türk tarih kongresi sunulan bildiriler* (later renamed *Türk tarih kongresi bildirileri*), along with numerous other works. The TTK's conception of Turkish history is maximalist; one of its first publications was a four-volume textbook for secondary schools (*lise*), emphasising the overall history of the Turks (and Turkic peoples) throughout Asia and their contributions to world civilisation. The 347 scholarly books—many of which comprise several volumes—published

by the TTK up to late 1979 indicate the Society's wide-ranging interest in the history of the Turks and Turkey (and to a lesser extent, in world history as well). It has published critical editions of historical documents and other archival materials, as well as studies in archaeology and history, with emphasis on the Ottoman and Turkish periods and especially on Atatürk's role, although also considering the history of art and folklore in Turkey. A few of these books were intended for a general readership. In addition to its bibliographies of historical research, the TTK publishes a scholarly quarterly, *Belleten* (*1937-*) and a twice-yearly collection of documents, *Belgeler*: *Türk Tarih Belgeler Dergisi* (1964-).

The Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK) or the "Society for the Turkish Language" was preceded by the Dil Heyeti or "Language Committee", established in 1929 to coordinate and advance—on a more institutionalised level—the language reform which had commended one year earlier upon adoption of the Latin alphabet. In 1932, with the government's blessing, the Committee expanded and became the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti or "Society for Research into the Turkish Language" whose name was changed in 1934 to Türk Dili Araştırma Kurumu (meaning the same, but very obviously displaying the switch from Arabic to Turkish roots). In 1936, its name was finally abbreviated to Türk Dil Kurumu.

The scope and objectives of the TDK were revised several times. Their clearest expression may perhaps be found in the Society's 1943 statues: 1. To purify the language of foreign accretions and to Turkify it (*türkçeleştirmek*). 2. To collect Turkish words used in Turkey and elsewhere and publish them in dictionaries of the Turkish of Turkey and of Turkish dialects. 3. To prepare and publish relevant linguistic works along with the above dictionaries. 4. To examine ways and means of coining new words and to prepare a basic grammar of Turkish and a comparative grammar of Turkish dialects. 5. To draw up lists of technical terms for schools and universities and to prepare a dictionary of such Turkish terms. 6. To collect and publish popular proverbs. 7. To investigate the Turkish language from its earliest times and to compare it with other languages, in order to prepare etymological dictionaries. 8. To study documents relating to the Turkish language and the development of other languages, with special reference to their vocabularies and the coining of new words. 9. To study modern linguistic works and to translate them into Turkish.

The TDK, likewise organised similarly to other learned societies, has its own building in Ankara which houses its large library (about 25,000 volumes, 150 different periodicals, 600 manuscripts, 33 microfilms and over 100 volumes of photocopies of 48 books, in 1980) and serves as headquarters for its multifaceted activities in linguistic research. The best-known of these activities has most likely been the coining of new words and terms to replace those of Arabic or Persian origin. While many of these neologisms are indeed words of Turkish and Turkic origin, some are wholly original coinages. These new terms were subsequently filtered into the school system and the press. Since the end of World War II, however, this process has become more moderate. Starting with 1932, the TDK has convened scholarly congresses once every two or three years, which are attended by both local and foreign linguists and educators. The results have been published as *Türk Dili Kurultayı* (later known as *Türk Dil Kurultayı*). Other publications consist of 467 books and brochures (by July 1980) dealing with the following: studies and lectures on language "purification", new spellings, Turkish and general linguistics, Turkish dialects and proverbs, lists of new terms for various areas, dictionaries of Turkish (including a historical "Thesaurus") and certain other Turkic languages (Kirg͟hiz, Uyg͟hur, Yakut and Čuvas͟h), several biographies (of Atatürk and others), literary works and sources for the Turkish language, bibliographies and the following periodicals: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* (annual, 1953-), *Türk Dili*: *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti Bülteni*, renamed *Türk Dili Belleten* (monthly, 1933-50), superseded by *Türk Dili*: *Aylık Dergi* (monthly, 1951-).

By a law passed on 11 August 1983 (published in the *Resmi Gazete*, no. 18138, dated 17 August 1983), the Türk Tarih Kurumu and Türk Dil Kurumu, along with the recently founded Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (the Atatürk Culture Centre), have been united in a new, state-sponsored Academy, entitled Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (the Atatürk Culture, Language and History Higher Organisation), located in Ankara.

Bibliography: For the TTK see, in addition to its own publications: E. Z. Karal, *Atatürk'ün tarih tezi*, in Afet Inan and E. Z. Karal, eds., *Atatürk hakkında konferanslar*, Ankara 1946, 55-6; Inan, *Türk tarih kurumu'nun kurulusuna dair*, in *Belleten* xi/42 (1947), 173-9; B. Lewis, *History writing and national revival in Turkey*, in *MEA*, iv/6-7 (June-July 1953), esp. 224 ff.: Karal, *Historiography in Turkey today*, in *ibid*., x/10 (Oct. 1959), esp. 320 ff.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 353-5; Halil İnalcık, *Türk tarihi ve Atatürk'te tarih şuuru*, in *Türk Kültürü* [Ankara], vii (May 1963), 6-11; *Türk tarih kurumu*, Ankara 1970; *Türk tarih kurumu'nun 40. kuruluş yıldönümü*, in *Belleten*, xxxv/138 (1971), 353-8; Âfetinan, *Türk tarih kurumu 40 yaşında*, in *Belleten*, xxxv/140 (1971), 519-29; U. İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. yılında Türk tarih kurumu*, Ankara 1973; Zeynep Korkmaz, *Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk dili*, Ankara, 1974 61-3; İğdemir, *Yılların içinden*; *makeleler, anilar, incelemeler*, Ankara 1976; *Türk tarih kurumu yayınları*, *1979*, Ankara 1980; Karal, *Atatürk ve devrim* (*konferanslar ve makaleler* (*1935-1978*), Ankara 1980, 95-102; Suna Kili, *Türk devrim tarihi*, Istanbul 1980, 172-3.

For the TDK, see, in addition to its own publicitations: Türk Dil Kurumu, *Ana tüzüğü*, *çalişma programı ve iç tüzüğü*, Ankara 1943; Ruşen Eşref Unaydin, *Türk dili tetkik cemiyeti'nin kuruluşundan ilk kurultaya kadar hâtiralar*[2], Ankara 1943; Uriel Heyd, *Language reform in modern Turkey*, Jerusalem 1954, 25 ff.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 427-30; *Dil devriminin 30 yılı*, Ankara 1962, 79-102; [Tahsin Banguoğlu *et alii*], *Dilde özlesmenin sınırı ne olmalıdır*? Ankara 1962; Ahmet Temir, *Türk dil kurumunda aksiyon ve bilim işi*, in *Türk Kültürü*, viii (June 1963), 11-14; idem, *Türk dil kurumu tüzüğü üzerine düşünceler*, in *ibid*., ix (July 1963), 4-11. C. E. Bosworth, *Language reform and nationalism in modern Turkey*, in *MW* lv/2 (April 1965), esp. 120-4; Emin Ozdemir, *Dil devrimimiz*, Ankara 1969, 43 ff.; *Türk dil kurumunun 40 yılı*, Ankara 1972; *Türk dil kurumu kol çalişmalari* (*1932-1972*), Ankara 1972; Vecihe Hatiboğlu, *Cumhuriyetin ellinci yılında*

ölümsüz Atatürk ve dil devrimi, Ankara 1973, 29 ff.; Zeynep Korkmaz, *Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk dili*, 63 ff.; A. N. Kononov, *Očerk istorii izučeniya Tur'etskogo yazïka*, Leningrad 1976, 71 ff.; F. K. Timurtaş, *Türkçemiz ve uydurmacılık*, Istanbul 1977, 173-219; *Türk Dil Kurumu yayınları, 1932-1979*, Ankara 1979; Suna Kili, *Türk devrim tarihi*, Istanbul 1980, 174-5.

(J. M. Landau)

(iv) India.

Under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and in imitation of the Academies of Damascus, Cairo and Baghdād, the *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Hindī* was founded in 1396/1976, aiming mainly at expanding knowledge of Arabic in India; furthering studies on the literature, history, sciences and civilisation of the Arabs; publishing valuable manuscripts; publicising the work of Indian scholars; and stimulating the intellectual spirit of the country.

The Academy comprises twelve active members (*ʿāmilūn*) of Indian nationality, 28 corresponding members (*muzāmilūn*) representing the Arabophone countries (Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine [*sic*], Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco and Kuwayt) and 15 other corresponding members chosen from the Arabists of Iran, Pakistan, USSR, Germany, Great Britain, France, Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands.

It publishes twice-yearly a journal, *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmi al-Hindī*, whose first issue, dated 1396/1976, appeared at the end of 1978 (see the review in *Hamdard Islamicus*, ii/2 [Karachi 1979], 105-12).

(Ed.)

MADJNŪN (a.), pl. *madjānīn*, possessed, mad, madman; the passive participle of *djanna*, "to cover, conceal", passive, *djunna*, "to be possessed, mad, insane".

Its meaning and usage have been closely related to belief in the Djinn [*q.v.*]. In pre-Islamic Arabia, soothsayers were believed to have received messages from the *djinn* during ecstatic experiences, after which they delivered oracles in short, enigmatic verses of rhymed prose called *sadjʿ* [see kāhin], and poets were believed to have been inspired by their individual *djinn*, similar to the Greek idea of Muses [see shāʿir]. Soothsayers and poets were both said to be *madjnūn*, literally "*djinn*-possessed" or "inspired by the *djinn*". The term *madjnūn* occurs eleven times in the Ḳurʾān, where its exact, original meaning is not certain, but its usage is significant for the later history of the term. It refers explicitly to Muḥammad seven times and probably alludes to him in the other contexts, where episodes in his life seem to be projected into stories about Moses (XXVI, 27, LI, 39) and Noah (LIV, 9) and into the general statement that each of God's Messengers was accused of being a sorcerer (*sāḥir*) or *madjnūn* (LI, 52). In four of the seven contexts where *madjnūn* refers explicitly to Muḥammad, it occurs in accusations against the Prophet quoted from his opponents: "O thou upon whom the Reminder has been sent down, thou art *madjnūn*" (XV, 6); "Shall we abandon our gods on account of a poet (*shāʿir*) *madjnūn*?" (XXXVII, 36); "They turned from him [i.e. Muḥammad] and said, 'One who is tutored, *madjnūn*'" (XLIV, 14); "When they hear the Reminder they say, 'Surely he is *madjnūn*'" (LXVIII, 51). In the other three contexts God responds to these accusations, assuring Muḥammad and his companions: "Thou art neither a soothsayer (*kāhin*) nor *madjnūn*" (LII, 29); "Thou, by the bounty of thy Lord, art not *madjnūn*" (LXVIII, 2); and "Your comrade is not *madjnūn*" (LXXXI, 22). In the Ḳurʾān the term *madjnūn*, always in the singular, functions sometimes as an adjective and sometimes as a noun. It occurs only in Meccan passages, only in the context of accusations made against Muḥammad by his opponents (and against earlier Messengers by theirs), and only in contexts involving the question of the source and process of revelation. The primary meaning of *madjnūn* in the Ḳurʾān seems to be "*djinn*-possessed/a *djinn*-possessed person (like the ancient Arabian soothsayer)" or "inspired by the *djinn*/a person inspired by the *djinn* (like the Arabian poet)". Muḥammad's opponents in Mecca, seeing the similarity between the form of his messages and the *sadjʿ* oracles of the soothsayers, argued that his messages were not revealed by God but were inspired by the *djinn*. In response to this charge, the Ḳurʾān develops some interesting counter-arguments. Identifying the alleged *djinn* inspirers as "satans" (*shayāṭīn*), the Ḳurʾān states in LXXXI, 25, that Muḥammad's messages are "not the speech of a pelted satan (*shayṭān radjīm*)", and XXVI, 210-12 adds: "The satans have not brought it down. It would not suit them, nor are they able. Indeed, they have been removed far from [even a chance of] hearing it." These two passages allude to the ancient Near Eastern shooting-star myth, the Ḳurʾānic versions of which deny that *djinn* or satans (both terms occur in these accounts) are able to obtain messages from the Heavenly Council to bring down to man. When they try to eavesdrop at the gates of heaven they are pelted and driven away with flaming stars (see XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 6-10, LXVII, 5 and LXXII, 8-11). On this myth, see Ibn Hishām, 130, tr. Guillaume, 90; P. A. Eichler, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran*, Leipzig 1928, 30-1; and for *ḥadīth* references, Wensinck, *Handbook*, 59. Another Ḳurʾānic argument against the accusation that Muḥammad was *madjnūn* involves two accounts in which it is reported that *djinn* overheard him reciting the Ḳurʾān and became believers (XLVI, 29-32, LXXII, 1 ff.). That is, Muḥammad did not get his messages from the *djinn*; they received the Ḳurʾān from him (see Ibn Hishām, 281, tr. Guillaume, 193 f., and for *ḥadīth* references, Wensinck, *Handbook*, 59 f.).

Whether *madjnūn* had secondary meanings in the Ḳurʾān for Muḥammad and his contemporaries is difficult to say. In his English translation of the *madjnūn* passages, Richard Bell (*The Qurʾān*, Edinburg 1937-9) sometimes renders this term as "mad", "crazy", and "madman" (see, e.g., XXVI, 27 [v. 26 in Bell], XXXVII, 36 [v. 35 in Bell], and LI, 39), thus giving the term some of the various meanings it has in later usage. In the Ḳurʾān, madness is associated with "satans", in accordance with the ancient Semitic concept of demon-possession (see VI, 71), and, since evil or mischievous *djinn* are identified in the Ḳurʾān as satans, it is possible that *madjnūn* had this connotation for Muḥammad and his contemporaries. But the *madjnūn* contexts argue against this interpretation since they never respond to the accusation that Muḥammad was *madjnūn* by defending his sanity, but always by affirming that the revelation came from God and not from the *djinn* or satans. The classical commentators on the Ḳurʾān offer little assistance on this question, usually failing to explain the term altogether. Where al-Bayḍāwī does explain *madjnūn* he interprets it as "inspired by the *djinn*" (e.g. in his comments on LI, 39), or he at least connects it with the process of revelation (e.g. in his com-

ments on XV, 6 and LXVIII, 2). An analysis of cognate expressions in the Ḳur'ān also offers little new understanding of the concept *madjnūn*. In late Meccan and early Medinan contexts, *madjnūn* was replaced by the expression *bihi djinnat*ᵘⁿ (see VII, 184, XXIII, 25, 70, and XXXIV, 8, 46). This change of terms could be interpreted as a change or development of ideas within the Ḳur'ān, but this possibility is unlikely since the two expressions seem to be synonymous (cf., e.g., *mā ṣāḥibukum bi-madjnūn*, in LXXXI, 22, and *mā bi-ṣāḥibikum min djinnat*ⁱⁿ, in XXXIV, 46). In contexts where *madjnūn* functions as a noun (e.g. XLIV, 14, LI, 39, 52, and LIV, 9), its meaning seems to be identical with the expression *radjul*ᵘⁿ *bi-hi djinnat*ᵘⁿ in XXIII, 25, i.e. both seem to mean "a *djinn*-possessed person". Where al-Bayḍāwī explains *bi-hi djinnat*ᵘⁿ (e.g. in XXIII, 25) he simply gives the synonym *djunūn*, which has the same range of meanings (cf. al-Zamakhsharī on the same verse).

One striking fact about the history of the usage of *madjnūn* is that Muslims adopted the concept and gave it widespread currency, assuming it to be Islamic because it occurs in the Ḳur'ān, whereas in fact the term never occurs in the Ḳur'ān as an Islamic concept, but always as an idea of Muḥammad's Meccan opponents that is simply quoted and responded to there. (The frequency of occurrence of this pre-Islamic concept in the Ḳur'ān might be explained by the fact that in all cases except the Noah context it serves as a rhyme-word, and was thus a convenient term to use in contexts involving accusations made against Muḥammad by his Meccan opponents and in contexts involving affinities between Muḥammad's situation and that of earlier prophets.) Meccan parts of the Ḳur'ān frequently reflect pre-Islamic Arabian concepts, such as belief in the existence of *djinn* and deities other than Allāh. When the Islamic world-view developed within the Ḳur'ān, and when required Islamic beliefs and practices were introduced in a series of late Meccan and early Medinan credal statements, some of these pre-Islamic concepts, such as belief in the existence of deities other than Allāh, came to be explicitly rejected, while others, such as *madjnūn* and belief in the existence of the *djinn*, simply ceased to be mentioned in latter parts of the Ḳur'ān (see A. T. Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings: the emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of tawḥīd*, in *Jnal. of the American Academy of Religion*, xlvii/4 [1979], 733-53). Still, the concept *madjnūn*, along with magic, sorcery, soothsaying and other related phenomena that were a vital part of the Arabian world-view of Muḥammad's time, became part of popular Islamic belief and practice, and these have remained so in modern times (see e.g., E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1836, chs. x-xii; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago 1912, lectures 1-5; E. A. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, chs. iv-xi; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Leiden 1931, 99-103). The concept *madjnūn* occurs occasionally in the classical literature, with the same literal meaning as in the Ḳur'ān. In the *ḥadīth* literature, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *I'tiṣām*, 16; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Djum'a*, 46, and *Ḥudūd*, 22; and J. Robson, *Mishkat al-masabih*, Lahore 1965-6, 515, 1260 f. Al-Ṭabarī records an account in which Muḥammad is reported as saying he feared he had become either a poet or a *djinn*-possessed person (*madjnūn*), but then Gabriel appeared to him and informed him that he was a prophet inspired by God (*Ta'rīkh*, i, 1150; tr. A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, London 1955, 106). For a contemporary defence of belief in the *djinn* and their influence on man by the al-Azhar scholar, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn, see his *al-Djinn fī dhikr djamī' aḥwāl al-djinn*, Cairo n.d. The Islamic philosophers and a few scholars such as Ibn Khaldūn rejected the concept *madjnūn* as related to the world of the *djinn* (see Macdonald, *Religious attitude*, 130 ff.). In later usage, the association of *madjnūn* with the *djinn* has sometimes been lost as this term has come to mean simply "mad" or "insane".

Bibliography: Cited mostly in the article; in addition see the Ḳur'ān commentaries on the *madjnūn* verses; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo n.d., 139; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, i/2, 462; and, for additional *ḥadīths* containing the term *madjnūn*, A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane*, i, Leiden 1936, 374.

(A. T. Welch)

MADJNŪN LAYLĀ, "the Madman of Laylā", or Madjnūn Banī 'Āmir, the name given to the hero of a romantic love story, the original form of which could date back as far as the second half of the 1st/7th Century.

1. In Arabic literature

This imaginary character (acknowledged as such even by some Arab critics; see *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ii, 6, 11) has been furnished by the *ruwāt* with an *ism* and with a complete genealogy; Ḳays b. al-Mulawwaḥ b. Muzāḥim b. Ḳays b. 'Udas b. Rabī'a b. Dja'da b. Ka'b b. Rābī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, but according to the evidence, although this filiation could be accepted from the starting point of Ḳays b. 'Udas, the latter does not have a son named Muzāḥim (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 101, 102, 106). Furthermore, various other less common names have been given to him: al-Buḥturī b. al-Dja'd, Mahdī b. al-Mulawwaḥ, al-Aḳra' or Ḳays b. Mu'adh (*Aghānī*, ii, 8). Al-Djāḥiẓ splits the character into two parts by distinguishing between a Madjnūn of the Banū 'Āmir and a Madjnūn of the Banū Dja'da (*Bayān*, i, 385, iii, 224, iv, 22), where Dja'da is a descendant of 'Āmir. As for his loved one, she is given the following genealogy: Laylā bint Sa'd b. Mahdī b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir.

The content of the romance, insofar as it can be extracted from the ancient versions, is relatively simple and commonplace. However, from the start, two opposing traditions have been current: according to one version, the two young people spent their youth together, tending their flocks in the Djabal al-Tawbād (which belonged, however, to the Muḥārib; al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-'Arab*, 182; cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.); according to the other, Ḳays meets Laylā by chance at a gathering of women, and the effect on him is devastating; he kills his camel as a contribution to the feast, but when a certain Munāzil arrives, the women turn their attention to him, and only Laylā, who shares his emotion, takes an interest in Ḳays. Subsequently he asks for her hand in marriage, but her father has already given her away in marriage to a certain Ward b. Muḥammad al-'Uḳaylī. Gripped by the most violent anguish, Ḳays loses his reason and sets out to wander half-naked, refusing nourishment and living among wild animals. His father takes him on a pilgrimage to make him forget Laylā, but his madness only inten-

sifies. He does, however, have moments of lucidity when he talks of his lady-love and composes verses which he recites to those curious people who have come to see him. Until his death, he encounters Laylā on only one further occasion.

It is difficult to establish the origin of the story. According to a remark in the *Aghānī* (ii, 7, 10), the initial author would be a young Umayyad who, under the pseudonym of Madjnūn, circulated some stories designed to introduce verses in which he sang of his ill-starred love for his cousin. This identification is, however, isolated, and in any case, the poet is anonymous. The fact that historical individuals such as Nawfal b. Musāḥiķ, governor of Medina in 83/702, are mentioned in the traditions relating to the adventures of Ķays, suggests that the latter came into existence at about this period, but this is all that can be said on the subject. The author, or rather the authors of the verses attributed to this Madjnūn and the introductory or explanatory tales, will always be unknown, and it may simply be supposed that these creations are owed to the desire of the Arabs of the North, represented by the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, to show that unhappy love affairs were not the prerogative of those of the South, the ʿUdhra in this instance, and that they were capable of producing the equal of a Djamīl al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*].

From the moment that verses and *akhbār* concerning fictional characters achieved normative status, it is not hard to imagine the role played by inventive narrators and *ruwāt* whom al-Aṣmaʿī (in *Aghānī*, ii, 6) also accuses of having concocted this novel, which is included in a long series of imaginative works and fictionalised biographies of which the *Fihrist* supplies a detailed inventory (ed. Cairo, 425-6; cf. M. F. Ghazi, *La littérature d'imagination*, in *Arabica*, iv/2 [1957], 174-8). The story of Madjnūn and Laylā, like many tales of the Middle Ages, has never obtained a definitive form. It is true that transmitters of tradition like Ibn Daʾb, ʿUmar b. Shabba, Ibn al-Kalbī or al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, must at a quite early stage have set down in writing the more or less numerous and disparate elements, but independent *akhbār* continued to circulate orally and to be enriched according to the taste of the narrators. Evidence of this process is furnished by a study of the sources for the recension of the *Aghānī* (ii, 1-78) which, after that of Ibn Ķutayba (*al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, 355-64 = ed. Shākir, ii, 545-56), is the most ancient and the most developed. Abu 'l-Faradj, in order to bring a successful conclusion to his enterprise, which aspires to be a complete, if not coherent history, takes effective precautions to shield himself from the critics by citing opinions for and against the historicity of the character, then combines, without regard for chronological order, a series of oral and written sources which have been inventoried by I. Y. Kračkovskiy, in an article published in Russian in Leningrad in 1946 and translated into German by H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, viii/1 (1955), 1-50 (*Die Frühgeschichte der Erzählung von Macnūn und Lailā in der arabischen Literatur*; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 390).

The story of Madjnūn and Laylā seems to have taken precedence over the majority of others of the same genre towards the end of the 3rd/9th century or the beginning of the 4th/10th; the fact that numerous verses taken from it were set to music, plus the importance attached to it by the *Aghānī*, leave no doubt that the vogue which it subsequently enjoyed was not an entirely new development.

In the Arabic literature subsequent to the *Aghānī*, the *akhbār* of Madjnūn recur in a number of works of *adab*, in particular in those which concern famous romances (like the *Tazyīn al-aswāķ* of Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, ed. Beirut 1972, i, 97-128), but little is known of independent monographs, apart from the *Dīwān* and two works which have yet to be edited: the *Nuzhat al-musāmir fī dhikr baʿd akhbār Madjnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, by Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Mibradī (d. 909/1503) and *Basṭ al-sāmiʿ al-musāmir fī akhbār Madjnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). It is remarkable, but not entirely unexpected, that the story of *Madjnūn wa-Laylā* should have inspired no literary work in Arabic in the Middle Ages; in fact, it is not until the present day that one sees the theme exploited by several dramatists: Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab (J. M. Landau, *Études sur le théâtre et le cinéma arabes*, Paris 1965, no. 39), Salīm al-Bustānī (*ibid.*, no. 161), Abū Khalīl al-Ķabbānī (*ibid.*, no. 406), whose works do not seem to have been performed, or even printed; the *Riwāyat Madjnūn Laylā* by Muḥammad Mundjī Khayr Allāh, on the other hand, has been performed in Alexandria and published in 1898 (and 1904?; Landau, no. 304); the most celebrated work in this connection is the *Madjnun Laylā* by Aḥmad Shawķī (Landau, no. 517; tr. Arberry, Cairo 1933; see also R. Rubinacci, in *AIUON*, vii [1957], 9-66; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Aḥmad Šawqī*, Damascus 1977, 275-82).

It is not known whether it is necessary to place at the end of the 2nd/8th century, since there is no mention of him in the *Fihrist*, a certain Abū Bakr al-Wālibī, to whom is attributed a recension of the *Dīwān* of al-Madjnūn of which a considerable number of manuscripts exists, containing or not containing *akhbār* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 392-3) and which has been the object of some fifteen mediocre publications and of one more scientific edition by Aḥmad Farrādj in Cairo (1958). It is evident that the content of this *Dīwān* cannot be considered as the work of a single poet, especially as there has been a tendency, as al-Djāḥiẓ observes (in *Aghānī*, ii, 10), to attribute to Madjnūn Laylā the verses of any unknown poet where reference is made to a Laylā; furthermore, the homonymy with Ķays b. Dharīḥ has certainly caused confusion. At all events, R. Blachère, who has analysed this *Dīwān* (*HLA*, iii, 658) considers that it "cannot be regarded as occupying an insignificant place in the study of archaic poetry".

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the article, see Washshāʾ, *Muwashshāʾ*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 207-8; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāķ, ii, 170-2 = ed. Cairo, iv, 170-4; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 274-8; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 207-12; Brockelmann, I, 48, S I, 81; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, i, 171-9, 189-94; M. Kāmil Farīd, *Madjnūn Laylā, taʾrīkhuhu, ʿalāķatuhu bi-Laylā, ashʿāruhu*, Cairo n.d.; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 657-60 (with bibl.); J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968 368-78; Sezgin *GAS*, ii, 389-94 (extensive bibl.).

(CH. PELLAT)

2. In Persian, Kurdish and Pashto literature

The poems of Madjnūn and the tales of his love Laylā (commonly named Laylī in Persian) also became a part of the Persian literary tradition, where they were used in various ways. Quotations of Arabic lines of poetry ascribed to Madjnūn occur quite frequently in Persian prose works. He was reckoned to be one of the great poets of love (cf.

e.g. Manūčihrī, *Dīwān*, ed. Tehran 1347/1968, v. 1052) and was celebrated for his *ghazals*. References to him and Laylī appear already in the works of many poets before the time when Niẓāmī wrote his epoch-making poem on their love story. Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] (d. ca. 432/1040-1) compared in descriptions of nature the rain-clouds, "weeping meaningfully", to the eyelashes of Madjnūn and the lightning, "laughing without meaning", to Laylī's lips (v. 1727); the eyes of the former and the cheeks of the latter to two constellations (v. 1830). The two names were also associated with items of material culture; according to Anwarī [*q.v.*] (*fl.* middle of the 6th/12th century), a bench (*ṣuffa*) in the hall of one of his patrons had as many mad lovers as Laylī (*Dīwān*, i, Tehran 1347/1968, 345); Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] (d. 595/1199) saw in a harp (*čang*) the she-camel of Laylī uttering the complaints of Madjnūn (*Dīwān*, ed. Sadjdjādī, Tehran 1357/1978, 144, 476).

These examples show that, at least initially, the romance was not specifically related to mysticism, although, as we know, the Ṣūfīs used it as an *exemplum* from the 3rd/9th century onwards (cf. Ritter, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 49 f.). To a religious poet like Nāṣir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century), the subject matter was reprehensible because it symbolised merely mortal love and frivolous poetry (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Tehran 1348/1969, 355, 455). Its development into one of the most popular themes of the Ṣūfī tradition, dealt with in innumerable works written in Persian and in many other languages, needs still to be investigated. The growing importance of *ghazal* poetry and the theory of love to the mystics since the 5th/12th century has undoubtedly furthered this process. Yet Madjnūn and Laylī were also to the later poets just one pair of *exempla* out of several others like Maḥmūd and Ayāz, Farhād and Shīrīn (cf. e.g. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḳazwīnī-Ghanī, Tehran 1320/1941, 29, 38), or the Greek lovers Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrā (cf. e.g. Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1339/1960, 198; Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341/1962, 495, 854). According to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Madjnūn belonged together with Farhād and others to the archetype of "lovers who took to the mountains and the desert because of love" (*Fīhi mā fīh*, Tehran 1348/1969, 30).

The *akhbār* were a rich source of illustrative anecdotes to writers and poets. It was drawn upon by Aḥmad-i Ghazālī (*Sawāniḥ*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1942, 42, 45) and subsequent writers on the theory of love. Among the authors of mystical *mathnawī* poems, Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār deserves special mention (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 730 f.).

In 584/1188 Niẓāmī of Gandja composed at the request of the Shirwān-Shāh Akhsitān the *mathnawī* *Laylī u Madjnūn* in the metre *hazadj-i musaddas-i akhrab-i maḳbūḍ-i maḥdhūf* with about 5,000 *bayts*. This was the third part of the set of poems known as the *Khamsa* [*q.v.*]. The theme was chosen for the first time as the subject of a Persian narrative poem, but the precedent of the treatment of a similar subject of Arabic origin existed in ʿAyyūḳī's *Warḳa u Gulshāh*.

Niẓāmī states in the introduction to his poem that he accepted the assignment with some hesitation. At first, he doubted whether this tale of madness and wanderings through the wilderness would be suitable for a royal court (ed. Moscow 1965, 41 ff.). He adapted the disconnected stories to fit the requirements of a Persian romance. They were joined together into a coherent narrative which describes the development of a frantic love affair from the scene of the first meeting of the two lovers till the death of Madjnūn at the grave of Laylī. In some respects, the Bedouin setting of the original has been changed under the influence of urban conditions more familiar to the poet and his audience: the young lovers become acquainted at school; the generous Nawfal is a prince in the Iranian style rather than an Arab official. Niẓāmī added a second pair of lovers, Zayn and Zaynab, in whom the love between the main characters is reflected. It is Zayn who in a dream sees Madjnūn and Laylī united in paradise at the end of the romance.

Several other features mark this new adaptation of the romance. Specimens of nature poetry were used to emphasise, symbolically, important points in the development of the plot: a description of a palm bush in spring where Laylī sits in the flower of her youth; of the night at the moment of Madjnūn's deepest despair; of autumn at the time of Laylī's death. Much attention is given to Madjnūn's rôle as a poet. In several places, *ghazals* are quoted in the text, which in metre and rhyme are adjusted to the prosodic characteristics of the *mathnawī*. It is quite evident that, to Niẓāmī, the subject matter was not least interesting because of its emblematic possibilities. His poem is, therefore, a didactic work as well as a narrative. The former quality is noticeable in the frequent asides containing reflections on such themes as ascetism, the vanity of this world, death and, of course, love in its various aspects, including its transformation into mystical love. Didacticism is also the main element of the introduction and the epilogue.

This *Laylī u Madjnūn* was the starting-point of a long series of imitations which were written in almost any language of the area where the cultural influence of Persian literature made itself felt. The poets who tried to emulate the model set by Niẓāmī borrowed most of its contents and its metre but often also elements of its composition, e.g. the advice given to the son of the poet and the address to the cupbearer which both occur in Niẓāmī's introduction. Each of them, however, made an effort to produce an original work by making changes in the episodes of the romances, by the addition of new stories or through a shift of emphasis from one motif to another.

No more than a few of these imitations can be regarded as valuable literary works in their own right and have apparently enjoyed the interest of a wide public over a long period. The *Madjnūn u Laylī* of Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*] written in 698/1299 and the very first among them, belongs to a complete imitation of the *Khamsa*. This poem is much shorter than the model (2,660 *bayts*) and puts less emphasis on didactic aspects. New elements of the narrative are among others the prognosis of Madjnūn's fate at the time of his birth and the wish expressed by both lovers to have their eyes picked out by the ravens who prey on the dead bodies left after the battle of the clans. Amīr Khusraw dedicated his work to his spiritual guide Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ and to the sultan of Dihlī. The much longer poem of Djāmī [*q.v.*] (3,860 *bayts*), completed in 889/1484, almost exhausts the contents of the original *akhbār*. The beginning of the love story (the meeting of the two lovers is not situated at school but at the camp of Laylī's clan) is also closer to the Arabic tradition. The mystical meaning attached to the romance cannot be mistaken, though the narrative as such is given its full due. In the song addressed to the cupbearer of the introduction, Djāmī commemorates

the Naḳshbandiyya shaykhs and the Tīmūrid rulers of the past. Contemporaries of Djāmī's were his nephew Hātifī and Maktabī of Shīrāz. The former's poem was a particular favourite with Ottoman poets and was translated into Turkish. The *Laylī u Madjnūn* of the latter continued to be read till recent times and was printed repeatedly both in Iran and India.

The great majority of the Persian imitators met, however, with little success. Their poems are at the most extant in few or even single copies. Some of them seem to have disappeared altogether. They have been listed in the following works: A. S. Levend, *Leylâ ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1959, 86-96; E. E. Bertel's, *Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 275-300; A. Ateş, *IA*, *s.v.* "Leylâ ile Mecnûn"; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iv, Tehran 1351/1972, 3100-15.

Some poets of the post-classical period wrote, under the title *Čāh-i wiṣāl*, short *mathnawīs* which describe a reunion of Madjnūn and Laylī at the bottom of a pit (cf. Munzawī, *op. cit.*, 2753 f.). In a quatrain by Lisānī (9th/15th century), on a painter of miniatures, the emaciated body of Madjnūn as it is commonly represented in Persian art is used as a literary motif (cf. F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, 306).

In Kurdish literature, a number of versions of the romance exist which are partly adaptations of Persian or Turkish models and partly original works. To the written tradition belong the works by ʿAlī Bāpir Āghā (ed. Baghdād 1950), ʿAbd al-Djabbār Kānī (ed. Erbil 1969) and Ḥārith Bitlīsī, dated 1172/1758-59 (ed. by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1965). Folklore tales about "Leylî û Mecrûm (or Meclûm)" have been recorded in various regions. They show remarkable variants, e.g. the treatment of the romance as an astral myth (cf. Rudenko, *op. cit.*). Some versions have been written in the Gūrānī dialect of Persian and in a prosodic form characteristic of popular literature (cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, London 1881, 733; Kamal Fuad, *Kurdische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1970). In Pashto, Bāy Khān of Bunēr made a version in stanzas which have the form of *ghazals* (cf. A. Sprenger, *ZDMG*, xvi [1862], 789).

Bibliography: Niẓāmī's poem was edited by W. Dastgirdī in the annotated *Khamsa* edition, Tehran 1313-18/1934-9, and by A. A. Alesker-zade and F. Babaev, Moscow 1965; Amīr Khusraw's poem by T. A. Muharramov, Moscow 1975; Djāmī's poem by M. Mudarris-i Gīlānī in *Haft awrang*, Tehran 1337/1958, and by A. Afsahzoda, Moscow 1974; Hātifī's poem by Sir William Jones, Calcutta 1788; and the poem by Maktabī in a facsimile edition by M. Dj. Muʿinfar, Wiesbaden 1968. See further ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, *Ruma'ū wa Zhūliyat-i Shakispīr wa muḳāyasa ba-Laylī u Madjnūn-i Niẓāmī*, Tehran 1319/1940; ʿA. Nawā'ī, *Maktabī-i Shīrāzī* in *Yādgār*, ii/5 (1325/1946), 52-60; M. Gh. Hilāl, *Laylā wa-Madjnūn fi 'l-adabayn al-ʿArabī wa 'l-Fārisī*, Cairo 1954; M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Laylī u Madjnūn-i Niẓāmī wa Madjnūn u Laylī-i Amīr Khusraw-i Dihlawī*, in *Sukhan*, xiv (1342/1963), 620-37; R. Gelpke, *Liebe und Wahnsinn als Thema eines persischen Dichters*, in *Symbolon*, iv (1964), 105-18; Dh. Ṣafā, *Comparaison des origines et des sources des deux contes persans: Leylî et Madjnoun de Niẓâmî et Varqah et Golchâh de ʿAyouqî*, in *Colloquio sul poeta persiano Niẓāmī*, Rome 1977; Asʿad E. Khairallah, *Love, madness and poetry. An interpretation of the Mağnūn legend*, Beirut 1980, 97-133 (on Djāmī).

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

3. In Turkish literature

The Turkish poets were fascinated also by the Madjūn Laylā theme, in the first place, and above all, because they were inspired by the classical version of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*]; and then later, when taking up a critical position *vis-à-vis* the versions of other Persian and Turkish poets. Because the theme itself, the combination of the motifs, and, for the greater part, the metre as well, were all fixed, Turkish poets were able either to aim at a more exciting elaboration of the external motivation, or else to try to draw out the "metaphorical" meaning of the story as included in the material. A comparative study of the poetical aims, which, because of the similarity of the theme, should also take into account *Warḳā u Gülshāh*, is still lacking.

Gülshehrī and ʿĀshıḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] had already taken up the theme in the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and *Gharīb-nāme*. The line of independent Turkish versions starts with the lengthy *methnewī* [see MATHNAWĪ] written by Shāhidī on behalf of Prince Djem [*q.v.*], and later plagiarised by a certain Ḳādimī. Already in Shāhidī's poem, as well as in *Madjnūn u Laylī* of the eastern Turkish prince of poets Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī [*q.v.*] written shortly afterwards; for the contents, see *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, 1964, 341-3, Madjnūn's unrequited love is interpreted as a metaphorical road to the divine reality. At the end of the 9th/15th century, the Ottoman Aḥmed Sinān Bihishtī [*q.v.*], who lived for a time in Herat, wrote a mystically-inspired version influenced by Djāmī [*q.v.*], to which he added some important alterations in the motifs. At about the same time, Ḥamd Allāh Ḥamdī [*q.v.*] and Tütünsüz Aḥmed Riḍwān composed their arrangements. The 10th/16th century was particularly rich in Laylā-Madjnūn versions. Djelīlī Ḥamīd-zāde Bursalī (d. after 977/1569-70) wrote his version in 918/1512-13, more or less simultaneously with his drastically-shortened version of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, apparently concentrated, like the latter, on the external aspects of the action. Two years later Sawdā'ī's arrangement appeared, in whose copy verses by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] have intruded. In 931/1524-5 the Ādharbāydjānī Ḥaḳīrī wrote a version, inspired by Niẓāmī and Hātifī [*q.v.*], which he transplanted to his native country (see *PhTF* ii, 643) and in which "chance plays an important rôle" (Levend, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.* 235-6). Exemplary for Turkish poetry was the way in which Fuḍūlī treated the subject. In his version, finished in 942/1535-6, Madjnūn appears as the symbol of the religious ideology of love, whose task consists of freeing himself from the beloved. With this epic poem, which is strewn with *ghazals* [*q.v.*] and does justice also to the feelings of Laylā, who remains an earthly figure, Fuḍūlī created an impressive Turkish counterpart to the Persian models, which he now came to equal. In 950/1543-4 Ḥamdī of Laranda wrote a little-known version again inspired by Niẓāmī, Djāmī and Nawā'ī. In 962/1554-5 Ṣāliḥ b. Djelāl produced a version which slavishly follows Hātifī. Khalīfe (d. *ca.* 986/1578-9) copied passages from Fuḍūlī's work after having criticised him and Nawā'ī in his preface. An Ādharī poet by the name of ʿAṭāyī (11th/17th century?) transformed the story into a fairy-tale in which he inserted quotations from Dede Ḳorḳut [*q.v.*]. The version of Ḳāfzāde Fā'iḍī (d. 1031/1621-2) remained unfinished. The following

survey shows how popular the theme has remained until present times: ʿÖrfī Maḥmūd Agha (d. after 1186/1772-3) wrote a brief tale; the Turcoman poet ʿAndalīb Nūr Muḥammad Gharīb (d. 1179/1765-6) made a popular adaptation of the theme in prose and verse; the prince of Khokand, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (1822-42; see *PhTF*, ii, 392) produced an incomplete Čaghatay version; the Ādharbāydjānī Nākām (d. 1323/1905-6), the Ḳazakh narrator of epic poems Süyümbay (1837-95; see *ibid.*, ii, 749) and Djambul (1846-1945; see *ibid.*, 750) made each their adaptions; and finally, there is the first Ādharbāydjānī opera, based on Fuḍūlī, by the composer ʿÜzeyir Beg Ḥādjībeyli (1885-1948; see *ibid.*, ii, 686), and the opera-libretto of the Turcoman Ḳaradja Burunov, born in 1898 (*ibid.*, ii, 733).

Bibliography: The most comprehensive description, on which the preceding article is based is A.S. Levend, *Arap, fars ve türk edebiyatlarında Leylâ ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1969; *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, 1964; A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969; *Leylā and Mejnūn by Fuzuli, Translated from the Turkish by S. Huri, with a history of the poem, notes and bibliography by A. Bombaci*, London 1970.

(B. Flemming)

4. In Urdu literature

The story came into Urdu literature via Persian, not direct from Arabic, and it is most frequently called "Laylā Madjnūn". It is found in three main forms: firstly, in casual reference to the lovers, especially in poetry; secondly, in narrative poems telling the story, generally in *mathnawī*; and thirdly as the plot for early Urdu dramas of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mostly written for various Parsi theatrical companies in Bombay. However, failing the discovery of some hitherto unknown masterpiece, the theme seems to have inspired no work of major literary importance.

Casual references to the lovers are far too numerous to permit detailed discussion. They date from the earliest period of Urdu in the Deccan and Gudjarāt, and continued into the present century, though with decreasing frequency. Nor were they restricted to *ghazal*, or even to secular poetry. For example, Walī Dakanī [see MADĪḤ. 4. in Urdu], in a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of the Prophet (*dar naʿt Ḥaḍrat Khayr al-bashar*) includes Laylā and Madjnūn among several famous pairs of lovers, as a metaphorical representation of *fanāʾ fī Allāh*; Walī was, of course, a Ṣūfī (see his work cited in *Bibl.*, 361).

The narrative *mathnawī* was a favourite poetical form in Dakanī, the type of Urdu current in South India from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Several examples devoted to Laylā Madjnūn are extant; they were modelled on Persian works, particularly those of Hātifī, Niẓāmī and Djāmī, and perhaps also on that of Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, composed around 700/1300. In any case, despite the Persian models, the atmosphere in these Urdu works is distinctly Indian, as can be seen, for example, in the *sarāpā* passages describing the heroine from head to foot. Hāshimī, Bāḳir and Djālibī mention *mathnawīs* by Aḥmad Gudjarātī and Muḥammad ʿAzīz, both poets of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī period in Golconda. These were written in 1046/1636 and 1040/1630 respectively. A late Dakanī *mathnawī* is *Ḳiṣṣa Laylā wa Madjnūn*, composed by ʿUbayd Allāh Wāʿiẓ b. Isḥāḳ in Gudjarāt in 1196/1782. It is included in a collection of 12 early Urdu *mathnawīs* by an unknown editor, under the title of *Bāra ḳiṣṣa*. This collection was very popular, and was published several times both before and after 1857; the later editions, however, tend to modernise the language, bringing it into line with the contemporary Urdu of Northern India.

Dakanī Madjnūn Laylā *mathnawīs* are characterised not only by their Indian flavour, but also by their concentration on the story, which is told in simple, at times naïve, language. The story deviates considerably from the old Arabic versions. Thus Wāʿiẓ makes Madjnūn the son of a Ghaznawid king by an Arab woman whom he marries while on the *ḥadjdj*. The king has to return home before the boy is born, and an astrologer foretells the boy's future, and suggests the *laḳab* of Madjnūn for him. The boy's *murshid* recommends night prayer and Ḳurʾānic reading, and on the basis of the pun between *Laylā* and *layl*, Madjnūn falls in love with an imaginary Laylā and wanders in search of her, his mind affected. He hears of a Laylā who is the daughter of a *ḳāḍī* in Egypt. He goes there, and stays in the *ḳāḍī*'s house as his pupil. He meets Laylā, they fall in love, and then the story continue swiftly to its traditional conclusion with the death of the two lovers. The poem is, however, stretched to over 500 verses by a good deal of lamentation by the various characters; some philosophising in which the poet warns of the danger of love; an anecdote in which the Prophet explains God's inscrutability to ʿĀʾisha; and Madjnūn's refusal to accompany the Angel of Death until the latter, after consulting God, returns assuming the face of Laylā to take him away.

While the chief Urdu poets of Northern India in the 18th and 19th centuries do not appear to have written narrative poems on the story, it obviously remained popular at least into the 1860s, for Blumhardt (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 117, 254, 350) records three *mathnawīs*, one anonymous published in Dihlī in 1864, one by Muḥammad Taḳī Khan Hawas (Lucknow 1862) and a third by Walī Muḥammad Naẓīr (Cawnpore 1886).

It was in the 1860s that theatrical companies proliferated in Bombay. Many of the early plays which they staged took their plots from familiar stories, whether Arab, Persian or Indian. The story of *Madjnūn Laylā* enjoyed a considerable vogue for about thirty years as the subject of verse dramas. It is not known who wrote the first, nor how original those published were, for a playwright employed by one company might be commissioned to revise or adapt an existing play, and there was no law of copyright to prevent the reviser from taking full credit for the play. The following wrote *Laylā Madjnūn* plays which are extant (unfortunately biographical information is almost non-existent): Nusrawān Djī Mihrabān Djī Ārām; Munshī Maḥmūd Miyān Rawnaḳ (1825-66), whose play was written 1857-8; Ḥusaynī Miyān Ẓarīf; and Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd Allāh. Rawnaḳ's play—probably the best of these—was published in Bombay in 1880 in Gudjarātī script, with the double title *Andjām-i-ulfat, ʿurf Laylā Madjnūn*. Like the plays by the other three, it has now been republished in the Urdu script at Lahore.

These four plays are distinguished by a certain stagecraft and popular appeal rather than by literary merit. With this in mind, the famous Lucknow polymath and novelist, Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (1859-1931) [see ḲIṢṢA. 5. In Urdu] wrote his *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-Laylā Madjnūn* ("the Album of Laylā Madjnūn"), published at Lucknow in 1885 and at Allahabad in 1887. He had seen plays performed by various touring Bombay companies in Lucknow, including doubtless Madjnūn Laylā plays. As he

writes in his introduction, he was dissatisfied with their language, which he found to be not that of Dihlī or Lucknow, but of the Bombay fish-market! (Ruswā, *tamhid*, 5). Encouraged by friends, he wrote this play to demonstrate how dramatic poetry should be. He employed different poetic metres to suit the characters and situations, and envisaged their being set to music, so that the result might be described as an Urdu opera. But no theatrical company would stage it, and critics generally regard it as a failure. ʿIshrat Raḥmān (cited in *Bibl.*, 279) remarks that it was entirely in verse at a time when prose was playing an increasing part in Urdu drama. The plot, he suggests, had been "worked to death" and had lost its appeal. As a poet of Lucknow who had seen the heyday of the *marthiya* [see MARTHIYA. 4. In Urdu], he was well equipped to write effective passages of melancholy and lamentation: in this respect, the play has much to commend it. But Ruswā was no dramatist; and the story does not lend itself easily to dramatic treatment.

At least one modern Urdu writer has brought Madjnūn Laylā up-to-date in a short story. Sayyid Sadjdjād Ḥaydar's collection of short stories *Khayālistān* includes one entitled *Ḥikāyat Laylā wa Madjnūn* (cited in *Bibl.*, 224-61). In it, the two lovers are reborn under modern conditions. Madjnūn follows Laylā about on a bicycle. Laylā is ordered electric shock treatment, and at the time of this treatment, Madjnūn has a fit. He is taken to Mecca to be relieved of his obsession, but prays only that his suffering may never be lessened. Thus ends this "whimsical and delightfully written story" (Suhrawardy, cited in *Bibl.*, 212), which forms a fitting conclusion to an account of Madjnūn Laylā in Urdu literature.

Bibliography: For Dakanī *mathnawīs* on the story, see Naṣīr al-Dīn Hāshimī, *Dakan mēṅ Urdū*⁶, Lucknow 1963, 62-3, 108-13 (including extracts); Djamīl Djālibī, *Taʾrīkh-i-adab-i-Urdū. i. Ḳadīm dawr*, Lahore 1975, 249-50; for the text of Wāʿiẓ, see *Urdū kē ḳadīm manẓūm dāstānēn*, ed. Khalīl al-Raḥmān Dāwūd, i, Lahore 1967, 1-10, 81-148 (a critical assessment is given by Muḥammad Bāḳir, *Urdū-i-ḳadīm Dakan awr Pandjāb mēṅ*, Lahore 1972, 77-85); the reference by Walī Dakanī to Madjnūn Laylā will be found in *Kulliyyāt Walī*, ed. ʿAlī Aḥsan Mārahrawī, Awrangābād 1927; J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Hindustani books in the Library of the British Museum*, London 1889, mentions *mathnawīs* published in Northern India in the 19th century. Plays on the story are listed by ʿIshrat Raḥmānī, *Urdū drāmā—tārīkh-o-tanḳīd*, Lahore 1957, 211-23. The *Laylā Madjnūn* dramas of Ārām, Rawnaḳ, Ẓarīf and Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd Allāh are included in the volumes of collected dramatic works of these authors published by the Andjuman-i-taraḳḳī-yi Urdū in Lahore in recent years; the same society has published Mīrzā Muḥammad Ruswā's *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-Laylā Madjnūn*, ed. ʿIshrat Raḥmānī, Lahore 1963. This includes not only Ruswā's own preface, but a useful introduction by the editor which lists previous dramas on the theme. Sadjdjād Ḥaydar's *Khayālistān* was first published at ʿAlīgaṛh in 1932, and there is a Dihlī edition of 1946; Shāyista Akhtar Bānū Suhrawardy's brief account and assessment of his *Ḥikāyat Laylā wa Madjnūn* is in her *A critical survey of the Urdu novel and short story*, London 1945.

(J. A. Haywood)

MADJRĪṬ, mediaeval Arabic name of the city of Madrid (Spain). The Arabic sources seldom mention this place in the Muslim period. According to al-Ḥimyarī, the *ḥiṣn* of Madjrīṭ was built by the Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova, Muḥammad I (238-76/852-86). M. A. Makkī believes that its foundation may be dated between 252/866 and 257/871 in the reign of this *amīr*; the year 252/866 marks the beginning of the reign of Alfonso III of the Asturias, whose military activities had the effect of destabilising the region between Médinacéli and Toledo (*al-thaghr al-adnā*), which would then have been consolidated by the construction of the fortress of Madjrīṭ as an important element in the military disposition of the region, with a governor appointed by Cordova, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sālim, who imprisoned and executed a rebel from Toledo named Ibn Balūsh.

From its foundation until the period of the *fitna* of al-Andalus (399/1009), the few facts supplied by the ancient sources on the subject of Madjrīṭ are indicative of its role as a frontier fortress (*thaghrī*). In 320/932, it was subjected to an attack by King Ramiro II of Léon, according to the Christian historian Sampiro. In 324/936, a party of citizens of Madjrīṭ undertook an expedition into Christian territory and, on their return, they were massacred by the enemy, according to Ibn Ḥayyān. The *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr (Almanzor), in the course of his campaign against the fortress of La Muela in 366/977, met at Madjrīṭ the governor of Médinacéli, Ghālib (Ibn ʿIdhārī). Ibn Ḥazm supplies an interesting item of information concerning Madjrīṭ; the slave of a perfume-seller known by the name of al-Faṣīḥ led an insurrection in this town, pretending to be ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, but he was attacked and killed. J. Oliver Asín believed that this insurrection was inspired by Fāṭimids; on the other hand, M. A. Makkī reckons that the rebel wished to be recognised as the son of the short-lived Umayyad caliph of Cordova al-Mahdī (399/1009 and 400/1010). Thus the rebellion would have taken place in the time of the Umayyad caliph al-Mustakfī bi'llāh (414-16/1024-5).

In the period of the Taifas (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*), Madjrīṭ must have been attached to the kingdom of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn of Toledo. The king of Castile Alfonso VI took possession of Madjrīṭ as well as of other fortresses in the region, shortly before the fall of Toledo, in *ca.* 476/1083. It seems to have remained under Christian domination except for a very short period, at the time of the so-called Talavera campaign of the Almoravid *amīr* ʿAlī b. Tashfīn (Ibn Abī Zarʿ). But the Christian city retained a Muslim community (*mudejares*), concentrated in a particular quarter (Barrio de la Morería). There were also Moriscos in Madrid at the time of their official expulsion from Castile in 1610.

The only descripiton of Madjrīṭ preserved by Arab sources is that of al-Ḥimyarī. It is very short, stating that the place consists of a small town and an impregnable fortress, with a Friday-mosque. Also mentioned is the discovery of the skeleton of a gigantic beast in the moat of the town (large fossils are not rare in the valley of the Manzanares), and the extraordinary nature of the soil of Madrid, ideal for the manufacture of solid and durable cooking-pots.

The topography of Madjrīṭ can therefore only be reconstructed in a hypothetical fashion, by means of the archaeological and toponymic remains of a more recent period. It seems that the Arab *ḥiṣn* was situated on the heights of the Palacio Real, on a raised promontory dominating the Manzanares river. Oliver Asín considered that the entire hill must have been surrounded by walls, with the *ḥiṣn*

and other military constructions forming a citadel whose Arabic name was apparently *al-Mudayna* (*Almudena*), a name preserved by the church of Santa María de la Almudena, to the south-west of the hill, at the extremity of the Calle Mayor. It apparently had two gates, whose existence is known to us from Christian documents: the Puerta de la Vega, to the south-west of the hill, towards the valley of the Manzanares, and the Puerta de la Almudena, to the south-east, linking the citadel with the town or *madīna*. The latter probably had its own surrounding walls, in common with many other towns of al-Andalus. The Arab *madīna* must have extended towards the eastern end of the hill, covering a half of what is currently the Calle Mayor (Platerias), where the gate known as the Puerta de Guadalajara was situated. Its northern extremity was located to the south of the Plaza de Oriente and the theatre of La Opéra. On the other hand, the southern limits of the Arab Madjrīṭ are the object of greater controversy, since to the south the hill of the Palacio Real and the *madīna* overhang a ravine of considerable depth, which today is crossed by means of a viaduct and which opens on a small valley (Calle de Segovia) before climbing again towards other hills (Las Vistillas and San Andrés). Oliver Asín supported the hypothesis that the pre-Arab Madjrīṭ first grew up in this narrow valley and that the walls of the town must have enclosed the valley, on the descent from the hill of *al-Mudayna* and the rise towards those of Las Vistillas and San Andrés, as was the case with the mediaeval and modern surrounding walls (see the engraving of *Códice de Wingaerde*, 1563-70). But the archaeologist Basilio Pavón is not in agreement with this hypothesis about the southern limits of Madjrīṭ; he considers that the wall of the second enclosure skirted the northern ridge of the small valley, running parallel to the Calle Mayor, a hypothesis which had already been propounded by E. Tormo. It would be necessary to attribute an origin in the Christian period to the wall which encloses the valley, Las Vistillas and San Andrés, and which would have formed a third southern tier in the fortifications of Madrid. B. Pavón furthermore maintains that the citadel or first tier did not embrace entirely the hill of the Palacio Real; the southern section, currently occupied by the cathedral of the Almudena, would have formed a part of the second tier, as far as the Puerta de la Vega. Almudena or *al-Mudayna* would thus be a toponym designating not only the citadel, but the *madīna* or town with the sense of "small town", in accordance with the text of al-Ḥimyarī.

The site of the Great Mosque is also the subject of various hypotheses. It may have been on the former site of the church of the Almudena or that of the church of San Salvador, which has likewise disappeared and used to stand opposite the present-day Town Hall; it could also have been on the site where the *mudejar*-style church of San Nicolás now stands, a few metres to the north of the extremity of the Calle Mayor. The *Fuero de Madrid* of 1202 also mentions the existence of *azoches* (markets, bazaars), the most important of which was situated along the Calle Major. There was also an *almuzara* (*al-musārāt*), a promenade and place of recreation, as in other towns of the Muslim West; it was most probably located outside the walls.

But the most remarkable characteristic of Madjrīṭ, as also of mediaeval Christian Madrid, was its system of catchment and distribution of subterranean waters, this being the basis of the legend, documented from the 15th century onward, asserting that Madrid had been built on water. The hydraulic system of Madjrīṭ—and of Madrid until the 15th century—was based on the catchment of water by means of wells linked by large subterranean galleries (*ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], pl. *ḳanawāt*) descending from an elevated place towards the town, where they form new ramifications, on or below the surface, which emerge in public fountains, in gardens or in houses. It is highly probable that this technique was employed in various parts of the Iberian Peninsular in pre-Islamic times; but traces of it have only been preserved in Madrid, a huge complex which has lasted remarkably well over the centuries. This is perhaps a tribute to the quality of the soil of Madrid, noted by al-Ḥimyarī, which is such that even today some public fountains of the town are supplied by this system of water distribution. The *ḳanāt*s of Madjrīṭ have been studied by Oliver Asín: the two most important canals are the Alto Abroñigal and the Bajo Abroñigal, whose respective sources are situated in two hills which are still known as Canillas and Canillejas, toponyms whose Arabic etymology is to be found in *ḳanāt*, of which the plural form *aḳniya* is encountered in the Arabic of al-Andalus. The Alto Abroñigal came to an end by the site of San Nicolás, the church already mentioned, close to the citadel, in the heart of the Arab town. The Bajo Abroñigal terminated at the Puerta Cerrada, on the hypothetical third tier of the town's defences.

It is furthermore quite possible that the name of Madjrīṭ should be associated with this hydraulic system, according to a popular etymology which has it evolving from *madjrā*, canal or water-course. The origin of this name does not seem to have interested the Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but as soon as Madrid became the capital of the Spanish Empire at the end of the 16th century, many scholars tried to find Arabic origins for it, helped perhaps by the Moriscos: *mahdjara*, *madrasa*, *mashriḳ*, etc. Subsequently, an etymology of clerical origin prevailed: *Maioritum* (from the Latin *maior*), of which Madjrīṭ would be the Arabic transcription. In the 18th century, faced with numerous ill-founded theories, the Maronite priest Michel Casiri (al-Gaziri) was obliged to establish a compromise theory; the original name was the Latin *Maioritum*, but Madjrīṭ was a word of African origin signifying canal or conduit (*aquaeductum*).

In the 20th century, and in the light of modern philological studies, R. Menéndez Pidal has constructed a hypothtical Celtic name *Magerito* with the sense of "ford" or "long bridge". M. Gómez Moreno claimed to have discovered in Madjrīṭ a terminal *-īṭ* having its origin in the Latin ending *-etum*, collective of abundance. Oliver Asín proposed a brilliant hypothesis, that Madjrīṭ must be a hybrid formed from the Arabic word *madjrā*, canal, and from the Roman suffix *-it*, of abundance; Madjrīṭ would thus signify "place where canals are abundant". He considered, however, that the present name of the town comes not from the Arabic name Madjrīṭ, but from *Maṭridj*, a Roman toponym having its origin in the Latin *Matricem*, the primitive name of the small valley where the Calle de Segovia is currently situated, on the site of a pre-Arab settlement, according to this author. Finally, Joan Corominas has made some adjustments to this theory while retaining the connection between Madjrīṭ and *madjrā*. He rejects the possibility of the use of the collective *-etum* (*-īṭ*) other than in the sphere of plants, and he believes that Madjrīṭ is a

metathesis of the word of Latin origin *maṭridj* (from *matricem*), according to a popular etymology which seeks to link it with *madjrā*. He also considers that the current form of Madrid may derive from the Arabic Madjrīṭ, by means of an intermediary form *mazdrid* with an epenthetic *-d-*.

The best-known native of Madjrīṭ in the Muslim period is the astronomer and mathematician Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama al-Madjrīṭī [*q.v.*], but other individuals of secondary importance who have been studied by Oliver Asín were also born there. Ibn Ḥayyān and other historical sources of al-Andalus supply some names of governors of Madjrīṭ in the Umayyad period, in particular numerous members of the family of the Banū Sālim, of Berber origin, firmly implanted in the central marches of al-Andalus and especially in the region of Médinacéli (*Madīnat Sālim*).

Bibliography: The Arabic sources on Madjrīṭ are: al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭar*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1938, and ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1980 (s.v.); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muḳtabis min anbāʾ ahl al-Andalus*, ed. M. A. Makkī, Beirut 1973; *al-Muḳtabas*, ed. P. Chalmeta, Madrid 1979; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii; Ibn Ḥazm, *Naḳṭ al-ʿarūs*, Cairo 1948; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, Fez 1936. The *Fuero de Madrid* was edited in Madrid in 1932.

A seminal work which is still useful for Madjrīṭ (etymology, topography, canals and history) is that of J. Oliver Asín, *Historia del nombre de Madrid*, Madrid 1959; M. A. Makkī, *Madrid al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo n.d. [1968] basically follows the preceding work, with a few historical novelties. On the topography of Madjrīṭ, reference may be made to E. Tormo's slightly out-dated work, *Las murallas y las torres, los portales y el alcázar del Madrid de la Reconquista creación del Califato*, Madrid 1945, in anticipation of *Madrid árabe* by P. Pavón, as yet unpublished. On the *almuzaras*: Oliver Asín, *Las dos almuzaras*, in *Al-And.*, xxvii (1962), 155-79. On the *ḳanāts*: Cornel Braun, *Teheran, Marrakesh und Madrid. Ihre Wasserversorgung mit Hilfe von Qanaten*, Bonn 1974, and H. Goblot, *Les qanats. Une technique d'acquisition de l'eau*, Paris-The Hague-New York 1979. On the etymology of Madjrīṭ: R. Menéndez Pidal, *La etimología de Madrid y la antigua Carpetania*, in *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museum de Madrid*, xiv (1945); M. Gómez Moreno, *Le desinencia -it a proposito de Madrid*, in *ibid.*, xv (1946); Oliver Asín, *El nombre de Madrid*, in *Arbor*, xxviii (1954), 396-426; J. Corominas, *Etimologiá de Madrid*, in *Revista de Filología Española*, xliii (1960), 447-50.

(M. J. RUBIERA DE EPALZA)

AL-MADJRĪṬĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM MASLAMA B. AḤMAD AL-FARAḌĪ, mathematician and astronomer, born in Madrid in the mid-4th/10th century, died in Cordova in about 398/1007.

The facts which are known do not enable us to trace his biography in detail. He was clearly an important person since Ibn Ḥazm mentions him in his *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* (ch. xiv). He clearly established himself at a very early age in Cordova, and was a pupil of the geometrician ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad. It must be supposed that he maintained contact with the circle of Hellenists which came into being in the period of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir. In 369/979 he carried out some astronomical observations, and it must have been at this time that he adapted the tables of al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*] to the Cordova meridian. Some time later, he apparently brought the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* to public attention in al-Andalus. It is possible that he performed the duties of a court astrologer, since it is to him that one attributes the horoscope which, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, iii, Paris 1930, 14-15) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, 127-8, *apud* Hoenerbach, *Islam. Gesch. Spaniens*, 259), predicted and described the unfolding of the *fitna*.

His disciples included: al-Kirmānī (d. 458/1066), who introduced the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* to Saragossa and the frontier regions of the North; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aṣbagh b. al-Samḥ (d. 426/1035, see IBN AL-SAMḤ); Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Ṣaffāz (d. 426/1035, see IBN AL-ṢAFFĀZ); the astrologer Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (d. 447/1055), to whom so many elegies are dedicated in the *Memoirs* of the Zīrid king ʿAbd Allāh; al-Zahrawī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khaldūn of Seville.

The authenticity and the number of works by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī have given rise to numerous discussions. As a general principle, we can be sure that the books of a magical or alchemical nature which are attributed to him do not belong to him, since the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ṣāʿid does not mention them in his *Ṭabaḳāt*; they should be attributed to his quasi-temporary and compatriot Abū Maslama Muḥammad . . . al-Madjrīṭī (on whom see Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 294-8) and to the latter's pupil Ibn Bishrūn al-Madjrīṭī (*GAS*, iv, 298). Among these apocryphal writings, the principal ones are the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*, the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*) and the *Sirr al-kīmiyāʾ*.

Books which may be regarded as authentic works of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maslama al-Madjrīṭī are therefore as follows: (1) A textbook of commercial arithmetic (*Tamām ʿilm al-ʿadad* = *K. Thimār al-ʿadad* = *Muʿāmalāt*) which, according to Ibn Khaldūn dealt with sales, valuation and taxation and in which, apparently, arithmetical, geometrical and algebraic techniques are employed indiscriminately; (2) a very short *Treatise on the astrolabe* (not to be confused with that of Ibn al-Ṣaffār), which deals with the technical construction and use of this instrument (B.N. Arabic ms. 4821, fols. 76a-81b, ed. and tr. J. Vernet and A. Catalá, in *al-And.*, xxx [1965], 15-47); (3) An adaptation of the *Astronomical tables* of al-Khwārazmī to the Cordova meridian and to the Leginian Calendar; (4) An adaptation or emendation of some tables of al-Battānī [*q.v.*]; (5) Notes on the theorem of Menelaus (*shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*), on which see M. V. Villuendas, *La trigonometria europea en el siglo XI . . .*, Barcelona 1979, and A. Björnbo and H. Suter, *Thabits Werk über den Transversalsatz*, Erlangen 1924, 23, 79, 83 and ms. ²Esc. 972, 2; (6) *Tasṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura*, which is an Arabic translation of the *Planisphere* of Ptolemy; the two originals are lost but Maslama's work is preserved (a) in a Latin version made from the Arabic text by Hermann of Dalmatia (1143) and edited in Basle in 1536 and in Venice in 1558, and (b) in a Hebrew version; the Arabic translation can be judged thanks to the Paris manuscript which contains Maslama's own commentary, *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā Baṭlamiyūs fī tasṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura*; and (7) a work of astronomy utilised by Ibn Ṭaybughā b. al-Madjdī (d. 850/1447) in *al-Durr al-yatīm* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 227, 4).

Bibliography: Ibn Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳat*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 69, tr. Blachère, Paris 1935, 129-30; Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 326; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 39; Brockelmann, I, 243, SI, 431; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 334, vi, 226; G. Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 668-9; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker*, no. 176; J. A. Sánchez

Pérez, *Biografías de matemáticos árabes que florecieron en España*, no. 84; J. Vernet and M. A. Català, *Las obras matemáticas de Madrid*, in *al-And.*, xxx (1965), 15-45. (J. VERNET)

MĀDJŪDJ [See YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ.]

MADJŪS (coll., sing. *Madjūsī*), originally an ancient Iranian priestly caste (OP *magush*, Akk. *magushu*, Syriac *mgōshā*, Greek μάγος) but used in Arabic primarily for Zoroastrians.

This caste was closely identified with the ruling élite in Sāsānid Iran, where their faith was the official religion of the state and where they were organised in a social and religious hierarchy. The priests, called *mōbad*, *hirbad*, *dastūr*, or *rat* depending on context and function, had ritual, judicial and educational responsibilities. The priestly hierarchy with the *mōbadān mōbad* at its apex interlocked with the secular administration, and priests performed notarial duties in the courts, sealing documents and decisions. At the end of the Sāsānid period, *hirbads* appear to have been in control. The public cult with its royal political significance performed in fire temples involved rituals concerned with the fire itself, as well as with animal sacrifices and liturgical recitations. In addition to a hierarchy of village (*ādurān*) and provincial (*varhrān*) fires there were three especially famous temples: that of the Farnbag Fire, probably at Kāriyān in Fārs, for priests; the Gushnasp Fire at Shīz in Ādharbaydjān for soldiers; and the Burzēn-Mihr Fire in the mountains above Nīshāpūr for farmers. Other fires are mentioned on seals and in texts, and although fire temples were usually state property, they could be founded and endowed privately. At the personal level, the cult involved ceremonies at the hearth fire, and emphasised the maintaining of a state of ritual purity by performing ablutions with bull's urine (*gōmēz*) and cold water, by avoiding dead matter, by tying and untying the sacred cord (*kustī*), and by eating in a state of ritual silence (in *bādj*) with only murmuring (*zamzama*). The popular cult included food-offerings at fire temples, the veneration of sacred trees, and public seasonal feasts (*gāhambārs*) and dances. The bodies of the dead were exposed in the open. Elaborate private rituals contributed to social differentiation, with the standard of observance greatest among the upper classes and declining as one moved down the social scale among the majority of nominal Madjūs.

Although the Avesta had been written down in its 21 nasks, the texts were usually memorised and known only by those priests who specialised in specific rituals. Since the Avestan texts were imbedded in their commentary, there was no separate sacred book of scripture or closed canon in terms of authority. Nor was there any doctrinal orthodoxy. Monotheist, dualist, and polytheist expressions coexisted with choice of emphasis and interpretation depending on circumstances. The Zurvanite tendency to assert the ultimate primacy of the god of Time and Destiny appears to have been favoured in the Sāsānid period because of its authoritarian implications, and was associated with the ruling classes. Other monotheist expressions concerning the primacy of Ohrmazd appear in apologetic contexts with Jews and Christians. The most complete dualist expressions are found in the 3rd/9th century Pahlavi literature in a context of polemic with Islam, and these represent Ohrmazd and Ahriman as co-eternal antagonists and creators. Polytheist expressions having to do with the Yazatas as being deserving of worship tended to be reinterpreted by semantic arguments concerning the definition of deity and of worship.

An élitist social ethic honouring establishmentarian virtues provided ideological justification for the hierarchic society of the Madjūs. High values were placed on order, stability, legality and harmony among the functionally-determined divisions of society (priests, soldiers, bureaucrats, and workers, or else priests, soldiers, farmers, and artisans) so each would perform its specific duty towards the others. The justice of rewards and punishments was emphasised at the spiritual, political and social levels, while economic, legal, and religious sanctions were used to ensure the obedience of women and children. Consanguineous marriage (*khvētōdās*) was approved as a means of preserving the social exclusiveness, solidarity, and purity of descent of the upper classes. Material wealth was equated with the virtue and goodness inherent in the upper classes, whose destiny or fortune (*hvarnah*) it was to enjoy the good creation of Ohrmazd. Naturally anti-ascetic, their ethic equated poverty with the sin and evil inherent in the lower classes.

Consequently, the Madjūs were vulnerable to the loss of political support and to the rejection of authority and material success by alienated members of their own society. In the Sāsānid period their position was eroded by the internal ascetic, gnostic sectarian movements of Mani and Mazdak and by conversions to Christianity in the west and to Buddhism in the east. Bad religion (*ahramokīh*) was identified with antinomianism, social disorder, extremist behaviour and dissimulation by the Madjūs, who executed and disinherited unrepentant apostates.

Thus at the end of the Sāsānid period not all Persians were Madjūs, nor were Madjūs confined to Iran proper. They were to be found as administrators, landlords, and soldiers in non-Persian parts of the Sāsānid empire such as al-ʿIrāḳ, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān and Yaman, and there may have been Arab Madjūs in the tribe of Tamīm and in Yaman. Outside the Sāsānid empire, there were Madjūs in western India and China, probably as merchants, and local communities in Central Asia with local differences in cult which were not part of the Sāsānid organisation.

The fall of the Sāsānid state to the conquering Muslims drastically and permanently changed the status of the Madjūs from that of rulers to that of subjects. Fire temples were confiscated in Baḥrayn and al-ʿIrāḳ, while Madjūs were required to pay tribute (*djizya*) wherever they surrendered, at first in Yaman, ʿUmān, Baḥrayn, and al-ʿIrāḳ. At first their treatment was inconsistent, and in 20/641 Djazʾ b. Muʿāwiya began to break up the families of Madjūs and forbade the *zamzama* in the countryside near Baṣra until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf convinced the caliph ʿUmar I that Muḥammad had accepted *djizya* from the Madjūs of Hadjar. This provided a precedent, since there was no Ḳurʾānic basis for treating the Madjūs as *ahl al-kitāb*. Sūra XXII, 17 merely lists them along with *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn*, and it was eventually decided in Muslim theory that the Madjūs were intermediate between the *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn* since they had no real prophet or revealed scripture. Their women and the meat of animals slaughtered by them were forbidden to Muslims, and according to al-Shāfiʿī, their blood price was 1/5 that of Muslims. Nevertheless, Madjūs were employed in the administration at Baṣra and in Khurāsān under the Umayyads.

In Iran the Madjūs kept their fire temples, suffered little interference in their cult at first, and were allowed to pay *djizya*. In some places, such as Rayy, Ḳūmis and Shīz, the peace terms provided for the preservation of their fire temples. However, there was no recognition of the priesthood as the representatives of a religious community by the Muslim state, and since no unitary organisation or hierarchy of priests survived the conquest, leadership devolved on local priests and *dihḳāns*.

The loss of political power and support had several consequences for the Madjūs. First, the loss of members by conversion to Islam was added to continuing conversion to Christianity. The descendants of the Persian soldiers in Yaman (*Abnā'* [*q.v.*]) were converted to Islam in the lifetime of Muḥammad, as were the *marzbān* of Hadjar with some of his followers. A number of *dahāḳin* and units of the Sāsānid army became converted to Islam in al-ʿIrāḳ, and by the time of ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20), the Madjūs of al-Ḥīra had become Muslim. Generally, members of the Sāsānid establishment became converts in order to avoid paying *djizya*, to keep their property and position, and to join the Muslim army and administration. The Madjūs also lost many members through captivity, since children taken captive were raised as Muslims. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of early mass conversions in Irān. The governor of Sidjistān in 46/666-7, al-Rabīʿ, is said to have encouraged conversion by a combination of persuasion and force, and he required converts to learn the Ḳur'ān. Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] also encouraged conversion at Bukhāra in 94/712-13, built a Friday mosque on the site of the former fire-temple, and attracted converts among the poor by paying them two *dirhams* to worship there, although afterwards conversion was discouraged in order to preserve the tax base. Conversion was also discouraged by the Madjūs themselves, who treated apostates as legally dead, disinherited them, and required property to remain within their community. Converts were also subject to discrimination by local authorities, such as Bahrām Sīs who, when appointed *marzbān* by the Muslim governor of Khurāsān in 105/725 and charged with collecting taxes from the Madjūs, collaborated with the Christian and Jewish agents to make 30,000 converts to Islam pay the *djizya* and to exempt 80,000 non-Muslims.

Second, the advent of Muslim rule subjected the Madjūs to sporadic persecution. About 50-1/670-1 Ziyād b. Abīhi, the governor of al-ʿIrāḳ and the east for Muʿāwiya, sent his cousin ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra to destroy the fire temples and to confiscate their property in Fārs and Sidjistān. Although ʿUbayd Allāh destroyed the fire temple at Kāriyān near Dārābdjird and killed the *hirbads*, the chief *hirbad* of Sidjistān, Shāpūr, escaped with his fire temple at Karkūya near Zarang because the local *dihḳāns* and Madjūs appealed to the caliph. There were later extinctions in a village at Ḳumm by al-Ḥadjdjādj and at Īdhadj on the border between Khuzistān and Iṣfahān in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809). Al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) is said to have had a famous ancient cypress tree reputedly planted by Zoroaster cut down in 247/861. In 282/895, the Turk Barun, who was governor of Ḳumm, destroyed a pre-Islamic fire temple in the village of Fardadjān near Iṣfahān, and in 288/901 destroyed the last fire temples in the village of Djamkaran at Ḳumm. Sometimes fire temples were converted into mosques in places where Arabs had settled or as the result of conversion, although afterwards the Madjūs often continued to venerate sites where fire temples had been.

Third, the Madjūs gave an apocalyptic meaning to the events at the end of the Sāsānid period, interpreting them as signs of the end of the millenium of Zoroaster and the beginning of the millenium of Oshedar, which calculations based on the *Letter of Tansar* would place about 41/661 but which was later identified with the beginning of the era of Yazdadjird in 10/631. The end of the millenium was signalled by the advent of Arab rule and destruction by them, and by the overturning of social classes and values, when the nobles would be powerless, separated from their families and forced to share their status with people of low origin, and when people would copy foreign customs. Predictions of the arrival of the liberator, Varhrān Vardjāvand, of the destruction of Muslim places of worship, and of a Roman invasion, may belong to the propaganda of Sāsānid restoration attempts. The Mahdist hopes associated with Abū Muslim have also been linked to Zoroastrian eschatology, the restoration of Zoroastrianism and the end of Arab rule in Khurāsān. It was against this background that a series of risings by Zoroastrian peasants provoked by fiscal oppression in eastern Iran in the 2nd/8th century served as the occasion for the emergence of new antinomian, anti-establishment Zoroastrian sects. This began with the peasant revolt near Nīshāpūr led by Bihāfarīd from 129/766-7 to 131/748-9, who claimed to be a new prophet with a book in Persian, abolished *zamzama*, the use of wine and meat, consanguineous marriage, and fire-worship, and limited dowries to 400 *dirhams*. Although the *mōbads* got Abū Muslim to suppress the rebellion, his sect could still be found near Marw in the 4th/10th century awaiting his return, even though *djizya* was not accepted from them. Madjūs also joined the rising of Sinbādh in 138/755, and followers of Bihāfarīd and Madjūs in Sidjistān and at Harāt and Bādghīs followed Ustādhsīs in 150/767; his sect also survived until the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century. Muslim authors noted four sectarian divisions among the Madjūs. Al-Shāhrastānī lists the Kayūmarthiyya, Zarwāniyya, Zarādushtiyya, and Saysāniyya called Bihāfarīdiyya, while al-Baghdādī gives them as Zarwāniyya, Mashiyya, Khurramdīniyya and Bihāfarīdiyya, and says that *djizya* was only acceptable from the first two.

Fourth, the inability to execute sinners and apostates themselves produced a change in attitude towards nonconforming members of their own community. Persuasion replaced the threat of force lest sinners be tempted to convert. The nobility of the virtuous poor, whose good works cannot be stolen and who will be rewarded in heaven instead of on earth, appears as a theme in *andarz* literature. This was probably the result of the growing impoverishment of the priests and *dihḳāns* as well as an attempt to keep the loyalty of still poorer members of the community, and it reflects a degree of social levelling among Madjūs after the Muslim conquest, although the sincerity of the sentiment was questioned in the apocalyptic *Djāmāsp-nāma*.

Fifth, unavoidable contact with unbelievers and the loss of texts led to changes in cult and custom. The more elaborate aspects of ritual purity went unobserved. Madjūs were allowed to sell animals to non-Zoroastrians when survival depended on it, and they began to expose their dead inside an enclosure (*dakhma*) out of the sight of unbelievers. They did not consider it a sin to steal property from non-

Zoroastrians that had been stolen from them. Although they learned to be content with compromises that could not be avoided, they also exerted themselves to maintain their rituals whenever they could.

In spite of their decline in status and in numbers, the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries appear to have been a time of relative recovery, stability and consolidation for the Madjūs. Part of the fire at Kāriyān had been taken to Fasā for safe-keeping during the Muslim conquest, and from it the fire temple at Kāriyān, destroyed in the 1st/7th century, was restored. Fire was exported from Kāriyān and Shīz to new temples and al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) permitted the restoration of fire temples at Iṣṭakhr and in Farghāna. What remained of the old religious literature was collected and preserved by Āturfarnbag-i Farrukhzātān, *mōbad* of Fārs in the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33). A new didactic, apologetic and polemic literature was produced by Mānushčihr, the leading *mōbad* of Fārs and Kirmān in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, by his brother Zātspram, the *mōbad* of Sirkān, by Mānushčihr's nephew, Emēt-i Ashavihishtān, *mōbad* over much of southern Iran in the first half of the 4th/10th century and by his successor, Āturpāt-i Ēmētān about the middle of the 4th/10th century. The main Pahlavi texts which were produced in this period sought to forestall conversion through intellectual arguments against monotheism and gnosticism, and through using that part of the legal tradition that concerned social behaviour and personal status in order to preserve their distinction from unbelievers and to draw social boundaries more closely around themselves. But authority and solidarity within the community, which depended on the priest's appointment of the heads of households responsible for carrying out family law, was undermined by the facts that the priests themselves were too few and poorly trained, had taken up crafts in order to survive, and had been replaced by those less qualified. In these circumstances, educated laymen were allowed to substitute for them when necessary.

Despite these problems, the testimony of Muslim geographers indicates that Madjūs were still widespread and fairly numerous in Iran and the east as late as the 4th/10th century. There were many villages of Madjūs on the Aras River in Ādharbāydjān and the fire temple at Shīz survived as late as 333/943. Madjūs were numerous in al-ʿIrāḳ and had a large fire temple on the west bank of the Tigris opposite al-Madāʾin. There were still a few Madjūs in Khuzistān, with several fire temples at the sacred village of Hudidjān. They were numerous in al-Djibāl, where they could be found at Rayy and in villages near Ḳumm, while there were still fire temples near Iṣfahān. Madjūs were more numerous in Fārs than anywhere else, with fire temples in nearly every village, town, and district, and they were employed as local governors there by the Būyids. However, pressures for conversion, such as the activities of *Shaykh* Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1034) and his followers, led to conflict and the outbreak of a Muslim-Madjūs riot at Shīrāz in 369/979. Madjūs could be found in Ḳūhistān, and remained numerous and influential at Kirmān until the late 3rd/9th century. There were Madjūs in the Caspian provinces as late as the 5th/11th century, although in the late 3rd/9th-10th century most of those in Daylām had been converted by Zaydī Shīʿīs and those in Gīlān were converted by Ḥanbalīs. Madjūs still lived in the city of Zarang in Sidjistān in the early 4th/10th century, while the fire temple at Karkūya survived as late as the 5th/11th century. There were several sects of Madjūs in Khurāsān, where there were fire temples at Nīshāpūr, Harāt and near Ṭūs, there was a village of Zoroastrian donkey-drivers near Marw, although the Karrāmiyya sect [*q.v.*] were converting Madjūs to Islam at Nīshāpūr. To the east, there were fire temples at Balkh, Bukhārā, and Farghāna in the 3rd/9th century, and Madjūs in villages in Turkish territory and in China in the 4th/10th century. There were also new groups of Madjūs settled in northwest India and along the west coast, mainly engaged in trade, from the 2nd/8th century on. By the 4th/10th century there was a fire temple and *dakhma* at Broach, while towards the end of the century Zoroastrian merchants at Cambay came into violent conflict with the Hindus and were driven out.

Although outstanding public differences such as the exposure of the dead and the refusal to use heated baths remained between Madjūs and Muslims, a resonance developed between Islam and Zoroastrianism in the form of common features shared by both traditions. In many cases it is impossible to prove that similarities were the result of the influence of one religion on the other or, if so, which way the influence went. Such are the shared belief in creation, the torment of the grave, the weighing of deeds at the judgment of the soul, rewards and punishments in Heaven and Hell, angels and demons, the end of the world, the coming of a messianic hero and resurrection. Such also are the practice of five daily times of worship, the requirement of an intention to worship in order for it to be acceptable, the recitation of scripture for the dead and a common aversion to idolatry. In both traditions, authoritarian appeals to the interdependence of religion and state were challenged by the antinomian extremism of sectarian rebels. There was a shared philosophical vocabulary and use of rational arguments between the Madjūs and the Muʿtazila, who argued the same issues from opposite sides, the Madjūs insisting that if there is only one creator he must also be responsible for evil, and arguing for a dualist solution to preserve God's goodness, mercy, and justice, along with human responsibility, at the expense of God's omnipotence. There is also a similarity between the archetypal religious man (*Zaratōshtrōm*) of the Madjūs and the Muslim concept of the *Insān al-Kāmil*, while the belief of the Madjūs in the need to follow the religious example of a learned *dastūr* who is the mediator for the age resembles the concept of the *Imām* of the age and the function of the *mudjtahid* among Shīʿīs.

Other similarities are more likely to be the result of Islamic influence. Zoroaster came to be described as a prophet whose revelation was the *Dēnkart* and whose miracle was the *Avesta*. Sometime after the 5th/11th century, *khvētōdās* became marriage between maternal or paternal first cousins. Dowry was approximated to Muslim *mahr*. Madjūs began to establish *waḳf*s, but in ways similar to the old endowments for fire-temples. By the 6th/12th century they had adopted the custom of beginning actions such as slaughtering an animal or writing with the phrase "in the name of God" (*pa nām i yazdān*). Shrines to the *yazata*s were preserved and protected by rededicating them to daughters of Yazdadjird, who disappeared into the mountainside like Shīʿī *Imāms*, as early as the 4th/10th century at Rayy, or later by giving them Muslim form as Shīʿī *imāmzādas*, making pilgrimage to them and slaughtering animals there. Madjūs also began to visit Muslim

shrines on the pretext that they had replaced former fire temples.

Customs of Zoroastrian origin can also be found among Muslims, sometimes in secularised form such as the Iranian solar calendar, the celebration of the festivals Nawrūz and Mihradjān, or astrology. The fires lit at Iṣfāhān about 313/935 to celebrate Muḥammad's birthday seem to have been inspired by Zoroastrian winter fire festivals. Symbols associated with Zoroastrians such as the cup of Djamshīd, wine, the tavern, the old *mōbad*, and the youth came to represent those things forbidden by Islam in Persian poetry with *malāmatī* Ṣūfī connotations. It is sometimes suggested that so many similarities as these may have made conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam easier, although it might also be suggested that many common features were the result of conversion.

The history of the Madjūs in Iran after the 4th/10th century is little-known. They are presumed to have survived as local minorities suffering general disasters with the rest of the population, while their traditions were preserved in priestly and learned lay families. In particular, they preserved and transmitted their religious texts which have survived in India, and manuscript colophons indicate the presence of *hirbads* at Nīshāpūr and in Sidjistān in the 7th/13th century. A copy of the *Vidēvdād* made in Sidjistān in 601-2/1205 was taken back to India by a Zoroastrian named Māhyār from Uch in the Pandjāb who was instructed in the religion by the *hirbads* of Sidjistān for six years. The copy of this text made at Cambay in 723/1323 is the source of the oldest known manuscript of this work. We are also told that in the early 8th/14th century the *varas* ceremony for making the mouth-masks worn by priests attending the fire was abandoned at Yazd because there was no one left who knew the ritual.

At the same time, Zoroastrians were spreading in Gudjarāt and the Pandjāb, beginning in the 6th/12th century as farmers, weavers, artisans, toddy dealers, and merchants in the coastral trade. By then they had returned to Cambay, and by 537/1142 there were Madjūs at Navsari, at Anklesvar by 666-7/1238, and at Thana about 720/1320. By the 8th/14th century, Gudjarāt was divided into five religious districts (*panthaks*). The sole first-rank fire, the *Ātāsh Bahrām* at Sandjan, was an object of pilgrimage, while daily rituals were carried out at hearth fires in homes. The oldest secondary type of fire temple or *Dār-i Mihr* was at Navsari from about 536-7/1142 onwards, but did not have a permanent fire; the priest attending it brought embers from his own hearth fire every day. There was another *Dār-i Mihr* at Broach in the late 6th/12th century. By the 7th/13th century, vernacular Gudjarātī versions of Avestan and Middle Persian texts began to be made.

Important changes in the Indian community began with new pressures from Muslims and the Portuguese towards the end of the 9th/15th century. The Zoroastrians who joined the Hindus in the unsuccessful defence of Sandjan against Muslim attack in about 895/1490 left, taking the *Ātāsh Bahrām* with them in a metal vessel, and eventually settled at Navsari in 922/1516, where a layman (*behdīn*) called Čanga Shāh, who was the local tax farmer (*desai*), persuaded the Muslim ruler to exempt local *behdīns* from the *djizya*. The 10th/16th century saw the rise of the Bhagaria priesthood at Navsari, based on fees for performing rituals, gifts of endowed property and Mughal patronage. In order to control income from fees, in 987/1579 the chief priest at Navsari, Dastūr Mehrdji Rānā, required his personal permission for other priests to perform rituals. The priests from Sandjan were only allowed to attend the *Ātāsh Bahrām*, and became increasingly impoverished as their numbers grew. The *desai-gir* of Navsari remained in the family of Čanga Shāh until 1003-4/1595, when Kaykobād the son of Mehrdji Rānā combined it with the priesthood. This concentration of priestly authority and control, as well as a greater degree of organisation, signals the formation of the Parsī community. To give it a backbone of uniform and authoritative content, from the time of Čanga Shāh onwards questions on doctrine and ritual were sent to the priests at Yazd and Kirmān. Their answers survive in the form of letters (*Rivāyats*), the earliest in 883/1478 and the latest in 1187/1773, which provide precious evidence for the circumstances of Zoroastrians in Ṣafawid Iran.

By the end of the 9th/15th century, Yazd and Kirmān had become the spiritual if not numerical centres of Iranian Zoroastrianism. The *Rivāyats* reveal the presence in 916/1510 of 500 *behdīns* as Yazd, with 400 more in the villages of Turkabād and Sharīfabād, 700 at Kirmān, 2,700 in Sidjistān and 1,700 in Khurāsān. These figures must represent the minimum adult male population, for we also hear of a group of 3,000 *behdīns* at one place in Khurāsān, while 21 *behdīns* from Khurāsān had their own congregation at Kirmān in 966/1559. There was also a Gushnasp Fire at Kirmān, and Zoroastrians could still be found in Fārs. Local communities appear to have been under the joint leadership of *dastūrs* and *behdīns*. In the late 9th/15th century there were only four or five *hirbads* well-versed in Pahlavi at Yazd, who performed all the rituals. The priests complained of being unable to get *behdīns* to give them the tithe of their income, although the meat offerings at *Dār-i Mihrs* were shared by their owners and the *dastūr* recognised by the offerer. Relations with non-Zoroastrians were rather ambivalent. *Behdīns* were urged to keep their promises and to pay their debts to non-Zoroastrians, and the testimony of a non-Zoroastrian was accepted in a case between two Zoroastrians before a Zoroastrian judge. However, the robbery and murder of unfriendly non-Zoroastrians were condoned and there are references to forced conversions to Islam both in Iran and in India. There was a reliance on the apotropaic function of rituals performed to repel powerful enemies, the tyranny of rulers, the loss of property, conversion and disease, as well as to gain worldly advantages such as wealth, happy marriages or royal favour. Anxious *behdīns* were exhorted to exert themselves and to hope for the best. Although the year 1000 in the era of Yazdadjird fell in 1040/1631, expectations of the arrival of the millenium and of the saviour Bahrām Vardjāvand or of Oshedar were expressed throughout the period, including in 883/1478, 939-40/1533, 957/1550, 982/1574-5, 1036/1627, 1051/1641-2 and 1083/1672.

In the 11th/17th century, the Zoroastrians of Iran are described as farmers, labourers, fullers, manufacturers of carpets and, especially at Kirmān, of woollen cloth, and they used their own dialect of Persian called *Dari* among themselves. Men wore undyed garments and women wore red and green clothing. In *ca.* 1017/1608, Shāh ʿAbbās I (995-1038/1588-1629), who is remembered as a just king, brought 1,500 peasant families from Kirmān to Iṣfahān as labour and settled them across the Zanda Rūd near Djulfa at Gabrābād. In 1027/1618 their district consisted of about 3,000 plain, single-storied

houses along several long, wide, straight, tree-shaded streets, and the people worked as labourers and craftsmen in Iṣfahān and the countryside nearby. There was a *da<u>kh</u>ma* outside their settlement where they placed their dead fully clothed. Most of them returned to Kirmān when ʿAbbās I died, and ʿAbbas II (1052-77/1642-66) turned the district into a suburban resort with palaces, mosques, markets, and baths and moved the remaining Zoroastrians to the other side of <u>D</u>julfa. Tavernier estimated the Zoroastrian population of Kirmān at over 10,000 in 1064/1654, many of whom were involved in the wool industry. In 1054/1644 a new *<u>kh</u>āna-yi mihr* was built at Kirmān by a *behdīn*, and there are references to pilgrimage to the shrines of <u>Kh</u>ātūn Bānū in Fārs in 1036/1625 and to the shrine of Pīr-i Sabz north-west of Yazd at mid-century. Conditions appear to have worsened towards the end of the Ṣafawid period, when their fire temple at Iṣfahān was destroyed and many of them were killed there. Zoroastrians migrated to India to escape persecution and forced conversion.

The attraction of India as well as the possibilities for the religious integration of Zoroastrians had already been demonstrated by the syncretistic mystical movement of Azar Kaywan (939-40 to 1027/1533-1618) and his followers in Patna, Lahore and Kashmir in the first half of the 11th/17th century. Their allegorical interpretation of Zoroastrianism allowed them to combine it with Hindu asceticism and Ṣūfī Neo-Platonism. Half of the group were Zoroastrians, including several *mōbads* and a *dihḳān*. Their nucleus came from Fārs and had been formed in <u>Sh</u>īrāz, where other Zoroastrians from Harāt and Iṣfahān had joined them before they went to India; there they attracted a pair of Zoroastrian merchants in northern India and one from Surat. Some of the Persian Muslims who joined the group may have been recent converts from Zoroastrianism.

Meanwhile, increasing numbers of the largely rural Parsī community in 11th/17th century Gu<u>d</u>jarat were being drawn to Surat and Bombay, by new opportunities in commerce as artisans, merchants and as brokers for the Portuguese, French, Dutch and English. One of the most important representatives of this new commercial class at Surat was Rustom Manak (1044-5 to 1131/1635-1719), broker for the Portuguese and Dutch, who was instrumental in securing a grant of land from Awrangzīb (1067-1119/1657-1707) for the English factory at Surat in 1070/1660, achieved the abolition of the *<u>d</u>jizya* at Surat in 1083/1672 and served as main broker for the East India Company at Surat from 1111-12/1700 until 1128/1716. The rise of wealthy and influential Parsī merchants, whose reputation for honesty generated credit, encouraged the revival and application of the traditional Zoroastrian work ethic that gave religious significance to worldly success. They also allowed the conversion of household slaves to Zoroastrianism in order to be able to eat what they served. The growth of the urban, commercially-oriented part of the community changed its internal power structure. Beginning in the late 11th/17th century, the authority and control of the Bhagaria priests and *desais* resting on Mu<u>gh</u>al patronage was challenged by the *behdīns*, with their connection with European interests, in a series of religious disputes. In 1084/1673, in order to break the monopoly of the Bhagaria priests on endowments and on the fees foı performing rituals, the *behdīns* of Navsari asserted the right to have family rituals performed by priests of their own choice. This issue led to violence in 1097/1686, but the *behdīns* successfully boycotted the Bhagaria priests by establishing secondary fire temples (*Dār-i Mihrs*, *Agīārīs*) accessible to laymen for the second-rank fire (*Ātā<u>sh</u> Ādarān*) encouraged in the *Rivāyats* where they had their rituals performed. In 1102/1691 the San<u>d</u>jana priests joined the *behdīns*, and *Dār-i Mihr*s spread in the port cities of Surat, Balsar, and Bombay. By the 12th/18th century, *Dār-i Mihr*s were founded in the settlements of Parsī merchants outside Bombay. This quarrel finally ended when the *Ātā<u>sh</u> Bahrām* was removed from Navsari and permanently established at Udvada in 1155/1742.

The internal conflict, however, was continued in the 12th/18th century in a controversy over the ritual calendar at Surat, which was in economic decline in the 1140s/1730s with trade shifting to Bombay, while Marāṭhā control of rural areas deprived the traditional élite of its former sources of income. In 1149/1736 an Iranian *behdīn* encouraged the laymen of Surat to adopt the old-style *Ḳadīmī* calendar used by Zoroastrians in Iran instead of the Parsī calendar which had fallen one month behind it. This issue tended to pit artisans led by merchant brokers for the French and English against the older merchant oligarchy with its ties to the Dutch, and is an early example of the use of religious reform as a way to attack more conservative authority. In the same year that the calendar dispute broke out, the priests of Surat refused henceforth to marry their daughters to laymen in order to avoid losing their wealth through dowries and inheritance. The Parsī community split permantly into two sects: a <u>Sh</u>āhān<u>sh</u>āhī majority and a Ḳadīmī minority, with separate fire temples and no intermarriage. The process of separation was marked by outbreaks of violence between them in 1158/1745, 1196-7/1782-3, 1824 and 1840. In a related issue, the agitation started in 1191/1777 when laymen in Bombay refused to marry their daughters to priests only subsided after 1823.

In the course of the 12th/18th century, the rising Parsī merchant class reduced the grip of the former élite of priests, *desais*, and *<u>d</u>jāgīrdār*s formed in the early Mu<u>gh</u>al period, secured the right to choose any priest they wished to perform rituals, acquired a share in communal leadership through a series of sporadic, short-lived *pančayat*s that held the power of excommunication, and began to establish secular ties of dependence by redistributing their wealth through charities, private endowments, and by building *da<u>kh</u>mas* and rest-houses. At the same time, Parsīs became increasingly involved with the British as other Europeans were forced out by them. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, Parsī merchants supplied British garrisons and field armies. By the early 19th century, Bombay had replaced Surat as the main Parsī centre and the number of Parsīs at Bombay increased from 3,000 in 1194/1780 to 50,000 by 1864. From the late 12th/18th century onwards, Parsī shipping expanded outside India to Burma, Indonesia, China, South Arabia and East Africa. Parsī merchants who made fortunes in the China trade from 1810 to 1842 began to reinvest them in industries such as ship-building and railroads.

The emergence of secular leadership in the Parsī community is reflected in the composition of the *pančayat* appointed at the request of the British by the Parsī An<u>d</u>joman in 1201/1787 which contained six *behdīns* and six priests, both Ḳadīmī and <u>Sh</u>āhān<u>sh</u>āhī, while the *pančayat* of 1818-36 had twelve *behdīns* and six priests. In addition to controlling

community charities, the latter *pančayat* issued behavioural codes aimed at increasing conformity and eliminating popular syncretism and participation in non-Zoroastrian customs. The code of 1819 forbade Parsī women to attend Hindu or Muslim places of worship, to wear their charms or to perform their rituals. The code of 1823 forbade child marriage and costly rituals at weddings and funerals, while the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865 ended polygamy.

In the 19th century, religious reform was an important means by which the new élite of urbanised, educated, westernising laymen, prominent in British and native administration, business and the professions, aimed to control the rest of the community, although they had growing cultural differences with the poor, rural, conservative majority of Parsīs. Reform was also a reaction to the threat of conversion by Christian missionaries, which provided the immediate impulse for the foundation of the Rahnumai Mazdaysnan Sabha by a group of young, wealthy, educated laymen in 1851 for the purpose of encouraging a return to the original ideals of Zoroastrianism. The same interests led to the foundation of a school in Bombay in order to train the sons of priests for the priesthood in 1854. Modernist reformers and apologists were attracted to the theories of Martin Haug, that the original monotheistic religion of Zoroaster had been corrupted afterwards into ritualistic dualism by the priests. Haug's theories were used to counter Christian criticism by intellectuals who were also attracted to the Theosophical Society. Reformers who favoured rational explanations for the cult objected to the use of texts that no one understood in rituals, while conservative priests insisted on the effectiveness of ritual liturgies and on the importance of purification from pollution, preserving a way of life increasingly limited to themselves and ignored by laymen. These issues became involved in the collision between reformers and conservatives over the role and income of priests called the *fravas͟hi* controversy, which mainly involved opposition to expensive, repeated ceremonies for the dead and which is still current and unresolved.

Nevertheless, the Parsī community multiplied in the 19th century. By 1881 they numbered 85,000 in India with 3,000 more abroad, about 10-15,000 of whom were Ḳadīmīs. Although intermarriage between the sects was allowed by the 19th century, objections to accepting non-Zoroastrians into the community as converts increased because of fears that lower caste Hindus would be attracted by Parsī charities. Parsīs also emerged as the leaders of the world's Zoroastrians as the result of changes in both India and Iran.

Although estimates of the Zoroastrian population of Iran in the early 12th/18th century that range from 100,000 to one million seem exaggerated, there can be no doubt that their numbers declined disastrously due to the combined effects of massacre, forced conversion and emigration in that century. Having suffered massacre and forced conversion at the hands of the Ṣafawī army that repelled the first Afg͟hān invasion in 1133/1720, the Zoroastrians of Kirmān and Yazd joined Maḥmūd's Afg͟hān army during the second invasion in 1135/1722 and also served as officers in the army of Nādir S͟hāh (1149-60/1736-47). The sack of Kirmān by the Afg͟hāns after the death of Nādir S͟hāh, one repeated by the Ḳād͟jārs in 1209/1794, left the Zoroastrian district in ruins. By the end of the century, almost none of the 12,000 Zoroastrians at Kirmān survived, and the Zoroastrian population of Iran is estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 and then to about 30,000 in the reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh (1834-48); of these, some 8,000 were at Yazd.

The late 12th/18th and early 19th centuries seem to have been a time of unprecedented insecurity, poverty, and discrimination for the Zoroastrians of Iran. The intensity of the oppression they suffered then appears to have been more a reflection of contemporary social problems in Iran, where they served as scapegoats for the frustrations of their Muslim neighbours, than to have been characteristic of centuries-long conditions. However, Zoroastrians were vulnerable to robbery and kidnapping while their murder went unpunished. Although they were required to wear honey-coloured clothing and were officially forbidden to build new or to repair old houses, to wear new clothing, to ride horses, to travel outside of Iran or to engage in skilled crafts or professions that might bring them into contact with Muslims, sumptuary rules were enforced in the usual selective way and exceptions can be found to many of them. Forms of economic discrimination that prevented them from accumulating wealth were probably more effective than social pressures. Zoroastrian merchants were subject to extra taxes, newly-acquired property was taxed up to one-fifth of its value and houses were liable to be looted. The actual total *d͟jizya* on the community usually amounted to about 2,000 *tūmān*s, which by mid-century was paid by 1,000 adult males, for whom the individual tax of two *tūmān*s amounted to ten day's wages for a labourer. The S͟hīʿī legal provision that favours a Zoroastrian convert to Islam over other Zoroastrian heirs encouraged conversion and resulted in the loss of property. During the 19th century, forced conversions created a population of half-Zoroastrian, half-Muslim *d͟jadīd al-Islām* at Yazd with distinctive clothing and a separate cemetery.

For self-preservation, the Zoroastrian community turned inwards. The style of fire temples and homes provided a maximum of protection and concealment from unfriendly intruders. The exterior of fire temples resembled private houses, while inside was a confusing maze of rooms, passages, and low doors with the fire chamber behind a blank wall and inaccessible even to *behdīn*s. A succession of defensible doorways guarded the entrance to homes, while access over the rooftops was restricted by covering the courtyards to protect the women, children, and valuables. Only property endowed as *waḳf* for the benefit of the benefactor's soul was respected by Muslims. In spite of general illiteracy, religious learning was preserved among priestly families that provided local readership, especially in the villages. From the late 12th/18th century onwards, refugees who escaped to India became objects of Parsī aid and concern and helped to develop trade connections between Yazd and Bombay.

In 1854 the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Society in Bombay sent Manakd͟jī Limd͟jī Hataria (1813-90) to Iran, where he found the Zoroastrian community had shrunk to 7,725 people. Yazd was the main surviving centre, with 6,658 Zoroastrians in the city and 24 surrounding villages. Most of them were farmers, but there were also about one dozen merchants at Yazd, while the poorest were artisans, weavers, bricklayers and carpenters. Each spring a group of several hundred Yazdīs went to Tehran to work as gardeners, even in the royal

palace, and returned in the fall, travelling together for protection. In addition to these seasonal workers there were about 50 Zoroastrian merchants in Tehran in 1854. The community at Kirmān amounted to 932 people, while a few Zoroastrians could be found at Būshīr, Shīrāz and Kāshān. With Parsī aid, fire temples and *dakhmas* were built or restored and traditional councils of elders were transformed into elected *andjumans* of *behdins* at Kirmān, Yazd and their villages, whilst rest houses were built at shrines and in Tehran. Schools providing a secular education were started by Manakdjī at Yazd and Kirmān in 1857, and some students were sent to Bombay. In 1882 joint Parsī and British pressures finally secured the abolition of the *djizya*. Parsī efforts improved security, freedom of worship, respect and opportunities for the Zoroastrians of Iran, although they were still subject to random violence. Parsī aid also introduced modernising social and religious reforms from Bombay. Manakdjī revived abandoned rituals, forbade animal sacrifice, the eating of beef and camel meat, and he discouraged polygamy, the use of cosmetics and Muslim clothing styles as too immoral. The sons of priestly families took advantage of the opportunity for a secular education in the village schools and left for the cities in order to become physicians, teachers, engineers, bankers and merchants.

While villagers at Yazd remained engaged in the transport of goods from the Gulf across central Iran as camel-drivers and owners until the early 20th century, by the end of the 19th century many Yazdīs were going to work in Bombay and the women they left behind often put themselves under Muslim law to claim a share of their inheritance. Zoroastrians from the provinces were also employed by the Indo-European Telegraph and by Tehran banks in the last two decades of the 19th century. Yazdī merchants grew wealthy through their contacts with India by the end of the century, while their children invested in land and the import-export trade, re-investing their profits later in industry. Their numbers rose again to about 8,500 in 1879, over 9,000 in 1892 and about 11,000 in 1902, with the largely rural majority still at Yazd and Kirmān. However, modernising changes, new opportunities and wealth had begun to transform the Zoroastrian community by the late 19th century, breaking down village and communal ties and undermining the position of the priests, whose authority began to be challenged by the creation of a new secularly-educated élite of laymen.

The position and even existence of the village-based priesthood has been drastically affected by the increasing urbanisation of Zoroastrians in the 20th century. As a falling water table, rural impoverishment and the lure of employment in cities drew Zoroastrian peasants from the villages south of Kirmān early in this century, Muslims began to move into them. In these newly-mixed villages the remaining Zoroastrians were at a disadvantage in conflicts over water, and moved to Kirmān to escape increasing oppression. By 1962 Zoroastrians had entirely deserted the villages south of Kirmān and lived entirely inside the city, where they numbered 2,385 in 1963 in spite of emigration to Tehran. The villages around Yazd have also become increasingly Muslim as the result of immigration and conversion. The urbanisation of Zoroastrians is still transitional, with the labour force living and working, often seasonally, outside the villages in cities and provincial towns but keeping up some joint family ties and sending part of their income back to support the women, children and old people who remain behind to manage the land. People who have moved to Tehran still keep their houses in Yazd and return for the annual ceremonies for the dead.

Religious usages have been affected by strong Parsī influences, modernisation and changes in social context. Although a bull was sacrificed annually at Yazd until the late 19th century and sheep fat was offered to the fire until the early 20th century, most Zoroastrians in Iran have abandoned animal sacrifices since 1900 and object to calling those animals slaughtered and eaten at seasonal festivals sacrifices. Nor has *gōmēz* been used since the middle of the 19th century, although offerings to water are still made. New Indian-style fire temples open to laymen were built in Tehran in 1908, in Kirmān in 1923 and in Yazd, and the fire now burns in silver vessels, Indian-fashion, instead of on stone altars. Old festivals such as *Sada*, 100 days before Nawrūz, have been revived and new ones such as the birthday and death of Zoroaster on 6 Farvardin and 5 Dey respectively have been created. While rituals that survive have their meaning subject to reinterpretation, the elaborate details of purification have been observed only by priests since the early 20th century. Unable to live on the fees for rituals, the priesthood has declined in number. There are now only 15 Iranian priests left, all of whom are middle aged or older and no young Iranian priests are being trained. Since they are too few to serve all the fire temples, these are now sometimes kept up by laymen, and since the 1940s communal leadership has developed on the *andjuman* in Tehran.

Several issues currently divide younger, educated, modernised Zoroastrians from the older, more conservative generation. The younger generation objects to inbreeding through marriage between cousins, because of the high incidence of hereditary diseases within the community and favours intermarriage with non-Zoroastrians, the acceptance of converts, and the re-admission of recent converts to Islam and the Bahā'ī Faith. Their opponents wish to preserve racial purity, and fear that to encourage apostasy from Islam would provoke Muslim violence against them. Although the influence of the Bahā'īs is credited with improving their own security, most Zoroastrian families have lost members as converts to the Bahā'ī Faith because of its appeal to young people impatient with priestly authority. The practise of interring the dead on a metal stretcher in a grave with cement walls and cover, instead of exposure in a *dakhma* was started at Tehran and Kirmān in the 1930s and was begun at Yazd in 1965. By 1975 a *dakhma* was used only at the village of Sharīfābād. The sects formed during the calendar dispute still exist. Iranian Zoroastrians adopted, in 1939, a seasonal calendar beginning at the vernal equinox, which is close to the Iranian secular calendar, although the community at Yazd reverted to the Ḳadīmī calendar in 1940.

After receding slightly to about 10,000 in the 1920s, the Zoroastrian population of Iran rose to 16,800 by 1938 and by the 1970s to between 20,000 and 25,000, with 19,000 in Tehran and other cities. The younger generation has taken advantage of the opportunities in management and in the professions provided by the economic growth in Iran in recent decades. In the 1960s and 1970s the five major Zoroastrian firms in Iran were all leaders in their fields and Iranian Zoroastrians were encouraged to

return from India. However, the Iranian revolution of 1979 has created anxiety in the Zoroastrian community and uncertainty about the future.

The relative circumstances of the two communities have been reversed in the 20th century, which has been a period of retrenchement for the Parsīs. The Ilm-i khshnūm movement began at Surat in 1902 as a combination of Theosophical ideas with ritual purity which was justified as being the esoteric meaning of the Avesta. In a victory for the conservatives, membership was restricted to descent from Parsī families in 1909, the only exception being the child of a Zoroastrian man by a non-Zoroastrian woman. The communal welfare system, supported by the benevolence of the members of the few very wealthy families, leaders in Indian commerce and industry, and providing schools, hospitals, and the cost of marriages and funerals, as well as fire temples and *dakhmas*, became increasingly inadequate to care for the growing numbers of the poor created by rural flight to Bombay. Social and economic changes since independence have eroded the economic base of the community still further. Increasing industrialisation has brought more management opportunities for other Indians than for Parsīs: support for communal charities has been reduced by taxation to pay for the state's socialist and welfare programs; and Parsīs have been hurt by the effect of prohibition on the toddy industry, which began in Gudjarat in 1937, and of land tenure acts on Parsi landlords with Dobra labour. The Parsī population has fallen from its peak of nearly 115,000 in 1941 to approximately 87,500 in India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka by 1976 because of the combined effects of emigration, a rising marriage age and declining birth rate. The community was shocked to discover in 1967, that 40% of its members were impoverished and that 2,000 Parsīs in rural Gudjarāt were on the point of starvation. Zoroastrian rituals are still observed in India, although the number of priests in Bombay was declining by the late 1970s. In addition, the quality of priests has been questioned because appointments to fire temples have been controlled by the patronage of the businessmen who endowed them. To deal with this problem, a programme has been started to train priests at the Cama Aethornana school in Bombay, to pay them salaries and to appoint them on merit.

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Much of the material on the condition and conversion of Zoroastrians is presented in B. Spuler, *Der Verlauf der Islamisierung Persiens*, in *Isl.*, xxix (1949-50), 63-76; idem, *Iran und der Islam*, in *Die Welt als Geschichte* (1952), 227-32; and idem, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 183-204. Internal evidence from Zoroastrian literature is provided by de Menasce, *Problèmes des Mazdéens dans l'Iran musulman*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 220-30. The most up-to-date treatment is now that of R. N. Frye, *The golden age of Persia*, London-New York 1975, which also has information on the Sāsānid period. The most important Pahlavi sources are identified in de Menasce's ch. *Zoroastrian Literature after the Muslim conquest*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, iv, 543-65. Apocalyptic questions may be approached through K. Czeglédy, *Bahrām Čōbīn and the Persian apocalyptic literature*, in *AO Hung.*, viii (1958), 21-43. Muslim information on Zoroastrian sects may be found in Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. Kawtharī, 117, 153, 171-2, tr. Walker, 115-6, 131, 183; Murtaḍa b. al-Dāʿī al-Rāzī, *Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm*, ed. Tehran 9-14; and Shāhristānī, *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ii, Cairo 1387/1968, 35, 38-49. The standard treatment of sectarian movements is that of G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938. The information from Arabic geographers is collected in B. M. Tirmidhi, *Zoroastrians and their fire temples in Iran and adjoining countries from the 9th to the 14th centuries*, in *IC*, xxiv (1950), 271-84.

Comparisons between Islam and Zoroastrianism go back to I. Goldziher, *Islamisme et Parsisme*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xliii (1901), 1-29, and idem, *The influence of Parsism on Islam*, in *The religion of the Iranian people*, ed. C. P. Tiele, tr. G. K. Nariman, Bombay 1912, 163-86, followed by S. P. Osztern, *Zum Problem Islam und Parsismus*, in *ArO*, vi (1934), 150-60, 342-52. The most extreme case has been made by H. Corbin, *Les motifs zoroastriens dans la philosophie*

de Sohrawardi, Tehran 1946, and idem, *Spiritual body and celestial earth. From Mazdean Iran to Shīʿite Iran*, tr. N. Pearson, Princeton 1977.

The most important sources for the Ṣafawid period are the *Rivāyat*s edited by M. R. Unvālā, *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyats*, Bombay 1922, and tr. B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyār Framarz*, Bombay 1932. See also J. J. Modi, *A Parsee High Priest (Dastur Azar Kaiwan, 1529-1624 A.D.) with his Zoroastrian disciples in Patna, in the 16th and 17th C.A.C.*, in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, xx (1932), 1-85. D. Menant, art. *Gabars*, in *ERE*, vi, 147-56 identifies references by European travellers.

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In spite of her tendency to minimise premodern change, the most important work on modern Iranian Zoroastrians and the history of the Zoroastrian cult is that of M. Boyce, *The fire temples of Kerman*, in *AO*, xxx (1966), 51-72; eadem, *Bibi Shahbanu and the lady of Pars*, in *BSOAS*, xxx (1967), 30-44; eadem, *The Zoroastrian villages of the Jupar Range*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, 148-56; eadem, *On the sacred fires of the Zoroastrians*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 52-68; eadem, *The pious foundations of the Zoroastrians*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 271-89; eadem, *Maneckji Limji Hataria in Iran*, in *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1969, 19-31; eadem, *Rapithwin, Nō Rūz, and the Feast of Sade*, in *Pratidānam. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper*, The Hague-Paris 1968, 201-15; eadem, *Some aspects of local farming in a Zoroastrian village of Yazd*, in *Persica*, iv (1969), 121-40; eadem, *On the Calendar of Zoroastrian Feasts*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii (1970), 513-39; eadem, *The Zoroastrian houses of Yazd*, in *Iran and Islam, Studies in memory of V. Minorsky*, Edinburgh 1970; and eadem, *Zoroastrian Bāj and Drōn*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 56-73, 298-313. The most original and innovative recent treatment of contemporary Zoroastrians from the viewpoint of social anthropology is by M. Fisher, *Zoroastrian Iran between myth and praxis*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago 1973, unpublished. (M. MORONY)

AL-**MADJŪS**, the term used by Arabic historians and geographers writing about the Maghrib and Muslim Spain with the sense of Northmen, Vikings, denoting the participants in the great Viking raids on Spain. These raids were manned from Scandinavia, sc. from Norway, Denmark and to a certain extent also from Sweden, the raiders leaving Denmark, Norway and Ireland, where Norwegian Vikings from the end of the 830s had gained a firm footing and had founded some minor tributary states towards the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In western Latin and Spanish sources they are called, *inter alia*, *Normanni*, *Nortmanni*, *Lordomani*, *Lormanes*, *Almajuzes*, *Almozudes* and *Almonides*.

1. The first attack by the Vikings on Muslim Spain took place in 230/844. As early as 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 229/20 August 844, 54 Viking long ships (the Norwegian Gokstad ship from the latter half of the 9th century, the biggest ever found, was 23.8 m. long, 5.1 m. broad amidships, had 16 oars and 32 shields on each side, and could take 70 men, *The Viking*, London [1966], 254) appeared, and the same number of smaller ships, in the estuary of the Tagus, anchored there and fought three fierce battles against the defenders. After thirteen days they re-embarked and sailed southwards. The governor Wahb Allāh b. Ḥazm had informed the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who advised his commanders to be on their guard. Part of the crew disembarked on the coast of the province of Shadhūna (Sidona) and occupied the harbour of Cadiz, but the main part of the fleet sailed up the Guadalquivir and encamped on a large island in the river about 20 km. south of Seville. A few days later, on 1 October 844, the inhabitants of the city caught sight of the fleet with their brown sails on the river. They tried to organise resistance, but as the city had no defences, could do nothing. The few ships they sent against al-Madjūs were attacked with showers of arrows and were set on fire. The pirates went ashore in the city, where the main part of the citizens had fled precipitately. Those left behind were killed, even old and disabled people; women and children were taken prisoner; and they tried to set the mosque on fire, without success. The sack continued for seven days. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sent troops against the invaders, inflicting on them heavy casualties. In the decisive battle to the south of the city on 11 November 844, more than a thousand of the pirates were killed and four hundred others were taken prisoner; these were killed before the eyes of the others, who in great haste fled to the ships and set sail southward. Thirty abandoned Viking ships were set on fire. The defeat of al-Madjūs was proclaimed all over the country, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān even informed the Berber *amīrs* in Morocco and the Khāridjī *imām* in Tāhart. The Viking fleet steered north towards Aquitania after some attempts at landing at Niebla, on the coast of Algarve and in Lisbon; in the meantime, a few Scandinavian ships had made a brief landing on the coast of Aṣīlā (Arcila [see AṢĪLA]) in northwestern Morocco, about 50 km. below Tangier. On the dating of the descent on Aṣīlā and the foundation of the town, see A. Melvinger, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes*, Uppsala 1955, 51-5.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II ordered defences and an arsenal to be built in Seville, watch-posts to be set up along the Atlantic coast, and warships to be built in greater numbers, according to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya. Hence when in 244/858 another Viking offensive, comprising 62 ships, was launched, the Muslim squadrons patrolled along the west coast of the peninsula up to the French coast. Two of the Viking ships sailing in advance were captured off the coast of Algarve, with their cargoes of silver and gold, prisoners and supplies. The rest of the ships sailed on towards the Guadalquivir estuary, but on discovering that a Mus-

lim army was advancing along the river valley, they sailed on to Algeciras (al-Djazīra al-khaḍrā᾽ [*q.v.*]), where they disembarked, took the town and burnt down the great mosque. They were soon driven away, but advanced along the coast of Tudmīr (near Murcia) and pushed forward up to the fortress of Uriyūla (Orihuela, 23 km. north-east of Murcia). From Algeciras, some of the ships sailed to the northern coast of Morocco, where they took the town of Nakūr, some 20 km. south of Alhucemas Bay, for eight days sacking and taking prisoners all those who did not flee, among those some members of the princely house, later ransomed by the ruler in Cordova. As to the timing of the attack on Nakūr, there is varying information among the Arab authors, mentioning the occurrence (see the long discussion in Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 151-77), but the exact date cannot be established, since it has not been possible to investigate what Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his still-unpublished part of *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* relates about Nakūr. After the attack on Uriyūla, the Viking fleet sailed towards the French frontier, invaded the country, took rich spoils and numerous captives and passed the winter in the Camargue. Then they returned to the Spanish coast, but were met and attacked by Muḥammad I's ships, which set fire to two of the unbelievers' ships and took two more as spoils. More than 40 of their ships had now been lost. The rest joined another Viking fleet which had harried the Balearic Islands, and a few smaller ships found their way up the Ebro valley or via the River Bidassoa and its valley from Irun on the Bay of Biscay, so that a contingent arrived at Banbalūna (Pampeluna) [see BANBALŪNA] and in 245/859 captured the *amīr* of the Basques, Gharsiyya b. Wannaḳo (Garcia Iniguez), who had to ransom himself for 70,000 gold coins (E. García Gómez-E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textos inéditos del "Muqtabis" de Ibn Ḥayyān sobre los origenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *Al-And.*, xix [1954], 309). After this Viking raid, which probably lasted till 247/861, it was more than a century before Muslim annals tell us about further attacks from al-Madjūs.

On 1 Radjāb 355/23 June 966, the caliph al-Ḥakam II received from Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis (Alcacer do Sal, 94 km. south of Lisbon) a message that a Viking fleet of 28 ships had been seen in the neighbourhood. The Muslims marched on them when, after ravaging the coast, they reached the plain round Lisbon; many were killed in the battle on both sides. The Seville fleet left and found the enemy ships in the mouth of the River Silves, put several of them out of action, rescued the captured Muslims, whom they found on board, killed a great number of the unbelievers and put the rest to flight. News continued to reach Cordova from the west coast about the movements of al-Madjūs, until they disappeared. During the same year, al-Ḥakam II ordered Ibn Fuṭays to keep the fleet ready in the Cordova River (sc. the Guadalquivir) and to build ships of the same type as those of the Vikings, in the hope that they would come near the ships.

2. At the beginning of Ramaḍān 360/end of June 971, alarming rumours spread abroad about movements at sea by al-Madjūs al-Urdumāniyyūn (on this term, see below). Al-Ḥakam II immediately sent the admiral of the fleet to Almeria to make it ready to leave for Seville and to sail with all the naval forces to the western coastal district, but we hear nothing this time about any landing operation. Ibn Ḥayyān mentions (in A.A. el-Hajji, *Andalusian diplomatic relations with western Europe during the Umayyad period (A. H. 138-366/A.D. 755-976)*, Beirut 1970, 163, also in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, viii [1967], 74 f.) that at the end of 360/971 the Vikings made an attack on the west coast but that the Muslim fleet was able to repel them. The last thing we hear in Arabic sources about Viking raids on Muslim territory is a notice by Ibn Ḥayyān (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 171 n. 2) about a summer campaign by land to Algarve in Ramaḍān 361/June 972; the Muslim army advanced up to the town of Santarém to the north-east of Lisbon and returned to Cordova in the middle of September 972.

In all the previous texts except one, the word *al-Madjūs* is used about the Vikings, but in the text of 971 the phrase *al-Madjūs al-Urdumāniyyūn* is used. The last two texts in Ibn Ḥayyan's *al-Muḳtabis* have only been available to the present writer in *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por ʿĪsā ibn Ahmad al-Rāzī (360-364 H. = 971-975 J.C.)*. Trad. por E. García Gómez, Madrid 1967, 76, 88, 101, 116-7. The translation has on p. 76 *los Mayūs*, on pp. 88 and 101 *los Mayūs Normandos*, and in the events of 17 September 972 on pp. 116-17 first *los Mayūs Normandos* and then only *los Normandos*. So there is a certain doubtfulness here. It is no longer a question about al-Madjūs in its earlier sense. This fits well in with the fact that, in this case, the attackers came from Normandy. The Vikings had, after the treaty of St. Clair in 911, been given the territory in northern France which got its name Normandy from them, and had settled there. They no doubt soon accepted the Christian faith, at least officially, but they sometimes received heathen reinforcements from their original fatherland. In the early 960s, one of these bands of reinforcements arrived from Denmark at the request of Duke Richard I of Normandy, who was in conflict with Count Thibaud de Chartres. When peace was made between them, the Vikings' presence was no longer desired in France. They gradually returned to the northern lands, but encouraged by Duke Richard, they made an expedition against Muslim Spain, in the course of which they also attacked Christian Galicia and in 970 occupied Santiago de Compostela, which they held for some time. It was these troops from Normandy, partly heathen and partly Christian, who are here quite logically described by the double name.

3. Only the term *al-Urdāmāniyyūn* (= Normans) is used by Ibn ʿIdhārī in his account of the capture of the town of Barbastro [see BARBASHTURU] in 456/1064, when the inhabitants were treated in a very barbarous way by the Christian army, in which Normans were included. The later geographer Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī uses in a summary account of this same capture of Barbastro the word *al-Rudhmānūn* for "Normans" instead (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 68 f.).

4. The Spanish-Arabian author Ibn Diḥya (d. 632/1235) relates in his anthology *al-Muṭrib min ashʿār ahl al-Maghrib* that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), after the disembarkation of the Vikings in 844, was said to have had relations with them and sent an ambassador to their country to come to an agreement with them. Ibn Diḥya's report is founded on what this envoy told the vizier Tammām b. ʿAlḳama (d. 283/896) on his return twenty months later. The ambassador Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam al-Bakrī al-Ghazāl (d. 250/864) [see AL-GHAZĀL], who had led a mission to Byzantium in 840, does not give us any details from his journey to the country of al-Madjūs which confirm the authenticity of his report. But even if the journey never in reality took place, it is nevertheless probable

that we have here the contemporary Hispano-Arabic view of al-Madjūs. The Viking king's residence, it is related, was situated on a large island in the ocean. There are Madjūs there in great numbers, and in the neighbourhood of this island there are many other islands, big and small, where all the inhabitants are Madjūs ... They used to be Madjūs, but now they profess Christianity, after having forsaken the worship of fire and the religion they had before and adopted Christianity, except the inhabitants of some isolated islands in the sea. These last have stuck to their old religion, with its worship of fire, and they continue to marry their mothers or sisters [a trait attributed likewise to the Persian Magians] and practise other infamous deeds. They fight them and make them slaves (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 58-61, with refs.; here it must be stressed that —*pace* p. 60 n. 1., the information about marriage with a near relative seems suspicious, and must be due to a misunderstanding on the Arabic side).

The reason why the Vikings and the peoples or groups of peoples living on the northern fringes of civilisation were described by the Arabs as Madjūs was evidently the fact, as appears from the account by Ibn Diḥya, that their religion reminded the Arabs of that of the Persian Magians. According to Islamic sources, Madjūs denotes "die Einwohner des alten Persiens, vor allem in ihrer Eigenschaft als Feuerverehrer" (S. Wikander, ***Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran***, Lund 1946, in *Skrifter utg. av K. human. vet.-samf. i Lund*, xl, 28). The religion of the Scandinavians and other Germanic peoples was essentially the same. Al-Masʿūdī mentions in his *Murūdj al-dhahab*, written between 944 and 947 (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 47-8) that in 330/941-2 in Fusṭāṭ in Egypt he had come across a book written by Bishop Ghudmār (Godmar) of Gerona, dedicated to [Prince] al-Ḥakam (II, 350-66/961-76). He states "In that book it is said that the first king of the Franks Ḳulūdwīh (Chlodovech) was first a Madjūsī and that his consort Ghurṭild (Chrodechild) made him a Christian." According to western sources he was baptised in 496. It is not asserted in the text that he embraced the unspecified heathendom *al-djāhiliyya*. The same author relates in another place (*ibid.*, 49): "Before the year 300/912-3, ships with thousands of men arrived at al-Andalus and sacked its coasts, and the inhabitants there thought that it was a people of al-Madjūs, appearing every two hundred years ... But I think ... that it was al-Rūs [see RŪS], whom we have dealt with before in this work." In his *K. al-Buldān* (written 276/889), 354, the historian and geographer al-Yaʿḳūbī names those who in 229/843 invaded and sacked Seville as "al-Madjūs who are called al-Rūs" (*al-Madjūs allādhīna yuḳālu lahum al-Rūs*). Thus even very early Arabic authors linked the Madjūs with the Rūs, and both the above-mentioned authors were widely-travelled and knew from personal experience the conditions not only in the Middle East but also the western parts of the Mediterranean countries (A. A. Vasiliev, ***The Russian attack on Constantinople in 860***, in ***The Mediaeval Acad. of America***, *Publs.*, xlvi, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, 3-4 with refs.). The author al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318) assigns in his scientific and geographic encyclopaedia (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 63) "to Yāfit's (Japhet's) descendants, al-Rūs ... They believe in the Madjūs religion and burn their dead in fire." The Persian Magians, on the other hand, did not burn their dead. The Spanish-Arabic historian and geographer Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 672/1274) writes in *Basṭ al-arḍ fī ṭūlihā wa 'l-ʿarḍ* (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 62-3) about the great Ṣaḳlab Island, "whose length is about 700 *mīl*s (one *mīl* = 4000 *dhirāʿ*) and its extent across the middle about 330 *mīl*s. There are mountains, rivers, towns, built-up areas and a numerous population. It is said that they still adhere to the Madjūs religion and worship fire, as they consider nothing more important than this (sc. fire), because the cold is so severe there." (As is well-known, the Muslims in Spain used the term al-Ṣaḳāliba as a general word for slaves, procured to Spain from different parts of Europe; since many of them were of Germanic origin or from Scandinavia, in that way the Germanic tribes became known as al-Ṣaḳāliba; cf. A. A. El-Hajji, *op. cit.*, 207, n. 1, with refs. and ṢAḲĀLIBA). The geographer al-Idrīsī (d. 561/1166) says in his *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 57): "The fourth section of the seventh zone comprises the majority of the provinces in al-Rūsiyya (Russia), the provinces in Finmārk (Finnmarken or Finland), the country of Ṭabast (Tavastland), the country of Astalānda (Estonia) and the country of al-Madjūs." R. Ekblom (***Idrīsī und die Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer***, in *Namn och bygd*, xix [1931], 65-6) writes: "***Maǵūs*** ... ist in früheren arabischen Quellen die gewöhnliche Bezeichnung der nordischen Wikinger, die ... mit einem gewissen Recht als Feueranbeter bezeichnet werden konnten. Sie verehrten Thor, den Gott des Donners, sie verbrannten vielfach ihre Toten, und das Feuer spielte eine grosse Rolle bei ihnen ... Um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts waren die Skandinavier christlich ... Das einzige Gebiet in Europa, das zu dieser Zeit nicht unter nennenswerten Einfluss des Christentums gekommen war, waren, wenn man vom innern Russland absieht, die Länder östlich der Ostsee. Bei den hier wohnenden finnischen Völkern spielte jedoch das Feuer keine hervorragende Rolle im Kultus. Ganz anders verhielt es sich mit den baltischen Stämmen. Bei diesen war das Feuer heilig, sie verehrten den Donnergott Perkūnas, und Leichenverbrennung war bei ihnen noch im 12. Jahrhundert nicht ungewöhnlich. Was ist natürlicher, als dass die arabischen Geographen die Bezeichnung ***Maǵūs*** auf sie übertrügen. Das Land der ***Maǵūs*** ist bei Idrīsī meiner Ansicht nach das baltische Gebiet, ungefähr das jetzige Lettland und Litauen ..." In al-Marwazī's text it says (22, l. 15, tr. 35) concerning al-Ṣaḳāliba: "The Slavs ... burn their dead, for they worship Fire" (V. Minorsky, ***Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India***, Arabic text (*ca.* A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary, London 1942). In his commentary, Minorsky writes (116 f.): "... Eastern Slavs are usually confused with the Rūs, I. Kh., 154 ... The naïve indication that the Slavs burn their dead 'because they are fire-worshippers' may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs *al-Madjūs*. Yaʿḳūbī, ***Buldān***, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Seville in 229/843: *al-Majūs allādhina yuqālu lahum al-Rūs*. In a famous passage I. Faḍlān as an eye-witness describes the cremation of a Rūs, and the argument may have been reversed: 'the Rūs were fire-worshipping Magians, for they burnt their dead', cf. Minorsky, *Rūs*, in *E.I.* ..." (cf. Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 81-5 and Corr. to p. 81.) In a review of Dunlop's *History of the Jewish Khazars*, in *Oriens*, xi (1958), 136, Minorsky says: "P. 189 ... Nor can the term *majūs* applied to the Northmen of Spain refer to their 'Zoroastrianism', but to the popular explanation of their custom of cremating their dead, see Minorsky, *Rūs* in *E.I.*, Ṭāhir Marvazī. ..."

5. R. Brunschvig put forward the hypothesis, that, as the law school of al-Awzāʿī [*q.v.*] declared as Madjūs all heathen with whom they wanted to become to an agreement, this was the reason why the Vikings harrying in Spain have been called Madjūs in Arabic; "dès leur première apparition sur les côtes d'Espagne en 844, il y a eu entre eux et l'émir de Cordoue des tractations de paix" (*Ibn ʿAbdalh'akam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes. Étude critique*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 112; reprinted in *Al-Andalus*, xl [1975], 133 f.). But this hypothesis is groundless. There is no certain proof of relations between the Vikings and the Muslim rulers, and in any case, al-Awzāʿī's *madhhab* had been pressed back in Spain by that of Mālik towards the end of the 2nd/8th century (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 74-7).

6. Ibn ʿIdhārī relates (*ibid.*, 116 f. with ref.) that the ruler Hishām I in 177/793 sent ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Mughīth on a summer campaign to the Rūm country. This expedition is famous in history and one of the most important. He came to Ifrandja (Gerona), besieged the town and made a breach in its walls by using catapults. And he got nearer to the land of al-Madjūs, marched through the enemy's land and stayed there several months, burning villages and destroying strongholds. He attacked the town of Arbūna (Narbonne). It was a great victory, where the value of one-fifth of the prisoners amounted to 45,000 in minted coins. In 179/795 Hishām I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, according to the same author (*ibid.*, 14 f.) sent out a commander on a summer campaign against Galicia. The latter was informed that Idhfunsh (Alfonso II el Casto) had asked al-Bashkunish (the Basques) for help and the people in this neighbourhood, viz. al-Madjūs and others. Ibn al-Athīr (*ibid.*, 10 ff.) speaks about his neighbours the Basques and those of al-Madjūs who lived near them and the people round there. In Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muḳtabis* (Garcia-Gómez-Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, 296 f.) it is related about a summer campaign in the year 200/816 against the Prince of Pampeluna that in a battle lasting thirteen days many were killed, among others Ṣaltān, the leader (*el mejor caballero*) of al-Madjūs. Ibn Ḥayyān (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i², 204) is the only one to mention a campaign against Alava, commanded by the *ṣāḥib al-ṣawā'if* ʿUbayd Allāh, who invaded the district in August 825/Rabīʿ II 210, caused devastation and finally met with the Asturian forces. "Une violente bataille se déroula au pied d'une montagne que le chroniqueur appelle Djabal al-Madjūs, 'la montagne des adorateurs du feu', ou peut-être 'des Normands'. Elle se termina par la défaite des Chrétiens, et l'on appela par la suite en Espagne musulmane cette campagne 'l'expédition de la victoire' (*ghazwat al-fatḥ*)." It is probably here a question of the same peoples who were mentioned in 793, 795 and 816; the territories where they are said to have lived, are not too distant from each other. Of course there can never have been genuine Zoroastrians in those regions, but at present we do not know anything about these so-called al-Madjūs in the neighbourhood of the Basques (cf. Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 116-28, 9-22, 86-115). Lévi-Provençal states (*Du nouveau sur le royaume de Pampelune au IX*ᵉ *siècle*, in *Bulletin hispanique*, lv (1953), 8) that some of the Basques were evidently still pagan at the beginning of the 9th century, and Cl. Sánchez-Albornoz (*Invasiones normandas a la España cristiana durante el siglo IX*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medievo. XVI. I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo 18-24 aprile 1968*, Spoleto 1969, 370) considers it certain that these al-Madjūs were Basque idolaters, maintaining that the name *Zaldūn* (thus correctly instead of Ṣaltān) is a purely Basque word.

7. As we have seen, the term al-Madjūs was used for tribes living in the north, even when we know for certain that it does not apply to the Vikings (all the textual *loci probantes* are not recorded here). In such cases, the Arabic authors were thinking about the religion in which fire in some from played a prominent part.

8. Al-Madjūs was used in the West as a name for Vikings, evidently because they did not know of, nor did they use, the correct term al-Rūs, which was used by the Arabic Persian authors. Besides, the latter knew the difference, as far as religion was concerned, between the Rūs on one hand and on the other the Madjūs (= Zoroastrians), who never burnt their dead. The Arabs in the West did not know the crucial difference between Vikings and Zoroastrians in the use of fire for funeral ceremonies, but mostly paid attention to the dominant element of the fire itself. And since the Vikings were neither Christians nor Jews, they were consequently assimilated to the Madjūs because of the role of fire in their religious culture.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: R. Dozy's monograph *Les normands en Espagne*, in his *Recherches*³, ii, 250-371 and Appendix XXXIV, deals with the various attacks by the Madjūs in Spain. At the beginning of this survey, references are given to earlier literature by Werlauff, Mooyer, Kruse and Kunik. Dozy, Melvinger and El-Hajji have abundant references, Dozy and Melvinger also some Arabic texts; see also A. K. Fabricius, *La première invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne musulmane en 844*, in *Actes du X*ᵉ *Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Lisbon 1892. A. Seippel has mentioned all the texts known to him, also dealing with other peoples than the Madjūs, in *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici. E libris quum typis expressis tum manu scriptis coll. et ed.*, Oslo 1896-1928, Norwegian tr. in *Det Norske Videnskaps-Akad. i Oslo. Skrifter.* II. *Hist.-filos. kl.* 1954, no. 2 by H. Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*. Overs. til norsk av de arabiske kilder med innledn., forfatterbiografier, bibliografi og merknader, Oslo [1955]; J. Stefánsson, *The Vikings in Spain. From Arabic (Moorish) and Spanish sources*, in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, vi (1909), 31-46; F. Lot, *Les invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe*, i, Paris 1937, 159-62; Ḥusayn Muʾnis (Monès), *Contribution à l'étude des invasions des Normands en Espagne musulmane entre 859 et 844* [*sic*] *J.C.*, in *Bull. de la Société royale d'études historiques, Égypte*, ii (1950); D. M. Dunlop, *The British Isles according to medieval Arabic authors*, in *IQ*, iv (1957-8), 11-28; W. E. D. Allen, *The poet and the spae-wife. An attempt to reconstruct al-Ghazal's embassy to the Vikings*, Dublin-London 1960; H. Arbman, *The Vikings*, London 1961, 85-8.

(A. MELVINGER)

AL-**MADJŪSĪ**. [See ʿALĪ B. AL-ʿABBĀS AL-MADJŪSĪ.]

MAḌMŪN (A.), passive participle of *ḍamina* "to be liable"), a legal term meaning the thing for which one is liable or responsible. It occurs in the following connections: *maḍmūn bihi* "thing pawned"; *maḍmūn ʿanhu* "debtor"; *maḍmūn lahu* or *ʿalayhi* "creditor". Liability (*ḍamān* [*q.v.*]) plays an important role in the law of obligations; the rules which

are applied to the parties involved and to the legal institutions are enumerated in the chapters on contracts.

Liability and obligation to restore may arise from the non-performance of a contract, if the object has perished, or from *taʿaddī* "transgression" i.e. from illicit acts, when the object is lost or damaged by the unlawful act. The obligation to restore depends on the division of things (*māl*), which are divided either into fungibles (*mithlī*) i.e. things that can be measured (*makīl*) or weighed (*mawzūn*) or counted (*maʿdūd*), or secondly, are divided into things (*mukawwamāt*) with a special value (*ḳīma*) and individuality i.e. they are *ʿayn* species.

Bibliography: E. Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, 101; E. Tyan, *Le système de responsabilité délictuelle en droit musulman*, thesis, Lyons 1926, 149-261; O. Spies, *Die Lehre von der Haftung für Gefahr im islamischen Recht*, in *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, xlviii (1955), 79-95; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 147 f., 292; T. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*[4], 384; the chapters in the *fiḳh*-books, and especially E. Sachau, *Muhammed. Recht*, 385 ff., Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, Italian tr. O. Santillana, ii, 249 ff., French tr. G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'imam Mâlek*, Algiers 1956-62; L. W. C. van den Berg, *Principes du droit Musulman selon les rites d'Abou Hanifah et de Chafiʿi*, tr. France de Tersant, Algiers 1896, 101. (O. Spies)

MADRAS, a major port and city on the Coromandel coast of southeastern peninsular India, in lat. 13°4′ N. and 80°15′ E., formerly a governorship of the presidency of the same name (the latter comprising the eastern coast of India from Cape Comorin to Lake Chilka in present-day Orissa, as well as a large part of the interior of the Deccan, and the northern Malabar coast); since independence the capital of the Indian Union State of Tamil Nadu.

1. Nomenclature. The origin of the name "Madras" has been much debated. Perhaps the two most plausible explanations are offered by *Hobson Jobson* and the Madras glossary. The former (532) points out that the "earliest maps" of the region show Madrasapatanam as a Muslim settlement, and "having got so far we need not hesitate to identify it with Madrasa, a college . . . That there was such a Madrasa in existence is established by the quotation from Hamilton, who was there about the end of the 17th century. Fryer's map (1698, but illustrating 1672-73) represents the governor's house as a building of Mahomedan architecture, with a dome. This may have been the Madrasa itself. Lockyer (1711) also speaks of a college of which the building was very ancient, formerly a hospital, and then used apparently as a residence for young writers". The *Manual of the administraiton of the Madras Presidency* (ii, 91) dismisses this idea, however ("*Madrissa*, a Mahommedan school, has been suggested, which considering the date at which the name is first found seems fanciful"), and vol. iii of this work, the *Madras glossary* (144), offers the alternative explanation that "Madras", in Sanskrit *Mandarājāpaṭṭana*, is derived from the Telugu *Mandarādzu*, the name of a local ruler.

Until the early 11th/17th century Madras was a small fishing village. It is not mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who landed in Maʿbar [*q.v.*] at the "large and fine city of Fattan" (thought to have been Kaveripattanam, Gibb, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 263-4) in *ca.* 739/1338. Marco Polo, however, writes at some length of the shrine of St. Thomas, built at Malaipūr, "the name of which is still applied to a suburb of Madras about 3½ miles south of Fort St. George" (Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ii, 354-9).

2. History. In March, 1639, Francis Day of the East India Company "obtained a piece of ground five miles long, and one broad" (*Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency*, ii, 279) at the small village of Madras, on which to build a town and fort. The land thus purchased, formerly a part of the waning Vijayanagar Kingdom, was to become the nucleus of the modern city of Madras.

Called originally by its founders Fort St. George, Madras remained subordinate to the Chief of the Settlement of Bantam in Java until 1653, when it was raised to the rank of an independent presidency. In 1702 Dāwūd Khān, a general in the service of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], blockaded the settlement for a few weeks, but without success. In 1741 the town was again attacked, this time by the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], once again unsuccessfully. Fort St. George was expanded and strengthened in 1743, but this failed to prevent Labourdonnais from bombarding and capturing it in 1746. The city, by this time the largest in southern India, was restored to the British in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, although the Government of the Presidency did not return to Madras until 1752. The French made a second, unsuccessful attempt to take the Madras in 1758; the city was occupied, but the French, under Lally, failed to take Fort St. George. After two months the French were forced to withdraw by the arrival of a British fleet in the Madras roads. From this time the city, although threatened in 1769 and again in 1788 by the approach of Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Mysore's cavalry, was to remain in British hands until independence in 1947.

At the time of the 1971 *Census of India*, Madras, the third most important port and fourth largest city of India, had a population of 2,469,449 (*Census of India*, series 19, part X-B); of this number 210,083 (comprising 116,444 males and 93,639 females) were Muslims (*Census of India*, series 19, part II-C-i). The *Census of India* figures are not divided to show sectarian affiliations, but the great majority of Madrasi Muslims are Tamil-speaking, either Rawther or Labbai [*q.v.*], Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* who do not claim Arab ancestry and who predominate in the interior of Tamil Nadu; or else Marakayar and Kayalar, Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* who claim some Arab ancestry and who predominate along the Coromandel coast.

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Madras City; also Census of India, 1971, series 19, part II-C *Social and Cultural Tables*.

(A. D. W. Forbes)

MADRASA, in modern usage, the name of an institution of learning where the Islamic sciences are taught, i.e. a college for higher studies, as opposed to an elementary school of traditional type (*kuttāb*); in mediaeval usage, essentially a college of law in which the other Islamic sciences, including literary and philosophical ones, were ancillary subjects only.

I. The institution in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish lands

1. Children's schools.

The subject of Islamic education in general is treated under TARBIYA. Here it should merely be noted that the earliest, informal institutions of learning in the Islamic world were probably children's schools, such arrangements doubtless going back to the pre-Islamic period. In Medina, the teachers were often Jews (see al-Balādhurī, 473 below; cf. the name *rabbānī* for the teacher: Ḳur'ān, III, 79; V, 44. 63; Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 10; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 243); but ability to write was not so common here as in Mecca. After the battle of Badr, several captured Meccans were released to teach writing in Medina (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 171). A contemporary of ʿUmar's, Djubayr b. Ḥayya, who was later an official and governor, was a teacher (*muʿallim kuttāb*) in a school in Ṭā'if (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, i, 235). Muʿāwiya, who had acted as the Prophet's amanuensis, took a great interest in the education of the young. They learned reading, writing, counting, swimming and a little of the Ḳur'ān and the necessary observances of religion. Famous men like al-Ḥadjdjādj and the poets al-Kumayt and al-Ṭirimmāḥ are said to have been schoolmasters. (Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, 329 ff., 360 ff.). The main subject taught was *adab*, so that the schools of the children were called *madjlis al-adab* (*Aghānī*[2], xviii, 101), and the teacher was called *mu'addib*, also *muʿallim* or *mukattib* (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, i, 158, l. 8), in modern times *fiḳih* (see Lane, *Manners and customs*, 61). The teacher was as a rule held in little esteem, perhaps a relic of the times when he was a slave, but we also find distinguished scholars teaching in schools; thus Daḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, the exegist, traditionist and grammarian, who died in 105/723 or 106/724 had a school in Kūfa, said to have been attended by 3,000 children, where he used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 272-3). As language was of the utmost importance, we find a Bedouin being appointed and paid as a teacher of the youth in Baṣra (*ibid.*, ii, 239). School spread during the Umayyad period, and instruction was also given at home in the houses (see Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen*, 4 f.).

For the subsequent development of children's schools, see KUTTĀB.

2. Islamic studies in the mosque: the early period.

The *madrasa* is the product of three stages in the development of the college in Islam. The mosque or *masdjid*, particularly in its designation as the non-congregational mosque, was the first stage, and it functioned in this as an instructional centre. The second stage was the *masdjid-khān* complex, in which the *khān* or hostelry served as a lodging for out-of-town students. The third stage was the *madrasa* proper, in which the functions of both *masdjid* and *khān* were combined in an institution based on a single *waḳf* [*q.v.*] deed.

The *masdjid* [*q.v.*] appears early in Islam as a centre for instruction, above all for the inculcation of the sacred texts and scriptures. Within the *masdjid*, the focus of learning was the *madjlis* [*q.v.*], from *djalasa* "to sit up" in contradistinction to the near-synonymous verb *ḳaʿada*, which means "to sit down". Learning took place in the *masdjid*, a place of worship, specifically a place of prostration (from *sadjada*, "to prostrate oneself") in prayer before God. From the prostrate position of the prayer, the teacher and his students would then "sit up", and the class, or *madjlis*, would begin. (From the near-synonymous verb *ḳaʿada*, the *ism makān*, sc. *maḳʿad*, is a bench, upon which one sits from a standing position).

In the new studies associated with the mosque, the learning by heart and the understanding of the Ḳur'ān formed the starting-point and next came the study of *ḥadīth*, by which the proper conduct for a Muslim had to be ascertained. The Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct, in or outside the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 6, 52; 23, 24, 26, 46). After the death of the Prophet, his Companions were consulted in the same way and scientific study began with the collection and arrangements of *ḥadīth*s. This process is reflected in the *ḥadīth*s themselves. According to them, even the Prophet in his lifetime was asked about *ḥadīth*s (*ibid.*, *bāb* 4, 14, 33, 50, 51, 53); the Prophet sits in a mosque surrounded by a *ḥalḳa* and instructs this hearers; the latter repeat the *ḥadīth*s three times until they have learned them (*ibid.*, *bāb* 8, 30, 35, 42). The Prophet sent teachers of the Ḳur'ān to the tribes, and so did ʿUmar in the year 17 (*ibid.*, *bāb* 25). The necessity of *ʿilm* is strongly emphasised. Jewish influence is perhaps to be recognised when learning is compared with the drinking of water (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 20; cf. *Proverbs*, xviii, 4; *Pirḳē Aboth*, i, 4, 11) and the teachers are called *rabbāniyyūn* (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 10). A special class of students, *ahl al-ʿilm*, was formed who spread the knowledge of traditions throughout Muslim lands (*ibid.*, *bāb* 7, 12). They collected people around them to instruct them in the most necessary principles of the demands of Islam. In this simple form of instruction, which was indistinguishable from edifying admonitions, lay the germ of Islamic studies. The knowledge imparted was *ʿilm* or *ḥikma* (*ibid.*, *bāb* 15).

It was from the study of the Ḳur'ān and of *ḥadīth* that a science of jurisprudence began to develop, since the principles which were to be followed by the faithful did not always come ready-made from the mere reading of scripture. Although the early religious scholars, the *ʿulamā'* [*q.v.*] (sing. *ʿālim*), were usually the experts on the Ḳur'ān and were called *al-ḳurrā'* (sing. *ḳāri'*) [see ḲUR'ĀN. 3 and ḲURRĀ'], on the *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], and were called *al-muḥaddithūn* (sing. *muḥaddith*), and on Ḳur'ānic exegesis and were called *al-mufassirūn* (sing. *mufassir*) [see TAFSĪR], yet the 1st century of Islam saw the development of the jurisconsult-doctor of the law, the *muftī-faḳih*. The turn of the century was later commemorated as "the Year of the Jurisconsults", *sanat al-fuḳahā'*, because of a number, generally considered to be seven, who died in and around that time (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 243, and see AL-FUḲAHĀ' AL-SABʿA in Suppl.).

We hear of a *madjlis* for studies in the Medina

mosque in the 1st century A.H. (*Aghānī*, i, 48; iv, 162-3). Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, sent by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as *muftī* to Egypt, is said to have been the first to teach in Egypt (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 131); he is mentioned along with another as teacher of al-Layth (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 89) and the latter, upon whose pronouncements *fatwās* were issued, had his *ḥalḳa* in the mosque (*Ḥusn*, i, 134). ʿUmar II had before this sent al-Nāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿUmar, to Egypt to bring them the *sunan* (*ibid.*, 130). He also sent an able reciter of the Ḳurʾān to the Maghrib as *ḳāḍī* to teach the people *ḳirāʾa* (*ibid.*, 131). Education was arranged for by the government by allowing suitable people to give instruction in addition to their regular office. The first teachers in the mosques were the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, as a rule *ḳāḍīs*, whose discourses dealt with the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān and the proper conduct of divine service. Their *mawʿiẓa* was the direct continuation of the moral instruction given by the old Companions (cf. al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 12). The instruction started in the mosque of ʿAmr was continued for centuries. In the 2nd/8th century, al-Shafiʿī taught various subjects here every morning till his death (204/820) (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 134; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 383). It was after this time that the study of *fiḳh* came markedly to the front and the great teachers used at the same time to give *fatwās* (cf. *Ḥusn*, i, 182-3).

Arabic philological studies were ardently prosecuted in the mosques. The interest of the early Arabs in rhetoric survived under Islam; the *faḳīh* Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 95/713-4; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1266) discussed Arabic poetry in his *madjlis* in the mosque in Médina; but it was still thought remarkable that poems should be dealt with in a mosque (*Aghānī*, i, 48; iv, 162-3). In the year 256/870, al-Ṭabarī by request dictated the poems of al-Ṭirimmāḥ beside the *Bayt al-Māl* in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 432). In the chief mosque of Baṣra, the *aṣḥāb al-ʿarabiyya* sat together (*ibid.*, iv, 135). In Baghdād, al-Kisāʾī gave his lectures in the mosque which bears his name. At quite an early date we read of special appartments (which were certainly also lecture-rooms) for authorities on the Ḳurʾān, for, according to al-Wāḳidī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm lived in Medina in the *dār al-ḳurrāʾ* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142).

As is evident from the examples quoted, studies were not only prosecuted in the chief mosques but also in other mosques. In Egypt, not only the Mosque of ʿAmr but also the chief mosques of later date were important centres of study. As soon as the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was founded, a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī began to lecture in it on *ḥadīth* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 139). During the Fāṭimid period this was continued. In the year 361/972, the Azhar [*q.v.*] Mosque was finished. Soon afterwards, the new Shīʿī *ḳāḍī*, ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān, lectured in it on *fiḳh* according to his school; in 378/988 al-ʿAzīz and his vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis founded 35 lectureships, and in addition to their salaries the lecturers were given quarters in a large house built beside the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49; Sulaymān Raṣad al-Ḥanafī, *Kanz al-djawhar fī taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, 32 ff.).

Thus the *masdjid* continued to be used for the teaching of one or more of the Islamic sciences, or their ancillaries among the literary arts, well into the 3rd/9th century of Islam. The turning-point in its use came after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or Great Inquisition. Begun in the last year of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate, 218/833, the *miḥna* extended across the caliphates of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiḳ to the second year of al-Mutawakkil's caliphate, 234/848, a period of fifteen years. The upshot of the *miḥna* was the political bankruptcy of its authors, the rationalist forces represented by the philosophical theologians, and the correlative triumph of the traditionalist forces, its victims, the doctors of the law, a triumph due in great measure to the heroic endurance of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*].

After the *miḥna*, more and more *masdjids* came to be founded for legal studies, i.e. as colleges of law. Since the *masdjid* could not serve as a lodging place for teaching staff and students—the exceptions being the wayfarer (*ibn al-sabīl*) and ascetic, pious men who had given up all wordly goods (*zuhhād*, sing. *zāhid*)—*khāns* were founded next to the *masdjids* to serve as lodging for students from out-of-town. The outstanding example of this type of arrangement was the extensive network of *masdjid-khān* complexes founded in the lands of the eastern caliphate during the 4th/10th century by Badr b. Ḥasanawayh (d. 405/1014), governor of several provinces under the Buwayhids [see ḤASANWAYH]. Such men of power and influence needed the good offices of the *ʿulamāʾ*, their sole sure link with the masses of the faithful. To establish this connection, such men founded for the *ʿulamāʾ* institutions wherein they could teach the Islamic sciences. Besides currying favour with the *ʿulamāʾ*, the powerful founders were performing highly meritorious acts of charity endearing them to the masses and the *ʿulamāʾ* alike.

The terminology for legal studies developed before the flourishing of the *madrasa* in the 5th/11th century. It derived from the radicals *d-r-s*. The second form of the verb, *darrasa*, used without a complement, meant "to teach law"; *tadrīs*, its verbal noun (*maṣdar*), meant "the teaching of law", the function as well as the post of professor of law; the plural, *tadārīs*, or "professorships of law", was of later development, when the holding of several professorships by one doctor of the law became a common practice. The term *dars*, meant "a lesson or lecture on law"; *mudarris*, the active participle, meant "the professor of law". It must be kept in mind that these terms had these significations in reference to law, especially when used in the absolute, without a complement. The verb *faḳḳaha* is of rare occurrence, and was not commonly used to designate the teaching of law. The term *faḳīh* was used in the sense of "doctor of the law", or "student of law", particularly "a graduate student", in contradistinction to *mutafaḳḳih*, used to designate "the undergraduate". The accomplished *faḳīh* was eligible to become a *mudarris* and a *muftī*; for as a *faḳīh* who had successfully defended his theses in disputations (*munāẓara*), he obtained his licence to teach and to issue legal opinions (*idjāza li 'l-tadrīs wa 'l-iftāʾ*).

The college of law therefore began as a *masdjid* and was soon joined by the *khān* or hostel for out-of-town students. The lodging place next to the *masdjid* was especially necessary for the student of law as distinguished, for instance, from the student of the *ḥadīth*. Jurisprudence was by now a science whose rudiments had to be learned in a period of years, usually four, and these usually under the direction of one master. After this basic undergraduate training, if he was successful and chosen by his master as a *ṣāḥib* or fellow, he went on to graduate studies that lasted an indefinite period of time, some follows working as repetitors (*muʿīd*) under their masters for as many as twenty years before

acquiring their own professorial chair. In contrast, the student of *ḥadīth* travelled from one place to another, acquiring rare *ḥadīth*s, and collections of *ḥadīth*s, from *ḥadīth*-masters who often were the last link in the chain of transmitters, holding alone the authorisation to pass on their collections authoritatively to others. The *ḥadīth* student travelled therefore from place to place and collected as many authorisations, *idjāza*s, as possible from as many masters as he could reach. The law student was interested in an authorisation covering a field of knowledge, that of law, in one *idjāza*; the licence to teach law and issue legal opinions, *idjāzat al-tadrīs wa 'l-fatwā*, which he obtained from one master-jurisconsult. The *khān*, founded near the *masdjid*, was therefore necessary as a lodging-place for law students away from home.

3. The library as an adjunct to the mosque and other institutions of higher learning.

In the descriptions of the larger mosques the libraries are often mentioned. These collections were gradually brought together from gifts and bequests, and it was a common thing for a scholar to give his books for the use of the *muslimūn* or *ahl al-ʿilm* (e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 252; cf. iv, 287). Many other libraries were semi-public. These often supplemented the libraries of the mosques, because they contained books in which the mosques were not much interested, notably on logic, *falsafa*, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine and alchemy; the latter were called *al-ʿulūm al-ḳadīma* or *ʿulūm al-awāʾil* (cf. Goldziher, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* [1915], phil. hist. Kl. no. 8, Berlin 1916). The academy, *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*], founded by al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) in Baghdād, deserves first mention. It recalls the older academy founded in Gundeshāpūr to which al-Manṣūr had invited Georgios b. Gabrīʾēl as head of the hospital; he also translated works from the Greek (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 123-4). In the new academy there was a large library, and it was extended by the translations which were made by men qualified in the above-mentioned fields; there was also an astronomical observatory attached to the institution, in which there were also apartments for the scholars attached to it (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 243; cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, 98). When the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902) built himself a new palace, he had apartments and lecture-rooms in an adjoining building for men learned in every science, who received salaries to teach others (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192 ff.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142).

Private individuals of wealth continued benefactions on these lines. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, who died in 275/888 and was known as al-Munadjdjim, had a palace with a library, which was visited by those in search of knowledge from all lands; they were able to study all branches of learning in this institution, called *khizānat al-ḥikma*, without fee; astronomy was especially cultivated (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 467). In Mawṣil, Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. 323/935) founded a *dār al-ʿilm* with a library in which students worked daily at all branches of knowledge and were even supplied with free paper. The founder lectured on poetry in it (*ibid.*, ii, 420). In the 4th/10th century, al-Maḳdisī visited in Shīrāz a large library founded by ʿAḍud al-Dawla (367-72/977-83) to which people of standing had access. The books were arranged in cases and listed in catalogues and the library (*khizānat al-kutub*) was administered by a director (*wakīl*), an assistant (*khāzin*) and an inspector (*mushrif* (al-Muḳaddasī, 449). Similar institutions are known in Baṣra, Rām-Hurmuz, Rayy and Karkh (*ibid.*, 413; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 3-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 51-2).

In Cairo, they were well-known under the Fāṭimids. In their palace, they had a library which was said to be the largest in Islam. It had about 40 rooms full of books and all branches of knowledge were represented; they had for example 1,200 copies of al-Ṭabarī's *History* and 18,000 books on the "old learning" (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 253-5). The vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis founded an academy with stipends for scholars and spent 1,000 *dīnār*s a month on it (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, ed. Tallquist, fol. 108a; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892-3, ii, 334; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192). It was overshadowed by the "House of Knowledge" (*dār al-ʿilm* or *dār al-ḥikma*) founded by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005. It contained a library and reading-room as well as rooms for meetings and for classes. Librarians and assistants, with their servants, administered it, and scholars were given allowances to study there; all branches of learning were represented—astronomy, medicine, etc., in addition to the specifically Islamic subjects. Al-Ḥākim built similar institutions in al-Fusṭāṭ (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 334 ff.). The whole institution was closely associated with Shīʿa propaganda, which is obvious from the fact that it was administered by the *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*, who held conferences with the learned men there every Monday and Thursday (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 226; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshāʾ*, iii, 487; see also MADJLIS. 2. In Ismāʿīlī usage). A similar missionary institute (*dār al-daʿwa*) was built in Aleppo in 507/1113-14 by the *amīr* Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 360). We may assume that these buildings were also arranged for the performance of the *ṣalāt*.

With the *dār al-ḥikma*, Islam was undoubtedly continuing Hellenistic traditions. Al-Maḳrīzī mentions a *dār al-ḥikma* of the pre-Islamic period, where the learned men of Egypt used to work (iv, 377); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa also mentions pre-Islamic seminaries in Egypt where Hellenistic learning was cultivated (*dār al-ʿilm*, i, 104), and the similarity with the Alexandrine *Museion*, which was imitated in Pergamon and Antioch, for example, is apparent (J. W. H. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece*, New York 1919, 48-50). Al-Ḥākim's institution was finally closed with the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty (567/1171). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had all the treasures of the palace, including the books, sold over a period of ten years. Many were burned, thrown into the Nile, or thrown into a great heap, which was covered with sand so that a regular "hill of books" was formed. The number of books said to have disposed of varies from 120,000 to 2,000,000, but many were saved for new libraries (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 253-5; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287/1870, i, 200, 268).

Bibliography: A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 1922; M. Meyerhof, in *SB Pr. Ak. W.*, phil.-hist. Kl., xxiii (1930), 388-429; idem, in *BIE*, xv (1933), 109-23; idem, in *The legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, 311-55; J. Schacht and N. Meyerhof, *The medicophilosophical controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo*, Cairo 1937; Olga Pinto, *Le biblioteche degli Arabi nell' età degl' Abbasidi*, Florence 1928.

4. The origin and spread of the *madrasa* proper.

Although the *madrasa* proper now began to evolve, there was for a long time much overlapping between

the mosque and the *madrasa*, for even after the appearance of *madrasas*, the regular mosques remained school as before.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, who travelled in the 8th/14th century, in the period when *madrasas* flourished most, attended lectures on *ḥadīth* in the Djāmiʿ of Shīrāz and in the Djāmiʿ of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād (ii, 83, 110). In Damascus in 580/1184, Ibn Djubayr refers to rooms in the Umayyad Mosque, which were used for Shāfiʿī and Mālikī students, who received considerable stipends (*idjrāʾ*, *maʿlūm*) (*Riḥla*, 272, above). In Egypt in the time of al-Maḳrīzī (9th/15th century), there were 8 rooms for *fiḳh* studies in the Mosque of ʿAmr (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 20, 21). In al-Azhar in the 7th/14th century, and later, after the earthquake of 702, many lecture-rooms with paid teachers were built (*ibid.*, 52), likewise in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim (*ibid.*, 57).

When a particular room was set apart for teaching purposes in a mosque, this was often called a *madrasa*; for example six of the Damascus *madrasas* were in the Umayyad Mosque (*JA*, ser. 9, iii, 410, 432, 437; iv, 262, 270, 481; others: vii, 230). The *madrasas* were often also built close beside the large mosques so that they practically belonged to them. This was the case in Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 104 ff.; cf. Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, i, 324).

Though the *madrasa* was an independent institution, the distinction between the *madrasa* and ordinary mosque was very slight, all the less as sermons were also preached in the *madrasa*. In the Niẓāmiyya in Naysābûr, services were held as soon as it was finished (by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm: Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿī*, iii, 285) and the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād had a *minbar* (Ibn Djubayr, 219). In Egypt from 569/1174 to 665/1267 there was only one Friday *khuṭba*, but after this time there was usually a *minbar* in the larger *madrasas*.

It was only natural that the *madrasas* should also be called *masdjid* (cf. Ibn Djubayr, 48). Ibn al-Ḥādjdj in the 8th/14th century still wants to distinguish between *masdjid* and *madrasa* and to give more importance to the former (*Madkhal*, ii, 3, 48). The distinction remained, however, quite an artificial one, and this is also true of the distinction between *madrasa* and *djāmiʿ*. The name *madrasa* was decided by the main object of the institution and the special style of the building. The name *djāmiʿ* was only given if the Friday service was held in it.

The connection between mausoleum and mosque was also found with the *madrasa*. The tomb of the founder was placed in Nūr al-Dīn's *madrasa* in Damascus (Ibn Djubayr, 284-5), and during the Mamlūk period it was the regular custom for the founders of a *madrasa* to be buried under a *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] in it.

On education and the *madrasa* in general, cf. also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, Göttingen 1837; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, Vienna 1877, ii, 479 ff.; Haneberg, *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner im Mittelalter*, 1850; van Berchem, *Corpus inscr. arab.*, i, 252-69; G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana*, i, 1916, 109 ff.; Johs. Pedersen, in *IC*, iii (1929), 525-37; A. Talas, *La Madrasa Nizamiyya et son histoire*, Paris 1939.

While the institutions called the *dār al-ʿilm* developed in Fāṭimid countries into centres of Shīʿī propaganda, the *madrasa* grew up in the east out of similar Sunnī institutions. It is interesting to note that in 395/1005 al-Ḥākim built a Sunnī *dār-al-ʿilm* in Cairo (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 64, 105, 106). But after these years, this institution was abolished and its two learned teachers executed. With the growing strength of the Sunna, especially in the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī forms, many educational institutions arose in the east which had a pronounced Sunnī character (al-Muḳaddasī, 232, 365, 415). Many teachers built houses of their own, where they dictated *ḥadīths* and held lectures on *fiḳh*, e.g. a teacher who died in Marw in 420/1029 (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿī*, 232). Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī, born in 277/890, founded in his native town a school with a library with apartments and allowances for the maintenance of foreign students (*ibid.*, 163; cf. 204, 245).

In Naysābûr especially, where studies were vigorously prosecuted in the mosque (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 236), many such institutions arose. Thus a special school was built for the Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*-scholar al-Ṣāʾigh al-Naysābūrī (d. 349/960; *ibid.*, 156; cf. 160). Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 393/1003) himself founded a school in which to teach *ḥadīth*, and it was attended by 1,000 scholars (*ibid.*, 203). Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015-6; *ibid.*, 216) did the same, likewise Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī in 437/1045-6 (*ibid.*, 284); and for Rukn al-Dīn al-Isfarāʾinī (d. 418/1027) a school was built which surpassed all others (*ibid.*, 229). As early as the 4th/10th century, we find al-Muḳaddasī praising the very fine *madāris* of Īrānshahr (*BGA*, iii, 315). In the first half of the 5th/11th century, there were four especially famous *madrasas* in Naysābûr: al-Madrasa al-Bayhaḳiyya, founded by al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), when he became a teacher in Naysābūr in 441/1049-50 (Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, iii, 270); al-Saʿīdiyya founded by the *amīr* Naṣr b. Sebüktigin (governor of Naysābūr in 389/999); one built by Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl al-Astarābādī; and another built for the teacher Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾinī. A Niẓāmiyya was also built here by Niẓām al-Mulk for the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 141-2). It was an event of great importance when Niẓām al-Mulk (456-85/1064-92 vizier of the Saldjūḳ sulṭāns Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh) founded the celebrated *Madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in Baghdād; the building was begun in 457/1065 and on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 459/22 September 1067 it was consecrated. It was founded for the Shāfiʿī teacher Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī.

The Muslim historians are in some doubt about the history of the *madrasa*. Niẓām al-Mulk is given the credit of having founded it, but al-Maḳrīzī and al-Suyūṭī point out that *madrasas* were already in existence before him and mention the four above-named ones; but, as we have seen, even they were not innovations. Al-Subkī thinks (says al-Suyūṭī) that the new feature was that Niẓām al-Mulk endowed scholarship for the students. This again, however, was nothing new. But the enthusiasm and energy of Niẓām al-Mulk marked the beginning of a new period of brilliance for the *madrasa* (cf. G. Makdisi, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv [1961], 1-56; A. L. Tibawi, *Origin and character of al-Madrasah*, in *BSOAS*, xxv [1962], 225-38; H. Halm, *Die Anfänge der Madrasa*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. III, 1, XIX, Deutsche Orientalistentag [1977], 438-48). The sultan and men of high rank were now interested in it, and the type evolved by Niẓām al-Mulk, a school in which the students were boarded, became the prevailing one after his time. We may presume that the older schools also had a place for prayer in them, i.e. they were a kind of mosques. The type of school

known to us is built as a complete mosque. Since even the older mosques contained living-rooms which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque; only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students. This character is expressed by the name *madrasa*, plural *madāris*; it is a genuine Arabic formation from the word *darasa*, "to read", "to study", taken from Hebrew or Aramaic.

In the time of Niẓām al-Mulk and immediately afterwards, the *madrasa* spread in ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsān, al-Djazīra, etc. He was not content with the two he founded in Naysābūr and Baghdād. There was also a *Madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in Balkh (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿī*, 240); in Mawṣil (*ibid.*, 319); in Harāt, to which al-Shāshī (d. 485/1092) was called from Ghazna (*ibid.*, 310); and in Marw (Yāḳūt, iv, 509). The great vizier's rival Tādj al-Mulk (d. 486/1093) founded a *Madrasa Tādjiyya* in Baghdād (*ibid.*, 311). In Naysābūr, other *madrasas* were founded at the same time, for example one by al-Manīʿī (d. 463/1070-1; *ibid.*, 277) and a Shaṭbiyya (*ibid.*, 327).

The prosperity of the *madrasas* stimulated by Niẓām al-Mulk in the 5th/11th century survived for a long time in the east. In the 6th/12th century Ibn Djubayr (580/1184) mentions some thirty *madrasas* in Baghdād, all in the eastern part of the town, the most notable being the Niẓāmiyya, renovated in 504/1110-11 (*Riḥla*, 229). In 631/1234, the caliph al-Mustanṣir founded the magnificent Mustanṣiriyya as a school for the four rites, each with a teacher and seventy-five students and a teacher for Ḳurʾān and one for *ḥadīth*, as well as a physician. Attached to it were a library, baths, hospital and kitchens; there was a clock at the entrance; beside it was a garden where the caliph had a pavilion (*manẓara*) from which he could survey the whole building (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 266-7; Wüstenfeld, *Akademien der Araber*, p. iv and 29).

The Niẓāmiyya and the Mustanṣiriyya survived the destruction of Baghdād by Hūlāgū; both are mentioned at the beginning of the 8th/14th century by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 108-9), and the building of the latter still exists. Ten others are known of the 8th-9th/14th-15th century, all of which were founded for Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanafīs and for the study of Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* (L. Massignon, *Les Medresehs de Bagdâd*, in *BIFAO*, vii [1909], 77-86; the inscriptions, idem, in *MIFAO*, xxxi [1912]). Although the Tatars in 699/1300 destroyed many *madrasas* (Quatremère, *Hist. des sult. maml.*, ii/2, 163-4). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows that in the 8th/14th century there were still flourishing schools in the east. The Mongols also built *madrasas*; Hūlāgū's mother built two *madrasas* in Bukhārā where 1,000 students studied daily in each (*JA*, ser. 4, xx, 389; Quatremère, *Hist. sult. maml.*, i/1, 56). The period of greatest prosperity of the *madrasas* in Central Asia was under the Tīmūrids, notably in Samarḳand, where Tīmūr built a *djāmiʿ* "in the Indian style", and his wife a *madrasa* (Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, 1767, 444 ff.; see also Diez, *Kunst der islam. Völker*, 99-100).

In the towns of Mesopotamia and Syria, the movement spread from the 5th/11th century onwards.

In Damascus the two rulers Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (541-69/1146-63) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (570-89/1174-93) displayed a munificent activity in this direction, as did their *amīrs* and relatives. This activity was continued into the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries, so that al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521; *JA*, ser. 9, iii-vii) can give the following totals: seven *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, sixteen *dār al-ḥadīth*, three for both Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, 60 Shāfiʿī, 52 Ḥanafī, four Mālikī and ten Ḥanbalī *madrasas*, also three *madāris al-ṭibb*, all of which belong to the 7th/13th century. The founders were mainly rulers and *amīrs*, but also included merchants and quite a number of men of learning, and a few women also.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn introduced the *madrasa* into Jerusalem. According to Mudjīr al-Dīn (d. 927/1521), there were 31 *madrasas* and monasteries (which were in part used in the same ways as *madrasas*) in direct connection with the Ḥaram area, 29 near it, and 16 at some distance. Of these, some 40 are especially called *madrasa*, one a *dār al-Ḳurʾān* and one a *dār al-ḥadīth* (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, Paris 1876, 139 ff.; van Berchem, *Corpus*, ii, 1; cf. for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, Cairo 1310/1892-3, 402-3).

Next to Niẓām al-Mulk, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn has the greatest reputation as a builder of *madrasas*. He owes this mainly to the fact that his great activity as a builder lay in countries which became of great importance in the Muslim world, Syria with Palestine, and Egypt. Even before the fall of the Fāṭimids, in the year 566/1171: he had founded in Cairo the Nāṣiriyya for Shāfiʿīs and the Kambiyya for Mālikīs; for Shāfiʿīs also the Sharīfiyya and notably the great Ṣalāḥiyya or Nāṣiriyya (for the identity of the two, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 251, with *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142-3), beside al-Shāfiʿī's mausoleum (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 141-2; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 192 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 402-3). Those around him emulated this activity.

During the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the number of *madrasas* increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn there were two long rows of *madrasas* on the site of the old Fāṭimid palace in Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, in *MMAF*, i, 1889, 409 ff., pl. 3). Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442) mentions 73 *madrasas*, 14 for Shāfiʿīs, four for Mālikīs, ten for Ḥanafīs, three for Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, six for Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs, one for Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as *dār al-ḥadīth*, while the rite of 25 is not mentioned and four remained unfinished. Of these *madrasas*, according to him, about 13 were founded before 600, 20 in the 7th century, 29 in the 8th century and two after 800.

In Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time, the *madrasa* was also introduced into the Ḥidjāz. In the year 579/1183-4 the governor of Aden built in Mecca a *madrasa* for the Ḥanafīs, and in the following year a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* was also founded there (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 104). Up to the beginning of the 9th/15th century, 11 *madrasas* are mentioned (*ibid.*, 104-7), but others were added (*ibid.*, iii, 177-8, 211-12, 225-6, 351 ff., 417). In the 12th/18th century, they ceased entirely to be used for their original purpose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 229 ff.). *Madrasas* were also built in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 58, 98, 112).

In Asia Minor, *madrasas* spread under the Saldjūḳs; the oldest known date from the 7th/13th century (Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 1897, 156, 160, 178; Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1896, 48-9, 51-2; R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, 1928, 106 ff.).

In Tunis, many *madrasas* were erected under the Ḥafṣids (625-941/1228-1534), the oldest being the Madrasat al-Maʿraḍ in about 650/1252. In the *Chronicle of Tunis* (al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides*, tr. E. Fagnan, in *Rec. Not. et Mém. Soc. Arch. Const.*, xxi [1895], see index)

11 are mentioned. The first *madrasa* in the Maghrib was, according to Ibn Marzūḳ's *Musnad*, the Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn built by the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (656-85/1258-86) in Fās in 684/1285 (also called al-Ḥalfāʾiyyīn; see the edition by Lévi-Provençal, in *Hespéris*, v [1925], 34 [Arabic] = 44 [French]). Other Marīnids and their successors continued the building of *madrasas* in Fās, Tilimsān and other cities (cf. Bel, *Inscriptions de Fès*, in *JA*, ser. 11, x [1917], xii [1918]; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, ii, 1927, 465 ff.).

In Spain, according to Ibn Saʿīd (7th/13th century), there were no *madrasas*; instruction was given in the mosques (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 136); in the following century, however, a large *madrasa* was founded in Granada by the Naṣrid Yūsuf Abu 'l-Ḥādjdjādj in 750/1349 (Almagro Cardenas, in *Boletin de la Real Acad. de la Hist.*, xxvii, 490; Marçais, *op. cit.*, 516-17).

Ibn Khaldūn (808/1406) testifies to the spread of *madrasas* in Tunis and the Maghrib but laments the decline in education. In al-Andalus, Muslim culture was dying out and after the decline of Ḳurtuba and al-Ḳayrawān, education in the Maghrib was on a low level, while the old schools in ʿIrāḳ were no longer of importance. Cairo was a centre of learning to which all made their way, and studies also flourished in Persia (*Muḳaddima*, *faṣl* 6, no. 2). This decline in interest in learning soon became general. The learning of the time lacked vitality, and international scholarship was affected by political conditions. In 1517 A.D., Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] says that the lecture-rooms in Cairo were large and pleasant but the numbers who attended them were small. Some still studied *fiḳh*, but very few the arts (*Desc. de l'Afr.*, iii, 372, in *Rec. de Voy. et de Doc.*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1896-8).

5. The constitution of the madrasa.

We have seen that, already in the 4th/10th century, there were a number of *madrasas* outside Baghdād, the cultural centre of the Islamic world, but we have also noted the impetus to *madrasa*-building which took place in the next century and is associated especially with Niẓām al-Mulk. Even so, as further noted, earlier types of educational institution continued to flourish.

The *madrasa*, combining the functions of the *masdjid* and its nearby *khān* in one architectural unit, brought nothing new to legal studies as such. Nor was the student body more numerous in the *madrasa* than it was in its predecessor; the number in either type of college of law was usually twenty. Nor did the new *madrasa* put an end to the *masdjid* as a college; these last continued to be established as charitable foundations. Indeed, many *ʿulamāʾ* deplored the innovation of the *madrasa* which provided for all the needs of the student, including room and board, and encouraged, according to the *ʿulamāʾ*'s complaints, the worthy and unworthy alike to pursue knowledge for the wrong kind of motivation, a parasitic life of ease, instead of learning for the greater glory of God. Thus the *masdjid-khān* type of college continued to be founded, and many professors of law continued to teach there, as for instance, within the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, whose first *madrasa* was founded only in the first part of the 6th/12th century. This lingering preference for the *masdjid* is not surprising, given the place of the mosque in the Muslim community and the encouragement of the faithful to build mosques: "The Apostle of God ordered ... that *masdjids* be built" (*amara rasūl Allāh ... bi-bināʾ al-masādjid*, Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *ṣalāt*, 13; al-Tirmidhī, *Djāmiʿ*, *djumuʿa*, 65; see also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, *masādjid* 288; al-Tirmidhī, *op. cit.*, *daʿawāt*, 82; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, *ṣalāt*, 60).

One should not attach undue importance to the fact that the *madrasa* developed especially in the eastern lands of the caliphate, in ʿIrāḳ, Persia and Transoxania; this does not imply a cultural swing away from Arab Baghdād towards Persian Khurāsān, especially towards Naysābūr, which would be a misreading of cultural history due to anachronistic nationalist sentiment. Since there was no change in the curriculum, or in the teaching staff or students, and since the final product of the two types of colleges was exactly the same, that is, the *muftī-faḳīh*, the reason for the change in institutional typology must be sought elsewhere and may be found in the legal status of the two institutions concerned, the *masdjid* and the *madrasa*.

Relevant here is the fact that the legal status of the *madrasa* allowed the founder to retain complete control over the administrative and instructional staff of the institution, and therefore the retention of the power of patronage. For government officials, such as a *wazīr*, it permitted him to attract the support of the rank and file through their religious leaders employed by the founder. For these men, as well as for men of lesser power, the law of *waḳf* permitted them to place their wealth where it could be secured against confiscation.

Moreover, the *masdjid* and the *madrasa* were charitable foundations based on *waḳf*. The founder, the *wāḳif*, was free to found the one or the other type of institution. He could, in his deed of foundation, make any stipulations he wished regarding any aspect of his foundation, whether it be a *masdjid* or a *madrasa*, with only one limitation to his freedom of choice: none of his stipulations were to contravene the tenets of Islam. Legally speaking, he could not appoint the *imām* of the *masdjid*. If the *masdjid* had a professor in addition to the *imām*, the founder could appoint the professor. The *imām*, or the professor-*imām*, was appointed by the caliph alone, or by the caliph with the consent of the people of the quarter where the *masdjid* was located. A *madrasa*, as such, had no *imām*, unless the foundation was a complex including a *madrasa* and *masdjid*. The fundamental difference between the two institutions was that the *masdjid*, once the *waḳf* deed was signed, became a *waḳf taḥrīr*; that is to say, a foundation whose legal status is assimilated to the manumission of a slave. As the master, once he freed his slave, had no further rights over him, the founder, once the deed of his *masdjid* was signed, had no further rights over it, other than those legally-valid stipulations in his deed pertaining to the instructional aspects of his foundation.

Thus between the two great patrons of learning mentioned previously, Badr and Niẓām al-Mulk, the difference is that, while the former founded *masdjids* over which he had limited control, the latter founded *madrasas* over which his control was complete. Niẓām al-Mulk retained for himself and his progeny complete control over his network of *madrasas*. In Baghdād, where professorial tenure was usually for life in the *masdjid*-college of law, Niẓām al-Mulk hired and fired professors, some after a tenure of a month or even of a day. The introduction of *madrasas* in Baghdād may therefore be viewed as an encroachment upon the patronage of the caliph, whose control over *masdjid*- and *djāmiʿ*-mosques did not extent to the *madrasa*.

After the *masdjid* and *madrasa*, other institutions came into existence, especially the *dār al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], the first of which was, as already noted above, founded by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī in Damascus. In this institution, the *muḥaddith* was raised to the level of the *mudarris* in the *madrasa*. The *madrasa* founded for one *madhhab* tended to be divisive, since only those students who chose to belong to that *madhhab* were admitted for the study of law and the ancillary sciences. The *dār al-ḥadīth* served to bring together students of all *madhhabs*, and may thus be seen as a further manifestation of the triumph of traditionalism over the forces of rationalism represented by the *dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*] institutions, which soon disappeared from the scene. The *dār al-ḥadīth* must not be confused with either *dār al-tadrīs* or *dār al-sunna*, occasional terms that referred not to the study of *ḥadīth* but of *fiḳh*, and were used as terms of traditionalism opposing the rationalism of *dār al-ʿilm*.

Education in Islam was religious in nature and an obligation incumbent upon the *ʿulamāʾ*, the men of religious science. The caliph as the successor to the Prophet made it possible for teachers to teach in the Friday mosques where *ḥalḳas* [*q.v.*], study-circles, provided instruction in the various religious sciences and their ancillaries. Private individuals endowed institutions of learning, *masdjids* and *madrasas*, which they specified for one or the other of the *madhhabs* as they chose. Muslim institutions of learning, based on the law of *waḳf*, were endowments made by individual Muslims, of their own free will, without interference from the governing power. Even when the founder was a caliph, a *sulṭān*, a *wāzir*, or other official, he endowed his foundation as a Muslim individual, instituting his own private property as *waḳf* for a public purpose. These institutions were not public in the sense that anyone was entitled to attend them. They were set aside for restricted use in accordance with the *waḳf* stipulations of the founder, restricting admission to one or the other *madhhab*.

Founded at first for only one *madhhab*, *madrasas* were later founded for more than one. In the latter case, the students of each *madhhab* were taught separately. The system was as individualistic as the law itself: one *madrasa*, one *madhhab*. There were double, triple and quadruple *madrasas*, meaning that two, three or four *madhhabs* were involved; but the students of each *madrasa* within the compound were kept separate, each student body following the *madhhab* of its choice.

Madrasas were usually Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī or Ḥanbalī, with very few for the Mālikīs. Spain, predominantly Mālikī, had no *madrasas* as late as the 7th/13th century; as noted above, the earliest *madrasa*, said to be that of Granada, was not founded till the following century. Their sparseness throughout the Islamic world can be explained by the Mālikī law of *waḳf*, which prohibits Mālikī founders to retain control of the trusteeship of their institution. This discouraged founders from endowing *madrasas* as means of sheltering their wealth against confiscation, by retaining control of their institution for themselves and their progeny to the end of their line. Mālikī *madrasas* were founded in North Africa by the sovereigns, whose motives differed from those of private individuals; they were motivated by the prestige brought by their foundations to themselves and to their realms.

Besides the *djāmiʿ* and its study-circles, the *masdjid*, the *madrasa*, the *dār al-ḥadīth*, there were also the *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, the *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] and other conventional establishments (*khānḳāh*, *zāwiya* [*q.vv.*]), in which learning took place in the Islamic sciences. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 629/1231) lectured in a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād on *uṣūl*, *ḥadīth*, etc. (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 203) and a *Ribāṭ al-Khātūnī* is mentioned here, which had a library (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 269). There are other references to libraries in monasteries (see for Marw: Yāḳūt, iv, 509). In the *Khānaḳāh Shaykhū* founded in 756/1355, an extensive course of lectures, *fiḳh* according to all four *madhāhib*, *ḥadīth* and *iḳrāʾ* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 283) was given. In the *Ribāṭ al-Āthār* in the 8th/14th century, instruction was given in Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* (*ibid.*, 296); the Ḥanafī *madrasa* al-Djamāliyya (730/1430) was also a *khānaḳāh* (*ibid.*, 238 above); they had a common director. There were also institutions of learning consisting of a combination of two or three of the institutions mentioned; as, for instance, a *madrasa-ribāṭ-dār al-ḥadīth*. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, this combination of the two institutions became quite frequent, for example in the Niẓāmiyya in Cairo of the year 757/1356 (Van Berchem, *Corpus*, i, 242 ff.) and in the mausoleums of Barsbāy, 835 (*ibid.*, 365-6; cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 21, 22, 41), of al-Malik al-Ashraf Ināl, 855-60/1451-6 (*ibid.*, no. 271 ff.) and of Ḳāʾit Bāy, 879 (*ibid.*, 431 ff.). In the east, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the same relationship, for example in Shīrāz and in Karbalāʾ (ii, 78-9, 88, 99), and this is what he means when he says the Persians call the *zāwiya* the *madrasa* (ii, 30, 32). In the west, he lauds his own sovereign, who had built a splendid *zāwiya* in Fās (i, 84); here also learning and Ṣūfism were associated (see the quotation in Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *zāwiya*) and the *zāwiya* still plays an important part in North Africa.

Learning further took place in the hospitals (*māristān*, from the Persian *bīmāristān* [*q.v.*]) which were also used as schools of medicine, as well as in the private homes of scholars and elsewhere.

6. Courses of instruction and personnel.

As already explained, in the earliest period the principal subjects studied in the mosque were Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, to which was added the study of the Arabic language. In al-Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-ʿIlm*), *ʿilm* still means *ḥadīth* but, with the development of the systems of law and theology, these were also taught in the mosques. In the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Baṣra, al-Ashʿarī heard al-Djubbāʾī expound the Muʿtazilī *kalām* (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, 131); closely connected with this was methodology (*al-mudhākara wa 'l-naẓar*: cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 383). But many different subjects could also be taught. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who taught in al-Manṣūr's *Djāmiʿ* in Baghdād, lectured on his history of Baghdād (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246-7). Philosophy proper, however, disappeared from the mosques. In Spain, we are told, *falsafa* and *tandjīm* were only cultivated in secret, as those who studied them were branded as *zindīḳs*, and even stoned or burned (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 236). The *madrasas* were mainly established to teach the systems of *fiḳh*, and originally each school was intended to represent only one *madhhab*. Where the four *madhhāhib* are represented in one school, one can speak of four *madrasas*, e.g. *al-Madāris al-ṣāliḥiyya* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 209, 282).

The ordinary *madrasas*, however, included other subjects beside the study of *fiḳh* alone. Special mention is made of *naḥw* (al-Ṣāḥibiyya; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 205). In the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād and in other

madrasas in the east, philological studies were prosecuted (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 423-4; vi, 409). The custom, often occurring before Niẓām al-Mulk's time, of founding a *dār al-ḥadīth* was continued after him, e.g. in Cairo and Damascus. In 604/1207 al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam built beside the Ṣakhra mosque a *Madrasa naḥwiyya*, exclusively for Arabic linguistic studies (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, 86, 140), and schools for special subjects were not rare (cf. al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, ed. Myhrmann, 153). Al-Subkī mentions, in addition to the special *ḥadīth* schools, also *madāris al-tafsīr* and *madāris al-naḥw*.

In his *Muḳaddima* (*faṣl* 6, nos. 4 ff.), Ibn Khaldūn gives a survey of the divisions of Islamic studies. They are divided into *ʿulūm ṭabīʿiyya* and *naḳliyya*. The former are based on observation by the senses and deduction and are therefore also called *falsafiyya* or *ʿaḳliyya*; the latter are dependent on revelation by the lawgiver (*al-wāḍiʿ al-sharʿī*), and are therefore based on special transmission. The *ʿulūm naḳliyya* therefore comprise all branches of knowledge which owe their existence to Islam, namely Ḳur'ān, i.e. *tafsīr* and the seven *ḳirā'āt* (no. 5), *ḥadīth* with the sciences auxiliary to it, including *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* (no. 6), *al-fiḳh* with special emphasis on *al-farā'iḍ*, the law of inheritance (nos. 7-8), *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with the principles of law including methods of deduction and the differences between the *madhhāhib* (no. 9), *al-kalām*, theology, which is *naḳliyya* in as much as it is really a further development of *īmān* which comes under the head of religious duties, but is *ʿaḳliyya* in its nature since it is entirely based on abstract proofs (no. 10), *al-taṣawwuf*, something like practical theology (no. 11) and *taʿbīr al-ru'yā*, interpretations of visions (no. 12).

Linguistic sciences are related to the study of Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth* (cf. nos. 4, 37 beginning), which are divided into 4 parts; *al-naḥw*, *al-lugha*, *al-bayān* and *al-adab* (no. 37), and in the last named category comes the whole study of Arabic literature.

The *ʿulūm ʿaḳliyya* are variously classified, usually into 7 main sections (no. 13), and are *al-manṭiḳ*, logic which is the foundation of all others (no. 17), *al-arithmāṭīḳī*, arithmetic, including *ḥisāb* etc. (no. 14), *al-handasa*, geometry (no. 15), *al-hay'a*, astronomy (no. 16), *al-mūsīḳī*, the theory of tones and their definition by number etc. (see no. 13); then there is *al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*, the theory of bodies at rest and in motion—heavenly, human, animal, plant and mineral; among its subdivisions, special mention is made of *al-ṭibb*, medicine, and *al-falāḥa*, agriculture (nos. 18-20; cf. no. 29). The seventh main head is *ʿilm al-ilāhiyyāt*, metaphysics (no. 21). Magic, talismans, mysterious properties of numbers, etc., also form branches of Muslim learning (nos. 22 ff.).

Medicine was not only taught in special schools but also in the mosques and the *madrasas*; about 600/1203-4, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf lectured in the Azhar Mosque, but it is not quite clear whether his instruction in *ṭibb* was also given there (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 207) and in any case the "philosophical sciences" were cultivated outside the mosques.

The method of teaching was by lecturing and learning by heart (*talḳīn*). The first task was to learn the Ḳur'ān by heart and then to acquire as many traditions as possible. The *ḥadīth* was repeated three times so that the student could remember it (Bukharī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 30). Lecturing soon became dictation (*imlā'*), when the student wrote down what was said, except in the case of the Ḳur'ān (approved: al-Bukharī, *ʿIlm*, *bābs* 34, 36). The method was the same for linguistic or literary subjects as for *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, etc. The philologists not only used to dictate their grammatical works, as for example Ibn Durayd (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, 127) or Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (d. 345/957), who dictated from memory 30,000 folios on *lugha* (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 26), but also the text of the poets, like al-Ṭabarī, who lectured on al-Ṭirimmāḥ in the Mosque of ʿAmr in 256/870 (*ibid.*, vi, 432). Dictation was especially important in the case of *ḥadīth*, as the exact establishment of the text was the first necessity. It is therefore always said "he dictated *ḥadīth*" (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 139; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 246). The class of a teacher is therefore *madjlis al-imlā'* (*ibid.*, ii, 243; vii, 74), and his famulus among the students is *al-mustamlī* (cf. *ibid.*, vi, 282; vii, 74). Problems of *fiḳh* were also dictated (so Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, ed. Flügel, no. 249).

All this meant that reliance on the memory, for the learning above all of the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*, was highly prized, and repetition much cultivated. Jurisconsults were quoted as saying that in their student days they used to repeat each law lecture fifty times or more in order to imbed it in the memory. A school exercise was developed, whereby students quizzed one another as an aid to learning their lesson and as a contest to see who knew more than the other. The term used for the exercise was *mudhākara* ("a calling something to mind with another, conferring with another"). However, the importance of understanding was also recognised, above all as legal studies developed, and this is the lexical meaning of the term *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], which comes to have the technical meaning of "positive law". This shift of emphasis to both memorisation and comprehension is illustrated by the saying that "learning is a city, one of whose gates is memory and the other is understanding" (*al-ʿilm madīna, aḥad bābayhā al-riwāya, wa 'l-ākhar al-dirāya*).

But the most important method developed for legal studies was the method of disputation (*munāẓara*, *ṭarīḳat al-naẓar*), the legal school exercise par excellence. It consisted of (1) a thorough knowledge of *khilāf*, that is, the divergent legal opinions of jurisconsults; (2) a thorough knowledge of *djadal*, dialectic; and (3) *munāẓara*, disputation. The disputant had to know by heart as extensive a list as possible of the disputed questions of law (*al-masā'il al-khilāfiyya*) and have ready answers for them. It was his skill at disputation which earned for him the licence to teach law and to issue legal opinions (*idjāzat al-tadrīs wa 'l-fatwā*). The licence he obtained after a long period of study, usually four years of basic studies of law, followed by an indeterminate period of fellowship (*ṣuḥba*), during which he was apprenticed as *muʿīd* or repetitor of his master or otherwise made himself useful to the younger students, sometimes called *mufīd* ("one who imparts useful knowledge") and holding the post of *ifāda*.

During the *ṣuḥba* stage of his learning, the graduate student wrote a *taʿlīḳa*, which was a compilation of notes from the lectures of his master, often including notes taken from the latter's writings. When such a compilation was original in nature, as to its arrangement and the treatment of the subject-matter, it came to be known by the name of its compiler. The term *taʿlīḳa* is also applied to a compilation of the master, a syllabus on law, from which the master taught his disciples. Some of these *taʿlīḳas* consisted of many volumes, as many

as fifty in one case. Masters who had no *taʿlīḳas* used those of others.

The class (*dars*) began with the recitation of the Ḳurʾān by a *ḳāriʾ*, with blessings on the Prophet, and other religious formulae (*Madkhal*, i, 56; cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, 172-3). At the present day, the teacher as a rule simply pronounces the *basmala* himself. Dictation alone was not everywhere the custom. In time, there came to be so many copies of the chief texts that the students were able to get copies for themselves. The text was in this case read aloud and the teacher gave his comments and emendations on the text (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 255). It was only natural that the dictation of texts was first abandoned in philology; it is said to have been dropped as early as the 4th/10th century (Mez, *Renaissance*, 171). This does not mean that dictation was completely abandoned, for the teacher still made his pupils write down his comments; for example, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 584/1188) dictated his lessons (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 20) and the method of having a text read aloud, while the lecturer explained only any remarkable phrases, was used as early as by the teacher of *ḥadīth*, Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/912; *ibid.*, vi, 282).

Ibn Khaldūn laments that so few teachers in his time understand the correct methods of teaching (*ṭuruḳ al-taʿlīm*). They put difficult questions at once to the pupil instead of arranging the *talḳīn* so that it is always combined with explanations, and it is a fundamental principle that the pupil should not mix the different subjects. They laid too much stress on learning by heart (*ḥifẓ*) (*Muḳaddima, faṣl* 6, no. 2, 29, 30; cf. al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, 151-2). Mechanical learning by heart is recognised for the Ḳurʾān. When the above-mentioned Ibn Ḳaysān expounded *ḥadīths*, he also asked his hearers about their, meaning. Conversely the class was at liberty to ask questions of the teacher. Al-Shāfiʿī used to sit in his great *ḥalḳa* in Mecca and say: "Ask me what you want, and I will then give you information on the Ḳurʾān and *sunna*" (*ibid.*, vi, 391; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, in *BGA*, iii, 379). The teacher was sometimes overwhelmed with questions (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 272). Ibn Djubayr saw written questions being handed to a teacher in the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād (219-20). Both practices are still in vogue, and even in large classes the student may interrupt with questions.

7. The scholastic community: the teachers.

The general designation for master was *shaykh*. When used with a complement, the term designated the master of various fields; as, for instance, *shaykh al-ḥadīth*, *shaykh al-ḳirāʾa*, for the professor of *ḥadīth* and the professor of Ḳurʾānic studies respectively. The term *ustādh* was a kind of honorary title (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 113, 209, ii, 271, v, 353, 354, 358, 448); it has continued in use till the present day, and in contemporary Arabic usage is the equivalent of the Western term "professor", "holder of a professorial chair". But in distinction from these more general terms, the professor of law had a designation all his own, a term used without a complement, sc. *mudarris*. He was not referred to as *shaykh al-fiḳh*. The term *mudarris* with a complement was sometimes used to designate other professors. *Shaykh al-ribāṭ* was used to designate the director, or abbot, of a monastery. The *mudarris*, like the *ḳāḍī*, was entitled to have a deputy, a *nāʾib mudarris*, who taught during his absence, The *mudarris* could, in fact, have several *nāʾibs*. This happened when the professor of law held several poets (*tadrīs*, pl. *tadārīs*); he would teach in one or the other of these posts and hire deputies to teach in the others. Thus, as the chair for the professorship of law could be divisible, the professorships could be multiple.

The term *raʾīs* was applied to any scholar who had reached the summit of his field in his locality. It was used especially in the field of law; biographical notices often express it by saying that "leadership in the school of law ended up with him" (*intahat ilayhi riyāsat al-madhhab*). The terminology used in these notices is indicative of the competition that existed among the jurisconsults: *baraʿa fi 'l-fiḳh* ("he excelled in the field of law"; *la yushaḳḳu ghubāruh* ("his dust cannot be penetrated"—comparing the legal scholar to a thoroughbred so swift that other horses in the race fail to keep him in sight, the dust of his hoofs having settled by the time they get to where he was); *kāna ḳāṭiʿ al-nuẓarāʾ* ("he was the annihilator of his peers"); etc. The titulature is also indicative of this competition to gain the heights, not only in learning but also in the military and in government: *amīr al-umarāʾ* ("prince of princes"), *malik al-mulūk* ("king of kings"), *sulṭān al-salāṭīn* ("sultan of sultans"), *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* ("judge of judges"), *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* ("scholar of scholars"), and even of the term *raʾīs* itself, *raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ* ("leader of leaders").

In places where the term *raʾīs* designated a post, as for instance in Naysābūr, where there was also a *nāʾib raʾīs*, a sub-leader, or deputy-leader, the post appears as one requiring, besides the qualification of leadership, that of non-partisanship, someone capable of acting as peace-maker, a moderator between opposing factions among the scholars. This, however, was not the head of a guild of masters. Such an organisation was unlikely in a system highly individualistic in character. The concept of a guild or corporation based on juristic personality was unknown to mediaeval Islam, where juristic personality belonged to the natural physical person alone.

It has often been said that teachers were organised into a guild, and the usual argument advanced for this assertion is an anecdote cited in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246 ff., according to which al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [q.v.]) had to have the permission of *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* in order to teach *ḥadīths* in Baghdād's Mosque of al-Manṣūr. The function of the *naḳīb al-naḳabāʾ* was also confused with the term *raʾīs*, further adding to the concept of a head of a guild of masters. No one has claimed to know how the guild worked, which is no surprise, since there was none. The *naḳīb* was the marshal of the nobility, the *ashrāf*. His function was to investigate all claims to descent from the Prophet's family and to keep rolls of the legitimate descendants of the Prophet, for they were entitled to a lifetime pension. There were two *naḳībs*: one for the Sunnīs, *naḳīb al-hāshimiyyīn*; and one for the Shīʿīs, *naḳīb al-ṭālibiyyīn*.

The above-mentioned anecdote has to do with the *naḳīb al-hāshimiyyīn*. The Mosque of al-Manṣūr was located in the quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra, on the west side of the city, the stronghold of the constituency of the *naḳīb*. This constituency was made up of traditionalist *ashrāf* and an overwhelming majority of Ḥanbalīs. Al-Baghdādī had been a Ḥanbalī, had changed over to the Shāfiʿī school of law, but was suspected of Ashʿarism, to which the Ḥanbalīs were highly hostile. Al-Bāghdādī asked the caliph's permission to lecture in the Mosque, for

it was his declared, lifelong ambition to do so, the Mosque being known as the institution with the highest reputation for the science of *ḥadīth*. The caliph, aware of the hostility of the people of the Bāb al-Baṣra to the lecturer, called on the *naḳīb*, as the Marshal of the Sharīfs of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter, to see to it that the event would not produce a riot. The *naḳīb* agreed to do so, but reluctantly, since he felt that he did not have enough men to control the assembly if it should get out of hand. An incident did occur, bricks were thrown at the speaker, and turbans were snatched, but the *naḳīb* succeeded in limiting the damage.

Thus permission to lecture in the Great Mosque was sought from the caliph, who alone made appointments to the teaching posts, the *ḥalḳas*, of the great mosques (there were, at the time, six of these) in Baghdād. The *naḳīb* was not the head of a guild of masters, such as the *universitas magistrorum* of the Latin West; there was no such guild in mediaeval Islam.

In spite of all flexibility, a certain stability developed in the teaching staff of the mosques. This was connected with the question of pay. It was for long in dispute whether it was permitted to accept payment for giving instruction. In the collections of *ḥadīth* the practice is both supported and condemned, and it is said that the teacher may accept money, but not demand it, and avaricious teachers are strongly condemned. There are continual references to people who gave lecturers without payment (al-Bukhārī, *Idjāza, bāb* 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 36; Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 8). The custom of the older Jewish scholars of exercising a handicraft was not common among the Muslims, but was found occasionally. Among men of learning we find shoemakers, locksmiths and sandal-makers (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿî*, 227, 231, 267; cf. also Mez, *Renaissance des Islam*, 179). It was the rule, however, for the teacher to be paid for his work. This might be a wholly personal donation from a prince or other rich man: for example al-Ṭabarī was given a sum of money when he taught in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 428; cf. the remarks above on wandering scholars). It was as a rule, however, a regular salary which was paid out of endowment, so that the position was a regular professorial chair; this was especially the case in the *madrasas*. The salaries of the teachers (*maʿlūm*, also *djawāmik*, *djāmakiyya*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.) varied considerably, according to the endowment. According to al-Maḳrīzī, learned men might have 50 *dīnārs* a month in all in addition to allowances in kind (iii, 364). On ceremonial occasions, they often were given special marks of distinction, such as gifts in money and robes of honour.

There were a very large number of teachers in the great mosques. In the *madrasa* at first only one was appointed. A *madrasa* frequently took its name from a distinguished teacher (e.g. the Ghaznawiyya in Cairo; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 235; Sharīfiyya, originally the Nāṣiriyya; *ibid.*, 193; cf. the Masdjid al-Kisāʾī in Baghdād). In the larger *madrasas*, however, several teachers were appointed; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed 4 lecturers to the Ḳamḥiyya in Cairo (*ibid.*, 193); in this case a definite number (20) of students was allotted to each teacher (cf. *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 105-6).

It is easily understood that the conditions in the older mosques, where every one could come and go, were freer than in the *madrasas*, which were built for particular teachers and students. There was probably as a rule no official recognition of the teachers in the earliest period. After textbooks had come into use, the certificate of qualification was the *idjāza*, and so it has remained to modern times. Anyone who had studied with a teacher could get permission from him to teach from the book, which he had copied out and studied from his dictation; the teacher wrote this permission (*idjāza*) in the book (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 253; ii, 272). A teacher could also give an *idjāza ʿāmma*, which permitted the individual concerned to teach from all his works (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 251). It was the usual thing for a travelling scholar to collect numerous *idjāzāt*; thus ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had certificates of this kind from teachers in Baghdād, Khurāsān, Egypt and Syria (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 202). There were special formulae for the *idjāza* for *tadrīs* and *futyā* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiv, 322 ff.). Some scholars only gave occasional lectures, and others only dealt with a very limited subject; thus one was appointed to the Niẓāmiyya to lecture in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* because he had attended lectures on this from a celebrated teacher. There were however many learned men who devoted themselves mainly to teaching and taught several subjects; often they taught many hours every day (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 282, 383; vii, 176), and pious teachers even spent the night in the mosque in prayer (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿi*, 258). Sometimes a young teacher began by dictating *ḥadīth* and later received a post with a wider scope in a mosque (*ibid.*, 239).

The distinction between teacher and taught was not absolute; any one could have an *idjāza* in one subject while he was still a student in others, and even men of ripe scholarship attended the lectures of notable teachers. This led students to travel from one seat of learning to another, just as they used to travel in early days to collect *ḥadīths* (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 7, 19, 26). All the biographies of learned men give examples of this; the old Hellenistic custom was thus continued (cf. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece*), and royal courts still played the same part; at them learned guests received donations, which enabled them to appear as teachers in the mosques (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 75 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, vii, 452; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 205; cf. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vi, 589). Distinguished scholars were of course much visited by lovers of learning; of one of the latter, it is said *ruḥila ilayhi* or *ilayhi kānat al-riḥla* "they used to travel to him" (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 174; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 207; cf. 141).

The blurring of the distinction between the teachers and the taught only really applied to fields were the authoritative transmission of a text was involved. This occurred especially in *ḥadīth*. In this field one remained, in a sense, a student all one's life, collecting authorisations (*idjāza*) from the transmission of one or more *ḥadīths*. There were many instances where an accomplished scholar of *ḥadīth* would seek the authoritative transmission of a collection of *ḥadīths*, or even of a single *ḥadīth*, from one many years younger than he but who had the *idjāza* to transmit the *ḥadīth*(s), and was, most likely, the last to receive that authority from its last holder. This situation was due to the oral character of authoritative transmission. The perennial preoccupation of the conscientious *ḥadīth* scholar was to travel in search of those rare *ḥadīths*, whose rarity was due to the ever-decreasing number of transmitters duly authorised to transmit them. Biographical notices sometimes tell of the authorised transmitter

who had made a collection of such *ḥadīth*s and had waited until he had survived all other authorised transmitters before making them available, at which time he could exact his own price for them. This practice was, of course, condemned. There are well-known *ḥadīth*s not only encouraging the gathering and spreading of knowledge but also condemning those who would gather and conceal it.

On the other hand, the distinction between teacher and taught in the field of law was quite clear. To obtain the licence to teach law, one had to study many years under a professor of law, become proficient in the scholastic method of disputation and build up as vast a répertoire of disputed questions of law as possible, together with solutions to these questions; then one had successfully to defend one's thesis or theses against the adversary, often one's own master. This long process could take place under one master alone; but it sometimes took place under two, one for the basic four years, another for the graduate, apprentice, period. More rarely, a law student could study under as many as five professors, but the process was always the same: the defence of a thesis or theses which learned him the licence to teach and to issue legal opinions, a licence attesting to his competence in the law as a field of knowledge.

Islamic law is individualistic; this may be seen in the function of the *ḳāḍī*, the *muftī* and the *mudarris*, or professor of law, as well as in the *madrasa*, the college of law. The *ḳāḍī* was alone responsible for his legal decision; the *muftī* was alone responsible for his legal opinion, based on *idjtihād*, and individual, personal activity of research in the sources of the law. Likewise, every *madrasa* represented one *madhhab*; a double *madrasa* represented two *madhhab*s where students were kept separate; so also with the triple, and quadruple *madrasa*; and every *madhhab* was represented by one professor of law, who might have under his direction one or several *muʿīd*s and *mufīd*s. Some instances in history illustrate this unicity of the professorial chair in the college of law. In 483/1090, a few months after the appointment of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī to the Niẓāmiyya's chair of law in Baghdād, Abū Muḥammad al-Fāmī arrived with orders to occupy the chair. Both professors were made to share the chair, and taught law according to an alternating schedule, one teaching one day, the other, the next. A variation on this solution later became standard procedure in some colleges of Damascus, where the professorial chair was assigned to two, three and four professors of law, each retaining a half (*niṣf*), a third (*thulth*) or a fourth (*rubʿ*) of the post and being paid accordingly.

The teacher had his particular place in the mosque, often beside a pillar: this was his *madjlis*, which was inherited by his successors (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 135; cf. 181 below, 182; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 5; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 135; Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿī*, 239). The outward appearance of the class did not alter through the centuries. His hearers sat in a circle (*ḥalḳa*: the listeners *taḥallaḳū*; al-Maḳrīzī, IV, 49, ll. 17-50; cf. on the word, Quatremère, *Hist. sult. maml.*, i/2, 197 ff.) on the ground before the lecturer. The teacher sat on a carpet (*sadjdjāda*; cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabaʾ*, i, 254) or skin (*farwa*). This was described as a symbol of his dignity in his *waṣiyya* (al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, 134). We often find in large audiences that the teacher had a raised seat (for the older period, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 212).

It was not the custom for teachers to live in the mosque. Of course, a teacher, like any other pious individual, could stay in the mosque and even have a room there; al-Ghazālī for example lived in the mosque of the Umayyads, where Ibn Djubayr saw his room. But these were exceptions; al-ʿAzīz built a dwelling-house for the teachers in the Azhar near the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49). The earlier *madrasa*s founded by Niẓām al-Mulk often had lodgings for the teacher, especially as the teacher sometimes made his lodging his classroom, and this is also found later. Thus in the Salāḥiyya, the head of the college had his home within the buildings (Ibn Djubayr, 48).

Of the teachers, many were also *ḳāḍī*s (as in their day were the *kuṣṣāṣ*, who were in a way the predecessors of the teachers). The *ḳāḍī*s frequently were able to accumulate a considerable number of offices. The chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (*ca.* 700/1300-1) had 17 offices (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 137-8). The teacher could also be a *muftī* (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 136).

The professor of law was assisted by the "repetitor", *muʿīd*, as drill-master. The professor of law was also assisted by the *mufīd*, a sort of "scholar in residence" who imparted "useful information", *fāʾida*, pl. *fawāʾid*, to the students of the institution. The post of *mufīd* was also used in the field of *ḥadīth*, for the same general purpose. There were usually two *muʿīd*s for each teacher. The *muʿīd*'s duty was to read over with the students the lecture after the class and explain it to the less gifted students. The celebrated *faḳīh* al-Bulḳīnī began as a repeater with his father-in-law in the Kharrūbiyya (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 202); it was also possible to be an independent teacher in one school and a repeater in another (al-Naṣīr, d. 669/1270-1; *Ḥuṣn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 189). The Ṣalāḥiyya, which ought to have had 4 teachers with 2 repeaters, was run for 30 years by 10 repeaters and no teachers (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 251; cf. also 210; al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, 154-5; al-Ḳalḳashāndī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿshāʾ*, v, 464, and Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner*, 25; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, 1837). As noted above, the counterpart of the *muʿīd* in law was the *mustamlī* in *ḥadīth*, whose function it was to repeat the *ḥadīth* dictated by the professor of *ḥadīth* to a class that could often run into the hundreds and thousands. In the case of such large classes, several *mustamlī*s relayed the *ḥadīth* to those who were not within earshot of the professor.

Other posts in the various institutions included the grammarian or *naḥwī*, who taught grammar and the other literary arts generally, and the various preachers. These comprised *al-khaṭīb* [*q.v.*], who preached the Friday sermon in the *djāmiʿ*; *al-wāʿiẓ* [*q.v.*], who preached the academic sermon and taught the art of the sermon; and the popular preachers called *al-ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] and *ḳāriʾ al-kursī*. Other holders of posts included *al-imām*, who led the five daily prayers in the mosques; the elementary school teacher of the *maktab* and *kuttāb*, called variously *al-muʿallim*, *al-muʾaddib* and *al-faḳih* (colloquially, in Egypt, esp., *al-fiḳī*); the monitors, *al-ʿarīf*, *kātib al-ghayba*; the copyists of manuscripts, *al-nāsikh* and *al-warrāḳ* (the latter term was also used for the bookseller; it would seem that the *warrāḳ* copied books for sale and hired the *nāsikh*, pl. *nussākh*, to copy for him); the corrector of copied manuscripts, *al-muṣaḥḥiḥ*; the collator of copied manuscripts, *al-muḳābil* or *al-muʿāriḍ*; and the servitor, *al-khādim*, a manservant who worked for a professor or a rich student while pursuing his own

studies. Most of these functions were performed by students working their way through college.

8. The scholastic community: the students.

Every one was absolutely free to join a *ḥalḳa* in the mosque in order to hear a teacher. Al-Muḳaddasī for example tells us that the learned men of al-Fārs used to sit from early morning till midday and from ʿ*aṣr* to *maghrib* for the common people (*li 'l-ʿawāmm*) (*BGA*, iii, 439). But as soon as the teachers developed into a regular class of society, the students (*ṭalaba*, *tullāb*, sing. *ṭālib*) who were systematically training in the Muslim sciences also became a recognised section of the community. Together with the teachers, they formed the guild of the educated, *aṣḥāb al-ʿimāma* (now *ahl al-ʿimme* in Egypt). They were able to select their teachers as they pleased; the most celebrated teachers had therefore large numbers of students. Many never finished studying, for they could always find new teachers to study under up to their old age, even if they themselves also taught. The ambitious would only study under (*darasa ʿalā*) great teachers and therefore travelled about the Muslim world a great deal (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 237). This travelling, partly as teacher and partly as student, for the sake of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* was long kept up in Islam.

When the student had completed his teacher's course, the teacher declared his knowledge mature in the particular subject and the student was able to regard himself as perfect in it (*takharradja ʿalayhi*). The relation of student to teacher is patriarchal and the student kisses his hands. This does not prevent quarrels breaking out, and in such cases the teachers might be treated very disrespectfully (cf. Sulaymān Raṣad, *Kanz al-djawhar*, 141 ff., 192 ff.).

The *madrasas* introduced an innovation into the relationship of teacher to student, when a definite number of students (as a rule, twenty) was allotted to a particular teacher. Instruction was thus organised on more systematic lines. But even then irregular students were also admitted. It is only in quite modern times that the instruction has been really properly organised.

We hear exceptionally of women students; one was a member of al-Shāfiʿī's *madjlis* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 181, below). In the early centuries it cannot have been unusual, for it is several times mentioned in *ḥadīths*, which reserve special days for women (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 32, 36, 50).

In the *madrasas* and some mosques, students were offered lodging and certain allowances in addition, food, bread (*djarāya*) and money.

A student living in a mosque is called *mudjāwir* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 54), a word which is also applied to Meccan pilgrims (Ibn Djubayr, 122) and to anyone living in a mosque. The students' apartments are divided into *arwiḳa*, usually according to nations, a word which is derived from the fact that they originally lived in the colonnades. Each *riwāḳ* is under a *shaykh*. Many students live in *khānaḳāhs*, other in private houses.

9. Conclusion.

The Muslim system of education in the Middle Ages was based on the *waḳf*, which, as already mentioned, gave the founder a free hand in determining the course of his foundation, as long as his stipulations were in keeping with the tenets of Islam. The historian must be circumspect about generalising for one institution on the basis of the particulars of another. The history of Muslim education must therefore be written on the basis of the deeds of *waḳf*, of which few are extant, and are in any case mostly late in date, as well as on the basis of biographical literature and the chapters on *waḳf* in the *fatwā*-works. These are the main sources to be consulted for the history of institutionalised education; that is, that education which took place in the *djāmiʿ*, the *masdjid*, the *madrasa*, the *dār al-ḥadīth*, the *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, the *ribāṭ*, the *khānḳāh*, the *zāwiya* and the various combinations of these.

For the relation between Muslim institutions of learning and those of the mediaeval Latin West, see the *Bibl.*

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(J. Pedersen - [G. Makdisi])

II. In Muslim India

The *madrasas* in Muslim India were institutions of higher learning similar to those in other parts of the Islamic world. Their principal function was to train personnel for government service, more particularly, for the administration of justice. They were either founded and subsidised by the state or established by private individuals. The education provided in them dealt mainly with religious subjects, and was offered by well-qualified teachers.

The real foundations of Muslim education in India may be traced back to the establishment of the Dihlī Sultanate in 1206 and the emergence of Dihlī as an important seat of Islamic learning. Evidence points to the existence of two major *madrasas* in Dihlī in the early years of Muslim rule. One of them was the Muʿizziyya, an institution probably founded by Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), and named after Muḥammad Ghūrī's title Muʿizz al-Dīn. The other

madrasa, known as Nāṣiriyya, was built by Balban while he was working as chief minister to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-64/1246-66), from whom the *madrasa* took its name. As the Mongols overran the heartlands of Islam, many refugee scholars from Central Asia and Persia took shelter in Dihlī, and their presence gave further momentum to educational activities in the capital. Early Muslim education found a strong champion in Fīrūz-Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88) who, according to Firishta, built no less than 30 colleges in various parts of his kingdom. The sultan is also noted for having restored a large number of *madrasas* which had fallen into disrepair. Among the institutions founded by him the most outstanding was the Madrasa-yi Fīrūz-Shāhī, constructed in Dihlī in 753/1352-3. It was the biggest *madrasa* in the capital, with residential facilities for both teachers and students. It stood on the southern bank of the Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ, an enormous tank built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī in 695/1296. It was a double-storeyed building with arched galleries on all sides and projecting windows overlooking the tank, and its façade presented an impressive mixture of Hindū and Muslim architectural elements.

Other important educational centres, besides Dihlī, included Badāʾūn [*q.v.*], a city approximately 150 miles east of the capital. Under the Sayyid dynasty (817-55/1414-51), it rose into prominence as a seat of learning with many schools and colleges. In Āgra [*q.v.*], which acquired importance during Sikandar Lodī's reign (894-923/1489-1517), the latter founded a *madrasa* famous throughout northern India. In addition, he established non-religious schools where Hindūs also could enrol themselves to learn Persian, which now replaced Hindī as the language of lower administration. This, in turn, led to the growth of a parallel school system distinct from the regular *madrasas*.

Education received encouragement in the regional kingdoms which sprang up in different parts of the country during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. Under the rule of Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharḳī (804-44/1402-40), Djawnpūr [*q.v.*] acquired distinction as an intellectual centre of considerable importance having many educational institutions. Likewise, the Bahmanī kingdom of Deccan was known for its patronage of learning and learned men. Some of its kings, such as Tādj al-Dīn Fīrūz (800-25/1397-1422) and Muḥammad Shāh III Lashkarī (867-87/1463-82), were great benefactors of education. Maḥmūd Gāwān (d. 886/1481 [*q.v.*]), minister of Muḥammad Shāh, founded in 877/1472 a *madrasa* in Bīdar [*q.v.*] which acquired fame as a great institution. It was a magnificent building equipped with living quarters for students and teachers, and had an attached library containing a large number of books. Though severely damaged during Awrangzīb's campaign against Bīdjāpūr towards the later part of the 11th/17th century, its surviving remains bear sufficient witness to its superb architecture.

Under the Mughals, educational activities continued to find an important place in the policies of the government. Bābur (932-7/1526-30 [*q.v.*]), during his brief reign, founded a *madrasa* in Dihlī where, in addition to traditional subjects, special provision was made for the teaching of mathematics, astronomy and geography. He also charged the Department of Public Affairs (*Shuhrat-i ʿĀmm*) with the task of establishing schools and colleges in the kingdom. The vicissitudes of Humāyūn's (937-47, 962-3/1530-40, 1555-6) fortunes were, no doubt, responsible for the paucity of educational activities seen during his reign. But under his successor, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), numerous *madrasas* were founded by the state as well as by private individuals. Akbar built a big college in his new capital Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], and, in Dihlī, his wet-nurse, Māham Anga, founded a *madrasa* in 969/1561-2, which was noted for its architecture. Akbar also laid down that the curriculum of the *madrasas* should include subjects such as ethics, mathematics, agriculture, geometry, astronomy, physics, logic, natural philosophy, theology and history. In response to Akbar's policy of religious accommodation, non-sectarian institutions increased in number, providing common education to Hindūs and Muslims alike.

During Djahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-1627), many *madrasas* which had ceased to function or had fallen into decay were restored and revived. The ruler issued an ordinance which required that if a wealthy person or a traveller died without an heir, his property should revert to the state and be utilised for the building and maintenance of the *madrasas*. Shāhdjahān's (1037-68/1628-57) name is associated with the imperial *madrasa* attached to the congregational mosque built by him at Dihlī in 1060/1650. Under Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707), special emphasis was placed of the diffusion of Islamic learning. The foundations of the famous seminary in Lucknow, known as Farangī Maḥall [*q.v.* in Suppl.], were laid during this time. The name actually referred to the building granted by Awrangzīb, towards the end of the 11th/17th century, to a a family of scholars who made Farangī Maḥall a leading centre of Islamic learning. Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn, author of *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, the syllabus named after him, used to teach at this place. Another well-known institution, opened in Dihlī during Awrangzīb's reign, was the Madrasa-yi Raḥīmiyya. Founded by the noted divine and father of Shāh Walī Allāh (1115-75/1703-62), Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, this *madrasa* specialised in the teaching of exegesis and traditions, and was the forerunner of the modern seminary of Deoband [*q.v.*].

Little is known about the organisation and working of the *madrasas*. The emphasis on religious subjects in their curriculum seems to have remained consistent throughout their history. An attempt was made during Akbar's time to give importance to the instruction of mediaeval rational sciences such as logic, mathematics, medicine and astronomy, but it is doubtful whether this was followed by every *madrasa*. The *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, after its introduction in the mid-12th/18th century, was adopted by the *madrasas* all over the country, thus standardising the syllabus for traditional education. It included Arabic grammar and syntax, logic, philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, scholastics and dialectics, exegesis and traditions.

The cause of traditional Muslim education received a setback in the years following the decline of the Mughal rule. It suffered further reversal with the expansion of English education and spread of Western knowledge and ideas. Nevertheless, many *madrasas* continued to flourish in later times. The oldest among these was the *madrasa* at Farangī Maḥall; another important *madrasa* was that of Deoband, a small town north of Dihlī. It was founded in 1867 by Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim Nānotawī (d. 1879) in conjunction with other *ʿulamāʾ*. The last of the traditional institutions to be mentioned is the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ of Lucknow established

in 1894. Among its founders was the reputed scholar Shiblī Nuʿmānī (1857-1914), who remained actively associated with it from 1904 to 1913. All the above *madrasas* have survived up to the present time, despite their limited financial resources and meagre enrolments.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

III. ARCHITECTURE

The *madrasa* was a response to the specific needs of the Muslim community; it was a custom-built structure tailored to serve an institution which was itself a deliberate innovation. Moreover, the *madrasa* was the creation of a self-confident, well-established civilisation near the peak of its achievement: the earliest *madrasas* recorded are those of eastern Iran in the early 4th/10th century, and evidence unearthed by modern historians working on the pre-Saldjūḳ period in eastern Iran suggests that the "prehistory" of the *madrasa* can be traced for at least one and a half centuries before the official Saldjūḳ adoption of the institution. It is, however, highly unlikely that these earlier *madrasas* were substantial public buildings. Their very number argues against it. By 416/1025-6 there were twenty *madrasas* in the modest provincial region of Khuttal [*q.v.*], and each was fully endowed with *awḳāf*. The missionary Karrāmiyya movement [*q.v.*] which was so strong in eastern Iran in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries had a strong educational and polemical bias, and both *khānaḳāhs* [*q.v.*] and *madrasas* were built in quantity by the adherents of this sect. The Ghaznavids also used *madrasas* endowed with *awḳāf* in order to establish Islam in the stubbornly pagan territory of Ghūr, possibly through the intermediary of missionaries from the Karrāmiyya.

Above all, such foundations should be seen within the context of a well-established tradition of building *madrasas* in the large cities of the eastern Iranian world. The best documented case is Nīshāpūr, where no less than 38 *madrasas* predating the great Niẓāmiyya of that city (founded *ca.* 450/1058) are recorded, though none of them survive; for further details, see above, section i, 4.

The apparently eastern Iranian origin of the *madrasa* makes that the obvious area in which to seek the architectural origins of the institution. Two major possibilities present themselves, and these are not mutually exclusive. The first, espoused by Bartold over sixty years ago, would link the *madrasa* with the Buddhist *vihāra* as attested in Central Asia and Afghānistān. This area had been saturated in Buddhism in the centuries immediately preceding the Muslim conquest and it seems not surprising that a Buddhist institution combining the functions of worship, education, communal life and burial should have flourished in the almost very area associated with the earliest *madrasas*. Bartold's prescience was confirmed by the discovery of one such site at Adzhina-Tepe just across the Oxus to the north-east of Balkh. This consisted of a monastery and stupa complex, the whole comprising two equal halves joined by a gangway and each measuring some 50 m square. Both elements use a four-*īwān* plan focused on a central courtyard. The monastery element consisted of temple structures, cells for the monks, and a large assembly hall, plus various ancillary rooms. All this was linked by corridors. In its essentials, and even more in its four-*īwān* plan, this 7th-8th century monument comes remarkably close in spirit to a *madrasa*, though the Muslim emphasis on education is somewhat more marked. Numerous other Buddhist sites have been excavated in Soviet Central Asia over the last two decades, among them Ak-Beshim, Airtam, Kalai-Kafirnigan and Kuba, while perhaps the most important Buddhist site in the Iranian world was just south of the Oxus—the Nawbahār of Balkh.

The other architectural source which has been proposed for the Iranian *madrasa* is the typical Khurāsānī house. Godard, the champion of this theory, was forced at the outset to assume an unbroken continuity of tradition between the mediaeval and the modern houses of the area. He then compared this domestic form with that of later *madrasas* and concluded that it was the private structure that had generated the public one. While the literary evidence gives ample warrant for the functions of a *madrasa* being carried out in private houses, no such houses which can be shown to have served this function have survived. Neat as Godard's theory is, it cannot be more than speculative.

The formal, as distinct from the informal, history of the *madrasa* is commonly taken to begin in 460/1067 when the great Niẓāmiyya madrasa was inaugurated in Baghdad. In short succession a whole series of state-sponsored and largely state-financed *madrasas* sprang up throughout the Saldjūḳ empire (see above, section i, 4). Two related factors deserve special emphasis here. One is the wholehearted state support for these buildings, which is reflected in the name Niẓāmiyya which they bore. They represent, in short, a state investment of the first magnitude. The other is their carefully calculated location in the major cities of the Saldjūḳ realm. From this one may deduce that each was designed to serve as a provincial centre with a wide catchment area embracing the smaller towns and villages of the region. Such a function presupposes buildings of considerable scale and capacity.

The reasons behind this sudden spate of building activity, which significantly enough was confined to the Saldjūḳ empire, are probably to be connected with the resurgence of Sunnī orthodoxy, spearheaded by the Saldjūḳs after their entry into Baghdād in 447/1055, as a counter to the propaganda efforts of militant Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism organised by the Fāṭimids from al-Azhar (founded in 359/970) [*q.v.*] and other

centres (see above, section i, 3). In fact, the Sunnī orthodox *madrasa*-building activity soon stimulated a Twelver S͟hīʿī counterpart movement, for according to the *Kitāb al-Naḳd* the later 6th/12th century saw S͟hīʿī *madrasas* appear in Ray, Ḳum, Kās͟hān, Āba, Warāmīn, Sabzawār and elsewhere. One of the *madrasas* at Sāwa had indeed been found as early as the mid-5th/11th century. The form of these *madrasas* is as obscure as that of their Sunnī counterparts, but to judge by the later consonance between Sunnī and S͟hīʿī *madrasas* in the Iranian world, there was probably no formal distinction between them.

The number of *madrasas* erected within a short space of time throughout the Saldjūḳ empire at the order of Niẓām al-Mulk and by others is itself a clear indication that some kind of blueprint had been developed for this purpose. Unfortunately, none of these early Iranian *madrasas* has survived; in fact, the earliest extant Iranian building of this type is the Madrasa-yi Imāmī of 725/1325 in Iṣfahān. It is a compact structure (some 92 m × 72 m at its widest extent) employing the standard Iranian 4-*īwān* plan, but the modifications to the traditional layout are significant. The *īwāns* no longer rear above their flanking arcades; the roof-line is now unbroken. This simple change entirely reverses the traditional pattern, in which the *īwān* was the dominant feature and dwarfed the flanking arcades. Two stories of continuously niched façades, behind which the cells for student accommodation were located, form the principal accent of the elevation and engulf the central *īwān* on each side. The question is, of course, whether such massy, cliff-like façades also characterised the elevations of the first Niẓāmiyyas. The example of the Madrasa Imāmī, the known Saldjūḳ predilection for the 4-*īwān* plan, and the need to accommodate substantial numbers of students living in the building as distinct from visiting it, all combine to suggest that the first official Iranian *madrasas* were indeed fairly similar to their Il<u>kh</u>ānid descendant.

So far the discussion has assumed that the more important of these early *madrasas* were purpose-built structures intended solely for the students accommodated in them. Other possibilities have, however, been aired. Perhaps the most extreme is that the buildings generally accepted as the major urban mosques of the Saldjūḳ period—those of Ardistān, Qazwīn, Gulpāyagān and so on—were actually *madrasas*. This theory runs counter to common sense, for it does not account for the resultant absence of Friday mosques in these centres. More intrinsically likely is the proposition that the larger mosques contained an inbuilt *madrasa* element in the provision of a second storey around the courtyard. On occasion, the niched façades of these upper storeys could indeed lead to separate chambers, but the extremely diverse functions discharged by a Friday mosque in a large city means that a wide range of other purposes can be suggested for such rooms. Elsewhere in the Islamic world such joint foundations were labelled as such; cases of mosque-*madrasas* (see above, section i, 2) or mosque-mausolea and various other combinations abound in Mamlūk Cairo. A further argument against the *madrasa* function of the upper storeys of large urban mosques in the Iranian world is provided by the well-documented practice of adding self-contained *madrasas* to established mosques (e.g. Iṣfahān and Mas͟hhad). There would have been little need for such new foundations if the mosques in question were already serving *inter alia* as *madrasas*. If one bears in mind the noted imprecision of the Arabic terminology of building types, and also the virtual interchangeability of these types, it will be clear that no firm conclusion as to the form of the pre-Mongol *madrasa* in Iran is warranted. Rather does the evidence suggest that the forms of the *madrasa* were scarcely less varied than those of the mosque itself. But the sad lack of standing buildings hangs like a cloud over any discussion of these early *madrasas*. Their organisation, personnel, curricula and financial arrangements can be followed up in minute detail in the literary sources; but the all-important question for the student of architecture, namely the precise material form which they took, remains obscure.

With such a plethora of literary evidence available, it is ironic that Iran should retain not one pre-Mongol *madrasa* that is universally accepted as such. Two Saldjūḳ buildings have been identified by some as *madrasas*, but others deny this. The more controversial of them is a mud-brick ruin at <u>Kh</u>ārgird [*q.v.*] whose damaged inscription specifically identifies it as a foundation of Niẓām al-Mulk. Its principal surviving feature is a broad and deep *ḳibla īwān* with at least one room of comparable depth flanking it on either side. Little sense can be made of any other part of the structure, but the dimensions of the courtyard in front of the *īwān* might well be about 22 × 28 m. In favour of the identification as a *madrasa* may be cited the very fact that Niẓām al-Mulk is cited in the inscription as the official founder, although a mere *s͟hayk͟h* actually carried out the work of supervising construction. Why should this august personage, the pivot of the Saldjūḳ state, take an interest in <u>Kh</u>ārgird? The family of Niẓām al-Mulk hailed from Sabzawār, and he himself was born in Ṭūs, so there can be no question of explaining his connection with this monument by his desire to erect a public building in his native town. <u>Kh</u>ārgird was a small town of secondary importance. Moreover, this structure is, as Herzfeld noted, very small for a courtyard mosque of its period, and the row of windows high up in the *ḳibla īwān* would make much better sense in the context of the cells on the first floor of a *madrasa* than as an element of mosque architecture. These various factors suggest that the most natural interpretation of the ruins is to see them as the sole surviving trace of Niẓām al-Mulk's extensive programme of building *madrasas*, though against this it must be admitted that the presence of supplementary *miḥrābs* does suggest a mosque rather than a *madrasa*. The flanking halls have also been cited as evidence that this is a mosque, but this feature occurs consistently in Anatolian Saldjūḳ *madrasas*. To summarise, the evidence seems to incline towards interpreting the <u>Kh</u>ārgird structure as a *madrasa*, but without fresh evidence there is no clinching the matter.

The other putative *madrasa* is a shoddily-published structure found in excavations at Ray in the late 1930s. Godard himself, the source of all the information available, at first expressed himself with reserve as to its function but eventually shed such caution and treated the identification as a certainty. Nevertheless, he produced no arguments to offset his earlier qualms about the eccentric orientation of the structure and its equally atypical emphasis—by means of the differential size of the *īwāns*—on the east-west rather than the north-south axis. It must also be admitted that the 16 habitable spaces which together parcel out the ground plan do not correspond in their layout to any known *madrasa*. All this being

admitted, it would be still more accurate to say that no mediaeval house of this kind is known either; that 10 of the ground floor spaces could well have functioned as cells accommodating one or several students, to say nothing of the capacity of an upper floor; and that cases of the faulty orientation of religious buildings are legion in mediaeval Islam and that the difficulties of that kind presented by this building disappear if one assumes that the west *īwān* is intended to function as if it faced south-west, the direction of the *ḳibla*. Finally, and most significantly of all, the presence of a *miḥrāb* is not easily explained away. Unfortunately, Godard's plan does not mark it, so that to identify it as a *miḥrāb* is itself somewhat hazardous. Nevertheless, despite the fact that in its present form, on display in the Tehran Museum, it is largely a figment of the restorer's imagination, the published photograph of it *in situ* shows clearly enough the Ḳur'ānic Kūfic inscription which it bore. The presence of a *miḥrāb* with a Ḳur'ānic inscription in a private house takes somewhat more explaining than does the eccentric orientation of a *madrasa*. Even so, it may be felt that the building at Ray presents rather more problems of identification than does its counterpart at Khārgird. Whatever conclusion is reached, it is regrettable that the undoubtedly seminal role of Iran in the early development of the *madrasa* is so unjustly obscured by the lack of early surviving specimens whose claims to be *madrasas* are not disputed.

It is with some relief, therefore, that one turns to an examination of the surviving *madrasas* whose identification as such is incontrovertible. The earliest of these, the *madrasa* of Gümüshtigīn in Boṣrā, bears a disappointingly late date—530/1136—and is located in Syria, an area which has not yet entered the discussion. It is followed in brisk succession by some fourteen surviving *madrasas* in Syria all dated or datable before 700/1300, and the literary evidence confirms that these are only a fraction of what was built in this period and has since vanished—82 *madrasas* are mentioned in the detailed chronicle of mediaeval Damascus, for example, and 46 in the more summary account of mediaeval Aleppo (see above, section i, 4).

These numbers, impressive though they are, need not, however, be interpreted as confirmation of the primacy of Syria in the architectural development of the *madrasa*. Nor, *pace* Creswell, can this honour be claimed by Egypt without further ado. He lists some 29 *madrasas* in Cairo dated before 700/1300, and of these a scant four have remained. From the undoubted fact that the latter group includes the first cruciform four-rite *madrasa* to survive he has built an elaborate edifice of argument designed to establish the innovatory role of the Egyptian *madrasa*.

As will shortly be apparent, however, the area with the largest number of surviving *madrasas* datable before 1300 is Saldjūḳ Anatolia, which boasts no less than 50 examples, 9 of them datable to the 6th/12th century. Egypt and Syria together cannot match the latter tally, and indeed have only a third as many *madrasas* datable before 700/1300. Yet these buildings figure not at all in Creswell's history of this architectural type. Common sense dictates that the Anatolian *madrasas*, built in an area culturally dependent on Iran and geographically close to it by patrons who themselves sprang from Great Saldjūḳ stock would be likely to reflect the Saldjūḳ *madrasas* of Iran, whose decisive role in the formation of the genre has never seriously been questioned. Iranian influence may in any case readily be detected in the plan types, brickwork and tile decoration of much of Rūm Saldjūḳ architecture. The historical background outlined above encourages the assumption that it is precisely in these unfortunately vanished Iranian Saldjūḳ *madrasas* that the essential original lineaments of the official *madrasa* are to be sought. Hence the paramount historical importance of the Anatolian Saldjūḳ *madrasas* as the closest surviving relatives of the Iranian type. Many of their features are duplicated in contemporary Syrian *madrasas*, which may be seen as a parallel and coeval group.

Returning to the Boṣrā *madrasa*, one notes that, like most Syrian *madrasas*, it is diminutive; for all that its patron was a senior *amīr* serving the Atabegs of Damascus, its external dimensions do not exceed 20 × 17 m. On this tiny scale, there is scarcely room for a proper courtyard, and the space which would normally be designated as such is domed, a feature which was to recur a century later in some of the Saldjūḳ *madrasas* in Konya and elsewhere. Two lateral *īwāns* open off this space, while a prayer hall and a kind of narthex to the south, the latter reached by narrow entrance vestibules to east and west, fill up most of the remaining area. In this single-storey building, the only space left over is the area flanking the prayer hall, which yields two rooms per side. Since these each average less than 4 m square, the total number of students accommodated in this *madrasa* can scarcely have exceeded a dozen. Such a building will simply not fit the popular image of officially sponsored *madrasas* located strategically throughout the Saldjūḳ empire and serving, at least in part, significant political ends.

Later Syrian *madrasas* rejected many of the solutions found in the example at Boṣrā. Perhaps the most distinctive local characteristic was to be the laterally developed prayer hall entered by a triple archway and vaulted in a variety of ways (*Dār al-Ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], Damascus, between 549/1154 and 569/1174; Madrasa Khān al-Tutun, Aleppo, 564/1168-9; Madrasa of Nūr al-Dīn, Damascus, 567/1172; and Madrasa of Shādbakht, Aleppo, 589/1193 among others). Sometimes the central bay of the *muṣallā* is domed, with groin vaults covering the flanking bays (Shāfiʿī Madrasa, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, 595/1199) though tunnel vaults for these bays are commoner; but in other examples all three bays are groin-vaulted (ʿĀdiliyya Madrasa, Damascus, completed 619/1222-3) or domed (Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa, Aleppo, 616/1219-20; Djāmiʿ and Madrasa of al-Firdaws, Aleppo 633/1235-6). Recurrent features of these buildings include a *miḥrāb* which projects on the exterior of the *ḳibla* wall, a mausoleum or on occasion even two, occupying an angle of the building, a tank in the centre of the courtyard, and utilitarian accessories like wells and air-shafts. Most of these *madrasas* have one *īwān* but only one—the example at Boṣrā—has a pair of *īwāns* facing each other across an empty space. Altogether exceptional is a joint foundation: the *djāmiʿ-cum-madrasa* of al-Firdaws, Aleppo, which not only has two large *īwāns*—back-to-back but also two small but self-contained courtyard units, each with a pair of *īwāns* facing each other across the court, an intimately domestic arrangement encountered earlier in palaces and caravanserais.

The emphasis on one rather than several *īwāns* may reflect the fact that the great majority of these buildings—all but seven of the 128 *madrasas*

in Damascus and Aleppo which pre-date 700/1300 and are recorded in the literary sources—were erected to serve a single *madhhab* and therefore required only one location for teaching. But this is purely supposition, for the two-*īwān madrasa* at Boṣrā was built to serve the Ḥanafī *madhhab* alone, while the two-rite Sulṭāniyya *madrasa* at Aleppo (620/1223-4) has no *īwāns* at all. It therefore seems equally possible that any causal connection between the number of *īwāns* in a Syrian *madrasa* and the number of *madhhabs* which it served is more apparent than real. This conclusion seems all the more appropriate when it is remembered that neither Anatolian nor Iranian *madrasas* attest any consistent connection between the number of *īwāns* in a *madrasa* and the number of *madhhabs* which it serves. Against this wider perspective the Egyptian cruciform four-rite *madrasa* is nothing short of freakish, reflecting perhaps a conciliatory religious policy on the part of the founder. Not surprisingly it remained very rare; the overwhelming majority of mediaeval *madrasas* throughout the Islamic world were built to serve a single *madhhab*.

A cursory examination of the Syrian *madrasas* is enough to establish that the provision of student accommodation was not a major priority. The information available on this score is unfortunately not very precise, for most of these buildings are long since disaffected and modern houses have encroached on them. But the Boṣrā *madrasa*, as noted above, suggests in the gross disproportion between public and private space that the structure was purpose-built to accommodate no more than a handful of students, and that its catchment area was probably no wider than Boṣrā itself. Nūr al-Dīn's *Dār al-Ḥadīth* in Damascus also seems to have had no more than four rooms, and although the other surviving Syrian *madrasas* are more generously provided with student cells, not one of them approaches the larger Maghribī *madrasas*, let alone those of Iran, for capacity. The Khān al-Tutun *madrasa* in Aleppo probably had ten cells, while the Nūr al-Dīn *madrasa* in Damascus, and the Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* in Aleppo, had 16 disposed in two stories. If so, they had the most generous housing capacity to be found in surviving contemporary Syrian *madrasas*. The most unusual solution of all, however, as noted above, was the introduction of two minute courtyard houses, each one complete with several irregularly shaped cells, on either side of the great double *īwān* of the *djāmiʿ-cum-madrasa* of al-Firdaws, Aleppo. But even this very carefully designed building leaves inexplicably little space in the layout for student cells. One is driven to the conclusion, therefore, that the patronage directed towards the building of *madrasas* in Syria was deliberately kept on a small scale, possibly because nearly all of them were built to serve (exclusively?) a single *madhhab*, or else, they might have been meant more as oratories for the daily use of the local population than as *madrasas tout court*, a practice recorded in Maghribī *madrasas*.

Some or all of these factors may well have been operative in Ayyūbid Syria. But they are scarcely enough to account for the phenomenon of such large numbers of small *madrasas*. The answer seems rather to lie in local circumstances. To begin with, the topography of these *madrasas* is itself revealing. They are crammed into the nooks and crannies of ancient, densely populated cities, where building space was at a premium. There could be no question here of a state-inspired blueprint imposed regardless of local conditions. Sociologically, too, the picture differs from that presented by Iran, ʿIrāḳ or Anatolia. The patrons are not the sultans themselves but lesser *amīrs*, their wives or mothers, or local notables. Such people were well-to-do but not necessarily rich or with free access to public funds. Thus the buildings had, so to speak, a wider social base than their equivalents elsewhere in the Islamic world. Sometimes the endowment even specified the conditions of use: for example, that the teacher appointed was forbidden to teach anywhere else. This individual approach is reflected in the very varied layout of these *madrasas* which show the architect grappling with a unique site. For Ayyūbid patrons, it seems, small was beautiful. Small was also functional. Since *madrasas* were built by the score in the larger cities it would have been wasteful to give them a large capacity, just as it would have been wasteful to decorate them lavishly. What decoration there is, however, maintains a high level of quality and is set off by the consistently fine stereotomy of Syrian tradition. The stone vaulting of the time deserves particular commendation. Thus these *madrasas* were firmly rooted in a topographical, sociological and artistic context which depended little on external influence.

Perhaps the main distinguishing feature of these Syrian *madrasas* is the inclusion of a mausoleum (*ḳubba* [*q.v.*] or *turba*). Indeed, it is doubtful whether the connection between the *madrasa* and the mausoleum was ever closer than it was in Ayyūbid Syria. Once again, epigraphy provides a clue for this, for inscriptions in the Sulṭāniyya and Atābakiya *madrasas*, located in Aleppo and Damascus respectively, refer to the recitation of the Ḳurʾān there. Provision was made for this recitation to be unceasing—an Islamic parallel for the Christian custom of paying for masses to be said for the souls of the dead. Burial in a *madrasa*, then, was —like burial in the neighbourhood of a saint— intended at least in part to confer *baraka* upon the dead. It was in Syria rather than in Egypt that the exaltation of the mausoleum at the expense of the *madrasa* proper can first be traced; time and again it is the mausoleum which has the favoured site of the street façade, with the *madrasa* modestly tucked away virtually out of sight. In sheer surface area, the mausoleum is apt to rival, if not exceed, the *madrasa*. Small wonder, then, that it has even been suggested that the terms *turba* ("mausoleum") and *madrasa* were interchangeable in this period. On the other hand, the notion of ensemble which underlies a modern term like "funerary *madrasa*" is belied by the epigraphic evidence, which suggests that the *turba* element and the *madrasa* element both had their own foundation inscriptions. This practice has often obscured the original intention of the founder, for it has resulted in many now free-standing *turbas* being identified as simple mausolea rather than as part of a funerary *madrasa* (e.g. Farrukh-Shāhiyya and Amdjadiyya *turbas*, Damascus). Conversely, it sometimes happens that the inscription of a *turba* may mention the *madrasa* of which the mausoleum was part, and may indeed be the only surviving evidence that such a *madrasa* ever existed (ʿIzziyya *madrasa*, Damascus).

The intimate symbiosis of *turba* and *madrasa* is epitomised by a curious joint foundation in Damascus. The Farrukh-Shāhiyya *madrasa*, with the mausoleum of ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh attached, dates from 578 or 579/1182-3. A generation later, in 628/1230, another *madrasa* was built beside it and this

too was provided with a mausoleum, which housed the son of ʿIzz al-Dīn, al-Malik al-Amdjad. Father and son, then, are buried in adjacent *turbas*; the *turba* of the former is, perhaps appropriately, the larger of the two. Similar pairs of tombs survive in Damascus and later in Mamlūk *madrasas*. If the *madrasas* of Ayyūbid Syria were analysed from the purely formal point of view, with no backward glance at their eastern origins, the obvious conclusion would be that a major, if not indeed the primary, purpose of the institution was to contain a monumental mausoleum. Is it fair to assume, then, that the term *madrasa* did not have a consistent meaning throughout the mediaeval Islamic world? Certainly, Ayyūbid Syria provides evidence suggesting that the term did not connote one single type of building. Thus the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* or al-Ashrafiyya in Damascus (634/1237) is called a *madrasa* in its foundation inscription, and in its sequence of entrance vestibule, prayer hall and *turba* conforms to the standard type of contemporary *madrasa* as illustrated by the Murshidiyya *madrasa* in Damascus. Conversely, the Ḳilidjiyya, also in Damascus, is defined in its foundation inscription as an institution for teaching *ḥadīth*, but is identical in form to the Murshidiyya. As in Iran and Egypt, it was common for a private house to be converted into a *madrasa*, but more ambitious conversions are also recorded and it is these that testify yet again to the loose boundaries between mediaeval Islamic building types. Thus the Ḥalāwiyya *madrasa* in Aleppo was successively a church and a mosque before it became a *madrasa*, while the Marīdāniyya served in turn as a *madrasa*, burial ground and mosque. Thus the mere fact that a structure was founded with a given purpose in mind was no guarantee that it would continue to function as such, especially if the value of its endowment fell; it might easily shed some functions or acquire additional ones. The absence of any sign of student cells in many of these admittedly half-ruined Ayyūbid *madrasas* invites speculation that at least some of these foundations were never intended to be residential.

If the Syrian *madrasa* tradition, as it developed during the scant century of its heyday, is analysed as a whole, the sheer variety of types encountered cannot fail to make an impression. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these differences are not casual or contingent on the local topography, but rather reflect a basic uncertainty about the ideal form such buildings should take. For a long time, Syrian architects were sidetracked by the influence exerted by the mosque. The prestige of that long-established model helps to explain why ideas derived from mosque design permeate these *madrasas*. They were after all religious buildings. The Shādbakhtiyya *madrasa* in Aleppo (589/1193) is essentially a mosque writ small, especially in its laterally developed domed *muṣallā*, and to judge by the plan alone, the teaching function of the building is plainly secondary.

Since Fāṭimid Egypt was officially Shīʿī, it was impossible for the explicitly Sunnī *madrasa* movement to establish itself there, or for that matter anywhere else in the Fāṭimid domains, before the fall of that dynasty in 565/1170. Within five years of that date, however, under the militant orthodoxy of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn there were already as many *madrasas* in Cairo, swiftly to be followed, no doubt at least partly for propaganda reasons, by examples at Mecca and Medina. However, the long start which Syria had enjoyed in building *madrasas* seems to have resulted in a more lavish provision of these buildings in that area than in Egypt, where the total recorded before 700/1300 is only 31, about a third of the comparable figure in Anatolia or in Damascus alone. These figures are enough in themselves to cast doubt on the supposed primacy of Egypt in the architectural development of the *madrasa*.

The building of *madrasas* in Cairo gathered new momentum with the coming of the Mamlūks. The largely vanished Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* (660-2/1262-3) of Sultan Baybars was a gigantic 4-*īwān* structure with a stalactite portal probably of Syrian inspiration, a theme repeated in the deep niches with *muḳarnas* hoods which articulated its façade. This building inaugurates, if indeed it was not preceded by some comparably magnificent earlier *madrasa*, the distinguished tradition of Cairene *madrasas* with splendid façades and interiors to match. Anatolia was about a generation earlier in this development, so far as surviving evidence indicates, while Syria lagged behind.

This notable degree of splendour can be explained on both political and economic grounds. Mamlūk *madrasas* in Cairo are overwhelmingly the product of royal or high official patronage, a fact consistently reflected in the names they bear and in their lavish decoration. Outward splendour would be the natural corollary of such patronage. But it would be inaccurate simply to treat these buildings as instances of conspicuous consumption, even though the lengths to which an *amīr* or sultan would go to secure a fashionable site with ample street frontage do suggest such a conclusion. Many of them were endowed far more generously than their size and therefore the scope of their activities dictated, and while these endowments (*awḳāf*) were inalienable under Islamic law, that same law permitted any surplus from an endowment to be applied to the benefit of the descendants of the original endower. The more lavish the endowment, therefore, the more such a foundation would approximate to an investment. Not surprisingly it was among the first concerns of an *amīr*, upon reaching power, to found some charitable institution, nor was there any bar to his adding piecemeal to its endowment over the years.

Perhaps the most ambitious of these multi-purpose Mamlūk foundations, and the one which seems to have set the fashion for such institutions, is the *māristān* tomb and *madrasa* of Sultan Ḳalāwūn, the whole built in a mere thirteen months (683-4/1284-5). As in the case of the Ṣāliḥiyya (639/1242), its internal arrangements are at odds with its façade, which at nearly 70 m is exceptionally long and to which in a sense the whole building is subordinated. Mausoleum and *madrasa* are sundered by a long corridor which led to the now largely-vanished hospital. It is no doubt significant that the Mausoleum, now enlarged by a functionally dispensable courtyard, occupies a far larger proportion of the combined tomb and *madrasa* portion of the ensemble than it did in the Ṣāliḥiyya. The *madrasa* itself has a generous courtyard with two *īwāns* on the longitudinal axis and cells disposed laterally. Its most notable feature is without doubt the *ḳibla īwān* which is divided into three naves and therefore explicitly associated with the traditional architecture of the mosque. Interestingly enough, Ḳalāwūn's son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, himself built a mausoleum-*cum-madrasa* cheek by jowl with his father's great foundation, and in this later ensemble (695-703/1295-1303), the mausoleum is relegated to a subsidiary role beside a substantial 4-*īwān* *madrasa*.

This latter building has the peculiar distinction of being the first known cruciform *madrasa* intended to serve all four *madhhab*s.

By common consent, the masterpiece among these Mamlūk ensembles, (150 × 68 m.), and certainly the largest of them was the mosque, *madrasa* and mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥasan (757-64/1356-63). Its lofty portal, originally designed to have flanking minarets, and with a spacious vestibule behind it, bears the unmistakable imprint of Anatolian Saldjūḳ architecture, but most of the detailing within is typically Cairene. At first sight, the layout seems familiar enough, focussed as it is on an ample 4-*īwān* plan. But—and here again foreign influence, this time from Iran, must be taken into account—this cruciform plan is employed, exceptionally in the case of Egypt, for a mosque, while each *madhhab* has its own *madrasa* in one of the corners between the arms of the cross. The sultan's own mausoleum, a gigantic dome chamber, extends the full width of the *ḳibla īwān* and is placed (emphatically not in Iranian fashion) directly behind the *ḳibla* wall. It therefore usurps the position of the domed sanctuary in the classical Iranian mosque. The building thus epitomises the vitality and versatility of the traditional 4-*īwān* formula.

Several prestigious Mamlūk buildings in Cairo, such as the various funerary *madrasa*s of Sulṭān Shaʿbān and his family, followed the lead of the Sulṭān Ḥasan ensemble. But its principal impact on later buildings was through its 4-*īwān* schema, which henceforth was to be repeatedly used for mosque architecture until the Ottoman conquest. In other words, the architecture of the *madrasa* had now come to influence that of the mosque; indeed, the unprecedented expansion of the *ḳibla īwān* into a full-scale *muṣallā* in later Mamlūk buildings (e.g. the Ḳāʾit Bay complex) can only be explained by such a process. Presumably the decisive factor was that the mosque thereby gained a large unbroken space for the *muṣallā*, which—unlike mosques with arcaded or columned *muṣallā*s—allowed all the congregation to see the *imām*. This inherent advantage of the *īwān* schema had not been seized at the time that the Ḳalāwūn ensemble was built, and thus the *ḳibla īwān* there is treated like a traditional *muṣallā* and parcelled up by arcades, a device continued in the mosque-*madrasa* of Barḳūḳ (786-8/1384-6). Moreover, even as late as the funerary *madrasa* of Barḳūḳ (801-15/1399-1412), a set of domed bays forming miniature compartments take up the areas normally reserved for *īwān*s. The liturgical distinction between the *ḳibla īwān* and the subsidiary ones was expressed in architectural terms too. The former was vaulted, and thereby given the illusion of still greater spaciousness, while the scale of the latter was reduced and their ceilings were now flat.

For the *madrasa* to influence mosque design was indeed a momentous change; it signalled a new relationship between the two buildings. Earlier, the dependent status of the *madrasa* had been vividly expressed by the way it had been tacked on, very much in the manner of an afterthought, to the parent structure. Examples abound; they include the *madrasa* of 507/1113-14 beside the Great Mosque of Urfa and a trio of *madrasas*—those of the *amīrs* Ṭaybars (709/1309-10), Aḳbugha (740/1340) and Djawhar (before 844/1440)—attached to the Azhar mosque in Cairo. Henceforth, however, these two institutions could combine their functions within a single building (which was highly desirable given the chronic shortage of space in Cairo) and with minimum trespass of one upon the other. For it is noticeable that in the Sulṭān Ḥasan complex a novel solution for the *madrasa* has been devised: not only does each *madhhab* occupy a corner of the building, but certain aspects of the traditional full-scale *madrasa* are retained even on this miniature scale. The cells for students are clustered on two sides of a diminutive courtyard, except in the case of the Mālikī *madrasa* situated in the western corner, where the exigencies of the site bisected the space available. Since the Mālikī rite enjoyed relatively less popularity than the other three (though the Mālikī professor was allotted the prestigious *ḳibla īwān* in the funerary *madrasa* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir), this solution was not as unjust to that *madhhab* as might at first appear. Furthermore, the small size of the student cells meant that their numbers and dimensions could be readily adjusted to fill the space available, thereby obviating the need to encroach on the mosque proper. Presumably, however, the four *īwāns* were used for teaching purposes outside the hours of prayer; the association between *īwāns* and teaching had been rooted for a good two centuries in Syria and thence Egypt; thus the Mamlūk historian al-Maḳrīzī, in his description of the mausoleum and *madrasa* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, lists the four lecturers—one from each *madhhab*—who were first appointed to teach there, and specifies the *īwān* allotted to each one. The lack of subsidiary *miḥrāb*s in the lateral *īwāns* is sufficient indication that their role as places for prayer was not paramount.

At the mosque-*madrasa* of Barḳūḳ, built a generation later (786-8/1384-6) the emphasis is reversed in favour of the *madrasa* without any fundamental change in plan. Thereafter, while true 4-*īwān* mosques or *madrasas* remained the exception rather than the rule in Egypt (e.g. the foundations of Djamāl al-Dīn of 811/1408 and Sulṭān Ināl of 860/1465), the principle that the same building could serve both functions was unassailable. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century Mamlūk architecture a marked propensity to use *īwāns*, though the combinations varies widely—one, two or three *īwāns* may be used in conjunction with courtyards, halls, mausolea or sets of smaller chambers; acute shortage of space was no doubt a contributory factor in these developments.

The diminutive scale of many Circassian Mamlūk foundations necessarily excluded ample accommodation for students, but to make up for the difficulties inherent in lateral expansion many of these foundations extended upwards instead, comprising two or even—in the case of the 4-*īwān* funerary *madrasa* of Amīr Surghatmish (757/1356)—three stories which, in the latter example, all contain cells for students. The case of the tiny but elegant *madrasa* of the Amīr Mithḳāl, datable to the period between 762/1361 and 776/1374, and measuring a mere 20 m per side, shows that the practice of allocating separate stories to the functions of worship and to those of teaching and/or accommodation had already established itself in pre-Circassian times. Relieved of the requirement to fit student cells into the ground floor of a cramped, awkward site, the architect could create an ordered and even ample layout by expanding the 4-*īwān* plan to take up virtually all the available space, with special emphasis on a laterally placed *muṣallā* which stretches the full width of the building. Without a comparably bold solution such a building would be undesirably cloistered, indeed claustrophobic. An airshaft

(*malkaf*) is another means of countering the unduly inward-looking quality of such buildings. In the Mithkāliyya, store-rooms take up what little area remains on the ground floor, while the two upper floors are reserved for living and lecture rooms and a library. The mezzanine floor is not continuous but is confined to the lateral *īwāns* which have wooden ceilings at their springing and above this are closed by *mashrabiyya* grilles giving into the rooms behind. Thus was created the so-called "hanging *madrasa*", a natural development from earlier "hanging" or "suspended" mosques in the same city. The funerary *madrasa* of Zayn al-Dīn (697/1298) may have been a forerunner of this type. Like many other Mamlūk *madrasas*, the Mithkāliyya was sited close to the private quarters of its patron—indeed, as at Nīshāpūr centuries earlier, a private house (*kā'a*) was frequently turned into a *madrasa* after its owner's death and named after him (e.g. the still-surviving *Madrasa al-Ghannāmiyya* in Cairo, dated 774/1372-3, and this case can be supplemented by a dozen literary references). In both types of building, the two-*īwān* plan is normal though not mandatory. The interdependence of private house and *madrasa* is highlighted by the absence of staircases between ground and first floor in the original composition. It seems, therefore, that the *madrasa* proper can only have been reached via such private quarters as adjoined it, presumably those of the *amīr* himself. The *madrasa* in turn would have provided access for buildings behind it.

Among the surviving *madrasas* in Cairo one type is clearly predominant—the funerary *madrasa*. So traditional was this kind of building in Cairo that (to judge by surviving structures) it was the *madrasa tout court* that remained exceptional. In the earlier funerary *madrasas*, the mausoleum occupied such a significant portion of the ensemble that it is appropriate to describe such structures as joint foundations. Five such monuments survive dated between 697/1298 and 715/1315 alone, and they were only gradually superseded by foundations of still wider scope. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the *madrasa* was a convenient means of justifying the mausoleum —for the latter building type of course flouted Islamic orthodoxy. An early example of this process is the vanished *madrasa* built in conjunction with a magnificent mausoleum near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) in 572-5/1176-80. This ensemble conferred an implied legal recognition on the cult of mausolea; after all, if a funerary *madrasa* could be erected in honour of the founder of one of the four major *madhhabs*, the practice could henceforth safely be regarded as unimpeachable. Nevertheless, the mausoleum continued to provide the true *raison d'être* of such monuments, and visually it almost invariably usurps pride of place. This is particularly evident when the ensemble includes two mausolea instead of one (funerary *madrasa* of Sālār and Sandjar al-Djāwulī, 703/1303-4), although later in the century such double mausolea appropriately enough take second place to the *madrasa* itself (*madrasa* of Khwānd al-Baraka, also known as that of Sha'bān, 770/1368-9). The inclusion of minarets, which by this time were too common in the city for fresh ones to be anything but redundant, may also have been designed to ward off pious disapproval. Even so, it was the minaret and the mausoleum, not the *madrasa* itself, which gave these buildings their distinctive stamp externally. Perhaps the competition of these already well-established building types was one of the factors which prevented the *madrasa* from developing its own instantly recognisable form. A modest edifice in the name of al-Malik al-Djakandār (719/1319), described as a *masdjid* in its inscription, even though the now demolished rooms on the roof, the striking resemblance to the slightly later Mithkāliyya and the historical evidence all point to its being a *madrasa*, epitomises the simplicity and austerity of the *madrasa* once shorn of such parasitic structures. It is the first Cairena *madrasa* to have the *saḥn* roofed in the Anatolian manner. This feature continues in later *madrasas* and results in the courtyard shrinking to the level of a large room (*madrasa* of Kā'it Bay, 880/1475).

These remarks should not be construed to suggest that Cairene *madrasas* served exclusively educational, religious or funerary proposes. A casual reminiscence set down by al-Makrīzī indicated that the *madrasa*-mausoleum of the Amīr Karasunkur was used as a hostel by couriers of the *barīd* service preparing for their return journey to Syria and elsewhere. The same source mentions a *ribāṭ* for women attached to the *madrasa* and mausoleum of the Amīr Sunkur Sa'dī (715/1315). But above all, the *madrasa* provided a focus both for the relentless emulation of the Mamlūk *amīrs* in architectural projects and for their desire to make financial provision for their descendants.

Just as the *madrasas* of Syria in the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries yield valuable data not available from Egypt as monuments, so reciprocally do Mamlūk Egyptian *madrasas* fill the information gap in Syria. The sudden decline in *madrasa* building in Syria after 648/1250 can safely be associated with the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty, whose power was centred there.

This decline is not reflected solely in *madrasas*; it is a widespread characteristic of later mediaeval architecture in Syria, and is only to be expected given the henceforth provincial status of the area. After the death of Baybars, whose own early career adequately explains his interest in Syria, it was very rare for a Mamlūk sultan to undertake an important building project in the province. Jerusalem, on the other hand, by virtue of its exalted status in the Islamic world, continued to benefit from the architectural patronage of the Mamlūk sultans right up to the death of Kā'it Bay.

Syrian *madrasas* of the Mamlūk period, then, are significantly below the level of contemporary work in Cairo. Moreover, they were built in significantly smaller numbers than under the Ayyūbids, for under the Mamlūks the emphasis of patronage shifted to mausolea and funerary mosques. Even so, it is well-nigh impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between either of these categories and the *madrasa*; there is no significant difference in layout between the tomb of Shaykh Nakhlawī (730/1330), the funerary mosque of Sīdī Shu'ayb (*ca.* 800/*ca.* 1400) and the funerary *madrasa* of Shaykh Ḥasan Rā'ī al-Himma, all in the same city (863/1459). Single-tomb structures combined with a much larger laterally developed *muṣallā*, sometimes with a vestibule, continued to be built, and these could equally well bear the name mosque (Turuziyya, Damascus, 825/1423) or *madrasa* (Djakmakiyya, Damascus, rebuilt and enlarged 822/1419). Thus in Mamlūk as in Ayyūbid times, the term *madrasa* did not connote exclusively one kind of building or one particular function. Other continuities may readily be noted. The Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* in Damascus, for example, dated 767/1277-8 and containing the

mausoleum of Baybars, is essentially still in the Ayyūbid architectural tradition. Its steep narrow portal, focussed on a *muḳarnas* vault ending in a scallop-shaped niche, does however find its natural parallels in other Baḥrī Mamlūk buildings in Cairo. Some *madrasas*, such as the Turūntā'iyya in Aleppo (794/1392) had two such portals, neither in any way integrated with the principal features of the building. This *madrasa*, incidentally, combines in a new way many of the standard features of earlier Syrian *madrasas*: around its spacious central courtyard are disposed a *muṣallā* extending the entire width of the *ḳibla* side, arched colonnades with rooms above on the two long sides and a huge *īwān*, presumably for teaching, occupying all the north side. The role of mosque played by many Mamlūk *madrasas* in Syria is advertised by the addition of a minaret (Madrasa Saffāḥiyya built by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Saffāḥ in 869/1464 and Madrasa Anṣāriyya, both in Aleppo).

Attention so far has been focussed on the Mamlūk *madrasas* of Damascus and Aleppo, and the evidence cited makes it clear enough that these buildings fall substantially below the standards set by contemporary Cairene *madrasas*. Another local school flourished in Tripoli (*madrasas* of al-ʿAdjamiyya (766/1365) and al-Khātūniyya (774/1373-4), but this too could not rival Cairo. As noted above, it is in Jerusalem that most of the best provincial Mamlūk architecture is to be found, and this is as true of *madrasas* as of any other building type. Particularly worthy of note is the sparse but exquisite applied and architectonic decoration of these buildings, including stellar vaulting (Madrasa al-Dawādāriyya, *ca.* 697/1297), niches with radial or *muḳarnas* vaulting (Khātūniyya, 784/1383 and Salamiyya, *ca.* 700/*ca.* 1300 respectively) and entrance recesses with trefoil heads (Tashtīmūriyya, *ca.* 785/*ca.* 1384; Muẓhiriyya, 885/1480-1). These and other Jerusalem *madrasas* (e.g. the Djawhariyya, 844/1440 and even the early Ottoman Risāsiyya, 947/1540) concentrate attention upon the entrance. This feature is easily explained. Streets were very narrow and the buildings bordering them constituted a succession of cliff-like façades. No one building, however, had a street frontage of any substantial length. Thus the custom developed of leaving most of the façade plain and confining applied and architectonic ornament to the entrance and perhaps the windows. The doorway itself tended to be much smaller than the slender, lofty entrance recess into which it was set, and was normally crowned by a *muḳarnas* composition enclosing the inevitable epigraphic panel trumpeting the name and titles of the founder.

The self-same shortage of space which had conditioned the characteristic local exterior façade ensured that in residential *madrasas* the cells were disposed on two or even three stories. There is even a case of a *madrasa* being extended over the roof of an adjoining *ribāṭ* (Djawhariyya *madrasa*, 844/1440). In such cramped conditions it is not surprising to find that the 4-*īwān* plan used on more spacious sites in contemporary Cairo is apt to be reduced, for example by the suppression of lateral *īwāns* as in the Muẓhiriyya *madrasa*. Here the portal gives on to a vestibule which leads into an *īwān* facing a courtyard, probably once covered, with a *ḳibla* *īwān* opposite.

There can be little question that the most important of these Mamlūk *madrasas* built outside Cairo is the Ashrafiyya erected in Jerusalem by Ḳā'it Bāy in 887/1482. This was the third extension and rebuilding of the monument, which was already a major institution staffed by an indefinite number of shaykhs, *fuḳahā'* and 60 Ṣūfīs, all salaried. Several reasons combine to lend it special distinction. To begin with, it attests the patronage of the sultan himself, a rare occurrence—as already noted—in provincial Mamlūk *madrasas*. Secondly, its location in a favoured site along the inner façade of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf would confer *baraka* on it to an unusual degree. Earlier in the Mamlūk period, several *madrasas* had been erected along the Ḥaram, but the visual impact of the Ashrafiyya is much greater. Ḳā'it Bay's patronage must however be assessed against a wider context than the purely local ambience of the Ḥaram, or indeed of Jerusalem itself. A short time previously, he had erected *madrasas* within the precinct of the Ḥaram in Mecca (882-4/1477-9) and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. Like his foundation in Jerusalem, these buildings are so designed that their windows look out upon the sacred enclosures in each case. Thus the Ashrafiyya falls into place as one component in a religio-political master plan expressing imperial Mamlūk involvement in the holy places of Islam. The foundations of al-Walīd I nearly eight centuries before provide an obvious parallel. Finally, the Ashrafiyya possesses intrinsic distinction on account of its architecture alone. Seen as a whole, the inner façade of the Ḥaram emphasises the motif of arcading above all others. The architect of the Ashrafiyya was therefore constrained to reject the model presented by earlier Mamlūk *madrasas* in the city, with their emphasis on high blank façades and block-like design. An open-arcaded façade had no functional justification in a *madrasa*. But this device did permit the Ashrafiyya to blend fairly naturally with its surroundings; not content with the prime site which the *madrasa* already occupied, as close as practicable to the Dome of the Rock, Ḳā'it Bāy took the major step of sanctioning the extension of the *madrasa* façade, which until then had remained flush with the open arcade fronting the inner side of the Ḥaram enclosure, so that it projected well beyond the arcade. It was a brutally simple way of drawing attention to his new foundation. Earlier *madrasas* bordering the Ḥaram enclosure and indeed forming with the Ashrafiyya a continuous band of monuments, such as the Tankiziyya (729/1328), the Baladiyya (782/1380) and the ʿUthmāniyya (840/1437), had by contrast all respected the extant portico. The Ashrafiyya was regarded in its time as one of the three jewels of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, with the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, a distinction expressed in symbolic fashion in 882/1477 when, like these other two buildings, it was specially illuminated to celebrate the visit of a Mamlūk *amīr* to Jerusalem. Nor is this all. A detailed analysis of the building shows that its silhouette was very carefully designed to make an impact from a few selected viewpoints; it would be interesting to look for comparable evidence of sensitivity to the urban skyline on the part of Islamic architects elsewhere. The immediate source for this unwonted emphasis on the skyline, as for the presence of a minaret which is exceptional in the Syrian context, is likely to be Cairo. Cairo, too, as will be shown below, provides the fullest context for the recast, not to say deformed, cruciform *īwān* schema encountered at the Ashrafiyya.

The ensemble takes an unusual form which is due only in part to the exigencies of the site. At ground floor level it comprises three elements. The most important of these is a large assembly hall (*madjmaʿ*)

whose capacity and spatial extent are much reduced by the architect's decision to retain in his remodelling (the original piers of) the arcade enclosing the Ḥaram. Here congregated the judges, *fuḳahā'* and other notables connected with the *madrasa*. Behind the hall is a series of three adjoining square or rectangular rooms whose western walls abut the Baladiyya *madrasa*; they neatly subdivide an awkward lateral corridor of space. The third component of the ground floor layout is the entrance complex, which comprises a vaulted porch open on all four sides and leading to the entrance itself flanked by stone benches (*maṣṭabas*), which opens into a tripartite vestibule within. The first floor is ingeniously and tightly planned to serve as a self-contained *madrasa*. As such it immediately recalls, for example, the Djawhariyya *madrasa* in Jerusalem itself, which like the Ashrafiyya is intimately dovetailed with a pre-existing structure, or the Mithḳāliyya *madrasa* in Cairo. The first-floor unit divides naturally into two areas, one north of the minaret above the staircase and the other west of it. The latter area consists of an L-shaped open-air terrace (*sāḥa*) with twenty rooms, disposed roughly as uneven pairs, to the south and five identical rooms plus a washroom (*mutawaḍḍa'*) to the west. Even if the larger rooms are excluded and only symmetrically repetitive chambers are identified as student cells, the number of resident students which were catered for here can scarcely have been less than twenty. Its sister foundation in Mecca had (according to one account) forty students attended by four lecturers (*mudarrisūn*) plus a jurisconsult (*faḳīh*), Ḳur'ān reciters (*ḳurrā'*) and, somewhat surprisingly, muezzins. The area north of the minaret comprises another open-air terrace to the west, lavatories with a reservoir, and a remarkably compact cruciform *madrasa* adjoining the terrace to the east and thus placed directly above the *madjma'*, comprising a rectangular hall some 22.7 × 12.1 m. in area. The east *īwān* of this takes pride of place among the others since it is the one which looks out on to the Ḥaram. It has in effect been transformed into an open loggia offering spectacular views over the Ḥaram. This architectural form, known as *maḳ'ad* or *ṭārima*, has a wide distribution in domestic architecture throughout the Near East, and may parenthetically be compared with similar forms in contemporary Renaissance architecture; it underlines yet again the deep roots of the *madrasa* in domestic prototypes. But this development, for all its domestic flavour, also had religious implications, for the view from this loggia was over one of the holiest sites in the Islamic world. A note of luxury is struck by a huge stained glass window and is echoed throughout the complex—in the two-tone (*ablaḳ*) masonry, the polychrome marble flooring of the *īwāns* and inner courtyard (a practice frequently encountered in late Mamlūk Cairene *madrasas*), the veneered wooden ceilings of the *īwāns*, the lead sheeting of the roof and in its carpets and lamps, whose beauty, in the words of a contemporary historian, was "unequalled elsewhere". In short, there is ample evidence that the Ashrafiyya was a metropolitan import into the local architecture of Jerusalem.

In the earlier part of this section the discussion focussed on literary references to the earliest *madrasas*. This emphasis was dictated by the lack of surviving structures. It is unlikely that future excavations will substantially illuminate this crucial early period. After all, the written sources indicate clearly enough that the early, pre-Saldjūḳ, *madrasas*, in keeping with their private and non-official character, were of a domestic nature. Frequently a house became a *madrasa* without, it seems, any structural alteration, or served impartially as house and *madrasa* by turns. It follows that excavated ground plans will not be enough in themselves to prove that a given pre-Saldjūḳ structure functioned as a *madrasa*. Even in the Saldjūḳ period itself, the two Iranian buildings identified by some as *madrasas* (the ruined structures at Khārgird and Ray) have aroused a controversy still not laid to rest. In this situation it seems sensible to accept that the architectural history of the *madrasa* before 530/1136 (the date of the example at Boṣrā) is irretrievably lost, no matter how rich the documentation of its character as an institution may be.

Such a conclusion inevitably confers particular evidential value on the earliest considerable group of *madrasas* to survive, namely the examples in Saldjūḳ Anatolia, where 50 surviving examples permit a more searching and reliable analysis of trends than do 15 Syrian ones. These Anatolian buildings have been quite unjustifiably neglected in the history of the genre; Creswell's obsession with absolute chronology and his bias towards material from Syria, Palestine and Egypt led him to over-estimate the role of this area in the development of the *madrasa*, and his views have dominated subsequent discussion. However, the Anatolian *madrasas* are the best available guide to the nature of the building in Saldjūḳ Iran; thanks to the work of Kuran and Sozēn, they are much better known as a group than any others in the Islamic world. Some 80 of them datable before 905/1500 survive, and this figure can be supplemented by a further 58 vanished buildings of the same period recorded in the literary sources. In both categories, incidentally, the numerous Ottoman buildings, which form a separate study, are excluded; the grand total of Anatolian *madrasas* surviving or recorded in this period is probably about 200. The preponderance of surviving over vanished buildings is highly unusual in the mediaeval Islamic world and is unlikely to reflect the true state of affairs. But the two sets of figures do complement each other significantly. They confirm what may be deduced from other sources—that building activity was most concentrated in the 7th/13th century, that is, under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. Forty-one surviving and 27 vanished *madrasas*, that is almost half of the entire recorded output of Anatolia in the period 1100-1500, date from this century. The comparable figures for the 8th/14th century, are 22 and 15, comprising about a quarter of the output of the period as a whole. The Ḳaramānids [*q.v.*] were the principal patrons responsible for new *madrasas* in this period. In the 9th/15th century the rate of construction declined still more sharply by a further 70%. Even the 6th/12th century saw more construction than this, with nine surviving buildings and a further six so far recorded in the literary sources; but of course the decline of Beylik *madrasas* in the 9th/15th century directly mirrors the growth of Ottoman power. Indeed, the earliest Ottoman *madrasa* to survive, that of Sulaymān Pasha at Iznik, predates 759/1358 and was itself preceded by a now vanished *madrasa* at Bursa. With the 9th/15th century, Ottoman *madrasas* began to be erected over much of Anatolia.

The turbulent political history of 6th/12th century Anatolia is perhaps sufficient explanation for the

slow spread of the *madrasa* in this area and period. But with the consolidation of Rūm Saldjūḳ power, the movement gathered such momentum that it long outlasted the disintegration of the Saldjūḳ state. Clearly, it had deep roots in the society which it served.

Not surprisingly, therefore, and in contrast to the situation in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and for that matter in the Maghrib, these mediaeval Anatolian *madrasas* were not confined to a few large cities. The surviving examples alone are distributed among 39 cities, towns and villages throughout the length and breadth of the land, while the literary sources add a further dozen localities. In the fullest sense, therefore, this was a popular movement. Naturally this did not exclude a concentration of *madrasas* in a few key centres. Konya, as the Saldjūḳ capital, obviously took pride of place, though only seven of its 24 *madrasas* have survived. Next comes Mardin, the Artuḳid capital, where surprisingly enough 11 of the recorded 13 *madrasas* remain; similarly, Kayseri retains 9 of its 11 recorded *madrasas*. These are without doubt the three major centres of the time. However, quite a number of towns had between four and six *madrasas* erected in this period—Sivas, Sivrihisar, Akşehir, Tire, Aksaray, Erzurum, Diyarbakir and Karaman. Thus there is ample evidence to indicate that the intensive building activity of a few centres was complemented by provision in depth at a good many more. Finally, seven sites are recorded with two or three *madrasas* apiece. Such a remarkably even spread of facilities throughout the land may best be explained by the interaction of two complementary trends: a centralised building programme and—though probably to a lesser degree—a popular fashion for the *madrasa* as an institution, or at any rate as a suitable object of modest architectural patronage.

It is in fact these Anatolian buildings which provide the best evidence of the multi-functional nature of the mediaeval *madrasa*. In so doing, they are a reminder that the form of these buildings is not an infallible guide to their function. Many a building now conventionally termed *madrasa/medrese* (and subsumed in the present discussion) was actually intended to serve as a medical school, a mental hospital, an *ʿimāret* or an observatory, and it frequently allotted substantial space to a mausoleum. The two former functions may be combined in the sense that each is discharged in separate but adjoining premises, as in the Čifte Mināre *madrasa* at Kayseri or the Kaykāwūsiyya at Sivas, though the mental hospital (*bīmārkhāne*) of Melike Yīldīz Khātūn at Amasya is a single self-contained foundation. Nothing in its layout would exclude its identification as a *madrasa*. In the case of long-disaffected, anepigraphic buildings, therefore, a *madrasa*-type layout should not automatically be taken to signify that the building really was a *madrasa*.

The rich quantity of Anatolian material available prompts a variety of conclusions. The most important of these is perhaps that no single type of arrangement was dominant. This in turn invites speculation that the evolution of the genre was by no means complete. In some *madrasas* (Tokat, Karahisar), a whole cluster of rooms of varying shapes and sizes mirror the uncertainties of the architect. In many of these buildings, too, the notional purpose of a *madrasa* —to house students seeking a theological education as a first step to joining the *ʿulamāʾ*—obviously comes a poor last to such other functions as providing a place of prayer, an elaborate façade, a mausoleum (or even two, as at the Boyalıköy *madrasa*), a minaret, a bath, a fountain or halls for public gatherings. Not surprisingly, the cells are usually tiny, a scant three paces per side. But it is their paucity that is most striking. Even the most splendid of all domed Anatolian Saldjūḳ *madrasas*, that built in Konya in 611/1215 by the vizier Djalāl al-Dīn Ḳaratay and bearing his name, has no more than a dozen cells. The most capacious *madrasa* of the period, on the other hand—the Čifte Mināre in Erzurum, which at 35 × 48 m is the largest Anatolian *madrasa* of the period—still has a mere 19 cells on each of its two stories and therefore lags far behind the larger *madrasas* of the Maghrib or ʿIrāḳ. In the 8th/14th century, the capacity of the average Anatolian *madrasa* declined still further. Saldjūḳ Anatolia shows just as clearly as do Syria, Egypt or Iran the growth of the multi-purpose foundation, and several Anatolian *madrasas* were built in conjunction with structures serving another purpose altogether. Thus the *madrasa* at Čay bears the same date (677/1278) as the caravansarai which adjoins it. Presumably as in the case of similar though later joint foundations (those of Amīr Mirdjān in Baghdād, 756-9/1356-9 and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in Iṣfahān, 1105-35/1694-1722), the revenues of the commercial establishment were intended to finance the running costs of the *madrasa*. It was common enough, too, for a *madrasa* to adjoin a mosque (Zindjiriyya *madrasa*, Diyarbakir, 595/1198; Ḥādjdjī Ḳīlīč *madrasa*, Kayseri, 647/1249-50). This fact is not necessarily mirrored in the plan of the *madrasa*, however, for the Khwānd Khātūn *madrasa*, Kayseri (635/1237-8) provides the usual facilities for prayer even though there is a mosque right next door. Perhaps the most diverse group of buildings erected by a single Anatolian patron in one building campaign is the complex of Ibrāhīm Beg at Ḳaramān (836/1433) comprising mosque, *ʿimāret*, *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*, *madrasa*, *tābkhāne* and mausoleum, though the complex of Ismāʿīl Beg at Kastamonu (*ca.* 880/1475) runs it close comprising as it does a *madrasa*, mosque, tomb, *ʿimāret*, caravansarai and bath. Such buildings make most sense in an Ottoman context.

Any attempt to characterise the mediaeval Anatolian *madrasa* must therefore reckon with this very varied background, but encompassing and overriding all these no doubt individually significant variants are two broad categories into which the entire body of mediaeval Anatolian *madrasas* may be fitted. These are the open type, with a courtyard; and the closed type with a domed area replacing that courtyard. Of the 53 surviving *madrasas* in good repair, 38 are of the open type and 15 are domed. The 28 ruined *madrasas* are deliberately excluded from these calculations because most of them are too fragmentary to be placed with confidence in either category. Even so, here too the predominance of the open plan is unmistakable, for of the ruined *madrasas* whose original layout can indeed be established, eight are open and only two are closed. That the open plan should dominate is only to be expected, given the popularity of this form in non-Anatolian *madrasas* and the fashion for courtyard houses in the mediaeval Iranian world which produced the earliest *madrasas*. The closed, domed *madrasa*—which may have anything from one to four *iwāns*, very occasionally has two stories (Ḳaramān, *madrasa* of Ibrāhīm Bey), and may or may not have a portico around the central space—is not so easily explained. Its *raison d'être*, incidentally

a more rewarding subject than its architecture, therefore deserves separate consideration.

The most convenient explanations—that the form is dictated by function or by climate—will obviously not do. After all it is the domed, not the open, *madrasa* that is exceptional in Anatolia. Nor can regional preferences be invoked, for the type occurs with tolerable consistency throughout the country. An important factor in its genesis may well have been that interchangeability of building types so typical of mediaeval Islamic architecture. The association of the *madrasa* with burial and worship would make it natural for the forms of mausoleum and mosque to be integrated into the structure of the *madrasa* —as indeed happens—and eventually to exert influence upon its form. Moreover, it can scarcely be coincidence that it is precisely the *madrasa*s of smaller surface area which attest the domed type. If very few students were to be accommodated in the building, the need for a substantial courtyard would diminish. In such a situation, the building would gain extra dignity and monumentality by the placing of a dome over the central space, while the memory of the courtyard would be retained by means of a skylight and/or a fountain. This ablutions fountain or *s̲h̲ādirwān* readily brings to mind the *impluvium* of the *atrium* in a Roman house, and thus underlines yet again the domestic origins of the *madrasa*. The integrating power of a central dome may also have been a relevant factor in the growing popularity of the domed *madrasa*. Two further considerations, which are perhaps only at first sight mutually exclusive, may be borne in mind. First, the compact *madrasa* with large central dome and smaller domed or vaulted areas surrounding it cannot fail to recall the standard type of mid-Byzantine church which was widespread in Anatolia at the time of the Turkish conquest. Nor is this resemblance simply a matter of external silhouette; the rear *īwān* flanked by dome chambers in the domical *madrasa*s of Konya brings to mind a Byzantine church apse flanked by *diaconicon* and *prothesis*. Secondly, when these domed *madrasa*s are seen not simply in their contemporary context but against the later background of Ottoman architecture, especially mosques, their emphasis on an integrated multi-domed and -vaulted space may be recognised as prophetic. Indeed, some of these domed *madrasas*, such as the Inče Mīnāreli *madrasa* in Konya or the Ṭās̲h̲ *madrasa* in Akşehir, actually incorporate earlier mosques in their structure. This close link with mosque architecture is incidentally not to be seen in the courtyard *madrasa*, which in Anatolia at least developed quite separately; but whatever the origins of the idea, its development was formidably consistent right up to the Ottoman culmination.

Anatolian courtyard *madrasas*, like those of domed type, do not readily fall into formal sub-categories, although attempts have been made to analyse the buildings on the basis.

Certain generalisations about these buildings may be made. It is clear, for example, that the typical rectangular *madrasa* kept the façade short in relation to the sides. This had the advantage of concentrating student cells on the long sides and separating them physically from the rooms serving other functions. Most cells had a fireplace and a cupboard, but sanitary facilities were communal and there was usually no provision for meals to be cooked on the premises. Equally characteristic is a tripartite division of the building parallel with the major, that is the longitudinal, axis, as in contemporary caravansarais. At the far end of that axis, marking the *ḳibla* and continuing the major chord first sounded by the portal, is a wide *īwān* or dome chamber serving as the mosque and frequently flanked by a subsidiary vaulted or domed room on either side. Evidently some honorific intent lies behind this placing, though it must be conceded that the mosque was sometimes located elsewhere in the *madrasa* (for example, next to the entrance vestibule at the Čifte Mīnāre *madrasa*, Erzurum). When the *madrasa* form was used for an observatory (Wād̲j̲idiyya *madrasa*, Kütahya, 714/1314), a small opening in each of the lateral dome chambers served for star-gazing. In a true *madrasa*, these two chambers most likely functioned as classrooms and for the library; smaller rooms flanking the entrance perhaps accommodated the professors. In 4-*īwān* plans the *ḳibla īwān* is typically the broadest and the most richly decorated of all, and it has a similar pre-eminence in two-*īwān madrasas*, in which the *īwān*s, as in Iranian Sald̲j̲ūḳ building of that type, are confined to the longitudinal axis. However, the form of the *īwān* within these buildings—as distinct from their exteriors—does not follow Iranian precedent, in that its façade comprises the arch alone without a framing *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ*.

The discussion so far has by implication highlighted the originality of these Anatolian *madrasas*, but the dearth of contemporary comparative material from elsewhere forbids any very positive statement on this score. Even so, one may set against the occasional echo of Syrian *madrasa*s or of Iranian buildings, a growing sense of confidence in forging a local style. Imported ideas are rapidly given Anatolian garb, as the fate of Persian elements shows. Minarets become stumpier and stockier than in Iran, with tiers of well-articulated balconies; in 4-*īwān* plans, the *īwān*s are diminished and subordinated to the emphasis on continuous arcades surrounding the courtyard, and a pronounced longitudinal axis —at odds with the centralising function of the 4-*īwān* plan—makes itself felt. It should also be pointed out that the first four-rite *madrasa* to survive is in all probability not, as is often thought, the Mustanṣiriyya in Bag̲h̲dād but the Masʿūdiyya in Diyarbakir, founded in 590/1193-4. Such a detail symbolises the central importance of mediaeval Anatolia to an understanding of *madrasa* architecture.

Ottoman *madrasa*s inevitably look somewhat tame when measured against the output of the preceding centuries, but what they lost in unpredictability they amply made up for in symmetry and scale, characteristics hitherto undervalued. Long, uncluttered façades are preferred, and this change is symptomatic of the severity which was to replace the luxuriant idiom of Sald̲j̲ūḳ and Beylik architectural ornament. But it is more than a matter of stylistic preference. The typical Anatolian Sald̲j̲ūḳ and even Beylik *madrasa* was a self-contained foundation, even if its *raison d'être* was as often funerary as educational. Exceptions are not hard to find, but they are distinctly recognisable as such. With the advent of the Ottomans to supreme power, the joint foundation—typically a mosque-*cum-madrasa*, but frequently a still larger complex—becomes commonplace, and sometimes several *madrasa*s cluster around a mosque; such an ensemble is conceived as an architectural unity and often executed in a single building campaign.

These changes left their mark on the *madrasa*. Its function as a place of prayer was now positively subordinated to its role as an educational institution, and this change is swiftly mirrored in its architecture.

The *īwān* is demoted and by degrees removed, and in its place appears the dominant dome chamber; the Čelebi Meḥmed *madrasa*, Merzifon (817/1414), illustrates an intermediate stage of this process, with its compact, square layout focussed on a central courtyard, ideally adapted to a cruciform *īwān* plan; but the *īwān*s no longer dominate the arrangement, for behind each of them rises a powerful, foursquare domed unit.

The closer relationship between mosque and *madrasa* in this period was to have still more far-reaching results. There was less need to provide ample facilities for prayer, so the *masdjid* or *muṣallā* occupies a smaller proportion of the surface area. Innovations in mosque design are swiftly reflected in the planning of *madrasas*—for example, in the provision of a mediating cloister, each bay domed, between courtyard and cells. Above all, the *madrasa* was now readily conceived as a mosque writ small with proportions reserved. Thus the domed *muṣallā* shrinks to a few metres square, although it is symbolically singled out by virtue of its isolation at the far end of the courtyard or even by its projection from the rest of the *madrasa*, as at the *madrasa* of Bāyazīd II at Edirne and, still earlier, the Murādiyya and Yeshil *madrasas* in Bursa. Instead, the courtyard enclosed by cells on three sides takes pride of place. The resultant U (or reversed U) shape soon became standard in the Ottoman *madrasa*

Perhaps the most important change of emphasis in Ottoman *madrasas* vis-à-vis their predecessors lies in the hugely increased numbers of student cells. The designer had a free hand and did not have to tailor his plan to an awkward and immutable site, so that as a result, perhaps, space is used quite prodigally; the cells are now domed, and often have two windows apiece. The courtyard has not only a central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of regimentation which the plan exudes (*madrasa* of Bāyazīd II, Istanbul). In their size, their internal logic, their simple square or rectangular silhouettes, these Ottoman *madrasas* bear the unmistakeable imprint of imperial patronage; hence their architects had no need to grapple with the intractable sites that had put earlier architects on their mettle.

The recognition that the form of the Ottoman *madrasas* gradually stagnated should not blind one to their visual impact. It is a truism that an instinctive feeling for space permeates the buildings of the period, and *madrasas* are no exception. This explains why they are so often sited so that they can be viewed from all sides, and why the domed *masdjid* is set apart from the rest of the building by some device or other. It also explains why in so many *madrasas* at least half the surface area is wasted —from the narrowly utilitarian point of view—by a vast empty courtyard, why the cells are placed only on the ground floor, and why domed cloisters lead from cells to courtyard. Clearly it was less important to cram the *madrasa* full of students than to ensure that those who lived there had room to breathe. Consequently, when an Ottoman sultan, such as Meḥemmed Fātiḥ, wished to accommodate students on the grand scale, he built no less than 16 *madrasas*, even though the total number of rooms was only 230. This can fairly claim to be the first Turkish university. Architecturally speaking, the culmination of this trend may be seen in the Sulaymāniyya complex, whose 18 buildings are conceived as a single entity and, perched on one of the city's highest hills, command a matchless view.

The sheer size of these Ottoman *madrasas* departs decisively from the Arab tradition. It finds its natural counterpart, however, in the later *madrasas* of the eastern Islamic world. Their origins pose insoluble problems. In the early part of this section, the remarkable dearth of Iranian *madrasas* datable before 751/1350 was emphasised. Their absence from the tally of surviving monuments is all the more puzzling since representatives of nearly all the other major building types have survived in abundance, and since *madrasas* are plentiful among the standing monuments of Syria and Anatolia from the 6th/12th century onwards. This situation suggests that Iranian *madrasas* may indeed have survived—but not under that name. It is well known that throughout the mediaeval period and throughout the Islamic world the function of teaching was frequently discharged within the mosque (see above, section I, 2). This is not to say, of course, that many of the Iranian mosques of this period were *madrasas*; and even those which might have been centres of religious instruction could clearly never have functioned as residential *madrasas* because their design did not include cells for that purpose. Perhaps, then, it is a mistake to assume that a *madrasa* must connote a residential as well as an educational function. Indeed, since *madrasas* were apparently built all over the country in large numbers, the majority of them might be expected to cater for local students who would not require accommodation within the building. Only the largest and most prestigious institutions, whose reputation would attract students from far afield—like the Baghdād Niẓāmiyya or the Mustanṣiriyya—would need to make ample provision for students in residence.

The difficulty, of course, lies in identifying such "hidden" *madrasas*. Inscriptions might provide the requisite clues; in fact, Sauvaget interpreted the Ardistān *djāmiʿ* as a *madrasa* on the strength of a Ḳurʾānic inscription in the *ḳibla īwān* mentioning the ways (*madhāhib*) of reaching God. But this is to go too fast. Rather would it be justifiable to infer from that inscription that at least the *ḳibla īwān* of this mosque may have been used for teaching purposes in the Saldjūḳ period. Such Iranian mosques as have rooms of various kinds on the first floor might be regarded as *prima facie* candidates for residential *madrasa* status, in addition to their primary role as communal places of worship; but unfortunately, published plans are virtually without exception confined to the ground floor and give no hint as to the disposition of the upper level. The lack of formality which characterised mediaeval Islamic teaching methods enabled virtually any mosque to perform the teaching and religious functions of a *madrasa*; special lecture rooms were not required. This close functional correspondence between mosque and *madrasa* clearly favoured composite foundations, or at any rate the use of one building for several distinct purposes, and such a concept was of course widespread in other categories of Islamic architecture.

Enough has been said to highlight the difficulties of matching the physical and literary evidence about the early history of the *madrasa* in the Iranian world. In this area the earliest *madrasa* identified as such by inscription is the example dated 571/1175-6 at Shāh-i Mashhad in north-western Afghānistān. Ruined as it is, it nevertheless yields much useful information. To begin with, its splendid ornament proclaims it to be a monument of the very first importance, and in size alone, the building is re-

markable for its time, measuring as it does some 44 m. per side. This far exceeds the dimensions of 6th/12th century *madrasas* further west, but it was to find many subsequent parallels in the Iranian world. Nothing on such an ambitious scale survives from the following two centuries, and the obvious question is why this exceptionally large and expensive building was erected in an area which was always remote. The minaret of Djam [see GHŪRIDS] may provide the necessary clue. The role of that tower as a beacon of Islam in a context which until recently had been pagan goes far to explain its site, size and epigraphy; and the *madrasa* of Shāh-i Mashhad, with its fifteen inscriptions, may have been intended in similar vein to stamp an Islamic presence on a stubbornly pagan countryside.

Ilkhānid *madrasas* are on an altogether smaller scale, but before they are considered, one building from an area hitherto neglected—ʿIrāḳ—deserves notice. Already in the late 6th/12th century, Ibn Djubayr [*q.v.*] had recorded some thirty *madrasas* in Baghdād alone, all of them in the eastern sector of the city. All of them, however, were eclipsed by the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* there, widely regarded in its own time and subsequently as the exemplar of the genre and its fullest, finest expression. Its endowments (*awḳāf*), too, exceeded those of other *madrasas*. To a later age, it is the obvious symbol of the rejuvenated late ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and several factors suggest that this symbolism was deliberately intended at the time. The *madrasa* was built in Baghdād, which for six centuries had been the spiritual and intermittently the political centre of the Islamic world. It proclaimed the essential unity of orthodox Islam. Its patron was the caliph himself, who lent his name to the building. It was the first *madrasa* specifically designed to serve each of the four major *madhhabs*, as well as containing facilities for the two fundamental ancillary disciplines taught in a *dār al-ḥadīth* and a *dār al-Ḳurʾān*. Each *madhhab* had its own place of worship. Thus the building explicitly claimed universal status. The long band of foundation text, inscribed in letters a foot high, that unfolds, in defiance of Islamic custom, across its exterior façade, advertises this claim for all to see. In size alone the building was unprecedented: an oblong of *ca.* 105 × 44 × 49 m. The solemn festivities of its inauguration in 630/1233 after six years of construction set the seal on its pre-eminent status among the *madrasas* of the Islamic world, whilst architecturally speaking, the monument is a triumph of technique. It is built according to a complex system of proportional relationships and modular units. Both the ground plan—a modified four-*īwān* layout—and the elevation were based on a grid of 10 and 30 Byzantine feet respectively. Thus the unit of measurement (one Byzantine foot = 31.23 cm.) used for Hagia Sophia was still employed seven centuries later in the heart of the Islamic world, an astonishing tribute to the tenacity of Hellenistic influence in Muslim science. In addition to providing accommodation on two floors for a large staff and for some 300 students, the *madrasa* included a celebrated library (as did several Saldjūḳ *madrasas* in Marw), a kitchen, a *ḥammām* and a hospital.

The original layout of the Mustansiriyya was increasingly obscured in later centuries by numerous modifications, but the study of a closely related building has clarified most of these problems. The building in question, the so-called "ʿAbbāsid palace", is in all probability the Bishriyya *madrasa* of 653/1255 and seems—to judge by the manifold improvements of detail which it incorporates—to be the work of the same architect as was responsible for the Mustanṣiriyya. The fragmentary state of this later building is all the more regrettable in view of the ambitious scale of what survives.

The variety of forms attested by the few surviving Ilkhānid *madrasas* suggests that no one type predominated in this period. To judge by Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid buildings, it was the Madrasa-yi Imāmī (already discussed) and the custom-built *madrasa* added to the Friday Mosque of Iṣfahān from 768/1366-7 that best expressed the officially approved layout of such buildings, the latter being a two-*īwān* courtyard structure. The *madrasa* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn in Yazd, otherwise known as the Zindān-i Iskandar and datable to the 8th/14th century, is of substantially lower quality than the two Iṣfahān *madrasas*; indeed, it is constructed of mud brick. Despite subsequent modifications, enough survives of the original layout to suggest that the *īwāns* on two adjoining sides of the courtyard were complemented by another pair opposite. Apart from this, there is little observable regularity in the plan; its rooms are indiscriminately oblong or square, broad or narrow, multi-recessed or with unbroken walls, and are bundled together with outright carelessness. The Shamsiyya *madrasa* of *ca.* 766/1365, also in Yazd —indeed, the literary sources record the names of about a score of 8th/14th century *madrasas* built in that city—is an incomparably more soigné variation on the same theme. Here the design is tauter and fully integrated, each half a mirror reflection of the other; the portal *īwān* announces the major axis, which continues without interruption until it terminates in the square mausoleum which adjoins the *madrasa* proper but projects well beyond it; and long lateral halls flank the portal *īwān* in a foretaste of Tīmūrid buildings at Khargird and Gāzur Gāh in Harāt.

The Tīmūrid period was unquestionably the golden age of the Iranian *madrasa*. Khurāsān and Transoxiana were the forcing-ground for new developments, though competently-designed *madrasas* were also built in southern Iran, and features from that area are sometimes incorporated into the monuments of the north-east, like the *bādgīr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at Khargird. The four-*īwān* type predominated and was executed on a scale consistently more spacious than had earlier been the norm anywhere in Islam. This ambitious scale often generated comparably ambitious decoration; the finer *madrasas* of the period yield nothing in the quality of their ornament to contemporary mosques, and occasionally even strike out in new directions, as in the murals with trees, streams and birds in the *madrasa* of Tūmān Āghā at Kihsan (844/1440-1). Such was the prestige acquired by this kind of *madrasa* that it became the model for nearly all the notable *madrasas* erected in the Iranian world in subsequent centuries; numerous *madrasas* in Ṣafawid Iṣfahān, Shaybānid Bukhārā and even Mughal India, illustrate this dictum.

It was in the Tīmūrid period, then, that the consonance between mosque and *madrasa* became so marked that there is little to distinguish them so far as external and internal façades are concerned. What goes on behind the façades, however, is very different in the two cases. Within the general format of the four-*īwān* plan, there was ample room for experiment in the placing of mosques, mausolea, lecture halls and residential accommodation. A side-

effect of the greatly expanded size of these foundations was that room could now be found for a wide range of ancillary units, such as libraries and *khānaḳāhs* for example, and for differentiated summer and winter chambers. Sometimes—as at Ghudjduwān, Khārgird and in the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* at Bukhārā—the complex contained a mosque, and often a lecture-hall as well. Sometimes both units were mosques (as at Turbat-i Djām) or lecture halls. In other *madrasas*, such as that of Ulugh Beg at Samarḳand, dated 820-3/1417-20, the mosque extended the full length of the *ḳibla* side opposite the portal *īwān*. By contrast, a trio of *madrasas* in the Mashhad shrine (Dū Dar, Parīzād and Bālā Sar) have the mosque situated in one of the courtyard *īwāns*—indeed, the Dū Dar *madrasa* even has a second mosque in a corner of the building. There was no general rule governing the siting of the mausoleum in these royal Tīmūrid *madrasas*, but the examples of the Gawhar Shād and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā *madrasas* in Harāt, and that of Fīrūzshāh at Turbat-i Djām, show that they could be the single dominant feature of the entire complex. Indeed, the fashion of the time firmly favoured the incorporation of mausolea into *madrasas*, and free-standing mausolea of high quality are exceptional. As a curiosity, the siting of a diminutive *madrasa* in the entrance complex of the Ziyāratgāh Djāmiʿ is noteworthy. In smaller *madrasas*, such as those of Mashhad, the incorporation of mosques and mausolea seriously overbalanced the ensemble and cut down the space available for student cells. But these cases are somewhat unusual, since the architects had to make do with a site which was already heavily built up and therefore had to sacrifice symmetry to expediency.

The new emphasis on scale implied almost by definition a corresponding emphasis on external façades. Minarets are used to mark the corners—e.g. the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* at Samarḳand and numerous later examples such as the Mīr-i ʿArab *madrasa* at Bukhārā, 942/1535-6; and the portal is now apt to be recessed and thus streamlined with the curtain walls of the façade rather than projecting from it. Sensitivity to the setting of the monument made it natural to group such buildings together, notably in the Rīgistān at Samarḳand (Ulugh Beg, Shīr Dar and Tilla Kari *madrasas*) or the Lab-i Ḥawḍ complex at Bukhārā.

As in Ottoman times, again, there was a tendency for these very large *madrasas*, all endowed by royal patrons or high officials of state, to cluster together in the major cities. Thus the original plan conceived by Niẓām al-Mulk, whereby *madrasas* would be built in large numbers but distributed evenly over a wide geographical area, was reversed. In Iran proper, Ḳum, Mashhad and Iṣfahān account for nearly all the significant post-Ilkhānid *madrasas*, while similar concentrations may be observed in Samarḳand, Bukhārā, Harāt and Khīwa. The latter city, with its quartet of highly traditional *madrasas* erected between 1810 and 1910 (Pahlawān Maḥmūd, Allāh Ḳulī Khān, Amīn Khān and Islām Khwādja) shows how fossilised the Tīmūrid manner had become.

A more appropriate envoi to the *madrasa*, however, is provided by the buildings of Ṣafawid Iṣfahān. Several *madrasas* of medium size were erected there in the course of the 11th/17th century, such as the Madrasa-yi Nadda Kūčik, built in 1058/1648 by the grandmother of Shāh ʿAbbās II and with accommodation for 67 students, the Madrasa-yi Ṣadr, and those of Mullā ʿAbd Allāh (1088/1677) and Kasangarān (1104/1693). But these are only of secondary interest when set beside the two *madrasas*, which flank the great dome chamber of the Masdjid-i Shāh, let alone the great Madrasa-yi Mādar-i Shāh (1118-26/1706-14). The two *madrasas* in the Masdjid-i Shāh are longitudinally conceived, and with their miniature garden courtyards make a delightfully bijou impression; and they exploit the available space to the full for student cells. The Madrasa-yi Mādar-i Shāh, sited in an originally idyllic environment fronting the Čahār Bāgh, injects a new dynamism into the traditional four-*īwān* layout by means of a large extra dome chamber in each of the diagonals, and the cells, too, are unusual in their tripartite division: a vestibule and a terminal recess bracket the cell itself. The main prayer chamber here is not easily distinguishable from that of the Masdjid-i Shāh, and the continued intermingling of the two forms in Iran is attested by several joint foundations in Ḳādjār times.

Although dependence on Andalusia is a constant of Maghribī architecture, little trace of Spanish influence can be detected in the ground plans of the local *madrasas*. Indeed, since the *madrasa* movement was primarily an eastern Iranian one which by degrees moved westwards, it would be only logical to assume that in this particular genre of building it was atypically the Maghrib that influenced Andalusia. The only surviving physical evidence of the Andalusian *madrasa* confirms this supposition. This is the structure built by the Naṣrid monarch Yūsuf I in 750/1349, sc. in the golden age of the Marīnid *madrasa*. Though largely demolished in the 18th century, the prayer hall was excavated and restored from 1893 onwards; it has nothing to differentiate it from its Marīnid contemporaries in Morocco. Of the *madrasas* built by the Almohad ruler Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) in Spain as elsewhere in his dominions, nothing survives, nor is there any record of further Naṣrid *madrasas*, so the question of reciprocal influences between Andalusia and the Maghrib in this genre cannot be regarded as finally settled. Valuable as this literary evidence is, its very paucity is instructive, for it suggests the virtual absence of one of the major Islamic building types in Muslim Spain. Yet that area was unquestionably the foremost centre of Islamic art west of Egypt. In fact, however, this dearth can easily be explained. By the time that the *madrasa* had established itself in the eastern Islamic world, the great days of the Cordovan caliphate were long over, and the fate of Muslim Spain sealed. The cities of the north, Toledo, and even Cordova itself, had been lost. With the splendid exception of the Alhambra, significantly a secular rather than a religious monument, little architecture of note was erected in the Iberian peninsula in the last three centuries of the Muslim presence there.

Although, as already noted, the *madrasa* genre is first recorded in the eastern Islamic world in the late 3rd/9th century, it was not for another 150 years and more that the full weight of official backing had resulted in *madrasas* being erected in most major towns of the area. Theoretically, the fashion could have spread to the Maghrib around that time. Yet it is doubtful whether the Almoravids had at their disposal the necessary administrative expertise to launch and execute a programme comparable to that of Niẓām al-Mulk. It seems that the Maghrib in any case produced only a tithe of the buildings erected in Iran during the same period, and in the

context of such limited building, *madrasas* would obviously have claimed less priority than mosques. Moreover, the Almoravids—as their name itself indicates—were noted primarily for building *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*]. Not only is there no mention of their building *madrasas*; it seems, rather, that it was precisely in these *ribāṭs* that some of the teaching functions later performed by the *madrasa* were carried out. The consonance of plan between the two institutions leaps to the eye. Moreover, the early and marked association of the *madrasa* with the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, and to an only slighter lesser extent with the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī ones, would perhaps not immediately have struck a chord in the predominantly Mālikī Maghrib. Ironically enough, the first recorded *madrasa* (in late 3rd/9th century Nīshāpūr) was in fact Mālikī, but in subsequent centuries that *madhhab* noticeably lagged behind the others in the number of *madrasas* allotted to it. It is perhaps relevant that the religious message preached by Ibn Tūmart, the ideological founder of the Almohad dynasty, was disseminated in mosques rather than in special educational institutions. Hostile as he was to the prevailing orthodoxy of his time, it is not surprising that he did not use the *madrasa* as an instrument for his preaching, since that institution was itself the very emblem of orthodoxy by his time. Finally, one may perhaps adduce the generally conservatism of Maghribī society as a reason for the late spread of the *madrasa* movement to this area.

Thus the fashion for building *madrasas* probably reached the Maghrib late—too late, for example, to make an impact on Andalusia. The references to the late 6th/12th century *madrasas* built by the Almohad ruler al-Manṣūr are somewhat unspecific—indeed, the statement of Ibn Saʿīd that there was no *madrasa* in 7th/13th century Spain partially contradicts them—and the first securely dated *madrasa* in the Maghrib, the Shammāʿiyya, was built in Tunis by the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ in 647/1249, and within a decade was followed by the Maʿriḍiyya *madrasa* built by his widow. Neither has survived, and thus the Ṣaffārīn *madrasa* in Fās, founded by the Marīnid sultan Abū Yūsuf in 670/1271, is the earliest Maghribī example to survive. Its location may be seen as prophetic, since for some reason the institution of the *madrasa* took deepest root in Morocco, and specifically in Fās, where most of the round dozen Maghribī *madrasas* predating 1700 are situated. Moreover, the majority of these *madrasas* are the work of the Marīnid sultans and were erected between 670/1271 and 757/1356. Several Algerian *madrasas* belong to the same group. This sudden efflorescence of a building type which had hitherto been virtually unknown in the area demands some explanation. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the Marīnids, unlike their more illustrious predecessors the Almoravids and Almohads, were not swept to power by a wave of religious fervour. Their uncomfortable consciousness of this deficiency may have led them to make restitution of a kind by providing the patronage for religious buildings. *Madrasas* fitted the bill admirably. They were much less expensive than mosques, a very relevant factor since the Marinid empire was much smaller than that of their predecessors. Marīnid mosques would have suffered by comparison with those of the Almohads; Marīnid *madrasas*, being effectively a new genre, were safer from such unwelcome comparisons. Moreover, they underlined the orthodoxy of their patrons and thus provided a counterweight not only to Shīʿism and to the Almohad movement but also to the increasingly popular Ṣūfism. Indeed, a crucial epigraphic document indicates that the Marīnid sultans were actuated by motives which had much in common with those of Niẓām al-Mulk over two centuries earlier. The very first surviving *madrasa* in Morocco, the Ṣaffārīn *madrasa* in Fās (670/1271) mentions in its foundation inscription the need to resurrect the forgotten religious sciences, a clear attack on Almohad heterodoxy:

"Praise be to God, Master of the Two Worlds! Who exalts the status of men of learning, Who recompenses with a generous hand those who devote themselves to acts of piety; Who by means of *madrasas* revives the vanished traces of *fiḳh* and of religion, using as His instrument those of His good servants whom He has specially singled out for His guidance and ennobled by His solicitude and by His care . . ." Finally, the desire to make Fās an intellectual centre—the sultans Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abū ʿInān both prided themselves on being men of learning—may help to explain not only the concentration of *madrasas* in that city during the Marīnid period but also the endowment of several *madrasas* with fine libraries in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Ṣaffārīn, Fās; BūʿInāniyya, Fās).

These *madrasas* all obey a well-defined schema. Their dimensions are smaller than those of any other groups of *madrasas* elsewhere in the Islamic world, ranging from 35 × 36 m. (115 × 118 ft.) to 14 × 14.5 m. (46 × 47.5 ft.). Perhaps their exclusive use by a single *madhhab* made larger buildings unnecessary. Around a central courtyard are grouped on the ground floor a mosque, galleries facing each other along the lateral axis and an entrance vestibule which is frequently open onto the courtyard along its entire length. Unlike the universal practice elsewhere in the Islamic world, the courtyard façades of these various halls are not marked by colonnades or *īwāns* but are fenced off by an unbroken surface of wooden panels. On the first floor, a narrow gallery overlooking the courtyard gives on to the cells in which the students lived; sometimes in the earlier *madrasas* these cells are also ranged behind the galleries on the ground floor.

No *madrasas* with facilities for all four *madhhabs* incorporated into their ground plans are known in the Maghrib. One legal school—the Mālikī—maintained a virtually unchallenged dominion over the Maghrib throughout the mediaeval period. Perhaps this exclusiveness, which made it unnecessary for architects to provide separate teaching areas reserved for other *madhhabs*, was the factor which kept the *madrasas* of this area small.

This diminutive size gives such buildings an essentially human scale which well expresses the informality of teaching in the mediaeval Islamic world. They are made even more inward-looking and cloistered by the downward pitch of their roofs as seen from the courtyard. Yet the organisation of space within the building is by turns ingenious and dramatic. On the first floor the needs of circulation and accommodation are admirably dovetailed; the corridor which encircles the courtyard and gives access both to individual cells and to the corner staircases is kept so narrow that two people can barely squeeze past each other in it. This frees extra space for accommodation. At the same time, it is no mere walkway but has some aesthetic distinction. The openings at regular intervals along its shaded length allow the viewer to catch partial glimpes of a courtyard bathed in sunlight. Most Moroccan *madrasas* have a central pool with a

fountain. Given the somewhat cramped dimensions of these courtyards, the presence of rippling water sets space into motion to a degree that would not be possible in larger expanses. This introduction of nature into the ordered, man-made world of architecture is typically Islamic. These fountains serve a further, more directly scenic, function too. For anyone within the halls bordering on the courtyard, the view into that courtyard is firmly directed by the act that the only entrance to these halls is a single arch. On the major axes of the *madrasa* this arch frames the fountain, which thus becomes the centrepiece of a carefully calculated composition.

Most Moroccan *madrasa*s were produced either under the Marīnids in the 8th/14th century or under the Saʿdian or Filālī sultans in the 11th/17th century. Since these two periods also saw a much greater production of mosques and mausolea than other periods, it is unlikely that the building campaigns of the two periods in question themselves constitute evidence that a specific penchant for *madrasa*s can be attributed to the patrons of the time. But the political background outlined above provides the missing explanation. Given the role of the *madrasa* in training the politically influential Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* it is not surprising that the patrons of these buildings—when their names are recorded—should include the sultans themselves (e.g. the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasas* in Fās, Salé, Meknès and Algiers) and their high officials, and that they should have been lavishly endowed, as their luxurious decoration indicates.

More often, however, their names reflect their relative size (*al-Kubrā*, "the greater", or *al-Ṣughrā*, "the lesser); their location in a quarter dedicated to a certain trade (*al-ʿAṭṭārin*, "the perfumers, or as in Fās and Meknès, *al-Ṣaffārīn*, "the metalworkers"), and occasionally even those who taught there (al-Miṣbāḥiyya is named after its first professor, Miṣbāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yalsūtī) or the subjects in which the *madrasa* specialised (thus the Sbāʿiyyīn *madrasa* derives its name from the study of the methods of reading the Ḳurʾān). Like so much religious architecture in Islam, these *madrasa*s are often sited in the midst of bazaars—though there seems to be no connection between the presence of a *madrasa* in a particular quarter of the bazaar area and its endowment. Thus, while certain trades or crafts might singly or in concert put up the money for a mosque, the foundation of *madrasa*s seems to have been the result of official patronage.

That the teaching function of these *madrasas* was paramount is suggested by the almost total absence of the patron's tomb in them. One may note as exceptions the case of the 18th century Sulaymāniyya *madrasa* in Tunis, founded by one ʿAlī Pasha and containing the tomb of his son Sulaymān and earlier the case of the vizier Ibn Tafragin who was buried in the *madrasa* he had founded in 765/1364. Buth this official had significantly enough spent some time in Egypt, where this practice was widespread.

Such oriental influences, though rare, are of crucial importance. A later Tunisian *madrasa*, the Muntaṣiriyya (837-40/1434-7) again demonstrates Egyptian influence in the unusual feature of a rectangular bastion or salient placed in the middle of each of the courtyard façades. These projections do duty as portals to significant parts of the building and are thus explicable as interpretations—though in a different idiom—of the *īwān*s in cruciform disposition found in *madrasa*s further east. The lateral lecture halls of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* in Fās also seem to be a local interpretation of the *īwān* scheme. Yet another derivation from eastern models may be the use of the *madrasa* as one element in a larger complex. A typical example of this fashion is the *madrasa* built in Tlemcen in *ca.* 754/1354 by Sultan Abū ʿInān in association with the mosque, tomb and *zāwiya* of Sīdī al-Ḥalwī, or the mosque, tomb and *madrasa* of Sīdī Ibrāhīm built in Tlemʿen by the Zayānid Abū Ḥammū II. The Ṣahrīdj *madrasa* in Fās (721-3/1321-3) is situated right next to the mosque of the Andalusians; but as if this juxtaposition were not enough, it was by 750/1350 given dependencies significantly larger than itself. These included a now-vanished guest-house, the Dār Abī Habasa with 21 rooms, a large ablutions hall and—most important of all—another *madrasa*, that of al-Sbāʿiyyīn, which still survives. This latter phenomenon of paired *madrasa*s linked by a passage cannot but recall the Ṣāliḥiyya complex in Cairo. Also relevant in this connection was the Ḳadīma *madrasa* built by Abū Ḥammū I in Tlemcen in *ca.* 710/1310 for two pious brothers, for it comprised two halls, each with a house attached. Thus it seems that the principle of separate premises for separate courses was accepted even when there was no question of different *madhhab*s being accommodated within a single building. For all their strong local character, then, these Maghribī *madrasa*s attest the strength of eastern Islamic influences in this genre of building.

In many cases, the connection between a mosque and a *madrasa* is so close that the obvious conclusion to draw is that the mosque served *inter alia* as the oratory for the *madrasa* (e.g. the Walad al-Imām mosque, Tlemcen, erected in *ca.* 710/1310 next to the Ḳadīma *madrasa*). Conversely, the oratory of many a Maghribī *madrasa* served as the mosque for the quarter where it was built. Accordingly, many of these *madrasa*s have minarets, and one even has a *minbar*, thereby qualifying it to be a *djāmiʿ*. It has even been suggested that the *madrasa*, by dint of becoming the most typical and widespread structure of the later mediaeval Maghrib, began in its turn to influence the layout of the mosque itself, specifically in its preference for square rather than rectangular courtyards, shallow rather than deep prayer halls and monumental portals on the major axis of the building. Something of the same process has been noted in Mamlūk Egypt, where the cruciform plan developed in the *madrasa* was subsequently adopted quite widely for mosques.

Although the casual visitor to these Moroccan *madrasas* is apt to believe, after walking around half a dozen of them, that they follow a standard pattern, such an impression is quickly modified on closer examination. Their layouts suggest that while the architects in question had a firm grasp of the essential constituent elements of a *madrasa*, they were unable to impose a preconceived solution on the sites allotted to them. These *madrasa*s are located within an extremely cluttered urban setting, and so they commonly betray the various shifts of their designers to make the most of a difficult site. In these circumstances, it would be idle to expect to find a model which was more or less faithfully copied, or even a consistent, rational development of plan in these *madrasa*s. Even so, all the Moroccan buildings of the genre share an emphasis on interior rather than exterior façades in that they focus on a central courtyard; and their decoration is extraordinarily consistent in medium and orna-

mental repertoire alike. In these respects, then, it is justifiable to point to their marked generic similarity, which easily asserts itself over such contingent factors as site and size. Moreover, most of the Moroccan *madrasas* were erected—as noted above—in less than a century, from 670/1271 to 757/1356, a period which also encompasses the surviving work in Algeria and Spain.

Externally, their most striking characteristic is a negative one: they lack a monumental façade. This is no novelty in Islamic architecture, but it is a feature which recurs so consistently in these buildings that it seems justified to regard it as a deliberate principle. The only exception is itself so consistent that it proves the rule: virtually every *madrasa* has an elaborate portal, usually a densely carved overhang or hood on brackets, a kind of awning executed in wood. By its marked projection—sometimes as much as two metres—and its commanding height above the bustle of the street, it signals the entrance of the *madrasa* from a distance. The tortuous alleyways of these Moroccan towns would discourage any more marked emphasis on the façade; there is simply no point of vantage from which a general view of the building could be enjoyed. In addition, one or two *madrasas* have a porch in front of the main entrance (e.g. the Bū ʿInāniyya, Fās, where the vault is crowned by a pyramidal roof). This is more in the nature of the *čahār-sū* of eastern Islamic bazars than a monumental enclosed construction like the porch of mediaeval parish church, for it is simply a vault or dome spanning the street and supported by the walls which define that street. Most of these *madrasas* abutted on to the principal streets of the town, streets that were nonetheless so narrow that even a slightly projecting porch would have created an obstacle to traffic.

In common with contemporary local domestic architecture, these *madrasas* nearly always contain a bent entrance, partly to ensure that the interior of the building is sundered from the outside world—a matter of noise as well as proximity. Corridors leading off the entrance passage from left to right respectively give access to the latrine area and a staircase leading to the upper storey (ʿAṭṭārīn and Miṣbāḥiyya *madrasas*, Fās), though other locations for the latrines do occur. The standard practice is to provide a series of cubicles around a subsidiary courtyard with a central fountain. This latter feature means that the area can serve for ablutions as well, and it is doubly proper therefore that it should be physically separated from the rest of the *madrasa*.

Several *madrasas* have minarets (Ṣaffārīn, Fās; *madrasa* of Fās al-Dj̲adīd; Bū ʿInāniyya, Fās) and this may serve as a reminder that the institution often served as an independent place of prayer. Often enough it was located very close to a mosque so that there was no need for a separate minaret. Indeed, the interplay between mosque and *madrasa* was close and continuous. Just as the *madrasa* functioned as an oratory, so too did the mosque function as a place of teaching. This is especially relevant when it is remembered that most Moroccan *madrasas* are in Fās, which boasted in the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque [*q.v.*] the foremost centre of learning in the western Mag̲h̲rib. Lectures in the Ḳarawiyyīn would therefore supplement the teaching of the *madrasas*. Indeed, in some sense the *madrasas* acted as an overflow facility for the earlier and more prestiguous institution. This was clearly part of the function of the Miṣbāḥiyya *madrasa*, which was situated very close to the Ḳarawiyyīn and whose students, mostly drawn from southern Morocco until recently, were enrolled in studies in the mosque. The Ṣahrīdj̲ and Sbāʿiyyīn *madrasas* illustrate the same phenomenon. Similarly, most Tunisian *madrasas* are found in Tunis itself, where the students could benefit from the teaching offered in the other great Mag̲h̲ribī university-mosque, the Zaytūna. To concentrate the teaching function in a single urban centre in this way obviously made good sense from the economic point of view, and it meant also —since in both cases the centre in question was also the capital city—that the educational activity of mosque and *madrasa* alike would be directly under the eye of the sovereign. Once again, then, the inherently political nature of the *madrasa* asserts itself.

In view of the diminutive size of these Mag̲h̲ribī *madrasas* vis-à-vis equivalent institutions further east in the Islamic world, the emphasis laid on the prayer hall—which functioned concurrently as a lecture hall, as indeed did many mosques outside the regular hours of prayer—is noticeable, and is especially relevant in the context of the preceding remarks. It seems, in short, that these *madrasas* functioned quite widely as neighbourhood mosques. The case of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* in Fās, though admittedly exceptional, offers supporting evidence for this theory. It is placed midway between the old city, clustered around the Ḳarawiyyin mosque, and the new foundation of Fās al-Dj̲adīd, which at that time (751/1350) had not yet been given a Friday mosque. Thus the minaret of the Bū ʿInāniyya could pass on the *ad̲h̲ān* given in the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque which was too far away to be audible in Fās al-Dj̲adīd, and the Friday prayer could accordingly begin there at the ordained hour. The foundation inscription of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* (originally named al-Mutawakkiliyya after one of the titles of its founder) specifically states that the building has the advantage of serving as a *dj̲āmiʿ*. This *madrasa* has many of the appurtenances normally reserved for Friday mosques—a *minbar*, a *maḳṣūra*, a mortuary and a Ḳurʾān school, plus a unique external clock with a set of songs presumably intended to mark the divisions of the daily prayers. It even has a subsidiary entrance to the rear of the building, as well as an unusual division of the main entrance into two sections, one of which is intended for those with bare feet and is accordingly provided with a treshold of running water. The same idea is applied within the building, for a water-channel runs laterally across the façade of the prayer hall and is crossed by a slab of marble at each side. The building is raised above the level of the bazaar and is reached by a staircase provided with benches; but its roots in everyday life are aptly emphasised by the shops which line its main façade. It is precisely in its flexibility and in its multiple functions that the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* approximates most closely not to other *madrasas* but to the classical type of mediaeval Friday mosque, as much a community centre as a place of worship.

Although the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* is unique in the Mag̲h̲rib in its comprehensive range of functions, it is typical in that it is a royal foundation. In this particular case the ruler bore not only the expense of building but also financed the provision of water and endowed the salaries of the staff, the board and other expenses of the students and the upkeep of the building by making over to the institution a formidable list of properties.

Various methods are employed to emphasise

the role of the prayer hall in the Maghribī *madrasas*. It was the constant concern of the architects to give this hall pride of place in the overall layout, and the majority of them achieved that aim by means of axiality. Sometimes, as in the Ṣahridj and Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasas*, Fās, the entrance, courtyard and mosque were all disposed on the major chord of the building, and in the former case even the elongated rectangular pool played a spatial role. More often, the exigencies of the site and the predilection for a bent entrance meant that this axial emphasis could assert itself only at the entrance to the courtyard (al-ʿUbbād *madrasa*, Tlemcen; Miṣbaḥiyya *madrasa*, Fās). So firmly did this axial arrangement establish itself that it was even maintained when it ran counter to the correct orientation of the prayer chamber, as in the ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, Fās, where in order to mark the *ḳibla* accurately, the *miḥrab* has to be placed to the right of the entrance instead of opposite it as the internal logic of the layout demands.

The placing of the chambers for students varies quite markedly. In the earlier *madrasas*, all the living accommodation was confined to the ground floor (Ṣaffārīn *madrasa*; *madrasa* of Fās al-Djadīd). In the following decades, it continued to be standard practice for the more commodious *madrasas* to provide, in addition to the main accommodation at first-floor level, at least some student accommodation on the ground floor. It is here that the ornate wooden lattice-work screens known as *mashrabiyyas* come into their own. Placed between the arcades or other openings of the court, they close off from the public gaze the sections of the *madrasa* which serve for student accommodation. The bleakness of the latter area is therefore masked by a lavish exterior. Symbolically enough it is only the outer, namely courtyard, face of these *mashrabiyyas* that is richly carved; the inner face is plain as perhaps befits the sparse facilities offered to the students. Between these screens and the cells runs a corridor, for all the world like the cloister of some mediaeval western monastery. These screens continue on the upper storeys where their principal function is obviously to decorate the interior façade rather than to seal off the student cells. Sometimes the corridors or galleries are located only along the lateral walls of the courtyard (ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, Fās; Taza *madrasa*), but they often extend to three sides, especially in the later examples of the genre, and there is even an isolated case of a *madrasa* with student cells arranged unevenly but on all four sides of the ground floor (Sabʿīn *madrasa*, Fās). The extra height required for a suitably imposing prayer hall meant that there was frequently no room for student cells above it, and there is even a case of a prayer and assembly hall located on the first floor (Miṣbaḥiyya, Fās).

Nothing testifies more forcibly to the inadequate publication of these buildings than the widely divergent figures given for the number of student cells which they contain. Often enough these statistics are confused with the number of students which the *madrasa* could accommodate. This figure is in itself wide open to discussion. According to some estimates, a typical cell can hold as many as seven or eight students. However, this is clearly an inaccurate guide for rooms at the smaller end of the scale; indeed, cells measuring no more than 1.50 × 2 m. are quite frequently encountered and it would clearly be difficult to accommodate more than one or at the most two persons in such a room. That many cells were intended to house only a single occupant is clearly indicated by the custom that the student "paid" for his room by buying the key for it from his predecessor. Besides, in many cells the floor space was reserved for living as distinct from sleeping accommodation—a feature which will be discussed in more detail shortly. Within a given *madrasa*, moreover the size and layout of individual cells will often fluctuate quite markedly. This is especially apt to occur when the *madrasa* has walls built at acute angles because of the spatial constraints of the site. While windowless cells are known, it was standard practice to provide tiny windows, often with metalwork grilles, opening on to the corridor, the main courtyard, a subsidiary courtyard (especially in post-Marīnid *madrasas*), or even—though rarely—on to the street.

The spartan fittings of these cells do suggest that the provision of maximum sleeping space was a priority of the designer. There was no bedding to clutter up valuable space. Students slept under a blanket on a mat. Often projecting shelves below the ceiling function as bunk beds; they are reached by wooden bars mortared diagonally across the corners of the rooms so as to form a simple ladder. Sometimes a small table is provided—the students were, after all, issued with paper, pen and ink. A narrow slot beside the door permitted the daily ration of flat bread to be distributed with maximum speed. Since that ration was fixed at one piece per student, the amount of bread set aside per day for the *madrasa* provides the necessary clue in calculating the maximum occupancy for which the building was designed. This quantity of bread was made available daily, according to the requirements of the *waḳf* which financed the institution, irrespective of whether the building was fully occupied or not; in practice, therefore, it often happened that at least some students would have extra rations.

The largest of the mediaeval *madrasas* in Morocco is the Miṣbaḥiyya, for which a tally of 117 rooms has been proposed, with 23 on the ground floor alone and the balance in the two upper storeys. A two-storey design is commoner, however, and therefore the ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, in which Bel counted 34 cells, or the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa*, whose capacity has been estimated at 100 students, are more representative. These are large numbers for buildings designed on such an intimate scale, especially when it is remembered that the prayer hall of such a *madrasa* could serve as the *masdjid* not only for the students and staff but also for the people of the area. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the students lived a hard life—frequently cold, cramped and underfed.

With the fall of the Marīnids, the golden age of the Maghribī *madrasa* was over. Not only are there comparatively few surviving *madrasas* of later date, but the majority of them are either attached to mosques or shrines, and dominated by them, or they are intrinsically of very little interest (Rabat, Ceuta, Tangiers and Ksar el Kebir/Alcazarquivir). Only two deserve closer inspection—the Ben Yūsuf or Yūsufiyya *madrasa* in Marrakesh, dating to 972/1564-5, and the Sharrāṭīn *madrasa* in Fās, dating to 1081/1670, both royal foundations. Their interest lies in their plans rather than in their decoration or structural techniques, for in these latter respects they are disappointingly derivative.

Although the Ben Yūsuf *madrasa* is traditionally believed to have a plan based on that of the Marīnid *madrasa* whose site it occupies, it has a degree of

integration and symmetry foreign to its predecessors. Externally, it forms an almost perfect square but for the projecting polygonal *miḥrāb*. The internal disposition is admirable in its clarity and economy. Broadly speaking, the arrangement is tripartite, with a large porticoed courtyard—containing a substantial pool instead of the usual fountain—acting as the focus of the design and the student cells relegated to the flanking tracts. The oratory, placed as usual along the main axis, is also divided into three parts, a device already encountered in Marīnid *madrasas*. The arrangement of the cells, however, is novel; for instead of lining a long corridor they are clustered symmetrically in sixes or sevens around a series of seven small courtyards or *duwayras*. These are accessible via a cloister-like corridor which encloses the courtyard on three sides and also leads into the patio for ablutions. A similar arrangement is followed on the first floor, so that the *madrasa* contains about a hundred rooms.

A comparable lucidity of planning informs the Sharrāṭīn *madrasa*. Here too the polygonal *miḥrāb* projects forcibly, breaking the even tenor of the perimeter wall. This wall is stepped in three places but is otherwise straight. Exceptionally, three separate entrances give access to the corridors which debouch into the courtyard. Each of the three lesser courtyard façades is broken by three bays, and the whole elevation rises to an unprecedented three stories. Student cells, mostly arranged around somewhat noisome *duwayras* more like pits than courtyards, occupy three of the four sides on the ground floor; traditionally, students from various parts of the country—the Tafilalt, the Rīf and eastern Morocco—congregate around the appropriate *duwayra* so that each courtyard becomes in some sense a local microcosm. The oratory on the fourth side is similar to that of the Ben Yūsuf *madrasa*. Despite the proximity of the building to the Ḳarawiyyīn, the *miḥrāb* is seriously out of true, facing as it does the north-east. The high walls, cramped courtyard and blank spaces of the building give it a somewhat oppressive atmosphere. Its history does not belie this impression, for the *madrasa* was erected on the site of a Marīnid foundation, the Madrasa al-Labbādīn, which Mawlāy al-Rashīd had ordered to be demolished because its students had brought women there and given themselves over to debauch. Despite the radial symmetry of its plan, the building falls far below Marīnid standards so far as its decoration is concerned. The large capacity of these two later *madrasas* and their eminently logical layout put them in a category of their own among Moroccan *madrasas* and make them a worthy coda to a distinguished tradition.

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(R. HILLENBRAND)

MADRID. [See MADJRĪṬ].

MADURA, an island north of East Java, separated from Java by a narrow strait in the north of Surabaya; it is 2,113 sq. miles in area, and has 2,385,300 inhabitants, among them 2,378,047 Muslims (1971). It is divided into four *kabupatens* (regencies): Pamekasan, Sampang, Sumenep (Sungenep) and Bangkalan, all of them being districts in the Indonesian province of East Java.

In the course of history, many of the Madurese settled in adjacent areas of East Java, or participated in the government-sponsored transmigration programme to other islands. The Madurese language is spoken as "native" idiom by approximately 9 million people. It knows different styles according to the status of the speaking and the addressed person, but the differences are not so great as in Javanese, Balinese, or Sundanese. The traditional literature is written in a mixture of Madurese and Javanese, due to the strong influence Javanese culture and language have exercised on Madura. The customs of the Madurese, too, are similar to the Javanese, although they seem to be less refined.

Geologically, Madura is related to North Java, consisting of the same limestone rocks as the hill range around Surabaya and Rembang. Fauna and flora, too, are similar to East Java, but the soil is much less fertile. Of great economic importance is the breeding of domestic animals, especially cattle, which at the same time gives provision to the most popular sport, i.e. bull racing, which originally may have been connected with the annual division of the

sawahs, or rice-fields. Another source of income is fishing and trading. As skilled sailors and shipmakers, the Madurese have developed their own type of vessels (*perahu Madura*).

Islam is the religion to which the Madurese generally adhere, but as in other Indonesian societies, *adat* law still exercises its influence. In pre-Islamic times, Madura was divided into two main parts: Western Madura with traditionally close relations to Surabaya, and Eastern Madura with Sumenep as its most important centre. The ruler of Sumenep is said to have played an active role in the transition period between the kingdoms of Singasari and Majapahit which was characterised by the turbulences caused by Ḳubilay Khān's military plans. In both East and West Madura the ruling families are said to have had matrimonial relations with the court of Majapahit. Thus the first (legendary) ruler of Sampang, Lembu Peteng, is described as a son of the Majapahit king Bra Vijaya and the famous "princess of Čampa" who confessed Islam. One of his grandsons, according to tradition, was the later Sunan Giri, one of the "nine *wālīs*" (*wali songo*) who spread Islam in Java. In Sumenep, a certain *adipati* Kangduruhan, presumably a son of the first Muslim ruler of Demak, Raden Patah (d. 1518), played a role during the second and third quarters of the 16th century. These were probably the first Muslim rulers in Madura. After the final fall of Majapahit in 1527, Sumenep participated in fighting the still "heathen" kingdoms in the eastern corner of Java which were supported by the Balinese king of Gelgel (Klungkung). The court of Aros Baya (Bangkalan) embraced Islam in 1528, and the crown prince and later ruler, *panembahan* Lemah Duwur, tried to keep peaceful relations with Demak. Later he married a daughter of Adi Vijaya, the *sulṭān* of Pajang (1548-82), and matrimonial relations with the Javanese *sulṭāns* continued to exist after Pajang was succeeded by Mataram (1589). Descendants of (West-) Madurese nobility were influential in Mataram, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. The relationship between Sumenep and Mataram, however, was less fortunate: after the whole of Madura was conquered by the army of Sulṭān Agung in 1624, the ruling family of Sumenep was extinguished. A Javanese prince, Angga Dipa (from Jepara?) became governor, residing in Sumenep.

After 1670, the situation in Madura became turbulent again. After the defeat of Makassar [*q.v.*] by the Dutch admiral C. Speelman in 1667 and 1669, part of the Makassarese nobility and their soldiers fled to Madura and other areas in North Java to earn their livelihood as pirates. In 1670, *raden* Truna Jaya, a descendant of the last ruler in West Madura, was allowed by the *susuhunan* of Mataram, Amengku Rat I (1646-77), to reside in Madura, which he soon got under his control. For different reasons, not all of them being quite clear, Truna Jaya, who was spiritually supported by the Sunan Giri, joined the Makassarese pirates against the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie, V.O.C.*) and their ally, the *susuhunan*. After having destroyed most of the North Javanese ports (except Jepara) and appeased the Makassarese in 1676, Truna Jaya turned to the interior of Java with his forces, which included part of the Makassarese nobility. In 1677 he lost Surabaya after it was attacked by Speelman and Mataram troups, and he established new headquarters in the old royal town of Kediri in East Java. In the same year he sacked the *kraton* (palace) of the *susuhunan*. After the old *susuhunan*'s death, his son Amengku Rat II (1677-1703) took stern measures against his former protégé Truna Jaya and attacked Kediri. Truna Jaya escaped, but finally, at the end of 1679, he was taken prisoner and a few days later killed by the *susuhunan*.

After 1683, the V.O.C. virtually ruled over East Madura; this was legalised by Mataram in 1705, and in 1743 the V.O.C. extended its suzerainty over the whole island. Having old grudges against Sulṭān Agung and the house of Mataram, the Madurese were in favour of Mataram's being divided in 1755. In the "Javanese War" of 1825-30, they sided with *pangerang* Dipa Negara. This led to a limitation of the local rulers' power by the Dutch, until in 1885 the island was put under direct Dutch rule. During the revolutionary years after World War II, Madura was part of the republican territory as acknowledged by the Linggajati Agreement in 1947.

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(W. H. RASSERS - [O. SCHUMANN])

MADYAN SHUʿAYB, a town of north-western Arabia, lying inland from the eastern shore of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba; it is mentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers as lying on the pilgrimage route between the Ḥidjāz and Syria, which there went inland to avoid the mountainous coast of the Gulf.

The name is connected with that of the tribe of Midianites known from the Old Testament (LXX Μαδιαμ, Μαδιαν; in Josephus Μαδιηνῖται, ἡ Μαδιηνὴ χῶρα) but it can hardly be used without further consideration to identify the original home of this tribe, as the town might be a later Midianite settlement, and besides, it is difficult to fix the real home of such wandering tribes. In the Old Testament, a town of Midian is not mentioned (not even in 1 Kings, xi, 18 where "Maʿon" may conceivably be read). On the other hand, Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii, 2, 1) knows Madiane as a town on the Erythraean

Sea, as does Eusebius (*Onomast.*, ed. Lagarde, 276); in Ptolemy (vi, 7, 2) it is mentioned as a town on the coast and called Modiana or Modouna while in another passage he gives it as an inland town under the name Madiama, a difference which is explained by the actual position of the town. In Muḥammad's time there is only one reference (in Ibn Isḥāḳ) to the town of Madyan, when the Prophet sent an expedition under Zayd b. Ḥāritha thither. There are occasional references in the poet Kuthayyir (in Yāḳūt), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's journey to Ayla. According to Yāḳūt also, Madyan was occasionally the residence of the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān, and visits to him there by the poet Ibn Harma [*q.v.*] are mentioned. In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days journey from Tabūk; it was the second station on the pilgrim's road from Ayla to Medina and was a dependency of Medina. In the 3rd/9th century al-Yaʿḳūbī speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population. Al-Iṣṭakhrī says it is larger than Tabūk and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of Shuʿayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then began to decline gradually. In the 6th/12th century al-Idrīsī says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty resources: al-Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* describes Madyan as affording its inhabitants only a modest livelihood, with declining trade, and as having various remarkable ancient buildings and ruins still standing there (ed. Būlāḳ 1270/1854, i, 186-8).

It was only in the 19th century that the district of Madyan began to be visited by western travellers like Rüppell and Burton, and was only described in detail in this present century by Musil and Philby, with a preliminary investigation of its antiquities being undertaken recently by a team led by P. J. Parr. The mediaeval town probably lay in the middle reaches of the Wādī 'l-Abyaḍ (or Wādī 'l-ʿAfāl, as its lower reaches are called), which carried the ancient pilgrimage route southwards. On the western side of the wādī, in lat. 28° 30′ 30″ and 16 miles/25 km. north-east of Maḳnā (Ptolemy's Makna) on the ʿAḳaba Gulf coast, is the archaeological site known locally as Maghāʾir Shuʿayb "the caves of Shuʿayb", referring to a large necropolis with tombs carved into a very soft and friable limestone, hence much worse-preserved than those at Petra. As Musil and Philby correctly surmised, the tombs are Nabataean; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, and a fragment of a monumental inscription in Latin has been found. Parr's expedition also noted extensive areas of ruins nearby on the eastern side of the wādī, and the participants in the expedition prefer to locate the Islamic Madyan at these latter sites of al-Malḳaṭa and al-Māliḥa.

In the Ḳurʾān, following the Old Testament, there are repeated references to Madyan as a people: for example, in the stories of Moses' stay with them (XX, 42; XXVIII, 21 ff., 45), where his father-in-law (Jethro in the O.T.) is still anonymous, or in one of the stereotyped legends of prophets in which the Madyan are punished because they would not believe their prophet Shuʿayb (VII, 83-91; XI, 85-98; XXIX, 35-6). This Shuʿayb was later identified with the father-in-law of Moses, for which there is no authority in the Old Testament; but in the early sūras (XV, 78; XXVI, 176-91; XXXVIII, 12/13) it is not the people of Madyan but the *aṣḥāb al-ayka* "men of the thicket" who reject the divine message brought by Shuʿayb. A. F. L. Beeston has recently suggested that these last were the devotees of the Nabataean deity Dusares or Dhu 'l-Sharā [*q.v.*] (and Musil noted that the lower part of the Wādī 'l-Abyaḍ was full of dense undergrowth) and that they must nevertheless have been closely connected with Madyan, despite the Muslim exegetes' distinguishing of two separate missions for Shuʿayb; the version of Shuʿayb's mission in the Meccan sūras might be considered as that intended for an audience familiar through its trading links with the cult of Dhu 'l-Sharā in northwestern Arabia, and that of the Medinan sūras for one familiar only with the general existence of Madyan. See *The "Men of the Tanglewood" in the Qurʾān*, in *JSS*, xiii (1968), 253-5, and also C. E. Bosworth, *The Qurʾānic prophet Shuʿaib and Ibn Taimiyya's epistle concerning him*, in *Muséon*, lxxxvii (1974), 425 ff., and SHUʿAYB.

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(F. BUHL - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

KITĀB **MAFĀKHIR AL-BARBAR**, the title of an anonymous work written to the greater glory of the Berbers of Morocco and al-Andalus, existing in a ms. of the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat (cote 1020 D). E. Lévi-Provençal published from this, as *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge—Nubadh taʾrīkhiyya fī akhbār al-Barbar fi 'l-ḳurūn al-wusṭā* (Collection de textes arabes publiée par l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, i, Rabat 1934), the following extracts: a chapter from Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis* on the relations of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] with the Berbers of the Maghrib (pp. 3-37), a passage from Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik al-Warrāḳ's *Miḳbās fī akhbār al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus wa-Fās* on Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya and his son al-Muʿizz (37-42); an extended section on the revolts, the Berber chiefs and kings in Spain and the Maghrib, stemming in large part from Ibn Ḥammādūh al-Sabtī's *Muḳtabas* (43-60), with the intercalation of passages borrowed from Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Madjd al-Maghīlī's *Kitāb Ansāb al-Barbar* (48-52, 57-8), from al-Warrāḳ on the Almoravids (53), from Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhīra* on the Barghawāṭa and the Almoravids (54-7) and from Abū ʿAlī Ibn Rashīḳ on the Almohads (59-60); concise biographies of scholars, writers, poets, saints and even false prophets of the Berbers (60-78);

a passage from Ibn Ḥazm's *Djamhara* on the Berber tribes established in Spain (78-80); and finally, a list of the Almoravid governors of al-Andalus according to al-Warrāḳ's chronicle (1-2).

The only indication about the anonymous author comes from the biography of the *shaykh* Abū ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, where it is said that the latter was alive in 712/1312, the very year in which the compilation was put together. But we have here quite clearly the case of a Berber who, although a good Muslim, is especially proud to belong to a people whose entitlement to glory he undertakes to proclaim, since many people consider this people as "the most erring people, the most ignorant, the most lacking in good qualities and the farthest from virtuous deeds". In order to achieve this aim, he eschews retailing all the history of the Berbers since the time, so he says, when they settled in the Maghrib after having fled from Syria in the wake of David's killing of Goliath, and limits himself to recalling their part in al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir's expedition against Algeciras in 368/978-9, but he nevertheless intends to speak of "their kings during the Islamic period, their chiefs, their rebels, their genealogies and some of their famous men". This programme seems then to have been carried out.

Lévi-Provençal thinks that Ibn Khaldūn probably used this *Kitāb Mafākhir al-Barbar*, and his opinion is substantially shared by Maya Shatzmiller, who has recently drawn attention to the existence, in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, of a ms. (cote K 1275), whose contents she has studied in a note *Une source méconnue de l'histoire des Berbères: le* Kitāb al-Ansāb li-Abī Ḥayyān, in *Arabica*, xxx/1 (1983), 73-9. It is quite certain that the fragments published by Lévi-Provençal belong to this ms., so that the problems posed by a compilation of this kind can now be examined with greater sureness. Moreover, Lévi-Provençal had published *Un nouveau récit de la conquetè de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, i/1 (1954), 17-43, based on a text which appears equally in the ms. in question, and he considered that the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* could well be attributed "with likelihood to Ibn ʿIdhārī", but Mme. Shatzmiller comes very near to attributing to Abū Ḥayyān (654-745/1286-1344) the authorship of the compilation which she describes.

(Ed.)

AL-**MĀFARRŪKHĪ**, MUFAḌḌAL B. SAʿD, author of the local history of Iṣfahān in Arabic entitled *Risālat Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*. The work appears to have been written during the reign of Malik Shāh (465-85/1072-92). Nothing is known about al-Māfarrūkhī's life, but it is apparent from the wealth of poetry contained in the work and from the frequent use of rhymed prose that he was an *adib*. He cites his father, Abu 'l-Faḍl Saʿd, as his *shaykh* and quotes several of his poems.

He claims descent (92) from one Māfarrūkh b. Bakhtiyār who in turn was descended from Adhurshāburān b. Ādhurmānān, whom he describes as completing the building of the walls of Djayy, the fortified nucleus of pre-Islamic Iṣfahān, one hundred and seventy years before Islam. Samʿānī claims (*al-Ansāb*, fol. 502b) that the *nisba* al-Māfarrūkhī relates only to *mawālī* of the original Māfarrūkh, but the genealogies of earlier bearers of the *nisba* seem in several instances to go back to Mārarrūkh himself (cf. Abu Nuʿaym, *Akhbār Iṣfahān*, i, 134-5; ii, 142, 272, 325). On his grandmother's side, al-Māfarrūkhī claims descent (25-6) from a poet in the retinue of ʿAḍud al-Dawla named Abū Muslim Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, himself allegedly descended from Abū Muslim the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary. A final ancestor cited on his maternal grandmother's side was related to a one-time governor (99).

Al-Māfarrūkhī's book reflects his education in *adab* and familiarity with court culture. Unlike other local histories of the period, it pays little attention to religion and contains no biographies of *ʿulamāʾ*. Instead, it contains poetry in praise of Iṣfahān, descriptions of the area's points of interest, tales from the pre-Islamic period, and encomiums of Būyid and Saldjūḳid rulers.

An 8th/14th century Persian translation of the work contains many interpolations that postdate al-Māfarrūkhī's composition. These have been identified by Browne.

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MAFIA, the name of a group of islands off the Tanzanian coast in approximately 8°S and 40° E. They consist of a main island commonly known as Mafia Island, but by its inhabitants as Chole Shamba (Swa. "Plantation Chole"); a very small island known as Chole or Chole Mjini (Swa. "Town Chole"); Juani; Bwejuu; and Jibondo. The only references in Arabic literature are in Aḥmad b. Madjīd al-Nadjdī's log books, where it is called Manafiyya, and in the anonymous *History of Kilwa*, where it occurs once as Manfasiya, four times as Manfiyya, and three times as Manfasa. In Portuguese there are further references in a now lost *Chrónica dos Reyes de Quiloa* ("Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa"), where it is generally spelt Monfia, and in other historians and archives. In Swahili, Freeman-Grenville has published a traditional history of the town of Kua, Juani Island, Mafia; a variant version of this by Amur Omar Saidi, a former *ḳāḍī*, has been published by D. W. I. Piggott, and another version by T. M. Revington. At Kisimani Mafia (Swa. "at the well of Mafia"), H. N. Chittick has excavated the remains of a mosque and other buildings; he has likewise cleared the palace and a number of mosques at Kua, Juani Island.

No consecutive history can be established for the main island. The founder of Kilwa, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, retired to Mafia in his old age, and set up his son Muḥammad as ruler in *ca.* 386/996. He was succeeded by his brother, Bashat, who ruled for four-and-a-half years. The third ruler of Kilwa, Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, also made Mafia his residence, after abdicating at Kilwa in favour of his son. In the reign of Dāwūd b. Sulaymān of Kilwa (? *ca.* 526-66/1131-70), Mafia is mentioned as a mere appanage of Kilwa. It is not mentioned again until the reign of Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan II (*ca.* 1294-1308), when it revolted. It was recovered *post* 1310 by his son, al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān II (*ca.* 1310-33). When the Portuguese took Kilwa in 1505, Mafia passed quietly into their hands. They bartered goods for local produce, cattle, ghee and gum copal. They had a small blockhouse, but its site has so far not been identified. In 1653 the islands were pillaged by the King of Pemba, who was forthwith punished by Francisco de Seixas Cabreira. When the Portuguese lost Mombasa to the ʿUmānī Arabs in 1698, Mafia again quietly changed hands;

and when, after a brief comeback (1728-9), the ʿUmānīs again expelled the Portuguese from Mombasa, several Portuguese residents in Mafia deemed it wiser to become Muslim. Under the ʿUmānīs, Arabs gradually acquired the southern part of the main island, turning it over to coconut plantations, for which its sandy soil is especially favourable.

The excavations carried out by Chittick show that Kisimani Mafia was important from the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries, but that it thereafter declined. According to the diary of Lt. (later Admiral) J. B. Eustace, the last inhabitants departed after the disastrous cyclone of 1872. In Kua it has been shown that most of the buildings belong to the 12th/18th century. The site covered some thirty to forty acres, including the palace, and there were at least seven mosques and two cemeteries. It is now totally deserted. There are also late mediaeval Islamic remains on Chole and Jibondo Islands.

In ʿUmānī times, the islands were ruled from Chole. When the Germans took the islands over when German East Africa was proclaimed in 1885, they built a headquarters there and a street of shops, which still survive. The administrative headquarters were in 1911 transferred, however, to Kilindoni, on the main island, and this is the present seat of government. The greatest number of the inhabitants, in all about 16,000, live in the northern part of the main island. They are almost all Muslims. Some aspects of their society have been described by A. P. Caplan. Regrettably, there is no description of the state of Islamic learning, albeit clearly there is a class of *literati*; at other levels witchcraft practices abound.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

MAFRŪSHĀT (A.), that which is spread out (on the ground or on a bed), bedding.

In mediaeval times, there was no adequate, single term for designating furniture and furnishings; this idea was expressed rather by the term *farsh* (meaning not only "that which is spread out" but also, by extension, the more solid domestic objects which filled the role of "furniture" according to western concepts—whence the adjective *mafrūsh* "furnished, provided with furnishings" [see athāth in Suppl.]) or else by collocations of words such as *farsh* and *āla* (lit. carpets, mattresses and utensils), *farsh* and *athāth* (carpets, mattresses and domestic articles), etc. Carpets, mats and cushions played an important part in domestic interiors, at this time. Complete furnishing ensembles were often put together through the use of various cushions, set around low oriental tables which were quite unsuitable for the use of chairs and stools (seats of this kind existed, but had restricted functions; they were rarely used at meal times [see athāth]), and by use of cushions there were formed circles (*ḥalḳa*, with its *ṣadr* or place of honour, often a seat or a throne, *sarīr*, *takht*, in palaces) for gatherings of friends, family celebrations, literary discussions, etc. The use of rigid seats and of sofas and couches was more limited, and that of cushions, for sitting upon, more widespread (but this depended on the circumstances and the social setting). People leading a simpler life made do with sitting on very simple cushions or on a carpet or mat, but rarely on the actual earth. However, in the gatherings of high society, the persons farthest from the *ṣadr* received the lowest seats and had to make do with a single cushion (other persons each got two cushions, one on top of the other, or a cushion folded into two—quite a social hierarchy!) or a carpet. Actually to sit on the earth was considered, in such social groups, to be a sign of mourning.

In many households, the carpets and mats were protected by means of a lining, and it was difficult to distinguish the carpets from the mattresses, but better-off households had clearly-distinguishable mattresses which were placed on beds with frames (a rare and expensive piece of furniture). On the carpets [see bisāṭ in Suppl.] were placed other domestic articles which served as mattresses, seats and bedding at one and the same time, according to the so-called "oriental" way of life. Mattresses (*bardhaʿa*, *ḍidjāʿ*, *farsh*, *firāsh*, *ḥashiyya*, *iwazz*, *muḍarraba*, *marḳad*, *martaba*, *maṭraḥ*, *mifrāsh*, *ṭarrāḥa* and *ṭinfisa*) were usually placed on the ground. Cushions (*bardhaʿa*, *dāʾira*, *ḥashiyya*, *ḥusbāna*, *ḳiṭʿa*, *mikhadda*, *mirfaḳa*, *miṣdagha*, *misnad* or *misnada*, *mudawwara*, *numruḳ*, *ṭinfisa*, *tukʾa*, *tukiyya* or *wisāda*) varied greatly; they were distinguished by their functions (cushions for the back, for sitting on, for leaning on with the elbow and pillows) and by their shapes (big, small, elongated, round, rectangular, etc.). Often, however, their original function had become changed. Thus *mikhadda*, properly "pillow", might be used for sitting upon, and *wisāda*, properly a much larger cushion often used for supporting the back, might be used for "pillow"; in the spoken language of mediaeval Egypt, *mikhadda* was used for all kinds of cushions and the word *wisāda* had almost disappeared from usage so that, in order to designate a pillow, resort had to be made to a pleonasm, *mikhadda li 'l-khadd* "pillow for the head", lit. "for the cheek". "Offering" a cushion (to someone who had been invited) was literally "throwing down" (*ṭaraḥa*) a cushion, but this verb was also used, by extension, in the meaning of offering someone a chair, stool, etc., and thus symbolises the transition between a purely "oriental" mode of life and the use, in certain circles, of solid furniture.

Sedentary civilisation was always proud of its luxury cushions (see J. Karabacek, *Susandschird*, Leipzig 1881, e.g. 71, 81: cushions covered in embroidered tapestry), and sometimes it accused the ancient Arabs of never having had any of them (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, i, 347-8 and n. 85). But this accusation was far from the truth; the Bedouins had their own kinds of cushion (see al-Thaʿālibī, *Fiḳh al-lugha*, Beirut 1881, 130-1, and

other sources). The arts of weaving, making tapestries and embroidering cushions were widespread amongst Bedouins, country-dwellers and city-dwellers all through the ages. Iconographic evidence of the richness of shapes and functions of mattresses and cushions, as well as the forms and colours of curtains, is given in well-known miniature paintings (e.g. in the series illustrating the works of Dioscorides and al-Ḥarīrī). Curtains and hangings had been known amongst the Arabs since pre-Islamic times; their role in Islam sedentary civilisation was even more important, as much for the daily life of the greater part of the various social classes as for the palaces and their modes of behaviour (see Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898-9, iv, 75; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj*, tr. Pellat, Paris 1954, 56 ff.; al-Washshā', *al-Muwashshā*, Cairo 1953, 230-1; al-Shābushtī, *K. al-Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 42, 43, 45, 110, 170, 188, 424; al-Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, Kuwait 1959, passim; W. H. Worrell, in *Ars Islamica*, i [1934], 219-22; M. Canard, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 363; D. Sourdel, in *REI*, xxix [1960], 132; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 87, 178, 255). The term *mafrūshāt* (modern Tkish. *mefruşat*) still appears today in the labelling and signs of shops which sell curtaining, decorative fabrics, cushions, etc.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Ta'rīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī*, Baghdād 1945, 94; J. Sadan, *Meubles et acculturation*, in *Annales ESC*, xxv/5 (1970), 1353-75; idem, *Le mobilier au Proche Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, passim, and bibl. at 155-69; B. M. Fahad, *al-ʿĀmma fī Baghdād*, Baghdād 1967, 171-3; M. M. Ahsan, *Social life under the ʿAbbasids*, London 1979, 190-5.

(J. Sadan)

MAFṢŪL (a.), a term used to denote certain juridical categories of landed estates in Syria in the time of the Mamlūks. The word has no connection with the Arabic root *f.-ṣ.-l.*, but is derived, according to al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii, 256, "from the Frankish" *vassal*.

Bibliography: Cl. Cahen, in *JESHO*, xviii (1975), 238. (Cl. Cahen)

MAGHĀRIBA (a., pl. noun), denotes the Arabic-speakers of the Muslim West (Maghrib, pl. Maghārib), as opposed to those of the East (Mashriḳ, pl. Mashāriḳ), known as *Mashāriḳa*. This division of Arabic-speakers into *Mashāriḳa* and *Maghāriba*—which is a continuing process, discernible in the contemporary dialects, variously categorised as Oriental and Maghribī—may be traced from its origins. The frontier between the two major groupings—Muslim Spain included, in spite of its special circumstances and its separate destiny—is still located to the east of Tripoli, at Lebda, which accounts for the peculiar situation of Libya, constantly divided between its Maghribī and Oriental associations.

The Arabs who settled on a permanent basis in the West rapidly became sufficiently Maghribised or Hispanised to appear different from their racial compatriots who had remained in the East, as is indicated by a considerable quantity of concordant evidence. From the middle of the 2nd/8th century onward, the Arab colony which established itself in the province of al-Ḳayrawān (the *Ahl Ifrīḳiya*) became aware of its specific local identity (see M. Ṭālibī, *al-Maghrib min al-fatḥ ilā awākhir al-rubʿ al-awwal min al-ḳarn al-thānī wa-budhūr al-shuʿūr bi-kawmiyyāt maḥalliyya*, in no. 4 of *Silsilat al-dirāsāt al-idjtimāʿiyya*, CERES Tunis 1979, 207-30) in violently opposing, at the time of the great Khāridjī upsurge of 122/740, fellow-Muslims who had come from the East to support it, while regarding it, it is true, with all the contempt hitherto reserved for Berbers alone. A similar evolution, with opposition between indigeneous Arabs (*baladiyyūn*) and "foreigners" arriving at a later stage, is also to be observed in Muslim Spain, although the distinction became blurred in the course of time (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, Paris 1950, i, 44-53, 83, 110, 345). In the East, the Maghribī (pl. Maghāriba) in turn created the impression of a poor relation, and this old mediaeval reflex is so tenacious that it continues to the present day, with varying nuances and in varying degrees, to colour Mashriḳ-Maghrib relations at all levels, including that of music. In spite of all the developments that have taken place, the Maghrib still admires the Mashriḳ and imports from it, much more than it exports to it, cultural consumer goods such as books, films and records.

We are concerned here with a very ancient phenomenon which deserves analysis and explanation, and to which no overall study has yet been devoted. The following are examples dating back to the first two centuries of Islam: Abū Muḥammad Ibn ʿImrān al-Tudjībī (d. 125/743 or 745), resident in Tunis, cherished a genuine feeling of exile in this "barren corner", that is the Maghrib (M. Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 43); the Tunisian Ibn Farrūkh, who studied in ʿIrāḳ under Abū Ḥanīfa (80-150/700-68 [*q.v.*]), was humiliated on account of his Maghribi demeanour (*li 'l-maghribiyya*, *ibid.*, 20); Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 212/827 [*q.v.*]), who became one of the most eminent teachers of al-Ḳayrawān, was allowed to attend lectures given by Mālik (d. 179/796 [*q.v.*]) to a group of Egyptians, because he was too intelligent to remain in the class of the Maghāriba (*ibid.*, 20); etc. The Maghrib was thus visibly subject to an inferiority complex *vis-à-vis* the Mashriḳ, a fact which led Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147) to write indignantly: "The people of our lands are eager to ape the Orientals ... to such an extent that if a raven were to croak in those distant horizons, or a fly to buzz in the furthermost extremities of Syria or ʿIrāḳ, they would fall on their knees as if before an idol, and recite all this like words of Scripture" (*Dhakhīra*, ed. Cairo 1358/1931, i/1, 2).

This explains why the dominant direction for the movement of élites has above all been established as from the West to East. For purposes of demonstration, it may be noted that al-Maḳḳarī (d. 1041/1641 [*q.v.*]) compiled a list of 307 Andalusians who visited the Orient (*Nafḥ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968, ii, 5-704) as against 148 Orientals who made the reverse journey (*ibid.*, iii, 5-149). An even more significant fact is that no great poet of Damascus, of Baghdād or of Cairo, in fact, no poet at all, ever set out on the road to the Maghrib. The *riḥla*, a journey usually with the combined objectives of pilgrimage, of study and occasionally also of trade, took place, for evident religious cult and cultural reasons, in an eastward direction. The traveller usually returned to his own land endowed with knowledge and prestige.

But it very often happened that a traveller settled permanently in the Orient. Thus Maghribī colonies were formed in the major eastern metropolises which marked the pilgrimage routes, particularly at Alexandria, at Cairo, at Ḳūs, at Damascus, at Medina and at Mecca. In the absence of a systematic general study, their history is still fragmentarily and imper-

fectly understood. It may, however, be assumed that if the Maghribī presence was felt, and at times concentrated, in the East, it never played in history and in society a role equivalent to that of the Persians of the Turks. In particular, there was no Maghribī *shuʿūbiyya*, and no influence on institutions or on the style of life.

Berber women were highly regarded in the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid courts. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) requested some of them from his governor of Ifrīḳiya (M. Talbi, *op. laud.*, 33); Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), himself the son of a Berber mother, Salāma, married a woman from al-Ḳayrawān, Umm Mūsā, mother of the future caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85); Rāḥ, originating from the Nafza tribe, was the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil (138-72/756-88), the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain; Ḳatūl was the mother of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902); and Ḳarāṭīs was the mother of al-Ḳāhir (320-3/932-4; M. Talbi, *op. laud.*, 42-3).

In the armies of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the role of the Maghribīs, without ever having the importance of the Khurāsānīs or of the Turks, was far from being negligible. Under the leadership of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, Berbers played a decisive part in the conquest of Spain. In 98/717 the army of Ifrīḳiya (*djaysh Ifrīḳiya*), led by al-Mughīra b. Abī Burda al-Ḳurashī, participated in a major assault, which ultimately met with failure, on Constantinople (Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1915, 22; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 49). In Baghdād, it was from the time of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) that the Maghāriba began to play, in the army and under officers drawn from their own ranks, a considerable role. They received pay equal to that of the Turks (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1968, ix, 155), and, with the latter, they nominated al-Mustaʿīn (248-52/862-66) as successor to al-Muntaṣir (247-8/861-2; al-Ṭabarī, ix, 256). They abandoned him subsequently, taking an oath of loyalty, again in partnership with the Turks who played the role of a driving force, to al-Muʿtazz (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 287) and participated actively in the civil war which broke out between 251/865 and 252/866 (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 290, 295, 304-39). In 255/869 they took part in the dethronement and assassination of al-Muʿtazz, who was unable to pay their salaries and those of the Turks, and, from this moment onward, they ceased to occupy the forefront of the stage.

It is not until the time of the Fāṭimids that the Maghribīs are seen making a massive influx into the Orient. The Fāṭimids owed their victory to the Kutāma Berbers [*q.v.*], and the latter followed them to Cairo and to Damascus, forming the spearhead of their army and of their Ismāʿīlī propaganda. Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī, the conqueror of Egypt, gave them positions of authority at all levels of powers. "In all functions, without exception, Djawhar appointed a Maghribī as partner to the official who already held the post", writes al-Maḳrīzī (*Ittiʿāẓ*, 78). Between 361/972 and 363/974, the Kutāma were the instigators of numerous riots in Cairo. In 386/996 they imposed their chieftain, Ibn ʿAmmār, on the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1020). In Damascus, the presence of the Maghāriba also led to trouble. The most serious riot, in which they clashed with the indigenous population, broke out in 461/1069. The town and the Great Mosque suffered severe damage.

Numerous representatives of the Maghribī élite were not content with visiting the East; they settled there. Obviously, an exhaustive list cannot be presented here. For purposes of illustration, the following are among the most eminent: al-Ṭurṭūshī, born in Tortosa in 451/1059 and died *ca.* 525/1131 in Egypt, where he exercised wide influence as a *faḳīh* and ascetic; Ibn Djubayr, the celebrated author of a *riḥla*, born in Valencia in 540/1145 and died in 614/1217 in Alexandria, where he gathered around him a circle for the study of tradition and of Ṣūfism; Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (560-638/1165-1240 [*q.v.*]), the most famous and most controversial of the Ṣūfīs, born in Murcia and buried in Damascus in the *turba* of the distinguished family of the Ibn al-Zakī, who had welcomed him; the historian ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī who, born in Marrakesh in 581/1185, took the road to the East in 613/1216 and died there some time after 621/1224, having lived successively in Egypt, Baghdād, the Ḥidjāz and Damascus; Ibn Marzūḳ (*ca.* 710-81/1310-79 [*q.v.*]), who, born in Tlemcen, left in 771/1370 for Cairo where he enjoyed high repute and became *ḳāḍī*, preacher and teacher; Ibn Khaldūn who, born in Tunis in 732/1332, settled permanently in Cairo (784-808/1382-1406), without ever relinquishing his Maghribī clothing; al-Maḳḳarī who, born in Tlemcen in 986/1578, left in 1027/1618 for the Orient, where he composed at the request of his students in Damascus his much-praised *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, dying in Cairo in 1041/1641.

Among the contemporaries, the following may be noted: Bayram al-Tūnusī (1840-89), author of the *Ṣafwat al-iʿtibār*, who settled in Cairo; the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (1807-83) who, freed and given a pension by the French authorities, in 1855 chose to live in Damascus where he played an appreciable moderating role; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Wardīghī al-Maghribī (d. 1895), who was one of the most eminent teachers of al-Azhar; and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī (1887-1945), a distinguished member of the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Finally, it may be recalled that the founder of a religion—that of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*]—Yūnus b. Ilyās b. Ṭarīf (227-71/842-84), sought his inspiration in the Orient (M. Talbi, *Hérésie, acculturation et nationalisme des Berbères Barghawāṭa*, in *Actes du premier congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère*, Algiers 1973, 217-33), and that the founder of a school and of a state, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] (*ca.* 471-524/1078-1130), there brought together the elements of the doctrine which gave birth to the Almohad movement.

The presence of Maghāriba in the East was not confined exclusively to distinguished individuals. It also comprised populous colonies of merchants, students and various types of émigrés. Information on these colonies is very scanty. Only that of the Ifrīḳiyan Jews who settled in Cairo between the 11th and 13th centuries is fairly well-known today, through the medium of the Geniza documents, edited by S. D. Goitein (*A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, ii, Berkeley-Los Angeles -London 1971, iii, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1978; and *Letters of medieval Jewish traders*, Princeton 1974). These documents reveal a well-organised and perfectly-structured world, endowed with efficient means of communication and of currency transfer, all of this in the service of important commercial operations covering not only the whole of the Mediterranean basin but extending as far as the Indian Ocean. The recent study by J.-C. Garcin has in addition underlined the decisive role played by

the Maghāriba in the restoration and reinforcement of Sunnism in Egypt after the fall of the Fāṭimids. At Ḳunā [*q.v.*] on the pilgrimage route and a day's march to the north of Ḳūs [*q.v.*], they settled in large numbers. "The town to a large extent owed its new prosperity to the prestige which it acquired when saintly persons, most of them Maghribī, settled there, died there and were buried in its cemetery which became a place of pilgrimage in its own right. These ascetics and mystics were distinguished by their Sunnism, and it was through them rather than through the direct influence of circles in Alexandria or Cairo that the Sunnī 'counter-reformation' spread among the people" (*Un centre musulman ... Qūṣ*, Cairo 1976, 161). This example is not unique. Louis Pouzet, in a well-documented article (*Maghrébins à Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xxviii [1977], 167-99) stresses how the Maghāriba, installed in large numbers in Syria, "where able to profit from circumstances relatively unfavourable towards them (exile and partially enforced emigration, personal difficulties of a doctrinal kind and otherwise, political agitation and upheavals in the very land of their exile, etc.) to establish a presence of the very highest level for some of them, and quite prestigious for the 'Maghribī colony' of Damascus as a whole" (192). In the 18th century, the presence of Maghāriba in Cairo is seen to be more numerous and varied than ever: students at al-Azhar having at their disposal a *riwāḳ* of their own and constituting a pressure-group which could show itself formidable on certain occasions; traders exercising a monopoly over the marketing of certain products such as oil or *ṭarbūshs*; etc. (A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1974, i, 171, 191, 201, ii, 52, 419, 452, 470-6, 507, 518). Their number is estimated at 15,000 or 20,000 persons, firmly installed in certain quarters such as that of the Ibn Ṭūlūn Mosque. On his arrival in Egypt, Bonaparte clashed with them; unable to dislodge them from Cairo, he contemplated utilising them and decided to raise a "Maghribī battalion" constituted of "energetic scoundrels, as pitiless as their chief" (A. Raymond, *Tunisiens et Maghrébins au Caire au dix-huitième siècle*, in *CT* [1959], nos. 26-7, 364-5). This enterprise failed, since the Maghribīs were among those who responded most enthusiastically to the call for resistance. The establishment of the French in North Africa gave rise to a vast migratory movement, essentially in three phases: 1881-8, 1890-1908 and 1909-14. In general, Algerians settled in Syria, and Tunisians in Constantinople, in Egypt and in Tripolitania (P. Bardin, *Algériens et Tunisiens dans l'Empire Ottoman de 1848 à 1914*, Paris 1978).

Recent history provides further examples of the continuity of the Maghribī presence in the East. The Tunisian nationalist leader, al-Shaykh al-Thaʿālibī, visited Egypt in 1898, met the reformist scholar Muḥammad ʿAbduh, was influenced by him and introduced his ideas in Tunisia (N. A. Ziadeh, *Origins of nationalism in Tunisia*, Beirut 1962, 97 ff.). Later, when the Arab League was created, President Habib Bourguiba, then leader of the Néo-Destour Party, travelled secretly to Cairo in March 1945. With the Moroccan Istiḳlāl and the PPA (*Parti Populaire Algérien*) he established there, in 1947, the "Bureau du Maghreb" before returning to Tunis on 8 September 1949.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the body of the article, information may be gleaned from all sources of a historical or geographical nature, in particular from the *Riḥlas* and the *Ṭabaḳāt*. (M. Talbi)

AL-MAGHĀZĪ (also *maghāzī 'l-nabī*, *maghāzī rasūl allāh*), a term which, from the time of the work on the subject ascribed to al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823), if not earlier, has signified in particular the expeditions and raids organised by the Prophet Muḥammad in the Medinan period.

The first such sortie is reported by al-Wāḳidī to have involved a party of thirty men led by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, which in 1/623 briefly intercepted a Ḳurashī caravan heading for Mecca from Syria on the coastal route (other accounts differ). The last was an expedition in the direction of Syria by an army of 3,000 men under the command of Usāma b. Zayd in 11/632, immediately following the Prophet's death. For al-Wāḳidī (largely followed by Ibn Saʿd), the compass of the term *al-maghāzī* appears to have included important *ghazwas* (such as those of Uḥud, al-Khandaḳ, al-Ḥudaybiyya, Khaybar, Mecca, Ḥunayn and Tabūk; Badr is elsewhere styled a *ghazwa*, but not by al-Wāḳidī), small-scale *sariyyas* (such as that of Ḥamza), acts of assassination of individuals (notably Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf), and such other significant events of the period as the pilgrimage of 9/631, the *ḥidjdjat al-wadāʿ* of 10/632, and the death of the Prophet in 11/632. In this narrower sense of events in the Medinan period, principally expeditions, raids and assassinations numbering in excess of eighty, but also in a broader sense of the Prophet's biography and background, the term *al-maghāzī* came to be rooted in the Islamic reflective tradition at an early stage and was perpetuated in later works both for the more serious purposes of *ʿilm*, e.g. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), al-Kalāʿī (d. 634/1237) and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334), and on a popular level, particularly with poetic embellishments reminiscent of chansons de geste (see Paret).

It is this broader sense of the term *maghāzī* which appears to have been prevalent in respect of the earliest Muslim transmissions relating to the period of the Prophet (see, for example, the comments by Sezgin, 251, 275). Moreover, while Sachau's suggestion that the term *maghāzī* was a calque on the "struggles" of Christian spiritual athletes (*Das Berliner Fragment*, 448) may be unconvincing, it is nonetheless apparent that it was the term *maghāzī* that characterised the early transmissions and that the term *sīra* emerged only later as signifying a literary genre relating specifically to the Prophet. In 1899, Hartmann (*Die angebliche sīra*, 32) opined that Ibn Isḥāḳ "hat keine *sīra* geschrieben" and it has since been proposed (Hinds, *Maghāzī and Sīra*) (1) that not just Ibn Isḥāḳ but *all* transmitters and compilers before Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834 or 213) who dealt with material about the period of the Prophet in general regarded that material as being about *maghāzī*; (2) that Ibn Hishām, in using the term *sīra*, was simply introducing the bulk of the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Isḥāḳ with a term which was in the idiom of his own time; and (3) that it was probably al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823) who was the first to view *maghāzī* and *sīra* as fields of study which were related but could somehow be differentiated—a view in which he was evidently followed by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845). Those scholars who concerned themselves with *maghāzī* and pre-deceased Ibn Isḥāḳ (whose probable date of death was 150/767) included notably ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/714), al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) and Mūsā b. ʿUḳba (d. 141/758) (for further names and details, see Horovitz; al-Dūrī, *Baḥth*, 20-7, 61-113; and

Sezgin, 276-87); in addition, a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is ascribed to each of seven compilers who died after Ibn Isḥāḳ, but before al-Wāḳidī (viz. Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770), Abū Maʿshar Nadjīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 170/786), ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 176/792), ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid (d. 182/798), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī (d. 194/809), al-Walīd b. Muslim al-Umawī (d. 195/810), and ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812)), while the few works dating from the same period which contain the term *sīra* in their titles bear no relation to the Prophet (see Hinds for references).

Just how broad the scope of these early *maghāzī* works was is difficult to determine, since (apart from a few papyri) they survive only in later recensions (in the case of the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ) or as fragmented citations in later compilations (in the case of the other works). While the existing recensions of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work are restricted in scope to the period and background of the Prophet, it has been proposed by Horovitz (*The earliest biographies*, 166-7) in respect of the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Mūsā b. ʿUḳba that that work may have included material relating not only to the period of the first four caliphs but also to the Umayyad period. Although Schacht (*On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, 296) did not accept this proposal, other evidence has since become available to support the view that, in early Islamic times, the subject matter of *maghāzī* was drawn at least from the period of the first four caliphs in addition to that of the Prophet. This evidence is to be found in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* contained within the *Muṣannaf* of the Yemeni *muḥaddith* ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī (126-211/744-827), where the majority of the reports bear the *isnād* Maʿmar b. Rāshid from al-Zuhrī and presumably reflect the view of those two authorities about what constituted the proper subject matter of *maghāzī*. The account starts with the digging of the well of Zamzam (as does Yūnus b. Bukayr's recension of Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Maghāzī*), moves on to the background of the Prophet and the main events of his lifetime, and then touches on various events after the Prophet's death; these events include the *bayʿa* of Abū Bakr at the Saḳīfat Banī Sāʿida, Abū Bakr's appointment of ʿUmar as his successor, the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, the *shūrā*, the *ghazwa* (*sic*) of al-Ḳādisiyya, and the marriage of Fāṭima.

The published papyri shed little light on the general character of early *maghāzī* works. The earliest relevant document so far known is an eight-line papyrus text dated by Grohmann to the early 2nd/8th century, which contains some details about the battle of Badr (*Arabic papyri from Ḫirbet el-Mird*, Louvain 1963, 82-4, 105). Kister (*Notes on the papyrus text*) has pointed out that the last section of the Chicago papyrus (Or. Inst. 17635) dealing with Badr, Biʾr Maʿūna and the B. al-Naḍīr, which is dated by Abbott to the late 2nd/8th century and attributed by her to Maʿmar b. Rāshid (i, document 5), is textually almost identical with a passage in Abū Nuʿaym's *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (Hyderabad 1320, 176), where the *isnād* ends with Ibn Lahīʿa—Abu 'l-Aswad (d. 131/748)—ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr; Kister himself is inclined to ascribe authorship (*sic*) of the papyrus to Ibn Lahīʿa (d. 174/790). The early 3rd/9th century Heidelberg papyrus on the meeting at al-ʿAḳaba, the conference of Ḳuraysh in the *dār al-nadwa*, the *hidjra*, and the expedition against Khathʿam, which has an *isnād* going back to Wahb b. al-Munabbih, is accorded the Arabic title *maghāzī Rasūl Allāh* by Khoury, although this phrase nowhere appears in the text itself.

It is therefore clear that only the eight-line Khirbat al-Mird papyrus can conceivably be regarded as being from the earliest (i.e. pre-ʿAbbāsid) period, and this is obviously too truncated to provide any definitive picture of the shape of the *maghāzī* works which are reported to have existed at that time. Otherwise, we have only citations at one remove or more in later works, and later references to the existence of early *maghāzī* works. One such report, which has been noted in modern studies, is given by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), with an *isnād* going back to al-Zuhrī, according to which the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, on seeing one of his sons with *ḥadīth al-maghāzī*, gave orders for it to be burned and enjoined him (instead) to recite the *Kitāb Allāh* and know and act according to the *sunna* (*Anonyme arabische Chronik, Band XI*, 172; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 206 (Eng. tr. 191-2); Abbott, i, 17). Goldziher, while remarking that there seems to be "nothing against admitting the existence of such literature in early times", also comments that "the text of this account unmistakeably bears the stamp of those circles who condemned unauthenticated *maghāzī* in favour of authentically recommended traditions", and in this connection he goes on to cite the saying attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal that "three things have no *aṣl*: *tafsīr*, the *malāḥim* and the *maghāzī*" (see also Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 57).

The purpose of, and the climate of opinion about, the study of *al-maghāzī* from the second half of the 2nd/8th century onwards are, however, matters requiring further research and only a few brief additional comments can be made here. Ibn Isḥāḳ is reported to have committed his material on *al-maghāzī* to writing for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, who instructed his son al-Mahdī to study the subject with that compiler (Abbott, i, 89; Watt, *The materials used by Ibn Isḥaq*, 31); and Hārūn al-Rashīd's chief *ḳāḍī*, Abū Yūsuf, who had been Ibn Isḥāḳ's pupil (Abbott, i, 92), is said to have been interested in *maghāzī*, *tafsīr* and *ayyām al-ʿarab* (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 207). It is apparent that one practical application of the study of *maghāzī* was in that area of *fiḳh* called *siyar*, which was concerned with the rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims, apostates and rebels. The term *siyar* appears in the *corpus iuris* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī (*kitāb al-siyar*, *bāb al-ghazw wa 'l-siyar*), is supposed to have been used by Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), was the name by which the work of al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774) was known to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfiʿī, and figures in the titles of two works by al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805); it was, moreover, a term which, as the 8th/14th-century lexicographer al-Fayyūmī explains, "took over from [the term] *al-maghāzī* on the tongues of the *fuḳahāʾ*". While this seems in general to be true, the same type of material also appeared elsewhere under other rubrics: the appropriate section in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik is entitled neither *maghāzī* nor *siyar* but *djihād*; in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī the *kitāb al-djihād* includes the sort of material that the *fuḳahāʾ* were styling *siyar*, but the work also includes a *kitāb al-maghāzī* (as noted above); the later al-Bukhārī has separate books on *djihād* (*bāb* 1; *faḍl al-djihād wa 'l-siyar*) and on *maghāzī*, but he seems to be the exception in this respect among the 3rd/9th century compilers of *ḥadīth* material—the other compilations contain books on *djihād* (and, in some cases, *siyar*) but not

on *maghāzī* (for references, see Hinds, *Maghāzī and Sīra*). This declining interest in *maghāzī* as such was accompanied by the emergent view that Ibn Isḥāḳ had drawn material from Jews and Christians (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 401; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ix, 45) and that he and [at least some] other *aṣḥāb al-maghāzī* had Shīʿī inclinations (*Udabā'*, vi, 400); in addition, Ibn Ḥanbal is reported as having said that Ibn Isḥāḳ's handling of *isnād*s rendered him unsuitable as an authority for *ḥadīth* (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 43), and the same consideration may have been behind his reported denunciation of al-Wāḳidī as *kadhdhāb* (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 364).

There remains the question of how useful the *maghāzī* material is for the purpose of historical reconstruction of the early Islamic period. Here it may be remarked first that there are considerable chronological and other discrepancies between the accounts available; these have been discussed most recently by Jones (*On the chronology* ...) and Kister (*The expedition of Bi'r Maʿūna*). In more general terms, however, Watt sees "little ground for doubting the truth of the main events of the *maghāzī*" and is of the opinion that "the *maghāzī*-material (in the special sense of the main outline of events, and omitting all anecdotes) ... is an essential foundation for the biography of Muḥammad and his times" (*The materials used by Ibn Isḥāq*, 28). On the other hand, Sellheim has attempted to discern the main tendencies of Ibn Isḥāḳ according to "layering" of sources (*Quellenschichtung*), involving an original layer which reflects historical reality, a further layer made up of legendary material about the Prophet, and a top layer reflecting political tendencies of Ibn Isḥāḳ's own time (*Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte*). Such an approach is not wholly incompatible with Schacht's conclusions that an *isnād* cannot alone guarantee the authenticity of a work ascribed to an author of the early 2nd/8th century and that in general "the more perfect the *isnād*, the later the tradition" (*JRAS* [1949], 147). From this standpoint, Schacht has examined the short Mūsā b. ʿUḳba text (an edition of the 4th/9th century) published by Sachau and has challenged Sachau's view that the text contains no elements from the ʿAbbāsid period. Schacht has seen the growth in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of traditions ascribed to Mūsā as typical of the way in which spurious information was put into circulation, and has concluded that "the whole of the standard biography of Mūsā in the later works is without documentary value, particularly the touching picture, taken seriously by Sachau and Horovitz, of his regular lectures to a circle of pupils in the mosque of Medina. This presupposes the concept of Medina as the home of Islamic learning, a concept which was as yet unknown to Shāfiʿī (d. 204)" (*On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, 299).

More recently, Wansbrough, who also doubts the feasibility of historical reconstruction of the Islamic period up to *ca.* 200 A.H., has viewed the *sīra-maghāzī* literature (as he terms it) as an Islamic adaption of Biblical salvation history. In his opinion "the earliest expression of Islamic soteriology consisted in membership of the *umma*" and it is in the *sīra-maghāzī* literature "that the earliest formulation of Muslim identity is contained" (*The sectarian milieu*, 89), the conceptual motive in this (as in scripture and *sunna*) being polemic (103). Wansbrough sees a transition from the *sīra-maghāzī* literature, where *ecclesia* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is historically articulated, to the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature, where *nomos* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is "idealized and hence shorn of its historical dimension" (87); for him, the Ibn Isḥāḳ-Wāḳidī-Bukhārī development from *sīra* to *sunna* marked a passage from loosely structured *narratio* to concise *exemplum* (77-8). In modification of this view, however, it should be remarked that the signification of *sīra* was also close to that of *exemplum* and that the passage was rather from *maghāzī* to *sunna* via *sīra*, the *sīra* material being essentially *maghāzī* material viewed in a new light. It can also be noted that, while the narrowing-down of the scope of the *maghāzī* to the period and background of the Prophet seems to have been conventional from the 3rd/9th century onwards, it is nonetheless difficult to discern a point at which al-Wāḳidī's even narrower definition gained any exclusive currency. It seems rather that the two senses of *maghāzī* co-existed: in the broader of the senses, the term echoed an earlier scope which had been yet broader (note particularly the title of al-Kalāʿī's work) and seems to have been used more or less synonymously with the term *sīra* as a genre label; the narrower sense appears to have been a more technical one, i.e. the *maghāzī* "proper", as distinct from the *mabʿath*, for example. The term *sīra*, while occurring as a genre label more or less synonymous with *maghāzī*, also came to signify pre-eminently the account of the Prophet's life and background as transmitted by Ibn Hishām on the basis of the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ—the *maghāzī* which became *sīra* as *exemplum*, only to be largely superseded by the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature.

Bibliography: For a general survey, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 237-56, 275-302; Sezgin is incorrect when he suggests (306) that Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdīb*, i, 167 ascribes a work on *al-maghāzī* to Wahb b. Munabbih (the reference is to *maghāzī* material from [ʿAbd Allāh] b. Wahb)—for further critical comments on Sezgin's remarks about Wahb b. Munabbih and *al-maghāzī*, see R. G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih: der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23*, Wiesbaden 1972, Teil 1, 12; Sezgin is also incorrect in saying (38) that the *Fihrist* (see 228, 9) attributes a work on *al-maghāzī* to Hushaym b. Bashīr.

The main surviving texts (other than major chronicles) dealing with *al-maghāzī* are: Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*: extant portions (mainly in the recension of Yūnus b. Bukayr) ed. by M. Ḥamīd Allāh under the title *Sīrat Ibn Isḥāḳ* (Rabat 1976) and by S. Zakkār under the title *Kitāb al-Siyar wa 'l-maghāzī* (Beirut 1978); al-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. J. M. B. Jones, London 1966 (for a version in German, see J. Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Vakidi's Kitab al-Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, Berlin 1882); ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, in vol. v of *al-Muṣannaf*, Beirut 1970-2; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Saḳḳā *et alii*, Cairo 1955 (for a version in English, see A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad: a translation of* [Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn] *Isḥāq's Sīrat rasūl allāh* (*sic*), London 1955); Ibn Saʿd, ii/1: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Durar fi 'khtiṣār al-maghāzī wa 'l-siyar*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, Cairo 1966; al-Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifā' fī maghāzī rasūl allāh wa 'l-thalātha al-khulafā'*, i, ed. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Beirut 1968; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-'l-shamā'il wa'l-siyar*, Cairo 1356; al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-ma'mūn al-maʿrūfa bi'l-sīra 'l-ḥalabiyya*, Būlāḳ 1875 (with

al-Sīra al-nabawiyya wa'l-āthār al-muḥammadiyya by Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān in the margin).

Other references: M. Hartmann, *Die angebliche sira des Ibn Isḥāq*, in *Der islamische Orient: Berichte und Forschungen*, i, Berlin 1899, 32-34; E. Sachau, *Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā Ibn ʿUḳba: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der ältesten arabischen Geschichtslitteratur*, in *SBPr. Ak. W* (1904), 445-60; Caetani, *Annali*, i-ii/1; J. Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Isḥâq: literar-historische Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1925; J. Horovitz, *The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors*, in *IC*, i (1927), 537-59; ii (1928), 22-50, 164-82, 495-526; R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur: arabische Dichtungen über die muslimischen Kriegzüge zu Mohammeds Zeit*, Tübingen 1930; J. Schacht, *On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, in *AO*, xxi (1953), 288-300; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956 (339-43 for list of expeditions and dates); N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, *Historical texts*, Chicago 1957 (particularly 14-19, 65-79, 87-90); A. A. Duri, *Al-Zuhrī: a study on the beginnings of history writing in Islam*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 1-12; J. M. B. Jones, *The chronology of the maghāzī —a textual survey*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 245-80; idem, *Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī: the dream of ʿĀtika and the raid to Nakhla in relation to the charge of plagiarism*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 41-51; al-Dūrī, *Baḥth fī nashʾat ʿilm al-taʾrīkh ʿinda 'l-ʿarab*, Beirut 1960 (particularly 19-33); Watt, *The materials used by Ibn Isḥāq*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Lewis and Holt, London 1962, 23-34; M. J. Kister, *Notes on the papyrus text about Muḥammad's campaign against the Banū al-Naḍīr*, in *ArO*, xxxii (1964), 233-6; idem, *The expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 337-57; R. Sellheim, *Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte—die Muḥammad-Biographie des Ibn Isḥāq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 33-91; Kister, *On the papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih*, in *BSOAS* xxxvii (1974), 545-71; J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu: content and composition of Islamic salvation history*, Oxford 1978; M. Hinds, «*Maghāzī*» *and* «*Sīra*» *in early Islamic scholarship*, in *La vie du Prophète Mahomet*, colloque de Strasbourg, 23-24 octobre 1980, Paris 1983, 57-66. (M. Hinds)

MAGHĪLA, a Berber tribe belonging to the great branch of the Butr and related, if one is to believe the ancient Berber traditions cited by Ibn Khaldūn, to the tribes of Ḍarīsa, Saṭfūra, Lamāya, Maṭmāṭa, Ṣadīna, Malzūza and Madyūna who lived, in the early Middle Ages, in eastern Barbary.

It is also apparently in the same region that the ancient habitat of Maghīla is to be sought in the period in question. According to the Berber traditions cited by various early Arab historians, the Maghīla, after coming from Palestine into North Africa, reached Lūbiya (Lībya), from where they made their way to the Maghrib, establishing themselves, before the Arab conquest, in the mountainous regions of this land, probably in the Djabal Dahar and Djabal Tebaga in south-eastern Tunisia. Vivien de Saint-Martin has suggested seeing in the Maghīla the Libyan tribe of the Mecales or Imacles of Corippus (6th century A.D.). This hypothesis appears very probable, despite the opposition of Stephane Gsell. Similarly, another hypothesis of Vivien de Saint-Martin and J. Desanges appears highly likely, according to which the Mecales of Corippus and the Maghīla of the Arabic sources were none other than the Makhlues of Herodotus, a Libyan tribe who lived, in the 5th century B.C., in south-eastern Tunisia. It is there, to the south-east of the Shott el-Djerid, that J. Desanges places the Makhlues and the Mecales. As for the Maghīla, we lack proof of Arabic sources on their habitat in eastern Barbary in the 1st-3rd/7th-9th century; however, Ibn Khurradādhbih enumerates them, in his geographical work composed *ca.* 232/846-7, among the Berber tribes of the east, counting them alongside well-known eastern tribes such as the Hawwāra, Ḍarīsa, Warfadjdjūma, Mazāta and Nafūsa.

Algeria. The Arab historians and geographers note the existence of two groups of the Maghīla in this country. One of them occupied, in the 8th/14th century, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the countryside from the mouth of the Chélif on the west as far as the town of Mazouna on the east. It seems that formerly the possessions of this group of Maghīla were larger and that they extended towards the east as far as the environs of the town of Ashīr, where al-Bakrī locates, in the 5th/11th century, "at the entrance of the great desert", the town of Tāmaghilt, whose name seems to be strictly linked to that of Maghīla. Further to the west, al-Bakrī places, at two days' journey from Tāhert, a castle which also bore the name of Tāmaghilt. It is again in the environs of Tāhart that there is to be found, according to al-Bakrī, at a distance of five *farsakhs* from the sea, very near Oued el-Khamis, to the north of the town of Mazouna, a locality called Ḳalʿa Maghīla Dalūl, also doubtless named after a section of the Maghīla who lived there. On the west side also, the limits of the territory of the Maghīla exceeded, in the 5th/11th century, those of the 8th/14th century. Indeed, it is in the territory of the tribe of Maghīla that the town of Aslen was situated, which was to be found immediately to the east of the mouth of the Tafna, and to the east of the island of Arashḳūl, Rachgoun on our maps. It is from one of the ports of the Algerian Maghīla that there set sail, in 138/755, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya, in order to disembark at al-Munakkab (Almuñecar) in al-Andalus. In our opinion, this port is none other than Marsā Maghīla, an anchorage situated a little to the west of Ténès, which is noted in the geographical work of al-Bakrī.

Another Algerian section of the Maghīla lived, in the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries, in a region situated in the province of Tlemcen. Ibn Khaldūn says that the Zanāta tribe of Banū Īfran domiciled in this region, supported by Berbers of the tribe of Maghīla, revolted in 148/765 against the ʿAbbāsids, "having chosen as their chief Abū Ḳurra the Īfranid, or rather the Maghīlid". In another passage of his work, Ibn Khaldūn however puts in doubt Abū Ḳurra's belonging to the Maghīla. He says only that the Banū Īfran and the Maghīla lived alongside each other, the Banū Īfran being stronger and more numerous. According to another passage of Ibn Khaldūn's work, the Maghīla professed the Ṣufrī faith. They lived always in the lands which depended on the town of Tlemcen towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, and al-Bakrī cites an Arabic poem which speaks of the losses of this tribe in a war which took place in 338/949-50.

Morocco. In Morocco also, there were, according to al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Khaldūn and other Arab mediaeval authors, two branches of the tribe of Maghīla, of which the remnants lived in the

8th/14th century dispersed in the triangle formed by the towns of Fās, Meknès and Sefrou. One of these branches occupied the region situated to the south-east of Fās, where the mediaeval Arab geographers place, halfway between Fās and Meknès, the fortress called Maghīla. Al-Bakrī also locates there a district called Maghīla, which, in his period, was under the command of a certain Mūsā b. Djalīd. Al-Bakrī places to the south of Fās, on the road leading from this capital to Sidjilmāsa, two localities doubtless inhabited by the Maghīla, of which one was called Maghīlat Ibn Tidjāmān (its population professed the Ṣufrī faith), while the other was Maghīlat al-Ḳāṭ. It seems that these two fortresses belonged to the same branch of the Maghīla as that which was governed Mūsā b. Djalīd. They were also perhaps the same Maghīla as those who, united with the Awraba and Ṣadīna, supported the cause of the Idrīsids from the arrival of Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh in the north of present-day Morocco. Another branch of the Maghīla occupied, in the 5th/11th century, the district of Maghīla which al-Bakrī locates to the south of Oued Ouergha, to the north-west of Fās and which has to be distinguished from the district of Maghīla situated to the south-west of the same town.

It may further be added that it is to the tribe of Maghīla that Ibn Abi 'l-Madjd al-Maghīlī belonged, author of a genealogical work devoted to the Berbers and quite frequently cited in the Maghribī chronicles.

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(T. Lewicki)

AL-**MAGHĪLĪ**, Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, reformist *faḳīh* of Tlemcen, chiefly famed for his persecution of the Jewish community of Tuwāt (Touat) in the Algerian Sahara and for the advice he gave to Sudanic rulers. The general outline of his career is fairly well established, but many details remain obscure. He was born in Tlemcen. *ca.* 1440 of Berber stock and studied under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī (d. 875/1470) and Yaḥyā b. Yadīr al-Tadallisī (d. 877/1472). At an uncertain date he took up residence in Tamanṭīṭ, then the principal fortified town (*ḳaṣr*) of the Tuwāt oasis, which was closely linked to Tlemcen and to the towns of the Sudanic belt by the ties of commerce.

The prosperity of the Jewish community there and in the neighbouring oasis of Gurāra, and the connivance of the Arab chiefs in ignoring the letter of the law in regard to these "protected persons", aroused his ire. He wrote a treatise (*R. fī aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*) asserting that the Jews of Tuwāt had broken their pact (*ʿahd*) with the Muslims, and thus forfeited their protection, by not paying *djizya* regularly in a state of "abasement and humiliation" (*al-dhill wa 'l-ṣaghār*) and by "rebelling against Islamic laws" (*al-tamarrud ʿalā 'l-aḥkām*) through too close an association with their Muslim overlords. He also claimed that the existence of the Tuwāt synagogue was contrary to Islamic law and demanded its destruction.

Both he and the *ḳāḍī* of Tamanṭīṭ, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAṣnūnī, who opposed his views, sought the support of North African scholars. The majority favoured al-ʿAṣnūnī's interpretation, but the support al-Maghīlī received from two Tlemcen scholars, the historian al-Tanasī and the theologian al-Sanūsī (al-Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār al-mughrib*, Fās 1315/1897-8, ii, 170-202; tr. in *Archives Marocaines*, xii [1908], 244-65, who adds his own view which supports theirs), was sufficient to encourage him to rouse a mob to destroy the synagogue. He also offered seven *mithḳāl*s of gold for every Jew killed.

Not long after these events, which probably took place shortly before 1490, al-Maghīlī left Tuwāt, possible expelled on account of his unwelcome zeal, but this is not clear. It may be at this period that he visited Fās, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish his influence with the Waṭṭāsid sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh (Ibn ʿAskar, *Dawḥa*, 96, is the one source to report this bizarre episode). He then left North Africa for *Bilād al-Sūdān*, stopping first at the important commercial centre of Takidda (Tegidda, identified with Azelik to the west-south-west of the Aïr massif) to teach and preach, and passing on to Katsina and Kano, then burgeoning city-states. He had contact with the ruler of Kano, Seriki (*sulṭān*) Muḥammad Runfā, as early as 879/1491-2, when he addressed him a letter on "deterring people from forbidden acts" (text in Būnār's edn. of *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, misleadingly titled *Miṣbaḥ al-arwāḥ* [a different work by al-Maghīlī], 73-7). He evidently resided several years in Kano, for a family there still claims descent from him (and "Sharifian" status), and it is no doubt while he was there that he wrote his longer treatise of advice for Muḥammad Runfā (published under the invented title (*Tādj al-dīn fī mā yadjib ʿalā 'l-mulūk*, Beirut 1932).

The date and duration of his visit to Katsina are not known, but before the close of the century he was in Gao advising the Songhay ruler Askia Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr after the latter's return from pilgrimage. His replies to that ruler's questions legitimised the Askia's seizure of the goods and chattels of his predecessor, Sunni ʿAlī, and strengthened his claims to sovereignty over a wide area of Muslim territory in the Sudanic belt. On hearing of his son's death in Tuwāt at the hand of a group of Jews, al-Maghīlī called on the Askia to arrest all Tuwātīs in his realm and only the opposition of the *ḳāḍī* of Timbuktu, Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar, prevented persecution. He subsequently returned to Tuwāt and died there under unknown circumstances in 909/1503-4 or 910/1505-6.

His known writings total twenty-six items, mainly on topics of *fiḳh* and *tawḥīd*. He also had an interest in formal logic (*manṭiḳ*). He exchanged verse polemics with al-Suyūṭī, who declared its study forbidden, and wrote a treatise called *Minaḥ al-Wahhāb fī radd al-fikr ʿalā 'l-ṣawāb*, which was widely studied in West Africa. The treatises he wrote during his Sudanic tour were known to the 19th century reformers of

Māsina and Sokoto. ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [q.v.] used his arguments concerning the anathematisation (*takfīr*) of Sunni ʿAlī to justify his attacks on the Hausa rulers and other passages of the "Replies" were quoted to show that Bornū was a "land of unbelief".

The Kunta [q.v.] revere him as one of the four "regenerators" (*mudjaddidūn*) of the 10th century of the Hidjra. They, and all other Ḳādirīs of West Africa whose affiliations go back through the Kunta *silsila*, consider him an important link in the clain, though this chain can be shown to be ahistorical, and it is doubtful if al-Maghīlī himself had received the *wird* of the order.

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(J. O. Hunwick)

MAGHNĀṬĪS, Maghnatīs, Maghnīṭīs, Arabic rendering of ἡ μαγνῆτις (λίθος), indicating 1. the magnetite and 2. the compass.

1. The Magnetite and Magnetism

The magnetite (lodestone, magnetic iron ore, Fe_3O_4) is a very widely-spread mineral, well-known since antiquity, and found in huge quantities in individual deposits as well as a finely-allotted constituent of almost all kinds of volcanic rock. The Islamic natural scientists, geographers, cosmographers and encyclopaedists transmit much information about its properties. The magnetite is first of all "the stone which attracts iron" (see e.g. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, ed. Van Vloten, 262 f.). Al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 212-15, has a circumstantial chapter on it. According to him, *maghnāṭīs* shares with amber (*kahrabāʾ*) the property of attraction, but is more satisfactory than the latter for extracting particles of iron from the human body. The name is correctly explained as being Greek, while *aramīṭīḳun* (ἀδάμας or ἀδαμάντινον) and *abraḳalīṭā* (λίθος ἡρακλεία are given as synonyms, although the first, as is well-known, indicates the diamond; for the confusion of the magnet and the diamond in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, see E. O. von Lippmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, i, Berlin 1923 (new impression Wiesbaden 1971), 182, 194, 213 ff. Referring to earlier authors, al-Bīrūnī records that the blue magnetite—which he did not know himself—was considered to be the best; it was burned by many people and sold as *shādhana* (haematite). According to the same author, the black-brown, and further the iron-coloured, were equally appreciated. The richest deposits known to him were those of Zibaṭra in south-east Anatolia. From the fact, however, that ships in the China Sea (*al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar*) were kept together by vegetable fibres, but those in the Mediterranean Sea carpentered with nails, he concludes that the richest deposits of magnetite occur in the submarine mountains of the China sea, since it is exactly there that the nails would be extracted by magnetism and ships would disintegrate. In the mountains of Zābulistān [*q.v.*, in eastern Afghānistān] magnetite is said to occur as solid rock; on their sun-lit outer surfaces the power of attraction would be weak, but in the inside strong, as al-Bīrūnī himself had ascertained by means of a collaborator.

Other denominations of the lodestone, based

on confusion, are: *bāhit* or *ḥadjar al-bahta* (i.e. the haematite, which results from converting magnetite or other minerals), *adāmas al-iḍṭirārī* (i.e. the diamond; ἀδάμας means "indomitable", from which *iḍṭirārī* can possibly be explained), *lāḳiṭ* (see below), *ḳaramiṭ* (possibly through Romance *calamita*, derived from κάλαμος, but cf. for this E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte der Magnetnadel bis zur Erfindung des Kompasses [gegen 1300]*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iii/1 [Berlin 1932], esp. 15-20).

The notion that lodestone and iron are connected as the lover and the beloved, was spread very widely: iron is "obedient" to the stone because of a divine power inherent in the latter, and is attracted to it like the lover to the beloved (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt. Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 239, below); between the two exists a profound inclination: when iron "smells" the magnet, it moves towards it until it clings to it and holds on tight to it, as the lover to the beloved (*op. cit.*, 210; cf. also *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ii, Beirut 1376/1957, 110 f.). This image was expressed poetically by Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawk al-ḥamāma*, ed. Pétrof, 8, 20-9, 9, cf. E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 149-51. In other comparisons, the *tertium comparationis* is formed by the swiftness of reaction: the "phlegm" (*balgham*) combines with the soul quicker than iron with the magnet (M. Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, ii, Wiesbaden 1976, 99). This conception is connected with certain theories developed by Djābir b. Ḥayyān in his *Kitāb al-Raḥma*: "The strongest factors existing in this world are the delicate spiritual things which cannot be observed with the senses, but only with the intellect, like the stone which attracts iron through an immaterial power that can neither be felt nor seen. It permeates the solidness of brass (*ṣufr*) which finds itself between it (i.e. the magnetite) and the iron" (Ar. text in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge*, iii, Paris 1983 [reimpr. 1967], 144-5; French tr., *ibid.*, 175). Thus the Arabs were aware that the magnetite is efficacious through other bodies. A few sentences further on it is said: "We found (?) a magnetite which lifted a weight of 100 *dirhams* (= 312, 5 gr. according to W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, 3). We left it alone for a while and then tested it with another piece of iron, which however it did not lift. We thought this to be heavier than the 100 *dirhams* which it had lifted earlier. But when we weighed it, it had a weight of less than 80 *dirhams*, so its power had decreased, although its mass (*djirm*) had remained the same." From these observations it was rightly concluded that in course of time the lodestone loses part of its power of attraction. Thus the carrying capacity of the magnet used by "Geber" was quite considerable; for further quantitative indications by al-Ibshīhī and al-Tīfāshī, see Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 33.

Iron filings, put in a pan which one keeps in one hand while with the other a magnetite is moved backward and forward underneath the pan, follow these movements. Also, when the stone is brought near to a needle, it attaches the latter to itself, and likewise other needles which are strung to the first one, so that finally all of them are joined as it were to a string by an "immaterial power"; in the same way rings can be hung to one another (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aes Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, Ar. text 108, Ger. text, 154).

Next to its attractive power, the magnet has also a repelling power: when held over an ant-hill, it drives the ants away. When smeared with the saliva of a fasting man, it loses its attractive power. This power disappears also when the magnet is rubbed with garlic or onions, but when cleansed from garlic and put in the warm blood of a freshly-slaughtered billy-goat, the power returns (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 238; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1866, Arabic text 73 f., French tr. 85; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, Cairo 1346/1928, 108; (Pseudo-) Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig-Berlin 1933, 399, 15-6, tr. 406). The following observation of Ibn al-Faḳīh (*BGA*, v, 67, 134) is also worth noticing: When a knife or sword is rubbed against the rocks of a mountain near Āmid, they carry iron and attract needles more powerfully than lodestone. The latter itself does not possess attractive power, but when a knife or sword is rubbed against it, it attracts iron. This power is said to be preserved for a very long time, namely a hundred years. As Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, i, 36) remarks, magnetism is preserved in sword and knife because they are made of steel: they are a "permanent" magnet.

The question of the causes of interaction between magnet and iron has apparently also been studied in a more general way. No less a person than al-Rāzī wrote an essay entitled *Kitāb ʿIllati djadhbi ḥadjar al-maghnāṭīs li 'l-ḥadīd wa-fīhi kalām^un kathīr^un fi 'l-khalā*, "Book on the cause of the attraction of iron by the magnet, containing an extensive treatise on empty space". For this work, which unfortunately is lost, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, i, 320, 11-2; and, for a shortened title, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 301, 14-5. The essay probably examines whether and how the magnet is effective through empty space. Al-Tīfāshī recognised the chemical relation between iron and magnet from which the effectiveness is to be deduced. According to him, the attraction is based on reciprocity; deep inside, the lodestone has transformed itself into iron, for both minerals have the same nature which explains the inclination and love to each other "since the beginning of their existence" (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, i, 34 f.). According to al-Ṭughrāʾī (*apud* Wiedemann, i, 699), the lodestone belongs to the stones which contain spirits.

It was believed that there existed a number of other stones with attractive power, apart from the iron magnet: the gold magnet which attracts gold, and when calcified, possesses the efficacy of the iron magnet; the silver magnet which is extraordinarily powerful (at a distance of five ells it attracts an ounce of silver); the brass and copper magnet, which, among other things, are used as a remedy against epilepsy; the lead magnet, ugly and evil-smelling; the flesh magnet, so-called because, if put on flesh, it sticks fast to it and, if pulled away, rips off pieces of it; the hair magnet which attracts hair and, if moved over the head, tears it off; finally, the nail magnet, which pulls out finger-nails (J. Ruska, *op. cit.*, Ar. text, 109-11, Ger. text 155-9). Other magnets are enumerated by al-Dimashḳī (*Nukhbat al-dahr*, Arabic text 74-7, French text 85-9), who remarks *inter alia* that gold is the magnet of mercury: when they come together, gold attracts the mercury and mixes with it; when filings of gold, lead, copper, iron and tin are mixed and mercury is then added, the latter goes in search of the gold filings and mixes with them, but not with the other filings because a "magnetic friendship" (*ṣadāḳa maghnāṭīsiyya*) exists only between mercury and gold. A number of similar magnets are catalogued by al-Ḳazwīnī (*op.

cit., 235 f.) under the term *lāḳiṭ* ("gleaning, collecting"), like *lāḳiṭ al-dhahab*, *l. al-raṣāṣ*, *l. al-shaʿar*, etc.

It is hardly to be wondered that, already in early times, all kinds of legends were coupled to the attractive power of the *maghnāṭīs*. Al-Djawbarī, for instance, relates that in the "monastery of the idol" (*dayr al-ṣanam*) an iron idol is floating free in space under a cupola. This statue is said to be the work of Yablūnus (Apollonius of Tyana), who had constructed a cupola from lodestone in such a way that the magnetic power was acting upon the statue so evenly from above and from the sides that it was floating exactly in the middle of the space (*apud* Wiedemann, i, 359). Al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-buldān. Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 63, relates a similar story from the town of Sūmanāt (Somnath) in Gudjarāt. The secret was only disclosed when Sultan Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin visited the temple and one of his companions took out one stone after the other from the cupola; the floating idol then sank to the floor. Christians in the West believed that Muḥammad's coffin was either made of some naturally magnetic substance and hovered in the air under a dome whose walls were covered with iron, or was made of iron and floated freely thanks to two magnets fixed in the roof and in the floor of the tomb (see Ch. Pellat, *Note sur la légende relative au cercueil de Mahomet*, dans *Bull. des Ét. arabes*, xxiii, Algiers 1945, 112-13; repr. in *Études sur l'histoire socio-culturelle de l'Islam*, London 1976, xii). For other examples—both classical and talmudic—of free-floating idols and other objects, see I. Löw, *Fauna und Mineralien der Juden*, ed. A. Schreiber, Hildesheim 1969, 131. Of ill fame were the magnetic mountains or islands which extracted the nails from the ships and sank them, for instance in the Red Sea (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 172) or in India (*ibid.*, 239; Ruska, *op. cit.*, Ar. text 108 f., Ger. text 155; Ibn al-Djazzār, *Kitāb al-Iʿtimād fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 85a, 7-10). Magnetic mountains became best known through the stories of Sindbad the Sailor.

The reciprocal relations between electric and magnetic phenomena were not known. However, the Arabs were aware of the parallel, already drawn by Galen, existing between the transmission of the efficacy of the electric fish (i.e. of the electric ray νάρκη, Ar. *raʿʿād*), and that of the magnet (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, i, 32). The Arabs themselves perceived as highly unsatisfactory the fact that their efforts to explain magnetism in a physical way remained unsuccessful. A regretful observation of Ibn Buṭlān (*apud* Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 313, 9-11) makes this clear: "Does iron strive for the stone out of longing, or does the stone attract iron by force? How painful (*ḳabīḥ*) is it for us not to understand this without any doubt, although we observe it with our senses."

In medicine, the lodestone does not seem to have been applied widely, although it is found in almost all pharmacopoeias (see D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 174). It is potent for draining away thick mucus and, if held in the hand, for removing spasms and pains in hand and foot. It is administered to those who have swallowed iron filings or rust in order to attract and remove them. Strewn on gaping wounds in pulverised form, it contracts them. In cases of gout caused by heat, it allays the suffering if applied after being rubbed with vinegar. He who wears a lodestone round his neck will have a good memory and does not forget anything. Used in pulverised form as an eye make-up, it stimulates love relations. It helps a pregnant woman to have an easier confinement; worn in a seal-ring, it brings good luck; etc.

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(A. Dietrich)

2. The compass

The Arabs of the East became acquainted with the compass through Chinese sailors, without however at first giving it a special name; there was considerable traffic between the Persian, etc. ports and Southern China. Thence it came to Syria and then to the Mediterranean ports of Europe. The compass had very probably, however, already reached the north of Europe by the trade-route of the Russian rivers as early as the 8th or 9th centuries A.D. This explains why the compass was known earlier in the north than in the south of Europe, and perhaps explains also why the Norsemen were able to undertake long

voyages by sea (cf. R. Henning, *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. deutscher Naturforscher etc.*, 84th Versammlung, 11/2 [1912], 95).

In deciding the direction by means of a magnetic needle, the Muslims used the end which pointed to the south; as Mecca lay to the south of most places, in Syria etc. the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] corresponded almost exactly to the south.

The oldest passage in which the word *ḳaramiṭ* perhaps corresponding to "magnet" (*calamita*) occurs is given by Dozy for the year 239/854 in his *Supplément*, ii, 337, who found it in *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (*Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*) edited by him. Serious objections have however been raised to interpreting the word as compass in this passage (*MSOS*, Berlin, x/1-2 [1900], 268). From the fact that in narratives of travels of the 9th century A.D. and that in al-Masʿūdī (923) the directions are given in the same way as on compasses, G. Ferrand concluded that the compass was already in use then. The next oldest absolutely certain reference is in the *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* of ʿAwfī; it is in his *Lubāb al-albāb* (ed. Browne and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī). A captain during a storm in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf finds his true course by means of a fish, of which we are expressly told that it had been rubbed with a *maghnāṭīs*. A similar statement regarding the use of a magnetic fish at sea is made by al-Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270, i, 240; Cairo 1324, i, 357; *Z. f. Phys.*, xiv [1924], 166).

A very full description of the compass and its use in the Mediterranean was given in 640/1242 by a certain Baylak al-Ḳibdjāḳī in the *Kitāb Kanz al-tudjdjār fī maʿrifat al-aḥdjār*. A needle which has been rubbed with a "female" lodestone is placed diagonally through a rush or piece of straw, etc. Sometimes a cross made of two straws is used. The arrangement is floated on water set to rotate by a lodestone held in the hand and moved in a circular direction; the latter is then quickly withdrawn. The needle places itself pointing to the south, which is the same as the *ḳibla*. The turning is probably regarded as magical, but it has a physical significance. By the turning, the often very tenacious skin of the water is broken and the apparatus bearing the magnet is enabled to move freely. The turning is, however, not always done, but the needle with its support is simply placed on the water.

Al-Zarkhūrī describes several forms of compass in a work on mechanical toys, for example a small, beautifully-painted, wooden fish, in which a magnetic needle is placed. In place of the fish, which might hurt the feelings of pious worshippers, a wooden disk with a *miḥrāb* drawn upon it is also used. Finally, an apparatus just like our compass is described. Two magnetic needles are placed symmetrically in the centre under a circular piece of paper. Under the centre of the paper a funnel is placed which turns on a point; the whole is enclosed in a cylindrical receptacle with a glass top and is called *ḥuḳḳ al-ḳibla* "vessel, box for the *ḳibla*", or *bayt al-ibra*, "house of the needle"; according to Niebuhr, the same name is still given to the compass. At the present day, similar compasses are used along with a simple sundial. Another very full description is given by a certain Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr al-Ḥassānī in his *al-Nudjūm al-shāriḳāt* (cf. E. Wiedemann in the *Z. für Physik*, xiii [1923], 113: there is a manuscript in Beirut in addition to those mentioned here. Whether the Cambridge one was written in 1103 or 1588 cannot be ascertained with certainty). The needle is fastened to a copper plate hollowed out or raised in the centre and placed on a copper stand. One end of the needle, no doubt the south end, has something put on it to mark it.

An important passage in an anonymous work "Preparation of the bowl (*ṭāsa*) to ascertain the *ḳibla* and points of the compass" is in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, no. 5811). Here the point of the needle points south, the eye to the north (the rubbing [*ḥakk*] of the needle explains the peculiar modern name *ḥikk* for the compass).

It would take us too far to deal here with the box compass proper which is called in Turkish e.g. *pusula* from the Italian. We will only note that on the rhomb-card the south is called *al-ḳibla* and also *al-djanūb* (cf. thereon, for example, K. Foy, *Die Windrose bei den Osmanen und Griechen mit Benutzung der Baḥrīya des Admirals Pir-i Reis vom Jahr 1520*, in *MSOS*, Berlin xi/2 [1908], 234 ff.).

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In the *Beiträge*, ii, the earlier literature is collected. This is also done in other works e.g. by Clément Mullet on the compass. Of special importance are the works of A. Schück (*Der Kompass*, etc., Hamburg 1911, 1915 ff.), which also deal with the Bussole in China. (E. WIEDEMANN)

MAGHNISA, modern Turkish form Manisa, classical Magnesia, a town of western Anatolia, in the ancient province of Lydia, lying to the south of the Gediz river on the northeastern slopes of the Manisa Dağı, which separates it from Izmir or Smyrna (lat. 38° 36′ N., long 27° 27′ E.).

In Greek and then Roman times, Magnesia ad Sipylum was a flourishing town, noted amongst other things for the victory won in its vicinity by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great of Syria in 190 B.C., and continued to flourish under the Byzantines (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, xxvii, 472-3). After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, the Byzantine emperor John Ducas retired to Magnesia and held out there till 1255; it was also the seat of a bishopric, which seems to have disappeared however by the 14th century.

Out of the ruins of the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Rum, a Turkmen chief Ṣārū-Khān (d. 1345) established himself in the town in 1313 and made Maghnisa the capital of his *beylik*, one which endured for over three-quarters of a century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ii, 312-14, tr. Gibb, ii, 447-8, visited what he calls Maghnīsiyya during Ṣārū-Khān 's reign, and stayed in a *zāwiya* or hospice of one of the local *fityān* (i.e. of the Akhīs [*q.v.*]); he praises its size and its amenities. The Ulu Djāmiʿ of Maghnisa dates from this period also, and re-uses Byzantine materials. The Ṣārūkhān-oghullarī [*q.v.*] continued to hold the town till 792/1390 or the next year, when the Ottoman Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] conquered it and gave it to one of his sons. After Tīmūr's victory at Ankara in 805/1402, Tīmūr gave Maghnisa to his grandson Muḥammad (see Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed.

Calcutta, ii, 466-7), and the town was then briefly restored to the descendant of Ṣārū-Khān, Khiḍr Shāh Beg; but the latter was deposed and killed by the Ottoman Meḥemmed I in 813/1410.

Under the Ottomans, Maghnisa, from its nearness to the capital Istanbul, was often governed by the sultan's eldest son and regarded as a stepping-stone to further advancement. After his abdication in 848/1444, sultan Murād II retired to Maghnisa, leaving it to combat the Hungarian Crusaders but returning after his victory at Varna later that year (Von Hammer, *GOR*², i, 351, 357); the remains of his palace and garden are still visible.

Concerning the tax-paying population of the town, we possess figures for 937/1530-1 and again for 983/1575-6. Compared to other Anatolian cities, Maghnisa during the 10th/16th century experienced only moderate growth: from 1,356 taxpayers (about 6,000-7,000 inhabitants) at the first date to 1,995 taxpayers (about 7,000-8,000 inhabitants at the second one). This is all the more noteworthy as Maghnisa during this period continued frequently to house the courts of Ottoman princes, so that much public construction took place in the town. The Khātūniyya mosque was built in the name of Prince Shāhinshāh's mother Ḥüsnīshāh, while the Sulṭāniyye mosque, which possessed shops and taxation rights in Urla near Izmir, was founded by Ḳānūnī Süleymān's mother Ḥafṣa Sulṭān. As the last Ottoman prince residing in Maghnisa, sultan Murād III [*q.v.*] had the Murādiyye *külliyye* or complex constructed by his chief architect Ḳodja Sinān (994/1586).

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, the area between the Gediz Çayı and the Büyük Menderes rivers produced grapes and figs for consumption in Istanbul. To assure a regular supply for the Ottoman capital, a large number of official rescripts prohibited both wine-making and the exportation of raisins. Throughout the 10th/16th century, the exportation of cotton was equally forbidden. But for reasons not completely understood, this prohibition was reversed in the 1620s. Export trade in cotton particularly developped in the course of the 12th/18th century, when the area was controlled by a family of *aʿyān* or notables known as the Ḳara ʿOthmān Oghullarī (see below). The French traveller Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Manisa about 1700, stated that the cotton trade was the only major activity visible in the town [see on this trade, ḲUṬN. 2. In the Ottoman empire].

When Ewliyā Čelebi visited Maghnisa in 1082/1671-2, he was much impressed not only by the historical buildings, particularly by the Murādiyye mosque, but also by the opportunities for entertainment. Apparently the coffee houses of Maghnisa could rival with their more famous counterparts in Aleppo, Cairo and Damascus. Ewliyā also mentions the existence of more than 3,000 shops, aside from two covered markets. But he equally reports that one of the covered markets had been partially converted into a mosque. This observation, if correct, may indicate that business life in Maghnisa was in fact stagnating.

From the 11th/17th century onward, Manisa was increasingly eclipsed both politically and commercially by Izmir [*q.v.*]. The latter had been but a minor port in the 10th/16th century, containing less than 500 tax-paying inhabitants. But the transit trade in Persian silk lead to Izmir's rapid growth, and Maghnisa took on the characteristics of a minor regional centre, which specialised in the marketing of agricultural goods. However, a certain amount of textile manufacture survived into the 1890s, and so did the tanning industry, which had already been famous in the 11th/17th century.

In the 12th/18th century, Maghnisa became the capital of a powerful family of *derebey*s [*q.v.*], the Ḳara ʿOthmān-Oghlī family [*q.v.*], whose authority stretched from beyond Ṣārūkhān itself as far as the Sea of Marmara to the north. It was not until 1244/1829 that the central government was able to replace members of the family (whose administration is praised by the English traveller G. T. Keppel, *Narrative of a journey across the Balcan . . . in 1829-30*, London 1831, ii, 294-301) by its own nominees.

Late 19th century population figures reflect the relative decline of Maghnisa, now in the *wilāyet* of Aydïn, compared with Izmir; Cuinet assumed that the former contained 35,000, the latter 200,000 inhabitants, and Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1898, estimated Maghnisa's population at 36,252, of whom 21,000 were Muslims, 10,400 Greeks, 2,000 Armenians, etc. During the Turkish War of Independence, the town suffered heavy destruction, and the first census of the Turkish Republic credits Manisa with only 28,664 inhabitants. By 1950, the late 19th century level of 35,000 had again been reached; by 1975 the town had increased to 78,114 inhabitants.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): See in the first place, for greater detail, Besim Darkot and Çağatay Uluçay, art. *Manisa* in *İA*, with extensive bibliography. For Maghnisa in the Ottoman tax registers, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu tahrir 165, pp. 2 ff., and Ankara, Tapu ve kadastro genel müdürlüğü, Kuyudu kadime 115, pp. 4 b ff. On the foundation of Ḥafṣa Sulṭān, see Kuyudu Kadime 571, pp. 15b ff. On the prohibition to export grapes, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defterleri 47, p. 147, no. 359 (990/1582), 71, p. 290, no. 560 (1001-2/1592-3). Concerning the 11th/17th century exportation of cotton, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden müdevver 6004, *passim*.

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(V. Minorsky - [Suraiya Faroqhi])

MAGHŌSHA, the town of Famagusta in Cyprus [see ḳubrus].

The Mycenaen town of Alasya was located on or near the delta of the Pediyas, at Enkomi village. Its successor, the port of Salamis, only 1½ miles to the east, became a great metropolis during the Roman empire. Restored by Constantius II on a much smaller scale after the severe earthquakes of 332 and 342, with the new name Constantia, it survived until Arab Muslim raids of the 7th century led to its transferral to Ammochostos (Maghōsha) 6 miles to the south (for Alasya, see Hill, i, 36, 42-9, and P. Dikaios, *Enkomi: excavations 1948-1958*, Mainz 1969-71; for Salamis and Constantia, see Hill, i, *passim*, and V. Karageorges, *Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, London 1969). The town passed to Guy de Lusignan in 1192. The Genoese occupied it between 1383 and 1464; the Venetians took the town from the Lusignans in 1489. The Ottomans conquered it after a prolonged and extremely costly siege of eleven months in 1572, with tens of thousands of lives lost. After the Turkish conquest much Latin property was turned over to the Orthodox; however, from 1573 the latter were forbidden to live in the walled town, as in Rhodes. In 1607 a Tuscan naval expedition of eight galleys and nine galleons failed in a surprise attack upon the town (Hill, iv, 48 ff.). The Knights of Malta, as well as English, Dutch, and Tuscan pirates, regularly harassed Levantine shipping for more than a century after 1572. A famine in 1640 and plague in 1641 are known, as well as severe earthquakes in 1557, 1569, and 1735 (Hill, iv, 67 f.). No area was more vulnerable to malaria, plague, and locusts.

The Ottomans failed to revitalise their great prize Maghōsha, but it is obvious that by the last quarter of the 15th century the town had already been reduced to a third-rate commercial centre. The harbour remained a prize worth fighting for, but the Ottomans were unable to transform it into a useful naval base. Its growth was further limited by official ambivalence; the Porte sometimes dreamed of using the naval and commercial potential of Maghōsha, but at other times appeared terrified that the prize would fall to enemies who might again use it against them. Although the Ottomans never had the energy to restore Maghōsha, they guarded the fortress too zealously to allow economic development, and the small garrison became the greatest part of the population.

After the fall of Acre or ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] (1291) to the Mamlūks, the ascent of Lusignan Maghōsha was meteoric. Little more than its good harbour was noted by W. von Oldenburg in 1211 (C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 14). An anonymous Englishman (1344) called the town "a paradise of delight" with "plantations and gardens irrigated with water brought into them artificially ... It has a parish, Cathedral, and Metropolitan Church like unto Amiens. There reside in it merchants of Venice, Genoa, Catalonia and Saracens from the Soldan's dominions, dwelling in palaces, which are called 'Loggias', living in the style of counts and barons, they have abundance of gold and silver. All the precious things of the world may be found in their hands." (Th. Mogabgab, *Supplementary excerpts on Cyprus ...*, ii, 56 ff.; *Itinerarium ciuisdam Anglici Terram Sanctam*, in P. G. Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografia della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano*, iv, Florence 1923, 446-7). Seized by Genoese trickery in 1373, and held by them for a century, the town lost much of its local trade. Then a series of disasters—disease, earthquakes, locusts, and shifting trade routes—left the town crippled. Nicolai de Martoni (1394) observed: "The city of Famagusta is large, as large, I reckon, as the city of Capua, and his fine squares, and houses very much like those of Capua, but a great part, almost a third, is uninhabited, and the houses are destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the Genoese lordship. The said city has finer walls than I have seen in any town ..." (Cobham, 22 ff.; *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iii [1895], 627 ff., 637 f.). Long before 1435 when Pero Tafur visited it, the aristocracy had abandoned Maghōsha for Lefḳōsha or Nicosia, and most trade and economic activity had followed thereafter. "This place is depopulated on account of the bad air and bad water", particularly because of the nearby lake Constanza (Cobham, 31; *Andaças é viajes ...*, in *Coleccion de libros españoles raros o curiosos*, Madrid 1874, viii/1, 139). Venetian rule (1489-1571) did not bring any improvement; despite efforts to rebuild the town, its population probably never rose above 6,000 (Hill, iii, 507, 729 n, 878). As Martin von Baumgarten (1508) found, Maghōsha was "remarkable for its harbour and fortifications" but Lefḳōsha was "famous for its largeness". The silk merchant of Douai J. le Saige (1512) was astonished to see such a strong town with the walls "freshly repaired" and "a grand boulevard"; he found excellent produce along the coast, although only trade with Venica was permitted (Cokham, 55,57; *Peregrinatio*, Noribergae 1594, 139). Pīrī Reʾīs mentions a beautiful castle, and inner and outer harbours at the only large port on the island (*Kitabı Bahriye*, ed. Y. Senemoğlu, Istanbul, ii, 283). Maghōsha's economic distinction lay in its harbour: as various travellers noted, Cyprus had no other. Indeed, few harbours if any in the entire Levant could provide better protection from the elements or could give shelter to more vessels. Since the Mediterranean between the gulfs of Antalya and Iskenderun was reputedly extremely dangerous, vessels which otherwise might have followed the coastline closely all the way to Rhodes preferred rather to strike out from Iskenderun, Tripoli or Alexandria for the south coast of Cyprus, sail round it, and then sail on to Rhodes. According to Jacques de Villamont (1589), the capital of the province was Lefḳōsha, but "... on account of its fine harbour and incomparable fortress the Pasha generally lives at Famagusta for the safety of his person and galleys" (Cobham, 176; if the *pasha* did reside there, it was contrary to regulations). After visits in 1598 and 1599 Cotovicus wrote that it "has a remarkable and most safe harbour ... It is fairly spacious and

populous . . . the only defence which Cyprus has" (Cobham, 195; cf. Loredan (1476), who called it "the key and heart of Cyprus", despite its unhealthiness, in Hill, iii, 727 ff.). According to R. Pococke there was very little trade there, but an acqueduct brought very good water from three or four miles away, the surrounding villages had relatively fertile soil, and "all provisions are cheap" (Cobham, 255; in Pinkerton, ed., *A general collection of . . . voyages . . .*, London 1811, i, 576-7). Those villages produced silk and mulberries, and madder root was another product. By the 18th century silting had made the harbour too shallow for larger vessels, and according to J. M. Kinneir (1814): "This port could once admit vessels of a considerable draft of water; but since the conquest of the Turks, sand and rubbish have been suffered to accumulate in such a degree, that none but small vessels can now enter it with safety" (Cobham, 412; *Journey . . .*, London 1818, 176). W. Turner Kinneir: "The port was admirable, being about one quarter of a mile in length, and something less in breadth, sheltered by low rocks; even now that the port is 'mostly choked up', ships which winter in Cyprus always go there to anchor in safety" (Cobham, 435).

The Jew Elias of Pesaro (1563) found that ophthalmia was a common fever from late June to midwinter; but the townspeople were described as clean, and careful to protect themselves from contagion, especially from the plague, quarantine often lasting forty days. The houses were fine and well built, the roads well maintained, and there were fountains of running water at every street corner. The castle reminded him of that of Pesaro. The food was excellent, and the bread the best he had ever eaten. The twenty-five local Jewish families completely controlled all money lending in Cyprus, and anyone wanting to borrow money had to come there. Interest was 20% per annum when gold and silver were pledged, 25% if wool, thread, or silk was pledged, and profits were often higher (Cobham, 73 ff.; translation of Hebrew letter by M. Schwab, in *Revue de Géographie*, v [1879], 221 ff.).

When Jacques de Villamont reached Larnaka in 1589 he was told not to try to go to Maghōsha because plague had long been raging there and the inhabitants of both the town and its surroundings were nearly all dead (Cobham, 175). The Dutchman Jan Somer (1590) compared the town in size to Amsterdam, although not so populous; disease had reduced the place, despite a rich agricultural hinterland (*Beschrijvinge van een Zee ende Landt Reyse . . .*, Amsterdam 1649, 11). André Thevet (1590) chided those who wrote that ". . . the Turks made themselves masters of Famagosta, and slew all the Christians Latin and Greek, with the sword, so that old and young without exception felt the violence of these infidels. And still you see that the Greeks and others live in entire liberty" (Cobham, 178). Ottoman policy neurotically aimed to close off the fortress; foreigners were treated as spies. When de Stochove wanted to see the town in 1631 he was advised "that it was almost impossible to go in without meeting some unpleasantness", for the *pasha* was a malicious man and absolutely no one could enter without his consent, so he examined only the outer walls (Cobham, 217). In 1683 de Bruyn found that the Ottomans ". . . guard the city so jealously that no stranger is allowed to set foot in it . . ."; he was harassed when he simply tried to approach the walls (Cobham, 236, 241-2; *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, Delft 1698, 365 ff., 374 ff., with map). In the 18th century, most of the small population of the town must have been soldiers; some Christians settled in houses with gardens half a mile to the south in a village called Marash (Varosha). R. Pococke (1738) encountered a settlement of Christians who "are not permitted to dwell within the city". To the west was a large fertile plain inhabited mostly by Muslims because it was relatively "secure from the privateers", while Christians, who were not enslaved by them, lived near the sea. Most of the sparsely-inhabited town was destroyed by a severe earthquake in 1735, making both the mosques of S. Sofia and S. George unfit for use so that S. Catherine's church became the principal mosque. The town walls were severely damaged. The Swedish visitor Frederic Hasselquist (1751) estimated the population as 300 inhabitants, "chiefly Turks", who "occupy the miserable ruins . ." (Cobham, 254-5; in Pinkerton, ed., *op. cit.*, i, 577-8; Cobham, 307, *Iter Palaestinum*, Stockholm 1757, 178 ff.).

Archimandrite Cyprianos (published in 1788) described the Ottoman occupation of Maghōsha in some detail: the inhabitants ". . . remained in their houses, and appeared at the time to be the owners, yet afterwards the Turks dispossessed many of them, on the pretext that they were tenants only, not owners"; when the Greeks of Maghōsha petitioned the vizier Meḥmed Pasha they were permitted ". . . to live as Greek Christians, on condition that no Christian of the Latin Church should be found among them: for to the Latins he would grant neither church nor house, and those who remained in Cyprus were obliged to frequent the Greek churches, and forbidden to hold property in the island". Greeks were allowed to buy, sell, and inherit houses, fields, and property not already occupied by Turks. In 1815 W. Turner reported: ". . . of its numerous palaces and churches not one remains entire". It had only a hundred people, including three Greek families. They lived in ruins, in low houses, mostly of mud, and no-one cultivated the countryside. Nearby was a village of Christians living surrounded by gardens (Cobham, 347 ff., 434-5). The estimate of 3,000 Muslims, 5,000 Greeks, and 200 Armenians attributed to the governor Ṭalʿat Efendi seems too large (M. Louis Lacroix, *L'Univers. Histoire et description des tous les peuples. Iles de la Grèce*, Paris 1853, 88). The last Ottoman census reportedly showed 500 Muslims in the walled town and 2,200 Greek Orthodox in the suburbs. At this time, Maghōsha was used as a place of banishment for those under political or religious clouds; hence Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and the Bahāʾī leader Ṣubḥ-i Ezel [see BAHĀʾ ALLĀH] spent time there in exile.

According to the census of 1881, Maghōsha with Marash (Varosha) was the fourth leading town of Cyprus with 2,609 inhabitants, of whom 1,845 were Greek Orthodox (71%), 727 were Muslim (28%), 6 were Roman Catholic, 22 Maronite, 1 Armenian Gregorian and 8 Church of England and Protestant; there were no Jews. There were 666 adult males over 20, one per 3.92 people; of those 184 were Muslim (one per 3.95) and 482 Christian (one per 3.90) (*Cyprus Gazette*, no. 82 [4 April 1881 census], 3 March 1882; 17 June 1882). By 1891 the population had grown 30% to 3,367, but the Muslims had increased only 15% to 835, falling to 25% of the town's population (*Cyprus Gazette*, no. 341, 15 May 1891). By 1900 the population had increased to 3,825, 47% larger than in 1881. The Muslims had grown only 18% to 856, while the Christians had increased 58% to 2,969. Of 1,094 adult males 811 (3.66 per

capita) were Greek Orthodox and 283 (3.02 per capita) were Muslims (*Cyprus Gaz tte*, no. 697, 26 April 1901; 30 August 1901).

In the second half of the 19th century, Maghōsha was filthy and malarial, "in utter absolute ruin", according to Samuel Brown, *Three months in Cyprus during the winter of 1878-9*, London 1879, 19. To Mrs. Scott-Stevenson "... it seemed the most desolate town I had ever been in"; even the dogs seemed "dull, and without energy to bark at us" (*Our home in Cyprus*[2], London 1880, 278). Although the third busiest harbour on the island, its entire trade came with coasting vessels, for large vessels called only at Larnaka and Limassol. The small suburb of Varosha to the south, equally pestilential, had extensive and luxuriant gardens and was the site of a pottery factory. The district was the leading one for fishing on the island (48 small boats caught 7,198 oke of thirty-four kinds of fish in 1889, the most important being sea bream (*sarpa*), *lifhrina*, *mavromati* and *skaros*; *Cyprus Blue Book*, 1889-90, 519). In that year the single Muslim school had 67 boy students and 13 girls. The municipal budget under the British was disproportionately smaller than the other towns. Initial British interest in making a new harbour flagged until 1895, when the proposal was raised again; and in 1899 a loan of £ 254,000 to dredge and improve the harbour and to construct a narrow gauge railway to Lefkosha was authorised by the British government. After its completion in 1906, interest in the port increased very slowly until after World War I. In 1931 with 8,979 inhabitants it was the fourth largest town of the island, and by 1946 it was the third largest, with 16,194, of whom 13,106 were Greek Orthodox, 2,699 Muslim, and 115 Armenian Gregorian. In the latter year, 2,273 of the 3,048 inhabitants of the walled town were Muslim.

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(R. C. Jennings)

MAGHRĀWA, a major confederation of Berber tribes belonging to the Butr group and forming the most powerful branch of the family of the Zanāta.

The ascendancy, real or imaginary, of this confederation is traced back to Maghrāw, who is said to have been, according to the mediaeval Berber genealogists, the ancestor of the Maghrāwa as such. Following the Arab and Berber sources utilised in the 8th/14th century by Ibn Khaldūn in his *History of the Berbers*, the "cradle" of the Maghrāwa and "the ancient seat of their power" was the territory located on the Chélif in the north-western part of what is now Algeria, probably bounded by the Mediterranean to the north, the mountain of Wansharīs (Wānsharīsh, currently Ouarsenis) to the south and Tlemcen to the west. Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] says in his *Description of Africa* written in about 1525-6 that the "Magraua (Maghrāwa) mountain" stretched over a distance of some 40 miles (approx. 64 km), "close to the town of Mustuganin" (Mostaganem). The Maghrāwa have left a relic of their presence here in the name of Cap Maghraoua situated 104 km to the east of Mostaganem and 56 km. to the west of Ténès. It should be added at this point that, according to Abu 'l-Fidā' (1273-1331), Mostaganem served the Maghrāwa as a port. Leo Africanus extols the dignity and the courage of the inhabitants of the Magraua mountain, who were probably descendants of the Maghrāwa of mediaeval Arab sources. The Maghrāwa lived in this land in a nomadic state, but they also possessed (at least in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) fixed dwellings and fortresses. In the 4th and 5th/10th-11th centuries, the individual segments of this confederation were spread throughout North Africa, from Morocco in the west to Tripolitania in the east.

Little is known of the origins and earliest history of the Maghrāwa. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1070), they arrived in North Africa in ancient times and established themselves "on the frontier of Ifrīḳiya, alongside the Maghrib" (i.e. in eastern Algeria), while the region which later, in the Middle Ages, became their homeland, in other words the territory located on the Chélif, constituted in ancient times the domain of "Adidjāna, father of Zanāta". If Ibn Khaldūn and his sources are to be believed, there is no doubt that the confederation of the

Maghrāwa already existed immediately before the Arab conquest of North Africa, probably in the first half of the 1st/7th century, if not much earlier, alongside two other major Zanāta branches (or possibly confederations), these being the Djarāwa, the people of the famous Kāhina, and the Banū Ifran. In all probability, the origins of the Maghrāwa could be traced back still further towards the beginning of the Christian era, through linking their name, in accordance with a hypothesis propounded by J. Desanges, with that of the Moorish peoples known to Pliny as the Macurebi and to Ptolemy as the Makkhourēbi. The latter seems to attribute to the main mass of the Makkhourēbi a very large coastal zone situated between the Zaccar and the Grande Kabylie, in the Roman province of Mauritania. In spite of the quite different localisation of the Maghrāwa and the Makkhourēbi (the latter tribe mostly occupied territory a little to the east of the cradle of the Maghrāwian confederation on the Chélif), the hypothesis of J. Desanges appears wholly acceptable and it seems that the Maghrāwa belong among those exceptional Berber tribes of the Middle Ages whose names are attested in the ancient Greek and Latin texts. It may further be added that another segment of the Makkhourēbi is mentioned by Ptolemy among the peoples of inner Libya (i.e. of southern Barbary). Ptolemy locates it, in fact, on the central reaches of the Draa. It is probably this group of the Maghrāwa which is encountered, in the 4th-5th/10th-11th century, in the neighbourhood of Sidjilmāsa and which succeeded in founding a kingdom with this city as its capital. There will be further mention of this kingdom below.

The Maghrāwa were related, if Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, not only to the Banū Ifran and the Djarāwa, but also to the large Zanāta tribe of the Banū Irniyān. It seems furthermore that the genealogy of this tribe is linked to that of the Lawāta Berber group, in particular the Lawātian tribe of the Sadrāta. Among the numerous branches and subdivisions of the Maghrāwa confederation mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and other mediaeval Arab authors, the first that should be mentioned is their royal clan which was called Wanzāmar or Warzamār (variants: Wazmār, Wartazmār, Warzāzmar or Wartazmīr). Also belonging to the Maghrāwa, according to Ibn Khaldūn and the Berber genealogists quoted by this author, were the Banū Sindjas, the Banū Rīgha, the Banū Laghwāṭ and the Banū Warrā (var. Warrāk), although according to Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, the best Zanāta genealogist of the 8th/14th century (a native of the Maghrāwa town of Timzūghat, situated in the region of the Chélif), these four tribes formed part of another branch of the Zanāta family. According to other Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, there were yet more tribes belonging to the confederation of the Maghrāwa. These were the Banū Zandādj (Zandāk), the Banū Warsifān (or Warsīfān), the Banū Zadjdjāk, the Banū Izamratan (also Izmartan or Izmartī), the Banū Saʿīd and the Banū Ilīt (var. Ilant). It is interesting however, to note that Ibn Ḥawḳal includes, in his list of Berber tribes compiled after 976-7 A.D., the Banū Sindjāsan (Sindjas), the Banū Zandādj and the Banū Warsifān among the Zanātan tribes unrelated to the Maghrāwa. There are also certain Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldūn who mention the Banū Sindjāsan (Sindjas) and the Banū Warsifān without indicating their membership of the Maghrāwa confederation.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Franks (in this case, Romans) had imposed the Christian religion on the Maghrāwa, likewise on the Djarāwa and the Banū Ifran. Later, probably towards the end of the 7th or at the beginning of the 8th century A.D., the Maghrāwa tribes became converted without difficulty to Islam. They were governed in this period by an ancient and powerful dynasty, later known as Banū Khazar and owing its name to Khazar b. Ḥafṣ b. Ṣūlāt b. Wanzamār (Wazmār) b. Maghrāw. Ibn Khaldūn gives us a list, in his *History of the Berbers*, otherwise very incomplete, of the princes of this family which ruled the Maghrāwa in the central Maghrib, at Fās, at Sidjilmāsa and in Tripolitania. Another even less complete list of the *amīr*s whose origin dates back to Khazar b. Ḥafṣ is provided by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn in his history of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. According to these lists, Ṣūlāt b. Wanzamār was the contemporary and client of the caliph ʿUthmān (644-56). In fact, he was apparently taken prisoner in one of the battles that took place between the Arabs and the Berbers at the time of the first Arab invasion of North Africa (26/647-8). Sent to ʿUthmān and pardoned by the caliph, he became a Muslim, and on returning to his country he was proclaimed chief of his tribe (according to a passage in Ibn Khaldūn's *History of the Berbers*, he had previously been chief of the Maghrāwa and of other Zanātian peoples). If this tradition is correct, the Banū Wanzamār must have been a Maghrāwian family which lived, around the middle of the 7th century A.D., in eastern Barbary, bordering on Ifrīḳiya, thus in the land which would have been, as stated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, the original cradle of the Maghrāwa in ancient times.

After the death of Ṣūlāt who survived, in all probability, into the second half of the 7th century, the government of the Maghrāwa passed to his son Ḥafṣ, who is considered by Berber tradition as one of the greatest princes to rule over the Maghrāwa. He also became, following this tradition, the chief of other Zanāta tribes. The tribes in question were probably the remnants of the great Zanāta confederation of the Djarāwa of Aurès, formerly ruled by Kāhina [*q.v.*], remnants who went to join their Maghrāwa relatives of the central Maghrib. The power of the Maghrāwa also increased during the reign of Khazar, son of Ḥafṣ. He lived in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and gave his name to the historical dynasty of the Banū Khazar. A tradition quoted by Ibn Khaldūn states that this powerful prince took advantage of the Khāridjite revolt of Maysara [*q.v.*] in the Farthest Maghrib (in 122/739-40) and of the weakening of the Umayyad Arab governors of Ḳayrawān which resulted from it, to extend his authority over all the Zanāta nomads of the central Maghrib, with the exception of the powerful tribe of the Banū Ifran, masters of Tlemcen. The Arab sources tell us nothing of Maghrāwa involvement in the Khāridjite movement. However, this would not seem impossible, in view of the fact that a little later a member of the Maghrāwa, Nahdī b. ʿĀṣim al-Zanātī (or Nahd b. ʿĀṣim al-Maghrāwī) was appointed governor (probably of a segment of the Maghrāwa) by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum, Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhart (168-208/784-823), and that in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century) and in a list of Zanātan Ibāḍī *shaykh*s, compiled in eastern Barbary in the 7th/13th centuries, there are found numerous Maghrāwa individuals belonging to the Ibāḍī sect. Khazar b. Ḥafṣ died after the fall of the Umayyads of the East (132/750), leaving control of the confederation

of the Maghrāwa to his son Muḥammad b. Khazar. The last-named made war against the Banū Īfran, from whom he captured, in about 172/788-9, the town of Tlemcen. It was during the reign of this prince that there took place the foundation of the kingdom of the Idrīsids in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā by Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] with the support of the powerful Berber tribes of Awraba, Ṣadīha and Maghīla (172/788-9). In 173 or 174/789-91, Idrīs invaded the central Maghrib and accepted the submission of the Maghrāwa, whose *amīr* surrendered to him the territory of the Chélif and the town of Tlemcen; the latter later became the capital of another Idrīsid principality. Muḥammad b. Khazar also assisted Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh to snatch from the ʿAbbāsids all the provinces of the central Maghrib. Later, in 197/812-13, we find him pledging loyalty to Idrīs II. As for the Maghrāwa, in this period they continued in possession of the plains of the central Maghrib, as well as the open country round Tlemcen, which they shared with the Banū Īfran. Throughout the 3rd/9th century they remained vassals of the Idrīsid state. It was probably also in this period that the dynasty of the Banū Khazar founded Madīnat Banī Khazar, "the city of the Banū Khazar" in an arid plain of the central Maghrib. We do not know the exact position of this city, which is mentioned by Ibn Ḥammad in his biography of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, "the man on the donkey". This Khāridjite chief sought refuge there after his defeat in the year 335/946-7.

This situation continued unchanged until the formation of the Fāṭimid empire. When the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh sent to the Maghrib, in 298/910-11, an army which took possession of the Idrīsid dominions and compelled the Idrīsid princes to recognise his authority, the Berber tribes of the central Maghrib, led by the Maghrāwa and other Zanāta tribes, rose in revolt against this sovereign. The rebels were commanded by the Maghrāwa prince Muḥammad b. Khazar, one of the grandsons of that Muḥammad b. Khazar b. Ḥafṣ who was *amīr* of the Maghrāwa towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. Ten years later, in 309/921-2, the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh sent an army against him which was however routed by the Maghrāwa. The following year, ʿUbayd Allāh dispatched against Muḥammad b. Khazar a fresh army commanded by his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. At the approach of this army, the Maghrāwa of the central Maghrib (or the majority of the tribes of this confederation) led by Muḥammad b. Khazar fled into the desert, having traversed the Moulouya. They took refuge in the territory of Sidjilmāsa, thus in the region where Ptolemy had located, in the 2nd century A.D., the homeland of a group of the Makkhourēbi, ancestors, as stated above, of the mediaeval Maghrāwa. Some time later, Muḥammad b. Khazar returned at the head of the Maghrāwa tribes to the central Maghrib, towards the former homeland of these tribes in the region of the Chélif. On this occasion, Muḥammad b. Khazar took possession of the territory of Chélif and of Ténès, expelled the supporters of the Fāṭimids from the Zāb and captured the town of Oran, where he installed, as governor, his son al-Khayr. He also conquered other sites in the central Maghrib, and subjected the whole of this land to the authority of the Umayyads of Spain. However, this success did not last long. In 315 or 316/927-9, the Fāṭimid army commanded by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, son of ʿUbayd Allāh, set out to pacify the central Maghrib. This army routed the Maghrāwa and forced them again to flee into the desert. But in 333/944-5, Muḥammad b. Khazar, who had regained his position as the most powerful chieftain of the central Maghrib, attacked the western provinces of the Fāṭimid empire for the second time. He benefited in fact from the revolt of the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib and of Ifrīḳiya, who professed the doctrines of the Khāridjite sect of the Nukkār (Nakkāra) and rebelled against the Fāṭimids. The insurgents were commanded by the famous Zanātian chief, the Nukkārite *imām* Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*]. It seems that at least some of the Maghrāwa, who were predominantly Sunnī, acted in collusion with Abū Yazīd, and that Maʿbad b. Khazar, brother of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, was a loyal supporter of the Nukkārī chief. Maʿbad b. Khazar was taken prisoner, in 340/951-2, by the Fāṭimid sovereign Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr and suffered the death penalty. Another of the brothers of *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, Fulful, embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids. However, the Maghrāwa who occupied the territory of Chélif collaborated at this time with the army sent to the central Maghrib by the Umayyad caliph of Spain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir. In 333/944-5 two Maghrāwa expeditions took place against the Fāṭimid provinces of the central Maghrib. These expeditions were commanded by the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, by his third brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar and by his two sons al-Khayr and Ḥamza. They were directed primarily against the Fāṭimid garrisons of Biskra and of Tāhart (Tiaret). Also participating in the second expedition was the Umayyad army commanded by the Berber general Ḥāmid b. Yasal. These two expeditions had a successful outcome for the Maghrāwa and their allies, the Umayyads of Spain. In fact, Biskra and Tāhart were captured by Muḥammad b. Khazar, by his son al-Khayr and by their allies (*ca.* 333/944-5). However, soon after these victories and the success of Abū Yazīd (whose army even succeeded in conquering Ifrīḳiya, the nucleus of the Fāṭimid empire), the military forces of this empire regrouped under the command of Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr and routed the Berber warriors of Abū Yazīd in a battle near Maḳḳara (Bordj Magra), then turned against the Maghrāwa. Muḥammad b. Khazar surrendered to al-Manṣūr in 335/946-7. According to one source, he subsequently broke faith with the Fāṭimids, and it was only in 342/953-4 that he returned to the Fāṭimid camp and abandoned for ever the cause of the Umayyads. His position towards the latter dynasty was again equivocal in 347/958, at the time of the expedition of the Fāṭimid general Djawhar who set out for the central Maghrib with the object of pacifying this land, but ultimately, intimidated, he took part in this expedition. After this he paid a visit to the caliph al-Muʿizz at Ḳayrawān, where he died in 350/961-2, aged more than a hundred years. According to another source, Muḥammad b. Khazar embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids soon after 340/951-2 and remained loyal to this dynasty until his death. As for al-Khayr, son of Muḥammad b. Khazar and chief of the land of Laghouat, he did not share the pro-Fāṭimid policy of his father and remained a loyal supporter of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova, except for a certain period *ca.* 334/945-6, during which he recognised the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph. In fact, in 340/951-2, he sent his son Futūḥ to Spain, to the court of the Umayyad caliph. Futūḥ was accompanied on this journey by the *shaykhs* of Tāhart and of Oran, supporters of the Umayyads. Subsequently, this delegation returned to Africa.

After the death of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar,

the supreme command of the Maghrāwa passed to Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, grandson of this *amīr* and son of al-Khayr. Even during the lifetime of his grandfather, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr had forged links with the court of Cordova, obtaining from the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in the year 344/955-6, the governorship of Fās. However, he requested from this caliph, in the same year as his appointment, permission to embark on a holy war in Spain. Having received this permission, he set out for Spain, leaving his cousin Aḥmad b. Bakr at Fās to act as his lieutenant. Later, after his proclamation as chief of the confederation of the Maghrāwa, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr harassed the Fāṭimid possessions in the central Maghrib at the instigation of the caliph al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76), successor to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. It should not be forgotten that the Fāṭimid empire had extended its boundaries westward largely by virtue of the victorious expedition of the general Djawhar in 347/958. In fact, at the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr over the Maghrāwa, that is *ca.* 351/962, the Fāṭimid influence had already advanced to the Maghrib al-Akṣā, while that of the Umayyads of Spain was confined to the districts of Ceuta and of Tangier. Now Muḥammad b. al-Khayr succeeded in pushing back a considerable distance towards the east the zone of Fāṭimid influence established by Djawhar. In fact, he conquered a large part of the central Maghrib, creating in this land a sizable, albeit ephemeral, dominion of the Maghrāwa under the control of the Umayyads. This dominion lasted some ten years, until the Fāṭimid governor of Ifrīḳiya, Zīrī b. Manād (who belonged to the major Berber family of Ṣanhādja, hostile to the Zanāta in general and to the Maghrāwa in particular) was entrusted by al-Muʿizz with the mission of blocking Maghrāwa expansion in the central Maghrib. Zīrī b. Manād also received from al-Muʿizz authorisation to appropriate all the territories in the Maghrib that he could seize from the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. In 360/971 Zīrī b. Manād gathered a powerful army (composed mainly of Ṣanhādja warriors) which he put under the command of his son Bulukkīn (Buludjdjīn/Buluggin); this army was ordered to attack the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. The first clash took place on 15 Rabīʿ II 360/15 February 971, probably near Tlemcen. The battle was keenly contested, and ultimately a terrible defeat was inflicted on the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, who was commander-in-chief of the Maghrāwa army, took his own life rather than face capture, and seventeen of the *amīrs* of the Maghrāwa and Zanāta were lost. In spite of this defeat, which contributed considerably to the consolidation of Fāṭimid authority in the Maghrib, the Maghrāwa soon rallied behind al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, son of their prince killed in the battle of Tlemcen. Their forces were rapidly joined by the army of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, former Fāṭimid governor of the Zāb, who allied himself with al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and thereby recognised the authority of the Umayyads of Spain. Three months later, the two allies inflicted a crushing defeat on the Fāṭimid army which attacked them near Tāhart. Despite this success, the Maghrāwa and the army of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn (who had meanwhile become commander-in-chief of the coalition) were soon forced by another Fāṭimid army to evacuate the central Maghrib, crossing the Moulouya and taking refuge in the Maghrib al-Akṣā. First of all, they reached the littoral of Ceuta and Tangier which remained, as stated above, under the domination of the Umayyads. From there they made contact with the caliph al-Ḥakam II. It was thus that a section of the tribes which had formed the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa left their homeland in the central Maghrib, not to return until about a century later, after their expulsion from Morocco by the Almoravids. Among the Maghrāwa *amīrs* tracing their origin from the princely family of the Banū Khazar who set out to seek new territories in the Maghrib al-Akṣā after their war with Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, Ibn Khaldūn mentions, besides Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, the close kinsmen of the latter, these being Zīrī b. Khazar, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya (brother of the last-named), Khazrūn b. Muḥammad and Fulful b. Saʿīd. They are all encountered, in 365/975-6, in the entourage of the general Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, who was appointed by al-Ḥakam II governor of the Maghrib on behalf of Cordova. As for Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, he received from al-Muʿizz in 361/972, the mandate to govern Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib as dependencies of the Fāṭimid caliphs of Egypt.

Thus, after the year 971, the history of the majority of the tribes that had previously constituted the confederation of the Maghrāwa was closely linked with the country that is now Morocco, where the various princes of the Banū Khazar family established three states, those of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa and of Aghmāt. We shall begin with the history of these dominions, subsequently considering other segments of the Maghrāwa who remained, after 361/971, in the central Maghrib and in Ifrīḳiya, or those who returned, after the conquest of Morocco by the Almoravids, to central and eastern Barbary.

A. Morocco. 1. *Fās.* Bulukkīn b. Zīrī was not content with the expulsion of the Maghrāwa and their Zanātian allies from the central Maghrib, from Ṭubna, from Bāghāya, from al-Masīla, from Biskra, from Tāhart, etc., but pursued them, with great success, towards the interior of present-day Morocco. He finally caught up with them near Sidjilmāsa and defeated them in battle. The *amīr* al-Khayr b. Muḥammad fell into the hands of the Fāṭimids and was put to death. After this battle, Bulukkīn b. Zīrī retraced his steps and returned to central Morocco where he carried out a massacre among the Zanātian tribes. Al-Khayr b. Muḥammad left a son named Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, whom a group of Moroccan Maghrāwa entrusted with the command. Besides him, the sources mention two other powerful and influential *amīrs* who enjoyed, in this period, considerable authority among the Maghrāwa. These were two kinsmen of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, namely Zīrī and Muḳātil, sons of ʿAṭiyya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar. These three *amīrs* led the Maghrāwa after 971. It seems that some years later, the Maghrāwa of the Maghrib al-Akṣā divided into two groups, a northern and a southern, both obedient to the Umayyads of Cordova. The sources provide a list of the Maghrāwa princes belonging to the first of these groups who were to be found, in 365/975-6, in the entourage of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, Umayyad governor of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. This list includes Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, whose name is followed by those of Bakṣaṣ b. Sayyid al-Nās, Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya, Khazrūn b. Muḥammad and Fulful b. Saʿīd. The southern group of the Moroccan Maghrāwa were commanded by another prince of the Banū Khazar family, Khazrūn b. Fulful b. Khazar. This prince set out in 366/976-7 to conquer Sidjilmāsa, a town gov-

erned by the *amirs* of the Miknāsa family of the Banū Midrār. After the seizure of Sidjilmāsa, Khazrūn received from the *ḥādjib* of Cordova, al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the mandate to govern this town which remained in his family, as will be noted below, until the arrival of the Almoravids.

Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad seems to have still been the head of the Banū Khazar family in 369/979-80, when Bulukkīn b. Zīrī b. Manād undertook a new expedition to the borders of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. This prince fled to Spain, where he requested the support of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr who governed Spain on behalf of the Umayyad caliph Hishām (366-99/976-1009). The latter responded to his appeals and sent an expedition to the Maghrib under the command of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn. The Andalusian army, which included Maghrāwa and Īfran contingents, advanced to a position near Ceuta; Bulukkīn b. Zīrī declined to give battle and withdrew to take possession of the remainder of Morocco. Later, in 375/985-9, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr is mentioned at the head of a list of Maghrāwa *amirs* who rallied, according to Ibn Khaldūn, around the flag of Abu 'l-Ḥakam ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī ʿĀmir, Umayyad governor of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. However, it is not he, but his cousin Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya and the latter's brother Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya who are noted on this occasion as being among the Berber princes most loyal to the Umayyad cause. It seems that Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad lost the leadership of the northern group of the Maghrāwa in 375/985-6 or shortly after this date, to Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya. After the death of the last-named in 378/988-9, it was his brother Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya who was proclaimed leader of the northern group of the Moroccan Maghrāwa. This *amir* had in addition been appointed (by the Umayyad *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir) king of the Maghrib al-Akṣā before this date, in 377/987-8. Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya founded a kingdom in the north of this country and made the town of Fās the capital of this dominion, which remained in the possession of his successors until the arrival of the Almoravids. He settled the Maghrāwa (of the northern group) in the outskirts of the town. It should also be remembered that the family of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya was descended from ʿAbd Allāh who was the brother of the powerful Maghrāwa *amir* Muḥammad b. Khazar, king of the central Maghrib who, as stated above, was a supporter of the Fāṭimids and died at Ḳayrawān in 350/961-2.

Some years after his appointment as sovereign of the Maghrib, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya went to war against the Ṣanhādja (acting on the orders of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr) and substantially increased the size of his eastern provinces. In 382/993 he travelled to Cordova at the invitation of al-Manṣūr. It seems that the reign of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya was a period of some instability, with this prince and his Īfranid rival Yaddū b. Yaʿlā changing places on the throne of Fās according to the vicissitudes of war. In fact, on his return to Fās from Cordova, Zīrī saw his place taken by Yaʿlā and it was only at the cost of a murderous struggle that he recovered his throne. Because Zīrī constantly had in mind the reconquest of the territory of Chélif, and perhaps also the restoration of the ancient Zanāta and Maghrāwa kingdom of the Banū Khazar in the central Maghrib, he found the location of Fās too remote for the capital of the future state. Therefore he decided to construct a new capital for himself and for the principal chieftains of the confederation of the Maghrāwa. In 384/994 he founded the city of Wadjda (Oujda) on the borders of Morocco and present-day Algeria and installed himself there, accompanied by his court and his household troops. In the same period, he decided to reject the authority of Cordova, and ultimately the relations between him and al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir were broken. Al-Manṣūr sent an expedition against him commanded by the freedman Wāḍiḥ; an encounter took place on the banks of Wādī Radāt and the Andalusian army was defeated. Al-Manṣūr then organised another expedition and appointed as commander his own son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. This time, Zīrī was defeated on two occasions in 387/997. He tried to take refuge in Fās, but the residents denied him access to his capital, which ʿAbd al-Malik entered shortly after. Zīrī was compelled to withdraw by way of the Sahara, after which he attempted to found a state in the central Maghrib, in the territory belonging to the kingdom of the Zīrid Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn. Thus in 388/998 he mounted an invasion of this part of the Maghrib. After the victory of the Ṣanhādjian army commanded by Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya took possession of Tāhart, Chélif, Ténès and al-Masīla. It is interesting to note that in these towns he ordered that prayers be offered for the Umayyad caliph Hishām and his *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr. He also laid siege to the town of Ashīr, capital of the Ṣanhādja, but he died in 391/1000-1, before taking this town.

On the death of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, the Maghrāwa of northern Morocco proclaimed his son al-Muʿizz chief of this branch of the confederation. This prince, who did not share his father's hostile attitude in regard to the *ḥādjib* Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, had already, in 390/999-1000, been established by the latter at Fās in the role of Umayyad governor. Subsequently, the son of the *ḥādjib* ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who became after the death of al-Manṣūr his successor at the court of Cordova, appointed al-Muʿizz, in 393/1002-3, to govern Fās and the Maghrib al-Akṣā. In 396/1006, al-Muʿizz received from Cordova letters of investiture for Fās and for the whole of the Maghrib al-Akṣā with the exception of the land of Sidjilmāsa, the preserve of the Maghrāwa dynasty of the Banū Khazrūn who were, like the *amirs* of Fās, subject to the Umayyads of Spain. Al-Muʿizz died in 417/1026 or, according to another source, in 422/1030; during his reign, the kingdom of Fās enjoyed a period of peace.

His successor was his paternal cousin Ḥamāma b. al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya who had been appointed governor of Fās by al-Muʿizz in 416/1025, before the death of this *amir*. Ḥamāma was able to consolidate his power in regard to Spain. However, in 424/1032-3, war broke out between this *amir* and the rival dynasty of the Banū Īfran, who possessed a kingdom with its capital at Shalla (Salé) on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The Īfranid prince Abu 'l-Kamāl Tamīm b. Zīrī marched against Fās and captured this town. Ḥamāma retreated towards the east and reached the towns of Wadjda and Ténès in the eastern part of the kingdom of Fās, where he stayed for five years. Having mustered powerful contingents, he advanced on Fās in 429/1037-8. Abu 'l-Kamāl was forced to withdraw from Fās and return to Shalla. Later, in 430/1038-9, Ḥamāma continued the anti-Ṣanhādja policy of his predecessors by attacking the Ḥammādid prince al-Ḳāʾid (419-46/1028-54) who came to meet him and secretly paid large sums of money to the Zanāta troops of Ḥamāma. The latter, becoming aware of this and fearing the defection of his troops, returned to Fās, having declared his submission to the Ḥammādids. He died in 431/1039-40 or 433/1041-2.

After his death, power passed to his son Dūnās. Having suppressed a revolt by one of his cousins, this prince subsequently devoted all his efforts to the embellishment of Fās, which was now becoming a large commercial city. He died in 452/1062, leaving the throne to his son al-Futūḥ. But the rights of al-Futūḥ were contested by his brother ʿAdjīsa. The latter took control of part of the capital, while al-Futūḥ established himself in the other part. The two brothers engaged in a war which lasted three years, at the end of which ʿAdjīsa was killed and al-Futūḥ was able to reign effectively in Fās. However, his was not a long reign. In fact, he was driven from Fās in 454/1062 by the Ḥammādid sovereign Bulukkīn b. Muḥammad (447-54/1055-62). After his departure, the Maghrāwa chose one of his kinsmen to succeed him, Muʿannaṣar (or Muʿanṣar) b. Ḥammād b. Muʿanṣar b. al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya. He was proclaimed chief in 455/1063 and was soon obliged to wage war against the Almoravids, who were beginning to invade Morocco. Defeated by them in a major battle the same year, he took refuge with the Berber tribe of Sadīna, leaving Fās to fall into the hands of the warriors of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. But some time later he returned, deposing the lieutenant installed by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and regaining control of his capital. When the Almoravids laid siege to Fās, in 460/1067-8, Muʿanṣar attempted a sortie, but he did not return from the battlefield. The people of Fās then proclaimed as prince his son Tamīm. But the capital was taken by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn two years later (462/1069-70), and the new sovereign was put to death by the Almoravid king, who also ordered the slaughter of more than three thousand Maghrāwa, Banū Ifran, Zanāta and Miknāsa living in Fās. Those who escaped the massacre took refuge in Tlemcen. Another group in Maghrāwa from Fās fled to al-Damna, a town situated in northern Morocco, on the frontiers of the land of Ghomāra. But the Almoravid king laid siege to the place in 465/1072-3 (or according to another source, in 471/1078-9); he captured the town and crushed the Maghrāwa. Al-Bakrī mentions, in 1068, yet another group of northern Maghrāwa living near the highway leading from Ceuta to Tetouan, on the fringe of territory belonging to the Berber tribe of the Madjaksa. There they possessed a market which they called Sūḳ Banī Maghrāwat ("Market of the Banū Maghrāwat"). It is not known whether this group survived the conquest of Fās and al-Damna by the Almoravids. However, it is by no means impossible that this small tribe should have succeeded in crossing the Moulouya and returning to the Chélif, the ancient cradle of the Maghrāwa.

2. *Sidjilmāsa*. At the instigation of the *ḥādjib* of Cordova Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, a Maghrāwa chief named Khazrūn b. Fulful b. Khazar embarked in 366/976-7 on the conquest of Sidjilmāsa, which for two centuries had been governed by *amīrs* of the Miknāsa family of the Banū Midrār [*q.v.*]. This chief, who was one of the most influential members of the princely family of the Banū Khazar, proclaimed in Sidjilmāsa the sovereignty of the Umayyads of Spain and sent to Cordova the head of the last prince of the Midrārid dynasty. After this, Khazrūn received from al-Manṣūr the governship of Sidjilmāsa which he retained until his death. He was then replaced by his son Wānūdīn. The latter was obliged to defend himself against the invasion by the Algerian Ṣanhādja of the Maghrib al-Akṣā. For a certain period of time he was thrown into disgrace by al-Manṣūr, whose son and minister al-Muẓaffar gave the government of Sidjilmāsa to Ḥāmid b. Yaṣal, but later, in 390/999, his authority was confirmed by the Umayyads. At the time of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, he declared himself independent, conquered the region of Darʿa (Dra in our maps) and in 407/1016-17, took possession of Ṣufrūy (Sefrou), which was one of the dependencies of Fās, and of the valley of the Wādī Malwiya (Moulouya). Al-Muʿizz b. Zīrī, sovereign of Fās and master of Ṣufrūy (and perhaps also of the region of the Moulouya), under attack from Wānūdīn who conquered a large portion of his dominion, attempted not only to recapture these provinces but also to deprive Wānūdīn of his capital. The same year (407/1016-17), he mounted an expedition with a powerful army, but was beaten by the troops of Sidjilmāsa and led back to Fās only the remnants of his force. His son and successor Masʿūd was defeated, stripped of his dominions and killed by the Almoravids, who put to the sword all the Maghrāwa who had taken refuge in the region (445/1053-4). Ten years later (in 455/1063), the sons of Wānūdīn and the remnants of the Maghrāwa residing at Ṣufrūy were dispersed in their turn. Finally, in 463/1070-1, the Almoravids seized by force the settlements of the region of the Moulouya. In this way, the domain of the Banū Khazrūn family was utterly destroyed.

3. *Aghmāt*. Another segment of the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa which entered Morocco *ca.* 971 founded a small kingdom at Aghmāt on the plain of Marrākush near the foothills of the High Atlas, in the period when the last princes of the family of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya were the rulers of Fās. Nothing is known of the history of the Maghrāwian dynasty which reigned at Aghmāt, but it seems to have been just another branch of the great Maghrāwa princely family of the Banū Khazar. The last of the Maghrāwa *amīrs* of Aghmāt, named Laḳūṭ, (Laḳḳūṭ, Laghūṭ) b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī, was killed by the Almoravids in 451/1059. He was apparently been married to the wise and beautiful Zaynab bint Isḥāḳ of the Berber tribe of Nafza who became, after the death of Lāḳūṭ, the wife of the Almoravid *amīr* Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar. The latter subsequently, in 453/1061, handed over Zaynab to his kinsman Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn.

4. *al-Sūs*. After the arrival of the Maghrāwa in the Maghrib al-Akṣā in *ca.* 971, an *amīr* of the family of the Banū Khazar, named Muḳātil and, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, the brother of the *amīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Khazar, set out, probably at the head of a group of Maghrāwa, towards the south where he occupied territories in the province of al-Sūs, According to the list of Berber tribes compiled by the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal, he was present in this area in the period following 366/976-7. This prince is completely unknown to us. He may in fact be none other than Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya, brother of Zīrī (sovereign of Fās), mentioned *ca.* 365/975-6 and residing, in this period, in the north of Morocco, as stated above.

Despite the crushing defeat inflicted on the kingdoms of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa, of Aghmāt and of al-Damna, the Almoravids did not succeed in exterminating all the branches of the Maghrāwa in Morocco. In fact, the remnants of this confederation stayed in this country where they are mentioned again, in the 8th/14th century, by Ibn Khaldūn. Among these remnants attention should be drawn to the Banū Warrā, a substantial branch of the Maghrāwa. In this period, families belonging to this tribe were widely dispersed in Morocco, particularly in the environs of Fās and in the Sūs. According to Ibn

Khaldūn, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the Marīnid sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb deported to the territory of the Chélif the chiefs and almost all the families of the Banū Warrā who resided in the region of Fās. Another Maghrāwian branch, the Banū Sindjas, also occupied in the 8th/14th century numerous places in Morocco.

B. Algeria 1. *Tlemcen*. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Maghrāwian sovereign of Fās, al-Muʿizz b. Zīrī, seized from the Ṣanhādja, i.e. from the Zīrid king Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (386-409/996-1016), the town and province of Tlemcen, where he established as governor his kinsman Yaʿlā, son of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, who had previously (until *ca.* 375/985-6) headed the confederation of the Maghrāwa in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. Yaʿlā served Muʿizz b. Zīrī faithfully and passed on to his descendants the government of Tlemcen and of all the surrounding country.

His successors lived in peace with the Ṣanhādja dynasty, masters of the central Maghrib, which enabled them to consolidate their authority at Tlemcen, which became an independent state. This situation continued until the arrival in the central Maghrib of the Hilālian tribes of Zughba and Athbadj. In *ca.* 446/1054-5 the invaders turned their weapons against the Zanāta tribes of the area and captured from them all the open country. The Ḥammādids, who found themselves in this period, after many truces, in a state of war with the *amīr* Bakhtī, a descendant of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, obtained the support of the Zughba. The war between Bakhtī and the Zanāta on the one hand and the Ḥammādids and the Zughba on the other, lasted a long time. Bakhtī put at the head of his army a vizier named Abū Suʿda who belonged to the Zanāta tribe of the Banū Īfran. This general rallied beneath his flag all the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib, headed by the Maghrāwa and the Banū Īfran. The sources mention numerous battles which took place between the Ḥammādids (and their allies, the Zughba and the Athbadj) and the army of Bakhtī. In one of these conflicts, Abū Suʿda lost his life (450/1058). After the death of Bakhtī, at a date unknown, the throne passed to his son al-ʿAbbās. It was during this period that the Almoravids, having completed the conquest of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, appeared in the central Maghrib. Their chief, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, dispatched an army composed of the Lamtūna against Tlemcen and, in 473/1080-1, he seized this town from al-ʿAbbās. Subsequently, he put this *amīr* to death, along with all the other descendants of the family of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and exterminated the Maghrāwa who were trapped in the town.

2. *Chélif*. The emigration of the Maghrāwa of the central Maghrib to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā which took place in 1971 involved only a part of the tribes of the Maghrāwa confederation, who left this country led by al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and other *amīrs* descended from the ancient princely family of the Banū Khazar. The other Maghrāwa tribes residing in the central Maghrib remained in the territory of Chélif and neighbouring sites, the region which had been, as stated by Ibn Khaldūn, the centre of their settlements. These tribes were obliged, after the collapse of their power in 971, to pay tribute to the major dominions of the central Maghrib as a guarantee against their attacks. Among these Maghrāwa were the powerful tribe of the Banū Warsifān and the tribes of the Banū Wartazmār (Wanzamār), the Banū Īlīt, the Banū Zadjdjdāk and the Banū Sindjas. Later, the Arab sources add to these the Banū Bū Saʿīd and the Banū Warrā. In the 5th/11th century the Banū Warsifān resided in the neighbourhood of Milyāna, where they lived under the control of their own *shaykhs*, subject in this period to the authority of the Ḥammādids, and the Banū Sindjas, who had their own *amīr*, possessed the region of Medea, known as Lamdiya in the Arabic sources.

After the collapse of the dominions of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa and of Aghmāt brought about by the Almoravids, a Maghrāwa prince named Muʿanṣar b. Ḥammād, who claimed descent from Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, fled from Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn at the head of a group of Maghrāwa and entered the territory of Chélif, subject at this time to the Ḥammādid king al-Nāṣir (454-81/1062-89). It seems that the Maghrāwa tribes of this region recognised his authority, with the exception of the Banū Warsifān who were unwilling to accept him and who remained loyal to the Ḥammādid governor based at Milyāna. Muʿanṣar b. Ḥammād attacked them and killed a number of their *shaykhs*: he also slew the Ḥamādid governor of Milyāna. Al-Nāṣir was unable to come to the aid of the Banū Warsifān on account of his struggles with the Hilālian Arabs. So the Banū Warsifān marched alone against Muʿanṣar, killed him in battle and sent his head to al-Nāṣir. This battle seems to have been only one episode in a long war between the Maghrāwa invaders of Morocco, who were joined by numerous Maghrāwa and Zanāta tribes, and the Ḥammādids which took place *ca.* 460-70/1067-78. In this war, which ended with the decisive defeat of the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta, the Maghrāwa and Zanāta chiefs were decimated. Among these chiefs, mention should be made of Abu 'l-Futūḥ b. Ḥabbūs (or Ḥannūsh), *amīr* of the Banū Sindjas and ruler of Lamdiya (Medea).

The history of the Maghrāwa of the region of Chélif under the domination of the Almoravids is entirely unknown. They seem however to have suffered greatly at the hands of the Lamtūna. In fact, when ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, a Maghrāwa *amīr* who belonged to the Banū Khazar family and traced his origin from the royal family of the Banū Khazrūn of Tripoli, arrived in the territory of Chélif at around the middle of the 6th/12th century, he found there only remnants of the Maghrāwa. He established himself among this people and was greeted with honour by the Banū Warsifān, the Banū Wartazmār (Wanzamār), the Banū Bū Saʿīd and other Maghrāwa tribes. These tribes, ever loyal to the family of the Banū Khazar, the ancient kings of the territory of Chélif and of the entire central Maghrib, were all eager to recognise in his person the rights of this dynasty. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad allied himself through marriages to their leading families and left numerous children, who were known in the territory of Chélif by the name of Banū Khazar or Banū Muḥammad, no doubt in memory of Muḥammad b. Khazar, the Maghrāwa king of the central Maghrib in the 4th/10th century. The arrival of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in the region of Chélif took place shortly before the establishment of the empire of the Almohads, who became masters of the central Maghrib in 547/1152 after a war against a coalition of Zanāta tribes. Also members of this coalition were the Maghrāwa, in particular the tribe of the Banū Warsifān (in *ca.* 539/1145). One of the descendants of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, a certain Abū Nās who was renowned for his piety, received from the Almohads, who treated him with great respect, the government of part of the territory of Chélif and the command of the Maghrāwa in this region.

Such were the origins of a new Maghrāwa state in the central Maghrib. The real founder of this state was Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, grandson of Abū Nās who lived at around the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th centuries. This prince conquered the neighbouring territories, including the region of Wānsharīs and the town of Lamdiya (Medea) along with the places dependent on them. The dynasty which he founded is known in the mediaeval Arabic sources as Awlād Mandīl [*q.v.*]. As for Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān himself, he took the field against Ibn Ghāniya, but lost the battle and died in 622/1225, prisoner of this chief.

The successors of Mandīl took possession of Miliana, of Ténès, of Cherchel, of Mitīdja and a large part of the region of Wānsharīs, founding a quite substantial kingdom, much of which was subsequently taken from them by their neighbours, in particular by the Banū ʿAṭiyya, chiefs of the Zanāta tribe of Tūdjīn which inhabited the region of the high Chélif. In *ca.* 670/1271-2, the Maghrāwa of Chélif recognised the sovereignty of the dynasty of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād of Tlemcen. However, two years later the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultan Yaghmurasān b. Zayyān ravaged the land of the Maghrāwa and compelled them to cede to him the town of Ténès. Thus began the wars between the ʿAbd al-Wādids and the Maghrāwa *amīr*s which lasted a hundred years. One of the most important episodes of these wars was the expedition of the sultan of Tlemcen Abū Zayyān (703-7/1304-7) and his brother Abū Ḥammū against the tribes of Chélif in 706/1307, in the course of which the ʿAbd al-Wādids subjugated the valley of the lower Chélif and conquered the towns of this region. Nevertheless, the Maghrāwa continued to be the formidable enemies of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. In fact, in 714/1314-5, the *shaykh* of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Bū Saʿīd raised, in the valley of Chélif, the standard of revolt against Abū Ḥammū who had become sultan of Tlemcen after the death of Abū Zayyān. However, he was forced to take flight. Living at about the same time was the *amīr* Rāshid b. Muḥammad, a renowned Maghrāwa warrior who, after the conquest of his land by the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, offered his services to the princes of Bougie. In 703/1303-4 he reached the territory of Mitīdja (Mitidja), where another celebrated Maghrāwa warrior named Munīf b. Thābit came to join him with his partisans. But the latter, decisively defeated, took refuge with his entire family in Spain, where he remained until the end of his life.

Later, at around the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Maghrāwa of Chélif became once more a tribe of some importance. They were at this time subjects or allies of the sultans of Tlemcen, but they sought at every opportunity to rid themselves of this dependence. In this period, their principal centre was the town of Tīmzūghat or Tīmzūrat. In *ca.* 749/1348-9, a prince of the Awlād Mandīl dynasty named ʿAlī b. Rāshid (possibly the son of the renowned Maghrāwa *amīr* Rāshid b. Muḥammad mentioned above), took possession of the territory of Chélif and subjugated Miliana, Ténès, Brechk and Cherchel. He also possessed the village of Māzūna. But the revival of the state of the Maghrāwa did not last long. In fact they were attacked, in 751 or 752/1350-2, by the sultan Abū Thābit of Tlemcen, who subjugated the Maghrāwa of Chélif and captured Māzūna, Brechk, Cherchel, Miliana and Medea. The Maghrāwa warriors took refuge in the fortress of Adjrū which dominated the towns of Ténès. In *ca.* 772/1370, after the death of ʿAlī b. Rāshid, the Maghrāwa of Chélif proclaimed as chief his son Ḥamza, who was the last prince of the Maghrāwa state of Chélif. His reign was of short duration. In 774/1372, the sultan of Tlemcen sent powerful forces to subdue the Maghrāwa. The latter were defeated, and the ʿAbd al-Wādids took control of the town of Tīmzūghat (Tīmzūrat) situated in the centre of their territory. Ténès and Miliana also surrendered to the sultan of Tlemcen. In the wake of this defeat, the Maghrāwa of Chélif lost all their power and, to avoid the prospect of slavery, they emigrated from the region in large numbers. In 775/1373, the majority of this people took refuge in the district of Mitīdja. However, it is quite possible that some of the Maghrāwa of Chélif remained in their ancient homeland and that the noble and valiant inhabitants of the "Magraua Mountain" located near the village or Mostaganem who are spoken of in 1525 by Leo Africanus belonged to the various segments of the Maghrāwa.

3. *Zāb and its environs.* It has been observed above how the Maghrāwa princes of the Banū Khazar dynasty took advantage of the Khāridjite revolt of Maysara in 122/739-40 and of the enfeeblement of the Umayyad governors of Ḳayrawān to extend their authority over all the nomadic Zanāta of the central Maghrib, of which Zāb formed a part. So it was that from this period onwards, different Berber tribes and clans belonging to the confederation of the Maghrāwa began moving into this region. In 316/928-9 the powerful Maghrāwa prince Muḥammad b. Khazar appeared in Zāb, from which he energetically expelled the supporters of the Fāṭimids. Later, in 379/989-90, a Maghrāwa *amīr* claiming descent from the family of the Banū Khazar and named Saʿīd b. Khazrūn b. Fulful, discontented with the personal policies of the Umayyads of Spain who were lavishing extraordinary honours upon the *amīrs* Muḳātil and Zīrī, sons of ʿAṭiyya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar, deserted the Umayyad party and presented himself at Ashīr at the court of the Zīrid prince al-Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn (373-86/984-96) who gave to the turncoat the government of the town of Ṭubna in the region of Zāb. After the death of this *amīr* in 381 or 382 (991-2), it was his son Fulful b. Saʿīd b. Khazrūn who succeeded him in this role. In 389/999 this *amīr* rebelled against the Zīrid prince Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (386-406/996-1016), but after defeat at the hands of the Ṣanhādja army he took refuge in the mountains and subsequently, in 391/1000-1, made his way through the desert to Tripoli.

Among other Maghrāwa individuals who were active in Zāb and the surrounding region mention should be made of three chiefs of the Banū Warzamār (Wanzamār), a leading family of the Maghrāwa, these being al-Manṣūr al-Warzamārī and his two sons ʿAbd Allāh and Masʿūd, who made war on Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn (405-19/1015-29), probably in the vicinity of the town of Bāghāya. It is also in this period that the Arabic sources mention the place known as Kudyat Maghrāwa, itself situated in the region of Zāb. According to al-Bakrī (1068), two tribes belonging to the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa, these being the Banū Īzmartī (Īzamratan, Īzmartan) and the Banū Maghrāwa proper, resided in the vicinity of Biskra. The latter tribe was governed by *amīrs* descended from the Banū Khazar family. To the west of the town of Bantiyūs, which lies to the south-west of Biskra, there existed a place known as Sāḳiyat Ibn Khazar "the irrigation canal of Ibn Khazar", which owed

its name to a prince belonging to the family of the Banū Khazar, possibly the ancient Maghrāwa king Muḥammad b. Khazar who reigned in the central Maghrib in the first half and around the middle of the 10th century. To the west of Banṭiyūs, al-Bakrī notes the presence of the Maghrāwa in an expanse of desert three or four stages long, on the road leading from Oran to the land of Ḳasṭīliya (Bilād al-Djarīd). Maghrāwa are also to be found in this period to the south of Biskra. In fact, it is known that the town of Waghlanat or Wughallān (Ourlel or Ourellal on our maps), situated to the south of Biskra and probably inhabited by Berber Ibāḍī elements, was besieged in 450/1058-9 by the Maghrāwa chief named Abū Zaghīl al-Khazarī, clearly a member of the princely family of the Banū Khazar. Later, in *ca.* 468/1075-6, the Maghrāwa, the Ghumart and other nomadic Zanāta tribes of the Zāb region allied themselves with the Hilālian Arabs and sacked the towns of the Zāb. The leader of these brigands was the Maghrāwa chief al-Muntaṣir b. Khazrūn, master of the Zanāta of Tripoli (of whom further mention will be made below), who made his base at Waghlānat. The inhabitants of Zāb complained to the Ḥammādid prince al-Nāṣir (454-81/1061-89), who dispatched against al-Muntaṣir his son al-Manṣūr at the head of an army. Al-Manṣūr entered Waghlānat and destroyed the town. Some time later, al-Muntaṣir, for whom ʿArūs b. Sindī, chief of Biskra, had laid a trap, was killed by the latter and his head sent to al-Nāṣir.

It may be added that among the Maghrāwa tribes which inhabited Zāb and the neighbouring regions there were also the Banū Zandādj (Zandādja, Zandāk). This was an important tribal group which, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Bakrī, lived in the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries in the environs of Ṭubna, of al-Masīla (Msila) and of Maḳḳara or Maḳra (the ancient Macri, the contemporary Bordj Magra), a town situated midway between Ṭubna and al-Masīla. According to the Ibāḍī historian al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century), the majority of the Zandādja professed the doctrines of the Ibāḍī sect.

Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century) mentions three other tribes belonging to the Maghrāwa residing in the region and vicinity of Zāb, these being the Sindjas, the Rīgha and the Laghwāṭ. The first of these tribes occupied the territory currently known as the Ouled Nail and the land extending as far as Djebel Amour and the mountain of Rāshid. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Sindjas resided, before the arrival of the Hilālian Arabs, in the plains of Ifrīḳiya, and the latter forced this people, not without difficulty, to take refuge in the mountains and fortresses of the Ouled Nail and the surrounding regions. In the 8th/14th century, they paid tribute to the Hilālian Arabs who had subjugated them. According to Ibn Khaldūn, in this period they still professed the doctrines of the Khāridjite sect (in this case, Ibāḍī).

The Rīgha, a nomadic branch of the Maghrāwa which comprised a large number of families, was established in Djebel Aiad and in the plain extending from this mountain to the town of Niḳāwus (Ngaous on our maps). In the time of Ibn Khaldūn, the Rīgha of the mountains paid tribute to the *amīrs* of the tribe of ʿAyāḍ, and the families of the Rīgha residing in the plain of Niḳāwus were subject to the local Arabs.

The Laghwāṭ, a branch of the Maghrāwa tribe renowned for its valour and its resistance to Arab domination, inhabited in the 8th/14th century, the desert region separating the district of Zāb from the mountain of Rāshid. There they occupied a large settlement which bore their name, Laghouat on modern maps.

4. *Wādī Rīgh.* A large number of Maghrāwa families settled, probably at about the middle of the 4th/10th century, in the land stretching between Zāb and the territory of Wārdjilān (Ouargla on our maps) where the new arrivals built on the banks of a stream flowing from south to north, numerous towns and villages surrounded by date-palms. In the ancient Arab sources, this territory was called Wādī Arīgha or Wādī Rīgh, from the name of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Rīgha; on modern maps this land bears the name of Oued Righ or Oued Rirh. The majority of the Maghrāwa families who inhabited Wādī Arīgh were Ibāḍī Khāridjites; they principally professed the doctrines of the Wahbīs and the Nukkārīs. Alongside the Rīgha, there were also present in the 8th/14th century some members of the Sindjas clan, who arrived in this territory after leaving their former settlements in Zāb or in Ifrīḳiya. The Ibāḍī historian al-Shammākhī mentions on several occasions the Maghrāwa of Rīgh. The most ancient reference to the Maghrāwa of Oued Righ dates from *ca.* 362/972-3. Other mentions of the Maghrāwa of Rīgh occur in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

5. *Eastern Algeria.* A segment of the tribe of the Sindjas resided, in the 8th/14th century, in the region of Constantine. In the same part of Algeria, Arabic sources of this period also mention an offshoot from the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Warrā which gave its name to a mountain and a village situated in the vicinity of Bougie. Finally, a Maghrāwa tribe known as the Banū Īkshan which professed the doctrines of the Ibāḍī sect resided, in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries and possibly also in subsequent centuries, in the plain of Bône, Fahṣ Būna in Arabic sources. Ibāḍī sources from the 7th-10th/13th-16th centuries mention eight or so important Ibāḍī *shaykhs* belonging to this tribe.

C. Tunisia. A segment of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Īzamratan inhabited the canton of Nafzāwa situated in the south of Tunisia. According to the Ḥafṣid historian Ibn Nakhīl, quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, this was the tribe of origin of the Berber chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Rand who governed, on behalf of the Zīrids, the town of Ḳafṣa (Gafsa), at the time of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl. In 445/1053-4 he declared himself independent and accepted the submission of Tūzar, Nafṭa, Taḳyūs, al-Ḥāmma and other localities in the province of Ḳasṭīliya; he founded the dynasty of the Banu 'l-Rand. On his death, in 465/1072-3, his son and successor Abū ʿUmar (Abū ʿAmr) al-Muʿtazz succeeded in constituting to the west of southern Ifrīḳiya an important principality comprising Ḳamūda (Gamouda), Ḳafṣa and Ḳasṭīliya, bounded to the north by the regions of Sebiba, Ḳayrawān and Sfax. The capital of this principality was the town of Ḳafṣa, situated in the centre of the territory which it dominated. The domain of the Banu 'l-Rand existed until 554/1159, at which date the Almohads captured Ḳafṣa and deposed the ruling family.

It seems that the Maghrāwa established themselves in the Nafzāwa in a quite ancient period. In any case, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khazarī, who was probably descended from the princely Maghrāwa family of the Banū Khazar, was appointed governor of the Nafzāwa by the Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhart, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum (168-208/

784-823). Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ was an Ibāḍī, as were the majority of the inhabitants of the district of Nafzāwa. Princes descended from the Banū Khazar family were still ruling the Nafzāwa at the time of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406-54/1016/62).

It may be added that the Maghrāwa chief Warrū b. Saʿīd, descended from the Banū Khazrūn family an offshoot of the Banū Khazar, was appointed governor of Nafzāwa by the Zīrid prince Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (400/1009-10). After him, his brother Khazrūn obtained from Bādīs the government of Nafzāwa (401-4/1010-14).

The Maghrāwa and the Zanāta also resided, in the second half of the 5th/11th century, throughout the region of Ḳasṭīliya. Ibn Khaldūn refers, in fact, to a raid of Hilālian Arabs against these Berber groups. Probably those involved were the same Maghrāwa who took part in a coalition of the Hilālian Arab tribes of Riyāḥ, of Zughba and of Sulayman which campaigned, in 457/1064-5, against the Ḥammādid sovereign al-Nāṣir.

Among the Maghrāwa tribes inhabiting Ifrīḳiya, mention should also be made of the Banū Sindjas, who distinguished themselves by the part that they played in the war of the Zanāta against the Zīrid and Ḥammādid Ṣanhādja. In 514/1120-1 they blockaded Gafsa and ravaged the surrounding area. They also appeared in the Bilād al-Djarīd, where they were attacked by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-ʿArab, general of the Zīrid sovereign ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (509-15/1116-21). The Zīrid army expelled them from the Djarīd and destroyed their power.

D. Tripolitania. An offshoot of the Maghrāwa led by *amīrs* descended from the family of the Banū Khazrūn, a branch of the Banū Khazar, established an independent government at Tripoli. The history of this state, which existed for almost a century and a half (391-541/1000-1145), is little known in spite of the information provided by Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Tidjānī and other Arab authors. Nevertheless, some facts are available, in particular concerning the first century of the dominance of the Banū Khazrūn.

It has been observed above that Fulful b. Saʿīd b. Khazrūn, a Maghrāwa *amīr* descended from the family of the Banū Khazar, was, like his father Saʿīd b. Khazrūn, a supporter of the Zīrids, lieutenants of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya and, like his father govern of the town of Ṭubna in the Zāb on behalf, of this Ṣanhādja dynasty. In 390/1000-1 Fulful b. Saʿīd rebelled against the Zīrid prince Bādīs b. al-Maṣūr. Defeated by Bādīs, he took refuge in the Sahara and subsequently marched on Tripoli, a province dependent on the Zīrids. He took control of this land in 391/1000-1. Becoming master of the town and province of Tripoli, Fulful b. Saʿīd was constrained to fight a prolonged war against Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, and requiring military support he first of all recognised the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim whose aid was, however, ineffectual. Therefore, he decided to approach the Umayyads of Spain, and in 399/1008-9 he sent a mission to the court of Cordova, whose sovereigns had always been, since the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300-50/912-61), allies and protectors of the Maghrāwa and their kings, the Banū Khazar. However, this approach led to no result, as Fulful b. Saʿīd died in 400/1009-10, before the return of his ambassadors from Cordova.

After the death of Fulful, the Maghrāwa and the other Zanāta tribes proclaimed as *amīr* his brother Warrū b. Saʿīd. This chief was obliged, first of all, to recognise the authority of the Zīrid Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, who marched on Tripoli and occupied the town, forcing the Zanāta and Maghrāwa warriors to flee. Warrū b. Saʿīd was granted a general amnesty and appointment as governor of Nafzāwa (400/1009-10). But in 401/1010-11 he once more repudiated the authority of Bādīs and inaugurated a lengthy war, during which the Maghrāwa and Zanāta ravaged extensive areas of southern Ifrīḳiya and Tripolitania. However, they were unable to take control of the town of Tripoli which remained in the hands of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the governor appointed by Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr. Ultimately, in 404 or 405/1013-15, Warrū b. Saʿīd again offered his submission to the Zīrids.

After the death of Warrū b. Saʿīd in 405/1014-5, the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania were divided into two parties, one supporting the succession of Khalīfa, son of Warrū, and the other rallying round Khazrūn b. Saʿīd, the latter's brother. It was Khalīfa who emerged victorious over his rival, having taken possession of his camp. Khazrūn b. Saʿīd made his way to Egypt, to the court of the Fāṭimid caliph,where the two sons Saʿīd and al-Muntaṣir spent their youth. In this manner, Khalīfa b. Warrū established his authority over all the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania. This chief pledged loyalty to Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, but after the death of this sovereign and the accession of his son al-Muʿizz (406-454/1016-1062), he rebelled against the new Zīrid king. Groups of Maghrāwa and Zanāta led by Ḥammād, brother of Khalīfa, made incursions into the territories of Gabès and of Tripoli. These raids lasted until 413/1022-3. Soon after this, the new Zīrid governor of Tripoli, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, ceded the town to Khalīfa, who thus restored the domination of the Banū Khazrūn. Subsequently, in 417/1026, Khalīfa b. Warrū made overtures to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir b. al-Ḥākim (411-27/1021-36) and obtained from him confirmation as governor of Tripoli. The same year, Khalīfa also sent a lavish gift to al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs. It is probable that Khalīfa died during the reign of al-Ẓāhir.

It was apparently in the lifetime of Khalīfa b. Warrū that Saʿīd b. Khazrūn and his brother al-Muntaṣir, sons of Khazrūn b. Saʿīd, returned from Cairo and established themselves in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. At one point, it is not known when or how, Saʿīd b. Khazrūn succeeded in taking control of the town of Tripoli, but he was killed in 429/1037-8. After him, his kinsman Khazrūn b. Khalīfa seized Tripoli. But his residence in the town lasted only a year, until December 1038, when he was forced to leave Tripoli in secret to escape from al-Muntaṣir b. Khazrūn, who arrived at the head of a Zanāta army to secure the accession of his brother Saʿīd b. Khazrūn. This chief, proclaimed *amīr* of the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania, governed the town and province of Tripoli for a very long period. It was during his reign, between the years 430 and 440/1038-49, that a lengthy war took place between the Zanāta and Maghrāwa of Tripoli on the one side and the Zīrid king al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs on the other; the latter attacked them at the head of a Ṣanhādja army. The Maghrāwa and Zanāta routed the first Ṣanhādja expedition, and repulsed the second, but were defeated by the third and were compelled to conclude a peace treaty with al-Muʿizz. According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muntaṣir again recognised the authority of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs in 443/1051-2, during the invasion of the Banū Hilāl. In fact, he came to the aid of Bādīs at the head of a thousand Zanāta horsemen,

but was beaten by the Hilālians and fled along with the entire Zīrid army. Despite the occupation of the plains of Tripoli by the Hilālian Arab tribes, the capital of the province remained in the hands of al-Muntaṣir, who was still in residence there in *ca.* 468/1075-6. It was at about this date that he decided to lead the Arabs of the tribe of the Banū ʿAdī in an assault on the central Maghrib, which was at this time in the possession of the Ṣanhādja dynasty of the Banū Ḥammād. The forces of al-Muntaṣir occupied the towns of al-Masīla and Ashīr, and also the regions of Zāb and Rīgh. Al-Muntaṣir established his headquarters in the small town of Waghlāna, to which reference has been made above; in addition, he remained master of Tripoli. It has also been mentioned above that he was treacherously killed by the chief of Biskra, who recognised the authority of the Banū Ḥammād.

After his death, another member of the Banū Khazrūn family, whose name is not mentioned in the sources, took control of Tripoli. The subsequent history of Tripoli under this dynasty is not known. It is known, however, that the last *amīr* claiming descent from the Banū Khazrūn was expelled from the town of Tripoli by King Roger II of Sicily, who replaced him with Abū Yaḥyā Ibn Maṭrūḥ al-Tamīmī (540/1146). However, according to Ibn Khaldūn, a section of the Banū Khazrūn family was still residing in the plains of Tripoli at the time of the conquest of this land by the Almohads (*ca.* 555/1160).

As for the Maghrāwa of Tripolitania, they subsequently took refuge in the Djabal Nafūsa. They were still present in this area in the 8th/14th century, at the time of Ibn Khaldūn, according to whom the dense population of the district was composed of Nafūsa, of Maghrāwa and of some Sadrāta families. These Maghrāwa seem to have converted to Ibāḍism, the religion of the Berber population of the Djabal Nafūsa.

It has been observed above that the Maghrāwa remained, after their conversion to Islam, supporters of Sunnism, with the exception of some branches of the confederation which embraced Ibāḍism. However, it seems that the conversion of this tribe to Islam was for a long time superficial and that certain Maghrāwa tribes were still, in the 5th/11th century, semi-pagan. In fact, according to al-Bakrī (1068), there existed among the Banū Warsifān the cult of demons known as *al-shamārīkh* (sing. *shumrūkh*), to whom offerings were made.

Bibliography: The main source is Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, *passim* (see esp. ii, 33 ff.), tr. idem, *passim* (see esp. iii, 227 ff.). See also Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, 63 ff.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, new ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, Leiden 1948, 197, 198, 224, 246, 250-6, 259, 266-7), tr. Fagnan, i *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1898, index; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, *Histoire d'Afrique*, ed. and tr. M. Gaspar Ramiro, ii, Granada 1917, index; Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiḳṣā* (partial tr. in *AM*, xxxi (1925), 81 ff.); Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād*, Algiers 1903-13, index; *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya. Chronique anonyme des dynasties almoravides et almohade*, ed. I. S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, 12; Ibn Ḥawḳal², ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, i, 106, 107; Bakrī. *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Arabic text, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 52, 72, 107, 144, 189; tr. idem, Algiers 1913, 112, 147, 211, 276, 351-2; Ibn Ḥammād, *Histoire des rois ʿobaïdides*, ed. M. Vonderheyden, Algiers, Paris 1927, text 28, 30, tr. 46-7, 49; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1377/1958, 241-267; Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar*, Cairo 1884, 203, 360, 425, 439, 448, 474, 475-6, 503, 534 and Appendix, 592-5; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 355; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 6-8, 95-6, 112-13, 144, 155, 395, 398, 448, 476-7, ii, 205-6 221, 222, 260, 276-7, 290, 291, 292, 296, 299, 303, 308, 355-6, 361; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, Paris 1914, index, s.v. Maġrâwa); Lévi-Provençal, art. MAGHRĀWA, in *EI*¹; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962 (index, 838: Banū Ḥazar, Banū Ḥazrūn; 846: Maġrâwa, and *passim*); J. Desanges, *Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'Antiquité classique*, Dakar 1962, 58, 221. (T. LEWICKI)

AL-**MAGHRIB**, the name given by Arab writers to that part of Africa which Europeans have called Barbary or Africa Minor and then North Africa, and which includes Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

The word *maghrib* means the west, the setting sun, in opposition to *mashriḳ*, the east, the rising sun (Levant), but as Ibn Khaldūn remarks, the general denomination was applied to a particular region. The extent of this area, moreover, varies according to different authors. Some oriental writers (e.g. al-Muḳaddasī) include in the Maghrib not only Northern Africa but also Sicily and Spain; the majority, however, reserve the name Maghrib for the first of these countries. But they are not in agreement upon the boundaries to be assigned to it on the east. On the other hand, they are in agreement about the northern, western and southern boundaries. To the north, the Maghrib is bordered by the Mediterranean. To the west, it extends as far as the Atlantic Ocean, which it hugs from Tangier to the desert of the Lamtūna (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ) or only, according to Ibn Khaldūn, as far as Safi and the Deren (Great Atlas). To the south it stretches (Ibn Khaldūn) as far as the barrier of moving sands separating the country of the Berbers from the land of the Negroes, that is to say the Erg [see ṢAḤRĀʾ] and as far as the rocky regions called *ḥammāda* [*q.v.*]. Some districts situated outside this limit, such as Būda, Tamentīt, Gurāra, Ghadamès, Fezzān and Waddān, are sometimes considered as belonging to the Maghrib. As regards the eastern boundary, certain authors made it extend as far as the sea of Ḳulzum (the Red Sea) and thus include in the Maghrib, Egypt and the country of Barḳa [*q.v.*]. Others, whose opinion is adopted by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, make it coincide with the actual frontier of Egypt, from the oases (al-Wāḥāt [*q.v.*]) as far as *al-ʿAḳaba al-kabīra* between Barḳa and Alexandria. Ibn Khaldūn does not accept this delimitation, because, he says, the inhabitants of the Maghrib do not consider Egypt and Barḳa as forming part of their country. The latter commences only at the province of Tripoli and encloses the districts of which the country of the Berbers was composed in former times. Ibn Saʿīd and later Maghribī writers limit themselves to reproducing with a few variations in detail, the information of Ibn Khaldūn. As for Yāḳūt, he confines the Maghrib to the country stretching from Miliana [*q.v.*] to Sūs (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 583).

Placed, according to al-Idrīsī, in the third clime, but according to al-Zuhrī (§§ 11, 21) in the 6th *iḳlīm* or *djuzʾ*, the Maghrib is divided into several regions more or less clearly defined. Ibn Hawkal (tr. Kramers-

Wiet, 57 ff.) distinguishes two regions: the Eastern Maghrib from the frontier of Egypt as far as Zawīla in Tripolitania, and the Western Maghrib from this point to Sūs al-Akṣā; but the division commonly accepted is that into three regions, Ifrīkiya, Central (*awsaṭ*) Maghrib and Farther Maghrib (Abu 'l-Fidā', Ibn Khaldūn, etc.). Ibn Saʿīd adopts a slightly different division: Ifrīkiya, outer Maghrib, and further Sūs. Ifrīkiya [*q.v.*] had varying limits; central Maghrib was from Bougie to the Moulouya river (Ibn Khaldūn); and the farther Maghrib from the Moulouya to Safi and to the Deren, to which must be added al-Sūs, which forms, as might be said, according to Ibn Khaldūn, an island or country detached from all others and surrounded by seas, deserts and mountains.

At the present time, the term Maghrib is still used in opposition to Mashrik in a sense near to that which it had in mediaeval times, but it also denotes simply Morocco when the full expression al-Maghrib al-Akṣā is abbreviated. Furthermore, the political union of the North African countries which certain politicians seek is called al-Maghrib al-Kabīr.

Bibliography: Apart from Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 186 ff., most of the geographers describe the Maghrib: see M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghrib et de l'Europe au IIIe-IXe siècle* (= texts and trs. from Ibn Khurrādadhbih, Ibn al-Faḳīh and Ibn Rusta), Algiers 1949; Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siècle* (= text and tr. of al-Muḳaddasī's ch.), Algiers 1950; Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*[3], ed. and tr. de Slane, Paris 1965; Zuhrī, *Kitāb al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. and comm. M. Hadj-Sadok, in *BEO* (1968), §§ 274-317 and see 89-90; *al-Istibṣār*, ed. S. Z. Abdelhamid, Alexandria 1958, 109 ff.; Ibn Saʿīd, Abū Ḥamīd al-Andalusī and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Maḥallī, in E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 6-40, 153-90; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 122, tr. Reinaud, ii, 168 ff.; Muḥammad Abū Ra'a, *Voyages extraordinaires et nouvelles agréables*, tr. Arnaud, Algiers 1889, 11, 156 ff.

(G. YVER*)

AL-**MAGHRIB**, AL-MAMLAKA AL-MAGHRIBIYYA, a kingdom of North Africa whose name in European languages (Fr. Maroc; Eng. Morocco; Span. Marruecos) is a deformation of the name of the southern metropolis of the kingdom, Marrākush [*q.v.*].

1. GEOGRAPHY.

Morocco occupies the western part of Barbary; it corresponds to the Maghrib al-Akṣā of the Arab geographers [see AL-MAGHRIB]. Lying between 5° and 15° W. longitude (Greenwich) on the one hand and between 36° and 28° N. latitude on the other, it covers approximately an area of between 500,000 and 550,000 km². On the north it is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic and on the south by the Sahara. On the eastern side it stretches to the Tell and to the plateau of Oran. The boundary which separates it from Algeria is quite conventional and fixed definitely only on the northern side.

Although Morocco forms one with the northern part of Africa, it is chiefly oriented to the west. It is, one might say, the Atlantic slope of Barbary; it is nevertheless a continental country. The coast does not lend itself to a maritime population; the Mediterranean coast is steep and inhospitable, the Atlantic coastline straight and lacking in natural shelters. The estuaries of the rivers are of very little value because of the sandbars which obstruct their entrances. The geological structure is somewhat complicated. Below the folds of the primary age, of which there still exists much eroded evidence covered by secondary deposits, have risen strata contemporary with the Alps. The actual relief which has resulted from these movements of the earth's surface and from these successive modifications consists of folded mountain chains, plateaux and plains. The chains are two in number, the Rīf and the Atlas. The Rīf is the continuation from the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar of the Baetican Cordillera [see RĪF]. The Atlas [*q.v.*] chain forms the backbone of Morocco. It breaks into the High Atlas oriented west-north-east, linked by the volcanic massif of Sīrwā (3,300 m.) to the Anti-Atlas which lies more to the South, and also to the Middle Atlas running in a diagonal line from the south-west to the north-east, as far as the country of the outer foothills of the Rīf, from which it is separated by the corridor of Taza. From these different chains stretch plateaux. Those of the east connect the High Atlas to the Saharan Atlas of Algeria; those of the West gradually descend towards the Atlantic. Amongst the latter some are only the vestiges of the primary layer raised and eroded; others are composed of sedimentary deposits of varying origins.

In consequence of the oblique orientation of the Middle Atlas, which gradually draws away from the coast, the plains, which occupy in Morocco a more important place than in the rest of Barbary, lie mainly on the Atlantic side. They are composed of two series, the one stretching diagonally from the mouth of the Tensīft to that of the Muluya (the sub-Atlantic plains, the plain of Sebou, the corridor of Taza, the plain of the lower Moulouya). The other stretches to the foot of the High Atlas (Ḥawz of Marrākush) and disappears in the heart of the Middle Atlas.

Climate. The climate of Morocco has been defined as "an Atlantic variety of the Mediterranean climate" (Gentil). This however must not be taken to apply to the whole of the country; the different regions differ as much in regard to temperature as in the distribution of rain. On the Atlantic coast the climate is relatively mild in winter and cool in summer (Tangier: 12°-24°; Agadir: 14°-22°); only small differences are recorded between the coldest month and the warmest. In the interior on the other hand, the seasonal variations and even the daily ones increase the farther one goes inland. They become excessive in character in eastern Morocco where the climate is distinctly continental. The rainfall is equally lacking in uniformity. Brought by the west and south-west winds, the rains are abundant in the autumn, the winter and the beginning of spring but they are very rare during the summer. The Atlantic coast has everywhere a copious rainfall although the quantity which falls decreases as one goes from north to south (Tangier: 32 inches, Casablanca: 16 inches). It also enjoys the benefit of an atmosphere which is saturated with moisture even in summer. The interior is not so well served. The rains diminish in quantity from west to east. The mountain massifs always form an exception. They condense the moisure in the form of rain and even snow which, although it is by no means perpetual, nevertheless covers the high summits of the Atlas mountains until the beginning of the

summer. Eastern Morocco on the other hand, isolated by the barrier of the Middle Atlas, is not subject to oceanic influences and only receives, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, rare and irregular downfalls of rain.

The flora reveals in striking fashion these variations of climate. Forests of evergreen oak, of oak and of cedar clothe the peaks of the High and the Middle Atlas and of the Rīf. The cork tree is found in extensive forests in the massifs of the Zaʿāʾir and Zayān and as far as the region of the Atlantic (forest of the Maʿmūra). The thuya and the arganier [see ARGĀN] are already more disseminated. Poplars, willows, elms and tamarisks form a fringe of verdure along the wādīs. The olive tree is met almost everywhere in its wild state. But, as the rainfall decreases, the forest gives place to scrub where the jujube tree and the mastic abound, then to prairie and steppes. The prairie, which hardly goes beyond the limits of the maritime plain, is the home of plants which are used for fodder and of bulbous plants. The steppe is the home of shrubs and bushes (artemisia, drin, alfa) which are adapted to a dry soil and to extreme variations in temperature. The steppes cover a part of the interior plains of western Morocco and practically the whole of eastern Morocco, where they extend to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean. As regards the desert, it is devoid of vegetation in the *ḥammādas* [*q.v.*], although the oases form spots of verdure in the midst of the general desolation.

Hydrography. The structure of the country and the relative abundance of rainfall affect the hydrography. Morocco is much richer in running streams and in subterranean waters than any other country in Northern Africa. Wādīs (weds) are here more numerous; their courses are longer and their volume larger. A number of them even deserve the name of rivers. The waters flow in three different directions: towards the Atlantic, towards the Mediterranean and towards the basin of the Sahara. The Atlantic rivers are in all respects the most important. They can be divided into three groups: those of the north (Loukkos and Sebou), those of the centre (Bū Ragrag and Umm al-Rabīʿ), and those of the south (Tensift and Sous). The Loukkos drains the districts of the Gharb; the Sebou, those of the Middle Atlas, of the Zarhūn, and the southern slope of the Rīf. On emerging from the mountains it takes numerous turns and windings across the alluvial plain and reaches the ocean after a course of 300 miles. Although subject to considerable variation in volume, according to the season, it never dries up completely. It is even navigable in its lower course [see AL-MAHDIYYA]. The Bū Ragrag and the Umm al-Rabīʿ run for a part of their course through the central plateau, the Moroccan "Meseta". The irregularity of their courses makes them useless for navigation. The Tensīft, to the north of the High Atlas, the Wādī Sūs to the south, which are much less in volume approach more nearly to the classic type of wādī of northern Africa. The watercourses of the Sahara (Wād Gīr, Wād Zīz, Wād Darʿa) diminish in volume as they go farther away from the mountains and end by disappearing in the sand. The Darʿa [*q.v.*] alone reaches the Atlantic, but it only flows intermittently in its lower course. As for the Mediterranean rivers, they are only torrents with violent and rapid floods. The Moulouya (Malwiyya) alone forms an exception. It collects water from the slopes of the Middle Atlas but only reaches the sea in much diminished volume on account of the loss it suffers in crossing the steppes.

Although the common characteristics of all the countries of Barbary are found in Morocco, the greater or less differences in relief, the differences in climate, the peculiarities of vegetation bring in their train a diversity more marked than in Algeria or Tunisia. The combination of these different elements determines the existence of regions which differ the one from the other in their configuration, their resources, the density and manner of existence of their population. We may distinguish six such regions: Northern Morocco, the basin of the Sebou, Central Morocco, the country of the Atlas, Eastern Morocco, and Moroccan Sahara.

Northern Morocco. Northern Morocco comprises a mountainous zone (the mountains of the Rīf properly so-called which are to the north-west continued in the "domes" of the Djebāla (Jbāla) as far as the Strait of Gibraltar) and regions less rugged in character which to the south-east and the west form the transition into the adjoining countries. The mountains, split into deep ravines by the courses of the wādīs, for the most part only leave between their last escarpment and the sea-shore a narrow strip, or a few bays enclosed between the rocky promontories. A few cuttings which run across the ranges afford communication between the two watersheds. The Rīf, therefore, must seem to be a world very little accessible to influences from without. Arab influence has scarcely grazed it. The population has always vigorously opposed the political measures of the sultans as well as the attempts of Europeans to settle themselves there. Crowded into a limited territory, since the highest parts of the mountains are useless, the people of the Rīf find their chief means of subsistence in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. A number of them gain from temporary emigration an addition to their resources. They are not nomadic but inhabit villages perched on the slopes. Towns are represented only by Shafsāwān (Chechaouen) and Wazzān (Ouezzan), religious and commercial centres, situated the one on the northern side and the other on the southern side of the Djebāla. Towards the south-east, plains interspersed with mountain masses extend as far as the Moulouya. The lack of rain gives to these plains (Salwān, Gāret) the aspect of steppes more fitted to a pastoral life than to agriculture and a settled life. Towards the west the lowlying coastland, still a very narrow border at the strait of Gibraltar, increases gradually from the north to the south between the Atlantic coast and the last slopes of the Djebāla. This district commonly called the Gharb is a corridor. It still keeps in this respect its historical significance, but its economic value is diminished by the stagnation of its waters in the hollows in the flat bottoms of the valleys, and by the insecurity resulting from the proximity of the warlike tribes of the high mountains. A few townships have however succeeded in establishing themselves, either at the crossing of roads such as al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] or in proximity to the coast like Ceuta, Tangier and Larache [see the articles SABTA, ṬANDJA and AL-ʿARĀʾISH].

The valley of the Sebou. The valley of the Sebou lies between the Rīf, the Middle Atlas, the Moroccan Meseta and the Atlantic. The situation of the region, the abundance and variety of its natural resources makes it of exceptional value. The Sebou links up the whole of it. Through its tributary the Innawen, the valley of which leads

to the pass of Taza, it makes communication with the rest of Barbary easy. The mountain massifs there (Zarhûn, Zālagh, mountains of Gerwān) offer no inseparable obstacles to communication. The high plains of Sā'is and Meknès are contrasted with the lower plains of the Shrārda and the alluvial plains of the lower course of the Sebou. The influence of the Atlantic is felt far into the interior and combines with the numerous streams that flow into the Sebou and its tributaries and the subterranean waters to promote the development of all forms of vegetation. Forests cover the higher slopes of the mountains; fruit-trees flourish on the sunny slopes and cereals on the high plains; the *merdjas*, temporary marshes produced by the Sebou in its lower course, are used for grazing until they are sufficiently dry to be of use to agriculture. This combination of circumstances, so auspicious for human habitation, has made the valley of the Sebou a centre of intensive settlement. The most diverse ethnic elements have settled together and mixed there. All types of habitation are found as well as all degrees of attachment to the soil from a nomadic to settled town life. Human activities are displayed in the most varied forms (grazing, agriculture, arboriculture, commerce, industry). The country villages, douars of huts in the plains, villages of houses of clay in the mountains, are numerous, the towns are flourishing. Mawlāy Idrīs [*q.v.*] is the sacred city of Morocco, Sefrou on the borders of the plain of Sā'is and the high limestone plateau lives by trading with the people of the mountains and the industry of its weavers and makers of slippers. Fās and Meknès are among the great cities of Morocco.

The first of these towns has remained to this day the political, religious, intellectual and economic centre of Morocco. It has resisted all the usual causes of decline. From all time the ownership of the high plains of the Sebou has been bitterly contested. Their possession has been the condition for the establishment and survival of the dynasties which have succeeded one another in Morocco. Their political significance and role in history corresponds very exactly to their geographical position and economic value.

Central Morocco. Between the valley of the Sebou, the ranges of the Atlas and the Atlantic, covering about a quarter of habitable Morocco, lies the region called by the geologists the Moroccan Meseta. It concludes districts of very different character, the only feature uniting them being the possession of a common substratum, the Hercynian paenoplain covered almost everywhere by sedimentary horizontal formations. Differences of structure and of climate distinguish clearly the various parts: the Atlantic plain, the plateaux of the centre, and the interior plain of the Ḥawz. The maritime plain lies along the Ocean from Rabat to Mogador [see AL-SUWAYRA]. Very narrow at its northern and southern ends, it broadens near the centre (Dukkāla, Shāwiyya) to a width of 50 miles. To the rains and the constant moisture from the vicinity of the Atlantic, the abundance of running streams and subterranean waters, the natural fertility of the soil further adds to the conditions for prosperity. The *tirs* or black lands which run in an unbroken line behind the coast from the Bū Ragrag to Tensift are admirably suited for the growth of cereals. The rural population, almost everywhere settled, is therefore considerable. The land of the Dukkāla has 40 people to the square kilometre, a density very much greater than that of the other districts of Morocco. The towns of the coast, Salé, Rabat, Casablanca, al-Djadīda, Azemmour, Safi, Mogador [*q.vv.*], benefit by the richness of the hinterland. The exportation of agricultural produce has at all times been a branch of commerce, and has been much developed since the settlement of Europeans there. While facility for communications and the continental relations with the valley of the Sebou opened the plain to Arab influences, the ports of the coast maintained contact with abroad and permitted the infiltration of European influences.

The interior is much more broken. The ground rises gradually up to a height of 2,000-2,500 feet. The predominant formation is plateaux terminating on the north in the very old massifs of the Zaʿā'ir and Zayān, which are really mountains in character, in the south in the equally old but less elevated massif of the Raḥāmna. These plateaux deeply cut into by the course of the Umm Rabīʿ overlook on the west side the low-lying coastlands from the top of cliffs, and slope gently on the south-east to the plain of Tadla. This is a depression, over 120 miles in length, running to the north into the heart of the Middle Atlas where it terminates in a cul de sac, while it broadens greatly in its southern part. A low pass enables communication to be made between the Tadla and the Ḥawz of Marrākush, a basin shut in by the High Atlas in the south, the Middle Atlas in the east, the Djbīlāt in the north and the hills of the Shiyāḍma in the west. The economic value of this inner region is very unequal. On the mountains of the north, the rains and streams support forests and the local inhabitants devote themselves to cattle-rearing. The plateaux of the centre covered with a surface of limestone have great stretches of bare rock and cultivation is difficult. The Tadla is no better favoured except in the zone adjoining the Atlas, watered by torrents descending from the mountains. The plain of the Ḥawz would also suffer disastrously from drought, if human industry had not averted this danger. An ingenious system of irrigation [see ḲANĀT] has transformed the country round Marrākush into a vast palmgrove and resulted in a particularly dense population. Comparatively large towns (Amīzmīz, Damnāt [*q.v.*] and Tameṣluḥt) and especially Marrākush have been enabled to rise and prosper. Between this region, already half Saharan, and the high lying plains of the Sebou, the plateaux of the centre and the mountains of the north which come down to within a short distance of the shore, interpose a barrier which the attitude of its inhabitants makes still more difficult to cross. The Zayān, the Zaʿā'ir, the Zemmūr, over whom the authority of the *makhzen* has never been very securely exercised, have more than once cut direct communication between Fās and Marrākush. These two cities have been at different periods the capitals of distinct and even hostile kingdoms.

The region of the Atlas. In spite of the marked differences between the different elements of the Atlas, the whole region nevertheless has general characteristics of its own. Between Atlantic Morocco on the one hand and Saharan Morocco on the other, the Atlas lies as an almost continuous barrier. Only the few transverse fractures in the Middle Atlas permit passage between the basin of the Sebou and the Saharan oases, while in the High Atlas valleys running right into the heart of the massif give access to passes opening on the valleys of Sous and the Darʿa. Moister and colder, the

Middle Atlas is covered with forests which are denser and more extensive than those of the High Atlas. Both however are great watersheds. From the Middle Atlas come the great rivers of the Atlantic slope (Sebou, Gīgû, Umm Rabīʿ, Wādī 'l-ʿAbīd), from the High Atlas the Tasawt and the Tensift. The lands of the Atlas are nevertheless poor. The high mountains offer little to support mankind. Human activities are found mainly in the zones of contact between the mountains and the plains (*dīr*) of the Middle Atlas and in some specially favoured valleys of the High Atlas. Except in the Middle Atlas, where the nomadic mode of life results in the exodus in the bad season of the inhabitants who lead a pastoral life, and on the plateaux of the High Atlas on the Atlantic side (Ḥāḥa, S̲h̲iyāḏma) the inhabitants of which are mainly engaged in cattle-rearing, the natives are settled. They live in villages perched on the slopes and terraces between wādīs or scattered along the valleys. There is nothing approaching a town in size. These regions, defended by the nature of the country, have almost completely escaped outside influence: they are still almost exclusively the domain of Berber tribes (Berāber in the Middle Atlas and S̲h̲lūḥ in the High Atlas). The customs and institutions peculiar to this people [see BERBERS] have survived to a greater extent here than in any other region of North Africa. In particular, their political organisation was most rudimentary: municipal republics administered by a *d̲j̲amāʿa* in the Middle Atlas, feudal lordships ruled in patriarchal and despotic fashion by a few powerful families in the High Atlas. The people of these regions have also always opposed vigorously the central power; the authority of the *mak̲h̲zen* [*q.v.*] over the Berbers of the High Atlas has never been exerted except through the local chiefs. As to the tribes of the Middle Atlas, they have for long retained an almost complete independence.

Eastern Morocco. Eastern Morocco may be described as the continuation of the central Mag̲h̲rib, of which it has the distinctive characteristics. In it, as in Orania, we have a *tell* zone and a zone rising by successive stages up to 6,000 feet. The upper valley of the Moulouya separates them from the Middle Atlas. The monotony of these vast spaces is only broken by the outcrops of *gūrs*, flat beds of rocks cut up by erosion and by the depressions of the chotts [see S̲H̲AṬṬ]. Beaten by the winds, exposed to the rigours of an extreme climate, these lands are only fit for the pastoral life led by the nomads who raise sheep. The valley of the Moulouya is no better favoured, except in the vicinity of the Atlas, where villages surrounded by vineyards with a settled population are found along the tributaries of the river. As to the Tell, hills of no very great height (the most important being that of the Benī Snāsen which does not exceed 5,000 feet) divide it up into compartments occupied by plains (plains of the Awlād Manṣūr, on the coast, of the Trīfa, of the Angād which in the south reaches the cliffs in which the high plateaux end). The dryness of the climate frequently gives these plains a steppe-like character; only the western part of the plain of the Angād with a fertile and well-watered soil lends itself to cultivation. The nomads come here to procure grain. But this region owes its importance less to its natural resources than to its situation on the natural route between Atlantic Morocco and the rest of Barbary. Oujda [see WAD̲J̲DA], which commands the passage, has thus been enabled to escape various causes of decay that have threatened it. A border district, eastern Morocco has always been a disputed region, a "march" for which the lords of Tlemcen and Fās have contended. The authority of the latter was never solidly enough established here to impose itself on the settled inhabitants of the mountains and on the nomads of the plateaux and plains.

The Moroccan Sahara. The Moroccan Sahara is the northwestern corner of the Sahara. There we find the general characteristics of this desert region [see ṢAḤRĀʾ]. Only the parts adjoining the Atlantic and the threshold of the mountains offer favourable conditions for man. In the plain of Sūs [*q.v.*], shut in between the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the rivers and the irrigation canals enable shrubs to grow. The Darʿa, Zīz and Gīr are in their upper courses fringed by a thin border of cultivated land, pasturage, vineyards, and in their middle course assure the growth of palmgroves of which the best known, if not the most prosperous, is that of the Tafilalt [*q.v.*]. The richness—only relative it is true—of these oases is in contrast with the desolation of the rocky plateaux (*ḥammādas*) which form the greater part of the Moroccan Sahara. These natural conditions determine the mode of life of the inhabitants. Some lead a nomadic life and drive their flocks up and down the plateaux; others are permanently settled on the Sous, in the high valleys and in the oases. Sūs contains numerous villages and even towns (Agadir, Tiznit, Tarudant); the oases have a settled population in the *ḳṣūr*. Those of Tafilalt, Tamgrut, Bū Dnīb and Figīg carry on a certain amount of commerce between Atlantic Morocco and the Sahara. But this very circumstance has prevented them escaping as completely as the lands of the Atlas from the political and intellectual influence of Western Morocco, especially Tafilalt where considerable groups of Arab *s̲h̲orfā* [see S̲H̲URAFĀʾ] have been long established in the midst of Berber populations. But, although the present dynasty actually came from Tafilalt, the people of this region have frequently escaped S̲h̲arīfian authority.

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II. History.

Morocco before Islam. Morocco, like the other parts of North Africa, has probably been inhabited from a very remote period. We know, however, nothing definite about its earliest inhabitants. The traces which they have left, weapons and tools of chipped flint, pottery, rock-paintings, some of which represent animals of the quaternary period, now extinct, megalithic monuments identical with those found all round the Mediterranean basin, give us no information in this respect. At most, we may suppose that the primitive population consisted of emigrants from southern Europe, the Sahara and perhaps from Egypt. The fusion of these diverse elements gave birth to a race, the members of which, frequently different in type and physical features, were united by a community of language. The ancient writers called them Libyans and Moors. They were the ancestors of the present Berbers [*q.v.*].

The first historical fact known, and that only imperfectly, is the appearance in the 12th century B.C. of the Phoenicians on the Moroccan coast. The sailors of Tyre and Sidon built factories there, where they exchanged goods of eastern origin for local products (cattle, wool, hides) and slaves. But Phoenician influence was exercised mainly through the intermediary of Carthage when it in turn had become the metropolis of a great maritime empire. The Carthaginians rebuilt the ruined factories and added new ones. In the middle of the 5th century, Hanno in the course of his celebrated "Periplus" established on the Atlantic coast seven colonies of which one was at the mouth of the Sebou. Rusaddir (Melilla), Septem (Ceuta), Tingis (Tangier), Lixus (Larache), Sala (Salé) were the principal Carthaginian establishments. It does not seem, however, that Carthage sought to extend her power into the interior. She was content no doubt to conclude treaties with the native chiefs and to recruit mercenaries from the country. Morocco remained independent, but the tribes who inhabited it were not organised into states, except perhaps in the east, where ancient writers mention in the period of the Punic Wars the existence of a kingdom of Mauretania of Marusia extending along both banks of the Moulouya.

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire hardly altered this state of affairs. For two centuries Rome administered only the "Province of Africa" directly and left the other regions of Barbary in the hands of native chiefs under a more or less severe protectorate. Northern Morocco shared the fate of Mauretania down to the annexation of this kingdom in 42 A.D. The region to the east of the Moulouya formed part of Caesarean Mauretania. The lands stretching from the Moulouya to the ocean formed Mauretania Tingitana, an imperial province governed by a procurator. When the empire was reorganised by Diocletian, it was attached to Spain.

Roman Morocco never covered more than a small portion of the modern Morocco. On the Atlantic coast, it barely extended beyond the mouth of the Bū Ragrag, and in the interior to the massif of the Zarhūn. The plateaux and sub-Atlantic plains and the mountains of the Rīf, Middle and High Atlas escaped the authority of Rome. It was the same with the Sahara. The expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who in 41 A.D. advanced as far as the Wādī Gīr, remained an isolated incident.

To defend herself against the rebellions of her own subjects and to protect the country from Berber inroads, Rome had to keep in Tingitana an army of 10,000 men, to build strategic roads and to establish fortified posts on the sides of the triangle: Sala, Zarhūn, Tingis. With the exception of Volubilis [see MAWLĀY IDRĪS], the importance of which has been revealed by its ruins, and which was undoubtedly a centre of influence of Roman culture on the people of the interior as well as a military base, the towns were all on the coast. They were Lixus and Tingis, raised to the rank of *coloniae*, and Ceuta. They owed their prosperity mainly to trade with Spain, to which were exported oil and wheat, the two main products of the country. On the whole, however, Rome's influence on Morocco was superficial and has left little trace.

Without any really firm hold on the country, weakened by native risings and by the quarrels between the Donatists and the orthodox, Roman rule was to collapse suddenly at the beginning of the 5th century. Germanic invaders, the Vandals, came from Spain and in 429 A.D. conquered without opposition Tingitana which they gave back a few years later to the Romans. Soon afterwards the western empire disappeared and the natives seized the opportunity to become independent. The Byzantines, who in the 6th century destroyed the Vandal kingdom, were content to re-occupy the two strongholds of Ceuta and Tangier. The rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers. The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebou, the Miknāsa, in the central district, the Maṣmūda [*q.v.*], on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Sebou to the Sūs; the Haskūra between the Sūs and the Darʿa; the Lamṭa and Lamtūna [*q.vv.*] on the left bank of the Darʿa. These Berbers were all of Ṣanhādja stock; some professed Christianity or Judaism, but the majority still followed the old nature worship. The Arab conquest brought them a new religion: Islam.

The Introduction of Islam. The Arabs appeared in the extreme Maghrib at the end of

the 1st/7th century. Tradition relates that Sīdī ʿUḳba, the founder of al-Ḳayrawān, in *ca.* 65/684-5 undertook an expedition which carried him as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This raid, however, if it ever took place, was too transitory to have any permanent results. But at the beginning of the following century, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] who had just completed the conquest of Ifrīḳiya, took Tangier, installed a governor there and set himself to conquer and convert the local people. He succeeded without much trouble. Attracted by the hopes of gain, the Berbers adopted Islam and enrolled themselves in the armies which were invading Spain. They were not long, however, in rising against the Arabs. Dissatisfied with the share allotted them of lands taken from the Christians in the Peninsula, and exasperated by the exactions of the governors of Tangier, they took up arms in 122/740 on the call of the porter Maysāra [*q.v.*]. The rebellion was both religious and political in character. With the same readiness with which they had adopted Islam, the Berbers adopted Khāridjī doctrines from the east, teachings which also appealed to their equalitarian tendencies and to their spirit of independence. The army sent from Syria to establish order was destroyed on the banks of the Sebou in 124/742 and the extreme Maghrib was lost at one stroke to the caliph and to orthodoxy. Berber principalities were organised in the Rīf; in the west, the Barghawāṭa recognised the authority of a certain Ṣāliḥ, founder of a rival religion to Islam, who had composed a Ḳurʾān, that is a sacred book, in Berber. None of these little states was strong enough to impose its authority on the others and to collect all the Berber tribes under one rule.

It looked for a time as if the Idrīsid dynasty [*q.v.*] were to play this part. Idrīs I and his successor Idrīs II, actually enforced their authority over the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and successful expeditions extended their kingdom from the shores of the Mediterranean to the High Atlas and from the Atlantic to beyond Tlemcen. Ardent champions of Islam, they imposed their religion on those peoples who did not yet practise it or who had abandoned it after once adopting it. The conversion of the extreme Maghrib to Islam is their work much more than that of the Arab conquerors. Zealous defenders of orthodoxy, in spite of their ʿAlid origin, they fought the Khāridjīs with the same vigour but did not, however, succeed in completely extirpating the heresy. It is not without good reason that legend has transformed these rude warriors into saints, the one Idrīs I, patron saint of Morocco, the other Idrīs II, the patron saint of the city of Fās [*q.v.*]. The building of this city had enduring results. It gave northern Morocco a religious, political and economic centre which it had lacked since the disappearance of Roman rule. Favoured by its position, Fās prospered rapidly. It survived all causes of decline, even the collapse of the Idrīsid power.

The Idrīsids indeed rapidly declined. The various groups which had recognised the authority of the founders of the dynasty were not long in casting it off and fighting with one another. These rivalries were taken advantage of by the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya and the Umayyads of Spain, who during the 4th/10th century disputed the possession of the extreme Maghrib. With the assistance of the Miknāsa, the Umayyads in the end remained masters of the country. They were in their turn ousted by the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], whose chief Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, abandoning the cause of the Umayyads, seized Fās, where his descendants ruled for three-quarters of a century.

The Almoravids and the Almohads. The extreme Maghrib seemed to be condemned to anarchy and to be broken up among small factions when the Almoravid invasion came [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. After having first of all subjected all the lands south of the High Atlas, then established themselves solidly on the northern slopes, at the foot of which Yūsuf b. Tashfīn founded Marrākush in 454/1062, these Saharan hordes turned to the centre, east and north of Morocco, sweeping everything before them: Fās, Tangier, the Rīf, Oran and Ténès fell before them. The Berber principalities of the Maghrāwa, the Barghawāṭa and Banū Īfran disappeared. In less than twenty years, Yūsuf b. Tashfīn became sole master of the extreme Maghrib as far as Algiers. To these territories, already vast, was soon to be added half of Spain. Summoned by the Muslim *amīrs* who were threatened by the king of Castile, Yūsuf b. Tashfīn checked the Christian advance at Zallāḳa (479/1086 [*q.v.*]), then dispossessed the petty Muslim rulers to his own advantage. Morocco was thus extended across the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Ebro and to the Balearic Islands. The fortunes of the Almoravids were, it is true, as ephemeral as they were brilliant. In contact with Andalusian civilization, the Saharans rapidly became decadent. The rigid orthodoxy, which had been their strength, relaxed; they in their turn were regarded as infidels, "anthropomorphists" (*mudjassimūn*), whom it was lawful and even meritorious to fight. It was in the name of orthodoxy that the Maṣmūda and the Hintāta of the High Atlas under the lead.rship of Ibn Tūmart and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.vv.*] entered into the struggle against the Almoravids.

This struggle ended in the displacement of the Almoravids by the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN]. In seven years (533-40/1139-46), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin conquered all Morocco; Sidjilmāsa, Oran, Tlemcen, and Ceuta fell one after the other into his hands. Next came the turn of Salé, Fās, and finally of Marrākush, the gates of which were opened to him by the treachery of the Christian mercenaries. Muslim Spain was also conquered with the exception of the Balearic Islands. Even in Africa, the Ḥammādid kingdom of Bougie was conquered in 545-6/1151-2. A few years later (554-5/1159-60), a new expedition led ʿAbd al-Muʾmin into Ifrīḳiya and secured him possession of the interior and of the coast, which he took from the Normans of Sicily, who had occupied it some time before. Morocco in the strict sense of the word was now merely a province in the vast Berber empire. The unification of these territories under one ruler had important consequences for the Maghrib. It facilitated the diffusion in North Africa of the Hispano-Moorish civilisation, which was to be perpetuated in Morocco after it had disappeared from the Peninsula itself. Further, it brought into the extreme Maghrib a new ethnic element: the Arab one. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, as well as his successors, on several occasions deported Hilālī tribes from the central Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya, where they continually created unrest, to the sub-Atlantic plains where other groups of Arabs joined them of their own free will.

The Almohad empire was too vast, it comprised regions of too different a nature, peoples too foreign

to one another to last long united. The Almohad caliphs were powerless to restrain the separatist tendencies which revealed themselves on all sides. In the first half of the 7th/13th century the Almohad empire broke up. Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib recovered their independence; local dynasties set up in Tunis (Ḥafṣids) and Tlemcen (ʿAbd al-Wādids). The extreme Maghrib ended by slipping away from the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who were replaced by the Marīnids [*q.v.*].

The Marīnids. Berbers of Zanāta stock, driven by the Hilālī Arabs on to the plateaux of Oran and into the central valley of the Moulouya, the Banū Marīn had at first entered the service of the Almohads, then turned against them, when the power of the dynasty began to decline. By repeated razzias they made themselves masters of almost all northern Morocco. After the death of the caliph al-Saʿīd, who had been able to arrest their progress for a time, their leader Abū Yaḥyā (641-56/1243-58) seized Fās, Meknès, Rabat and Sidjilmāsa. The capture of Marrākush (668/1269) by Abū Yūsuf, successor of Yaḥyā, marked the final triumph of the Marīnids. Heirs of the Almohads, the first Marīnids endeavoured to reconstitute the empire of their predecessors. In Spain, they enforced their authority on the Muslims of Andalusia. In Africa, they endeavoured to take the central Maghrib from the ʿAbd al-Wādids. They were successful when Tlemcen, besieged seven times in sixty years, finally fell into the hands of Sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan (748/1347). Ten years later, the same ruler took Bougie, Constantine and Tunis, but his hold on these was very insecure. At the end of barely a year, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, defeated by the Arabs, found himself forced to abandon Ifrīḳiya, the Ḥafṣids returned to Tunis and the ʿAbd al-Wādids to Tlemcen, while the sultan's own son Abū ʿInān rose against him in Morocco. Attaining to power, Abū ʿInān renewed his father's efforts. He re-occupied Tlemcen and Tunis, it is true, but could not retain them (761/1360). The Ḥafṣids and ʿAbd al-Wādids recovered their kingdoms almost at once.

Separatist tendencies thus triumphed and on this occasion in a most definite fashion. The extreme Maghrib, the history of which had hitherto been so often that of Barbary, began to live its own life. The Marīnid kingdom, while its boundaries in the east were still vague and changing, already corresponded roughly to modern Morocco and the Marīnids may be regarded as the first strictly Moroccan rulers. Lacking the religious prestige of their predecessors, they endeavoured to secure the moral authority which they lacked by taking as their patron saints the apostles of Islam in the Maghrib. The cult of Mawlāy Idrīs in the 8th/14th and particularly the 9th/15th century assumed an importance which it has retained to the present day. No less characteristic is the development of intellectual life and the arts. The Hispano-Moorish civilisation never flourished more brilliantly in Morocco than in the Marīnid period. The rulers attracted to their court the poets, men of letters and lawyers of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Maghrib. The university of al-Ḳarawiyyīn at Fās attracted students from all the lands of the western Muslim world. Fās, which the Marīnids, abandoning Marrākush and Rabat, the capitals of their predecessors, chose as their royal residence, was given splendid buildings by them, palaces, mosques and *madrasas*. It was at the same time a commercial city in which African and Spanish merchants mixed with Christian traders.

This brilliant exterior, however, was quite deceptive. Marīnid Morocco was never able to organise itself on a solid basis. The central power was very weak and did not succeed in imposing its authority everywhere. The accession of each sultan was an occasion for outbreaks. The pretenders who arose always found supporters readily, either among the Arabs or the Berbers. Powerless in the interior, the sultans were no more fortunate in their enterprises against their neighbours of the central Maghrib or against the kings of Granada. Their prestige and their authority could not survive these checks. The Marīnids in the strict sense disappeared from the scene in 869/1465, after the assassination of the sultan by an Idrīsid *sharīf*. The Banū Waṭṭās, descended from a collateral branch, the chief of whom seized the power in 873/1470, had themselves a wretched existence. Their kingdom broke up into a large number of independent little groups, principalities at Fās and Marrākush, Berber republics in the Atlas, Marabout fiefs in the Rīf, the Gharb and in the Darʿa and Sūs. The sultans were quite powerless to prevent this decomposition.

The Christian offensive and the revival of Islam. Of all the causes which combined to enfeeble and discredit these rulers, the principal was undoubtedly their impotence against the offensive of the Christians against the Maghrib. In 818/1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, in 869/1465 al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, in 875/1471 Tangier. They thus secured themselves a base of operations in the north while by the occupation of Aṣīla and Anfā (Casablanca) they secured a footing on the Atlantic coast. In the early years of the 10th/16th century, they built fortified posts at Santa Cruz (Agadir) and Mazagan and took by force of arms Safi [see SAFĪ] and Azammūr [*q.v.*]. Holding all places of importance except Larache [see AL-ʿARĀʾISH] they brought under their protectorate all the lands near the coast (Shawiya, Ḥāḥa, Dukkāla), forced the local people to pay them tribute and to hand over to them strategic points up to the environs of Marrākush. Their expeditions had no other aim than plunder, no other result than to exasperate the inhabitants who saw their towns destroyed, their douars burned, their women and children massacred or sold as slaves.

Menaced in the west by the Portuguese, Morocco was threatened in the east by the Spaniards also. The latter completed the *reconquista* by the taking of Granada (1492). Thus free to go further afield, and still fired with the religious enthusiasm of Ximenes, they too went over to fight the Muslims on African soil. The occupation of al-Marsā al-Kabīr (1507) and of Oran (1509) and the establishment of a Spanish protectorate over the kingdom of Tlemcen constituted a serious danger to the Muslims of Morocco.

The threat from the Christians produced an awakening of religious sentiment. This renaissance of Islam in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the results of which are still to be felt at the present day, is beyond question the great event in the history of Morocco since the Idrīsid period. The way for it had, moreover, been prepared by the Ṣūfī teachings imported from the east and by the development of the brotherhoods [see ṬARĪḲA] in which the adepts of these doctrines were organised. It also found a favourable soil owing to the persistence of maraboutism among the Berbers. The ascendancy

which the religious leaders exercised, the wealth they accumulated in their *zāwiyas*, made them independent of the sultan. They thus became temporal leaders also, all the more readily as the sovereigns could not fulfil their office of defenders of Islam owing to lack of energy and also of means. The activity of these religious leaders was always of a local nature; it was only effectively exercised within a limited area and did not extend over the country generally. The religious solidarity thus established, the kind of common conscience thus created, did not put a check to the political decline until the time when the Saʿdian *shorfā* took direction of the movement and exploited it for their own benefit.

The Sharīfian dynasties. A. The Saʿdians [*q.v.*]. The Saʿdian *shorfā* benefited by the prestige which the religious awakening had restored to the descendants of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. Coming from Arabia at the end of the 8th/14th century and settling in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa, while another branch of the family settled at Tafilalt (Ḥasanī or ʿAlid *shorfā*), they were not long in acquiring a considerable influence over the tribes of the south. Thus they were naturally led to support the people of the south, who were exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese of Santa Cruz. In 917/1511, the *sharīf* of Tagmaddart, requested by the Muslims to put himself at their head against the Christians, agreed to do so. Supported by the marabouts who gave him valuable assistance, he began hostilities against the Portuguese. The holy war regularly waged secured to his sons, Aḥmad al-Aʿradj and Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the possession of the whole of southern Morocco up to the Umm al-Rabīʿ. The intervention of the Marīnid sultan in the quarrels which broke out between the two brothers only resulted in his own downfall being hastened. Muḥammad al-Mahdī took Fās in 957/1550; the foiling of an attempt to restore the Marīnids in 961/1554, with the help of the Turks of Algiers, secured the definite triumph of the Saʿdians.

The coming of the Saʿdians meant a regular reconstitution of Morocco. Muḥammad al-Mahdī and his successors imposed their authority on the whole country, protected it against foreign foes and increased the extent of their territory by distant conquests. They finally triumphed over the difficulties created by the Turks of Algiers, and at the battle of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr in 986/1578 arrested a counter-offensive of the Portuguese. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (986-1019/1578-1610) occupied Timbuktu and destroyed the Askia empire of Gao. For half a century, the Moroccans were masters of the Western Sūdān, from the banks of the Senegal as for as Bornū. The plunder taken on this campaign of conquest enabled the sultan to keep a splendid court, the hierarchy of which was modelled on the Ottoman court, and to adorn his capital Marrākush with magnificent monuments.

To the same period also belongs the organisation of the *makhzan* [*q.v.*]. The early Saʿdians had relied for support on the Arab tribes of the south. To these al-Manṣūr added the Arab tribes of the region of Tlemcen and Oujda driven into Morocco by the Turkish conquest. These *shrāga* or "orientals," as they were called, received lands around Fās in return for the military service they were forced to give. Reinforced by a regular army formed of renegades, Spanish Moors and negroes, trained by Turkish deserters, the *makhzan* provided the sultan with the means of preserving order and levying taxes; it was thus the essential instrument of Sharīfian government and tended to become the government itself.

This instrument proved sufficient in the hands of an energetic ruler, but was inefficacious in weaker hands and in moments of crisis. The Saʿdians very soon found this out. The tendencies to disruption which had been held in check by the energy of al-Manṣūr broke out again on his death. The dispute for the throne set his sons against one another. One of them, Zaydān, ended by triumphing over his rivals but could not prevent the break-up of the empire. Larache was occupied by the Spaniards; Fās cast off Sharīfian authority. The Andalus of Rabat and Salé, enriched by their piracy [see ḲURṢĀN], formed an independent republic. Finally, the Saʿdians, although they had owed their elevation to the religious movement, now found the marabouts rising against them. Delivered from the restraints which the distrust of al-Mahdī and his successors had placed upon them, the latter began to gain more and more hold over the people and contributed to the ruin of the authority of the *shorfā*. Sūs was in the control of one of them, Sīdī ʿAlī; Tafilalt was under the Ḥasanī *shorfā*, the Gharb under al-ʿAyyāshī, leader of the "volunteers of the faith". In the centre, the power of the *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] increased. Maḥammad al-Ḥadjdj, their leader, victorious over the Saʿdians and over al-ʿAyyāshi, lord of Salé and Fās, seemed on the point of founding a new Berber empire from the Atlantic to the Moulouya. Incapable, in spite of the support given them by the English and Dutch, of disposing of their adversaries, the Saʿdians now held only Marrākush and its immediate environs. The last representative of the dynasty died in 1070/1660, assassinated by the *shaykh* of the tribe of Shabbānāt.

B. The Ḥasanī *Shorfā*. The disintegration of Morocco was arrested by the coming of the Ḥasanī *shorfā*. The latter had taken advantage of the disorder to assert their authority in the Tafilalt, then by expeditions, which partook of the nature of brigandage as much as of warfare, they had conquered eastern Morocco. One of them, Mawlāy Muḥammad, had even tried, without success, it is true, to take Fās from the Dilāʾīs. His successor Mawlāy al-Rashīd (1076-82/1664-72) was more successful. He took Fās, disposed of Ghaylān, an adventurer who had established himself securely in the Gharb, destroyed the *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ, reconquered Marrākush, thus rebuilding as it were piece by piece the Sharīfian empire. Installed by force of arms, the new dynasty recognised the necessity of securing the moral prestige which their origin could not give them. They therefore sought to attract to their side the Sharīfian families. They heaped favours on the *shorfā* of Wazzān, whose patronage was a guarantee even for the rulers.

The work begun by Mawlāy al-Rashīd was continued and brought to a successful conclusion by his successor Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727). During the first fifteen years of his reign, he did not cease to wage war on the rivals who disputed the districts of Marrākush and the Sūs with him. While fighting his enemies, he was engaged in building up an army which would work his will. To the *makhzan* formed by the Shrāga and Udāya, he added a body of black slaves, the ʿAbīd al-Būkhārī (Bwākher), the property of the sultan; their children were specially trained for military service. The number of effectives in this corps by the end of the reign numbered 150,000

men. The sultan was thus able to reduce to obedience the Berbers of the Atlas and the upper Moulouya. Defeated and disarmed, the latter were kept in control by garrisons placed in *ḳaṣbas* built at the exits to the valleys or commanding the lines of communication. The notables whom the sultan had taken into his service or united to himself by matrimonial alliances forced their tribesmen to live in peace. The *bilād al-makhzan*, i.e. the country where tribute was regularly paid, extended over almost the whole of the extreme Maghrib. The pacification of the interior did not cause Mawlāy Ismāʿīl to forget the obligations imposed on every Muslim ruler to fight the infidels. He therefore continued the holy war against the Christians of the coast. He recaptured al-Mahdiyya, Larache, Aṣīla, and Tangier, evacuated by the English in 1684, but could not take Ceuta from the Spaniards in spite of a siege or rather uninterrupted blockade for seventeen years. He was no more successful in his enterprise against the Turks of Algiers, who disputed with the Moroccans the possession of the plains of eastern Morocco and the *ḳṣūr* of southern Oran. The expeditions which he directed against the Algerians ended in failure, and the lower course of the Moulouya continued to be the boundary of the Sharīfian empire. In spite of his lack of success here, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl is nevertheless the great figure of the Ḥasanī dynasty, the model the Moroccan sultans have set themselves to the present day. Morocco, however, remained what it was before, i.e. an aggregation of different groups, the cohesion of which depended on the personal energy of the sovereign, who squeezed his subjects to the utmost to get the money necessary for the building of his capital Meknès, the palaces of which were built by the forced labour of the local people and of Christian slaves.

On the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, a reaction set in. For thirty years his sons fought with one another. The real masters of the situation were the ʿAbīd al-Bukhārī, who made and unmade sultans as they pleased. One of them, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, was proclaimed and deposed six times. He succeeded, however, in triumphing over his competitors by playing the Berbers off against the ʿAbīd, the importance of whom gradually diminished with the wars. The remedy, however, was not much better than the disease. This period was for Morocco one of misery and ruin. The authority of the Sharīfs emerged much weakened from it.

Mawlāy Muḥammad (1170-1206/1757-92) succeeded, however, in restoring it. Inheriting the energy and vigour of his grandfather Ismāʿīl, he brought the rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the taking of Mazagan in 1183/1769 destroyed the last trace of Portuguese power on the Atlantic coast. Convinced, on the other hand, that the weakness of the central power was mainly due to a lack of financial resources, he endeavoured to procure money by encouraging the development of foreign trade. He inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and France and endeavoured to attract foreign merchants to his kingdom by founding for them the town of Mogador [see AL-SUWAYRA] in 1764. Heavy taxes, however, severely impeded the progress of this policy. Morocco remained a poor country and did not open itself, as had been hoped, to European penetration. It also remained in a perpetual turmoil. Under Mawlāy Yazīd (1206-8/1792-4) the country was once more handed over to anarchy. Mawlāy Sulaymān (1208-39/1794-1822), after at first being able to restore order, had to spend the last ten years of his reign in putting down the continual risings of the Berbers of the Middle Atlas; in the course of one of these expeditions he actually fell into the hands of the rebels. This rebelliousness caused the sultan much misgiving; he also wanted to prevent the infiltration of foreign and anti-Muslim influences which he believed would aggravate it. He forbade his subjects to leave the country and restricted to a minimum their intercourse with Christians. The diplomatic and consular agents were relegated to Tangier, and access to the interior was made almost impossible for Europeans. His successors followed his example. Down to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was more rigorously closed than it had been in the time of the Marīnids and Saʿdians and even in the early days of the Ḥasanī Sharīfs. In spite of this systematic isolation, the sultans had nevertheless to face the same difficulties as Mawlāy Sulaymān and had no more success than he in overcoming them.

For half-a-century the domestic history of Morocco was a series of rebellions which the sovereigns had great difficulty in suppressing. The regions remote from the centre, Rīf, Tafilalt, Figīg, eastern Morocco, escaped the authority of the *makhzan*. In the very heart of the country, the Berbers cut communications between Fās and Marrākush, forcing the sultans when they wanted to move from one capital to the other to make a great detour by Rabat. The empire broke up more and more. Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94) postponed for a few years the inevitable collapse. His reign resembled that of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. At the head of his army, the artillery of which had been reorganised by a French military mission, he was continually in the field raiding the rebels and tearing down *ḳaṣbas*. He re-established order in the region of Oujda, forced the people of the Sūs to recognise his *ḳāʾids*, reduced to obedience the Zaʿāʾir and Zayān, endeavoured to extend the *makhzan* country by expeditions against the independent Berbers, endeavoured to develop his influence in the Saharan regions and to restore his authority in Tuwāt. But he died before completing his task and all had to be begun again.

Morocco and the Christian powers. The situation was the more critical, in that the fate of Morocco could no longer be a matter of indifference to the European powers. It increased the cupidity of some and aroused the cupidity of others. In spite of their desire for isolation, the sultans had not been able to break every link with Europe. They had also to take account of the proximity of Spain, established for three centuries in the "presidios" of the Mediterranean coast, and of the French who had replaced the Turks in Algeria. The conquest of the old Regency, destroying all the Sharīfs' hopes of extension eastwards, had caused great irritation in Morocco. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] found followers among the peoples of this country and support hardly disguised on the part of the *makhzan*. This hostile attitude resulted in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844. The Sharīfian army was crushed at the battle of Isly, the ports of Tangier and Mogador bombarded. The moderation of France alone enabled the *makhzan* to come fairly well out of of this unfortunate escapade. Henceforth, the relations between France and Morocco remained peace ful, although the impotence of the Moroccan government to guarantee security on its borders forced France to military demonstrations like the Benī Znāsen

campaign (1859) and the Wādī Gīr expedition (1870). Spain in turn being unable to obtain satisfaction from the attacks directed against her garrisons, decided also to resort to arms. The campaign of 1859-60, ended by the victory of O'Donnell, revealed the military weakness of Morocco. The treaty of Tetouan (1860) granted to Spain, along with some trifling territorial aggrandisement, an indemnity of 100,000,000 reals. To pay this debt, the Sharīfian government had to raise a loan in London on the security of the Moroccan customs and to accept the control of European commissioners. For the first time, foreigners intervened in the domestic administration of the empire. The breach thus made was continually enlarged. The exercise of the right of protection, the erection of a lighthouse on Cape Spartel, served as a pretext for diplomatic negotiations and for the extension of international control. European ambitions were not dissimulated. In order to protect itself against them, the *makhzan* tried to play one off against the other and confined itself to granting, as it did at the conference of Madrid (1880), concessions devoid of all practical significance. Mawlāy al-Ḥasan excelled in this difficult game and the vizier Bā Ḥmād [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who directed affairs during the early years of the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan's successor, displayed no less skill. Morocco was thus the object of a very keen struggle for influence. England wanted to maintain her economic preponderance along with the control of the Strait; France wanted to ensure the security of her Algerian possessions and of the roads leading to the Saharan oases occupied in 1901-2; Spain appealed to her "historic rights"; Germany lastly was preparing to seize the opportunity to acquire openings for her commerce and emigrants.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French protectorate. Such a position could not last. The imprudences of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz precipitated the crisis. The whims of the sovereign and his immoderate desire for European innovations displeased the stricter Muslims. The modifications in the fiscal policy made by the *tartīb* [*q.v.*] disturbed the people already taxed to the utmost. Rebellion broke out everywhere. A pretender, the *rūgī* Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*], rose in the region of Taza and routed an army sent against him. It was in vain that France by the agreements of 1901 and 1902 endeavoured to organise the activities of the *makhzan* against the rebels and to postpone the inevitable catastrophe. On the failure of this effort, France decided to arrange with England and Spain to settle the Moroccan question and prevent the dismemberment of the empire. In return for recognition of the protectorate *de facto* exercised by England in Egypt and the granting to Spain of a sphere of influence in northern Morocco, these two powers recognised the right of France to act as her interests best demanded. France hastened to propose to the sultan a plan for reforming the Moroccan administration. The intervention of Germany prevented its realisation. On 31 March, 1905, the Emperor William II landed at Tangier and in a sensational speech posed as the defender of the independence of the sultan. On the advice of the German representative, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz appealed for the constitution of an international conference to study the reforms to be introduced into the Maghrib. The conference met at Algeciras (15 January-7 April, 1906) and affirmed the three principles of the sovereignty of the sultan, the territorial integrity and the economic freedom of Morocco. It did not, however, settle the Morocco question. The two international bodies which it decided to set up, the police for the ports and the state bank, both capable of being of great service, could not take the place of the general reforms necessary for the salvation of the empire. Disorders continued, acts of hostility against Europeans in Morocco itself and acts of brigandage on the frontiers increased in number. Not being able to obtain satisfaction for outrages on its subjects, the French government ordered the occupation of Oujda and Casablanca in 1907. The country was then pacified around these two centres and order restored in eastern Morocco and in the Shāwiya to the great benefit of the natives themselves. The Spaniards in their turn for similar reasons intervened in 1908 in the adjoining region of Melilla and after a severe campaign in 1909 occupied Salwān and a number of strategic points.

During this period, war broke out between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, proclaimed sultan at Marrākush and then at Fās. Supported by the anti-foreign party, the pretender was victorious. All the powers, including France and Spain, recognised him, after he had promised to respect the agreement of Algeciras, the international treaties and all the engagements entered into by his predecessors. France and Spain announced their intention of not prolonging their occupation of Sharīfian territory. The Franco-Moroccan agreements of 4 March, 1910 and the Hispano-Moroccan one of 19 November of the same year, stipulated that the occupation should cease as soon as the *makhzan* should have a force sufficient to guarantee the security of life and property and peace with its frontiers. This settlement seemed all the more desirable as there had been occasional friction between France and Germany which had only been smoothed over with great difficulty, the most serious being the affair of the deserters from Casablanca in September 1908. A disquieting state of tension remained between these two powers, although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction to Germany in signifying, by the agreement of 8 February, 1909, her willingness not to impede the economic freedom nor hinder the development of German interests.

The aggravation of the situation in the interior hastened the dénouement. The sultan's rule was no more effective than that of his predecessors; the exactions of the Moroccan agents in the spring of 1911 provoked a rising of the Arab and Berber tribes in the region of Fās. Besieged in his capital and on the point of succumbing, the sultan appealed to the French. They decided to send an expeditionary force to the help of the sultan, but ordered its commander to avoid any injury to the independence of the sultan and any occupation of new territory. Vigorously commanded by General Moinier, the military operations had the desired effect. Fās was relieved on 21 May, and after certain police operations necessary to secure the peace of the district, the expeditionary force returned to the coast. But, while the danger was thus banished from the interior, unexpected complications resulted. Spain, taking advantage of the occasion to take possession of the sphere of influence reserved for her by the agreement of 1904, established herself in Larache and al-Ḳaṣr. Germany feeling the moment was decisive, claimed compensation in her turn and in July 1911 sent a warship to

Agadir. This demonstration provoked the greatest alarm in France and in Europe generally. In the end, however, a peaceful settlement was reached. After four months of difficult negotiations, the agreement of 4 November 1911 put an end to the dispute, Germany abandoned all political claims to Morocco and admitted with certain reservations, chiefly of an economic nature, the principle of the French protectorate. There was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of this régime, which the sultan accepted by the treaty of 30 March 1912. This diplomatic document stipulated the maintenance of the sovereignty of the sultan, the representation of and protection by French diplomatic and consular agents of Moroccan subjects and interests abroad, the carrying out, with the collaboration of and under the direction of France, of a number of administrative reforms, judicial, financial and military, intended to "give the Sharīfian empire a new régime, while safeguarding the traditional prestige and honour of the sultan, the practice of the Muslim faith and the institutions of religion".

The French protectorate extended over the whole of Morocco, but the Spanish sphere of influence enjoyed by the agreement of 27 November 1912 complete autonomy from the administrative and military points of view, whilst Tangier and its environs were included in an international zone whose status was not, however, definitely regulated till 1923.

The establishment of the protectorate was to have had as its first result the restoration of the authority of the Sharīf, whose support was essential for the carrying out of the reforms. This could only be attained by a considerable effort. The central power was weaker than it had ever been at the time when the conclusion of the protectorate treaty put an end to the crisis. The *bilād al-makhzan* was almost non-existent. France had to conquer Morocco for the sultan. The name of Maréchal Lyautey, appointed High Commissioner and Resident General, will remain inseparable from the history of the pacification of Morocco. Very difficult in itself, for it brought the French into contact with warlike tribes, some of whom had never recognised the authority of the *makhzan*, the task was further complicated by events abroad. Order had hardly been restored around the chief towns, Fās, Meknès, Marrākush and communication restored between eastern and western Morocco, when the War of 1914 broke out. For a moment it was feared that the French were going to abandon the interior and fall back on the coast, but the progress of the pacification of the country was only slowed down, not interrupted. All the conquered positions were retained and the rebels held on all fronts. The counter-offensives of the rebels in the Taza corridor, along the Middle Atlas and in Sūs were crushed. The War finished, the offensive was resumed to reduce the districts still unsubdued (Middle Atlas, south of the High Atlas, upper valley of the Moulouya). Three years of difficult fighting (1921-4) ended in the occupation of "all Morocco of value", i.e. those regions of economic, political or military importance. The Rīfan offensive in 1925, however, threatened to compromise all the success achieved. A Rīfan chief, ʿAbd al-Karīm, had gathered around him the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and inflicted serious reverses on the Spaniards which forced them to abandon a portion of the territory which they had occupied. Crossing the Spanish zone, he invaded the valley of the Wargha and threatened Fās. The resistance of the posts echelonned along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities. Checked in the autumn, the Rīfan advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1926 thanks to the combined action of France and Spain. The reduction of the last pockets of resistance in the mountains and the southern regions was completed in 1930.

The administrative reorganisation kept pace with the pacification. The old machinery was retained but submitted to a control which guaranteed the local population against abuse of their power and excesses by the agents of the *makhzan*. Technical services were created to give the country the works necessary for its economic life.

Thus, within the space of some 40 years, Morocco, which was still a mediaeval country, became a modern kingdom equipped with a quite extensive highway network, electrified railways and deep water ports. The remarkable results achieved in all sectors were facilitated by the influx of European immigrants and capital. Approximately 350,000 Europeans in the French zone and about 100,000 in the Spanish zone participated actively in the economic life of the country and contributed in particular to the prosperity of agriculture, while the towns enjoyed rapid development.

At the same time that the pacification of the country was completed, young people educated in metropolitan universities as well as in the modern establishments founded in Morocco itself, began to agitate; the Berber *dahir* [see MAḤKAMA, 5. i] of 16 May 1930 gave the signal for opposition to French policy and for the struggle for independence. During the Spanish Civil War, Moroccan troops served under the victorious General Franco; as a result, the inhabitants of the northern zone were able to benefit from a more liberal régime. Subsequent events during the Second World War, and in particular the defeat and occupation of France in 1940, had no very serious immediate effect, although they induced the nationalists to pursue their activities with greater vigour, not without encouragement from the Allies; in other respects, the increasingly overt manifestation of national sentiment in the Arabic-speaking countries brought latent aspirations for independence out into the open. 1944 saw the establishment of the *Istiḳlāl* party, to which the sultan Muḥammad V, who had occupied the throne since 1927, showed himself far from hostile; on 10 April 1947, he made a speech at Tangier which disturbed the French authorities. The nomination of General Juin as Resident-General and the reforms immediately effected failed to restore stability; in 1953 France decided to depose the sultan, sending him to exile in Madagascar and replacing him with a less assertive prince, Mawlāy ʿArafa; this decision further exacerbated popular discontent, and acts of terrorism and violent demonstrations followed. As a result, the French government had no option but to recall the sultan and to accept, through the declaration of La Celle Saint Cloud of November 1955, the principle of Moroccan independence, which was officially recognised in the agreement of March 1956. The Spanish government followed the example of France in 1956, but retained the ports of Ceuta and Melilla.

The achievement of independence posed numerous problems to the Moroccan authorities, who were at first obliged, owing to the lack of trained native personnel, to retain the services of thousands of

French and Spanish officials, before appealing to new allies for support. The "Army of liberation" was absorbed into the *Forces Armées Royales* (FAR), and the French and Spanish troops withdrew in 1961, while the American airbases were evacuated.

One of the first concerns of the sultan (who took the title of king in 1957) was to appoint a consultative Assembly, superseded in 1960 by a constitutional Council charged with preparing a Constitution; the latter, which instituted a parliamentary monarchy, was approved by referendum on 7 December 1962 [see DUSTŪR. xvii]. During the same period, the *Parti Démocratique de l'Indépendance* (PDI), recently founded, became quite active, but in 1959 a number of its members, together with some independents, joined the *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires* (UNFP), closely linked to the *Union Marocaine du Travail* (UMT) and the product of a schism within the *Istiḳlāl* provoked by the syndicalist Mehdi Ben Barka.

The first Moroccan government, led by a non-political colonel, was composed of members of the *Istiḳlāl* and the PDI, but after November 1956 the latter were eliminated, and an entirely *Istiḳlāl* cabinet appointed. In 1960, the king took upon himself the functions of prime minister, with the assistance of his son, prince Mawlāy Ḥasan, who was to succeed him after his death in the following year. In the legislative elections held in 1963 after the promulgation of the Constitution, the *Istiḳlāl* and the PDI, now in opposition, obtained respectively 41 and 28 seats, as many between them as the number gained by the *Front pour la Défense des Institutions Constitutionelles* (FDIC) which had recently been established. On 16 July of the same year, several leaders of the UNFP were arrested for "serious infringement of the law" and for being the founders of a "subversive movement". The charges of conspiracy laid against some hundred individuals were not pressed, but since the two parties boycotted the next elections, the Government won a decisive majority in the regional councils and Chamber of Deputies.

Also in 1963, an armed conflict broke out between Morocco and Algeria on account of a frontier post which the latter had seized. Between 1965 and 1967, relations with France were compromised by the abduction and disappearance in Paris of the leader of the UNFP, Mehdi Ben Barka. These events led the French authorities to institute proceedings against Moroccan secret service agents and specifically against the Minister of the Interior, General Oufkir, who was sentenced in his absence. The name of this officer was mentioned again in connection with two unsuccessful attempts on the King's life. The first took place on 10 July 1971, at the palace of Ṣkhīrāt (to the south of Rabat), where guests who had gathered to celebrate the anniversary of the sovereign were attacked by cadets of the Military Academy of Aḥermummu; about a hundred were killed and 132 wounded, but miraculously the King escaped assassination, in spite of the fact that the conspirators announced his death and proclaimed a Republic, having seized a number of public buildings including the radio station. Forces loyal to the King succeeded, however, in restoring order, and a commission of enquiry, in which General Oufkir participated, attributed responsibility to a number of senior army officers who were disgraced and shot.

The following year, on 16 August 1972, the King's private plane was attacked over Tetouan by one of the four F.5 fighter aircraft from the base at Kenitra which had been detailed to escort it; one person was killed and two wounded, but the pilot of the Boeing succeeded in landing his plane at the airport of Rabat-Salé, where renewed strafing caused a further 8 deaths and injured 50. The officer responsible for the attack ejected from his fighter, but was arrested and implicated General Oufkir, who met his death the following night.

The failure of these successive attempts on his life only enhanced the prestige of the Sovereign, who was nevertheless confronted by a new danger. In fact, after the independence granted by Spain to Rio de Oro, a section of the population of the Western Sahara refused to withdraw from territory claimed by Morocco and formed the Polisario Front. Since then, from its bases in Algeria, this organisation has continually harassed Moroccan troops immobilised in the south, behind a "wall" which they have been obliged to construct to defend themselves from attacks by an enemy equipped by various nations with the most modern arms and equipment. The expenses incurred as a result of this interminable and violent war have been a considerable burden on the finances of Morocco, whose economy is also suffering as a result of the world-wide economic crisis.

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(G. YVER*)

III. POPULATION.

a. Total population and density. Before independence, it was difficult to fix with any precision the total population of Morocco. The attempts made at a census during the protectorate enable, it is true, comparatively accurate estimates to be made for the greater part of the country.

The total which was usually given was 5 millions, of whom one-tenth (500,000 inhabitants) was in the zone of the Spanish protectorate, but the censuses of 1950 (Spanish zone) and 1952 (French zone) furnished the following figures: Spanish zone, 1,010,117 plus Ifni, 38,295 plus Ceuta and Melilla, 141,305; Tangier (1956), 175,000; French zone, 8,003,985, of whom 362,814 were Europeans and 199,156 Jews; a total, accordingly, of 9,368,702 souls. Some years later, according to the census of 1960, there was a total population of 11,626,470 (30% of these being town-dwellers); the Jews were still 159,000, the French 195,000 and the Spanish 125,000. In September 1982, the population had passed the 20 millions mark (20,419,555), of whom 57.3% were rural dwellers. This population is very unequally distributed and its density varies with geographical conditions. The most thickly populated part is that of the plains of western Morocco between the massif of the Jbāla in the north and the Great Atlas in the south: Gharb, Shāwiya, Tadla, Dukkāla and ʿAbda. The density of the population also varies with the fertility of the soil. The population of this region is estimated at two-fifths of the total. The mountainous regions, Jbāla, Rīf, Middle Atlas are not thickly populated, as we might have expected from the comparatively dense population of Kabylia. As to the Sahara zone, outside the belts of oases in the Wādī Gīr, the Wādī Zīz and the Wādī Darʿa (Dra), it is very sparsely inhabited.

b. Elements of the population. The population of Morocco consists for the most part of Berbers and Arabs, the former being the older element and the latter invaders. As to the Berbers, who do not seem to be a homogeneous race and whose origin is obscure, see BERBERS. As to the Arabs, they are in a minority, but it is often difficult to attribute an exact ethnic origin to certain tribes or confederations, so much have the Arabs and Berbers become mixed since the Muslim conquest, and intermingled either by peaceful or warlike methods. It will be more prudent and will give a more accurate result if we distinguish in Morocco between those who speak Arabic and those who speak Berber (see below VII. LANGUAGES). The former live entirely in the plains, while with the exception of the massif of the Jbāla, the inhabitants of the mountains speak Berber.

1. Berbers. Three main groups may be distinguished among the Berbers of Morocco: in the north the Rīfans and the Benī Znāsen; in the centre the Znāga (Ṣanhādja and the Brāber (*Barābir*), who form the population of the Middle Atlas; the third group is that of the Shlūḥ [see SHILLUḤ] who occupy the western part of the High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, as well the plain of Sūs. In addition to these main groups, we may mention the Jbāla, arabicised Berbers, to the north-west of Fās, and the Ḥarāṭīn (plur. of the Arabic *ḥarṭānī* [*q.v.*]), who form the basis of the settled population of the zone of the Saharan oases.

2. Arabs. The early invasions at the time of the Muslim conquest do not seem to have appreciably modified the ethnology of the country. Up to the 7th/13th century, the country districts of Morocco were almost completely Berber; it was the great Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*] who was the first to introduce into Morocco Hilālī Arab tribes hitherto settled in the Central Maghrib or in Ifrīḳiya; these importations, continued by the successors of this prince and by the Marīnid dynasty, soon drove the Berber element into the mountains or absorbed and arabicised it. Evidence of such assimilation is still found in the fact that tribes with clearly Arab names contain sections whose names show their Berber origin.

These Arab tribes, who are all settled in the plain, may be divided into two main ethnic groups: the Banū Hilāl and the Maʿḳil [*q.vv.*]. The latter occupies almost exclusively the valley of the Upper Moulouya as well as the lands south of the Atlas. The Banū Hilāl occupy the sub-Atlantic plains and the steppes of Eastern Morocco.

3. Jews. There were formerly about 200,000 Jews in Morocco, mainly living in the towns. There were

also a considerable number among the tribes of the Great Atlas. They also formed the principal element in the population of the two little towns of Dubdū and Damnāt. The origin of the earliest elements in this Jewish population is obscure: it is difficult to ascertain whether they were Jews who had migrated from Palestine or were judaicised Berbers. The modern element is made up of Jews who fled from Spain to Morocco in the 16th century. The former call themselves *pᵉlishtīm* (Palestinians) and are called *forasteros* (foreigners) by the Spanish immigrant Jews, who were practically all settled in the towns of the coast and rapidly became europeanised. Since independence, large numbers of them have emigrated, mainly to Israel.

4. Miscellaneous elements. The blacks, of whom there are considerable numbers in Morocco, do not however form a distinct group there. In the north we find many, who are almost all of slave origin. The predilection of the townsmen of Morocco for black concubines, noted for their domestic virtues, has brought into the population, especially in bourgeois circles, a very considerable amount of negro blood. To the south of the Atlas in the oases, the intermarriage of blacks and Berbers has produced the Ḥarāṭīn. Finally the blacks of the Bilād al-Sūdān, since the Middle Ages, have always been esteemed as mercenaries to form the imperial guards, especially since the taking of Timbuktu by the armies of the Saʿdian sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Large numbers of Muslims from Spain, whether of Arab origin or descendants of Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, have contributed to form the population of the towns at various times: Cordovans banished by al-Ḥakam I at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century after the "revolt of the suburb" and Muslims expelled from Spain at the Reconquista [see AL-ANDALUS, vi. Appendix].

We must not omit the influence that may have been exercised on the population of Morocco by Europeans (renegades, who had adopted Islam, mercenaries recruited outside Morocco and settled in the country), and finally we may note that frequently the sultans have purchased women for their harems in Constantinople.

IV. Social and Economic Life

a. Country. The population of Morocco, although for the most part rural, nevertheless has a larger proportion of town-dwellers than Central Barbary and, like the rest of North Africa, might be divided into nomadic and settled; this division does not at all coincide with that into Arabs and Berbers; there are still nomadic Berbers, while certain Arab tribes are becoming settled on the lands which they cultivate.

It has been shown that the nomadic or settled life of the country-people in North Africa does not depend, as was long thought, on ethnic factors, but is entirely conditioned by geographical considerations. It is the rule for dwellers in the mountains to be settled while the people of the desert steppes, forced to move about in search of pasture for their flocks, are nomads. There are however means between these two extremes and especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, principally on the borders of the various mountains of the centre and south. But generally nomadism is the outcome of pastoral migration and its geographical area is in direct relation to the rainfall and therefore to the nature of the vegetation.

It is in eastern Morocco, in the steppes which lie to the east of the Moulouya, and to the south of the Great Atlas, towards the Sahara, that we find the principal groups of nomads in Morocco. In eastern Morocco, we may mention among the large tribes which lead a nomadic life the confederation of the Benī Gīl, between Berguent and Fīgīg; on the other side of the Atlas, the Ayt Seddrāt, the Ayt Djallāl, the Id-an-Blāl, the Ayt-u-Mrībeṭ; lastly to the south of the Darʿa (Dra) country, the Rgība, the Shkārna and the Awlād Dlīm. As to the semi-nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Gharb, in the north, the Rḥāmna and the Shyāḍma, and in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society.

Nevertheless, Morocco is, of the three countries of Barbary, that which has in its rural population the largest proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses. The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population.

The type of dwelling varies with the district. In the mountains we find houses built of unbaked bricks or stone with a gabled, thatched, pitched or a flat roof. In the plains, the tent predominates, more or less fixed to the spot, and with it we find more and more the hut of branches with a conical roof called *nuwwāla*. In the Saharan oases, the population collects within a walled area of *ḳṣūr* (sg. *ḳṣar*, from the class. *ḳaṣr*); these conglomerations sometimes possess the elements of town-life. The villages are called douar (*duwwār*) in the plains, and *dshar* in the mountains. In some hill regions we find survivals of cave-dwelling.

b. Town. Among the towns of his country, the Moroccan distinguishes a certain number that he definitely regards as cities (*ḥaḍariyya*). These are Fās, Rabat-Salé and Tetouan, which have been more than others subjected to the influence of Spanish culture. It must however be noted that in the majority of the other towns we can still find traces of the existence of colonies formed by Muslims from Spain, especially from the 9th/15th century onwards. The population of the non-*ḥaḍariyya* towns is found to be composed of rustic elements but little urbanised. This is the case with Oujd and al-Djadīda (country Bedouins) and also with Tangier (countrymen from the hills). Marrākush and Meknès owe their special urban character to the fact that as capitals they have contained the courts of two Sharīfian dynasties, both of Bedouin origin; they are *makhzaniyya* towns in which the standard of civilisation does not reach the refinement of the *ḥaḍariyya* Spanish towns. The ports Tangier, Larache, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador were for long the only points of contact between Morocco and European influences, politically as well as commercially. Lastly in the mountains, little towns like Shefshāwen, Wazzān, Sefrou, Dubdū, Damnāt, owe their existence to political reasons. The two first were founded as bulwarks against the Portuguese advance in northern Morocco in the 10th/16th century. Damnāt and Dubdū are mainly Jewish towns. As to Sefrou, it seems probable that it is a survival of an old Berber town. We may also mention as towns of secondary importance, on

the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta, completely europeanised for several centuries, on the Atlantic coast Arzila (Aṣīlā), Casablanca, which owes its origin to the little port of Anfa, Azemmir, Agadīr. In the interior, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Taza, Tarudant. Several ancient towns have now disappeared, e.g. Nakūr and Bādis on the Mediterranean, Ṭīt to the south of Mazagan, the two Aghmāt and Tīnmallal to the south of Marrākush, and several others, descriptions of which have been given by the geographers like al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī and Leo Africanus.

As a rule, the Moroccan town is grouped round a citadel or *ḳaṣaba* (pop. *ḳaṣba*) which is the seat of authority. Under the protection of the citadel lies the *mellāḥ* or Jewish quarter [see MALLĀḤ]. All around spreads the town proper or *mdīna* with its great mosque, markets and *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*]. It is surrounded by a rampart (*sūr*) beyond which there are usually the suburbs more or less rural in character. The town itself is divided into quarters (*ḥawma*) with streets (*zanḳa*), alleys (*darb*) and squares (*raḥba*).

c. Economic Life. The country people, whether settled or nomadic, who no longer form more than 70% of the population of Morocco, live on the land, either by agriculture or stock-raising, most often combining the two. Those in the highlands grow cereals (wheat, barley), certain leguminosae (broad beans, chick-peas, vetches) and fruit-trees. They also exploit their forests in a very primitive fashion (thuyas, cedars). The people of the plains devote themselves mainly to cereals and the rearing of cattle, sheep, camels, horses and asses. In the oases of the south, the population cultivates the date-palm and understands the art of irrigating the land.

The rural industries are very primitive. They are limited to supplying the necessary implements of agriculture, and weaving wool into the material for garments, tents and carpets. The Berbers of Sūs show a certain aptitude at metal-working (arms and jewels). The Sūs no longer exports the cane-sugar and copper, which formed considerable articles of trade under the Saʿdians.

Each tribe has a certain number of markets (*ṣūḳ*) which are held in the open country and bear the name of the day on which they are held. It is in the *sūḳ* that the peasant sells his produce and buys the manufactured articles that are brought by the merchants from the towns. Cereals are preserved in siloes (*maṭmūra* [*q.v.*]); in the Great Atlas and to the south of it we find fortified store-houses, which belong to the community and are called *agadir* [*q.v.*].

It is in the towns that we find industrial activity concentrated. Each trade, which originally formed a gild (*ḥanṭa*), is grouped in one street which bears its name. In it the articles are made and sold. The stocks are kept in the fonduks (Ar. *fondaḳ*) which correspond to the *khān* and *wakāla* of the east. Some products, like grain, oil, coal, wool, are sold in special places called *raḥba*. The monopolies of exporting (*sāḳa*) corn and hides established by the sultans at the end of the 19th century have been abolished. Several European products have become of the first necessity in Morocco and form the subjects of an important traffic: cotton goods, tea and sugar and candles. For the history of the weights, measures and coins in use in Morocco before the establishment of the protectorate, see the works by Massignon and Michaux-Bellaire quoted in the *Bibliography*. The very vivid picture drawn by Leo Africanus of the commercial and industrial activity of Fās in the Middle Ages is still very valuable.

The Jews, who devoted themselves specially to certain trades that flourish in larger centres (goldsmiths, embroiderers), played an important part as brokers. The citizens of Fās, who had a large number of converted Jews among their number, had almost a monopoly of the import trade of Morocco, especially from England, and for this reason had little colonies in the sea-ports.

The Berbers of the Sūs like to settle in the towns as grocers (*baḳḳāl*) and having made their fortunes return to the country. Since the war, a large number of them have migrated to France as artisans and labourers and they settle in groups, according to their original tribes, in the suburbs of certain large industrial towns.

V. Political Organisation

It is only at rare intervals and for short periods that Morocco has been entirely under the authority of the sultan: whence the distinction between the territory subjected to the government (*bilād al-makhzen*) and the territory unsubjected (*bilād al-siba*). As a rule, the *makhzen* territory included the towns, valleys and plains. The mountains, on the other hand, remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power possessed by the sovereign [see MAKHZAN].

Outside the towns the population is grouped into tribes (*ḳabīla*). Several are sometimes grouped together under a common name, without however being a confederation in the strict sense of the word; this is the case with the Ghumāra in the north, the Ḥāḥa, the Dukkāla, the Shāwiyya in the south. The tribe is subdivided into sections (*rubʿ*, *khums*, *fakhdha*), which are subdivided into sub-sections comprising a certain number of villages of tents or houses.

The tribes who own the sultan's sway are governed by a *ḳāʾid* appointed by the *makhzen*. His duty is to allot and levy the taxes, to raise contingents of soldiers and keep good order. He has under his command a *shaykh* for each section under whom are the *muḳaddams* of the sub-sections.

For the distinction between *makhzen*, *djaysh* (vulg. *gīsh*) and *nāʾiba* tribes, see MAKHZAN.

In the tribes not subject to the *makhzen*, political activity was confined to the *djamāʿa* [*q.v.*], i.e. an assembly of men able to bear arms. The *djamāʿa* (*jmāʿa*) dealt with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political. It administered justice following local custom (Arabic *ʿurf*, Berber *izref*). It elected a *shaykh* (Berber *amghār*) who was only an agent to carry out its decisions. Alongside of the *djamāʿa* of the tribe, there were *djamāʿas* of the sections and sub-sections but their powers were limited.

In the towns, the *makhzen* was represented by a governor whose official title was *ḳāʾid*, but in certain large towns he was often called *bāshā*. The title of *ʿāmil* was sometimes given to the governor of Oujda. The *ḳāʾid* of the town, generally speaking, had the same powers as the *ḳāʾid* of the tribe and acted as judge in case of any violation of the law. He had an assistant or *khalīfa*. Alongside of him, the *muḥtasib* supervised the corporations, fixed their average prices and lookd after public morals.

The *ḳāʾid* had under his orders the *muḳaddams* of the quarter and his police (*mkhāzniyya*) carrying out his instructions. Among the officials sent by the

makhzen to each town may also be mentioned the *nāḍir* or inspector of endowments (*ḥubūs*), the trustee of vacant inheritances (*wakīl al-ghurabā'*, popularly *bū-mwārət* = *abu 'l-mawārith*), the collector of local taxes and market-dues (*amīn al-mustafād*). Lastly in the harbour and frontier towns, the customs were collected by officials called *umanā'* (sg. *amīn*).

Justice [see MAḤKAMA. 5. i] is administered by the *ḳā'id* or by the *ḳāḍī*, as the case may be. The latter deals with questions of personal law; official reports on the cases are drawn up by the *ʿudūl*. In technical cases he appeals to experts: master-masons, agriculturalists, veterinary surgeons (*mwālīn ən-naḍar*: *arbāb əṭ-ṭurḳa, fəllāḥ, bayṭār*).

Landed property takes a number of different forms. In the first place, there are the state-domains; they were either managed directly by the *makhzen* (crown-lands) or they could be allotted to *gīsh*-tribes in return for the military service for which they could be liable; others of these lands might be granted in temporary or definite ownership to private individuals by imperial edict (*ẓahīr* or *tanfīdha*).

The *ḥubūs* lands are urban or rural. In the towns, they not infrequently cover half the area. They are let out under special conditions which give the tenants special privileges, *məftāḥ* and *gzā* (class. Ar. *djazā'*). In the country, the *ḥubūs* lands consist mainly of fields and orchards. In all cases, the revenue from these lands is set aside for the maintenance of buildings of a religious character or of public utility (mosques, colleges, schools, fountains) and for the payment of the officials attached to these establishments.

In Morocco, there are vast tracts of land which are not the property of any one individual, either as a result of the insecurity prevailing or of the sparsity of the population. These lands belong undivided to the whole tribe; they are called common lands (*blād əl-jmāʿa*).

Lastly, lands which have come to belong to private individuals (*mulk*) by inheritance or purchase have their character confirmed by a certificate of ownership (*mulkiyya*).

The old Muslim imposts (*zakāt* and *ʿushr*) have been merged into a single tax, the *tartīb* [*q.v.*]. In addition to this tax, from which the state draws the essential part of its revenues, we may mention the duties levied at the gates of towns and in the markets (*maks*), unpopular with the people and not countenanced by religion, and the urban tax on buildings (*ḍarība*). In addition to these, the main taxes, there was the *hadiyya* or present offered to the sultan on the occasion of the three great Muslim festivals. The *djizya* or poll-tax paid by non-Muslims and the *nā'iba* or payment for exemption from military service by certain Arab tribes have been abolished.

VI. Religious Life

a. The Berbers before Islam. For lack of documents, it is difficult to get any accurate idea of the religious beliefs and practices of the Berbers of Morocco before their conversion to Islam, and it is only from the survival of animistic cults which can still be observed in the country that we can guess what the primitive religion was. The figures on two carved stones found in Morocco seem to be evidence of the existence of a solar worship. On animistic practices surviving in modern Islam in Morocco, see below.

b. Conversion to Islam. At the time of their invasion, the Arabs found that in the districts around the towns the people were more or less under the influence of Jewish and Christian teachings; but there is little doubt that they did not practise these religions in their true form. It will be more correct to think of them as professing Judaism or Christianity rather than as real Jews or Christians. It seems evident that these influences had prepared the Berber population around the mountains to adopt the new monotheistic religion, which the invaders imposed upon them. The two earliest invasions, that of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ *ca*. 50/670 and that of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 92/711, could result only in a very partial and superficial islamisation, for very few Arab elements remained in the country. Islam, a town religion, was for long confined to larger centres. The Berbers generally became converted in the hope of escaping the exactions of the conquerors; but when the latter wanted to treat them simply as tributaries, they did not hesitate to apostatise, on seven different occasions, if we may believe the Arab historians. One thing is certain, that while remaining Muslims, they were not long in trying to cast off the authority of the caliphs of Baghdād by adopting the heterodox doctrines of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*; see also ṢUFRIYYA]. The Berbers of Morocco went even further when new local religions arose among them more or less based on Islam, with their own prophets and Ḳur'āns. After the attempt at rebellion by the Berber of Tangier, Maysara [*q.v.*], which was quickly suppressed, the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] recognised as their prophet one of their number, Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, who gave them a religion and a Ḳur'ān in the Berber language. This religion, the progress of which was opposed by the early Moroccan dynasties, seems only to have been finally exterminated by the Almohad rulers of the 7th/13th century. This Barghawāṭa movement was the most lasting; we also note that which was created by Ḥā-Mīm (d. 313/927-8 [*q.v.*]) among the Ghumāra, near Tetouan.

In spite of these reactions, Islam, having become the official religion of increasingly powerful dynasties, gradually gained ground and penetrated slowly into the Berber mountains, but it is only from the death of ʿAbd al-Mu'min, who destroyed the religion of the Barghawāṭa and put an end to the rule of the "anthropomorphist" (*mudjassimūn*) Almoravids, that we can date the complete unification of Islam in Morocco. Till then, Islam had had in Morocco champions who were soldiers rather than theologians, and who after forcing the people to adopt Islam at the point of the sword, were little fitted to instruct them in it. It required a Berber of the Great Atlas, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], a theologian who had been educated in the east, to come back to his country and to secure the devoted support of a mass of followers in order to found the movement, which was political as well as religious, of the Almohads or "preachers of *tawḥīd*" [*q.v.*].

If the Almohad reformation was only temporary in Morocco, it was nevertheless strong enough while it lasted to obliterate in the country all trace of schism or heresy and to establish thoroughly in it the school of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] which it still follows.

c. Evolution of Moroccan Islam. From the time of the fall of the Almohad dynasty, Moroccan Islam rapidly acquired features of its own. Islam, defeated in Spain, was gradually driven out of it, then attacked in Morocco itself by the

Christians of the Peninsula. The western frontier of the *Dār al-Islām* was brought back to its own territory and then thrust farther back. Islam in Morocco, attacked by Christianity and forced to *djihād*, became an active principle. It required all the moral forces of the country, even those of which the orthodoxy seemed doubtful; in order to utilise them, it did not hesitate to absorb them by covering them with a more or less superficial veneer of orthodoxy. It was at this period that the cult of dead and living saints, and to a certain point Sharīfism, which had hitherto only existed alongside of Islam in Morocco, were adopted into it and received a kind of official recognition from the *makhzen*.

Before the Marīnids, Islam had required the constant assistance of the temporal power to maintain itself and advance. From the time of this dynasty, sprung from a Berber nomad tribe, the roles are inverted; it is now the sovereigns who utilise Islam to increase their own power, and try to monopolise it by creating official colleges for religious instruction (*madrasas*); the first of these (*Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn*) was founded in 679/1280 by the sultan Abū Yūsuf at Fās, the capital of the dynasty, which made it the great centre of Muslim culture in Western Barbary. The immediate successors of the Marīnids, the Banū Waṭṭās, established in the same town the cult of their founder Idrīs II. The mausoleum in which he is said to be buried was henceforth an object of great veneration. He is the earliest in date and the most important of the innumerable canonised Muslims who are the objects of a regular cult in Morocco, even on the part of the religious leaders and the aristocracy. When the cult of Idrīs was established, his descendants—more or less authentic—claimed the title of *sharīf* and soon played a preponderating part in Moroccan society, as a political and moral influence. The power of the Idrīsid *shorfā* was soon reinforced by that of other *shorfā* descended from ʿAlī through al-Ḥasan and this is the origin of the two great groups of *sharīf*s in Morocco, the Idrīsid and the ʿAlid. To the latter belong the two Sharīfan dynasties, the Saʿdian and Filālī, the latter still in power. From the moment of their accession to the throne, the influence of the *shorfā* on the destinies of the country became more and more preponderant.

The phenomenon of Sharīfism is closely connected on the other hand with the development of religious brotherhoods [see ṬARĪḲA]. Although we find evidence of their existence at the end of the Almohad dynasty (Ḥudjdjādj, Māghiriyyūn, Amghāriyyūn), it is only as a result of al-Djazūlī's (d. 869/1645 [*q.v.*]) campaign in favour of a *djihād* against the Portuguese that we find the principles of the brotherhoods, as we know them to-day, first coming into existence.

d. Islam in modern Morocco. Here we will only give a survey of the principal points of detail in which the people of Morocco differ from the rest of the Muslim community as regards the practice of their religion. With the exception of a few isolated groups, still little studied, who are credited with heterodox or heretical practices (Zkāra, in the neighbourhood of the Bnī Znāsen, in eastern Morocco, Bdādwa, in the Gharb, not far from al-Ḳṣār al-Kabīr), all the Muslims of Morocco are Sunnīs and since the Almoravid period have followed the Mālikī rite, which prevailed in the west over that of al-Awzāʿī. It is in the towns that the population observes most strictly the duties of religion. The Bedouins of the plains and the Berbers of the mountains are rather lukewarm Muslims. The Jbāla, however, between Fās and Tangier, are very devoted to Islam, show great piety, and Ḳurʾānic studies are very much in favour with them; it is from them that are recruited a great number of schoolmasters who practise their calling in the plains [see SHARṬ]. It is also practically only among the hillmen of the north and south that we find a mosque in every village.

In spite of the great distance which they have to traverse, the Moroccans like to accomplish the canonical pilgrimage. A considerable number settle in the east (there are Moroccan colonies in Alexandria and Cairo); the importance of these colonies had even induced the sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to appoint a Moroccan consul, *amīn al-Maghāriba*, for Egypt.

In addition to the two canonical festivals of Islam (*ʿīd kabīr* and *ʿīd ṣaghīr*), the Moroccans celebrate the festival of the birth of the Prophet (*mūlūd*, class. *mawlid* [*q.v.*]) and that of ʿĀshūrāʾ (10th Muḥarram). The *mūlūd*, established in Morocco by the Marīnids, has become a kind of national festival, since the accession to power of sovereigns claiming descent from the Prophet; this festival in Morocco almost surpasses in importance the two canonical feasts.

The peculiarities just mentioned would not be sufficient to give Moroccan Islam a special character, nor would its religious brotherhoods, if the latter were confined to the practices of religion or exaltation of the faith and to satisfying the need for an elevated mysticism among their adepts. These religious brotherhoods are fairly numerous: Tidjāniyya, Darḳāwa, Ṭayyibiyya-Tuhāma, Kattāniyya [*q.vv.*] etc. But alongside of these brotherhoods, whose members are almost exclusively recruited from the literate or well-to-do classes of the towns and country, there are popular brotherhoods in considerable numbers, in which preoccupation with religion gives place to charlatanish practices and sanguinary displays. Such are the Jīlāla, the ʿIsāwa, the Ḥmādsha, the Dghūghiyya. Some of these brotherhoods recruit their members exclusively from a particular class of society; thus the Rmā (class. *rumāt*) is a brotherhood of marksmen, and the Gnāwa a negro brotherhood. All these brotherhoods have this feature in common that their founder has become a famous saint (*walī*).

The cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so before the introduction of Islam, which found itself obliged to tolerate it. There are however very different categories of saints, from the venerated patron saint of a capital or of a district to the local holy man whose name is forgotten, between whom comes the *sayyid* whose tomb is marked by a *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] (chapel surmounted by a dome), more or less elaborate. The more humble saints are recognised by the circular wall (*ḥawsh*) which surrounds their tombs.

These venerated individuals, male and female, have attained sanctity by very different ways, some in their lifetime, by their learning, devotion, asceticism, miraculous powers (*baraka*), sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (*madjdhūb* [*q.v.*]); the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc. The warrior in the holy war (*djihād*, *ribāṭ*), slain fighting against the infidel is frequently beatified—hence his name of *murābiṭ* (pop. *mrābəṭ*—French and English

"marabout"). But the early significance of this term was frequently lost sight of and the term *murābiṭ* came to be generally applied to saints, who never took part in a *djihād* in their lifetime. *Murābiṭ* thus came into general use as a synonym of the other words used for saint in Morocco: *walī*, *sayyid*, *ṣāliḥ*. But it is the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the *baraka* of their ancestor. Among the Berbers, the saint is called *agurram*. The names of great saints have *mawlāy* prefixed, the others the title *sīdī*, while women saints of Berber origin are called *lālla*.

The saint to whom sanctuaries are most frequently dedicated—modest though they are (*maḳām*, *khalwa*)—was not a native of the country but the famous patron saint of Baghdād, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], popularly called al-Jīlālī, who undoubtedly never visited Morocco. But the saint whose cult is surrounded with the greatest splendour is the famous Mawlāy Idrīs, founder and patron saint of Fās. Among the other great Moroccan saints may be mentioned: Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, patron of the Jbāla; Mawlāy Abū Salhām, in the Gharb; Mawlāy Abu 'l-Shitāʾ al-Khammār (Mawlāy Būshshtā), in the north of Fās; Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, patron of Meknès and founder of the brotherhood of the ʿĪsāwa; Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb (Būshʿīb), at Azemmour; Mawlāy Abū Yaʿazzā (Būʿazzā), in the Tadla; Sīdī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (Sīdī Bel-ʿAbbès), born at Ceuta and patron of Marrākush. All these saints who, for the most have been or will be the subjects of articles, and others less famous, are the subjects of a hagiographical literature which will be dealt with in the article MANĀḲIB.

Devotion to individuals canonised in their lifetime or after their death is in Morocco not confined to Muslims. The Jews have also their saints, relatively as numerous as the Muslim saints. Some of the Jewish saints have acquired a reputation so great that even Muslims revere their tombs: e.g. those of the Rabbī ʿAmrān in Azjen, near Wazzān and of Rabbī Ben Zmīro at Safi. On the other hand, the Jews of Morocco show a special reverence for certain of the great Muslim saints of the country.

The area, surrounding the tomb of each of the principal saints is sacred (*ḥurm*) and hence regarded as an inviolable asylum; among the best known are the *ḥurm* of Mawlāy Idrīs in Fās and that of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh in the mountains of the north-west. These pieces of ground are the exclusive property of the families who are descended or claim to be descended from the saint. They are exempt from state taxes; more than that, the descendants of the saints have the right to levy for their own benefit certain special dues, by a privilege officially recognised by the sultan. The levying of these dues is not the only way by which the saint's chapel benefits his descendants. The principal source of revenue is the offerings of pilgrims when visiting the tomb; this is the *ziyāra*. In general once a year, there is a kind of patronal festival at the tomb of the saint which is called *mūsəm* (class. Ar. *mawsim*); a vast crowd, some of them from a considerable distance, gather there to pay their devotions to the *sayyid* and to see the display of fireworks given in his honour. On this occasion the offerings flow in and are shared among themselves by the saint's descendants.

In these circumstances, it is usual for every sanctuary of any importance to be regularly organised. The chapel which contains the tomb and the buildings attached to it, an oratory and guest-house, is called the *zāwiya* [*q.v.*]. It is superintended by a *muḳaddam* who collects and distributes the revenues. These do not come entirely from the *ziyāra*. The *zāwiya* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants. They are called *ʿazīb* and the tenants are called *ʿazzāb*. These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*ḥubūs*) from pious private individuals.

We can thus see how certain famous and wealthy *zāwiya*s may exert a moral and political influence in the country round them, independent of their religious influence. The latter is however also very important. The great Moroccan *zāwiya*s are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islam in the country. Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts. If their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time *shorfā*, which further increases their material privileges. The descendants of a saint who was not a *sharīf* try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies. The marabouts who have in this way "infiltrated" into the social category of the *shorfā* are very numerous in Morocco. A Moroccan *zāwiya* is not only a centre of hagiolatry; it is also in the majority of cases a body of *shorfā* and the centre of a religious brotherhood or of a branch of one, or of a secondary order affiliated to a brotherhood. The *zāwiya* itself may have offshoots. Many of the establishments of this name are daughters of a mother *zāwiya* and are sometimes at a considerable distance from it.

Hagiolatry, religious brotherhoods and sharīfism thus form three special aspects of Islam in Morocco, which are profoundly intermingled, and it is difficult to study them separately. For a detailed account of the principal families of *shorfā* in Morocco of genuine sharīf origin or simply marabouts, see SHURAFĀʾ.

e. Survivals of Berber cults. The cult of saints, accepted and even recognised, as we have seen above, by Islam, is in Morocco much earlier than the introduction of this religion. Indeed, alongside of saints of note, there are others who are essentially popular, in the country as well as in the towns. In the large cities like Fās, the great *sayyid*s venerated by all classes of society rub shoulders with humble marabouts whose names show clearly their popular origin; these are Sīdī 'l-Makhfī (My lord the Hidden One), Sīdī Amsa 'l-Khayr (My lord Good Evening) or Sīdī Ḳāḍī Ḥādja (the reverend gentleman who procures what is wanted) and notices are given of them by hagiographers like the author of the *Salwat al-anfās* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 383 below). The humble, often anonymous *khalwa*s, which abound in Morocco, undoubtedly are to be connected with earlier mythical individuals, already worshipped in the same place before the coming of Islam. Besides this devotion to popular saints, there are the animistic cults, which we see everywhere in Morocco observed by the lower classes of the population: worship of high places, of caves, springs, trees and rocks.

It is hardly possible to separate from these animistic cults that of Mawlāy Yaʿḳūb in Morocco, who always has a *ḳubba* beside thermal springs, whose curative virtues are recognised.

Survivals of paganism in every case completely foreign to orthodox Islam may be found everywhere in Morocco; they are hardly distinguishable from what one finds in other parts of Barbary. The rites which accompany birth and the ceremonies connected with it (giving of the name and circumcision), marriage and death are now well known. They constitute practices quite foreign to the prescriptions of the Sunna, but they are not regarded by those who follow them as in any way heterodox.

It is especially in the life of the country people that we see most clearly traces of pre-Islamic practices. Many of them are strangely like agricultural customs of the Romans. The Moroccan peasant has retained the use of the Julian calendar, no doubt introduced into the country by the Romans; it is of course much more suitable for the needs of agriculture than the Muslim lunar calendar. The names of the months are retained in their Latin form with little change: January is *yənnāyr* from the Latin *ianuar(ius)*. The beginning of the solar year in Morocco is the occasion of a festival celebrated, especially in the country, under the name of *ḥāgūza*; the festival of the summer solstice (*ʿanṣra*) is also celebrated and on that day it is usual to have fireworks. Similarly the agrarian rites, which are still scrupulously observed by the peasants of Morocco, are completely foreign to the canonical prescriptions of Islam. They are mainly ceremonies of inauguration (of death and rebirth of the land, first day of labour, first day of harvest); rites to protect the crops from the evil eye, or to preserve the *baraka* which they contain while standing, finally special rites to secure rain and good weather. These various ceremonies, to which ethnographers have already devoted detailed studies to which the reader may be referred, are sometimes closely linked up with ceremonies prescribed by Islam; thus the different pagan rites for producing rain (carnival processions, a large spoon dressed in women's clothes and solemnly carried round) do not exclude the worship of saints specially noted as rain-makers like Mawlāy Būshshtā, nor the celebration of the orthodox ceremony of *istisḳāʾ* [*q.v.*].

It is also in the worship of spirits (*djinn*) that we find ceremonies of a strongly Islamic stamp associated with quite profane rites. This cult is especially practised by the lower classes of society, and in the towns particularly by women. The djinns are regarded as supernatural powers, who have to be conciliated to avert their evil influence or fought when one is attacked by them. The rites which deal with them are either propitiatory or intended to overcome harm done. In spite of the many sacred formulae of Islam, which are found in the celebration of these two kinds of rites, one gets a strong impression of paganism from them; they undoubtedly remain practically what they were before the introduction of Islam into Morocco.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL and G. S. COLIN)

VII. LINGUISTIC SURVEY.

Two languages are spoken in Morocco: Berber and dialects of Arabic. Berber is the oldest attested in Morocco and we have no evidence of an earlier language being used; as to Arabic, it was introduced by the Muslim conquest of the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries. But until the arrival in Morocco of the Banū Hilāl and of the Sulaym (6th/12th century), it seems that Arabic, the language of an essentially urban culture, was spoken mainly in the towns while the country people continued to talk Berber; it was only after the occupation of the plains by the Arab tribes that their language spread there. With the exception of the region of the Jbāla to be mentioned later, the highlands of Morocco alone have remained faithful to the Berber language, while the towns and lowlands are more and more Arabic speaking.

In his *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[3] (162), L. Massignon gives a proportion of 60% of Berber speakers; he retains this figure in the 1954 edn. (250), but A. Bernard had thought this exaggerated and had reduced it to 40% (cf. *Arabophones et Berbérophones au Maroc*, 1924, 278).

A. Berber.

On the language and literature, see BERBERS. V-VI, and also LĪBIYĀ. 2. Lybico-Berber inscriptions.

B. Arabic.

The Arabic dialects. The Arabic language was introduced into Morocco in at least two stages: first in the 2nd/8th century at the time of the first Muslim conquest, then in the 6th/12th at the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym. Down to the coming of the latter, who were brought to Morocco by the Almohad ruler Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, Arabic seems to have been spoken almost exclusively in the large towns of the north, where it was used by a considerable Arab population who enjoyed a double prestige, religious and political. It was the language of religion and law. From the towns, Arabic spread among the people of the surrounding country, and al-Idrīsī (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 79, tr. 90) already notes that in the 6th/12th century the Berber tribes of the southern hinterland of Fās (Banū Yūsuf, Fandalāwa, Bahlūl, Zawāwa, Maggāṣa, Ghaiyāt and Salālgūn) spoke Arabic.

It is this linguistic influence exerted by the towns on the country around them that explains the arabicisation of the mountainous country of the Jbāla (plur. of *jəbli*, "highlander") while the rest of the Moroccan highlands remained Berber speaking. The land of the Jbāla, in the wide sense, stretches in the form of a crescent from Tangier to Taza. It was surrounded by a cordon of towns: Nakūr, Bādis, Tīgīsās, Tetouan, Ceuta, al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, Tangier, Arzila, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Baṣra, Azdjen, Banū Tāwudā, Walīlī, Fās, and Taza, which were the only ports or markets available for the tribes of the region; besides, the massif itself was traversed by the most important commercial routes of Northern Morocco: the roads from Fās to Tangier, to Ceuta, to Bādis, to Nakūr and to Ghassāsa; it was therefore natural that being subject to the direct and indirect influences of the towns, the highlands of Jbāla should be the first region of Morocco to be arabicised. The process was further favoured by several other factors: 1. the existence in the mountains of numerous large villages, almost towns, which became secondary centres of Ḳurʾānic culture; 2. the settlement almost everywhere in the 4th/9th century among the Jbāla of Idrīsid *sharīfs* who, driven from Fās by Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya al-Miknāsī, founded independent principalities in the mountains, which became centres of Muslim urban culture; 3. the tribes of the Jbāla furnished a considerable part of the contingents which went to wage the holy war in Spain and returned home after being more or less arabicised by contact with the great Muslim towns of Andalusia; 4. lastly, the rebellions and civil wars which so frequently disturbed Muslim Spain, the emigrations or expulsions caused by the progress of the Christian reconquest, brought to Africa, from the "rising of the suburb" at Cordova (in 202/818) down to the 10th/16th century, an important element which settled in the region of the Jbāla either in the towns around the mountains or in the villages of the highlands (resettlement of Tetouan, foundation of Shafshāwan) bringing there, along with the Arabic language, the prestige of their cultural, intellectual and material superiority.

This rapid sketch of the spread of the Arabic language in Morocco explains why, after studying the question, three categories of Arabic dialects have been distinguished:

a. Urban dialects: *b.* highland dialects; *c.* Bedouin dialects; and we may add: *d.* the Jewish dialects.

a. Urban dialects. In Morocco not all the town dialects are "urban dialects". There are towns like Casablanca, al-Djadīda, Safi and al-Suwayra (and to a certain degree Meknès and Marrākush) the

population of which is entirely or for the most part of rural origin and where the absence of an old nucleus of town-dwellers has not enabled them to become urbanised. The Moroccans however distinguish quite clearly such places from towns with a really urban culture, more or less influenced by Andalusian culture. The principal towns with urban dialects are Fās, Rabat-Salé, Tetouan, Taza, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr; Tangier, Wazzān and Shafshāwan also have urban dialects but these are much contaminated by the surrounding highland dialects. Meknès and Marrākush have been influenced by the Bedouin elements introduced by the *makhzen* groups into the dialects of these two old capitals. It is interesting to note the case of Azammour where the old town (Azemmūr al-Ḥaḍar) has an urban dialect, while the new town, which has in more recent years grown up beside it around the sanctuary of Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb (*vulgo* Bū Shʿayb), uses a Berber dialect. The urban dialects of Morocco form one group with those of the western part of the Central Maghrib, notably with those of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Algiers. Their phonetic characteristics are the loss of the interdentals of the classical language, the affricative pronunciation (*tˢ*) of *tāʾ*, the frequent attenuation of *ḳāf* to *hamza*. In Fās, *b*, *m*, *k*, *g* and *djīm* assimilate the *lām* of the article and are treated as "sun letters"; the simple *djīm* is pronounced like the French *j* (= Persian ژ), but when it is geminated, it gives *jj* in Fās and *dj* in Tangier. The *rāʾ* is often pronounced very close to the French uvular *r*.

As peculiarities of the dialect of Fās, we may note the construction *kətbətto* "she has written it" for *kətbət* + *o*, and the use of an invariable relative *di* representing the old dialectal *dhū*. Tangier and Tetouan have a preposition *n*-, "to" which is used before nouns (*n-əd-dār* "to the house") but not before suffixed pronouns. To translate "of", Marrākush uses *t*-; the dialect of this town uses certain Berber adverbs: *ashku* "because", *həlli* "only".

All the urban dialects use the characteristic prefix of the present indicative: *ka*- in the north, *ta*- in the south. Fās uses one almost as much as the other.

b. Highland dialects. These are at least as well known as those of the towns. In 1920 G. S. Colin published notes on that of the Tsūl and the Brānes in the north of Taza; in 1922, E. Lévi-Provençal published texts, prefaced by a grammatical sketch, of the dialects of the middle valley of the Wargha; since then Colin had an opportunity of studying those of the Bni Ḥōẓmar (near Tetouan), of the Mesṭāsa (near Bādis) and of the Ghzāwa (near Shafshāwan).

The highland dialects are of course more differentiated than the urban dialects. The tribes which use them belong to two political clans probably originally of different racial origin: the Ghumāra, the old inhabitants, and the Ṣanhādja, the invaders. In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to make the dialects coincide with political or racial boundaries; but we can nevertheless recognise two main groups of highland dialects:

1. The northern dialects, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the south of Shafshāwan and embracing in the east the confederation of the Ghumāra; 2. the southern dialects, from Wazzān to Taza, used by two great classes of tribes: first, the Ṣanhādja tribes of the valley of the Wargha: Ṣanhādja of the Central Wargha, Ṣanhādja of the Sun and of the Shade, of Moṣbāḥ and of Gheddo; secondly, the Butr tribes, more or less closely related to the Zanāta and occupying the lands north of the region of Taza: Mernīsa, Brānes, Tsūl, Maghrāwa and Meknāsa. It seems to be a historical fact that these Zanāta and Ṣanhādja peoples only settled in their present habitats long after the first Arab conquest; the Ṣanhādja of the Central Wargha certainly now occupy lands which before the Almoravid period were peopled by the Ghumāra. We should therefore regard these southern highland dialects as younger than those of the northern group. The slight differences noted between the two groups may then be due to two main causes: 1. an evolution of the neighbouring urban dialects which would have taken place during the period between the arabicisation of the Ghumāra and that of the Ṣanhādja-Zanāta; 2. the non-identity of the Berber substrata.

To the two main groups: Ghumāra and Ṣanhādja-Zanāta, we may perhaps add two little islands in the south: the highlanders of the region of Ṣefrū to the south of Fās (Bhālīl, Bni Yāzgha etc.), and the Ghiyyāta to the south of Taza; they probably constitute the last vestiges of a continuous Arabic-speaking bloc which stretched to the south of the Fās-Taza corridor, the existence of which in the 6th/12th century we know from al-Idrīsī.

Phonetically, the Moroccan highland dialects are characterised by the profound changes undergone by the Arabic consonantal system as a result of the spirantisation of the dental and post-palatal occlusives. We find the interdentals *th* and *dh*, which do not represent the classical interdentals; *tāʾ-thāʾ* and *dāl-dhāl* have given in these dialects *t* and *d* respectively, which remain occlusive only at the beginning of the word or after a consonant or geminated; but after a vowel we have *th* and *dh*: *bənt* "daughter", plur. *bnāth*; after a vowel also *kāf* is pronounced as a spirant like the χ of modern Greek. The representative of the group ظـض of the classical language is usually *ḍ*, sometimes hardened to *ṭ*; but among the Ghumāra we have *dh* (= emphatic *dhāl*). The sound *č* is fairly common. The short vowels are commoner than in the towns; many of the short vowels *i* and *u* of the classical language are preserved; this is how we find a considerable number of imperfects $iR^1\ R^2\ uR^3$ and a few $iR^1\ R^2\ iR^3$.

As to morphology, the fem. personal suffixes *-a* (< *-hā*) and pl. *-em* (< *-hum*) are characteristic: they are the complement of the series begun by the masc. *-u*, *-o* (< *-hu*). Among the northern Jbāla we find the use of a suffix *-əsh* marking the plural: it seems really to be a borrowing from Latin. The dual, reserved for names of parts of the body which occur in pairs and for names of various measurements (of weight, length, volume and time) is in *-āyən*: *shahrāyən* "two months", *yiddāh* "his hands". The relative, pronoun and adjective, is *d*. The classical construct state (*iḍāfa*) is very rare and is only found in a few stereotyped phrases: it is in general replaced by analytical constructions in which the preposition *d* "of" is used, expressing possession as well as the material of a thing.

Almost everywhere the prefixes of the 2nd pers. com. and of the 3rd pers. fem. of the imperfect are *də*- (and not *tə*-): *dəktəb* "thou writest, she writes". The passive participle of hollow verbs is often of the type *məfʿāl*: *məbyāʿ* "sold", *meḥwāz* "filled up". Finally, we may note a few

traces of a passive of the form *fʿāl-yəfʿāl*: *ḳbāṭ* "to be taken". As evidence of conservatism, we may mention that in these dialects we have the word *fā* "mouth" which seems to have disappeared since old Arabic.

In spite of their divergencies, which are due mainly to pronunciation and to the local use of words and phrases corresponding to two very distinct forms of culture, the urban dialects and the highland dialects cannot be either historically or linguistically separated. The fundamental disparity is that which exists between the urban and highland group and the Bedouin group. It is the townsmen who have taught the highlanders to speak Arabic, but the urban dialects, used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly. They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political. These facts, added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands, suffice to explain why the dialects of the Jbāla still seem coarse and quaint to the townsmen. On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills. All this explains the family resemblance which the linguist finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills; perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language. W. Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, i, preface, p. XXVIII).

The principal features which are common to the urban-highland group and which distinguish it from the Beduin group are the following:
— loss of the classical interdentals;
— pronunciation of *ḳāf* as *ḳ* or *hamza* (and not *g* as among the Bedouins);
— tendency to the syllabic grouping R^1 R^2 *ə* R^3, when R^2 is not a laryngal nor a sonant;
— rarity of the construct state;
— suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. in *-u*, *-o* (and not *-ah*, as among the Bedouins);
— relative rarity of the addition of personal suffixes, but regular use of the analytical phrase with *dyāl*: *əd-dār dyāl-ī*, "my house";
— diminutive of R^1 R^2 *ə* R^3 or R^1 *ə* R^2 R^3 becomes R^1 R^2 *iyyə* R^3: *kliyyeb*, "little dog";
— diminutive of adjectives of the types R^1 R^2 *ə* R^3 (< class.: *afʿal*) and R^1 R^2 *ī* R^3 becomes R^1 R^2 *ī* R^2 *e* R^3: *ḥmīmər*, "a little red"; *kbibər*, "a little large";
— plural of the adjectives R^1 R^2 *e* R^3 (< class. *afʿal*) becomes R^1 *ū* R^2 *e* R^3: *kōḥəl*, "black" (plur.);
— reductions of the plurals C^1 C^2 *ā* C^3 *ī* C^4 to C^1 C^3 *ā* C^3 *e* C^4: *mfātəḥ*, "keys";
— use of a verbal prefix to mark the indicative present: *ka-* or *tᵃa-* in the towns and *la-*, *ḳa-*, *a-* in the hills;
— in the singular of the perfect, the feminine person is in general used for the masculine: e.g. *ktəbti*, "thou hast written" (m.), whence we find in Rabat for the plural, an analogous form *ktəbtiw*, "you have written".
— in the vocabulary, *s̲h̲ḥāl*, "how much?"; *dāba*, "now"; *lḳā* (*rḳa*, *ḳḳa*), "to do", are characteristic;
— in the imperfect of the defective verbs, the plural is formed on analogy of the singular: *yəbḳāw*, "they remain"; *yəbḳiw*, "they weep".

c. Bedouin dialects. These are in Morocco the dialects of the plains: the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Mogador with its continuations into the interior, the valley of the Moulouya, the plateaux of eastern Morocco and the region of the Moroccan Sahara (Wād G̲h̲īr, Wād Zīz etc.); they are still little known. That of the Dukkāla of the north (Ūlād Bū ʿAzīz, Ūlād Fred̲j̲), corresponds in almost all its details to the dialect of the Ūlād Brāhīm of Saïda (Orania) on which W. Marçais has written a monograph. There is no doubt that on examination one can divide the Bedouin dialects into groups characterised by more or less conservatism. Those which have most chance of having preserved their original character are those of the tribes of the Saharan steppes who have remained relatively stable and intact: Bni Gīl, Mhāya, D̲h̲wī Mnīʿ, Ūlād Jrīr, etc. In any case, the following are the main characteristics of these dialects: firstly, the *ḳāf* is pronounced as *g* (= *ḳāf maʿḳūda*), and it is already this pronunciation which for Ibn K̲h̲aldūn characterises the Bedouin dialects of his time. The *t̲h̲āʾ*, *d̲h̲āl* and *ḍād-ẓāʾ* are retained with their interdental value. The short vowels are indistinct: the sound *i* is almost completely absent and many short unaccented vowels sound practically like a labial *ə*. Characteristic are the appearance of an extremely short transitional vowel of *u* character, which is developed after *k*, *g*, *k̲h̲* and *g̲h̲* placed before a consonant or an *ā*; e.g. *kūbār*, "great" (plur.), *igūʿed*, "he sits down", *k̲h̲ūrāfa*, "tale", *g̲h̲ūzāl*, "gazelle", *s̲h̲kʷāra*, "saddle-bag", *rūgʷāg*, "thin" (plur.); a similar sound is found after *bb*, *ff*, *mm* and *kk*, *gg*, *ḳḳ*, *k̲h̲-k̲h̲*; e.g. *lug̲h̲rubbʷa*, "the crows", *nuffʷāk̲h̲a*, "a blow", *rummʷān*, "pomegranate", *sukkʷār*, "sugar", *s̲h̲uḳḳʷa*, "piece (of cloth)", *nuk̲h̲k̲h̲ʷāl*, "sound"; by analogy the combinations *mw* and *fw* when the *w* corresponds to a classical *wāw*, are reduced to *mm* and *ff*; e.g. *lemmʷiḍaʿ*, "the (little) place", *leffʷād*, "the entrails".

The retention of the accent on the first syllable causes "projected" syllabic forms: *yə́ktəb*, "he writes", plur *yə́kkətbu*; *mə́g̲h̲g̲h̲ərbi*, "Moroccan", *mŭkkaḥla*, "musket", *bə́ggərti*, "my cow".

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. is *-ah*. The dialectal preposition translating "of" is *ntāʿ* or *tāʿ*, from the classical *matāʿ*; according as the word before it is feminine or plural, this preposition becomes *ntāʿt* (*tāʿt*) or *ntāʷʿ* (*tāʷʿ*).

It does not seem that the Bedouin dialects know the use of the verbal prefix indicating the indicative present. In the plural personal forms of the defective verb, there is a reduction of the diphthong: *glū-yə́glū*, from the verb *glā* "to fry"; *nsū-yénsū*, from the verb *nsā* "to forget".

We may also note the use of a preposition *li-*, "to": *gāl-lina*, "he told us".

From the point of view of vocabulary, some words are characteristic of Bedouin dialects: *ba-ibi*, "to wish", *yāməs*, "yesterday", *d̲h̲arwək*, *d̲h̲urk*, "now", from the classical *d̲h̲a'l-waḳt*.

d. Jewish dialects. The Jews who emigrated from Spain have as a rule retained the use of an archaic Spanish; many have also learned Arabic for business reasons. Alongside of the Spanish Jews, we have in the Berber highlands and in the towns of the interior Moroccan Jews of unknown origin whom the former call *forasteros* (Span. "foreigners"); according to the district, they speak Berber or Arabic [see JUDAEO-ARABIC and JUDAEO-BERBER].

e. **Relations of the linguistic groups of Morocco to one another.** Morocco appears to the philologist a wonderful field for the study of the influence of the substratum on an imported language, since the language of the substratum, i.e. Berber, is still alive alongside of the Arabic and quite well known. The results of the examination are very meagre: the phenomena actually ascribable to the action of the substratum alone are infinitesmal; this may, however, be due to the fact that Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a proto-Semitic language, are not sufficiently differentiated.

From the phonetic point of view, there is hardly any sound change found in the highland dialects of the arabicised Berbers, for which a corresponding change cannot be found in the dialectal phenomena of old Arabic; only, perhaps their tendency to spirantisation should be connected with the identical tendency observed in the northern Berber dialects found in the confines of the Jbāla country.

If we consider the morphology, we see that in the highland dialects the verb has lost feminine forms of the plural of the old Arabic, which still survive in some Bedouin dialects and are still found in Berber. A Berber origin has been sought for the use of the verbal prefix indicating the present of the indicative; but similar prefixes are found in Egypt and in Syria where there are very different substrata.

Certainly, Berber has the scheme *ta- — -t* which forms nouns indicating trades (*ta-bennay-t*, "trade of a mason") and names of abstract qualities (*ta-ḥrāmi-t*, "roguery"); it is however curious to note that in modern Berber, this scheme has not this significance and is only used to form the feminine and secondarily the diminutive.

In the syntax of the highland dialects, we find indisputable traces of Berber influence; plural treatment of singulars applied to liquids (water, urine), phrases translated or stereotyped, e.g. *hā-in Ḳaddūr* "Ḳaddūr's brother", with retention of the Berber particle indicating belonging to, *-in*.

But it is in the vocabulary that the Berber substratum makes its influence most felt. Whether surviving in the highland dialects or borrowed in the Bedouin dialects, many of the terms relating to country life are Berber (names of plants, animals, rocks, agricultural implements and tools); they have often retained in Arabic the Berber prefix *a-*, which, still felt to have its original value, makes them unfit to take the Arabic article also; alongside of the singular in *a-*, we usually have a Berber plural in *a—ān* also retained. It is curious, by the way, but intelligible to find in the highland dialects words of Arabic origin with this Berber prefix. These must be Arabic words borrowed and berberised at a time when the Jbāla still spoke Berber and which have been retained just as they were in their Arabic dialect after being arabicised, e.g. *a-ḥfir*, "ditch", plur. *a-ḥəfrān*; in Tangier the nave of the mosque is called *a-blāṭ*; at Rabat two words imported from Europe have a Berber form: *a-šḳif*, "the sulṭān's boat" and *a-tāy*, "tea".

Some Berber words have survived in the administrative language of the *makhzen*: *afrāg*, "a wall of cloth surrounding the sultan's camp"; *agdāl*, "a pasture reserved for the sultan's animals"; *azfel*, "lash to punish the guilty"; *məzwār*, "syndic (*naḳīb*) of the Sharīfs".

The Bedouin dialects naturally contain much fewer Berber elements than the urban dialects and still less than the highland dialects; their rustic vocabulary nevertheless made numerous borrowings from the technical vocabulary of the previous Berber tillers of the plains. Within the Arabic area, the highland and urban dialects have borrowed from them a certain number of terms relating to the rural activities of the Bedouins; they are as a rule revealed by the pronunciation of *ḳāf* as *g*. The Bedouin dialects in their turn borrow from the towns their words relating to a more advanced culture; but, for economic, political and, to a certain extent, aesthetic reasons, they give more than they borrow.

In addition to the Berber and Arabic elements, the Moroccan vocabulary contains a fairly important number of "European" loanwords. They come from the vocabulary of a higher culture and relate to the flora (in cultivation or its products), to agriculture, to food and dress, to furniture and housing, sometimes even to parts of the body. There are Greek or Latin borrowings of the oldest period, Romance or Spanish for later periods; but neither their meaning nor their phonetic treatment enables us always to be able to date accurately the time of their introduction and their origin.

These "European" loanwords are naturally found in larger numbers in Northern Morocco, which has been more subject to Mediterranean influences which, through refugees from Spain, have been felt as far as the northern part of the Middle Atlas. The Bedouin dialects have escaped these influences (cf. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mozarabes*, Madrid 1888; Schuchardt, *Die romanischen Lehnwörter im Berberischen*, Vienna 1918; G. S. Colin, *Etymologies maġribines*, in *Hespéris* (1926-7); A. Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre des Marokkanisch-arabischen* (chs. ii, iii, and *Excurs*), Leipzig 1917).

In spite of the profound differences which separate them, the highland and Bedouin dialects of Morocco (and of the Maghrib) agree in one essential and characteristic morphological feature: the forms sing. *n*—, plur. *n—u* in the first persons of the imperfect. Now this fact is attested in the 6th/12th century for Almoravid Spain and Norman Sicily, i.e. in languages from which Hilālī influence is clearly excluded; it is also found in Maltese; it must then be admitted that the two groups of dialects have independently brought about this innovation, which seems to have remained exceptional in the dialects of the east. The two groups agree also in the loss of short vowels in open syllables; this phonetic peculiarity is also found in many eastern dialects; but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib while the dialects of Spain and Egypt do not have it.

It is in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* that we find the first information about Moroccan Arabic (use of *bāsh*, "in order that", *mtāʿ*, "of", first persons of the aorist in *n*— (sing.), *n—u* (plur.)); but we have to wait till D. de Torres to find a few phrases transcribed (cf. French tr. Paris 1636, 241, 323, 339). Mouëtte, who was captured at sea by the Moors in 1670 and was for a long time a prisoner, has left us a *Dictionnaire arabesque* in French and Moroccan, in transcription (cf. *Relation de la Captivité* Paris 1683, 330-62). The first grammatical notes were collected by Höst (cf. *Efterretninger* . . ., 1779, ch. 8, p. 202-210), who has also given us a Berber-Danish-Moroccan Arabic vocabulary (*op. cit.*, 128-33). It is to Fr. de Dombay that we owe the first monograph on Moroccan dialects, which is also the first serious contribution to the study of Arabic dialects; the dialect which he deals with is that of

Tangier (*Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae*, Vienna 1800). Since then, there have been a number of studies: for works before 1911 see the bibliography given by W. Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 207-13; for later works, see the bibliography in *Textes arabes de Rabat* by L. Brunot and the *Bibliographies marocaines* given periodically in *Hespéris*.

2. Literature of the Arabic dialects. Like all popular literatures, the literature of the Arabic dialects of Morocco is essentially poetical. The only texts in prose are those which have been collected recently by European students of dialects.

In the Arabic poetry of Morocco two periods must be distinguished: the first extending down to the beginning of the Saʿdian dynasty; the first known texts are those which Ibn Khaldūn gives at the end of his *Muḳaddima* among the specimens of the poetry of the towns. To these we may add a mass of poems composed in honour of the Prophet (*Mawlidiyyāt*) and collected in numerous collections existing in manuscript. From this group cannot be separated the poems which accompany classical Moroccan music, "Andalusian" music, many of which must have been composed in Morocco; these were collected and classified by al-Ḥāʾik, a musician of Spanish origin who had settled in Tetouan. All these poems belonging to this first period are written in the Spanish Arabic dialect, which after the great success of the Cordovan Ibn Ḳuzmān (6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) became the classical language of the new poetic genre called *zadjal* [*q.v.*], which had this in common with the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*], that, while employing like it new metres, its prosody was based on the quantity of the syllables, but it differed from the *muwashshaḥ* in that it was written in the Spanish dialect and not in the classical language.

The main characteristics of the poetry of the Moroccan dialects of the first period are attention to the quantity of each syllable and the use of the Spanish dialect.

The second period, on the other hand, is distinguished by a system of prosody founded exclusively on the number of syllables in each verse and by the use of a special language called *məlḥūn* [see MALḤŪN].

Alongside of this men's poetry, there are the songs of the women (songs of women working at the mill, songs of gleaners, songs of family fêtes, lullabies), the children's songs which are often strangely conservative, epigrams and proverbs; see S. Biarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924 (songs of women and children); L. Brunot, *Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat*, in *Hespéris* (1928) (with Moroccan bibliography of the subject).

III. Other Languages. A sketch of the languages of Morocco which only took account of Berber and Arabic dialects would be incomplete, for three other elements of secondary importance have to be considered:

a. Classical Arabic, the official language, is used only in writing, for sermons, lectures and conferences; it is never the language of conversation except on the radio and television. But, thanks to these two methods of communication and to the fact that religious studies which are considerably developed in the towns (especially Fās) and also among the Jbāla (Ḳurʾānic studies and especially *ḳirāʾāt*), many words of classical Arabic have been introduced into the popular dialect. The phonetic peculiarity to notice in borrowed classical words is the retention of the short vowels as a result of the process of elongation; e.g. classical *ḍahīr*, plur. *ḍahāʾir*, "decree of the sulṭān", borrowed by the popular dialect in the form *ḍāhēr*, whence a dialect plural *ḍwāhər*. Several Ḳurʾānic expressions or phrases of exegesis hence passed into everyday language as adverbs: *bəllāti* "guilty" (taken from Ḳurʾān vi. 153), *b-ət-tāwīl* "slowly", lit. "in commenting on", *wa-ḳīla* "perhaps".

b. Spanish was the only language spoken by many of the Muslims of Spain, who in the 9th/15th century and especially in the 10th/16th took refuge in Morocco, mainly at Tetouan and Rabat-Salé. Mouëtte, who was taken a prisoner to Morocco in 1670, says that Spanish was as common there as Arabic; his remarks is probably true only of the towns already mentioned. The descendants of these emigrants from Spain later learned Arabic and forgot Spanish, under the influence of Islamic culture. Not having been subject to the latter influence, the Jews of Spanish origin still speak an archaic Spanish, sprinkled with Arabic terms moulded to the flexions of Latin morphology.

c. In the palace of the sultan, many black servants of both sexes still spoke Sudanese dialects, but these seem to have had no influence on the Arabic dialects of Morocco.

No trace has so far been found of the existence in Morocco of secret languages; one could hardly put in this category the argots of certain guilds (butchers) nor those of the students, the originality of which consist simply in transposing certain letters of each word of the ordinary language and in the addition of certain prearranged syllables. One should not, finally, omit to mention that the use of Spanish and, above all, French, which spread during the protectorate, remains as widely spread—if not more so—since independence, and is not without an appreciable effect of dialect vocabulary.

(G. S. COLIN)

VIII. INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

More especially since the end of the Middle Ages, Morocco has occupied a place by itself, often important, in the history of civilisation. From the point of view of intellectual life, it was for long under the tutelage, more or less marked, of neighbouring countries, and it was only from the time it became an independent state that it began to show independence in this respect also. The great activity at the centres of learning in Arab Spain down to the end of the 7th/13th century had undoubtedly an influence in Morocco, but it was after the return of the Iberian Peninsula to Christianity, that, owing to the migration of refugees from Spain to Morocco, where there happened to be ruling princes anxious to further Islamic studies, it was able to preserve the last and only centres of study in the Muslim west. In any case, in spite of the relatively large number of scholars which it has produced in various branches of *ʿilm*, this country is far from having inherited in the eyes of the rest of Islam the reputation and intellectual prestige, which Spain enjoyed when it was a Muslim country. However, it may be said that the towns of Morocco have always held in recent centuries a large proportion of men of letters, much attached to their traditional culture. Lastly, it may be noted that this culture, to the end of the 19th century at least, never allowed the slightest place for modern sciences, the study of which, if it has gradually become more or less established in the Muslim East, has hardly interested the West.

The characteristic feature of this culture, which is essentially founded on religion, is that it has remained unchanging. In this country, where tradition strictly regulated all acts of public and private life, it is not surprising that the intellectual ideal has always remained the same. It has already been remarked that, until recent times, the Moroccan *faḳīh*, whether he were magistrate, teacher, or official of the Sharīfian government, possessed the same stock of knowledge as a *faḳīh* of the periods of the Marīnids or Saʿdians. The same instruction had been given him and by the same methods. He received first of all an elementary education in the Ḳurʾānic school [see KUTTĀB], he learned the Ḳurʾān by heart, often completely, and some of the elements of grammar. Next he became a student (*ṭālib*), and the *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, which he studied, was governed by no rules or programmes other than the traditional ones. He first of all studied the "mother-words" (*ummahāt*), compendia made to be memorised readily, on theology and grammar (usually the *Murshid al-muʿīn* of Ibn ʿĀshir and the *Ādjurrumiyya*). It was only then that he entered upon a more thorough study of more advanced texts, usually commentaries (*sharḥ*) or glosses (*ḥāshiya*) on works (*matn*) of established reputation and exclusively Islamic in character. The whole trend of his studies was toward a better knowledge of theology and law.

The result was that in most cases in Morocco men of learning were almost entirely jurists and that they differentiated between purely Islamic sciences (*ʿulūm*) and profane learning (*funūn*), with some contempt for the latter. One understands also why the part played by Morocco in Arabic literature is primarily in the domain of subjects directly connected with the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna, theology, law and *uṣūl*.

The centres of learning have varied with periods and historical circumstances. The early ones seem to have been the points nearest to Spain, Ceuta and Tangier. The foundation of Fās and the building in this city of the great Mosque of the Ḳayrawānīs (Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]) facilitated the establishment of a centre of culture in the interior. A little later, Marrākush, the capital of the Almoravids and of the Almohads, became by desire of its rulers the centre of attraction for Maghribī scholars and even for a certain number from Spain. But it is from the Marīnid dynasty, who saw in the development of educational centres in Morocco a means to make themselves popular in the country and to acquire prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world, that the rise of Fās as an intellectual centre dates: it was the metropolis of learning in the country from the 8th/14th century. Not only did the Marīnid princes make it the political capital but by the foundation of a series of colleges or *madrasas* around the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn and mosque of New Fās, they were able to attract to this city a host of students from all parts of the country and to give it the renown for learning, which it still jealously claims to-day. In the Marīnid period, *madrasas* were also multiplied outside Fās: Meknès, Salé and Marrākush had their own, which shows that regular education was given in these towns.

In addition to the part played by the *madrasas*, there was the activity of the *zāwiyas*, directly connected with the development of maraboutism and Sharīfism in the country in the period when the Spaniards and Portuguese were trying to establish themselves in Morocco in the 10th/16th century. The *zāwiyas*, religious centres, headquarters of the *djihād*, naturally became centres of teaching. At the time when Fās could only with difficulty keep its character as the principal centre of learning in the country, the *zāwiyas*, in which teaching was carried on, became more and more numerous; e.g. the *zāwiya* of al-Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the Middle Atlas, the *zāwiya* of Tamgrut in the land of Daʿra and the *zāwiya* of Wazzān [*q.vv.*] in the north. The most famous scholars were frequently either heads of brotherhoods or *shorfā*, who taught in the motherhouse of their order.

We do not intend here to give a detailed sketch of the Arabic literature of Morocco, but will be content with a few general indications and names distinguishing where possible, between Islamic and profane sciences.

It was not till the Muslim West adopted the Mālikī rite that Morocco began to produce work in the domain of *ʿilm* in close accord, as already mentioned, with the school of Spain. In this period of intellectual dependence, the relations between the two countries were continued and the Maghribī students down to the 7th/13th century considered a sojourn in Cordova, Murcia or Valencia necessary to finish their course. The East did not yet seem to exert the attraction that it did later. At this period, besides, the islamisation and arabicisation of the Berber masses was still too recent. Only a few names may be mentioned for this early period, Darrās b. Ismāʿīl, of whom much that is recorded is legendary; the famous reformer Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], creator of the Almohad movement and author of several *risālas* or *ʿaḳīdas* on his teaching; the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*]), author of numerous works on Muslim learning, of which the most famous are the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* and the *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* with a collection of biographies of learned Mālikīs, entitled *al-Madārik*.

During the modern period, on the other hand, the number of learned Moroccans becomes more and more considerable. The best known are for *ḳirāʾāt*: Ibn Barrī (8th/14th century); Ibn Fakhkhār 9th/15th century); the scholar of Meknès Ibn Ghāzī (d. 919/1513); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (d. 1082/1671); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Idrīs Mandjra (d. 1179/1765-6); Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Fāsī (d. 1214/1809 [*q.v.*]): for *ḥadīth*; Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj (d. 808/1405-6); Sukkayn al-ʿAṣimī (d. 956/1549); Riḍwān al-Djinwī (d. 991/1591); Muḥammad b. Ḳasim al-Ḳaṣṣār (d. 1012/1603-4); Idrīs al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 1228/1813); for *fiḳh*: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṣughayyir, commentator of the *Mudawwana*; al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmad Zarrūḳ (9th/15th century) commentators of the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī; al-Wansharīsī (d. 955/1548); al-Mandjūr (d. 995/1587 [*q.v.*]); Ibn ʿĀshir (d. 1040/1630-1); Mayyāra (d. 1072/1661-2); for philology: al-Makkūdī (d. 807/1404-5); Ibn Zakrī (d. 899/1494 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). Their works have for the most part been recorded and will be found detailed either in Brockelmann or in Bencheneb's work on the individuals mentioned in the *Idjāza* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī. Only a small number have found a place in eastern libraries; but on the other hand, they all form the foundations of the collections of manuscripts formed and preserved in the imperial palaces and mosques of Morocco.

Some Moroccan scholars have written works on *adab* or collections of poems, in addition to books of a strictly Muslim character. None of them can

claim any great originality and purely literary *dīwāns* are rare. Poetry, as a rule—when it is not didactic (*urdjūza*)— is religious or mystic. At the courts, there were always a few literary men maintained by the princes, who were the panegyrists, often very extravagantly, of their patrons.

It is at the courts also, especially from the 8th/14th century, that we find the few historians who have given us original chronicles or compilations. Their works, planned on a singularly curious conception of history, have nevertheless the merit of giving us the only detailed information about the political history of the country in the period of the author or immediately preceding it. Those which date from the Middle Ages are, however, much the best. The kind of work not only did not improve later, but became simply dry chronicles in which events are related in a brief and colourless fashion.

The early historians of Morocco—if we except the Berber genealogists about whom we do not know very much—are contemporaries of the Almoravid dynasty. A little later, the Almohads find a historian in the person of a companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, al-Baydhaḳ [*q.v.*] al-Ṣanhādjī, the interest of whose memoirs contrasts strikingly with many later chroniclers. Alongside of the work of al-Baydhaḳ may be placed the chronicles of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān and of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī [*q.vv.*] as of high value. But it was in the Marīnid period that the historian found most favour in Morocco. Leaving out Ibn Khaldūn, whom Morocco is not the only one to claim, we may mention Ibn ʿIdhārī [*q.v.*], a scholar of Marrākush, to whom we owe a history of North Africa and Spain, the *Bayān al-mughrib*; that of Ibn Abī Zarʿ [*q.v.*], author of a history of Fās and the Moroccan dynasties, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*; Ibn Marzūḳ [*q.v.*], author of the *Musnad*, a monograph on the sultan Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī; Ibn al-Aḥmar [*q.v.*] of the family of the kings of Granada, author of the *Rawḍat al-nisrīn*. Under the Saʿdians, the principal historians were al-Fishtālī and al-Ifrānī [*q.vv.*], author of the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*; finally, under the ʿAlawids, al-Zayyānī and Akansūs [*q.vv.*].

Geography is represented in modern Moroccan literature only in the form of *riḥlas* [*q.v.*] or accounts of the travels of pilgrims, in which the description of the country passed through only occupies an insignificant place. Nevertheless, the geographer al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] and the great traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] were of Moroccan origin.

The biographical literature of Morocco is considerable. The collections of *manāḳib* [*q.v.*] of saints, monographs dealing with families of *shorfā* or religious brotherhoods are abundant, especially in the modern period. There are also collections by town or century, some of which are of a certain interest, even from the point of view of history. All these biographies have been surveyed in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*. The most notable biographers down to the middle of the 19th century are Ibn ʿAskar, author of the *Dawḥat al-nāshir*; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, author of the *Durrat al-ḥidjāl* and the *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*; the historian al-Ifrānī, author of the *Ṣafwāt man intashar*; and al-Ḳādirī, author of the *Nashr al-mathānī* and the *Iltiḳāṭ al-durar*.

As to medicine and natural science, Morocco down to the 8th/14th century was closely dependent on Spain. The physicians of the Almoravid and Almohad princes were from Spain, like Ibn Bādja (Avenpace), Ibn Ṭufayl and the celebrated Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar). In the modern period, we find at the courts of the sultans several physicians of Moroccan origin who have left works. The chief were, in the Saʿdian period: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī, in the ʿAlawid period: Ibn Shuḳrūn, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Adarrāḳ, Aḥmad al-Daraʿī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAzzūz al-Marrākushī, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥādjdj and ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿAlamī. Finally, two famous Moroccans studied the exact sciences in the 7th/13th century: Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Marrākushī, author of a treatise on astronomical instruments, part of which has been translated by Sédillot, and Aḥmad Ibn al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*], to whom we owe several works on arithmetic, geometry, algebra, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

At the end of the 19th century, the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was marked by a kind of renaissance in Muslim studies in Morocco, particularly characterised by the need which writers felt of getting their works printed to make them more widely known. The lithographic presses of Fās acquired a certain importance at this time and began to publish texts which had hitherto circulated only in manuscript. A little later, there appeared at Fās the three volumes of the *Salwat al-anfās* of Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī [*q.v.*], an excellent biographical dictionary of the celebrities of the northern capital. At the same time, there was published in Cairo the great Moroccan history of Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salawī [*q.v.*] entitled *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

MAGHRIBĪ, Aḥmad Khattū, famous mediaeval Gudjarātī saint. Born *ca.* 737/1336 in Dihlī

and educated there, he migrated to Khattū, near Nāgawr, in Rādjasthān at the instance of his spiritual director, the Maghribī master, Bābā Isḥāḳ. In 776/1375, Bābā Isḥāḳ died, and Aḥmad set out on an extended pilgrimage, visiting Arabia, Iran and ʿIrāḳ before returning to Dihlī, where he survived the wrath of Tīmūr in 800/1398 (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 270-1; Eng. tr. G. Ranking, i, 357-8). He subsequently proceeded to Sarkhēdj, near Aḥmadābād, and there attained enduring fame. According to Mughal historians (Niẓām ad-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., ii, 97; ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, suppl., Baroda 1930, 78-9), Sultan Aḥmad Shāh I founded the city of Aḥmadābād in 813/1411 on the advice, and with the blessing, of Aḥmad Khattū.

In addition to being well versed in traditional Islamic sciences and theoretical Ṣūfism, Aḥmad was a poet whose Persian verses are cited in the same extant *malfūẓāt* which provide the primary source material for his biography, viz., the *Tuḥfat al-madjālis* by Maḥmūd Irdjī and another *malfūẓ* by Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Ḳāsim. At his death on 10 Shawwāl 849/9 January 1446, the saint was buried in a towering marble mausoleum which, with adjacent structures built by later Gudjarāt sultans, elicited praise from the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr on a visit to Sarkhēdj in 1027/1618 (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, 212).

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1309/1891, 153-8; Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr, *Ẓafar al-wālih bi Muẓaffar wa-ālihi*, ed. E. Denison Ross, London 1901, Eng. tr. M. H. Lokhandwala, Baroda 1970, 1-2; Ghulām Sarwar Lāhorī, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow 1290/1873, ii, 314-20; K. A. Nizami, *Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi as a great historical personality of medieval Gujarat*, in *Medieval India—a miscellany*, iii, Aligarh 1975, 234-59. (B. LAWRENCE)

AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ, a family of Persian origin who performed in the course of two succeeding centuries (the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries) the influential functions of *wazīr*, *kātib* or intendant (*mudabbir*) at several princely courts throughout the Middle East, in Baghdād, Aleppo, Cairo, Mawṣil, and Mayyāfāriḳīn.

In the collections of *akhbār* concerning the vicissitudes of this family, the respective representatives of four succeeding generations are mentioned in particular. The first three of these are described in the *akhbār* concerning the family and also in this article, as seen from the point of view of the representative of the youngest generation, the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. The life of the latter is otherwise better known owing to the historical sources available. Sāmī al-Dahhān, the editor of the *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa* (Damascus 1948) written by the *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, has given in his Preface an account of events which affected the family's rather adventurous history, which may be supplemented by the information given by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the historian of Aleppo (see IBN AL-ʿADĪM, and *Bibl.*). The four members of the Banu 'l-Maghribī family mentioned above will here be discussed from the point of view of the youngest, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim:

(1) His great-grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad.
(2) His grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.
(3) His father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.
(4) Finally, he himself, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

1. The great-grandfather, Abu 'l-Ḥasan filled a post in the so-called *Dīwān al-Maghrib*, an administrative division specially established for the collecting of the *kharādj* or landtax of provinces in the regions west of Baghdād. See for this aspect of the ʿAbbāsid administration, D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 591. In spite of its Persian descent, the family acquired the name Banu 'l-Maghribī from its responsibility for the proper functioning of the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*.

2. The grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, discharged *inter alia* the function of *mudabbir* at Baghdād in the service of Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt, a high dignitary at the ʿAbbāsid court (cf. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 484-5). At Baghdād, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī became related to a certain Abu ʿAlī Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Awāridjī by having married his sister. Abū ʿAlī Hārūn is known to us as the subject of two eulogies composed by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], see R. Blachère, *Abou 't-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî, un poète arabe*, Paris 1935, 90-2, and as the author of a pamphlet against the famous Baghdādī mystic al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], see L. Massignon, *La passion de Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr Ḥallâj*, Paris 1975, i, 533-4. As a *kātib*, Abū ʿAlī Hārūn was employed in an administrative department under supervision of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*].

In consequence of the overthrow of the latter in 330/942, Abū ʿAlī and also his brother-in-law al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī had to flee from ʿIrāḳ in order to find employment elsewhere. After some time, the grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, was able to find a new job in the service of the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*] of Egypt and Syria. The family was to stay in Egypt for some years till there was a change in the Egyptian government; in the words of Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*Bughya*, ms. fol. 16b), "Until the power of the one who made himself master of Egypt was renewed"—probably thereby referring to the decease of the Ikhshīdid prince Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*] in 334/946, and his being succeeded by his two sons, while real power of government was entrusted to his Nubian slave Kāfūr [*q.v.*]. Thus it was probably under the influence of this governmental change that the Banu 'l-Maghribī departed from Egypt in order to settle in Syria. There, they are found holding office at the Ḥamdānid [*q.v.*] court in Aleppo. For most of the rest of his life, the grandfather al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was to remain there as a *kātib*, except that his stay at Aleppo was, at the end of his life, to be interrupted by a sojourn in Byzantine territory as a guarantee or hostage for the Byzantines, who had been requested to release a number of Muslim prisoners of war. Also comprised in this act of redemption (*fidāʾ*) was the deliverance of a second security, a very valuable piece of armour studded with jewels, a *badana* of Sayf al-Dawla himself. This affair of the *fidāʾ* occurred in 354/965 and is an indication of the importance attached to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī as a political personality.

When the last remnants of the ransom had been handed over, the Byzantine authorities gave permission for him to return to his home country. However, soon after his arrival in Aleppo—or, according to some other sources, even before his return—al-Ḥusayn died. In his palmy days, he had been a subject of praise, in the poetry of Abū Naṣr b. Nubāta al-Saʿdī (327-405/939-1015, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 504-5).

3. The father Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn succeeded al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in his function as a *kātib* in the service of Sayf al-Dawla and his son

Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf (reigned 356-81/967-91). Like his father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan also found someone who was prepared to eulogise him, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nāmī, who was al-Mutanabbī's successor at the Ḥamdānid court in Aleppo as soon as the latter had departed to try his luck in Egypt. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nāmī is mentioned in this connection by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* fols. 16b, 126b (see on this poet, Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 506-4)

It was only after a period of many years in the Ḥamdānids' employment that the position of Abu 'l-Ḥasan at Aleppo was to change rather abruptly; when in 380/989-90, a rebellious general, the *amīr* Abu 'l-Fawāris Bakdjūr al-Ḥādjibī, tried to overthrow the reigning dynasty, Abu 'l-Ḥasan defected to the camp of the rebels. Hence on the failure of this rebellion, the *kātib* had to flee to Egypt, where he soon acquired new important functions in the Fāṭimid state under the caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh [*q.v.*]. For information about these developments in the careers of the Banu 'l-Maghribī, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 170, 178, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 157.

After a short while, Abu 'l-Ḥasan re-appeared in northern Syria, this time as intendant of the Fāṭimid army (*mudabbir al-djaysh*), and with much more power than at the preceding time of the unsuccessful rebellion of Bakdjūr. It was his avowed intention to conquer Aleppo on behalf of his Fāṭimid overlord from the Ḥamdānid Saʿīd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Faḍā'il (381-92/991-1002). However, although Aleppo was to suffer a prolonged Fāṭimid siege, the Ḥamdānid capital stood its ground successfully, with support from the north by the Byzantines and helped by corruption amongst the attackers; even the *mudabbir al-djaysh* himself is reported to have accepted bribes in exchange for his secretly given advice to the Fāṭimid general about a final retreat.

It is perhaps in this period of Abu 'l-Ḥasan's life that the Syrian poet Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*] addressed to him a *ḳaṣīda*, part of which has survived till our time. In this fragment (*Shurūḥ Saḳt al-zand*, Cairo 1947, iii, 1087-96, rhyme *ḥimyaru*) the poet explicitly mentions the Persian descent of his *mamdūḥ*, together with other praiseworthy qualities, e.g. his description of Abu 'l-Ḥasan as one who, instead of silver, only wishes to grant gold to his favourites—at the same time scattering pearls of material origin, accompanying his much more excellent pearls of spiritual wisdom. Notwithstanding the wisdom ascribed to him, Abu 'l-Ḥasan failed to realise his political aims in Syria, and was recalled to Egypt. There he appears to have escaped the immediate effect of the Fāṭimid caliph's wrath, possibly as a consequence of the sudden death of al-ʿAzīz and the accession to the throne of his successor al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*], in 386/996.

Once more in Egypt, Abu 'l-Ḥasan again succeeded in securing for himself a position of some importance, while his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī (see 4. below) came to be entrusted with a position of influence in the *Dīwān al-Sawād*. Soon, however, the fortunes of the Banu 'l-Maghribī were to change again, this time because of their increasing involvement in a number of intrigues and political struggles with an important personality at al-Ḥākim's court, who held the high position of *wazīr al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* (Minister of the Sword and Pen), the Christian Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn. Although initially the Banu 'l-Maghribī could boast of some successes in their intrigues, aimed in particular at the Fāṭimid Christian functionaries, Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn finally got the upper hand. He persuaded the capricious caliph to order the execution en bloc of the members of the Banu 'l-Maghribī, and accordingly, almost all of them died in 400/1009-10, with the sole exception of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, the representative of the fourth generation of this family (for details about the intrigues, see Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, 61-2).

4. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, "*al-wazīr* al-Maghribī", also called by another surname "al-Kāmil Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn", was born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 370/ May 981 at Aleppo, according to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, fol. 14a-b, whose information should be preferred to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 158, where instead of Aleppo, Egypt is mentioned as his original home. Having escaped from the massacre in Egypt, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim at first sought refuge with the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ [see DJARRĀḤIDS], leaders of a clan of Bedouins who exercised some political influence in Palestine more or less independent of al-Ḥākim's authority. At his request, the chief of the clan, Ḥassān b. al-Mufarridj b. Daghfal, granted him protection or *idjāra* [*q.v.*], upon which the grateful fugitive composed and recited a fairly long *ḳaṣīda*, which can be found in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 62-3.

Once in Palestine, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim began inflaming the Bedouins against the Fāṭimid caliph, against whom he evidently felt an unquenchable thirst for revenge. At first, his policy proved successful, for even a quite important town like Ramla, which was under Egyptian jurisdiction, had to undergo a siege and subsequent invasion, looting and massacre—all this, as it appears, at the instigation and advice of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. Not yet satisfied, he also planned and executed the erection of a counter-imamate to that of the Fāṭimids. A Meccan *sharīf*, al-Ḥasan b. Djaʿfar, who could from his ʿAlid pedigree claim a descent at least as authentic as that of the Fāṭimid *imām*, claimed for himself, as *amīr al-mu'minīn*, the honorific title al-Rāshid bi'llāh, all this accompanied by the approval and acclamations of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and his Djarrāḥid protectors. This rebellion was financed by gold and silver taken from the Kaʿba, melted down, and coined into *dīnārs* and *dirhams*, known as "Kaʿbiyya" ones. However well-planned, the action of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim failed to achieve any result; the counter-caliphate proved unstable on account of the readiness of its Bedouin supporters to accept extensive bribes from al-Ḥākim. Just in time, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was able to leave his former allies and to escape to ʿIrāḳ and ʿAbbāsid jurisdiction.

In connection with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's stay in ʿIrāḳ, we find in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, fol. 15b, a rather curious report about the suspicion fastened on him by reason of his name "al-Maghribī". The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir bi'llāh wrongly assumed from this a pro-Fāṭimid inclination, the Egyptians being indicated in the east by the term *Maghāriba*. From Wāsiṭ, where Abu 'l-Ḳāsim had to remain as long as this suspicion circulated, he sent to al-Ḳādir a *risāla*, in which the original meaning of the name "al-Maghribī" was duly explained, as derived from the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*, a Baghdād governmental department. Thus having purged his name and political intentions, he was allowed to reside at Baghdād, and was able to begin a completely new career of *wazīr* or *kātib* at different princely courts in the Muslim East.

After his stay in Baghdād, he is reported to have held several offices, at first in Mawṣil under the ʿUḳaylid prince Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallad, then at Mayyāfāriḳīn under the Marwānid prince Naṣr al-Dawla b. Aḥmad. Thereafter, having returned via

Mawṣil, he held for a short while the office of *wazīr* in Baghdād in the caliph's service. But because of his involvement in pro-ʿAlid riots in Kūfa, he incurred al-Ḳādir's displeasure, and had to retrace his steps, again seeking refuge at the court of his former protector the Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawla.

Finally, at Mayyāfāriḳīn, he died in 418/1027, but before his death his ever-scheming mind had already planned that his mortal remains should be carried to Mashhad ʿAlī near Kūfa, without unduly attracting the attention of his opponents, for burial near the holy shrine. To this end, he is reported to have sent letters containing the request that the body of a beloved female slave of his might pass in her coffin through the intervening territories; only after the funeral were the real nature of the coffin's contents known.

From among the *wazīr*'s works, the following may be mentioned here:
(1) A compilation (known only in manuscript) of Ibn al-Sikkīt's work, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*.
(2) *al-Īnās bi-ʿilm al-ansāb* (also in ms.), containing many names for Arab tribes, which by their mutual resemblance or their unusual construction might easily cause misunderstanding or confusion.
(3) *Adab al-khawāṣṣ fi 'l-mukhtār min balāghat ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab wa-akhbārihā wa-ansābihā wa-ayyāmihā* (also in ms.), partial ed. by Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyadh 1980, with 1 vol. so far published. For further information concerning manuscripts and contents, see Brockelmann, G, I, 117, 353, S I, 600 and Sāmī al-Dahhān's Preface in *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa*, 25-7.
(4) *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān, Damascus 1948, is a short manual for an unnamed ruler, giving him advice how to attain the ideal form of government. In doing this he should at first understand how to organise his own way of living; and secondly how to behave towards the higher classes of society in his empire, and which qualifications are to be required in order for his subjects to perform certain functions in the ruler's service, for example the ones of chancellor (*kātib*), chamberlain (*ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]), tax-collector, commander-in-chief, police-chief, etc. Thirdly, the ruler should know how to restrain the masses, in view of their inclination to revolt. In conclusion, the author quotes an injunction given by Abū Bakr to Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, when the latter was sent with an army to Syria (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 13 H., where a variant text is given). Although the author of the *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa* never discloses the identity of the prince to whom the work was dedicated, it may be surmised that the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Naṣr al-Dawla Aḥmad, who on several occasions had shown himself such a loyal protector of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, is meant.

Contemporary judgements upon the *wāzir* are known to us from two sources. A negative appreciation is found in the work of ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ṭālib Dawkhala "Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ" who, for a long time, until shortly before 400/1010, had been a tutor employed for the education of the sons of the Banu 'l-Maghribī. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim had been one of his pupils, but after the massacre of the family, ʿAlī b. Manṣūr detached himself from it and composed a *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] full of abuse and strong criticism against Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. In this poem, he accuses the *wāzir* of *inter alia* having been the indirect instigator of his family's ruination through his own intrigues (see for details, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 424-7).

Later on, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī appears to have criticised this *hidjāʾ* poem. At any rate, ʿAlī b. Manṣūr felt himself obliged to remove the unfavourable impression made, and this among other things [see ABU 'L-ʿALĀʾ AL-MAʿARRĪ] was the aim of a letter which he addressed to al-Maʿarrī. This letter and al-Maʿarrī's reaction to it are now available in the annotated edition of ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Risālat al-Ghufrān wa-maʿahā Risālat Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ miftāḥ fahmihā* (Cairo 1963 and later editions). Al-Maʿarrī's answer to Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ's criticism of the *wazīr* is found in the *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, and is characterised by an inclination to gloss over any possible false steps made by the *wazīr*. In particular, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's intrigues in Egypt are ascribed to his youthful ambition and lack of experience, and their terrible result as being the ultimate effect of crushing Fate (*R. al-Ghufrān*, 534).

Finally, a dirge (*marthiya*) composed by the poet on the occasion of the *wazīr*'s death has survived, having been included in the poet's second collection the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (ed. ʿAzīz Zand, Cairo 1891-5, ii, 434; ed. Bombay 1303/1885-6, 346). In one verse of this poem, the poet seems to acknowledge that a certain measure of criticism against the *wazīr*'s way of life could be justified, cf. l. 7: "If the two angels who accompanied you did write down some small sin, how many an excellent characteristic contrasting this can be found, always wiping it out!" Elsewhere in the same poem, al-Maʿarrī makes mention of the *wazīr*'s precious library which survived its owner. Two centuries later, we find Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]) reports its continued existence in his topographical work *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shaʾm wa 'l-Djazīra* (apud *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa*, 109), with the following words: "In Mayyāfāriḳīn there was extant the library which up till the present time is known as "al-Maghribī's Library".

Bibliography: Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ms. Topkapu Saray cilt 4, fols. 14a-26b and 124a-126b, where short biographies are given of, in this order, *al-wazīr* al-Maghribī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and his grandfather of the same name, Ābu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Further information in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Damascus 1951, i, index; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 61-4; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-wizāra*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, in *BIFAO*, xxv (1925), 65-6; Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār fī Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira wa 'l-Nīl*, Būlāḳ 1270/1854, ii, 157-8, where in addition some information is given about a few subsequent descendents of the Banu 'l-Maghribī; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 60-4; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 185 = ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 172-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 411, 414-16 and 418 A.H.; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 687, 695, 699, 700, 823-4, 825.

(P. SMOOR)

MAGIC. [See SIḤR].

MAGNESIA. [See MAGHNISA].

MĀH AL-BAṢRA, "the Media of Basra", the district of Nihāwand [*q.v.*], the taxes of which contributed to the support of the military population at al-Baṣra after the Muslim conquest of al-Djabal. Although Sayf ascribes this arrangement to the time of ʿUmar I (13-23/634-44), according to al-Balādhurī, al-Dīnawar and Nihāwand were occupied by Baṣran and Kūfan forces respectively after the battle of Nihāwand in 21/642. By the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), the Muslim population at al-Kūfa had increased and required an increase

in revenues for their support, so al-Dīnawar was reassigned to al-Kūfa and Nihāwand to al-Baṣra. The people of al-Kūfa received the difference between the revenues of these places as an increase in income. Thereafter, Nihāwand was called Māh al-Baṣra and al-Dīnawar Māh al-Kūfa. Nihāwand was also called Māh Dīnār because a local Persian called Dīnār arranged the terms of peace for it with Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān after the battle of Nihāwand.

Māh al-Baṣra was one of the districts (*kuwar*) of al-Djabal in Muslim administration, and is attested as a mint designation on post-reform *dirhams* from 79/698 to 83/702. Arabs had settled in this district by the 2nd/8th century and ʿĪsā and Maʿḳil, the sons of Idrīs b. ʿĪsā al-ʿIdjlī, who owned the father of Abū Muslim, lived in Māh al-Baṣra. In the 3rd/9th century the taxes of Māh al-Baṣra were reckoned at a maximum of 4,800,000 *dirhams*. In 235/849-50 Māh al-Baṣra was assigned as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* by al-Mutawakkil to his son al-Muntaṣir along with many other places. In 314/926, al-Muḳtadir assigned the taxes of Māh al-Baṣra and several other places to Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj for his provisions and to finance his campaign against the Ḳarāmita. In 324/936 Ṭāhir al-Djīlī tried to establish himself in Māh al-Baṣra, but was defeated and killed there by the Būyid *amīr* ʿImād al-Dawla. Māh al-Baṣra is attested as a mint designation for both *dirhams* and *dīnārs* from 262/876 until 372/982-3. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries Māh al-Baṣra is described as a fertile, lush, well-watered district producing dhurra, saffron, and fruit, with the best black clay for seal impressions, buildings of clay and two mosques.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, 305-6; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Cairo 1960, 337; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 209-10, 259-60, tr. Massé, 253-4, 312-14; Ibn Rustah, 106, tr. Wiet, 118; Ḳudāma, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 244; Ṭabarī, i, 2632-34, 2647, 2672; Iṣṭakhrī, Leiden 1927, 199; Yāḳūt, iv, 405-6; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 49, viii, 162, 316.

(M. MORONY)

MĀH AL-KŪFA [see DĪNAWAR].

MAHĀBĀD, a town and district (*shahrastān*) in the modern Iranian province (*ustān*) of West Ādharbaydjān, situated in lat. 36° 45′ N. and long. 45° 43′ E. and lying to the south of Lake Urmia or Riḍāʾiyya. The town comes within the Mukrī region of Iranian Kurdistān, and acquired its present name in the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī (1925-41). Previously, it was known as Sāwadj or Sāwdj-Bulāḳ; accordingly, for the earlier history of the town, see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ. The present article deals with the post-1945 history of the town.

With a population of 16,000 in 1945, 20,332 in 1956 and 44,000 in 1976, increasing to over 50,000 by 1980, the town of Mahābād has attained importance from its geographical position on a fast-moving stream, but above all from its role in recent Kurdish history as an administrative, military and cultural centre. It boasts a purer Kurdish culture and an intenser Kurdish nationalist feeling than the larger centres of Riḍāʾiyya to the north and Sanandadj or Sinna [*q.vv.*] to the south, both of which have significant non-Kurdish minorities. Nearly all Mahābādis are Sunnī Muslim Kurds. Many speak Fārsī and Ādharī Turkish as well as the dominant Kurdish dialect which, along with that of Sulāymanī Kurdish in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistan, sets a literary standard for the language [see KURDS, Language].

In 1946 Mahābād became the capital of a short-lived autonomous Kurdish Republic under the leadership of Ḳāḍī Muḥammad and the armed protection of an ʿIrāḳī Kurd, Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī. This was made possible by Mahābād's position between the wartime British and Soviet occupation zones and beyond the reach of the Iranian army. In 1942 a small group of Mahābādīs formed a secret nationalist party, the *Kōmala* (Kurdish, "party" or "group", which maintained contact with Kurds in ʿIrāḳ and Turkey. Two years later, Mahābād's leading citizen and Islamic judge, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad, joined and thereafter dominated the *Kōmala*, which in 1945 became the Democratic Party of Kurdistān (*Ḥizb-i Dimoḳrāṭ-i Kurdistān*).

Initially, the Soviet Union supported the creation of a Kurdish entity within the Soviet-occupied Ādharbāydjān Republic headed by Djaʿfar Pīshavārī in Tabrīz. Kurdish leaders, however, objected, and finally obtained Soviet acquiescence in the proclamation of a separate Kurdish Republic at Mahābād on 22 January 1946. The Kurdish administration under Ḳāḍī Muḥammad was composed of urban and relatively modernised Kurds of Mahābād town. A small army of about 1,200 was recruited in the immediate area, but the main force of the Republic was provided by some 12,000 tribesmen under their traditional leaders, the most formidable of whom was Mullā Muṣṭafā at the head of 1,200 armed Barzānīs from Iraq.

Although the new Republic included all the Kurdish areas bordering the Turkish and ʿIrāḳī frontiers south of the USSR to the fringes of Saḳiz and Baneh, the Iranian province of "Kurdistān" further south, with Sanandadj as its capital, was still occupied by Iranian forces. An offensive was planned to take Sanandadj in June, but was abandoned on Soviet advice. By that time, the Kurdish experiment had become enmeshed in competing regional and national interests typified by Soviet vacillation between support for Ādharbaydjān and Kurdish autonomies on the one hand and a desire to play a role in the central government in Tehran on the other.

Under international pressures, Soviet troops withdrew from Iranian Ādharbaydjān in May. Thereafter, negotiations between Tehran and Tabrīz failed to produce an acceptable formula for regional autonomy. Iranian forces advanced and entered Tabrīz on 11 December. A few days after, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad and his associates surrendered Mahābād. After trial by a military court, the *Ḳāḍī*, his brother and his cousin were hanged in the main square of Mahābād on 31 March 1947. Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī and more than 500 of his followers remained in the Kurdish mountains until June, and then fought their way north to sanctuary in the USSR. There they remained for 11 years until the coup of 1958 in ʿIrāḳ led by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] led to an amnesty and their return to ʿIrāḳ.

After 1947, the central government regarded the area as potentially subversive and maintained a large military contingent in Mahābād until the early 1970s. Peace in the Kurdish areas was maintained through a mixture of military force and subsidies to selected tribal leaders. The policy of protecting the position of tribal leaders delayed the introduction of land reform, which began in other parts of Iran in 1963, until 1970. When land reform did arrive, it reduced the economic power of the tribal leadership, and consequently their political influence. No active agricultural extension programme existed in the Kurdish areas until the middle 1970s, and economic conditions in Mahābād seem to have declined.

Beginning in 1970, Tehran began to put more emphasis on economic development in the Kurdish

areas. Mahābād's streets were paved, city water and lighting improved, an irrigation project began near the city and a modern road connecting Mahābād with Riḍāʾiyya and Sanandadj was completed.

In 1974 a truce between Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī and the ʿIrāḳī government ended in renewed fighting. This time the Kurds received strong backing from Iran, and Mahābād became the unofficial rest area behind the front. Its streets were filled with Barzānī's Pēsh Merga fighters driving captured ʿIrāḳī vehicles, and the bazaar resounded to stories of free-spending Kurdish fighters. As the fighting intensified, Kurdish non-combatants from ʿIrāḳ increasingly sought refuge in camps in the Mahābād area.

The 1975 Algiers Agreement put a sudden end to the Kurdish war, and over 100,000 new refugees fled to join the 30-40,000 already in Iran (about 28,000 of these were in the area around Mahābād). Mullā Muṣṭafā, his family and many of his tribesmen settled near Mahābād. By the end of 1975, most of the refugees had returned to ʿIrāḳ and the remainder (about 30,000) had been forced to leave the Kurdish areas of Iran and settle elsewhere in the country. Barzānī was moved to Tehran, and eventually went to the United States where he died in 1979.

Calm returned to Mahābād until the beginning of the Iranian revolution in 1978. Initially, the city united to seek the ousting of the Shah. This unity, however, was quickly followed by strife between Kurds demanding greater autonomy and revolutionary guards supporting Khomeini (Khumaynī). The most bitter fighting occurred in Sanandadj, but Mahābād again became the seat of the nationalist Kurdish movement. The city was captured by government forces in 1979, but was returned to Kurdish control as part of a negotiated truce. The area remained chaotic with various groups manoeuvring for power, including the sons of Mullā Muṣṭafā, Idrīs and Masʿūd, and the 1980 Iran-ʿIrāḳ war added to the complexities as some Iranian troops were moved out to join the fighting in the south.

(W. Eagleton and R. Neumann)

MAHĀBAT KHĀN, military leader in Mughal India. Zamāna Beg (later known as Mahābat Khān) was the son of Ghayyūr Beg Kābulī, a Riḍawī Sayyid, who migrated from Shīrāz to Kābul during the reign of Akbar and settled there. Zamāna Beg entered the service of Akbar's son Salīm as an *aḥadī* (cavalry trooper) and rose to the rank of 500. After Djahāngīr's accession (October 1605) he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 and given the title of Mahābat Khān, becoming a trusted noble of that Emperor. He led a rather unsuccessful campaign against Mewār (1608), but rose nevertheless to the rank of 4,000/3,000 by 1610. In 1615 he was awarded *dū aspa sih aspa* rank and was posted to the Deccan. Apparently unable to get on with Shāh Djahān, he was transferred and made governor of Kābul. When Shāh Djahān rebelled in 1622, Mahābat Khān was called upon by Djahāngir and the Empress Nūr Djahān to command the imperial troops. He was awarded the highest possible rank for a noble, viz. 7,000/6,000. He pursued Shāh Djahān to the Deccan, with a force under the titular command of Prince Parwīz and then marched across the empire to eastern India in order to expel Shāh Djahān from that region. He then returned with Parwīz to the Deccan. Although his enhanced power and prestige aroused much jealousy at the court, he was now appointed to Bengal. Provoked by certain demands for accounts and by the humiliation of his son-in-law, he suddenly carried out a coup (March 1626), capturing the person of Empero Djahāngīr, who now appointed him *wakīl*. His power, however, came to an end within three months. He fled and was on the run when Djahāngīr died (1627).

Mahābat Khān in the meantime made his peace with Shāh Djahān, who after his accession (January 1628) appointed Mahābat Khān governor of Adjmēr and then in the same year sent him to the Deccan as viceroy. In 1629 he was appointed governor of Dihlī, and in 1632 again viceroy of the Deccan. Mahābat Khān won a signal success when he captured Dawlatābād in 1633, but lost much prestige when he failed before Parenda next year, being censured and recalled. He died in 1634 and was buried in Dihlī at the Ḳadamgāh of Shāh-i Mardān.

Mahābat Khān considered himself an opponent of both the dominant Īrānī and Tūrānī factions in the Mughāl nobility; his troops consisted in a large part of Rādjputs. Though lacking a religious education, he was said to be skilled in astronomy and astrology, and to have embraced Shīʿism in his old age. His eldest son Amān Allāh Ḥusaynī (Khān Zamān) was also an important commander; and another son, Lahrāsp, rose to occupy high office under both Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb, enjoying the title of Mahābat Khān II.

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2. Modern work: Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1962, 364-87.

(M. Athar Ali)

MAḤALL (A., lit. "place of alighting, settling, abode"), in the context of Islamic India, widely used in the sense of "palace pavilion" or "hall", and more particularly of private apartments in the palace, the *maḥall-sarā*—hence also a queen or consort. It seems not to have achieved the same currency in Iran. Here it appears as equivalent to Hindī *mandir*, *mandar* or *mandal*, sometimes replacing these in areas under strong Muslim influence such as Rādjasthān. Much palace terminology is Persian, though specialised Hindī terms like *tibāra* for a hall with three adjacent bays or doors, and *bāradarī* for one with twelve (3 each side) are applied to Muslim buildings, the latter figuratively as "summer house". Consideration of their architectural development entails a review of the palace layout in which they were set.

i. Dihlī Sultanate. Though none of the Mamlūk palaces have survived, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] has left a description of the Kushk-i Laʿl in Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā [see dihlī] as used by Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī (689-95/1290-6), comprising two great audience courtyards (*mashwar*) in sequence, with a closed building at the rear. In the first was an immense vestibule (*dihlīz*), and both were overlooked by a domed pavilion (*ḳubba*) near the gate, where the sultan sat to watch games (*Riḥla*, iii, 271). He writes of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's new palace (seen *ca.* 1333-41), the Dār Sarā at Djahān-panāh, in similar terms, noting the platforms (or cells? *dakākīn*) built on either side of the *dihlīz* for the guard, a platform in the second court for the masters of ceremonies, and room for the people to sit, and beyond the third gate a vast hall of private audience, the Hazār

Ustūn, with painted timber colums supporting a finely-carved roof. Each gate had provision for musicians to signal the arrival of dignitaries, and the third was controlled by clerks who registered entry (*ibid.*, iii, 217-21). His use of *mas͟hwar* for both courts and the hall is ambiguous, but he later shows that the audience was covered by a great tent (*bārga* for P. *bārgāh*) at festivals; at the Kus͟hk-i Laʿl both courts could be covered by canopies (*ṣayawān*) (*ibid.*, iii, 232, 235, 273). These successively more private areas, with formal guard posts in the first court, were to be essential features of Mug͟hal palaces two centuries later, as were raised pavilions and tentage. Of G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Tug͟hluḳ I's palace at Tug͟hluḳābād we learn that its tiles (*ḳirmīd*) were gilded so as to shine in the sun (*ibid.*, iii, 214). Reference to the hall flanking his tomb shows that masonry could be extensive, with sculpted *čhad̲j̲d̲j̲ā* eaves above the lintels, sturdy pillars, and cross-bracket capitals reproducing earlier Hindu ones in timber. Fīrūz S͟hāh's description shows pictures and portraits to have decorated walls and doors. The remains of the palace of Fīrūz S͟hāh (752-90/1351-88) in his *kōṭlā* (see DIHLĪ, and J. A. Page's account, in *Memoir ASI*, lii, Delhi 1937) confirm the description by S͟hams-i Sirād̲j̲ ʿAfīf (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Fīrūz-s͟hāhī*, *ḳism* iv, *muḳaddama* 4). The Maḥall-i Ṣaḥn-i Gilīn was used for receiving dignitaries, the Maḥall-i Čhad̲j̲d̲j̲ā-yi Čūbīn for court officials, and the Maḥall-i Bār-i ʿĀmm for public audience. The sitting of this fort along the D̲j̲amnā [*q.v.*] allowed the private apartments and the *zanāna* to benefit from the cooler microclimate, the reflection and the view over the water. Its character can be inferred from the severe, utilitarian style typical of the reign, as seen at the Ḥawḍ-i K͟hāṣṣ [see DIHLĪ. 2] with plain, battered towers flanking colonnades of double squared piers, vaulted cells, multiple brackets, and a roof line relieved by pyramidally hooded roofs on projecting *d̲j̲harokhā* balconies, or an occasional dome. It was whitewashed for royal visits, presumably on stucco, and decorated with garden scenes (*ibid.*, iv, 5, and v, 2). The royal establishment extended to 36 *kārk͟hāna* handling its material needs.

The form thus established followed an international convention, for an axial recession of courts was used both in the Mongol palace at K͟hān Balïḳ (Peking) and in the dominant Muslim models at Bag͟hdād (145/762-3) and Sāmarrā (*ca.* 211/836) [*q.vv.*]. The latter had conspicuous *līwān*s and culminated in a domed throne chamber, both notably absent in Hindustān, where they were replaced by trabeated columned halls derived from a long local tradition, through hypostyle palaces such as Čilla (8th-9th century A.D., *ASI*, xxi [1885], 9 ff. and pl. v.) or the open verandahs of the Kōkāʾi Maḥall at Ranod (*ca.* 1000 A.D., *ASI*, ii [1871], 303 ff.), which already show the characteristic squared columns, crossed bracket capitals, lattices (*d̲j̲ālī*), merlons, and the eaves pent designed to shade the interior and throw off monsoon water. Muslim buildings were to combine these elements with the use of arches and vaults (the first cross vault is found at Tug͟hluḳābād) and articulate such halls into an ensemble. The elimination of the *dihlīz* as audience hall, perhaps under Fīrūz S͟hāh, facilitated the integration, though it was still used in camp. The *maḥall* as a setting for elaborate court ceremony (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 221-42) was distinct at this time from the *kus͟hk*, a less formal pavilion, and the *sarāy*, or villa of a *malik* or *s͟hayk͟h*.

ii. Dakhan. At Bīdar [*q.v.*] the palace buildings enclosed in the south of the Fort represent the infusion of a largely Tug͟hluḳid inheritance with direct Iranian influence in a gamut of formal structures that later evoked parallels in the North. Some of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] buildings are now disguised by Barīd S͟hāhī [*q.v.*] accretions, but most are attributed to Aḥmad S͟hāh Walī (832/1429 for nine years). They are of stone, faced with stucco and tilework, with finely carved jambs and archivolts of hornblende; traces of timber columns show they were once painted and gilded, on square hornblende bases. The great ruined court identified as the Dīwān-i ʿĀmm (Hall of Public Audience) is nearly square, the southern three-quarters paved for privileged access, with entry from east and west, and a hall placed centrally to the south seven bays wide by three deep, the middle bay being wider; this has a range of private rooms along the rear, and access to raised *d̲j̲ahrōkhā*s facing the yard, probably for ministerial interview, at each end. The court was colonnaded, with an octagonal pool, fountains, and cascade; the upper storey of the hall opened through rhythmically spaced arches filled with terracotta *d̲j̲ālī* work. Tilework on the dadoes was mainly blue, with polychrome floral designs of Tīmūrid character, as at Gāzur Gāh (828/1425) on square units [see KĀS͟HĪ] (cf. G. Yazdani, *Bidar*, Oxford 1947, 62-6 and pl. xxiii-xxx). An intermediate court, or *pīs͟hgāh*, immediately to the north, with a multi-domed annexe, leads west into a third, inscribed as the Ḳaṣr-i Sulṭān, perhaps a hall of private audience, now known as the Tak͟ht Maḥall after the turquoise throne really housed in the public hall (*ibid.*, 6, and 66-77, pls. xxxi-xlii). Here too a loggia faced north across the yard above long steps, only three bays wide by two deep, but with wider spans at 5.03 m/16′6″. The broad central bay led to a magnificent octagonal royal hall, once domed 30.50 m/100′ above the floor, on the caliphal model. Painted in vermilion and gold, it had Hindu niches, and fine tiling, some in relief, and a little in mosaic, framed by the massive arches. A varied but symmetrical complex of rooms around the court includes a *masd̲j̲id* [*q.v.*] opening through three bays on the west side, and another octagon north of it behind an arcuate *pis͟htāḳ*. The royal hall opens westward to a private court with a tank, alcoves, a *tibāra* hall (bedroom?) and an elaborate *ḥammām* [*q.v.*] on two levels. Most of the spaces are linked axially, and long rooms are flanked by service spaces or contrasting, smaller rooms; the surfaces are carefully articulated with recesses.

An east-west axis links these to another series of courtyards, the main halls invariably facing northwards. The largest, the Laʿl Bāg͟h, runs north and south, with baths to the north, the D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id along the west, and the three storeys of the Tarkes͟h Maḥall to the south, notable for panels of carved stucco (*ibid.*, 57-9, pls. xix-xxi) and multiple niches. In the Gagan Maḥall, two courts are set side-by-side, and the halls are partially embedded in the masonry of the ramparts, with ranges of plastered vaults (*ibid.*, 60-2, pl. xxii). In a cluster of small but exquisite rooms rebuilt by ʿAlī Barīd (949-87/1542-79) as the Rangīn Maḥall, a loggia of three bays by two is prolonged by two enclosed bays at each end, and the roof is still upheld by squared timber pillars with tiered capitals in Hindu style, and deep brackets with pendant Hindu bosses at each step, but with arabesques carved on the sides and an early cusped arch where they meet. On the central axis, an arch of black stone inlaid with mother-of-pearl leads through a square

tiled anteroom to a star-shaped chamber inscribed as a *shāh-nishīn* (royal seat) or *khalwat-gāh* (cabinet), with a cusped basin, and a semi-octagonal exedra projecting through the bastion. Such placing of retiring rooms behind loggias, the use of octagonal tower rooms, and the integration of water and architecture were to reappear in Shāhdjahān's schemes, perhaps following his successes in the Dakhan of 1039/1629-30. The use of evocative names became a convention among the rival rulers, attested in contemporary records.

The Gagan Maḥall at Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] (968/1561) is an audience hall of a new but related type. An arched *tibāra* hall open to the north, once with two timber columns framing the wide central bay, is flanked by narrower rooms of the same depth, and stairs in the length of the rear wall led to a similar upper storey. In front of these rises a hall of double height opening through three immense arches; the central one spanning the full width of the *tibāra*, 60′9″/18.5 m, provides a dramatic setting for the king in state, while those at the ends, the same height, effectively limit the composition (see Cousens, in *ASI*, *NIS* xxxvii [1916], pl. xvi-xvii). Ibrāhīm II ʿĀdil Shāh adapted the form for his audience hall (1000/1591), now the Āthār Maḥall, doubling the end rooms, adding a long hall with end galleries behind, and substituting four slender octagonal timber columns for the arches, reflected in a pool in markedly Iranian style (*ibid.*, pl. lxxvii-lxxx). This in turn was developed in Mahisur [*q.v.*]. The Sāt Manzil (*ca.* 994/1585-6), an arched tower of five (*sic*) diminishing storeys, houses pools with small service rooms, an attractive environment behind wooden trellises (*ibid.*, pls. xxvi, xxx-xxxiii).

iii. Mālwā. The surviving 9th/15th century buildings at Māndū [*q.v.*], formerly Shādīābād, reflect Tughluḳ influence, but in a distinctly local manner; their dating remains uncertain. The plainness of fine ashlar surfaces, the proportions, and careful placing of openings within the mass, generate a robust and remarkably direct architecture ennobled by its restraint. It thus stands apart from the Hindu tradition, while owing it certain features. The great size of the fort allows the advantage of naturally beautiful sites. The Djahāz Maḥall, extending 122 m down a causeway between two lakes, presents a range of arched openings to the path, overshadowed by a long *čhadjdjā* halfway up the façade, and a register of blind arches above with a tiled parapet; as at Gwāliyār [*q.v.*], this suggests two storeys when in fact it conceals vaulting over the series of spacious halls inside, each with six domes alternately carved as lotus corollae. The pavilions ranged deftly along the skyline are *tibāras*, with pyramidally hipped Indian vaults, read from the lake as crowning massive towers broken forward from the front. Water is tanked at three levels, twice in pools with graciously curved stepped verges. More typically Muslim are the extensive use of pointed arches, the three long, open halls linked by lobbies in between, and their symmetry about a central entry. The grouping of forms on the skyline is Islamic in its aplomb. A local and successful element is the use of long flights of steps to enhance the massing. The building was plastered, and set off with blue and yellow tiles. The effect now is calm, but full of entertaining variety (see G. Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy*, Oxford 1929, 63-8).

The *darbār* hall nearby, the Hindōlā Maḥall, is by contrast serious, but superbly accomplished. The walls of its T-shaped mass are emphasised by a very pronounced batter, and pierced so deeply by a range of recessed arches rising the full height that the masonry between reads as raking buttresses. The single hall is spanned by six arches carrying cross walls; whether the fallen roof was flat or, as Creswell suggested, vaulted like the Khān al-Mardjān at Baghdād (*Indian Antiquary*, xlvii [1918], 169 ff.), the conception of the audience hall as a closed volume is new. The transverse arm in two stories (integral, rather than an addition as Brown proposed) has a three-aisled hall in one wing above, with fine *djharōkhās* (one to the hall below), and an axial entry beneath (Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 70-3). A similar but larger hall, "Gadā Shāh's Shop", ascribed to Maḥmūd II (916-37/1510-31), is also roofless, but bears traces of triple longitudinal vaults. A third example is at Warangal [*q.v.*] in the Dakhan, attributed to Shitāb Khān *ca.* 905/1500 (*Annual Report*, Hyderabad Archaeological Dept. 1925-6, 11-12). The Kūshk Maḥall at Fatḥābād near Čandērī, identified as the seven-storied palace built *ca.* 849/1445 by Maḥmūd I, has comparable transverse arches spanning two tall galleries which cross at right angles, dividing the square plan into four equal halls that open onto the galleries through three tiers of arcades, rather than the outside: a device for procuring shade and cooler air.

The Palace of Nāṣir Shāh (*vulg.* Bāz Bahādur) at Māndū, dated 914/1508-9, is more orthodox with three courtyards, a lateral one for entry and two square ones on axis, their rooms set symmetrically behind arcades with *čhadjdjās* overhead; in the larger, the alternately broad and narrow spans of a gallery are reflected in a pool, while overlooking a garden far below from a polygonal marble *djarōkhā* projecting at the centre (Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 92-7).

iv. Gudjarāt. In this rival kingdom, the palace at Sarkhēdj was also built along the stepped margins of an immense tank by Maḥmūd I Begṛā (861-917/1458-1511). The buildings are essentially trabeate, their colonnades united by the *čhadjdjā* line. In the best preserved, the colonnade at ground level is matched by one below, with a single bay broken forward as a belvedere facing the water towards either end; the upper level, only one bay deep, opens through onto a courtyard flanked by blank walls. The structure is enlivened by subtle details, largely derived from Hindu prototypes, and an evident delight in building. Arches appear in a secondary role, as infilling in the belvederes, where the spandrels were once fretted. Open *bāradarīs* of 16 or 24 pillars and a hemispherical dome over each bay also rely on systems of lintels. At Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd built another palace of seven stories (post-889/1484), the Sāt Manzil, in steps on the edge of a cliff; only the lower level remains.

v. The emergence of other forms may be glimpsed in the palace of Čihil Sutūn built at Djawnpur [*q.v.* for illustration] by Fīrūz Shāh's governor, where the square building surrounded by a verandah rises to a terrace carrying a large *čhatrī* whose ridged vault has gently curving hips. A *bāradarī* attributed to Sikandar Lōdī at Sikandra (900/1495) (*ASI*, OS, iv [1871-2], 99; cf. *ARASI* [1910-11], 94-6) may form the basis of the tomb of Maryam al-Zamānī (d. 1032/1623): square in plan, it is ventilated by four corridors crossing at right angles to form nine blocks of rooms, with a central entry on each face, and a flat roof over cross vaults, domes, and barrel vaults.

vi. Mughal. Buildings from Humāyūn's reign

(937-47/1530-40) are described by Khwāndamīr (*Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1940, Bibl. Ind. no. 260, 63-4, 68, 78) as a series of innovations, mostly incorporating astrological symbolism and a preoccupation with polygonal forms no doubt related to the Tīmūrid tradition. A portable timber palace in three stories, the Ḳaṣr-i Rawān, used at Āgra and Gwāliyār in 940/1533, was hexagonal and was elaborately painted in a different colour each side. He constructed a palace inside the Lōdī fort at Āgra [*q.v.*] and a Dawlat-khāna-yi Ṭilism on the bank of the Djamnā, built around a central octagonal reception hall with a sunken tank, flooded at will, and a central platform (cf. Gulbadan Begam, *The history of Humāyūn*, ed. and tr. A. Beveridge, London 1902, text 31-4, tr. 118-24). A smaller octagon adjoined the north, with alcoves, and the *dīwān-khāna* the west, facing the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], with a garden to the east. Above these were a further three rooms (*bālā-khāna*); the Khāna-yi Dawlat containing the ninefold Čingizid panoply, the Khāna-yi Saʿādat for prayer, books and portfolios, and the Khāna-yi Murād with a jewelled bedstead. There was also a forecourt, *pīsh-gāh*, where a throne could be set. Remarkably, internal stairs assumed no architectural importance until the end of the 18th century.

The one remaining building from the citadel of Purānā Ḳilʿa, [see DIHLĪ. 2] begun by Humāyūn but finished by Shēr Shāh, is perhaps in the same tradition, as a two-storeyed octagon of sandstone crowned by a kiosk, about 18 m tall, the Shēr Manḍal. The space inside rises as one volume, painted with coloured designs, punctuated by a gallery. It was used as a library and observatory.

A Mughal view of indigenous building may be found in Bābur's comment (935/1528) on the Palace of Mān Singh (1486-1516) at Gwāliyār [*q.v.*] Fort, that it was wonderful, but "solidly subdivided and without regularity" compared to Tīmūrid models (*Bābar-nāma*, ed. A. Beveridge, Leiden and London 1905, fol. 340 ff.). Such over-compactness and lack of axial development were to be corrected.

vii. Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]) initiated a prolific programme of palace building when he was twenty-two. The camp, in which the court spent much time [see MANZIL] can be taken as an idealised palace plan, to be modified according to the site, but not achieved in solid form until the reign of Shāhdjahān. As described by Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, *āʾīn* 16-18), the royal precinct was a rectangle accessible from the western end, where a great forecourt, flanked by stables and a records office (*daftar-khāna*), led up to a rectangle roped off for the court of public audience (*dīwān-khāna-yi ʿāmm*); beyond this was a private audience hall (*dawlat-khāna-yi khāṣṣ*) within its own enclosed court, and then another court (*mahtābī*) where the Emperor received his closest courtiers in the evening. Still further east, beyond a small guard court, lay the women's quarters (*shabistān-i iḳbāl*) with private dwellings, a hall, and a two-storied wooden oratory from which he received the acclaim of the people each morning in *darshan*. All lay on one axis, with a drum house (*naḳar-khāna*) far on the approach. Both camp and palace were a setting for a strict routine of ceremony and administration observed daily (see *Āʾīn*, i, nos. 72-4; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, Oxford 1936, 65 ff.; Sir J. Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1935, 19-21).

Akbar's first palace at Āgra [*q.v.*], the hunting lodge at Nagar Čayn near Kakralī, was started in 1564. From 972/1564-5 to 980/1572-3 Āgra Fort was rebuilt as Akbarābād, in red sandstone in place of the crumbling Lōdī brickwork; the massive ashlar was to characterise future Mughal work [see BURDJ. iii, 4]. In this case, the optimum position along the eastern parapet overlooking the Djamnā and the main approach from the Dihlī Gate in the west allowed the favoured axis, modified by extension along the river. There were "more than 500 buildings of masonry, after the beautiful designs of Bengāl and Gudjarat" (*Āʾīn*, tr. ii, by H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1891, 180), and in 1626 Pelsaert confirms that it was built over like a city with streets and shops, princely buildings and residences, with *maḥalls* for the ladies (ed. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl as *Jahangir's India*, repr. Delhi 1972, 3-4) leaving little room. This aesthetic eclecticism, consistent with the policy of *ṣulḥ-i kull* ("universal toleration") must have profited from an influx of craftsmen from both regions, then disrupted, and from Gwāliyār, recaptured in 965/1558. The synthesis is evident in the two buildings, known as the Djahāngīrī Maḥall and the Akbarī Maḥall (such names in India are unreliable) remaining from Akbar's private apartments, which seem to have extended to the Muthamman Burdj corner in a symmetrical group. Pelsaert (*loc. cit.*) mentions the *maḥall* of the Queen Mother, three others, and a Bangālī Maḥall, with which one of these may be identified; if so, it was built before 977/1569 (see R. Froude Tucker, in *ASIAR* [1907-8], 8-22, but cf. Sir J. Marshall in *ASIAR* [1902-3], 62, and Nur Bakhsh in *ASIAR* [1903-4], 169-71). The trabeated "Akbarī Maḥall" ran in two stories round a square courtyard with flat roofs; a hall was set at the centre of three sides with an axila entry on the west; in the riverside *tibāra*, windows overlooking the water corresponded to doorways onto the courtyard, a scheme much used subsequently. The gridded exterior with blind niches is Bengālī in character, like that of the Dihlī Gate. This closed format is repeated in the "Djahāngīrī Maḥall" where many features of scale, construction and decoration show derivation from Gwāliyār, though the vigorous Hindu style is blended with Islamic arches on the upper floor, and lightened by *čhatrī*s and latticed balustrades; the interior is remarkable for dramatic brackets supporting the ceiling. The buildings east of this court are in a markedly more Iranian style, dominated by four-centred arches and alcoves, with slender columns to the portico; this elegance, and that of the entrance façade, resembles work of the early 1560s at Dihlī (the formal grouping of *īwān*s around a waterside terrace was reiterated at Māndū around the Nīl-kanṭh shrine dated 982/1574-5). On the Shāh Burdj was a small pavilion, uniquely of marble.

Work on the Fort at Lāhawr [*q.v.*], in burnt brick, is recorded in 974/1566, and Akbar's hall of public audience (*dawlat-khāna-yi ʿāmm*) was in use by 996/1587, with an open rectangular courtyard of 114 bays, as confirmed in a plan of the Sikh period. Its raised *djharōkhā*, from which the King held audience, survives as a projection from a former bracketed colonnade (cf. scenes in the *Pādshāh-nāma* in the Royal Library, Windsor, set in Āgra, showing a very similar arrangement; see B. Gray (ed.), *The arts of India*, Oxford 1981, fig. 127). The courtyard subsequently built by Djahāngīr immediately north of this, probably for private audience, completed this axial scheme up to the river Rāwī; the private apartments were to extend from there westward.

The most extensive palace remaining from Akbar's

reign, at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], was officially founded in 979/1571, and it seems that most of the work, all in red sandstone, was finished within a year. The trabeation allowed the prefabricated panelled technique essential to such rapid erection, and the stone was, as claimed, "wrought with the ease of turning wood" in traditional Indian techniques apparently derived from Bayānā not far away (fieldwork by M. Shokoohy, 1981). The site on a ridge running northeast and southwest requires a layout in a series of steps to the south, culminating in the great mosque at the western (i.e. *ḳibla*) end near the house, *khānaḳāh*, and *masdjid* of Shaykh Salīm Čishtī. Nearby, the oldest royal building, the Rang Maḥall (976/1568-9) is traditional in its introverted courtyard plan, with colonnades in two storeys, but the fusion of Islamic and Hindu detail is experimental. The saint's own house (971/1563-4?) initiates a pastiche resumed in the main buildings; its stonework is carved in imitation of a framed hut with cabled angle shafts, perhaps as used in camp. The Dīwān-khāna-yi ʿĀmm, placed at the north of the ridge has a trabeate colonnade of 111 bays with a deep *čhadjdjā* all round, and the royal *djharōkhā* is expanded in a pavilion of five bays broken forward into the court on a podium, with a hipped roof and fine *djālī*s. Its surprisingly modest scale is typical of the whole palace, where imaginative massing and exquisite carving achieve delight rather than grandeur. The organisation of the remainder of the palace, now weakened by the absence of the courtyard walls, must have been informal, with frequent lack of symmetry, overlapping masses, and half-closed spaces, and an intentness on individual buildings which suggest that the architects as well as the craftsmen worked in a Hindu tradition (cf. Kumbhā Rāṇā's palace at Čitawr Fort, taken in 975/1568). The purpose of several buildings is uncertain, and their fanciful names are best used for reference alone. The "Ānkh Mičawlī" is a *tibāra* flanked by two wings, themselves *tibāra*s turned outwards, offering three aspects with double walls for insulation, and with the central roof strutted as at Āgra. The "Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ", a four-square building, contains a single column supporting a circular estrade on astonishing radial brackets, joined to a peripheral balcony by catwalks: an embodiment of the *axis mundi* carrying the seat of the *čakravartin* or world ruler. A group of buildings around the Anūp Talāʾō, a square tank with a *čabūtrā* platform, may be compared with the camp *mahtābī*; the colonnaded "Khāṣṣ Maḥall" with its mezzanine is broken forward as at Sarkhēdj, and the *shāh-nishīn* above is a *bāradarī* whose verandah is carefully articulated to the mass by alternately wide and narrow bays, under a roof carved to simulate tiles. A room with a raised throne platform has a *djharōkhā-yi darshan* in the rear overlooking the records office courtyard to the south (Rizvi and Flynn, *op. cit.*, 24-40). The Daftar-khāna there is the first surviving statement of the classical Mughal pavilion form. A low podium carries a rectangular *tibāra* surrounded on three sides by broad *čhadjdjā*s over a colonnade of tall paired columns (outer and inner), grouped in fours to turn the corner; a wider bay accents the corner. The front doorways with arched, latticed lunettes are matched by a triad of windows at the back. The usual coved vault carries a flat roof terrace over the whole (*ibid.*, 41-2). The principal Ḥaram Sarāy, larger than those at Āgra, develops the courtyard plan on a single storey, the taller hall on each face rising through it, advanced between walls housing stairs to an upper storey, vaulted in keel form; two are roofed with azure tiles from Multān [*q.v.*]. A "Panč Maḥall" of four diminishing rectangular floors topped by a *čhatrī* forms a set of well ventilated platforms, whose screens were destroyed in 1869-72 (*ibid.*, 46-53). Broad expanses of paving set off these buildings throughout, and stone rings for tent ropes appear on parapets and at ground level. The awnings for festivals were of velvet, gold brocade, and gold embroidery. The sandstone was picked out in colour, the effect of which can still be seen in the "Nadān Maḥall" at Lakhnaw [*q.v.*].

The Fort at Adjmēr [*q.v.*], 978-81/1570-3, displays much stronger Iranian influence in a highly coherent, symmetrical plan. A strictly rectangular enclosure with a great octagonal bastion at each corner, and a single polygonal gateway broken out on the south, contains one building at the centre. This has a tall, three-bayed *īwān* on all four faces, with paired square pillars supporting the *čhadjdjā* and ceiling beams on cross brackets. Four square rooms fill the corners in two stories. The central space, which may have served for audience, is bridged by the upper storey; the lack of division between *mardāna* and *zanāna* is puzzling. The proportions are Persian, enhanced by panelling of the yellow brown Khattu limestone with simple pointed arches, whose archivolts are in the style of Mālwā or Khāndēsh, while the interior had tilework chased into geometric friezes.

At Allāhābād [*q.v.*], in the fort founded in 991/1583, only a *bāradarī*, the "Zanāna Palace", has survived. A peristyle of double columns surrounds a central hall, and the terraced roof is set off by latticed kiosks.

viii. The buildings of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] at Āgra have been obliterated. His *djharōkhā-yi darshan* is described as near the Shāh Burdj (later Muthamman Burdj), where he had marble halls built on three sides of Akbar's pavilion. The court of public audience was customarily divided by railings into three areas: that nearest the throne for the nobility, the next three steps lower for lesser officials, and the remainder for retainers. In his eighth year he introduced silver casings for the inner rails, the outer remained red. (A description cited by Nūr Bakhsh, in *ASIAR* [1903-4], 171, is based on a spurious ms.) His courtyard at Lāhawr [*q.v.* for plan], completed by Maʿmūr Khān in 1027/1617-18, is defined east and west by two ranges of single-storeyed *tibāra* halls two and three aisles deep, alternating with smaller rooms; their tall porticoes recall those of Adjmēr. A pavilion to the north, perhaps contemporary, is also a three-bayed hall, flanked by two turned outwards as at Fatḥpūr, though with an arched verandah in front. The garden, centred on a square tank with fountains, introduces another element of the classical palace plan. This court was probably the private audience hall, then known as the Ghusl-khāna (bathroom) through an accident of nomenclature explained by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī (*Pādshāh-nāma*, i, 148); there is a bath just to the west.

ix. In the reign of Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], Akbar's *djharokhā* for public audience and the old private audience hall at Āgra were pulled down: "all abominations escaped into non-existence, and lovely things reached the zenith of perfection" (*ibid.*, i/2, 236). If, as it seems, the replacements were built on the same sites, then the old private hall lay against the riverside wall ranged with the private apartments, with the public one in front,

at a Lāhawr. The latter was approached from the Dihlī Gate down the Mīnā Bāzār with its rows of shops and square *čahār sūḳ*, and entered from the north on the cross axis by the Akbarī Darwāza. The Amar Singh Gate to the south was primarily for access to the private apartments, like the Hāthī Pōl at Lāhawr.

Shāhdjahān adjusted this layout. In his first year (1037/1628), he had ordered halls of forty columns (*čihil sutūn*) at Āgra, Lāhawr and Burhānpur [*q.v.*] to protect his nobles at public audience instead of the tents used previously. As that at Burhānpur is ruined, and that at Lāhawr only roughly reconstructed, the hall (*īwān*) at Āgra, renamed the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿĀmm, is the remaining prototype for his court buildings, which thenceforward follow its format as an arched, hypostyle loggia, rectangular in plan and set on a podium, with a flat roof, *čhadjdja*, and *čhatrī*s at the corners. The work, in red sandstone dressed with polished marble stucco, and with details picked out in gold, is strikingly different from its forerunners. It retains such features as doubled peripheral columns, quadrupled at the corners, and dodecagonal shafts with linked *muḳarnaṣ* capitals and pyramidal bases. The innovations are the preference for a marble surface, the "structural" use of cusped arches in tall framed spandrels, the medium height of the columns, and a consonance of curvilinear detail; the construction is actually still trabeate. Here the hall, nine bays by three, is open on three sides, and arcades on both axes intersect to support coved roof panels. A central, raised *djharōkhā* opens through three rounded trefoil arches in the rear wall, its marble intricately inlaid with pietra dura (*parčīn-kārī* [*q.v.*]). The great courtyard is surrounded with an arcade of simpler cusped arches. The silver rail now fenced the loggia, and the red rail was of stone.

The courtyard of the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ, dated 1045/1635, is confined on three sides by two storeys of cusped arcades serving rooms for the treasury; the upper floor continues as an open riverside terrace to the east, and the audience hall is now turned at right angles to face down this, with its back to the private apartments. It has no internal columns, being smaller, and backs on to an inner hall (*ṭambī-khāna*) through three pointed arches. This has a great alcove (*shāh-nishīn*) at either end. The marble of both spaces is panelled above florally carved dadoes, matched by floral *djālī*s in arched clerestories, and netted coving surrounds ceilings once plated in gilded silver leaf. The terrace was used at night; baths [see ḤAMMĀM] at its end were set with glass mosaic. Just behind this hall, the Shāh Burdj bastion was rebuilt with an octagonal vaulted chamber in two storeys, the Muthamman Burdj, used for conference with ministers. Below, a balcony surrounds a central apsed cell which opens on the landward side to a matching *tibāra* with a foliate pool facing a terrace screened by exquisite arched *djālīs*; above is a *čhatrī* with a gilded dome. Beneath the audience hall is a *tah-khāna*, the Shīsh Maḥall, of two rooms in glass mosaic with a cascade and running water: a cool and gently lit *sardāb* [*q.v.*].

Immediately south of this complex is an extension of the riverside terrace carrying the Ārāmgāh (bedchamber), built in the same idiom but with piers instead of columns. In front is a pool with boldly sculpted trefoil margins, and on either side, a flawlessly simple screen, behind which is a *tibāra* pavilion with the high arched, ridged roof derived from Bengal, stopped by a hipped dome at each end, and gilded. The northern one, in marble, was the Bangla-yi Darshan, which replaced the earlier *djharōkhā*, followed by a *banglā* tent on the site. These symmetrical but contrasting masses formed a new type of composition; they face a *čār bāgh* below with its original parterres, surrounded by the harem quarters in two stories, served by a balcony, and with a *tibāra* on each axis. The new aesthetic included three mosques of appropriate sizes for the two audience halls and the court.

At Lāhawr Fort [*q.v.* for plan], Shāhdjahān's buildings were coeval with those at Āgra, beginning with a very similar Čihil Sutūn. The suite of private apartments set within the great Shāh Burdj, *ca.* 131′/40 m across internally, was completed in 1041/1631; it is more accomplished in the Iranian linkages of its planning than in elevation, where it is unresolved. The small *ṭambī-khāna* is flanked by domed octagonal rooms leading to semi-octagons with apses filling the angles (plan in E. La Roche, *op. cit.*, v, 202). The *banglā* "Nawlakha" to one side of the court, a *čawčāla* with eaves curved on both axes, is possibly the first of the genre (internal work above the dado is Sikh work). The royal bedchamber (*khʷābgāh*) lay behind a range of shallow rooms facing the Burdj (*Pādshāh-nāma*, i, 223-5). Eastward of this group, along the river front, are three further courts: one opening to the entrance yard, *čowk-i dyōrhī* and the Hāthī Pōl, one marked Khilwat-khāna on the Sikh map (not Khilʿat as cited by Vogel) which may have been harem quarters, with baths, a small mosque, and a small marble *banglā* on the parapet dated 1055/1645, and one with ranges grouped around a *čār bāgh* including the Čhōṭī Khʷābgāh believed to be one of the buildings for *khʷābgāh* and *ghusl-khāna* (see viii. above) ordered in 1043/1633-4 (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, cited by Nūr Bakhsh, *op. cit.*, 1902, 223-4). Djahāngīr's court ends the row, thus reversing the Āgra plan. At Adjmēr, the five white marble pavilions along the margin of the Āna Sāgar lake (1047/1637) show the idea of the waterside terrace at its most perfect, as the climax of the Dawlat Bāgh; the new style is at its most precise, though the column groupings recall Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. The prominent Hindu brackets are found too in the black marble pavilion carried out by Ẓafar Khān at Shālamār (formerly Fayḍbakhsh) in Kashmīr in 1039/1630 [see BUSTĀN].

The Lāl Ḳilʿa at Dihlī [*q.v.* for plan and details], being founded *de novo* in 1048/1638, allowed free development of a riverside palace within the walled format of a rectangle set along the Djamnā to the east. The main approach axis from the Lāhawr Gate in the west passes through a long, vaulted bazaar street with an open octagonal court, of Iranian pattern, to a great square guard court, with a tank at its centre and a *nawbat-khāna* over a triple gate at the far side. This led to the still larger courtyard, a rectangle set athwart this axis, and surrounded by arcades (*īwān*) of separate cells for the *umarāʾ*, serving the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿĀmm opposite. Neither court is extant. The north and south sides of the guard court received the transverse axis of an open arcaded street, with a canal, running from the southern Dihlī Gate. Beyond the audience hall, the main axis ended in a third court in front of the Imtiyāz Maḥall (Rang Maḥall) on a riverside terrace, the first of a line of harem buildings extending south along the cross axis of the Nahr-i Bihisht canal, once fronting garden courts that

provided privacy and accommodation. To the north, however, a group of administrative buildings was inserted on the terrace, offset to the left of the main axis, behind their own courts, an arrangement probably intended to combine the advantages of the microclimate with easier access for the emperor to both halls.

The new building types are elaborated. The public audience hall in red sandstone, once plastered, still has the nominal forty columns, but the detail is more florid; a raised *dj̲harōkhā* recess under a round arch has a (later?) *čawčāla* of marble advanced forwards. The Imtiyāz Maḥall has three aisles of intersecting cusped arches on cruciform piers; the canal runs down the centre between vaulted rooms at the corners, which form visual stops. In the S̲h̲āh Maḥall (now Dīwān-i K̲h̲āṣṣ), also piered, the canal is marked by the insertion of narrower and lower bays in the end elevations of the hall and its matching peristyle; the peacock throne was once housed here. The K̲h̲āṣṣ Maḥall (dated 1058/1648), comprising private apartments (K̲h̲wābgāh) linked to the Mut̲h̲amman Burdj̲, faces each of these with a corresponding elevation. The later Mug̲h̲al style is represented in the S̲h̲āh Burdj̲ pavilion, with baluster columns, depressed arches, and an upward arch of the *čhadjdjā* over the centre bay (see plan in Reuther, *op. cit.*, pl. 60).

x. Further elaboration of these elements can be seen in the Rādjpūt work at Ambēr under the direct influence of Āgra and Dihlī, and in the Dj̲āṭ palaces of Dīg (*ca.* 1725) near Bharatpūr. The transition to the frivolities of later Mug̲h̲al palaces is marked by the Ḳudsiyya Bāg̲h̲ at Dihlī, built for the mother of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh (1161-7/1748-54), of which fragments remain (cf. a print by T. Daniell, *Oriental scenery*, London 1795, i, 3). It was built rapidly from brick and plaster, with applied stucco ornament; the river elevation is in two storeys of arcading, blind below, and with balustered openings on to her apartments above. Octagonal towers at each corner are fully latticed above, with oriels set on lotus calyces, and capped by bulbous semidomes with vestigial *banglā* eaves; these and other features form the vocabulary of subsequent domestic architecture at Lak̲h̲naw [*q.v.*]. The tradition was to continue with greater vigour in the gradual accretions of Rādjpūt palaces, and in Sikh buildings, until the present century.

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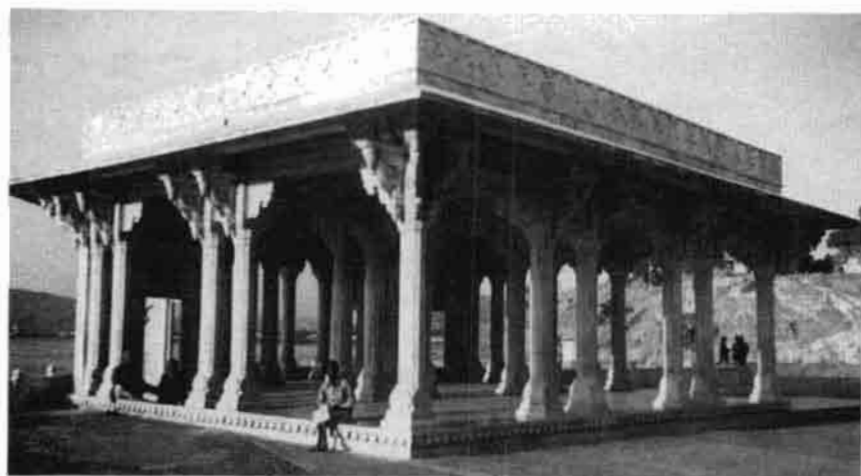
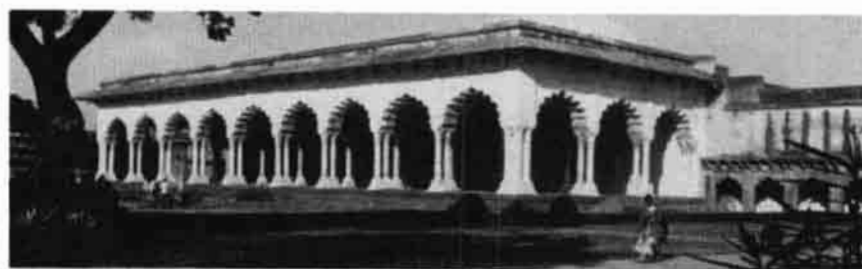
MAḤALLA (A.), a noun of place from the verb *ḥalla*, which means notably "to untie (a knot, luggage, etc.)", and by extension, "to make a halt", whence the meaning of "a place where one makes a halt, where one settles (for a longer or shorter time)".

This term constitutes the first element of names of towns or villages in Egypt, where a hundred places were designated by an expression formed from Maḥalla followed by an adjective or a proper noun; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak cites more than thirty of them in al-*K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-djadīda* (xv, 21 ff.), apart from the city of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā [*q.v.*].

Maḥalla also took on the meaning of a "quarter of a town" [see MADĪNA], especially in Turkish (see MAḤALLE), Persian and Urdu. Dozy (*Suppl.* s.v.) even sees in the name of the Jewish quarter of the towns of North Africa, the *mallāḥ*, a metathesis of *maḥalla* (but cf. MALLĀḤ).

Furthermore, the original meaning of "a place where one makes a halt" was preserved in the Mag̲h̲rib (with a pl. *amḥāl*) to designate a movable camp, then, by extension, the troops on campaign within the territory at least nominally dependent on the sovereign who commands them or entrusts the command to the heir apparent, another member of the family or, exceptionally, to a confirmed war commander. This change in the meaning appears quite early, since it was attested under the Ḥafṣids (see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 90) in Tunisia, where, as in Morocco, before the institution of the protectorate, expeditions so-named were organised periodically. In Tunisia, the *maḥalla* (in French, *méhalla*) was principally formed from auxiliaries levied more or less easily among the tribes; it used to leave the capital following a ceremony of which we possess some detailed descriptions (see e.g. V. Serres and M. Lasram, in *RT* [1895], 333; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, Tunis 1967, 303), and it was

generally received with marks of honour by the subject tribes who, moreover, hated to see it strike camp, for it was they who had to provision the troops on campaign.

The *maḥalla* constituted an instrument of government. It performed in effect a triple function: to consolidate the authority of the sovereign over the provinces, to ensure the levying of taxes and to suppress rebellions or the insubordination of local chiefs. In the ordinary way, it performed a simple route march, but the collection of taxes sometimes proved difficult and necessitated more than a simple demonstration of force; when the launching of a *maḥalla* had been provoked by the agitation of a tribe, it was settled on its territory, from which it put pressure on the population; finally, when serious troubles broke out, real war operations had to be mounted against the rebels, as for example in 1864 (see Kh. Chater, *Insurrection et répression dans la Tunisie du XIX*e *siècle: la Méhalla de Zarrouk au Sahel (1864)*, Tunis 1978).

In Morocco, the *maḥallas* performed almost the same functions as in Tunisia, with this difference, however, that a good part of the territory totally escaped the authority of the sultan, who was furthermore constrained in organising one since, from Fez or Meknès, he used to make his way to his southern capital, Marrakesh, via Rabat.

In a general fashion, the Moroccan *maḥalla* comprised elements of the three corps of the regular army [see DJAYSH], to which were added some contingents designated by the name of *ḥarka* (*ḥaraka*) and supplied by tribes subject to the sultan. The latter formed the vanguard (or the rearguard where an attack on the rear was repulsed) and explored the terrain, spreading out over a wide area; then came the regular troops charged with protecting the sovereign (who rode under a parasol) and his entourage, who preceded the standards and musicians.

At its resting place the camp contained in its centre the tents of the Sultan, his wives and eunuchs, surrounded by a linen screen, which, in Tunisia, bore the Berber name *afrag* (transcribed as *āfrāg* [*q.v.*]). Outside this enclosure were placed the ministers, secretaries, musicians, around whom the troops formed a square; within this apparatus, wandering merchants established a market, where all kinds of articles and foodstuffs were to be found, for provisioning was not ensured by regular supervision; it was the tribes who had to supply what was called the *mūna* (*muʾna*), i.e. the provisioning, and it was not uncommon for this to be insufficient, in spite of the sacrifices of the populations subject to this obligation, which often reduced them to misery. Nevertheless, some of them preferred to remain dissident, at the risk of possibly seeing a *maḥalla* settle on their territory and help itself to their flocks and cereal resources without pity.

Most of the Europeans who visited Morocco before the Protectorate had occasion to describe a *maḥalla*, in particular the one mounted to suppress the rebellion of Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*], but the richest source with reference to this is the work of Dr. L. Arnaud, *Au temps des "Mehallas"*, IHEM, Notes et Documents, fasc. no. xii, Cadablanca 1952.

Bibliography: given in the text.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-MAHALLA AL-KUBRĀ or MAḤALLA KABĪR is the modern name of an important town in the Delta of the Nile at some distance to the west of the Damietta arm, north-east of Ṭanṭa. It lies on the Turʿat al-Milāḥ canal, a branch of the Baḥr Shībīn.

In view of the large number of Egyptian geographical names compounded with Maḥalla (see these listed in Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, i, 404-9), the identification of the town with the names mentioned by earlier Arabic writers is a matter of some difficulty. Maspero and Wiet identify it with the Coptic Tishairi (Amélinau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, 262), but this identification is rendered doubtful by the fact that al-Maḥalla is a purely Arabic name (and it also remains to be proved that it is a rendering of the Coptic name just mentioned), and because the work of Abū Ṣāliḥ on the Christian buildings of Egypt makes no mention of this town. The earliest author who knew a town called al-Maḥalla or al-Maḥalla al-Kabīra is al-Muḳaddasī (55, 194, 196, 200); he tells us that it was a town of al-Rīf built in two parts, one called Sandafā (or Ṣandafā), but the statement that the town was situated on the river by Alexandria (200) seems to be an error. Al-Bakrī seems to know the same town under the name Maḥallat Maḥrūm (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* Brit. Libr. ms.). Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 158, calls the town simply al-Maḥalla and knows a canal called after it. Yāḳūt's statements are confused, for he speaks of a town called Maḥallat Daḳalā and of another Maḥallat Sharḳiyūn (iv, 428), both of which seem to refer to the same place. Maḥallat Sharḳiyān in Yāḳūt—which he also calls al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā—forms one town with Sandafā and on the other hand he says that Maḥalla Daḳalā between al-Ḳāhira and Dimyāṭ is the largest of the Maḥallas that he knows (cf. also Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 160), while the geographer al-Dimishḳī (231) knows Maḥalla Daḳalā as the capital of the *kūra* of Daḳahla; Ibn Duḳmāḳ (v, 82) says that the governorship of this town was regarded as "the little vizierate" (*al-wizāra al-ṣaghīra*). Under the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ's administrative reorganisation at the end of the 8th/14th century, al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā became the centre of the *wilāya* of the Gharb, under an *amīr ṭablkhāna* (see H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern. II. Das Delta*, Wiesbaden 1982, 311, 519).

The name Maḥallat Sharḳiyūn is again found in al-Maḳrīzī (ed. Wiet, iii, 207). It is clear from these writers that the town was an important commercial centre from the 4th/10th century onwards. It does not seem however to have played any considerable part in history, although ʿAlī Pāsha Mubārak quotes some events that took place there, from al-Maḳrīzī and al-Djabartī. In Egypt in the 19th century, the town had to give way to Ṭanṭa, which became the capital of the *mudīriyya* of al-Gharbiyya, while al-Maḥalla became the capital of a smaller administrative area; ʿAlī Mubārak estimates its inhabitants at 50,000, while the 1914 Baedeker gives it only 33,500. It is at present a centre of the cotton trade; raw cotton is there cleaned in the factories. Of the many individuals who bore the *nisba* al-Maḥallī, the most celebrated is Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī [*q.v.*], who was born here.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1919, 164 and the bibliography there given; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xv, Būlāḳ 1305, 18-25; Ramzī, *op. cit.*, ii/2, 10, 15-26.

(J. H. KRAMERS*)

MAḤALLĀTĪ, ĀGHĀ KHĀN, Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, last of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imāms*

to reside in Iran and the first of them to bear the title of Āg͟hā (less commonly but more correctly, Āḳā) K͟hān. Born in 1219/1804 in the village of Kahak near Maḥallāt in central Iran, he succeeded to the imāmate in 1233/1817 when his father, S͟hāh K͟halīl Allāh, was murdered in Yazd. Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh, the Ḳād͟jār ruler, amply compensated the young *imām*. His lands at Maḥallāt were extended by royal decree; he was given a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh in marriage; and he was made governor of Ḳum, despite his extreme youth. With this appointment came the title Āḳā K͟hān, subsequently used as a hereditary title by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imāms*.

Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī led an apparently loyal and tranquil existence until the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh in 1250/1834, and the favour with which the court regarded him was confirmed when the new ruler, Muḥammad S͟hāh, appointed him governor of Kirmān. But when, in 1252/1836, an attempt was made to replace Maḥallātī with Fīrūz Mīrzā, a Ḳād͟jār prince, he forcefully resisted his dismissal and embarked on a career of rebellion that ended with his fleeing to India by way of Afg͟hānistān. Despite initial success, Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī was soon obliged to withdraw to the citadel at Bam, where he surrended after a siege lasting fourteen months. There followed eight months of captivity in Kirmān and a period of retreat at the shrine of S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm before he was able to plead for mercy at the court. He was pardoned on condition that he retire to Maḥallāt. This he did, but in the space of two years he gathered there an army of Ismāʿīlīs and non-Ismāʿīlī mercenaries that enabled him to resume his rebellion. Claiming that he wished to go to Bandar ʿAbbās in order to embark for the Ḥid͟jāz, Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī left Maḥallāt in Rad͟jab 1256/September 1840, striking out with his force south-east across the desert to Yazd and Kirmān. Again he won a number of preliminary engagements, but in 1258/1842 he was decisively worsted in a large battle outside Kirmān and soon after he crossed into Afg͟hānistān.

Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī's motives for rebelling against the Iranian central government are unclear. They may have been connected in part with rivalries surrounding the Niʿmatallāhī Ṣūfī order. Despite the paradox involved in an Ismāʿīlī *imām*'s submission to the guidance of a Ṣūfī *s͟hayk͟h*, Maḥallātī was the *murīd* of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn S͟hirwānī, a claimant to leadership of the Niʿmatallāhī order. When another Niʿmatallāhī affiliate, Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, who was Muḥammad S͟hāh's chief minister, sought to displace Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī espoused the cause of his master with vigour. Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āḳāsī is said to have avenged himself by dismissing Maḥallātī from the governorship of Kirmān, and Maḥallātī to have responded by rebelling (see Masʿūd Mīrzā, *Sargud͟has͟ht-i Masʿūdī*, Tehran 1325/1907, 197-8). It is also possible that the British encouraged him to rebel, for at the time of his second uprising an Iranian army was advancing on Harāt in defiance of British wishes, and a diversion of Iranian attention to the south was clearly welcome in London (see *Correspondence relating to Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1839, 64).

Maḥallātī's links with the British, whom he calls "the people of God" (*k͟halḳ Allāh*) in his memoirs (*ʿIbrat-afzā*, ed. Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī, Tehran 1325 s͟h./1946, 56), become fully evident with his arrival in Afg͟hānistān. He was assigned a daily allowance by the British force occupying Ḳandahār, and his troops aided in the evacuation of the British garrison which took place soon after his arrival.

Accompanying the British to Sind, he continued to supply them with mercenary services, and was instrumental in securing the cession of Karachi to the British by Nāṣir K͟hān, ruler of Kalāt [see KILĀT] (William Napier, *History of Sir Charles Napier's administration of Scinde*, London 1851, 75).

After a brief stay in Calcutta, during which the British authorities fruitlessly tried to secure him a pardon and safe return to Iran, Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī took up residence in Bombay, where he acquired extensive properties and began to accumulate a vast fortune. In this undertaking he was significantly aided by a ruling, handed down by the Bombay High Court in 1866, that placed all the community property of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in the name of their *imām* and under his absolute control. Maḥallātī died in April 1881, and was buried in a lavish shrine at Ḥasanābād in the Mazagon area of Bombay. He was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, Āḳā ʿAlī S͟hāh, Āg͟hā K͟hān II.

Bibliography: Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī wrote an autobiography, *Taʾrīk͟h-i ʿIbrat-afzā*, which was first published in Bombay in 1278/1861, and reprinted in 1325 s͟h./1946 by Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī in Tehran. A Gud͟jarātī translation of this work exists. W. Ivanow has cast doubt on the authenticity of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i ʿIbrat-afzā*, but his arguments are not convincing (Ivanow, *Ismaili literature: a biobibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 148-9). Other sources: H. Algar, *The revolt of Āg͟hā K͟hān Maḥallātī and the transference of the Ismāʿīlī imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxix (1969), 55-81; A. J. Chunara, *Noorum Mubin, or the sacred cord of God: a glorious history of Ismaʿili imams* [in Gud͟jarātī], Bombay 1951, 401-23; Muṣṭafā G͟hālib, *Aʿlām al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1964, 214-19; idem, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Daʿwa al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1953, 267-9; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953, 364-70; B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, New York 1968, 15-17, French tr., Paris 1982, 50-2; Zawahir Noorally, *The first Aga Khan and the British*, 1838-1868, M. A. thesis, University of London 1964; Nasrollah Pourjavady and P. L. Wilson, *Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs*, in *SI*, xli (1975), 114-35.

(H. ALGAR)

MAḤALLE, a term commonly used in Ottoman administrative parlance for a ward or quarter of a town. As listed in the Ottoman registers [see DAFTAR-I K͟HĀḲĀNĪ], the *maḥalle*s are of various kinds. Characteristically, the Ottoman *maḥalle* consisted of a religious community grouped around its mosque (or church or synagogue) and headed by its religious chief.

In addition to its place of worship, the *maḥalle* normally had its own market, school and water fountain, these normally being supported by pious endowments. In many provincial towns, the *maḥalle* also had its own outer wall with a limited number of controlled points of access. Often the *maḥalle* had its own militia and some form of internal police. At times of weakened central authority, rivalries and even armed clashes between *maḥalle*s were not uncommon. The strong sense of corporate identity of the *maḥalle* is also indicated in a number of other ways, as for example in processions and ceremonies, with music, torches and flags. These were frequently linked with the Ṣūfī brotherhood [see ṬARĪḲA] with which the inhabitants of the *maḥalle* were associated.

Often the *maḥalle*s bear ethnic or denominational names, e.g. of Kurds, Turkomans, Christians, Jews; where Christians and Jews are numerous, they may

be subdivided by communities, e.g. Orthodox, Copts, Armenians, or, in the case of Spanish Jews, by their cities or provinces of origin. While many quarters are inhabited by homogenous ethnic, religious, or, sometimes, occupational groups, this is not always so, and the registers list many quarters in which different elements live side-by-side. The quarters inhabited by Sunnī Muslims are normally designated by some topographical name, often that of the main mosque of the quarter. The listing of the adult male inhabitants of the quarter often begins with the *Imām* and other religious functionaries, and ends with an indication of the numbers of religious and other tax-exempt (e.g. blind, mad or maimed) persons. In many dealings with authority, the *Imām* of the mosque, or his equivalent, was the representative head of the *maḥalle*. In some documents, the *maḥalle* appears to be headed by a *shaykh*, responsible to and appointed by the Ottoman authorities, possibly on the recommendation of the inhabitants of the quarter. In 1242/1826 a new system was introduced, with the election of a *mukhtār* [*q.v.*] as headman for urban districts as well as villages.

Bibliography: A. Raymond, *Quartiers et mouvements populaires au Caire au XVIII^e siècle*, in P. M. Holt, (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, 105-16; idem, *Essai de géographie des quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire au XVIII^ème siècle*, in *JESHO*, vi (1963), 58-103; Nawāl al-Messiri Nadim, *The concept of the ḥāra: a historical and sociological study of al-Sukkariyya*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xv (1979), 313-48; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton, N.J. 1978, 13-14, 34-41. See further MADĪNA, and the articles on individual cities, especially ISTANBUL. (ED).

AL-**MAḤALLĪ**, ABŪ ʿALĪ DJALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, Egyptian scholar who was born and died in Cairo (b. 791/1389, d. 1 Muḥarram 864/28 October 1459). He is known above all as co-author of the famous Ḳurʾān commentary called the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* because it was completed by another Djalāl al-Dīn, the famous al-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505 [*q.v.*]), who had been his pupil for some time. According to the latter, al-Maḥallī had commented on the sūras from XVIII (*al-Kahf*) to CXIV (*al-Nās*), as well as I (*al-Fātiḥa*) and a few verses of II (*al-Baḳara*).

Al-Maḥallī, who earned his living as a trader, is said to have had such an acute intelligence that it could "pierce a diamond" and a strict morality so rigorous that he attacked abuses of all kinds and refused the office of chief *ḳāḍī* when it was offered to him. He taught law in the two Muʾayyadiyya and Barḳūḳiyya *madrasas*, and furthermore utilised his wide and varied knowledge in *kalām*, grammar, logic, *uṣūl*, etc., in a series of works and above all commentaries, none of which, except for the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, have been published, but of which various mss. are extant, since they had a certain success in scholarly circles. These include *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ fī ḥall Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, comm. on the *Djamʿ* of al-Subkī [*q.v.*], of which there exist (as also of others of his works) several mss. in the B.N. Paris (see also Brockelmann, II, 89, II², 109; the Baghdād journal *al-Mawrid*, i/1-3, 212, iii/1, 229, iii/3, 287, v/2, 214); this *sharḥ* was itself made the subject of glosses by al-Wallālī (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 291) and by al-Laḳānī (see Brockelmann, II², 109). One should further mention a commentary on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (see Brockelmann, I, 265, I², 309, S I, 69); one on *al-Hudā al-nabawī* by Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] (see Brockelmann, II², 138, S II, 127); one on the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of *al-Nawawī* [*q.v.*] (see Brockelmann, I², 497); *al-Ḳawl al-mufīd fi 'l-Nīl al-saʿīd* (collection of verses, quotations, etc., in part, after al-Masʿūdī; see Brockelmann, II, 114, II², 138); *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* (see Brockelmann, II, 114, II², 138, S II, 127; cf. M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasbourg 1966, 40); and a commentary on *al-Waraḳāt fī uṣūl al-dīn* by al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] (see Brockelmann, I 389, I², 487).

Bibliography: The most detailed biography of al-Maḥallī is in Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 232, borrowed by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 303-4; see also Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 39-41; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, i, 269; M. Ben Cheneb, *Idjâza*, § 190; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xv, 21; Brockelmann, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

MAḤAMMAD AL-ḤĀDJDJ. [see AL-DILĀʾ, in Suppl.].

MAHARI OR **MAKARI** [see KOTOKO].

AL-**MAḤĀSIN** WA-'L-**MASĀWĪ** (A.) "merits and faults", a literary genre which developed in the course of the first centuries of the Islamic period, having originated within the Arabo-Muslim cultural heritage, although some scholars (Inostranzev, *Iranian influence on Moslem literature*, tr. from Russian by G. K. Nariman, Bombay 1918, 79-85; G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte des älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932, 37-8; H. Massé, *Du genre littéraire débat en arabe et en persan*, in *CCM*, iv (1961), 137; I. Muḥammadī, *al-Adab al-fārisī fī ahamm adwārih wa-ashhar aʿlāmih*, Beirut 1967, 136-7) have concluded, ill-advisedly, that it was inspired by an ancient Iranian model *shāyist nā-shāyist* ("auspicious/inauspicious"). This period witnessed the proliferation of debate, a genre well-known among the Arabs before the advent of Islam (*munāfarāt* and *mufākharāt*: bragging contest; see al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1952, iii, 33, 55-6; M. Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, Cairo 1924, i, 278-307; A. al-Hāshimī, *Djawāhir al-adab*, Cairo 1969, i, 224-37, 237-54; Massé, *op. laud.*, 137-47; Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī, *al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1962, 41-56; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, Cairo 1972, 457-64, al-*ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-thānī*, Cairo 1975, 535-40; I. Gériès, *Un genre littéraire arabe, al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, Paris 1977, 6-12). Two categories of debate may be distinguished:

1. Theological debates (*munāẓarāt*), where the Muʿtazilīs were pre-eminent, not only in their combat with other sects and religions, but also in their internal dialectic, prompted, no doubt, by their admiration for plausible reasoning and influenced by the Sophists and by Greek philosophers in general. They made use of dialectic as a very efficacious instrument of analysis, a means of distinguishing absolute truth from relative truths.

2. Secular debates (*mufākharāt*, *munāẓarāt*) on a broad range of subjects coming to the fore in a new civilisation loaded with contrasting elements, particularly the conflict between the Shuʿūbīs and the believers in the supremacy of the Arabs, among whom al-Djāḥiẓ (see Gériès, *op. laud.*) is a distinguished example. The antagonists were numerous. Some of them exploited every opportunity for debate, even on trivial questions, a fact which led al-Djāḥiẓ (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, i, 11-25, vii, 7-8) to

describe them as *aṣḥāb al-khuṣūmāt*, declaring that he had no involvement with them.

This state of affairs inevitably had the effect of throwing doubt on the real worth of every idea and every concept, especially in a milieu where rationalism and Greek influence were the dominating forces. This fact was to influence ideas and literature, both in form and in content, most of all among the rationalists and in the case of al-Djāḥiẓ especially.

In his writings, this author shows an expert knowledge of the milieu, in all its aspects and contradictory tendencies. The characteristics of the milieu become associated with ideas borrowed from Greek philosophy, and it is these which must have led al-Djāḥiẓ to the concept which enable him to reply both to dualists and to determinist Muslims and which was to be one of the fundamentals of his doctrine: the relativity of good and evil in this world and the necessity of their co-existence for the optimum benefit (*al-aṣlaḥ*) of creation and especially for intelligent life.

The desire to illustrate and popularise his relativist conception of good and evil induces him to prepare, on the basis of the controversies of nis time, a fairly long literary text where there is discussion of the merits and faults of the cock and the dog (*maḥāsin al-dīk wa-masāwīh, wa-manāfiʿ al-kalb wa-maḍārruh*). This is presented to the reader in the form of a debate between two highly distinguished Muʿtazilīs. One of them (al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*]) favours and defends the cock (*ṣāḥib al-dīk*), while the other (Maʿbad [*q.v.*]) favours and defends the dog (*ṣāḥib al-kalb*); both are vehemently criticised by a certain accuser (*ʿāʾib*) who also censures the two animals and enumerates their vices.

It is not difficult to prove that this innovative debate is the invention of al-Djāḥiẓ himself, seeking out the merits and faults of the cock and the dog and simultaneously prompting the replies made to the accuser (see Gériès, *op. laud.*, 27, 34). He offers this controversy to the reader in a very amusing and attractive literary form. He is the first to present the opportunity of reading, in a book of *adab*, a text of reasonable length commenting on the *maḥāsin* and the *masāwī* of the subject under discussion. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not confine himself to talking of the cock and the dog: he exposes the merits and faults of many other objects known in his time, such as the pig, the monkey, the eunuch and fire (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 36, i, 106-77, iv, 35, v, 5; Gériès, 44-5, 53-4).

With the aid of these examples he aims to convince his readers that everything is relative. And this, he hopes, will make his task easier when he comes to expounding and explaining theoretically and logically, in the course of literary texts discussing the *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* of the cock and the dog, his thesis on the relativity of good and evil with reference to creatures and the necessity of their co-existence, thus proving that they are intrinsically good, in relation to creation and insofar as they are works of God. This enables him simultaneously to destroy the dualist thesis and to prove two of the fundamental Muʿtazilī principles: *al-tawḥīd* and *al-taʿdīl* (divine unity and divine justice) with everything that proceeds logically therefrom, and most significantly of all, free will (see I. Gériès, *Quelques aspects de la pensée muʿtazilite d'al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *SI*, lii [1980], 73-5). It should be emphasised that this philosophical treatise is presented in the form of a direct response by al-Djāḥiẓ to the attacks mounted by the accuser against the two Muʿtazilīs for having discussed the merits and the faults of the dog and the cock (*Ḥayawān*, i, 203-4; cf. Gériès, 35-54).

The method which consists of praising or censuring a certain object is thus nothing more than a logical and natural evolution from debate, owing to the contribution of al-Djāḥiẓ who sought to use it for a theological purpose. This is why the affirmation of the existence of good and of evil (*maḥāsin* and *masāwī*) in every thing is imbued, in his work, with a philosophical and theological significance: all is relative and all is important, and each creation has its place. It is in this sense that the *K. al-Ḥayawān* is to be understood, as it deals with various despicable elements of creation, the wisdom that they contain and their importance for the optimum state of the world. Similarly, in his books and his letters he deals with different social groups, stressing the important and indispensable role that each plays and concluding that each social group has its place (*Ḥaywān*, i, 43-4, 204-10; *al-Maʿāsh wa 'l-maʿād*, in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 117; cf. Gériès, 44-54). This realisation comes to be applied in the Djāḥiẓian ethic, which in its principles is reminiscent of the Aristotelian ethic (see Gériès, 54-7).

The composition of literary texts containing praise and censure of the same object is therefore not, in the case of al-Djāḥiẓ, a worthless and insignificant game which seeks only to prove the verbal abilities of a skilful advocate. However, this will not be understood without a detailed study of the corpus of al-Djāḥiẓ's work, especially the *K. al-Ḥayawān*, the readers of which seem to have been attracted or shocked and even scandalised by the form and content of these texts. Al-Djāḥiẓ immediately acquired a renown which finds expression as much in the very violent attacks of certain later writers (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Fr. tr. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962, 73) as in the imitation of his method, although his imitators failed to understand the philosophical and theological significance implicit in this method and did not include it.

According to the periods in which works adopting the characteristic structure of certain writings of al-Djāḥiẓ were composed, the content and the form vary subject to the influence of the contemporary milieu and accented by dominant trends.

One of these writers who seems to be the most attracted by the Djāḥiẓian method is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaḳī (3rd-4th/9th-10th century), author of a sizable book of *adab* entitled *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* (ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902; ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1961). Al-Bayhaḳī is unknown to the ancient Arab biographers; all that can be added to the material contained in the article AL-BAYHAḲĪ in *EI*², is that he was a moderate Shīʿī (Zaydī) and that he ascended the social scale to the point where he was a *nadīm* or companion of kings. Ibn al-Rūmī, who allows him this distinction, composed numerous satires (*hidjāʾ*) against him (see Gériès, 74-9; Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, ed. M. Sh. Sālim, Beirut n.d., ii, 28-9, ed. M. Kaylānī, Cairo 1924, 202-6, poem no. 233; R. Guest, *Life and works of Ibn Er-Rumi*, London 1944, 29, 133; S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī, sa vie et son œuvre*, Beirut 1967, index).

The subjects discussed in the *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* and the ideas which it reveals are virtually identical to those of Ibn Ḳutayba in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, with the exception of the politico-religious tendencies which are to be perceived in the first part (see Gériès, 80-3). The factor which makes this book unique and different from other works of

adab is the precise method with which the writer deals with his subjects and his technique of revealing to the reader his own feelings towards them (*ibid.*, 79-89). Each chapter (*bāb*) is divided into two opposing sections: *maḥāsin* of . . ./ *masāwī* of . . . The contrast concerns either one single object possessing both merits and faults (e.g. *maḥāsin al-faḳr*/*masāwī al-faḳr*: poverty; see the *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, 98-107, 170-8, 297-307, 364-73, 386-92, 464-9, 599-605, 609-12, 619-22; cf. Gériès, 87-9), or, as is more common, two objects of which one is positive, praiseworthy and full of merit, the other negative, reprehensible and full of fault (*maḥāsin al-rasūl*/*masāwī man tanabbaʾa*, *maḥāsin al-s͟hidda*/*masāwī 'l-d͟jubn*: the Prophet/false prophets, courage/cowardice; see 16-34, 111-32, 518-22; Gériès, 85-7).

Thus the terms *maḥāsin*/*masāwī* are not limited to a single connotation; in the first category, they signify merits/faults, good/bad examples, praise/censure; in the second: good, positive, virtuous, proper, laudable, qualities and merits of that which is *ḥasan* (good)/bad, negative, vicious, improper, despicable, vices and faults of that which is *ḳabīḥ* (bad).

In his introduction (16; cf. Gériès, 91-3), which in general terms is nothing more than a collection of remarks of al-D͟jāḥiẓ in praise of books and of writing, al-Bayhaḳī explains the motives that have led him to give this title to his book and thus to follow this method of exposition. He says: "We have entitled it *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* because the optimal interest of the world, from the beginning to the end of time, resides in the co-existence of good and bad, of harmful and useful, likable and detestable. For if only bad existed, creatures would annihilate one another. And, if there were nothing but good, affliction would disappear and reasoning would have no value . . .".

This explanation is nothing other than the opening of the philosophical treatise presented by al-D͟jāḥiẓ in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* as a reply to the accuser. Al-Bayhaḳī, although he reproduces only the first few lines and seems to dissociate himself from its theological purpose, thus proves that it is precisely the *K. al-Ḥayawān* and the justification advanced for the debate by al-D͟jāḥiẓ that inspire him. His book represents the historic moment at which a logical approach, itself already appearing in a literary form typical of *adab*, became transformed into an independent literary genre (see Gériès, 91-7, 151).

However, as has been seen, al-Bayhaḳī does not in the majority of cases apply the D͟jāḥiẓian procedure which consists of praising or censuring an object or a subject of some kind; he distorts it whenever it seems to endanger his ideological interest, using the terms *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* as a means of proclaiming in advance, in chapter-headings, his feelings and attitudes towards the subjects discussed.

The criteria which govern his choice of subjects and dictate the positions that he adopts are: his politico-religious principles, moral principles and the socio-cultural and literary tendencies, already given definitive form by al-D͟jāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḳutayba in the *adab* of the 3rd/9th century, whose books are also his primary sources (see Gériès, 79-89).

The author of *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* supports his thinking and his judgments, expressed in advance in the titles, with the aid of chosen fragments of *adab* which illustrate them: quotations in prose and verse, anecdotes, lengthy narratives and traditions (*maḥāsin al-ak͟hbār wa-ṭarāʾif al-āt͟hār*, as he himself calls them). Except in the titles, which are the only reflection of his thinking, he makes no personal intervention in the text.

The reader of al-Bayhaḳī's book will be confronted with a testament of the practical philosophy of a 3rd/10th century Zaydī connoisseur of *adab*. It is as a result of the method of contrasting good with evil that we are able to arrive at an understanding of this philosophy, although, for others, who do not seem to have studied the work in detail, this method excludes the true position of the author and signifies, in their opinion, praising and censuring (thesis and antithesis) one single object (see A. Ḍayf, *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-t͟hānī*, 540-7; Gériès, 90, n. 2).

This false interpretation is doubtless based on the fact that in a large number of chapters, the opposition of the two sections is a function of the antonymous terms *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* and not of the subjects under discussion, which gives the impression that this is an example of the D͟jāḥiẓian procedure of praising and censuring every thing.

This false interpretation of the *maḥāsin*/*masāwī* contrast is not new. It appears in as early a work as the pseudo-D͟jāḥiẓ's *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād* (ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1898, German tr. O. Rescher, ii. *Über guten und schlechten Seiten der Dinge*, Stuttgart 1922, i. *Das K. al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, Constantinople 1926; the Arabic text has been reprinted in Cairo in 1324/1906-7 and in Beirut in 1969). This author, who seems to have been well-acquainted with al-D͟jāḥiẓ, is the first to imitate al-Bayhaḳī, going so far as to reproduce a substantial part of his work. In fact, the first part of *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād* is found in al-Bayhaḳī's work, but in a more complete, exact and correct form (see introd. by van Vloten, pp. ix-x, xiv; cf. Gériès, 102-10, 112-15). The anonymous author reproduces none of the chapters dealing with politico-religious subjects which reflect the tendencies of al-Bayhaḳī. The modifications which he introduces into the plagiarised chapters and passages show that he has not properly understood the method followed by this author and that he has been seduced by the D͟jāḥiẓian procedure of bestowing praise and censure.

Significantly, he has substituted for *masāwī* the term *ḍidduhu* (its opposite). Thus for him the opposition is: *maḥāsin* of . . ./*ḍidduhu*. This means that he systematically contrasts the sub-chapters *maḥāsin* of . . . with their opposites, without allowing the reader to deduce whether he will find under the title *ḍidduhu* censure of the same subject praised under the heading *maḥāsin* (good/bad sides of the subject) or a subject antithetical to that which has been praised (praise of the good and of the proper/censure of the bad and of the improper). Thus in the example *maḥāsin al-wafāʾ*/*ḍidduhu* (70-6), it is difficult to decide whether it is a case of: "praise of fidelity/censure of fidelity" or of "praise of fidelity/censure of infidelity", a confusion which arises from the ambiguity of the pronoun *hu* in *ḍidduhu*. Furthermore, there is the fact that the book is attributed to al-D͟jāḥiẓ, with the object of creating in the reader the impression that he is confronted by the D͟jāḥiẓian method, consisting of praising and censuring every notion, and that there is nothing here but a simple literary game. This, it seems, is the anonymous author's conception of this method.

This is why care should be taken to avoid attributing to him the same intentions and the same motives as those of al-Bayhaḳī. The things that interest him, besides the method of contrasting, are entertaining subjects and literary texts. The desire to distract and to entertain is even more evident in

the second part of his book, which is borrowed not from al-Bayhaḳī but from other sources (see introd. by van Vloten, pp. xii-xiv; Gériès, 116-18). Here, with the exception of the last two chapters which deal with Persian feasts and with gifts, the subject most prominently discussed is that of women: women famous for various reasons, their beauty, examples of romantic intrigues, their fidelity and their infidelity, their wiles and their relationships with men, etc.

Nevertheless, the author applies the contrasting method in only five of the twenty-one subjects tackled in this part of the book, and he confines himself, in the others, to presenting the *maḥāsin* (which here signifies the fine examples or beauties) of the subjects under discussion.

Curiously, he uses the method of contrasting in three cases to present that which to him appears good and praiseworthy in opposition to that which seems evil and culpable: fidelity/infidelity of women, reasonable jealousy/excessive jealousy, copulation/impotence. Furthermore, he uses the terms *maḥāsin/masāwī* to reveal, in the title, his judgments and feelings regarding the subjects in question. He does the same in the two other cases, whose titles give the impression that he is conforming to the method which consists of attacking and defending every notion: *maḥāsin/masāwī makr al-nisā'* (intrigues of women) and *maḥāsin/masāwī 'l-dabīb* (stealthy approach of a man seeking to seduce a woman: 263-72, 348-56). In the first case, intrigues performed for a reputable purpose are commended with the term *maḥāsin* (good intrigues), and those of which the objective is vicious and reprehensible are deplored (wicked intrigues). It is not impossible that the author intended, in this way, to expose the ambivalent attitude of *adab* and of the Muslim ethic towards intrigue. However, the terms *maḥāsin/masāwī* cannot here be translated by praise and blame. In the second case, a short tale of a successful *dabīb* is classed under the heading of *maḥāsin*; on the other hand, attempts which end in failure are classified as *masāwī*. Thus favourable/critical judgment depends on the result of the adventure and not on the conduct itself; in other words, there is no place here for praise and censure of the *dabīb*.

These two connotations of opposition characterise the majority of the chapters of al-Bayhaḳī. Thus the anonymous author has brought no innovation to the contrasting method itself; he has however varied the range of themes tackled, placing the accent on amusing, piquant and even erotic subjects, which brings his book closer to the genre of *belles-lettres* than to work of al-Bayhaḳī.

The literary and entertaining aspect which characterises *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdad*, whose overall title is also that of the majority of its chapters, and the fact that it bears the name of al-Djāḥiẓ, serve to reinforce the impression that one is faced with the method of praising and censuring every notion, and this element has enhanced the renown acquired by it within this genre.

This reputation seems to have been very widespread in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, as is expressed through the attribution to al-Djāḥiẓ of a letter (ed. Pellat, in *Machriq* [1956] 70-8; cf. Gériès, 120-5) bearing the title *Fī dhamm al-ʿulūm wa-madḥihā* ("Censure and praise of the sciences"). Its author systematically applies the original Djāḥiẓian method; one by one he censures and praises various sciences and professions with the aid of phrases of *waṣf* (description and evaluation) in rhymed prose which he has drawn from books of *adab*, including those of al-Djāḥiẓ. Analysis of the letter shows that this author is seduced by the effects of style and form involved in the method and not by its philosophical and theological connotations, an attitude thoroughly typical of his age.

The same pre-occupation comes to light soon after in the work of one of the most prolific of 5th/11th century authors, al-Thaʿālibī. Living in a period where Arabic culture was shaped by rhymed prose and by systematic pursuit of form and virtuosity, and in a milieu whose sole concern was with the invention of harmonious forms and formulas for the expression of every thought, he found that the Djāḥiẓian method was the best formula for supplying the needs of the *kātib* (scribe and functionary) and the *adīb* ("gentleman") of his age in their professional lives and in their encounters: stereotyped expressions finely-composed in prose and poetry, bearing on the main subjects of *adab* and expressing the two contrary views which people might take towards them or, more accurately, which *adab* had already taken towards them.

To this effect, al-Thaʿālibī, in his two identical books *al-Ẓarā'if wa 'l-laṭā'if fī 'l-aḍdād* and *Yawāḳīt fī baʿḍ al-mawāḳīt fī madḥ kull shay' wa-dhammih* (which a certain Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Maḳdisī brought together in a single edition, published several times in Baghdād and Cairo; the Cairo edition of 1324/1906-7 is the one used here), tackles each of the eighty subjects that are discussed in a chapter divided into two: *madḥ* . . ./*dhamm* . . .; in the first part he offers elegant quotations in praise of the subject, and in the second he gives those which censure it (for example: *madḥ/dhamm al-ʿaḳl*, reason; of *al-ghinā*, fortune, etc., 16-18; cf. Gériès, 122, 126-39).

This fundamental pre-occupation of the author excludes the anecdotes and lengthy narrations which characterise al-Bayhaḳī's book and that of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ. For al-Thaʿālibī, passing praise and censure on every subject is a proof of virtuosity and the witness to a great talent (*balāgha*), as well as evidence of a profound knowledge of the Arabic literary heritage (18). It is for this reason that he composes several books following this method, in which he repeats himself, to such an extent that in two of them he even reproduces the same themes and the same quotations, while giving to each of them a different title. Furthermore, he dedicates them to two different persons, adding, in the introduction to each, the pretence that in this book he has invented material that is original and totally unprecedented (2-4; cf. Gériès, 132-3).

In addition, he reproduces a large proportion of the materials presented in these books in a third which he entitles *al-Taḥsīn wa-l-taḳbīḥ* (mss. Istanbul, Rāghib Pasha 1473, Fayḍ Allāh 2133, edition of the text in preparation), and in which the opposition is presented in a new form: he praises that which is generally regarded as bad and passes censure on that which is generally regarded as good, apparently seeking, once again, to present a book which may appear new and unique in its genre.

In these three books of al-Thaʿālibī, there is nothing to confirm the view that the author was acquainted with the work of al-Bayhaḳī or of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ. On the other hand, it is the direct or indirect influence of the Djāḥiẓian corpus that seems to be acting upon him, impelling him to follow the method which involves praising and censuring every notion (see Gériès, 138-41).

One of the books of al-Tha'ālibī has been abridged, in the form of an entertainment, by a certain Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ibshīrī, who presents his work (unpublished; a single manuscript is known, preserved in Leiden Or. 1454) as the abridgement of the *K. al-'Umda fī madḥ al-shay' wa-ḍiddihi*; the work involved is probably the *Yawāḳīt*, of which one of the copies bears the name retained by al-Ibshīrī (see Gériès, 141-2).

The procedure, which consists of praising and censuring every thing and which has become synonymous with the display of literary talent, is encountered among numerous authors of *adab* subsequent to al-Tha'ālibī, who apply it sporadically in their books. Thus, al-Azdī in the *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim* (ed. Mez, Heidelberg 1902, 21-6, 105-6) and al-Ḥarīrī in his *Maḳāmāt* (*al-maḳāma al-dīnāriyya*, 27-30 of the Cairo 1326/1908-9 edition).

One of these authors, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (631-718/1234-1318) seems to be the most attracted by al-Tha'ālibī's method in its two forms: praise/censure on the one hand, on the other, praising that which is bad, censuring that which is good (see Gériès, 145-8). He applies this method systematically throughout his work of *adab* (*Ghurar al-khaṣā'iṣ al-wāḍiḥa, wa-'urar al-naḳā'is al-fāḍiḥa*, Cairo 1318/1900), dealing with sixteen ethical themes: eight virtues (*khiṣāl*) and their opposites (*naḳā'iṣ*). Each of the first eight chapters is subdivided into three parts: 1. Praise of the virtue with the aid of chosen texts; 2. Anecdotes, stories and poetry concerning individuals who are endowed with this virtue or have become famous for having displayed it; 3. Censure of the virtue. Similarly, each chapter of *naḳā'iṣ* is subdivided into three parts: 1. Censure of the vice; 2. Anecdotes, stories and poems concerning individuals who are afflicted with this vice or have become famous for having displayed it; 3. Praise of the vice.

Thus, with the aid of chosen extracts, he discusses the major ethical themes, showing evidence of a well-informed acquaintance with the ambivalent attitudes expressed in *adab* towards the virtues and vices in question, an attitude due not only to Aristotelian thought, which characterises the Djāḥiẓian ethic, but also to the contradiction of tendencies and concepts encountered in the bosom of Islamic civilisation and expressed in the writings of authors of *adab* since the time of al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḳutayba, precisely by means of this procedure consisting of exposing the merits and faults of the subject in question (see G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1965, 462-5; Gériès, 65-6).

This literary genre has no doubt attracted many other authors, but, at this time, their writings are still unknown to us.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(I. GÉRIÈS)

MAHĀT (A., pl. *mahā*ⁿ, *mahawāt*, *mahayāt*), a feminine noun denoting the large oryx and the addax antelope. Both these meanings merge in the expression *baḳar waḥshī*, *baḳar al-waḥsh* (coll. *baḳara waḥshiyya* (sing.) "wild cattle" [see BAḲAR]).

The root *m-h-w* suggests sparkling whiteness, and *al-mahā* is applied to rock crystal (*billawr*), pearl (*durr*, *lu'lu'*) and any bright star (*kawkab*). The almost-immaculate coat of these beautiful, desert antelopes certainly warrants the description *al-mahā'*, the word used to describe *māriyya*/*munriya*, *layāḥ*, *lahaḳ*/*lahāḳ*, *kawkab*.

The oryx and the addax live in small herds which are dominated by one of the males. From time to time they gather to migrate, and can be observed among the dunes by the Bedouin from a distance. They seem to have reminded them of their own flocks, for they call them *ni'ādj al-raml* "sand ewes". At first sight, male and female are hardly distinguishable, but they do differ slightly in height and in horn thickness; *mahāt* and the other names are used without gender distinction, as are the poetical descriptions of them like *'aynā'*, (pl. *'īn*) "with big, black eyes" and *khansā'* "with a flat muzzle". The desert folk are very acute in their observations, and they use a more precise vocabulary to describe the animals at different stages of their development. The calf at birth is *bahzadj* or *barghaz*, but if it is completely white, *mārī* is used. As it grows and up to the time of its weaning (*fiṭām*), it is called *fazz*, *farīr*, *farḳad* and *djawdhar*. A male (bull) calf has the name *arkh*/*irkh*/*urkhī*, and the adult male *shāt*; in the rutting season, its restless and skittish manner is aptly described as *nāshiṭ* "lively" and *mikhrāḳ* "pawing the ground". The old bull, *ḳarhab*, is often found living alone.

1. The oryx. In the semi-desert areas of Africa, Syria and Arabia, several species of oryx are found. Even some of the rare white oryx (*Oryx algazel algazel*) have survived on the northern edges of the Sahara, where it is called *waḥsh* in Chad, *warḳ*/*warḳ*/*ūrgiyya* (pl. *ūrg*) in Mauretania (in the Egyptian Sudan, it is called *abū ḥarāb*, and in Tamahaḳḳ of Ahaggar, *ezam*/*izem*/*texemt*, pl. *izemmen*/*tizemmin* and *ehem*/*tehemt*, pl. *ihemmen*/*tihemmin*). The last specimen in Tunisia was killed south of Douz in 1906, but in ancient times it was said to be common in southern Morocco, the high Algerian plains and southern Tunisia. From murals in ancient Egyptian tombs, there is evidence that it was domesticated under the Pharaohs and used as a draught animal. Pliny says ... *orygem appellat Aegyptus*, which, considering how Latin was pronounced then, suggests that the name should be compared with Moorish *ūrgiyya*.

In the Middle Ages, the animal was known in the Sahara by the name of *lamṭ*, and its skin was used to make the famous shields [see LAMṬ].

Now the white oryx has almost completely disappeared from the Sahara. This has been caused in fairly recent times by the increasing number and better quality of firearms in the area, and also by the ploughing-up of the desert by incessant motorised traffic. The oryx is, after all, a big, heavy creature, short-winded and not very fierce; it used to be that a good mehari camel was all that was needed to catch it quickly. Saharan travellers in the last century found great herds of oryx which, they said, could be numbered in hundreds, but that now seems an age ago.

There are two other species in Africa, with darker coats and clear black stripes, the *oryx gazella* in the south-west and the *beisa* (perhaps derived from *bayḍā'* "white") oryx which includes the *oryx beisa beisa* of Abyssinia, *o.b. gallarum* of Mozambique, *o.b. annectens* and *o.b. callotis* in the south-east and Kilimanjaro. None of these brightly-marked antelopes are, however, found in Arabic-speaking countries. There has always been a distinct species in Arabia, the *oryx leucoryx* (formerly *beatrix*) known as the sabre-horned or Arabian oryx, which is found as far as the borders of Syria and 'Irāḳ, and which was the first species to be called *al-mahāt* by the Arabs. Their tapering black horns are ringed, and curve back majestically like those of their African cousins. They are usually more than a metre long and are perfectly parallel, so that when

seen from the side the animal seems to have just one horn. That is why the oryx was thought, wrongly, to have connections with the unicorn, but that mythical animal is in fact to be connected with the rhinoceros [see KARKADDAN].

Probably no other desert wild animal, except the onager (*ḥimār al-waḥsh*), has been described more than the sabre-horned antelope by the pre-Islamic poets and their later imitators. The animal was not used as a principal theme in their *ḳaṣā'id*, but as a background image of the hard desert life and the difficulties in it that the poet would have experienced himself. There are long descriptions of hunting for the oryx and of its death (*ṭarad*), which, incidentally, show how abundant it must have been. The poet, wishing to emphasise the high moral qualities of the huntsman, by a literary device transfers these qualities to the brave, hunted animal. The scene itself is conventional, but it reflects an idyllic picture of violent hunting in all its details. Sometimes the poet mounts a horse, and then the oryx is soon caught, after a terrifying chase in which as often as not three salukis participate, and is brought down at the point of a lance. Eulogies of the horse like this are common in Imru' al-Ḳays, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulma, ʿAlḳama al-Faḥl and a number of others when they write lamentations. On other occasions, he will mount a she-camel, and then the story of the chase ends differently, for the oryx becomes the symbol of this matchless she-camel and it triumphs over all its adversaries by its speed and endurance; it will stop only to rip open a dog or two with its terrifying horns. Such poems are accordingly panegyrics, and al-Djāḥiẓ has carefully discussed this mechanical literary device in archaic poetry in his *Ḥayawān*, ii, 20, where he says, "when the poem is a lamentation or exhortation, it is usual for poets to let the dogs kill the oryx, but in panegyrics, where the camel is said to be an oryx with certain special qualities, it is the dogs that are killed. That is not to say that such events are poetic fabrications, for oryx bulls have often killed or injured dogs, but it usually happens that the hunted animal is the victim in the end, the dogs emerge safe and well and their master has found his quarry."

A more romantic picture is sometimes drawn to show the effect of the four seasons of the life of the oryx, each with its own particular difficulties, struggles and hardships. Such pictures represent the challenges the pre-Islamic Bedouin faced in their daily life, whether they were real or not.The bull, for example, is shown as wandering far in search of a mate and as confronting many rivals in tests of his prowess; here is a picture of the marriage difficulties of an old desert dweller, who could well have turned to abducting young girls. Then there is the agonising plight of the mother who goes lowing after her young calf which has been devoured (*masbūʿa*) by beasts of prey. Her search is vain, and she strays from her herd (*idjl, rabrab, ṣuwār/ṣiwār, sirb*) and thus puts her own life at risk. Images like this are used frequently by Labīd b. Rabīʿa al-ʿĀmirī and by al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī among others. They evoke the cruel distress of so many mothers who have wept over the loss of a son killed in a raid, or over the loss of a daughter snatched forcefully away by a hostile clan. Clearly, images like this are not devised by town dwellers, but they are an essential feature of the distant experiences of their nomadic ancestors. Such nostalgic reminiscences of desert life are usually found in poetry up to the time of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, and one of the last to use them in his poetry was Dhu 'l-Rumma.

In the Yemen during the Ḥimyaritic period, the ibex (*waʿil*) and the oryx were game animals which were hunted in accordance with ancient cultic rites. Archaeologists have excavated many bas-reliefs on which they are depicted (see in the *Bibl.* the important works here of M. Höfner, R. B. Sergeant and J. Ryckmans). Before the dawn of Islam, in the northerly regions of the peninsula the oryx had a special position as a sacrificial beast (*ʿatīra*) in the ritual, idolatrous offerings performed by the Arabs in the month of general truce, Radjab; the oryx was included with domestic cattle in the list of *radjabiyyāt* (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 511).

There were still about a thousand oryx in Arabia in 1950, but nine years later only about a hundred were left, in the remote regions of the "Empty Quarter" (*al-Rubʿ al-khālī*) to the north-west of Aden. Seventy of these were destroyed by motorised safaris with automatic weapons in 1960-1. Faced with such a serious situation, the World Wild Life Fund organised a rescue mission under Major I. R. Grimwood in 1962 and three animals were captured. To these were added one offered by the Kuwaiti ruler and four from King Ibn Saʿūd. These eight survivors formed the nucleus of a small breeding herd set up in a desert preservation in Phoenix, Arizona. At present there is just one small protected herd in a *shaykh*'s park, but apart from these animals, the white oryx, locally the *wuḍayḥī* or *abū sūlaʿ*, can be considered an extinct species in Arabia and the Near East. Some of the *amīr*s have introduced as a substitute in some areas the oryx-gazelle, which is native to Africa.

2. The addax. In North Africa, *mahāt* also denotes the addax (*Addax nasomaculatus*), a cousin of the oryx. This animal is extremely rare, and is found in a narrow strip of land in the Sahara, from Mauretania to the western edge of the Nile. At the beginning of this century, it could also be found in Palestine and Arabia, and it is recorded in ancient Syria and Mesopotamia. The main distinction between the addax and the oryx is the absence of any brownish-red markings on the neck and breast. Other distinguishing marks are its brown forehead, its white tear-pit, its reddish nose and its noticeably long horns (*ṣīṣa/ṣīṣiyya*, pl. *ṣayāṣī*). These are straight with a slight backward slope and a two-and-a-half turn spiral; they are fully annulated. Both antelopes enjoy the same habitat and display the same behaviour, but the addax seems generally better adapted to its environment than the oryx. It is more resistant to thirst for, like the camel, it carries a special sac containing an aqueous, slightly acidulous liquid in its belly, and this has been the salvation of many a waterless hunter (Pliny refers to it in *Nat. Hist.*, xi, 27); moreover, its wide, spongy hoof is a great help when it comes to long, sustained journeys across the dunes.

Two vernacular Arab names for the animal are in use, *mehā* and *bger el-waḥsh*, and perhaps echoes of an earlier African term, taken into Latin by Pliny as *addax*, are to be found in its Sudanese and Upper Egyptian names *ʿakash/ʿakaṣ, bū ʿakash, bū ʿaddas*; the origin and meaning of these names is still uncertain. The Touareg call it *amellal/tamellatl*, pl. *imellalen/timellalin* (from the verb "to be white"), and thus draw attention to the whiteness of its coat. They regard the addax as a choice game animal, and hunt it as soon as the herds mass together in the spring. Observers in the last century said that there could be as many as 300 animals in such gatherings (see G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, Berlin

1879-89, i, 551). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling five centuries earlier in the spring of 753/1352 from Tāsarahla to Iwālaten (Walata), was amazed at the abundance of the herds and by their evident fearlessness of man. He noted that the people of the region hunted the addax with dogs and shot them down with arrows. He added that they were very fond of the stomach liquid, and that they used to slake their thirst from their victims. For his own part, he did not find the meat enjoyable, saying that it was dry and tasteless (*Riḥla*, ii, 190). Because it was relatively slow-footed, it was easy to capture, and the antelope offered the hunter not just venison as his prize but also leather and the stomach liquid. This liquid was said to possess many virtues, and it commanded a high price in the markets in large centres as far away as Tunis. There was also the attraction of extracting bezoars [see BĀZAHR[known locally as *biḍ el-mehā* "antelopes' eggs", from the viscera. These biliary concentrations occur very frequently in the digestive systems of ruminants, and the preparation was greatly valued in the mediaeval pharmacopoeia for its supposed qualities as an antidote and a aphrodisiac. Jewish pharmacists and druggists from the cities of the Maghrib went about collecting them eagerly from the nomads and then sold them speculatively to sultans and persons of high rank. The addax skin was, by contrast, much less valuable than that of the oryx; it was used only for shoe-making and saddlery. Of course, the trick was not unknown of substituting addax-leather for oryx-leather for making the famous impenetrable shields mentioned above.

Before fire-arms and motor-cars arrived, the addax was hunted with dogs, and it was also caught in traps (the spiked-wheel trap and the crossbow trap). The Tibbu of Tenere would encircle a herd and catch beasts in nets in order to eat the succulent marrow from the large bones. To-day there is no longer any question of hunting the addax, for the species has been so drastically reduced. It has disappeared from the vast Western Erg, but there may be an occasional specimen to be found between Ouargla and Ghadamès, and others to the south of Hamada of Tinghert and to the north of Timbuctu and in the regions of Termit and Agadem to the south of Tenere and in the Nubian Desert.

It is surprising to find that the great Arab naturalists have said very little about these two important antelopes, *mahā'*. Al-Djāḥiẓ makes a few remarks about them, but these last are only hearsay. One feature which he notes is that the bull is very vulnerable under pursuit because prolonged running triggers off urine retention (*ḥuḍr*), which can prove fatal. He goes on to say that the oryx likes to crunch colocynth (*ḥanẓal*) because its bitter taste helps prevent thirst, that genies may ride it at night, and that it will grow tame in captivity (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 118; vi, 23, 46, 316; vii, 187). Al-Ḳazwīnī seems to have ignored them altogether, and under the rubric *baḳar al-waḥsh* (*ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 203-4), he speaks only of the axis deer (*Cervus axis*), the Persian *gāv-i zan*, with its antlers which fall off each year. Al-Damīrī follows him and reproduces the earlier remarks, but seems not to know which animal he is speaking about. Under the rubric *al-baḳar al-waḥshī* (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 142-3), he states that this name denotes all four species: *mahā* "oryx-addax"; *ayyil/uyyal* "cervidae"; *yaḥmūr* "roe-deer"; *thaytal/taytal* "bubalis". Under the heading *al-mahā*, he simply describes the ardour (*shabaḳ*) of the male in the rut, and then recounts word-for-word what al-Ḳazwīnī had mentioned about the "particular virtues" ascribed to the organs of the cervidae; he drew particular attention to the antlers, which were supposed to be useful as an aphrodisiac when powdered (ii, 330-1). The poet Kushādjim [*q.v.*] says, in his *Maṣāyid*, 160-2, that the lowing (*khuwār ghamghama*) of the oryx cow is very much louder than that of the bull and that oryx venison has warming qualities; it makes the blood thick and black, and it should always be boiled with plenty of vinegar. The first Arab, he adds, who hunted the oryx on horseback was, according to tradition, Rabīʿa b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. All this information is repeated in the writings of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, ii, 44). The Mamlūk Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a writer on cynegetics and a huntsman himself in the 8th/14th century, give some "helpful advice" (*Uns al-mala'*, ms. Paris B.N., Ar. 2832, fols. 11b, 21a) on how to bring the oryx down once it has been stopped: to thrust obliquely with a sabre, cutting at random, and immediately lifting the blade again in order not to wound the horse. He then recommends trying to hamstring the animal: hurl a missile (*ḥadhāfa*), one which has a head bristling with spikes and a long haft, between the legs of the galloping animal. The animal should not be killed outright, for there must be a chance of strangling it ritually so that its meat can be eaten licitly. They may also be hunted with a cheetah [see FAHD]. In his *Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* (ms. Escurial, Ar. 903, fol. 143a-b) Ibn Manglī repeats the sayings of his esteemed master from the preceding century, ʿĪsā al-Asadī, that good results with cheetahs can be obtained only in Syria, where they are more robust and aggressive.

The Touareg of the Aïr believe that the addax is a good predator on snakes for, according to legend, it is completely immune to vipers' venom. That is why many natives wear a piece of addax skin as a talisman, and they decorate their tents with its horns, skin and fat, which ward off all kinds of reptiles (see H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 75-87).

The gleaming bright, black pupil of the oryx and the addax (*ḥadaḳ al-mahā*), in contrast to the white of the eye, was an image dear to poets. It has earned them the title *al-ʿīn*, associated with *aḥwar*, pl. *ḥūr* "very white". It is in fact well-known that the houris (*al-ḥūr al-ʿīn* [*q.v.*]), the wives of the elect in paradise, have languorous antelopes' eyes set in a face with the complexion of pearl or milk. That is the mark of perfect feminine beauty as judged by the Arabs. The Greeks had already expressed their similar aesthetic delight when they gave "great cows' eyes" to their goddess Hera (corresponding to Roman Juno), queen of Olympus, daughter of Kronos, wife of Zeus (Ἥρα Βοῶπις). The Greek adjective could metaphorically apply to any beautiful woman, as could the Arabic *mahāt/mahān*. It is the opinion of philologists that, if the whiteness of the complexion is being described, the comparison suggests the whiteness of pearl or crystal; but if there is a description of beautiful eyes with pupils dark as night set in a milky white complexion, then it is from the oryx and the addax that the image is borrowed (see *LA*, s.v. *m-h-w*).

To conclude, after all this information, it is really frightening to think that the zoological term *mahāt* may soon be no more than a word in the dictionary, reminding us of a species which will have vanished from the lands of Islam, like *naʿām* "ostrich" and *ḥimār al-waḥsh* "onager"; it will have vanished

just because of man's insatiable, thoughtless greed.

In astronomy, the star al-Farḳad (= Phercad) "the oryx calf", is γ *Ursae minoris*; this star and the associated β *Ursae minoris* together form *al-farḳadayn* (= Elfarcadin) "the two calves", the "guardians" of the North Pole.

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MAḤBŪB B. AL-**RAḤĪL** AL-ʿ**ABDĪ**, ABU SUFYĀN, Ibāḍī theologian and historian, originally from the Arabic tribe of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḳays, who lived in the 2nd/8th century and who is cited in the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Dardjīnī (d. 670/1227 [*q.v.*]) amongst the scholars of the fourth *ṭabaḳa* or class. His family came originally from ʿIrāḳ (his grandfather al-Malīḥ al-ʿAbdī was one of the close friends of the head of the Ibāḍī community in Baṣra, the famous Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī [see AL-IBĀḌIYYA]), and he first lived in ʿUmān. Then he settled in Baṣra, where he became a pupil of Abū ʿUbayda. After the death of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, head of the Ibāḍī community in Baṣra after Abū ʿUbayda, spiritual supremacy in the Ibāḍī world passed to Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl. In effect, he acted as arbiter over the schism of Khalaf b. al-Samḥ in the Maghrib [see AL-KHALAFIYYA] during the reign of the Rustamid *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, and wrote a *risāla* (or *ʿahd*) to the Ibāḍī chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, called Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 129/747), who set up in South Arabia the first Ibāḍī imāmate and who occupied Mecca and Medina. Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl became especially known as a historian, and it is to him that we owe the greater part of the traditions about the oldest Ibāḍī *shaykhs*. His historical work, mentioned in al-Barrādī's catalogue (9th/15th century) under the title of *Kitāb Abī Sufyān*, served as al-Dardjīnī's basis for the putting-together of the first four classes of his *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, where he is cited several times.

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MAHDAWĪS, a sectarian group in Indian Islam, the followers of Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī (847-910/1443-1505) of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], near Benares, who declared that he was the promised Mahdī [*q.v.*] and by his preaching gained a number of adherents in Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] and other parts of Gudjarāt. He was compelled to leave India, however, and died at Farāh in what is now western Afghānistān, where he was buried. His followers credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead, healing the blind and the dumb, etc. For a time, they were allowed to profess their faith without official harassment; but in the reign of Muẓaffar II, Sultan of Gudjarāt (917-32/1511-26) they were persecuted, and many of them put to death. The Mughal prince Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] also moved against them when in 1055/1645 he became governor of Aḥmadābād. In consequence of these persecutions, most Mahdawīs began to practise *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] and tried to pass as orthodox Muslims. Their exact number, therefore, remains today uncertain. They are found in small groups in some parts of Gudjarāt, in Bombay, in the Deccan, in Uttar Pradesh and also in Sind, where they are known as Zikrīs [see DHIKRĪS in Suppl.]. They believe that Sayyid Muḥammad was the last Imām, the promised Mahdī, and in consequence of his having come they are said by their religious opponents neither to repent for their sins nor to pray for the souls of their dead. They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals, and are often lax in observing the five canonical pillars of Islam. By their enemies they are styled Ghayr-Mahdīs, i.e. those who do not believe in a Mahdī still to come; but the Mahdawīs themselves apply this designation to other Muslims, charging them with failure to recognise the Mahdī who has already appeared.

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AL-**MAHDĪ** (A.), "the rightly guided one" is the name of the restorer of religion and justice who, according to a widely held Muslim belief, will

rule before the end of the world. The present article will trace the history of this belief and will deal with the political history of Mahdist movements only in so far as relevant (for the Sudanese movement, see AL-MAHDIYYA).

Origin and early development during the Umayyad age. The term *mahdī* as such does not occur in the Ḳur'ān; but the name is clearly derived from the Arabic root *h-d-y* commonly used in it in the meaning of divine guidance. As an honorific epithet without messianic significance, the term was employed from the beginning of Islam (references gathered by Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 267). Ḥassān b. Thābit thus applied it to the Prophet, and Djarīr to Abraham. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad referred to al-Ḥusayn, after his martyrdom, as "Mahdī son of the Mahdī", and al-Farazdaḳ called al-Walīd in a panegyric the sixth of six caliphs of ʿAbd Shams from ʿUthmān who were *hudāt mahdiyyūn* (*Dīwān al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, Cairo 1936, 88). During the Second Civil War, after the death of Muʿāwiya, the term came first to be used for an expected ruler who would restore Islam to its original perfection. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr claimed the caliphate as such a restorer. Though he does not seem to have been given the epithet al-Mahdī, his career substantially shaped the later image of the expected Mahdī. In Kūfa, al-Mukhtār proclaimed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as the Mahdī in this heightened sense. Among his opponents of the Kūfan nobility who fled from him to Baṣra was Mūsā, son of the Companion Ṭalḥa. He was viewed there as the expected Mahdī by many people who hoped that he would claim the caliphate, but he refused to engage himself in the *fitna*, pointing to the example of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar in the First Civil War (Ibn Saʿd, v, 120 f.). Among the Umayyad caliphs, Sulaymān (96-9/715-17) seems to have been the first one to have encouraged the belief that he was the Mahdī who would restore justice after oppression had become widespread under his predecessors. He is often addressed as the Mahdī in this sense in the panegyrics of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ. The latter affirmed specifically that the spine of the religion had been straightened after having become crooked and that all grievances (*maẓālim*) had been removed by the Mahdī, meaning Sulaymān (*Dīwān*, 638, 801). The apocalyptic aspect of al-Farazdaḳ's concept of the Mahdī is revealed by his statement that so many priests (*ḳass*) and rabbis (*ḥibr*) had foretold the caliphate of the Mahdī (*Dīwān*, 327). Sulaymān's successor, ʿUmar II, was also addressed as the Mahdī by Djarīr and, because of his recognised piety, was widely regarded so in religious circles. Of the later Umayyad caliphs, Hishām was called the Mahdī by Djarīr. Less emphatically, al-Farazdaḳ speaks of Yazīd II as a rightly-guided one (*mahdī*) (*Dīwān*, 544) and of his son al-Walīd II as al-Mahdī (*Dīwān*, 7).

Among the religious scholars, discussions about the Mahdī and his identity can be traced back to the time after the Second Civil War. These discussions developed in different directions in the different centres of learning and influenced the later beliefs about the Mahdī to varying degrees. They were in turn influenced by some related beliefs already accepted and supported by *ḥadīth*s attributed to the Prophet. Thus it had been accepted that ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] would descend from Heaven before the end of the world to rule and lead the Muslim community in prayer. A *ḥadīth* on the authority of Djābir al-Anṣārī and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, spread in Medina probably in early Marwānid times, quoted the Prophet as stating that "at the end of my community there will be a caliph who will pour out the money without counting it". According to another early Medinan *ḥadīth*, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, the Prophet had said "The Hour will not come until a man from Ḳaḥṭān will come forth leading the people with his staff". Predictions concerning this Ḳaḥṭānī were evidently known before the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath in 80/699, who according to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 314) and Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, called himself al-Ḳaḥṭānī and Nāṣir al-Muʾminīn.

In Medina, conservative religious opinion generally accepted ʿUmar II as the Mahdī. This acceptance was facilitated by the fact that ʿUmar II was descended through his mother from ʿUmar I who, together with his son ʿAbd Allāh, enjoyed the highest religious authority among conservative Medinan scholars. Statements attributed to ʿUmar I and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar were circulated to the effect that the former had predicted the advent of a descendant of his who would fill the earth with justice. These statements reflect an earlier expectation that a descendant of ʿUmar I through male lineage would become the restorer of justice, but they were now applied to the Umayyad (Ibn Saʿd, v, 243). Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib (d. 93 or 94/712-13) was alleged to have identified ʿUmar II as the Mahdī while the latter was still in Medina long before his reign. A particular effort was made to counter Kūfan claims that the Mahdī would be an ʿAlid. Thus Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was reported in Medina to have said that if there was to be a Mahdī he would belong to the ʿAbd Shams. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, the *Imām* of the Imāmī Shīʿa, was quoted as stating during the caliphate of ʿUmar II: "The Prophet belongs to us, and the Mahdī belongs to the Banū ʿAbd Shams. We do not know him to be anyone but ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz" (Ibn Saʿd, v, 245).

In Mecca, on the other hand, Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 106/724-5), a respected *mawlā* traditionist residing in the Yemen, was quoted expressing himself more reservedly that ʿUmar II was rightly guided but not the Mahdī (*kāna mahdiyyan wa-laysa bih*); for in the time of the Mahdī, the benefactor would be outdone by the rewards for his good acts and the evildoer would be called to repent. Abū Maʿbad Nāfidh (d. 104/722-3), a *mawlā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, quoted his master as asserting that the Mahdī would be a young man (*shābb*) of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The report was transmitted by the highly respected Meccan traditionist ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 126/744).

In Ḥims, Syrian loyalty to the Umayyad caliphate was expressed in a tradition attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār neutralising the *ḥadīth* of the Ḳaḥṭānī: "The Mahdī will be only of Ḳuraysh and the caliphate will be among them only. He will, however, have a root and a pedigree in the Yemen (*ghayra anna lahū aṣlan wa-nasaban fī 'l-Yaman*)". The tradition, related by Shurayḥ b. ʿAbīda al-Ḥimṣī (d. after 108/726-7), may go back to the time of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath.

In Baṣra, Abū Ḳilāba (d. *ca.* 107/725-6), a prominent traditionist with ties to Syria, supported the view that ʿUmar II was truly the Mahdī. He was indirectly contradicted by Abū Naḍra (d. 109/727-8) and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-ʿĀmirī (d. 108/726-7) who, reporting the *ḥadīth* of the generous caliph in Baṣra, stated that they did not think ʿUmar II was meant. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) opposed the belief in a Muslim Messiah, maintaining that ʿĪsā was the Mahdī. He is also quoted as stating that he did not believe in a Mahdī, but if there was one it was ʿUmar

II. His contemporary and rival in the religious leadership in Baṣra, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/728) maintained that there would be a Mahdī of the Muslim community (*umma*) and that ʿĪsā, after descending from heaven, would pray behind him. He further affirmed that the Mahdī would be more excellent than Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and would equal a prophet in rank. According to another report, he held that the Ḳaḥṭānī was identical with the Mahdī. Ḳatāda (d. 117 or 118/735-6), prominent disciple of al-Ḥasan, spread the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "There will arise a difference after the death of a caliph, and a man of the people of Medina will go forth fleeing to Mecca. Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and make him rise in revolt against his will, and they will pledge allegiance to him between the *rukn* and the *maḳām*. An expedition will be sent against him from Syria but will be swallowed up (*yukhsafu bihim*) in the desert between Mecca and Medina. When the people see this, the righteous (*abdāl*) of Syria and the groups of horsemen (*ʿaṣāʾib*) of ʿIrāḳ will come to him and swear allegiance to him. Thereafter a man of Ḳuraysh will arise whose maternal uncles are of Kalb. He will send an expedition against them but they will defeat them. This will be the expedition of Kalb, and disappointment will be for those who will not witness the booty of Kalb. He will then divide the wealth and act among them according to the sunna of their Prophet. Islam will become firmly established (*yulḳī bi-djirānih*). He will remain seven (var. nine) years and then die, and the Muslims will pray over him". This *ḥadīth*, whose first part is patterned upon the revolt of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, may conceivably go back to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥarith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who appears in its *isnād* and claimed to have heard it from Umm Salama, widow of the Prophet. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, called "Babba", was chosen by the people of Baṣra as their governor in 64/684 after the death of the caliph Yazīd and the flight of his governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. But he held aloof from all the violent events in Baṣra at this time (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 268-9); hence it is in fact unlikely that he was responsible for this *ḥadīth*, which aimed at stirring up support for the cause of Ibn al-Zubayr. The latter part of it, including the rise of an Umayyad whose "maternal uncles were of Kalb" and who would send an army of Kalbīs against Ibn al-Zubayr, reflects the expectations at the time which were not fulfilled by history. The element of the swallowing up of a Syrian army, based on Ḳurʾānic warnings of a *khasf*, was incorporated from slightly earlier *ḥadīth*s spread by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr himself and by two prominent supporters of his, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān and al-Ḥarīth b. Abī Rabīʿa al-Makhzūmī, as war propaganda during the campaign of Yazīd's army against Medina and Mecca (see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-fitan*, *bāb al-khasf*). Though it does not mention the Mahdī, the *ḥadīth* of Ḳatāda was later generally taken to refer to him, while his Syrian rival became the prototype of the Sufyānī [*q.v.*], the traditional opponent of the Mahdī. Much of later tradition about the career of the Mahdī and the Sufyānī is an elaboration of the various elements of this *ḥadīth*.

In the late Umayyad age, Maṭar b. Ṭahmān al-Warrāḳ (d. 125/743?), a Khurāsānian resident in Baṣra and senior disciple of Ḳatāda, rejected the view that ʿUmar II was the Mahdī, stating that the Mahdī would do something ʿUmar II had not done: he would refuse to accept money returned to the treasury by someone who, after requesting it, found that he had no need of it. Maṭar also transmitted traditions attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār to the effect that the Mahdī was named so because he would be guided (*yuhdā*) to find copies of the original text of the Torah and the Gospel concealed in Antioch. The same Kaʿb tradition seems to have been known also in Kūfa at this time, where ʿAbd Allāh b. Bishr al-Khathʿamī is reported to have transmitted it in the following form: "The Mahdī will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (*fiḳh*) of ten, and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus, and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel". The following *ḥadīth* was circulated in late Umayyad Baṣra on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "The Prophet said: There will be in my community the Mahdī, if for a short time, seven (years), otherwise nine. My community will then enjoy prosperity as they have never enjoyed. The earth will bring forth its fruit for them and will not hoard anything away from them. Money will at that time be in heaps, and whenever a man will get up and say 'O Mahdī, give me', he will say 'Take'." This *ḥadīth*, which identifies the Mahdī with the generous ruler predicted earlier, was spread, with variants, by Zayd al-ʿAmmī but may in substance go back to his authority, the Baṣran Abu 'l-Ṣiddīḳ al-Nādjī (d. 108/726-7). Another variant of it was transmitted by Sulaymān b. ʿAbīd al-Sulamī, a Baṣran contemporary of Zayd al-ʿAmmī. Of late Umayyad Baṣran origin is also the topos that the Mahdī would have an aquiline nose and a bald forehead (*aḳnā adjlā*).

Kūfan tradition insisted that the Mahdī would be one of the *Ahl al-Bayt* of the Prophet or a descendant of ʿAlī. ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala (d. 127 or 128/744-6), the famous Kūfan Ḳurʾān reader, disseminated the following *ḥadīth* with a Kūfan *isnād* going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: "The Prophet said: The world will not pass until a man of my family (*ahl baytī*) will rule the Arabs whose name will coincide with my name (*yuwāṭiʾ ismuh ismī*)". The claim that the name of the Mahdī would agree with that of the Prophet was no doubt made in the time of al-Mukhtār's rebellion in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who is reported, when addressed as the Mahdī, to have referred to his privilege of bearing the name and *kunya* of the Prophet (Ibn Saʿd, v, 68). The *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim thus probably goes back to ʿĀṣim's authority, Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, who was known for his pro-ʿAlid sentiment. By the time of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in Kūfa in 120/738, the thesis of the identity of names was evidently already well-established there, since his supporters did not try to identify him with the Mahdī but with the Manṣūr (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1676), a messianic figure originating in Yemenite beliefs. In Kūfa was also spread the following *ḥadīth* related by Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, on the authority of his father on the authority of ʿAlī: "The Prophet said, 'The Mahdī will be from us, the *Ahl al-Bayt*. God will give him success in a single night (*yuṣliḥuhū fī layla*)'." The descent of the Mahdī from the Prophet was also affirmed in the *ḥadīth*: "The Messenger of God said, 'Even if only a single day of the earth were left, God would send a man from us who will fill it with justice as it had been filled with oppression'." Though the *ḥadīth* was widely spread

among the traditionists only by the Kūfan Fiṭr b. Khalīfa (d. 153/770), it may well go back to the Companion Abu 'l-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila (d. *ca.* 100/718-19), known for his support of ʿAlī and his Shīʿī sympathies, who claimed to have heard it from ʿAlī. The theme of the generous ruler was taken up in Kūfa by ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd b. Djunāda al-Ḳaysī (d. 111/729-30 or 127/744-5), considered a Shīʿī, who related the following *ḥadīth* on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "The Prophet said, 'A man will come forth from my family after an interval of time (*ʿinda 'nḳiṭāʿⁱⁿ min al-zaman*) and the appearance of civil wars (*fitan*) whose liberality will be in throwing about (*ḥathyᵃⁿ*) [money]. He will be called al-Saffāḥ (= the generous)'."

The early ʿAbbāsid age until the time of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*. The ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement aroused and was supported by messianic expectations and the hope for a restorer of religion and just rule from among the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The first ʿAbbāsid caliph gave himself the Kūfan messianic name al-Saffāḥ in his inaugural sermon in the mosque of Kūfa in 132/749. He was addressed as the Mahdī of the Hāshimīs by the poet Sudayf (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 93). The second ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abū Djaʿfar, was also called the Mahdī by his court poet, Abū Dulāma. During his reign, the ʿAbbāsid claim to the Mahdīship faced a severe challenge in the rising of the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh in 145/762, who, having long been announced by the propaganda of his supporters as the expected Mahdī, appeared in Medina in accordance with the *ḥadīth* predictions. After the suppression of his revolt, the caliph adopted the messianic name al-Manṣūr and gave his son and crown prince Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh the surname al-Mahdī, presenting him to the public as the promised restorer. The latter after his accession sought to live up to the expectations concerning the Mahdī by releasing political prisoners and handing out liberal gifts, especially in the holy cities.

Traditions about the Mahdī going back to this time reflect these developments. In support of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement in Khurāsān, the Shīʿī Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād (d. 136/753-4) spread the following *ḥadīth* in Kūfa with an *isnād* going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: "While we were with the Messenger of God, there came some youths of the Banū Hāshim. When he saw them his eyes flowed with tears and his colour changed. We said, 'O Messenger of God, we have for some time seen in your face something we dislike'. He said, 'God has chosen for us, the People of the House, the hereafter over this world. The People of My House shall meet misfortune, banishment, and persecution until people will come from the east with black flags. They will ask for charity but will not be given it. Then they will fight and be victorious. Now they will be given what they had asked for, yet they will not accept it but will finally hand it (sc. the earth) over to a man of My Family. He will fill it with justice as they had filled it with injustice. Whoever of you will live to witness that, let him go there even though it be by creeping on snow (*ḥabwᵃⁿ ʿala 'l-thaldj*)'." Even though this tradition, known as the *ḥadīth* of the flags, was recognised by *ḥadīth* experts to have been fabricated by Ibn Abī Ziyād, it greatly influenced the later expectations about the career of the Mahdī and was accepted by Ibn Mādja in his *K. al-Sunan*. A parallel version with a Baṣran *isnād* was disseminated in Baṣra by Khālid al-Hadhdhāʾ (d. 141-2/758-60): "The Messenger of God said, 'Three men, each one the son of a caliph, will fight at your treasure (*ʿinda kanzikum*). None of them will obtain it. Then black flags will arise from the east. Two of them will kill you [brutally] as no people has even been killed'. Then he mentioned something I do not remember. He added, 'When you see him, pledge allegiance to him, even though it be by creeping on snow. For he is the vicegerent of God, the Mahdī'."

The ʿAbbāsid claim to the Mahdīship found some marginal support among mostly Kūfan traditionists. The following statement ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās was spread by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Ghaniyya al-Khuzāʿī, a Kūfan originating from Iṣfahān, presumably towards the end of the caliphate of al-Manṣūr or the beginning of the reign of al-Mahdī: "By God, after that (namely after the twelve caliphs predicted in a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet) there will be from us the Saffāḥ, the Manṣūr, and the Mahdī who will hand it (sc. the caliphate) over to ʿĪsā b. Maryam". Probably also a Kūfan was Ibn Djābir al-Aʿmash, who about the same time transmitted a *ḥadīth* ascribed to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "I heard the Messenger of God say, 'The Ḳāʾim is from us, from us is the Manṣūr, from us the Saffāḥ, and from us the Mahdī. As for the Ḳāʾim, the caliphate will come to him without his spilling a cupping glass [of blood]. As for the Manṣūr, no flag of his will be turned back. As for the Saffāḥ, he will pour out money and blood in abundance; and the Mahdī will fill it (the earth) with justice as it had been filled with oppression'." Ibn Djābir added that he thought the Manṣūr was Abū Djaʿfar (al-Manṣūr) and the Saffāḥ the caliph al-Mahdī. The tradition was probably, however, not originally coined for the ʿAbbāsids and may well be late Umayyad Kūfan, going back to Ibn Djābir's authority, the Kūfan Abu 'l-Waddāk al-Hamdānī. A prediction that the Mahdī would be of the descendants of al-ʿAbbās was in the early ʿAbbāsid age attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār by an otherwise unknown Yazīd b. al-Walīd al-Khuzāʿī and transmitted by Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Baghdādī, a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim.

The predominant mood among the traditionists, however, turned quickly against the ʿAbbāsid pretensions to the Mahdīship in favour of ʿAlid hopes. Traditions supporting the view that the Mahdī would be a descendant of Muḥammad and his daughter Fāṭima spread in the early ʿAbbāsid age outside Kūfa also. In Baṣra, ʿImrān al-Ḳaṭṭān, a supporter of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and of his brother Ibrāhīm, circulated the following *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ḳatāda: "The Messenger of God said, 'The Mahdī will be from me, with a bald forehead and an aquiline nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice as it was filled with injustice and oppression and will rule seven years'." Similar *ḥadīth*s were spread, on the authority of Abu 'l-Ṣiddīḳ al-Nādjī, by the pro-Shīʿī Ḳadarī ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī (d. 146/763-4) and other Baṣrans. In al-Raḳḳa, Ziyād b. Bayān about this time disseminated the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, "The Mahdī will be of my family from the descendants of Fāṭima".

Support for the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh is reflected in the addition of "and his (the Mahdī's) father's name will agree with my father's name" to the *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim by some Kūfan transmitters. Most likely in his favour the following tradition was circulated by Shuʿayb b. Khālid, a Kūfan residing in Rayy: "ʿAlī said while looking at his son al-Ḥasan, 'Verily, this son of mine is a lord as the Prophet called him, and from his spine

will come forth a man who will be called by the name of your Prophet. He will resemble him in character but will not resemble him in shape. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice" '.

The Mahdī was, however, identified as a descendant of al-Ḥusayn in a tradition attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and spread at this time by ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 155/772) in Egypt: "A man of the offspring of al-Ḥusayn will come forth from the east. Even if towering mountains were to confront him, he would raze them and take paths in them". This tradition already reflects the expectation of a second rising, after the ʿAbbāsid revolt, in the east. This expectation was now expressed in predictions about an army in white clothes with small black flags led by a man, or a client, of Tamīm named Shuʿayb b. Ṣāliḥ, coming from Khurāsān or Rayy to prepare the way for the Mahdī. The earliest prophecies of this type seem to have originated in ʿIrāḳ but the bulk of them, often greatly elaborated, came from Egyptian and Syrian sources. In Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa fabricated numerous such traditions providing them with various fictitious *isnāds*. In Syria, similar traditions were related on the authority of Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir of Ḥimṣ (d. 162 or 163/778-80), sometimes with an *isnād* going back to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. Others were spread by the Damascene Abū Bakr b. Abī Maryam (d. 156/773). Further traditions of this type, known apparently in both Syria and Egypt, came from a transmission of Djābir (al-Djuʿfī) from Abū Djaʿfar (Muḥammad al-Bāḳir), perhaps in book form. Since Djābir died in 132/750 at the latest, it is evident that this attribution is spurious. Some of these traditions describe in considerable detail the rise and career of the Sufyānī, his conquest and sacking of Kūfa, his defeats at the hands of Shuʿayb, and the joining of the black flags from the Mashriḳ with the yellow flags from the Maghrib at the navel (*surra*) of Syria, i.e. Damascus. The death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh is reflected in predictions, contained in the accounts ascribed to Djābir and Arṭāt, that the Pure Soul (*al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*), a descendant of the Prophet, would be killed in the strife about Medina on the Aḥdjār al-Zayt. The Mahdī will appear in Mecca, receive the allegiance of Shuʿayb, and after further fighting will defeat the Kalbī army and kill the Sufyānī. According to some Syrian prophecies, he will reside in Jerusalem. His reign will last 24, 30, 39, or 40 years and he will be succeeded by caliphs of his family or by the Ḳaḥṭānī. The Mahdī thus is not closely associated in these traditions with the end of the world, but some of them predict a second Mahdī who would conquer Constantinople and surrender the rule to Jesus upon his descent from heaven.

Despite the rapid spread of traditions about the coming of the Mahdī, opposition to the belief in him as expressed earlier by al-Ḥaṣan al-Baṣrī did not entirely disappear among the *ḥadīth* scholars. The Yemenite Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Djanadī clad this opposition into a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, providing it with an *isnād* through al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to the Companion Anas, "Matters will only grow in hardship, the world will only increase in backward movement, and the people in greed. The Hour will rise only on the worst of people. There will be no Mahdī but ʿĪsā b. Maryam". The *ḥadīth* was given added prestige by the fact that al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) transmitted it from al-Djanadī. Included by Ibn Mādja in his *Sunan*, it was later interpreted by supporters of the belief in the Mahdī as meaning that no-one spoke in the cradle (*mahd*) except Jesus or that the Mahdī would rule only in accordance with the instructions of Jesus since only the latter, as a prophet, was infallible (*maʿṣūm*). Many *ḥadīth* experts, among them al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, rejected it as inauthentic. Lingering doubts concerning the Mahdī may partly account for the absence of any traditions about him in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The Mahdī traditions contained in the canonical Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections of Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mādja, and al-Nasāʾī as well as the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal were, however, numerous enough to provide a solid basis for the popular belief in the Mahdī.

Later developments. Traditions about the Mahdī were gathered also in the post-classical collections of *ḥadīth* like those of al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, and al-Bayhaḳī. The eschatological rôle of the Mahdī became generally more pronounced. The view that the Mahdī would rule the Muslim community at the time of the descent of Jesus was commonly accepted doctrine now that he was identified with the leader of the prayer of the Muslims mentioned anonymously in earlier traditions who would offer to surrender his leadership to Jesus. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Āburī (d. 363/959) in his book on the merits (*manāḳib*) of al-Shāfiʿī could claim a broad, successive transmission (*tawātur*) of Mahdī traditions giving certainty that he would be of the Muslim community and that Jesus would pray behind him. Some of the acts which, according to earlier traditions, Jesus was to perform after his descent were now ascribed to the Mahdī, who would also aid him in the killing of the Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*]. The Mahdī was more and more associated, too, with the great Muslim conquests predicted in *malāḥim* traditions for the final time of the world, especially those of Constantinople and Rome (Rūmiyya), and was described as the ruler of the whole world. These tendencies are apparent in the traditions quoted by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 458/1066), who composed at least three different collections of *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī.

A new dimension in the career of the Mahdī appeared in the *K. al-Tadhkira* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671/1272) who quoted some traditions according to which he would first appear in Māssa in the Sūs in the Extreme Maghrib and only later would receive a second oath of allegiance in Mecca. He would, moreover, gather an army of Berber tribes and cross the straits to al-Andalus, whose earlier plight and spoliation at the hands of the infidels is graphically described. The Mahdī would then preach in the mosque of Seville, receive the allegiance of all the Muslims and conquer seventy towns of the Rūm. Finally, he would sack the Church of Gold (*kanīsat al-dhahab*), but as his followers would quarrel over the division of the staff of Moses found there, the Rūm would gain the upper hand and pursue the Muslims as far as al-Fayyūm in Egypt before the final victory of the Mahdī. These traditions, according to one of which the Mahdī was to appear in 599/1202-3, are of late origin. They probably reflect the appearance of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130 [*q.v.*]) but express the hope for another Mahdī to reconquer al-Andalus. Ibn Tūmart does not mention or allude to them in his description of the Mahdī. Ibn Khaldūn, however, describes some similar beliefs propagated by western Ṣūfīs, Ibn Ḳasī (d. 536/1141), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 623-4/1226-7) and his disciple Ibn Abī Wāṭīl, quoting a work of the latter. These Ṣūfīs,

according to Ibn Khaldūn, predicted that the Mahdī would appear in the Maghrib. He further reports that many people until his own time expected the advent of Mahdī at the fortress (*ribāṭ*) of Māssa and travelled there in the hope of meeting him and pledging allegiance to him. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, a man pretending to be the Mahdī had gained some support there, but had soon been killed by the chiefs of the Maṣmūda. Belief that the Mahdī would arise in Morocco remained widespread there until modern times.

Eastern and Egyptian tradition largely ignored this development. Treatises dealing specifically with the Mahdī, assembling large numbers of traditions from the earlier collections, were produced by late traditionists like Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Maḳdisī al-Sulamī al-Dimashḳī, author of a *ʿIḳd al-durar fī akhbār al-muntaẓar* composed in 658/1260; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who in his *al-ʿArf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* used Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī's "Forty *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī" as a base, adding to it extensively from other sources; and Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565) who, besides writing two treatises on the Mahdī, of which *al-Ḳawl al-mukhtaṣar fī ʿalāmāt al-Mahdī al-muntaẓar* is extant, included a discussion of the subject in his anti-Shīʿī polemic *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa*. The general tendency of these treatises was to harmonise the divergent traditions. A few questions still aroused controversy. While Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī had clearly favoured belief that the Mahdī would be a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, followed by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, held the traditions affirming that the Mahdī would be a Ḥasanid to be better authenticated and argued that God preferred the descendants of al-Ḥasan in this respect since the latter had voluntarily renounced the caliphate out of compassion for the Muslim community while al-Ḥusayn had waged a war coveting it. This argument was refuted by ʿAlī al-Harawī al-Ḳārī (d. 1014/1606) in his *al-Mashrab al-wardī fī madhhab al-Mahdī*, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aydarūsī (d. 1192/1778), himself a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, supported the view that a Ḥusaynid would become the Mahdī. A theological problem arose about the prediction that Jesus would pray behind the Mahdī. Al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1390) argued in his commentary on the creed of al-Nasafī that, according to the sounder view, the Mahdī would follow Jesus in prayer since the latter, as a prophet, excelled him in religious rank. This view was rejected by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī and others with the argument that the initial prayer of Jesus behind the Mahdī was meant to signify his subjection to the *sharīʿa* of Islam, not the superiority of the Mahdī. The latter might therefore, as some traditions indicated, later pray behind Jesus. On the other hand, al-Suyūṭī, followed by al-Haytamī, objected to the traditions raising the Mahdī in rank above Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as in conflict with the consensus that the two caliphs were the most excellent of mankind after the prophets. The objection was rejected by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Barazandjī in his *al-Ishāʿa fī ashrāṭ al-sāʿa* (finished in 1076/1665-6) with the argument that the consensus in this matter did not extend to the future. Influenced by Ṣūfī ideas, they maintained that the Mahdī, being infallible (*maʿṣūm*) in his judgement, would excel the two caliphs.

A Ṣūfī doctrine on the Mahdī had been expounded by Ibn al-ʿArabī in chapter 366 of his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. He described the expected Mahdī, a descendant of al-Ḥasan, as the Seal of the Saints (*khatm al-awṣiyāʾ*), just as Muḥammad had been the Seal of the Prophets. The Mahdī would impose the law of Islam with the sword and Jesus would be one of his *wazīrs*. He would be infallible in his *idjtihād* without relying on legal analogy (*ḳiyās*), and the *fuḳahāʾ* of the schools would be his opponents while the Ṣūfī saints would be his natural supporters. These views were further elaborated in the Ṣūfī circles dependent on Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought. A different Ṣūfī doctrine, refuted at length by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī, was that of the Indian Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Hindī Makhdūm al-Mulk [see ʿABD ALLĀH SULṬĀNPŪRĪ in Suppl.], who taught that both the Mahdī and Jesus would apply the legal doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa. This view was still propagated by a Ḥanafī *shaykh* in Medina in the time of al-Barazandjī, who succeeded in discrediting him. ʿAlī al-Ḳārī also censured the doctrine of the Mahdiyya who believed that their former *shaykh*, who had died in Khurāsān, had been the Mahdī and considered all Muslims denying this claim as infidels [see MAHDAWIYYA].

In spite of the support of the belief in the Mahdī by some prominent traditionists and Ṣūfīs, it never became an essential part of Sunnī religious doctrine. Sunnī creeds mention it but rarely. Many famous scholars like al-Ghazālī avoided discussing the subject. This attitude was often probably less motivated by doubts concerning the truth of the belief than by fear of encouraging politically disruptive movements in the Muslim community. Open criticism of the belief like that of Ibn Khaldūn who, in his *Muḳaddima*, undertook to refute the authenticity of all *ḥadīths* concerning the Mahdī, was exceptional.

Shīʿī doctrine. Among the Shīʿa, especially the more radical groups, longing for a restorer of justice and religion has usually been most intense. Belief in the coming of the Mahdī of the Family of the Prophet became a central aspect of the faith in radical Shīʿism in contrast to Sunnism. Distinctively Shīʿī was also the common belief in a temporary absence or occultation (*ghayba*) of the Mahdī and his eventual return in glory. As various members of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were identified as the Mahdī but failed to fulfill the expectations about him in their lifetime, their followers transferred their hopes to a second coming. The pattern was already set in regard to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whose death was denied by the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*]. They believed that he was hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā and would return to rule the world. Similar beliefs arose around Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's son Abū Hāshim (d. 98/716), the Djaʿfarid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (d. *ca.* 130/748), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762), Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765) and numerous other ʿAlids during the next centuries. The Shīʿī Mahdī was commonly given the epithet al-Ḳāʾim, the first one perhaps Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in his occultation. It has been suggested that the term may be connected with the epithet *ḳāʾem* found in Aramaic Samaritan texts and translated into Greek as ἑστῶς (see G. Widengren, *Muhammad the Apostle of God and his ascension*, Uppsala 1955, 79; P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977, 165). In Samaritan and gnostic usage, the term appears to have the meaning of "the living one". Whatever the origin of the Arabic term, it is clear that in Shīʿī usage it came to be understood as the one who will rise and rule [see ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD]. It was in common use before the end of the Umayyad age and largely replaced the term Mahdī in Imāmī tradition.

Doctrine on the *ghayba* of the Mahdī was greatly developed after the death of the seventh *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim (183/799) among the Wāḳifa [*q.v.*], who considered him the last *Imām* and expected his return as the Mahdī. While most of them believed that he had not died and was alive hiding, others held that he had died and would rise from death. They relied on statements attributed to Imām Djaʿfar to the effect that the Mahdī was called the Ḳāʾim because he would rise (*yaḳūm*) after having died. A book on the *ghayba* was written by one of the founders of the Wāḳifa in Kūfa, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭāʾinī. Other books on the *ghayba* are known to have been written by the Kūfan Wāḳifīs ʿAbd Allāh b. Djabala (d. 210/834), ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Aʿradj, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī (d. 263/876-7), and al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samāʿa (d. 263/876-7). A Wāḳifī was perhaps also Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-Anmāṭī (Kūfan, first half of the 3rd/9th century), author of a *K. al-Ghayba*. Books on the *ghayba* were, however, in the same period also composed by some Imāmī scholars who believed in the continuation of the imāmate after Mūsā, like al-ʿAbbās al-Nāshirī (d. 219 or 220/834-5) and the Kūfan Faṭḥī ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl.

The doctrine of the *ghayba* was thus well-documented by traditions of the *Imāms* before the occultation of the Twelfth *Imām* whom the majority of the Imāmiyya came to consider as the Mahdī after the death of the eleventh, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī, in 260/874. Such earlier traditions could now be used and adapted to support the doctrine of the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām*. Of Wāḳifī origin was, for instance, the tradition attributed to *Imām* Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and transmitted by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza and now applied to the Twelfth *Imām*: "In the Lord of this Order (*ṣāḥib hādhā al-amr*) there will be a precedent (*sunna*) from Moses, a precedent from Jesus, a precedent from Joseph, and a precedent from Muḥammad. As for the precedent from Moses, he will be afraid and watchful (*khāʾif yataraḳḳab*); as for Jesus, it will be said about him what was said about Jesus; as for Joseph, imprisonment and concealment (*al-sidjn wa 'l-ghayba*); as for Muḥammad, his rising with the sword, following his conduct and explaining his traditions. . ." The tradition clearly refers to the imprisonment of Mūsā al-Kāẓim and to the false claim that he had been killed by his enemies. Also of Wāḳifī origin were traditions attributed to *Imām* Djaʿfar about the two occultations (*ghaybatān*) of the Mahdī like the following: "The Master of this Order will have two occultations. One will be longer so that it will even be said, 'He has died'; and some will say, 'He has been killed'. No one but a few of his followers will remain loyal to him. None of his sons nor anyone else will have knowledge of his place except the client in charge of his affairs". The two absences referred to the two arrests of *Imām* Mūsā who had been briefly imprisoned under the caliph al-Mahdī before his final imprisonment by Hārūn al-Rashīd from which he did not return. Such traditions were now interpreted as referring to the Lesser and the Greater *ghayba* [*q.v.*] of the Twelfth *Imām*. Twelver Shīʿī doctrine on the Ḳāʾim-Mahdī and on his Occultation, based on traditions attributed to the *Imāms*, was authoritatively elaborated by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī (middle of the 4th/10th century) in his *K. al-Ghayba*, by Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991) in his *Ikmāl al-dīn*, and by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) in his *K. al-Ghayba*.

Imāmī traditions about the career of the Mahdī after his advent largely reflect Sunnī traditions. He will be the lord of the sword and rule the world. Jesus will pray behind him after his descent from heaven. This did not raise a theological problem as in Sunnism, since the Mahdī, like all other *Imāms*, according to prevalent Imāmī doctrine, excels all prophets except Muḥammad in religious rank. Specifically Shīʿī is the expectation that the Mahdī will force all Muslims to accept the Shīʿī belief. Imām Djaʿfar is quoted as stating: 'When the Ḳāʾim of us rises, he will offer the faith to every opponent (i.e. of ʿAlī, *nāṣib*). Either he will enter in it truly, or he will cut his neck or force him to pay the *djizya* as the non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) pay it now. He will gird himself with a travel bag and expel them from the towns to the countryside (*sawād*)". The Ḳāʾim will also enforce the law as laid down by the *Imāms*, and accordingly prevent Muslims from repudiating their wives except by the *ṭalāḳ al-sunna*. The Mahdī thus was expected to restore the *sharīʿa* of Islam integrally, and this has always been orthodox Imāmī doctrine. More radical doctrine was propagated by the Ḳarāmiṭa [see ḲARMAṬĪ], who held that the Mahdī would abrogate the *sharīʿa* and bring a new message. According to al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 62), they interpreted a statement ascribed to *Imām* Djaʿfar, "If our Ḳāʾim were to rise you would learn the Ḳurʾān anew", in that sense. Similar ideas appear to be expressed in another statement ascribed to *Imām* Djaʿfar, "When our Ḳāʾim rises, he will bring a different order than what was before (*djāʾa bi-amr^in ghayri 'l-ladhī kāna*)".

Countering Sunnī criticism, Imāmī apologetics endeavoured to prove that the description of the Mahdī contained in Sunnī *ḥadīth*s applied to the Twelfth *Imām* and that the longevity of the Mahdī implied in the doctrine of the *ghayba* was not unreasonable in view of revealed data about Khiḍr, Jesus, and the Dadjdjāl, and secular reports about long-lived men (*muʿammarūn*). Such apologetics gained considerable momentum in the middle of the 7th/13th century when several Sunnī scholars supported the Imāmī belief that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Expected Mahdī. In 648/1250-1 the Syrian Shāfiʿī traditionist Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Gandjī al-Ḳurashī, later (658/1260) murdered in Damascus for co-operation with the Mongol conquerors, composed a *K. al-Bayān fī akhbār ṣāḥib al-zamān* in which he proved the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām* relying solely on Sunnī traditions. In 650/1252 Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-ʿAdawī al-Niṣībīnī, a Shāfiʿī scholar and former vizier of the Artuḳid al-Malik al-Saʿīd of Mārdīn, completed in Aleppo his *Maṭālib al-suʾūl fī manāḳib āl al-rasūl* in which he supported the imāmate of the Twelve *Imāms* and answered Sunnī objections to the belief that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Mahdī. The Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, shortly before his death in 654/1256 in Damascus, wrote his *Tadhkirat khawāṣṣ al-umma bi-dhikr khaṣāʾiṣ al-aʾimma* assembling reports from Sunnī sources about the virtues of ʿAlī and his descendants, especially the Twelve *Imāms*, and at the end affirmed that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Lord of the Time, the Expected Ḳāʾim and Mahdī. In support, he quoted the following *ḥadīth*, terming it well-known (*mashhūr*), "The Messenger of God said, 'At the end of time, a man of my descendants will come forth whose name is like my name and whose *kunya* is like my *kunya*. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice. That is the Mahdī' ". He thus avoided one of the major Sunnī objections

to the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām*, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, viz. that the *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim in its expanded form stipulated the identity of the father's name of the Mahdī with that of the Prophet's father. Al-Gandjī, on the other hand, quoted the testimony of al-Āburī that this stipulation had been added to the *ḥadīth* by the Kūfan transmitter Zāʾida (d. 160-1/777-8). A problem arose also about the Sunnī *ḥadīth*, related by Ibn Ḥanbal and others, "The Prophet said, 'A community will not perish among whom I am the first, Jesus is the last, and the Mahdī is in the middle (*fī wasaṭih*)'". This implied that Jesus would remain after the Mahdī and there would be no *Imām* before the end of the world, as against a cardinal Imāmī dogma. Al-Gandjī therefore interpreted the *ḥadīth* as meaning that Jesus should be the last caller (*dāʿī*) inviting mankind to accept Islam but would not survive the Mahdī.

Testimony in support of the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām* by these Sunnī authors, as also of later ones like the Mālikī scholar Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Isfāḳusī al-Makkī (d. 855/1451), a Maghribī resident in Mecca, and, more recently, the Ḥanafī Naḳshbandī Shaykh Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳundūzī al-Balkhī (d. 1294/1877 in Istanbul), was regularly noted by Imāmī apologists. The works of al-Gandjī and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭalḥa were extensively quoted already by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbilī (d. 692/1293) in his *Kashf al-ghumma fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma*, which in turn won positive comment from Sunnī authors because of its extensive reliance on Sunnī sources. Further support for the Mahdīship of the Twelfth *Imām* came from Ṣūfī circles. Already Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066) had noted that some Ṣūfī gnostics (*djamāʿa min ahl al-kashf*) agreed with the Imāmī doctrine about the identity of the Mahdī and his *ghayba*. The Persian Ṣūfī Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥammūyī (late 7th/13th century) supported Imāmī doctrine on the Mahdī in his *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*. The Egyptian Ṣūfī al-Shaʿrānī, while generally showing no sympathy for Shīʿism, affirmed in his *al-Yawāḳīt wa 'l-djawāhir* (written in 958/1551) that the Mahdī was a son of *Imām* al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī born in the year 255/869 and would remain alive until his meeting with Jesus. His advent could be expected after the year 1030/1621. He based his assertion on the testimony of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿIrāḳī, who claimed to have met the Mahdī, and on a spurious quotation from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* identifying the Expected Mahdī with the Twelfth *Imām*. This quotation of Ibn al-ʿArabī was noted and accepted by both Imāmī and Sunnī scholars. The Egyptian Shaykh al-Ṣabbān (d. 1206/1792), in his *Isʿāf al-rāghibīn fī sīrat al-Muṣṭafā wa-faḍāʾil ahl baytih al-ṭāhirīn*, censured Ibn al-ʿArabī for supporting such a view against the clear evidence of the traditions accepted by Sunnī scholars. Al-Ṣabbān was in turn taken to task for criticising Ibn al-ʿArabī by Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who in his *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* (first published in 1275/1858-9) maintained that the Ṣūfī gnostics were the most truthful interpreters of the prophetic tradition. In order to blunt the Shīʿī implications of al-Shaʿrānī's statement, al-ʿIdwī quoted it, adding a thousand years to the birthdate of the Mahdī and suppressing both the date for his advent and Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿIrāḳī's claim to have met him. The Mahdī thus was born in 1255/1839 and was merely a descendant of the eleventh *Imām*, not the Twelfth *Imām* of the Shīʿa. Al-ʿIdwī's false quotation of al-Shaʿrānī was copied by the Egyptian Shaykh al-Shablandjī in his *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāḳib al-nabī al-mukhtār* composed in 1290/1873.

In pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism, the terms Mahdī and Ḳāʾim were both used, as in Imāmī Shīʿism, for the expected messianic *Imām*. After the rise of the Fāṭimids, some of the predictions concerning the Mahdī were held to have been realised by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī, the founder of the dynasty, while others would be fulfilled by his successors. This theory was elaborated by the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) in his K. *Sharḥ al-akhbār* where he quoted numerous traditions about the Mahdī from Sunnī, Imāmī, and Zaydī sources and applied them to al-Mahdī and his successors, partially by interpreting them figuratively (see W. Ivanov, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942, 97-122, Ar. texts, 1-31). The name al-Mahdī was henceforth reserved to the first Fāṭimid caliph, while the eschatological *Imām* and Seventh Apostle still expected for the future was only called the Ḳāʾim.

Among the Zaydīs, whose doctrine did not raise the nature of the *Imām*s to a superhuman level, Mahdī expectations have generally been weak or marginal. The heresiographer Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ reported that some Zaydī groups (Djārūdiyya) expected the return of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim Ṣāḥib al-Ṭāliḳān (d. 219/834), or Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, who led a popular revolt in Kūfa in 250/864. Their views have, however, left no trace in Zaydī tradition. A more serious Mahdistic movement arose in the Yaman around the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIyānī (401-4/1010-13), who claimed to be the Expected Mahdī. His death was denied by his family and followers, known as the Ḥusayniyya, and his successors did not claim the title of *Imām* in expectation of his return. The sect of the Ḥusayniyya, opposed by the majority of the Zaydīs, survived until the 8th/14th century. It is characteristic for the insignificance of Mahdī expectations among the Zaydīs that the Sayyid Ḥamīdān (7th/13th century), representing Zaydī orthodoxy, could recognise al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim as the Mahdī, who had appeared at the time predicted by the Prophet, while censuring those of his supporters who raised his rank above that of the Zaydī *Imām*s before him and refused to recognise those after him (see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 198-201).

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-MAHDĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, the third ʿAbbāsid caliph.

The son of the caliph al-Manṣur, he was born, probably in 126 or 127/743-5 in Īdhadj in Khūzistān when his father was involved in the ill-fated rebellion of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] against the Umayyads in that area. As soon as he was of age, his father began to train him in political affairs. In 141/758-9 he was sent to Rayy as governor of Khurāsān. He did not settle in Marw himself or take an active part in the campaigns against the various rebels in the area, but remained in Rayy acting as an intermediary between the Khurāsāni supporters of the régime and the caliph in ʿIrāḳ. This role enabled him to build up a substantial following among the Khurāsānīs, who were to be his main supporters in his struggle to secure the succession to the caliphate. In 144/762 he visited ʿIrāḳ briefly to marry his first cousin Rayṭa, daughter of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ, before returning to Khurāsān, where he remained until 151/768. He had his own court in Rayy, and a new administrative quarter was added to the city during the period of his residence.

Al-Saffāḥ had laid down that al-Manṣūr should be succeeded as caliph by his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, but after his accession al-Manṣūr worked to secure a position for al-Mahdī; in 141/758-9 he was made ʿĪsā's heir, while in 147/764 pressure from the caliph, and from the Khurasānī soldiers stationed in ʿIrāḳ, forced ʿĪsā to resign his position and accept al-Mahdī as heir-apparent.

On the death of al-Manṣūr, on the Pilgrimage of 158/October 775, al-Mahdī, who was already in Baghdād, succeeded to the throne without opposition. Al-Mahdī's policies were in many ways a continuation of his father's, and like al-Manṣūr he continued to rely on the Khurāsānī army and members of the ʿAbbāsid family as the main supporters of the régime. He seems to have emphasised more strongly than his two predecessors the religious nature of his office and the role of the caliph as the champion of Islam. His regnal title of al-Mahdī, a title previously adopted by ʿAlid pretenders to the caliphate, was an indication of this. He also showed his concern for religion by the enlargement of mosques, at Mecca and Baṣra and the Aḳṣā in Jerusalem, by improving the water supply on the Pilgrimage route from ʿIrāḳ to the Ḥidjāz and by organising expeditions against the Byzantines. The concern for the *ḥadjdj* and the *djihād* was part of a policy to establish the caliph as leader of the Muslim community as a whole. He also sought to maintain the purity of the religion by vigorous suppression of the *zindīḳs* [*q.v.*], dualist or gnostic heretics, some of whom were executed.

He attempted to heal the rift which had developed in the family of the Prophet between the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids and which had led to the rebellion of Muḥammad "the Pure Soul" in 145/762. He invited members of the ʿAlid family to court and granted them pensions, as well as trying to reconcile their traditional supporters among the people of Medina by recruiting a guard of *Anṣār* and by the distribution of largesse. In the main, this policy seems to have been successful and there were no large-scale ʿAlid disturbances during the reign.

Al-Mahdī's main adviser in his relations with the ʿAlid was the *wazīr* Yaʿḳūb b. Dāwūd, who had made contacts with members of the family in prison and who in 160/777 placed his services at the disposal of the caliph. Yaʿḳūb succeeded in reconciling with the caliph some prominent ʿAlid dissidents, and in doing so acquired enormous power, supervising almost the entire administration and most government appointments. He failed however, to win over the most active and militant ʿAlid, ʿĪsā b. Zayd, who continued in hiding as a focus for opposition and this failure, coupled with resentment felt by many others at court against his influence, led to his fall and imprisonment in 166/782-3.

The power attained by Yaʿḳūb points to the general increase in power of the bureaucracy and the secretaries (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib* [*q.v.*]) during the reign of al-Mahdi. Until this time, the *kuttāb* had acted as individual secretaries to rulers but now, under the leadership of the Barmakid [see AL-BARĀMIKA] family, they came to form an important pressure group at court. From 161/777-8, Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī became tutor and adviser to the young prince Hārūn, later the caliph al-Rashīd, thus becoming one of the most influential figures at court. The rise of the *kuttāb* at this time provoked a reaction among the leaders of the Khurāsānī army, who felt that their position was being threatened, and the caliph was warned that he was in danger of losing the support of his army by his great-uncle ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī. The tension between the bureaucrats and the military which originated at this time was to be a continuing feature of ʿAbbāsid politics.

Al-Mahdī's reign was in the main a period of peace and prosperity. There were disturbances in Khurāsān, notably the prolonged rebellion of al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*] between about 159/775-6 and 163/780,

which was only suppressed by considerable military effort. Elsewhere, Muslim armies expanded the influence of the caliphate; on the eastern frontiers of Khurāsān, Farghāna [q.v.] was attacked, and al-Yaʿḳūbī gives a somewhat fanciful list of eastern monarchs who are said to have acknowledged the caliph's authority, including the Kings of Tibet and China. There was also a maritime expedition against the unbelievers in Sind. As usual, however, the main military effort was concentrated on the Byzantine frontier. In 162/778-9 the Byzantines destroyed the Muslim outpost of al-Ḥadath [q.v.], and the caliph responded by sending his son Hārūn on two expeditions in 163/780 and 165/782, which raided the empire without making any lasting territorial gains.

Al-Mahdī designated as his heirs two of his sons by his favourite wife al-Khayzurān [q.v.], Mūsā, who took the title of al-Hādī, and Hārūn, who took the title of al-Rashīd. Both these were given responsibilities in their father's lifetime, Mūsā in Baghdād, where he developed close links with the Khurāsānī soldiery, and Hārūn in Syria and the Byzantine frontier regions. The arrangement was that Mūsā should succeed and be followed by his brother Hārūn, but there were indications that the caliph, persuaded by al-Khayzurān, was about to change these dispositions at the time of his death. Nothing had been done, however, when he died on 22 Muḥarram 169/4 August 785 at Māsabadhān, probably as the result of a hunting accident.

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(H. Kennedy)

AL-**MAHDĪ** [See IBN TŪMART; AL-MAHDIYYA].

AL-**MAHDĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. HISHĀM B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-NĀṢIR, ABU 'L-WALĪD, eleventh Umayyad caliph of Spain. He held power on two occasions, first as successor to Hishām II al-Muʾayyad [q.v.], and again in Sulaymān b. Ḥakam al-Mustaʿīn's [q.v.] place in the period of general rebellion which at the end of the 4th-beginning of the 5th/11th century immediately preceded the establishment throughout Muslim Spain of petty independent rulers, the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* [q.v.].

The third of the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjibs*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manṣūr, surnamed Sanchol, from the moment he succeeded his brother ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the titular caliph, Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, to get himself designated heir-apparent. This decision at once aroused the indignation of various members of the caliph's family, thus excluded from the throne; they arranged that one of their number, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, a great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, who had many followers among the mob of Cordova, should head a rebellion. Advantage was taken of an expedition, which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol was to lead in person against the Christians of Galicia, to raise the standard of rebellion. On 16 Djumāda II 399/15 February 1009, Muḥammad b. Hishām attacked the palace of Cordova, where the caliph Hishām was with a small number of followers who had remained faithful to him. He captured the palace and at once took steps to make Hishām sign his abdication and had himself proclaimed caliph. The whole population of Cordova was in arms and plundered the ʿĀmirid town of al-Madīna al-Zāhira [q.v.]. All the treasure accumulated there, including a vast sum in money, was seized and brought to the new caliph who, to destroy ʿĀmirid power for ever, demolished completely and set fire to the town which the great *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr had built only a few years before. At the same time, Muḥammad b. Hishām, who had adopted the honorific *laḳab* of al-Mahdī, took steps to meet the counter-attack expected from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol. Warned of what had happened in Cordova and of the destruction of al-Madīna al-Zāhira, the *ḥādjib*, full of anxiety, pitched his camp at Calatrava (Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [q.v.]) and endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops, who were mainly Berbers. He was soon forced to witness their defection and went to Cordova in the hope of finding new partisans there. But on the way back he was captured by emissaries of al-Mahdī in a monastery of the Sierra Morena and executed at the end of Djumāda II 399/1 March 1009. His body was crucified in Cordova.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī, once the power was in his hands, soon alienated the principal Berber chiefs of his army as well as his relatives of the Umayyad house. A rebellion against him was planned by his adversaries. The Berbers put at their head an Umayyad pretender, Hishām b. Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir, whom they proclaimed caliph with the title al-Rashīd, and laid siege to Cordova. Al-Mahdī made a sortie, routed them and the pretender was killed. The Berbers then chose a new Umayyad prince, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, and at the same time appealed for assistance to Sancho Garcez and his Castilians. In spite of all the efforts of al-Mahdī, the blockade of Cordova became more and more strict. He then tried to put on the throne the caliph Hishām II b. al-Muʾayyad whom he had himself deposed and then given out as dead, but this was in vain. On 16 Rabīʿ I 400/2 November 1009 the palace of the caliph was in the hands of the besiegers. Al-Mahdī's only hope was to hide himself. The pretender of the Berbers, Sulaymān, received the oath of alligiance at Cordova and assumed the honorific title of al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh.

In the following month, al-Mahdī was able to leave Cordova secretly and seek refuge in Toledo, where he was well received by the inhabitants. He then sought and obtained an alliance with the Catalans (*Ifrandj*) who marched with him on Cordova in Shawwāl 400/May-June 1910. The town was taken and the second reign of al-Mahdī began with a bloody persecution of all the Berbers in Cordova. To avenge the wrongs of their fellow-countrymen in the capital, the Berbers in the army of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn returned to besiege the city. Al-Mahdī, betrayed by his retainers, was slain during the siege

in the palace in Cordova by some ʿĀmirid slaves on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 400/23 July 1010. His first reign had lasted nine months, the second less than two.

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MAHDĪ ʿALĪ KHĀN, the most outstanding vizier of the later Nawwābs of Awadh.

He started his career from the early reign of Nawwāb Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1798-1814) as a *čhakladār* (an officer of one of the revenue districts) of *čhakla* Muḥammadī and then of Fayḍābād. His administration made the *čhaklas* under his control exceedingly prosperous. He himself became fabulously rich and was made a minister. Early in the reign of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān's successor Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1814-27), Mahdī ʿAlī lost his position because of his resentments at the interference of the Awadh Resident Colonel Baillie with the Awadh administration. Much of his property was seized and he was imprisoned. After his release from prison, he moved to the British territory at Fatḥgaṙh in 1824 and began to live in a grand style. After the death of Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar in October 1827, his son Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar appointed Mahdī ʿAlī as his *nāʾib* (chief minister). The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck was highly impressed by Mahdī ʿAlī's administrative abilities and supported his schemes. Mahdī ʿAlī reduced the salaries of undeserving favourites of the court, slashed the stipend of the ladies of the palace and even curtailed the expenses of the King. After four years of strong rule he was dismissed in 1832 on the pretext of behaving arrogantly towards the Queen Mother and an incompetent minister called Rawshān al-Dawla was appointed in his place. The reforms introduced by Mahdī ʿAlī were speedily reversed and the prosperity of the kingdom declined. Mahdī ʿAlī retired to Farrukhābād and died in obscurity.

Bibliography: Sayyid Ghulām ʿAlī Naḳawī, *ʿImād al-Saʿādat*, Lucknow 1897; ʿAbd al-Aḥad b. Mawlawī Muḥammad Fāʾiḳ, *Waḳāʾi-ʿi dil padhīr*, British Museum, Or., 1876; Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar, *Sawāniḥ-i Salāṭīn-i Awadh* [in Urdu], Lucknow 1896; H. C. Irwin, *The garden of India*, London 1880. (S. A. A. RIZVI)

MAHDĪ KHĀN ASTARĀBĀDĪ, MĪRZĀ (MUḤAMMAD), court secretary and historian of Nādir Shāh of Iran (reigned 1148-60/1736-47), author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī* (also known as *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*).

Little is known for certain about the life of Mīrzā Mahdī Khān, not even the dates of his birth and death. The *takhalluṣ* by which he is sometimes called, Kawkabī, is likewise disputed (Shahīdī, pp. *md*). He was presumably born at Astarābād, the son of one Muḥammad Naṣīr, and apparently moved to the capital Iṣfahān during the twilight of the Ṣafawid dynasty or the Afghān occupation of Iran. According to documents in his collected official correspondence (*Munshaʾāt*; see Anwār, pp. *sih*, *pandj*; *Shahīdī*, pp. *mdj*), he wrote a formal congratulation to Nādir on his capture of Iṣfahān in 1142/1729. For the next seventeen years he served Nādir as head of the secretariat (*munshī al-mamālik*), then after his coronations as official historian (*waḳiʿa niwīs*). In spring of 1160/1747 he was sent together with Muṣṭafā Khān Bīgdilī Shāmlū on an embassy to the Ottoman court in order to ratify the peace treaty recently concluded by Nādir. They had gone no farther than Baghdād when the news of the Shāh's assassination overtook them, and the embassy was discontinued. Mīrza Mahdī returned to Iran and spent the remainder of his life in retirement —whether at Mashhad, Tabrīz or elsewhere is uncertain—completing the historical and philological works which he had begun during his service with Nādir. He died some time between 1162/1749 and 1182/1768.

Mīrzā Mahdī is chiefly remembered for his two histories of Nādir Shāh, the *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī* and the *Durra-yi nādira*. The former is a detailed year-by-year record of Nādir's career, particularly of his military campaigns, though marred by an expedient eulogy of his patron; it became the inspiration and model for several histories of the subsequent Afshārid and Zand periods, notably the *Taʾrīkh-i Gītī-gushā* of Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ Nāmī. The *Durra-yi nādira* ("Rare pearl") treats the same material in the florid and abstruse style initiated by the Īl-Khānid historian Waṣṣāf, as a tour-de-force of forced metaphors and Arabic quotations. Mīrzā Mahdī also made valuable contributions to Turkish studies with his *Sanglākh*, a Persian dictionary of eastern Turkish (Čaghatāy) based on the poetry of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, and with his Čaghatāy grammar, *Mabānī al-lugha*.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Mahdī's works have been published in the following editions, which provide further information about the manuscripts available and the author's life and works: *Durra-yi nādira*, ed. Sayyid Djaʿfar Shahīdī, Tehran 1341/1963; *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, Tehran 1341/1963 (this work was translated by Sir William Jones into French as *Histoire de Nader-Chah*, Paris 1770, and into English in an abridged version, *The history of the life of Nadir Shah*, London 1773—both versions being uncritical and inaccurate); *Mabānī al-lugha*, ed. E. Denison Ross, Calcutta 1910; *Munshaʾāt-i Mahdī*, Tehran 1285/1868-9; *Sanglax*, ed. Sir Gerard Clauson, GMS N.S. v, London 1960. See also L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 292-6. (J. R. PERRY)

AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD, a title and name of a number of Zaydī *imāms* of the Yemen.

About 250 years after al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā, the founder of the Zaydiyya in the Yemen, his direct descendant, al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Aḥmad, had, between 532/1137 and 566/1170, restored Zaydī territory to its extent in al-Hādī's time, with Ṣaʿda, Nadjrān and, for a time, also Zabīd and Ṣanʿāʾ. A generation later (593-614/1197-1217) the mountainous region from Ṣaʿda in the north to Dhamār, south of Ṣanʿāʾ, was again ruled by the Zaydī al-Manṣūr bi'llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, not a direct descendant of al-Hādī, but of the latter's brother, ʿAbd Allāh. Al-Manṣūr was twice able to enter Ṣanʿāʾ, but his power was severely limited by the last Ayyūbid ruler of the Yemen, al-Malik al-Masʿūd Yūsuf (612-26/1215-29). After the death of al-Manṣūr in

614/1217, the Zaydī house was split, al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Muḥsin, a descendant of al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā, declaring himself *imām* in Ṣaʿda, while al-Manṣūr's sons asserted their right to the imāmate further south. An attempt to heal this long-standing rift within the dynasty was made by

1. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN. His genealogy would appear to have been clearly established by the usually reliable Rasūlid genealogist, al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf (*Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, 101-2), as follows: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Abi 'l-Barakāt b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim Tardjumān al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

In 646/1248 Aḥmad proclaimed himself *imām* in the fortress of Thulā, north-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, with the support of the Banū Ḥamza Zaydīs, his father's family, and with the possible connivance of the Rasūlid fief-holder of Ṣanʿāʾ, the sultan's nephew, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, whose loyalty to his family was at best only lukewarm. Aḥmad's position was strengthened by the murder in 647/1250 of Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar, the Rasūlid sulṭān, a crime which may have had the support of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad. The latter continued his fickle behaviour into the sultanate of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, son of Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar, at times appearing to support his family, the Rasūlids, against the Zaydī *imām* al-Mahdī Aḥmad, at times flirting with the latter and showing open rebellion against the Rasūlids. The mystery is why such an astute leader as al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf put up with such behaviour, for his nephew seems to have been able to patch up his quarrels and disloyalties with his uncle, the sultan, with no difficulty on more than one occasion. The position of al-Mahdī Aḥmad improved for a time, for he was able to take Ṣanʿāʾ in 648/1250; although harrassed by Asad al-Dīn, who held the fortress of Birāsh close by, he was able to extend his influence south as far as Dhamār. But within the year al-Mahdī Aḥmad had to abandon Ṣanʿāʾ. Asad al-Dīn sold him Birāsh, but it was on account of this that the final breach between them occurred. Asad al-Dīn yet again made his peace with his uncle, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad's fate, however, was not to be decided by the Rasūlids but within the Zaydī camp. Quarrels arose and a rival *imām*, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, was announced in 652/1254 in Ṣaʿda. In the next year a Zaydī assembly pronounced Aḥmad's deposition. He fought on with the remainder of his followers, but was killed in 656/1258 and buried in Dhu Bīn (invariably written Dhībīn in the sources).

Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, who adopted the official title of al-Mutawakkil and recognised the Rasūlids as his overlords, was at once challenged by a rival *imām* in the person of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Wahhās. A number of other *imāms* were recognised before

2. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. AL-MURTAḌĀ b. Aḥmad b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Manṣūr b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf al-Dāʿī b. Yaḥya al-Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. The last named was the son and second successor of al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā. After the death of the *Imām* al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, killed in 793/1391 when thrown from his mule which had been frightened by a bird, a *ḳāḍī*, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dawwārī, with other Zaydī notables, continued the Zaydī administration for a time on behalf of his sons who were all minors. The Zaydī *ʿulamāʾ*, however, assembled in the Djamāl al-Dīn mosque in Ṣanʿāʾ and appointed Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā as *imām*. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dawwārī thereupon had ʿAlī, the son of al-Nāṣir, proclaimed *imām*, and al-Mahdī Aḥmad and those supporting him left for Bayt Baws where they were immediately besieged by the rival *imām*, ʿAlī. For the remainder of that year and into 794/1392 the two claimants to the Zaydī imāmate fought for supremacy. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad was caught in Maʿbar, south of Ṣanʿāʾ, by forces of his rival, ʿAlī, and languished in prison until 801/1399, a period of over seven years. In that year he was freed with the help of his jailers. He lived on, however, until 840/1437, when he died near Ḥadjdja of the plague. Ironically, enough, his erstwhile rival the *Imām* ʿAlī died in Ṣanʿāʾ of the plague in that same year.

The choice of Ibn al-Murtaḍā as *Imām* was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability. On the other hand, he had another qualification in perfection. As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and paraenetic; he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic. The kindness of his warders, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book *al-Azhār fi fiḳh al-aʾimma al-aṭhār* (Berlin ms. 4919) on which he wrote a commentary. His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopaedia, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* (Berlin mss. 4894-4907) on which he likewise wrote a commentary. Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well-arranged compilation, which deserves attention, if only for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view to that of al-Ashʿarī or al-Shahrastānī.

About 80 years after al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, from 922/1516 onwards, the Turks had begun to occupy Yaman and to hold it with varying fortunes (see Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī, *al-Barḳ al-yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, in S. de Sacy, in *Notices et extraits*, iv, 412-504, and A. Rutgers, *Historia Jemanae sub Hasano Pascha*, Leiden 1838). In his struggle with them al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, a descendant of al-Hādī in the seventeenth generation, was able in *ca.* 1000/1591 to restore the present imāmate in Ṣanʿāʾ (see A. S. Tritton, *The rise of the Imams of Sana*, Oxford 1925). Of his sons, Muḥammad al-Muʾayyad succeeded him. Even in his reign, but still more after his death in 1054/1644, when his successor Ismāʿīl, another son of al-Ḳāsim, was making his way with difficulty against his many brothers and nephews, one of al-Ḳāsim's grandsons began to come to the front, afterwards the *Imām*

3. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḲĀSIM. His father was not *Imām*, but distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks and was also a scholar. In 1048/1639 Aḥmad appeared in the hills of Wuṣāb; in 1051/1641 he was in Mecca with many members of his family on the pilgrimage. Just at the accession of Ismāʿīl, he set out with another cousin against Ṣanʿāʾ. At first he came to terms with the *Imām*, but then fought in different places for his own hand, e.g. at Thulā and again in the Djabal Wuṣāb. In 1070/1659 he won Ḥaḍramawt for Ismāʿīl, to which the Zaydīs had been summoned by the disputes for the throne. When in 1087/1676

on the death of Ismāʿīl he himself assumed the imāmate, a nephew, al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad al-Muʾayyad, proclaimed himself *imām* and was recognised particularly in the remoter territory in the south towards Tihāma. A Zaydī assembly of leading Sharīfs and *ʿulamāʾ* met, at which Aḥmad was with some difficulty recognised as the legitimate *imām*. Although this did not mean that he enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, since his rivals and the other *amīrs* remained as independent as before, yet peace and security reigned in the country. But Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan died soon afterwards in 1092/1681 in al-Ghirās near Shibām, which had been built by the first Turkish conqueror Ḥasan Pasha, possibly from a bullet wound, sustained in action against a recalcitrant tribe. A notable feature of his comparatively uneventful imāmate was his banishment of the Jews from Ṣanʿāʾ, the razing of their synagogue and the building of the Djalā mosque on its site (1090-1/1679-80). After the short and weak reign of his son al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (to 1097/1686), family feuds broke out again. Among the later *imāms* of this Ḳāsimid dynasty another Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim (from 1221/1806) again bore the official title of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh.

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(R. Strothmann-[G. R. Smith and J. R. Blackburn])

AL-MAHDĪ ʿUBAYD ALLĀH, the first "manifested" (*ẓāhir*) Ismāʿīlī *Imām* and the first caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Ifrīḳiya; while the historicity of this fact is conclusively established, there is doubt as to the Fāṭimid origin of ʿUbayd Allāh and subsequently as to the authenticity of his imāmate in the Ismāʿīlī line.

It would be pointless however, before giving an account of his activity as a sovereign, to digress upon the thorny subject of the *nasab* of the first Fāṭimid monarch, to which the author of the present article has, moreover, elsewhere devoted substantial consideration (see *Bibl.*). This study will be confined therefore to exposing the essential features as a means of bringing to light the political and social conditions in which the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* developed in the Orient even before the imamāte fell to ʿUbayd Allāh, then in the Maghrib, on the eve of the foundation of the Fāṭimid caliphate.

The question is whether ʿUbayd Allāh—ʿAbd Allāh according to the Ismāʿīlīs, who reject the diminutive form of his name on which Sunnī and Khāridjī authors agree—possessed an ʿAlid ascendancy through a family relationship with Ismāʿīl, the seventh hidden *Imām*, or whether he was quite simply the great-grandson of the *dāʿī* Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN]. The documentation currently available is insufficient to provide a conclusive answer. It may nevertheless be asserted definitely that it was the seventh *Imām*, Ismāʿīl (d. *ca.* 145/762) who laid the foundations of the Ismāʿīlī movement, then his son Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl who elaborated the doctrine and organised the preaching (*daʿwa*) with the valuable assistance of the *dāʿī* Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ. It could be concluded that this *daʿwa* in favour of the ʿAlid descendants of the Ḥusaynid branch was thus initiated in the period of secrecy (*satr*), that is, at the beginning of the second half of the 2nd/9th century, and continued until the end of the 3rd/9th century, to be concluded finally with the "manifestation" (*ẓuhūr*) of the *Imām* al-Mahdī.

No sure light can be thrown upon the order of certain succession in which the imāmate was transmitted during this long period of secret preaching, and how the imāmate effectively passed from the line of Ismāʿīl to that of the family of al-Ḳaddāḥ, because of the variety of contradictory and impassioned opinions which our Sunnī and Khāridjī sources have reproduced with the obvious zeal of their authors. Among the Ismāʿīlī authors themselves, profound disagreements have survived, depending on whether the sources consulted are works of doctrine intended for public consumption (*ẓāhir*) or esoteric texts reserved for the initiates (*bāṭin*).

However, whether al-Mahdī be an authentic ʿAlid or a descendant of al-Ḳaddaḥ, it is appropriate to stress the importance of his role in the considerable development of the *daʿwa* at the moment that he was obliged to make it public, beginning from his home in Salamiyya and promulgating it across Persia, Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, Baḥrayn, Yemen, Egypt and even the distant Maghrib.

Nourished by the political and social unrest fomented among the Nabataean, Aramaean and Zandj masses in the East, Copts in Egypt and Berbers in Ifrīḳiya; strengthened, at the time of the decline of the ʿAbbāsid empire, as a result of the spectacular development of the Ḳarmaṭī or Carmathian movement which extolled the same revolutionary ideal of political reform and egalitarian justice; perfectly organised and covering the various "constituencies" of the Islamic world (*djuzur*), the Ismāʿīlī preaching ultimately entered, just at the time that al-Mahdī acceded to the imāmate in 285/898, a decisive phase, that of its Maghribi diversion.

Two decisive events influenced this movement of the *daʿwa* in the direction of the Maghrib; the Ḳarmaṭī dissidence in the East and the successes of the apostleship of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in Lesser Kabylia in the West. As for the schism between the Ḳarmaṭī movement and the centre of the *daʿwa*, it took place at the same time that the imāmate fell to al-Mahdī, whose authority the new Ḳarmaṭī chief, Zikrawayh, refused to recognise. It was thus to fend off the formidable threat posed to Salamiyya that al-Mahdī resigned himself to fleeing this town and setting out towards the far Maghrib at about the end of summer 299/902.

In fact, the apostleship undertaken on behalf of the *Imām* by the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in this country, among the Kutāma Berbers of Lesser Kabylia,

developed into an open insurrection against the Ifrīḳiyan kingdom of the Aghlabids. Al-Mahdī made his way to Sidjilmāssa, in the furthest Maghrib, there to await the final victory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh and his Kutāmī partisans. His stay in this town was to last five years, until the day that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, having conquered on his behalf the kingdom of the Banu 'l-Aghlab, arrived there solemnly to present him with power and to escort him to Ifrīḳiya, where he took possession of the throne at Raḳḳāda on Thursday 20 Rabīʿ II 297/6 January 910.

On his accession, the first Fāṭimid sovereign was 36 or 37 years old, having been born at ʿAskar Mukram in 259 or 260/873 or 874. Ismāʿīlī and Sunnī authors agree in attributing to him qualities of tenacity and prudent wisdom which proved to be of great benefit to him in the course of various vicissitudes between the time of his flight from Salamiyya and his triumphal entry into Raḳḳāda.

Al-Mahdī was officially proclaimed caliph on the day following his arrival, Friday 21 Rabīʿ II 297/7 January 910. The edicts of enthronement and proclamation emphasised the restoration of the imāmate in the line of descent of the Prophet and of his heir (*waṣī*), through his daughter Fāṭima, and the recovery of the caliphate usurped by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids.

Immediately upon his enthronement, al-Mahdī took in hand the responsibilities of state, letting it be known that he intended to exercise personally the power gained on his behalf by Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He thus eclipsed the prestige of the latter, his brother Abu 'l-ʿAbbās and certain Kutāma chieftains who, offended, were not slow to foment a conspiracy against him. But, assisted in his role as sovereign by Arab dignitaries who rallied to his cause, having earlier served the Aghlabid *amīrs*, al-Mahdī did not hesitate to rid himself of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who was executed along with his brother and their Kutāmī accomplices.

With the same determination, al-Mahdī set about consolidating his authority through energetic suppression of the internal agitation provoked by the elimination of Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He quelled in rapid succession an attempted insurrection at al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm, a riot at al-Ḳayrawān, a rebellion in Tripoli, a revolt by the clan of the Māwatnaṭ in the land of the Kutāma and an uprising in Sicily. Having thus pacified his territories, taken firm control of his Arab and Berber subjects and contained the threat of Khāridjī tribes (especially the Zanāta) hostile to his régime, he rapidly set about establishing on the foundations of the former Aghlabid kingdom a stable and powerful state which he was careful to endow, at an early stage, with a new capital, al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*]. Built as a fortress, this coastal site was designed to ensure the security of the sovereign and to serve as an instrument for his policy of prestige and hegemony. For, in order to bring to a successful conclusion his twofold function of *Imām* and caliph, the first Fāṭimid monarch was obliged at once to conduct outside his frontiers a tireless campaign on three fronts simultaneously: against his two Muslim rivals, the ʿAbbāsids in Egypt and the Umayyads of Spain in the western Maghrib, and the Christian enemy, the Emperor of Byzantium, in Sicily and Calabria.

In view of the fact that the proclamation of the Fāṭimid caliphate imposed on him the obligation to overthrow both the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid "usurpers", al-Mahdī no doubt at first contemplated invading Muslim Spain, where the power of his Cordovan rival had been considerably weakened by the revolt of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. Since the latter had been quick to pledge obedience to him, on his entry into Raḳḳāda, the Fāṭimid sovereign sent substantial troops to the western Maghrib to bring the area under his authority and to spread fear on the threshold of the Iberian Peninsula. But internal difficulties and his inability to impose lasting authority on the unruly tribes, especially those of the Zanāta group, beyond Tāhart, seem to have tempered his ambitions towards al-Andalus, the conquest of which represented an unacceptable risk.

Egypt, on the other hand, offered an easier prey and to invade it was indubitably a less perilous enterprise. Also, it was only natural that al-Mahdī's attention should be drawn towards the East, where he felt the equally imperious obligation to combat his other rival, the ʿAbbasīd sovereign.

So al-Mahdī was not slow to launch against Egypt, in 301-2/914-15, a powerful force commanded by his son and heir presumptive, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, the future al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh. Initially, the course of the expedition proceeded in his favour. But after capturing Alexandria, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim failed before al-Fusṭāṭ, and not being capable of confronting the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muʾnis, he retraced his steps towards Ifrīḳiya.

Despite its lack of success on the military level, this expedition was to prove beneficial to the prestige of the Fāṭimid cause through the dissemination of Ismāʿīlī propaganda on the banks of the Nile and in other provinces of the ʿAbbāsid empire. Al-Mahdī returned to the attack in 307-8/919-21 with a second expedition commanded by the same Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. At first, this project developed as favourably as the preceding, with the capture of Alexandria and the occupation of the Fayyūm. But when the Fāṭimid fleet encountered disaster at Rosetta, and the battles before al-Fusṭāṭ turned to the advantage of the troops of Muʾnis, Abu'l-Ḳāsim was forced for the second time to retreat and return to Ifrīḳiya. However, the heir to the Fāṭimid throne took the opportunity afforded by this incursion to the banks of the Nile to assert afresh his family's claim to the caliphate and to call on the peoples of the East to rebel against the ʿAbbāsid "infidels" and to support the cause of the descendants of Fāṭima.

Al-Mahdī seems to have organised, shortly before his death, a third expedition against Egypt. In fact, this third attempt, attributed to the year 323/935, took place at the very beginning of the reign of his successor, al-Ḳāʾim, who must have held very dear to his heart the sending of troops against the country where he had suffered two consecutive defeats. In any event, this third Fāṭimid raid against Egypt was, on the military level, as fruitless as its predecessors. Before his death, al-Mahdī must have realised how inadequate his forces were compared with those of his two Muslim rivals, being forced to admit that the new Fāṭimid state was not yet sufficiently strong to overturn either of its hereditary enemies.

To satisfy the sacred obligation of *djihād* against the Christian enemy, al-Mahdī displayed the same amount of energy in campaigning against the Rūm in Sicily and in Calabria. The first raid against the south of the Italian peninsula took place during the year 306/918. The Fāṭimid troops captured Reggio and returned with much booty and many captives. The second incursion was launched from al-Mahdiyya in the summer of 310/922. With a fleet

of twenty galleys, the Fāṭimid officer Masʿūd b. Ghālib al-Wāsūlī took possession of the fortress of St. Agatha and made prisoners of its inhabitants.

Two years later, the chamberlain Djaʿfar b. ʿUbayd, known as "Ṣuʿlūk", led the third raid, with Palermo as his starting-point. He captured Bruzzano and Oria and returned to al-Mahdiyya with vast riches. The resounding success of this campaign had the effect of inducing Byzantium to conclude a treaty. But the annual tribute agreed for Calabria was slow to reach al-Mahdiyya, and hostilities resumed in 315/927. Continuing until 318/930 under the command of the slave Ṣābir, the Fāṭimid incursions proceeded victoriously against Tarento, Salerno, Naples and Termoli. Eventually the tribute was paid, hostilities were suspended and the treaty remained in force until the death of al-Mahdī. Preoccupied by Bulgarian imperialism, Byzantium allowed the Fāṭimid sovereign to subjugate Apulia and Calabria and to reinforce the supremacy of Islam in Sicily.

Al-Mahdī died in al-Mahdiyya on 15 Rabīʿ I 323/3 March 934. On the eve of his death, he could congratulate himself on having successfully performed his double task as *Imām* and as first Fāṭimid caliph. Under his aegis, the *daʿwa* emerged from its secular period of "secrecy" (*satr*), and flourished rapidly in the East and in the Maghrib. He had the skill and energy to conduct moderate but firm policies within his provinces, and to wage tireless warfare beyond his frontiers to affirm the right of the descendants of Fāṭima to lead the Muslim world. Thus, under his rule, the Fāṭimid empire embarked successfully on the first phase of its long history.

Bibliography: The principal sources are: Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿman, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1975; Djaʿfar al-Ḥādjib, *Sīra*, tr. M. Canard, *L'autobiographie d'un chambellan du Mahdî ʿObeidallâh le Fâṭimide*, in *Hespéris* (1952), 279-324, repr. in *Miscellanea orientalia*, London 1973; the *dāʿī* Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1981; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, Beirut 1959. Extensive biographical references are supplied in *EI*², s.v. FĀṬIMIDS (M. Canard) and in F. Dachraoui, *Le Califat fatimide au Maghreb. Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis 1981.

(F. DACHRAOUI)

MAHDIDS, a dynasty of Zabīd in the Yemen claiming descent from the pre-Islamic Tubbaʿs of Ḥimyar.

1. History. The family took its name from the father of its first leader, ʿAlī b. Mahdī, who died in 554/1159. ʿAlī was brought up with a strong traditional Islamic education by his father in Tihāma. Though much given to quiet meditation, ʿAlī also acquired a reputation for eloquence. He travelled widely too, performing the pilgrimage each year and meeting *ʿulamāʾ* from all corners of the Islamic world. The famous historian-poet, ʿUmāra, is our earliest source for the Mahdid period. He tells us that he was much attracted by ʿAlī's early teachings and visited him personally every month (Kay, *Yaman*, 92). During the period 531-6/1136-42, ʿAlī preached openly in Tihāma. So sympathetic to his words was the Nadjāḥid queen in Zabīd, ʿAlam, that he and his followers were exempted from the *kharādj* normally payable on land. In 538/1143 ʿAlī felt sufficiently strong to attack the Nadjāḥid town of al-Kadrāʾ, north of Zabīd, but he and his supporters were driven off. They fled to the mountains where they remained until 541/1146. In that year ʿAlam, the Nadjāḥid queen in Zabīd, against the advice of her advisers, allowed ʿAlī and his supporters to return to Tihāma. ʿAlam died in 545/1150, an event which signalled the opening of a long, ruthless and extremely cruel campaign conducted by the Mahdids against Zabīd and the surrounding area of Tihāma from the mountains above. The town stood firm against appalling acts of terror. ʿAlī was compelled in 549/1154 to journey to the court of the Zurayʿid ruler in Dhū Djibla, Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ. ʿUmāra too was present at the meeting and tells us that ʿAlī left empty-handed. The Zurayʿid refused to assist him against Zabīd (Kay, *Yaman*, 94-5). ʿAlī began to intrigue among the Nadjāḥid *amīrs* and in 551/1156 he engineered the murder of Surūr al-Fātikī, a key figure in the declining Nadjāḥid house. Despite the brave resistance of its inhabitants, Zabīd finally fell to ʿAlī b. Mahdī in 554/1159. The latter had just only established himself in the town, however, when he died.

The events which followed the death of ʿAlī are difficult to unravel and our sources differ in their accounts. He was succeeded either by two sons jointly, Mahdī b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Nabī b. ʿAlī, or by the former only. Whatever the truth of the matter, the Mahdids consolidated former Nadjāḥid territory in Tihāma, made peace with the Zurayʿids based in Aden and al-Dumluwa, and raided other areas in the south, notably Laḥdj and al-Djanad. Mahdī died in 559/1163.

ʿAbd al-Nabī assumed full control for the Mahdid house, and the plundering and looting begun under his father, ʿAlī, continued with renewed vigour. Not only the southern areas of Laḥdj and Abyan were attacked, but also raids were made north in Tihāma into the territory of the Sulaymānī *sharīf*s. In such a raid Wahhās b. Ghānim, the Sulaymānī leader, was killed in 560/1164, an act which may well have helped to bring about the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen nine years later by Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb, the brother of Saladin (Smith, *Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids*, ii, 32-3, 41-2, 46). ʿAbd al-Nabī's thirst for territorial gain continued. Taʿizz and Ibb fell in 561/1165 and he moved on to besiege Aden in the same year. The siege dragged on until 568/1172, when the Zurayʿid ruler of Aden, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī, arrived in Ṣanʿāʾ to beg for assistance to raise the siege from a fellow Ismāʿīlī, the ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim of Hamdān. The latter agreed to help, and with strong tribal support, the Zurayʿid-Hamdān alliance put the Mahdids to flight in 569/1173, thus relieving Aden. ʿAbd al-Nabī and his battered forces retired to Zabīd. Soon afterwards Tūrān-Shāh arrived in northern Tihāma with his Ayyūbid forces from Egypt. Joining up with the Sulaymānīs, who were eager to avenge the Mahdid killing of their leader, the Ayyūbids swept southwards through Tihāma, taking Zabīd and arresting ʿAbd al-Nabī and his brother Aḥmad. Both were executed by strangulation by the Ayyūbids in 571/1176, after what appears to have been a Mahdid attempt to regain control of Zabīd.

2. Religious doctrines. ʿUmāra's account of Mahdid doctrines is perhaps an oversympathetic one. He tells us that ʿAbd al-Nabī followed the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, but regarded sin as infidelity (a view which inevitably led to the charge that he was a Khāridjī) and thus punishable by death. Capital punishment was also prescribed for all those who opposed his teachings, as well as for wine drinking, singing and unlawful sexual intercourse. Property was held in common and a communal pool of horses, military equipment etc. was maintained. All other sources took a less charitable view of ʿAbd

al-Nabī's politico-religious leanings. He is painted as a man of great evil, plundering and looting in a mad attempt to conquer the world. Rather than punish wine-drinkers, he was himself a drunkard, they inform us, and a womaniser into the bargain. Certainly, the Khāridjī label stuck and ʿAbd al-Nabī is depicted in Yemeni and non-Yemeni sources alike as a fanatic whose removal from power in the Yemen was of sufficient importance to Saladin in Egypt to bring about the Ayyūbid conquest under his brother, Tūrān-Shāh, in 569/1173. The causes of the Ayyūbid conquest were of course numerous and complex (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, ii, 31-49), but it is not beyond the realms of possibility that the presence of this "evil Khāridjī" in the Yemen did add weight to the argument in favour of bringing the Yemen under Ayyūbid control.

Bibliography: The earliest source of Mahdid activities is ʿUmāra's *Taʾrīkh*, found in H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaval history*, London 1882, with English translation: a whole section of chapter 3 of the present writer's *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, GMS, XXVI/2, London 1978, 56-62, with full references, is devoted to the Banū Mahdī, and the references to them in a section on the reasons for the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen is given in the text above; other important sources, mainly still in ms. form, for the Mahdid period are as follows: al-Djanadī, *al-Sulūk fī ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-mulūk*, Chester Beatty ms. 3110, i and ii; al-Khazradjī, *al-Kifāya wa 'l-iʿlām*, *etc.*, Leiden ms. 805, and *al-ʿIḳd al-fākhir al-ḥasan*, *etc.*, Cambridge U.L., ms. King's 72; ʿImad al-Dīn Idrīs, *Kanz al-akhyār fī maʿrifat al-siyar wa 'l-akhbār*, British Library ms. Or. 4581; Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās, *Fākihat al-zaman, etc.*, Rylands ms. 253; Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn fī akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, now published in 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, Cairo 1977; the late Zaydī chronicle of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, etc., ed. S. ʿA. F. Ashour, Cairo 1968, 2 vols., is occasionally of value; the principal non-Yemeni sources which mention the removal of ʿAbd al-Nabī as being a cause of the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen are Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, i, 552; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 261; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, i, 238; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 284, iv, 504; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 37. (G. R. SMITH)

AL-MAHDIYYA, formerly called AL-MAʿMŪRA, a town of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū (Sebou), built on a rocky promontory which dominates the valley of the river. Situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Gharb and 20 miles to the north-east of Salé (Salā), it enjoys a geographical position of the first importance. A port has been created here for ships of heavy tonnage, which cannot sail up the Wādī Sabū as far as the river port of Ḳnīṭra (al-Ḳunayṭira, Kénitra [see ḲANṬARA]) situated 6 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the river.

It is generally agreed that the site of al-Mahdiyya corresponds to that of one of the earliest Phoenician settlements founded by Hanno in the 5th century B.C. on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, sc. the factory of Thymiateria. Nothing is known of the later history of this foundation and we have to wait till the 4th/10th century to get the first mention in Arab writers of the town at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū under the names al-Maʿmūra ("the populated, the flourishing"), Ḥalḳ ("the mouth") al-Maʿmūra or Ḥalḳ Sabū. According to the chronicler Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayyanī, the modern town was founded by the short-lived dynasty of the Banū Ifran [*q.v.*] which settled on the Atlantic side of Morocco at the end of the 4th/10th century. In the second half of the 6th/12th, the Almohad sultan ʿAbd al-Muʾmin built there one of his dockyards for his navy (*dār al-ṣināʿa*). Later, down to the 10th/16th century, al-Maʿmūra's history is obscure; it was a small trading centre to which a few European ships came for the products of the country.

Al-Maʿmūra, when the Christians of the Iberian peninsula made their offensive against Morocco, was one of their first objectives; on 24 June 1515 a large Portuguese fleet anchored at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū and a landing force of 8,000 men occupied the town without a blow being struck. The Portuguese made themselves a strong base in al-Maʿmūra, built fortifications there, remains of which still exist, but they were only able to hold it for a short time. The Muslims drove the Christians out of al-Maʿmūra at the end of the same year, inflicting very heavy losses upon them.

Al-Maʿmūra re-enters history when at the end of the 10th/16th century it became a formidable nest of European pirates, who, under the leadership of an English captain, Mainwaring, practised piracy along the whole Atlantic coast and became a terror to the seafaring centres of Europe. This state of things was put an end to when Spain, which in 1610 had occupied the port of Larache (al-ʿArāʾish [*q.v.*]), a little farther north, made a landing at al-Maʿmūra in Radjab 1023/August 1614, after negotiations with the Moroccan ruler, the Saʿdid Mawlāy Zaydān. The town was taken and the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving a strong garrison of 1,500 men. The captured town was given the name of San Miguel de Ultramar.

The Spanish occupation of al-Maʿmūra was to last 67 years, during which it was several times fiercely attacked by the Muslims, particularly the "volunteers of the faith" (*mudjāhidūn*), who mobilised to drive the Christians from the various points on the coast where they had established themselves under the active leadership of the chief al-ʿAyyāshī of Salé. The principal attacks on San Miguel de Ultramar were delivered in 1628, 1630 and 1647. In 1092/1681, the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl laid siege to the town and finally took it by storm. He then gave it the name of al-Mahdiyya; the name of al-Maʿmūra only survived as that of the great forest of cork oaks which lies between Salé and the lower valley of the Wādī Sabū.

It may be noted that, for a few years at an earlier date, the name al-Mahdiyya had been borne in Morocco by the little military station founded by the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin on the site of the future Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (Rabat), on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Salā (the modern Wād Bū-Regreg). Al-Mahdiyya was occupied by French troops in 1911.

Fairly important remains survive at al-Mahdiyya, dating from the brief Portuguese occupation, the Spanish occupation or from the time when it was definitely retaken by the Muslims. Around the citadel (*ḳaṣba*) runs a continuous rampart with a ditch. These defences are entered by two gates; one, very massive and with two Arabic inscriptions, dates from the 11th/17th century. The other, a simple postern, dating from the Spanish occupation, opens on the steep slope which runs down to the sea. Inside are the ruins of the Muslim governor's palace of the 18th century. Between the foot of the citadel and the bank of the Wādī Sabū for a length of 200 m.

and a breadth of about 40 m. might still be seen buildings consisting of a series of square chambers completely isolated from one another and each protected by a double wall. These were probably granaries, which need not be earlier than the end of the 11th/17th century, and are not, as has been suggested, of the Phoenician period.

Bibliography: The Arabic historians of recent times (Zayyānī, Ḳādirī, Nāṣirī Salāwī, etc.), *passim*; H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, indices, *sub* El-Mamora; *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, Publication de la Mission scientifique du Maroc, *Rabat et sa région. i. Les villes avant la conquête*, Paris 1918, 268-79; R. Montagne, *Note sur la kasbah de Mehdiya*, in *Hespéris*, i (1921), 93-7.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-MAHDIYYA, a town in Tunisia which owes its name to its founder ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī (297-322/909-34 [*q.v.*]); situated on the coast 200 km. to the south of Tunis, it is the regional capital of a province of which the population, 218,000 inhabitants at the time of the 1975 census, is estimated in 1980 at 247,000. The population of the town, numbering 12,000 inhabitants in 1905, has grown steadily to 14,937 (1946 census), 18,494 (1956) and 21,788 (1966).

Foundation.

The creation of al-Mahdiyya by the Fāṭimids responded to a need which had already made itself felt since the end of the previous epoch, that of the Aghlabids. The last *amīr*s of this dynasty had in fact left Kairouan (al-Ḳayrawān) for Tunis. When prospecting along the coast beyond Tunis, which did not attract his choice, in the search for the site to be selected for the creation of his new capital, the Ismāʿīli Shīʿī Mahdī followed the same motivations, with the additional concern of security. A *post eventum* prediction has him prophesying the insurrection of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*], the violent thrust of which was broken only by the ramparts of al-Mahdiyya, and thus gives a hagiographical explanation of its foundation. In fact, besides considerations of prestige and the constant concern of founders of dynasties throughout Muslim history to mark the new order through the creation of a new capital, the preoccupations of the Mahdī were more immediate: to build defences, at a good distance and in a secure place, against an eventual assault by Sunnīs implacably hostile to the Shīʿīs, a storm whose epicentre could be nowhere other than Kairouan. The Khāridjī menace was at that time less predictable.

The chosen site offered ideal security safeguards for a dynasty possessing a powerful navy, this being inherited from the Aghlabids. Built on a spur projecting some 1,400 m. into the sea, and approached by "a road narrow as a shoe-lace" (al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, partial ed.-tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 17), the town was impregnable from the land, which explains the choice of ʿUbayd Allāh who, after the failure of his attempted invasions of Egypt, was obliged to secure his bases, for an indefinite duration, in Ifrīḳiya.

Numerous written and archeological sources indicate that ancient settlements, Punic and Roman, preceded the Fāṭimid occupation of the region. Arabic texts preserve the memory of Djumma, usually identified with the ancient Gummi. But there is nothing to suggest that the peninsula itself had been "occupied by an urban settlement before the 4th/10th century" (A. Lézine, *Mahdia*, Paris 1965, 17). ʿUbayd Allāh thus chose to build, in 300/912-13 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 169), on a virgin site and, the work completed, he inaugurated his new capital on 8 Shawwāl 308/20 February 921 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 184; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. W. al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1970, 275, ed. F. Dachraoui, Tunis 1975, 372-8).

A city of refuge, al-Mahdiyya was surrounded by a defensive wall of unusual thickness (8.30 m.), which followed the coast and of which a long section to the north is still recognisable. A rampart 175 m. in length barred the entrance to the isthmus, and was preceded, at a distance of 40 m., by an outer wall. Access to the town was gained by means of an iron gate decorated with bronze lions, leading through a domed vestibule 35 m. long by 5.10 m. broad. Only this vestibule, known as *al-Saḳīfa al-Kaḥla*, is still today entirely upright. The new capital comprised a palace for the Mahdī and another for his son and successor al-Ḳāʾim, administrative buildings, subterranean storehouses for cereals, wells, cisterns, and one mosque which, eroded by the sea and disfigured by extraneous constructions, fell into ruin; recently—in the 1960s—it has been completely restored to its original state under the direction of A. Lézine. The town was also equipped with an arsenal and, on the southern side, a fortified and sheltered inland port, a port which, although not necessarily a reconstructed ancient installation, as might be supposed, was probably designed on the model of a Carthaginian harbour.

History.

A royal town and a citadel, al-Mahdiyya was never heavily populated, being limited by its narrow intra-mural space. The bulk of the population resided in the suburb of Zawīla, which was also the commercial sector. Al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/934-46) encircled this suburb with a ditch. In 332/943 there broke out the revolt of the Nukkārī Khāridjī Abū Yazīd, nicknamed the "Man on the Donkey." The latter, having stormed Kairouan, laid siege to al-Mahdiyya (Djumādā II 333—Ṣafar 334/January-October 945), its ramparts saving the Fāṭimids from a defeat which seemed certain. After the final suppression of the revolt, Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr (334-41/946-53) nevertheless abandoned the town, which thus lost its capital status, and moved, towards the end of Ṣafar 337/September 948, to his new residence of al-Manṣūriyya, built in the outskirts of Kairouan "on the very site of his victory over the Man on the Donkey" (F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb*, Tunis 1981, 217).

Al-Mahdiyya regained its role as capital, for the last time, as a result of the Hilālian invasion which forced the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs to take refuge there (27 Shaʿbān 449/29 October 1057). It became, from this time onward, a capital under threat, and danger also came from the sea. In 480/1087 "Pisans and Genoans conquered Mahdia and Zawila, which they pillaged and burned" (H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, Paris 1962, i, 288). In 517/1123, the town was attacked, unsuccessfully, by the Normans. In 529/1134, it was subjected to a sea and land assault by the Ḥammādids. Finally, with the treaty of 536/1140-1, the Normans of Sicily imposed harsh conditions on the town, a prelude to its seizure by Roger II (2 Ṣafar 543/22 June 1148), which marked the end of the Zīrid dynasty.

Blockaded, from 12 Radjab 554/30 July 1159,

by sea and land by the fleet and army of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī, the Normans were forced to capitulate 10 Muḥarram 555/21 January 1160, and al-Mahdiyya was ruled by an Almohad governor. Four decades later, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Radjrādjī al-Kūmī—of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin—allied himself with the Banū Ghāniya, declared himself independent at the beginning of the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1213), and took the title of al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh. In 602/1205, the town was recaptured, along with the whole of Ifrīḳiya, by the caliph, who restored its fortifications.

Under the reign of the Ḥafṣids, during the years 658 and 686/1286 and 1287, numerous towns in the Sahel, including al-Mahdiyya, were sacked by the Admiral Roger of Lauria, acting on behalf of the Aragonese. Then, from 718 to 723/1318-23, Abū Ḍarba, a son of Ibn al-Liḥyānī, ruled the town as an independent possession. In 739/1338-9, al-Mahdiyya was recaptured from the hands of a certain Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār who had taken possession of it, and in *ca.* 761/1360 its fortifications were again restored by the Ḥafṣid minister Ibn Tafrādjīn. In 1390, between 20 July and 20 September, it was subjected to attack by a veritable crusade conducted by the Genoese with support from French and English knights. The town resisted, but was obliged to pay tribute to have the siege raised.

At the end of the reign of the Ḥafṣids, the town was the object of bitter contention between the Turks and the Spanish. The latter besieged it in 1509, then established a garrison there in 1539 after the capture of Tunis by Charles V. But Dragut took possession of it the following year. Temporarily driven from the town, he returned and remained in control until 8 September 1550, on which date the admiral Andrea Doria captured the place on behalf of Charles V, who destroyed the town's defences in 1554 before abandoning it.

In 1689 there was an outbreak of plague in the city, and in 1740 it was deserted by its population, a population severely punished by ʿAlī Pasha for its loyalty to his uncle. In 1848, the Christian population of the city was judged sufficiently important to justify the creation of a parish. In 1856, an outbreak of cholera claimed many victims. In spite of its cautious stance during the uprising of 1864, incited by the doubling of the *mejba* tax, "Mahdia, a city without defences, was pillaged on 25 April by the neighbouring villagers" (J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 228), and was ruined, as was the whole of the Sahel, by the combined effects of the expedition of Zarrouk and the depredations of creditors and usurers.

After the establishment of the Protectorate, al-Mahdiyya was endowed with its first French school in 1884, became a judicial seat in 1885, and was not slow to participate actively in the nationalist movement. On 6 August 1920, a demonstration against the cost of living developed into a riot; on 21 March 1925, the city responded to the call for a general strike demanded throughout the country by the Destour in protest against reforms which were judged insufficient; and from 18 to 20 April 1933, again at the behest of the Destour, there were new demonstrations against the burial in Muslim cemeteries of naturalised French Tunisians.

The urban development of al-Mahdiyya naturally corresponded to the fluctuations in its history. The suburb of Zawīla, obliterated by the Hilālian assault, was rebuilt in *ca.* 597/1200, and in the same period, a little further to the north-west, there is the first mention of the village of Hibūn. Then from the 16th century onward, the character of the town was changed completely as a result of the ethnic element introduced by Turkish garrisons, with the additional influx, after 1609, of Moors driven out of Spain. Today, 60% of the urban population of al-Mahdiyya is composed of descendants of Kouloughlis [see Ḳul-oghlu], representing, in this respect, the highest proportion in Tunisia, with perceptible effects on names and customs.

The two principal riches of al-Mahdiyya consist of olive-growing and fisheries. The cotton plantations, mentioned in the 18th and 19th centuries (Lucette Valensi, *Fellahs tunisiens* ..., Lille 1975, 219), have today disappeared. Industries associated with olive-growing and fisheries—the sardine industry in particular—have on the contrary undergone large-scale expansion, and activities such as oil-extraction, refining, soap manufacture and the canning of food, etc., are flourishing.

The city has today overflowed its original isthmus and is developing along two arterial axes: towards Sfax, and especially in the direction of Sousse. Its leading literary figures, dating from the early Ḥafṣid era, are two poets, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ḳaysī, known by the name of Ibn ʿUrayba (d. 659/1260), and Ibn al-Simāt (d. 690/1291). Also worthy of mention, from the point of view of Ṣūfism, is the *ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] al-Dahmānī (d. 621/1224), a disciple of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Waraḳāt (Feuillets)*, Tunis 1972, iii, 355-87; T. Bachrouch, *Formation sociale barbaresque et pouvoir à Tunis au XVII^e siècle*, Tunis 1977, 34, 154; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940-7, index; Kh. Chater, *La Mehalla de Zarrouk au Sahel (1864)*, Tunis 1978; J. Despois, *La Tunisie Orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe*, Paris 1955, index; E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952, index; T. Guiga, *Dorgouth Rais*, Tunis 1974, 67-81; M. Jedidi, *La croissance urbaine dans le Sahel tunisien*, in *Revue de Géographie*, iv (Tunis 1979), 41-59; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, index; Ali Mahjoubi, *Les origines du mouvement national en Tunisie (1904-1934)*, Tunis 1982, index; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1955; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, Paris 1965, index; A. Masmoudi, *Les fonctions urbaines de Mahdia*, Paris I doctoral thesis, in press at Tunis; S. M. Zbiss, *Mahdia et Ṣabra-Manṣoûriya*, in *JA* (1956), 79-93; the work of T. al-Faḳīh, *al-Mahdiyya ʿabra al-taʾrīkh*, Tunis 1979, is valueless. The sources are virtually those for the whole of mediaeval Ifrīḳiya and modern Tunisia, which are referred to in the above studies. Add to these al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, ed. H. Féki, I. Chabbouh et M. Yalaoui, Tunis 1978, index. (M. Talbi)

al-**MAHDIYYA**, a movement in the Egyptian Sudan, launched in 1881 by Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (Muḥammad al-Mahdī) for the reform of Islam. It had from the outset a political and revolutionary character, being directed against the Turco-Egyptian régime (*al-Turkiyya*), which it overthrew, establishing a territorial state. Under the Mahdī's successsor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh [see ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Taʿāʾishī, and Khalīfa. iv], this developed essentially into a traditional Islamic monarchy until its existence was

terminated by the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest (1896-8).

1. Mahdist antecedents. Only one previous mahdist claimant seems to have originated in the Nilotic Sudan before the *Turkiyya*, a 17th-century Ṣūfī ascetic, Ḥamad al-Naḥlān alias Wad al-Turābī. His claim was rejected by the Fundj [*q.v.*] king of Sinnār, Bādī II. He is represented as clashing with the tax-gatherers of Bādī III (cf. S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 174-93). The immediate antecedents of the Sudanese Mahdiyya are to be found in a mood of eschatological expectation, which appears first in Egypt in the late 18th and 19th centuries, reflecting the popular consciousness that traditional Islamic society was threatened both by infidels from without and despots within. Mahdist expectations were thus attached to Djezā'irli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] during his expedition against the duumvirate of Ibrāhīm Bey [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey (Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 114), while an insurrection against the French in 1799 was headed by a mahdist claimant of Maghribī origin (*ʿAdjāʾib*, iii, 58). A revolt in Upper Egypt against Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in 1822-3 was led by another mahdist claimant (ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv, 76). A manifesto against the Sudanese Mahdī mentions a predecessor in Khartoum (al-Khurṭūm [*q.v.*]), Ibrāhīm al-Sūdānī, of whom nothing further is known (Shuḳayr, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, iii, 379): the name suggests a person of southern Sudanese origin. The Sudanese Mahdiyya was thus the latest and most successful of a cluster of mahdist movements which, while formally presenting themselves in religious terms, had markedly social and political aims.

2. The revolutionary situation in the Egyptian Sudan. During the sixty years preceding the outbreak of the Mahdiyya, profound changes had affected the traditional society and Islam of the Nilotic Sudan, culminating in a revolutionary situation. Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's conquests (1820-1) ended the independence of numerous sedentary and nomadic groups. His establishment of a centralised and autocratic administrative system with its unaccustomed fiscal burdens (undoubtedly aggravated by corruption and extortion) had a traumatic effect. Moreover, the demands of modernisation in Egypt meant that the officials in the Sudan were rarely of high quality or integrity.

One group whose political and social status declined under the *Turkiyya* was that of the indigenous men of religion (sing. *fakī* < *faḳīh*), who during the previous three centuries had fulfilled a range of functions as teachers of the Ḳurʾān and *Sharīʿa*, Ṣūfī leaders, arbitrators, and intercessors with the rulers. The establishment of an orthodox hierarchy of *ʿulamāʾ*, serving in government mosques, and integrated into the judicial system, created a rival group of religious leaders. Although individual members of the old *fakī* families took advantage of the greater opportunities to study at al-Azhar and enter the official hierarchy, there remained a fundamental incompatibility between the *fakī*s and the government-supported *ʿulamaʾ*, whom the Mahdī was to designate *ʿulamāʾ al-sūʾ*.

Developments in the two decades preceding the Mahdiyya heightened the tension between the *Turkiyya* and the inhabitants of the Egyptian Sudan. The vigorous autocracy of Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-79) [*q.v.*] made the power of government felt once more after the comparative laxity which had begun in Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's last years and continued under his successors. The former sultanate of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] was annexed in 1874. Since the middle of the century, traders seeking ivory and slaves had thrust into unexplored regions far up the White Nile and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], outside the Muslim and arabised northern Sudan, and completely beyond the control of the Turco-Egyptian officials. The slave-trade that was fed from these regions was a scandal to Europe. To bring the south and west under his administration, and thereby to suppress the slave-trade, was a principal aim of the khedive.

The implementation of this policy would in any event have antagonised vested interests, particularly the diaspora of northern Sudanese, the Danāḳla and Djaʿaliyyūn [*q.v.*], who were involved in the slave-trade, and who ranged from petty dealers (*djallāba*) to merchant-princes such as al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr, the master of the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl and the conqueror of Dār Fūr. The situation was rendered more critical by the khedive's recruitment of Europeans and Americans to carry out his plans; this employment of Christians in high office shocked the conservative piety of the Sudanese. Chief among these expatriates was the British officer Charles George Gordon (cf. Bernard M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, London 1931), who as governor of the Equatorial province (1873-6) and governor-general of the Sudan (1877-9) played a leading part in the attempts to establish khedivial administration in the south and to suppress the slave-trade. With their inadequate resources, Gordon and his colleagues attained only limited success. The deposition of Ismāʿīl (June 1879) was followed by Gordon's withdrawal, and the comparative feebleness of their successors in Cairo and Khartoum facilitated the drift towards insurrection in the Sudanese provinces.

3. The early career of Muḥammad al-Mahdī (1844-81). Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh was born in 1844 in the province of Dongola [*q.v.*]. His father was a boat-builder, and when Muḥammad Aḥmad was a child the family moved to Kararī on the Nile, a few miles north of Khartoum, where there was an adequate supply of timber. After their father's death, Muḥammad Aḥmad's brothers followed his trade, but he himself underwent a traditional religious education within the Egyptian Sudan. He early showed a propensity towards asceticism and Ṣūfism, and in 1861 he attached himself to Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dāʾim, the grandson of the founder of the Sammāniyya *ṭarīḳa* in the Sudan. When his brothers moved for timber to Abā island in the White Nile, he accompanied them, and from 1870 made his headquarters there. His pious reputation gained him many followers, a development which was the probable cause of a breach with Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf, in consequence of which Muḥammad Aḥmad attached himself to a rival leader of the Sammāniyya, Shaykh al-Ḳurashī wad al-Zayn (d. 1878). In 1881 he was joined by the man who was to become his most intimate disciple and his successor as head of the Mahdist state, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], who came from the Taʿāʾisha Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*], cattle-Arabs of Dār Fūr. A mahdist expectation was abroad in the Egyptian Sudan, and was shared by Muḥammad Aḥmad himself. There was evidence of it in Kordofan (Kurdufān) [*q.v.*], which he visited about his time. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad had, some years previously, saluted al-Zubayr Raḥma as *mahdī* —a role which the conqueror of Dār Fūr declined. It is probable that ʿAbd Allāh played a decisive part in the spiritual crisis of which the outcome was Muḥammad Aḥmad's claim to be the Expected

Mahdī. This was first secretly communicated to his disciples at Abā (March 1881), and then to other adherents during a second visit to Kordofan. The public manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of the Mahdī took place on 29 June 1881. Letters were sent to various notables urging them to rally to him, and he announced his divine mission in a telegram to the governor-general.

While the Mahdiyya had in its origins many characteristics of a movement of social and political protest, these aspects were subsumed in the founder's primary aim: the reform of Islam, encompassing both the cult and the society. Like previous reformers, notably Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], he envisaged the restoration of the primitive Islamic *umma* governed by the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. Unlike Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, however, Muḥammad Aḥmad was deeply impregnated by the emotional and imaginative quality of Ṣūfism. He saw his movement not merely as the revival of Islam, but as the recapitulation of the life and order of the primitive *umma*: a divinely ordained correspondence between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*. He presented himself as appointed to the supreme succession (*al-k͟hilāfa al-kubrā*) as Successor of the Apostle of God (*K͟halīfat Rasūl Allāh*), while his leading disciples were the successors of the Rightly-guided Caliphs. Three of these were appointed soon after the Manifestation. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad's status was recognised in his title of *K͟halīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ*, i.e. the successor of Abū Bakr. An early follower, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū (ʿAlī wad Ḥilū) was appointed the successor of ʿUmar (*K͟halīfat al-Fārūḳ*), and the Mahdī's young son-in-law, Muḥammad S͟harīf b. Ḥāmid, was appropriately named the successor of ʿAlī (*K͟halīfat al-Karrār*). The appointment of successor of ʿUt͟hmān was offered to the contemporary head of the Sanūsiyya, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose co-operation Muḥammad Aḥmad was anxious to obtain, but the offer, made in May 1883, was ignored. By another parallelism with the Prophet, the Mahdī styled his followers Anṣār.

The official *ʿulamāʾ* endeavoured to confute the mahdist claims of Muḥammad Aḥmad by stating the orthodox Sunnī doctrine of the *mahdī* and demonstrating Muḥammad Aḥmad's failure to conform to the criteria laid down in *Ḥadīt͟h*. He defended his position by reasserting his divine election, conveyed in a colloquy (*ḥaḍra*) by the Prophet. At the same time, he emphasised where possible points of conformity with *Ḥadīt͟h*. Thus he adapted his name to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, emphasised his descent from the Prophet, and changed the name of his rendez-vous in Kordofan from D͟jabal Ḳadīr to Māssa.

4. **The Mahdī's *hid͟jra* and *d͟jihād*** (1881-5). The authorities at first underestimated the Mahdī's challenge, but when a small military expedition sent to arrest him was routed (August 1881), the matter was taken seriously. The Mahdī and his Anṣār meanwhile made a withdrawal (the *hid͟jra*) to D͟jabal Ḳadīr in the Nūba Mountains. The remoteness of this place rendered military operations by the government difficult (two expeditions were defeated in December 1881 and May 1882), while it formed an appropriate base for attacks on government positions in Kordofan. From southern Kordofan and Dār Fūr the Mahdī could draw on a vast reserve of Baḳḳāra tribesmen, whose propensity to raiding found a sanctified outlet in this warfare. Since the Mahdī regarded only those who accepted his mission as true Muslims, such fighting was designated *d͟jihād* [*q.v.*]. The government troops were, however, capable of prolonged resistance in fortified positions, and an attempt to storm the provincial capital El Obeid (al-Ubayyiḍ) on 8 September 1882 was a failure. Henceforward the Mahdī relied upon siege-tactics, and the tribal forces were supplemented with a corps known as the *d͟jihādiyya*, largely recruited from captured government troops of southern Sudanese origin. They were provided with firearms, which the Mahdī was anxious to keep out of the hands of the undisciplined tribal warriors.

The surrender of El Obeid (19 January 1883) gave the Mahdī an administrative centre, and Kordofan formed the nucleus of a territorial Mahdist state. In the meantime, khedivial control had been further weakened by the British occupation of Egypt (September 1882) and the reluctance of the British government to undertake commitments in the Sudan. An Egyptian expeditionary force was, however, organised with Col. William Hicks, a retired Indian Army officer, as chief of staff. Advancing through difficult country from the White Nile into Kordofan, it was annihilated by the Anṣār at S͟haykān (5 November 1883). The Mahdī was now the master of the west. Dār Fūr and Baḥr al-G͟hazāl were surrendered by their European governors in December 1883 and April 1884 respectively. Meanwhile, ʿUt͟hmān Diḳna (Osman Digna), from a mercantile family of Suakin (Sawākin) had been sent (May 1883) to raise the Bed͟ja [*q.v.*] of the Red Sea hills, a mission in which he was largely successful through the support of an influential *faki*, S͟hayk͟h al-Ṭāhir al-Mad͟jd͟hūb, so that by the end of February 1884 only Suakin itself remained in Egyptian hands.

Khartoum and the riverain areas to the north were now threatened. At this juncture, Gordon was sent out by the British government, primarily to report on the military situation, but he was also appointed (at his own request) governor-general by the khedive. Arriving at Khartoum (February 1884), he produced a succession of plans for the future of the Sudan while the Anṣār closed in on the city. ʿUt͟hmān Diḳna's successes closed the route from the Red Sea to the Nile, while the fall of Berber [*q.v.*] to an army of Anṣār (May 1884) cut the river line to Egypt. Military pressure on Khartoum itself was increasing, and between April and October 1884 the Mahdī brought up his main forces from El Obeid to Omdurman (Umm Durmān) opposite the capital. Weakened by siege, the city fell on 25 January 1885, Gordon being killed in the fighting.

The fall of Khartoum marked for all practical purposes the end of the Mahdī's *d͟jihād*. He was now the ruler of the chief provinces of the Egyptian Sudan from Dongola to Baḥr al-G͟hazāl, and from the Red Sea to Dār Fūr. He ordered the evacuation of Khartoum, and made his own capital at Omdurman, where he died after a short illness (22 June 1885).

5. **The rule of the K͟halīfa ʿAbd Allāh** (1885-98). The Mahdī's death confronted the Anṣār with two problems, one practical, the other ideological. First, who was to take the Mahdī's place as ruler of the nascent state? Secondly, how was the Mahdī's death to be explained, since he had claimed a universal mission to restore Islam, but had achieved only a conquest within the boundaries of the Egyptian Sudan? The problem of the succession was in appearance quickly solved when a council of notables in the Mahdī's house immediately after his death gave their allegiance (*bayʿa*) to ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. Already in the critical period of political development following the fall of El Obeid, the Mahdī had conferred plenary powers on ʿAbd Allāh,

so that he was henceforward the deputy of the Mahdī (*khalīfat al-Mahdī*), although he did not use this title until after the Mahdī's death. He was, furthermore, the commander of the largest body of tribal warriors concentrated in Omdurman. His political and military pre-eminence was recognised in his election as the Mahdī's successor. This event suggested how the ideological problem arising from the Mahdī's death could be handled. A proclamation stressed the parallel between the succession of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ to the Prophet and that of *Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ* to the Mahdī, and urged the Anṣār to follow the example of the early Muslims, who had fought for their faith after the Prophet's death. There was other propaganda, much of it of a visionary or mystical nature, to legitimise ʿAbd Allāh's succession.

His position was not, however, uncontested. *Khalīfat al-Karrār* Muḥammad Sharīf was the ostensible leader of the Ashrāf (i.e. the kinsmen of the Mahdī), a group whose overweening pretensions the Mahdī himself had rejected in his last days. The Ashrāf were the élite of the sedentaries from the northern riverain areas and their diaspora, known as *awlād al-balad* [*q.v.*]. This comparatively sophisticated group had little in common with the Baḳḳāra tribal warriors, whose ascendancy was assured by the accession of the Khalīfa. Within twelve months he had defeated a conspiracy hatched by the Ashrāf in Omdurman and their kinsman Muḥammad Khālid, the governor of Dār Fūr. The Khalīfa's fellow-tribesmen or their clients replaced the Mahdī's appointees in the provincial governorships, with the exception of ʿUthmān Diḳna, who was essential to handle the Bedja. In 1888-9 the Khalīfa enforced a mass emigration of the Taʿāʾisha, who were settled in Omdurman and its vicinity. Although *awlād al-balad* continued to be indispensable in the civil service and judiciary of the Mahdist state, they had lost political power, and a dangerous rift opened between them and the ruling Baḳḳāra.

Having established his authority, the Khalīfa sought to fulfil the programme of conquest which had been cut shortly by the Mahdī's death. The *djihād* was actively pursued for several years at heavy cost to a people suffering from the effects of the revolutionary war and population movements. The Christian kingdom of Ethiopia under John IV was a principal theatre of the *djihād*, although the fighting should be seen in the historical context of conflicts going back to the Fundj period. A successful raid by Ḥamdān Abū ʿAndja, one of the Khalīfa's clients, penetrated to Gondar (January 1888), and took booty and slaves, while in the following year (after Abū ʿAndja's death) King John was killed in battle at al-Ḳallābāt (March 1889), a victory which was widely publicised by the Khalīfa. These were however incidents in border-warfare, resulting in no significant territorial gains.

The second main objective of the *djihād* was Egypt, now firmly under British military and political direction. An invasion had been planned before the Mahdī's death, the Djaʿalī general ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nudjūmī being its intended commander. The project hung fire for several years, although al-Nudjūmī made his headquarters at al-ʿUrḍī (New Dongola) in Nov. 1886. The Khalīfa's mistrust of *awlād al-balad* led to encroachments on al-Nudjūmī's command, which he was compelled to share with a Taʿāʾishī. In the summer of 1889 the Mahdist force at last advanced on Egypt, but on 3 August was annihilated at Toski (Ṭūshkī), north of Wādī Ḥalfā, al-Nudjūmī himself being killed in the fighting. There was no further attempt at invasion, although there were raids, sometimes serious, into Egyptian-held territory.

A similar stalemate developed in the west and south. The Fūr had never been reconciled to the recent loss of their independence, and after the withdrawal of Muḥammad Khālid, a member of the old royal clan sought to re-establish the sultanate (1887). He was overthrown by the new governor, ʿUthmān Ādam alias Djānū, a young kinsman of the Khalīfa, who in the following year suppressed a still more dangerous revolt. This was headed by a charismatic leader known as Abū Djummayza, who claimed the vacant position of successor of ʿUthmān. Abū Djummayza's death from smallpox somewhat relieved the position of the Anṣār, who defeated the insurgents outside El Fasher (al-Fāshir [*q.v.*]), the provincial capital (February 1889). Djānū showed himself to be a competent governor, but on his early death (September 1890), the combined provinces of Dār Fūr and Kordofan passed into the less capable management of another of the Khalīfa's kinsmen, Maḥmūd Aḥmad.

The pagan southern regions, so recently brought under the khedivial administration, were never integrated into the Mahdist state. Although (as mentioned above) Baḥr al-Ghazāl had fallen in 1884, its governor Karam Allāh Muḥammad Kurḳusāwī, a Dunḳulāwī trader by origin, withdrew his troops in October 1885 to fight the Rizayḳāt Baḳḳāra of Dār Fūr. Thereafter, Baḥr al-Ghazāl drifted out of Mahdist control. The Equatorial province was even more remote from the centre of the Mahdiyya. Its governor since 1878 had been Emīn Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer, of Silesian Jewish origin, and the last of Khedive Ismāʿīl's expatriate officials), who in spite of mutiny and two Mahdist invasions (1885, 1888) held out until forcibly rescued by H. M. Stanley (1889). The second invading force, however, established a garrison at al-Radjdjāf, which maintained sporadic contact with Omdurman by steamer. The Mahdists held little more than the river line, and their position was challenged by former government troops, who had refused to be evacuated by Stanley, and who were led by Faḍl al-Mawlā Muḥammad, an officer of southern Sudanese origin. Al-Radjdjāf became a place of banishment for political and other prisoners.

The year 1889 marks the end of the militant phase of the Mahdiyya. The following period saw the stabilisation of the Khalīfa's autocracy within a territorial state limited for all practical purposes to the Muslim and arabised regions of the northern Sudan. A factor in the decline of militancy was the great famine of 1888-90, the effects of which were aggravated by the migration of the Taʿāʾisha to Omdurman. For the second time, the Khalīfa's authority was challenged by a revolt of the Ashrāf in Omdurman under the leadership of Muḥammad Sharīf (November 1891). After some desultory firing and a few casualities, a formal reconciliation was effected by *Khalīfat al-Fārūḳ* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū on terms advantageous to the Ashrāf. The danger once past, the Khalīfa proceeded to destroy his opponents piecemeal. Muḥammad Sharīf himself was arrested in March 1892, and sentenced to imprisonment by a special tribunal. Thereafter the Khalīfa's autocracy was unchallenged. His only intimates in matters of government were his half-brother Yaʿḳūb, who acted as his *wazīr* (but without the title), and his son ʿUthmān, who about this time received the honorific

of *Shaykh al-Dīn*, and was trained for the eventual succession.

While the Khalīfa thus strengthened his position internally, there was increasing European pressure on the frontiers of the Mahdist state. Suakin, which alone among the garrisons of the Red Sea area had not fallen to ʿUthmān Diḳna, formed the base for a campaign against the local Anṣār after the Anglo-Egyptian victory at Toski. The operations, early in 1891, culminated in the capture of ʿUthmān Diḳna's headquarters at Tokar (Tūkar) in Feb. 1891. Although still a nuisance, he was no longer a threat to the Anglo-Egyptian forces in the vicinity. In the previous year Eritrea had been constituted an Italian colony. A Mahdist raid into the territory was routed (December 1893), and in July 1894 the Italians with the prior agreement of the British government occupied Kasala [*q.v.*]. The loss of this important strategic position was even more serious than that of Tokar, but in spite of making a threatening demonstration in Omdurman, the Khalīfa did not take the offensive. The Italian presence in Eritrea was equally threatening to Menelik II, who had emerged as the ruler of Ethiopia after the death of John IV. In 1895 he sought to establish friendly relations with the Khalīfa, but his overtures were repulsed. He repeated them in 1896 after his victory over the Italians at Adowa, and further embassies were received in Omdurman in 1897 and 1898, but no practical military or political co-operation resulted.

A more remote European danger appeared in the far south, when Belgian expeditions from the Congo Free State began to advance towards the Upper Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl. In 1892 Faḍl al-Mawlā Muḥammad and his followers entered the service of the Congo Free State, he himself being recognised as the governor of the Equatorial province. In the following year, a Mahdist force was sent to strengthen the garrison at al-Radjdjāf. Its commander, ʿArabī Dafaʿ Allāh defeated and killed Faḍl al-Mawlā (January 1894), and combated the Belgians with some success. His isolated position and precarious communications with Omdurman were, however, insuperable difficulties, and in February 1897 he lost al-Radjdjāf to a Belgian force.

By his time the final assault on the Mahdist state was developing. In March 1896 the British government authorised an advance by the Egyptian army into the Mahdist province of Dongola. While the pretext for the invasion was afforded by the Italian defeat at Adowa, the real reasons lie in British foreign policy and the international situation at the time (see G. N. Sanderson, *England, Europe and the Upper Nile, 1882-1899*, Edinburgh 1965). The Egyptian expeditionary force, commanded by Sir H. H. Kitchener, constructed a railway as it advanced up the Nile from Wādī Ḥalfā. By the end of September 1896 the province was completely occupied. In the following year, Kitchener was authorised to make a further advance. A second railway was constructed across the Nubian desert, reaching the Nile at Abū Ḥamad, and was extended southwards as the Anglo-Egyptian force advanced. Warned by the loss of Dongola, the Khalīfa summoned Maḥmūd Aḥmad with the bulk of his forces from the west to defend the approaches to Omdurman. He proved to be an irresolute commander, lacking in all initiative. His base was al-Matamma [*q.v.*] in Djaʿalī territory. Its inhabitants refused to evacuate their town, which Maḥmūd Aḥmad took by force of arms—an incident which confirmed the hatred of *awlād al-balad* for the Taʿāʾisha. Once established there, Maḥmūd Aḥmad was reluctant to move northwards to confront the invaders, who were steadily advancing along the river-line. Abū Ḥamad fell in August 1897, and the important route-centre of Berber was evacuated in the same month. Maḥmūd Aḥmad, faced with increasing desertions and shortage of supplies, was ultimately goaded to advance. His army (augmented by troops brought in by ʿUthmān Diḳna) was overwhelmed on 8 April 1896 at the battle of the Atbara [*q.v.*], and he himself was taken prisoner. The Anglo-Egyptian advance continued, and the Mahdist state received its death-blow at the battle of Karrarī, often called the battle of Omdurman (2 September 1898). Yaʿḳūb died in the fighting but the Khalīfa escaped, and remained a fugitive for over a year. Finally, he and a handful of Anṣār were defeated by Sir Reginald Wingate in a skirmish (24 November 1899) at Umm Diwaykarāt on the White Nile, in which he was killed. ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn was made prisoner, and died in the following year.

6. Institutions of the Mahdiyya. The rapid development of the Mahdiyya into an armed rebellion, then into a territorial state, necessitated the improvisation first of a command-structure, and secondly of an administrative system. During the lifetime of the Mahdī, the key position in both these respects was occupied by the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh. He commanded the Black Flag (*al-Rāya al-Zarḳāʾ*), the largest of the three divisions of the army, consisting of the western Baḳḳāra tribesmen, and in addition he held the title of *amīr djuyūsh al-Mahdiyya*, implying an oversight of the fighting forces as a whole. His two colleagues commanded smaller divisions, the Khalīfa ʿAlī the Green Flag (*al-Rāya al-Khaḍrāʾ*) composed of Baḳḳāra from Kordofan and the White Nile, and the Khalīfa Muḥammad Sharīf the Red Flag recruited from *awlād al-balad*. As previously mentioned, the Mahdī conferred plenary powers on the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh in January 1883. The title of *amīr* was held by subordinate officers, who in the early stages of the Mahdiyya had commanded virtually autonomous tribal or local contingents. In May 1884 the Mahdī ordered this term to be discontinued, probably because of its overtones of worldly rank, and substituted *ʿāmil*, but *amīr* has remained in popular usage until the present. With the emergence of a territorial state, the chief officers became military governors of provinces (sing. *imāra*, later *ʿimāla*).

The successes won in the *djihād* made the establishment of a financial system urgently necessary, since the Mahdī had constant difficulty in preventing the tribesmen from appropriating the booty. A treasury (*bayt al-māl*) had probably been organised at Ḳadīr, and after the fall of El Obeid, the Mahdī formally appointed his friend Aḥmad Sulaymān as its commissioner (*amīn bayt al-māl*). The sources of revenue at this time were two: booty (*ghanīma*) and a levy of grain and cattle, to which the term *zakāt* was applied. As under the *Turkiyya*, Ottoman, Egyptian, Austrian and Spanish coins were in circulation. After the taking of Khartoum, the Mahdī minted gold pounds and silver dollars. He was the first Sudanese ruler to exercise this prerogative.

Although the Mahdī envisaged a restoration of the primitive Islamic *umma*, he soon found himself obliged to give judicial decisions and to promulgate administrative regulations which were in effect legislative acts. Many of these resulted from the revolutionary war, e.g. rulings concerning broken marriages and irregular unions, and questions of

landownership. Undesirable customs regarded as repugnant to Islam were prohibited. The Mahdī's judicial functions were widely delegated to his officials, and one specifically judicial officer was appointed with the title *ḳāḍī al-Islām*. Aḥmad ʿAlī, who held this post for twelve years (1882-94), had been a judge in Dār Fūr under the *Turkiyya*.

These military and administrative institutions developed further during the reign of the Khalīfa. A detachment of the *djihādiyya*, the regular corps first formed during the siege of El Obeid, was stationed in the Kāra, i.e. Fort Omdurman of the *Turkiyya*. After the revolt of the Ashrāf in 1891 the Khalīfa felt the need of a reliable bodyguard. This was created by expanding a corps of orderlies, the *mulāzimiyya*. By 1895 it consisted of 9,000 or more troops under the general command of ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn. A civil service, recruited chiefly from *awlād al-balad* and Copts, staffed the departments and treasuries of the capital and the provinces. Many of its members had occupied similar posts under the *Turkiyya*; some went on to serve the Condominium. Already in the Mahdī's time a regular chancery procedure had been established, and the surviving archives of the Mahdiyya as a whole have been estimated at 50,000 pieces. The bulk of them are now in the Central Records Office in Khartoum (see P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist archives and related documents*, in *Archives*, v/28 [1962], 193-200). Despatches were sometimes exchanged almost daily between the ruler and his provincial governors. The provinces fell into two categories; an outer circle under military governors with their own fiscal and judicial establishments and garrison troops, and a core of metropolitan provinces, which were fiscal areas rather than administrative units, and were tributary to the treasury in Omdurman.

The history of the office of *amīn bayt al-māl* illustrates both the institutional elaboration and the increasing autocracy of the Khalīfa's reign. Aḥmad Sulaymān, the first *amīn*, was a partisan of the Ashrāf, and was disgraced in April 1886. His successor, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad ʿAdlān, had been a merchant in El Obeid. His reluctance to extort grain for the soldiery during the great famine led to a clash with the Khalīfa and his execution (February 1890). His successor, al-Nūr Ibrāhīm al-Djirayfāwī, was another former merchant. Tenure of office became increasingly precarious: one commissioner was twice appointed and twice removed, and the last year of the reign saw three treasurers. At the same time special treasuries were established, of which the most important were the treasury of the *mulāzimiyya* and the Khalīfa's privy treasury. The sources of revenue had meanwhile changed. With the ending of the *djihād*, *ghanīma* sank into insignificance. *Zakāt* continued to be levied and also *fiṭr*, a poll-tax paid at the end of Ramaḍān. *Zakāt* was also paid as customs-dues, originally at the rate of 2½%, but al-Djirayfāwī imposed a further 10%, and this might indeed be taken at several points on the route. Fines were imposed on smoking and drinking, and the goods of other offenders were liable to confiscation. In addition, merchants and others might be required to pay "contributions" (*tabarruʿāt*) to the treasury. The minting of dollars at Omdurman continued, but the silver was increasingly debased. The minting of gold had ceased with the Mahdī's pounds, which were soon driven out of circulation by Gresham's Law.

The history of the judiciary is similar. Aḥmad ʿAlī held office as *ḳāḍī al-Islām* until May 1894, when he lost the Khalīfa's confidence, and was thrown into prison. His successor, al-Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm wad al-Zahrāʾ, had been trained at al-Azhar, but his over-zealous adherence to the principles of the *Sharīʿa* led to a clash with Yaʿḳūb. He was imprisoned and put to death, probably in the summer of 1895. The title of *ḳāḍī al-Islām* seems to have died with him. Already in the time of Aḥmed ʿAlī there was a deputy-judge (*wakīl al-maḥkama*), and the two seem usually to have acted in concert. By the end of the Khalīfa's reign, the chief judge had six deputies (*nuwwāb*), two of whom had special duties in connection with the *mulāzimiyya*. In addition, there were special courts in Omdurman for the market, the quay and the treasury. Both in the capital and the provinces, the judicial officers were dependent on the Khalīfa and his governors, and were deferential to their wishes.

7. Subsequently developments. Although the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest overthrew the Mahdist state, Mahdism continued to be a powerful force, particularly in the west. The movement was virtually proscribed in the early years of the Condominium by Wingate, who was governor-general from 1899 to 1916. The surviving leaders were held in prison, the use of the Mahdī's devotional manual (*rātib*) was forbidden, and several religious risings were suppressed. The revival of the Mahdiyya in a new form was the achievement of a posthumous son of the Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1885-1959), whose considerable political talent found opportunity in changing political circumstances during and after the First World War. To many Anṣār he was a charismatic figure, regarded by some as *al-Nabī* ʿĪsā, and hence as having an eschatological role. To his westernised followers, he was rather a nationalist leader, the patron of the Umma Party, which was founded in 1945, and has continued to play a leading part in Sudanese politics. In one modern view, the Mahdī is seen as a *mudjaddid*, and the Mahdiyya as a reformist but essentially orthodox movement.

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AL-**MAHDJAR** (sometimes in the plural, *al-Mahādjir*), name given in Arabic to places in Northern, Central and Southern America to which Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians and other Arabs have emigrated (*hādjara*). The towns whose names recur most often in modern Arabic literature are New York, Sao Pāolo, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires; there has developed there, in the first half of the present century, a characteristic literary movement, the vestiges of which have not yet been completely effaced; but these are not the only locations on the American continent where emigrants from the Near East have settled and where they have published, in Arabic or in the national languages (English, Spanish or Portuguese), bulletins, journals, periodicals and books with the object of promoting understanding of the Arabs and their heritage, or in furtherance of their political causes of the moment.

The flow of emigration towards the New World originated in what was then known as Syria (the land currently comprising Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, attaining its highest point in North America in 1913; the tide began to ebb in the period following the First World War as a result of obstacles placed by the United States in the way of immigration, with the limitation on numbers of immigrants and with legislation on nationality, passed in 1924, which almost put an end to it, although the influx of emigrants into South America continued.

The causes of the emigration were primarily economic. Among the Lebanese—who left their country in the greatest number—the inhabitants of the mountain region were deprived of agricultural land after the establishment of the régime of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* [see LUBNĀN], inaugurated in 1861 (and modified in 1864) in the wake of the inter-community religious disturbances of 1860 and following intervention by the European states, and by France in particular. This régime accorded administrative autonomy to the mountain region, which possessed meagre financial resources, having first detached from it its fertile plains and sea ports. A section of the population was thus forced to leave the mountain region and to seek employment in Beirut and other Lebanese towns. This was the first phase; subsequently, some individuals left their homeland and made their way to Egypt and other African countries. When emigration to America became possible, some groups of Lebanese, insignificant in size, travelled there. After 1881 the scale of the movement accelerated, as the first emigrants enticed their compatriots with glowing reports of the financial opportunities that existed in America, while tourists, shipping companies and their agents added further encouragement, to such an extent that at the beginning of the 20th century a virtual epidemic had arisen and almost half the inhabitants of Lebanon left their country. The contagion spread to the cities of the interior (Homs, Damascus and Aleppo) and to the mountains occupied by the ʿAlawites, whence it is estimated that a seventh of the population chose to become exiles. Some Palestinians had preceded the Lebanese, and others accompanied them. By the final phase of the movement, the total number of immigrants from Greater Syria who were settled in the United States and Canada exceeded half a million, attaining close to double this figure in the cities of Central and South America.

At the time, the movement was encouraged among the Christian population of Syria not only by economic factors—including the oppression of the peasants by their feudal lords, the monopoly over lands and goods exercised by the monastic communities, the oppressive burden of taxation, disastrous crop-failures, the slump in the natural silk market caused by the success of artificial Japanese silk sold cheaply and the diversion of international trade-routes following the excavation of the Suez Canal—but also on account of psychological factors aroused by a hated social and political situation; detestation of the foreign authority which governed them and always regarded them with suspicion, religious conflicts which culminated in the events of 1860, persistent sectarianism, corruption of an administration in which bribery was rife, the subjection of the faithful to religious leaders who collaborated with the feudal lords in oppressing and robbing them, the suppression of public liberties, the alienation experienced by the entire population in the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the posting of young Arabs to distant theatres of war, widespread ignorance and the rule of anarchy in all facets of existence.

On the other hand, there was talk of those advantages of emigration which constituted powerful incentives: the prospect of making a fortune, numerous opportunities for finding work, respect for public liberties, the acceptance by society of personal ambitions, the judgment of people by their actions and their abilities rather than on the basis of their origin and class, concern for the rights and dignity of all citizens without discrimination and the rule of order and of law.

The Syrians in general and the Lebanese in particular had been in contact with the West and its culture since Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) and the creation of scientific institutions in this country in the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. These contacts had been reinforced by the religious missions which began to arrive in Lebanon in the period when the son of the ruler of Egypt, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] was governor of Syria (1832-40), and which expanded their activities following the installation of the régime of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* (1861),

founding schools, cultural associations and charitable societies, importing presses, translating and publishing books. These contacts were also encouraged by the presence of tourists and members of the French expedition who stayed on in Lebanon for a full year after the events of 1860. These constant contacts with the West and the learning of the languages spoken there, in addition to the common religion which it shared with the majority of the future emigrants, reinforced their admiration for this part of the world and its principles, in particular those of the French Revolution and its well-known slogan, and strengthened their desire to migrate to it.

When these factors are considered in conjunction with the geographical position of Lebanon and Syria, facing the West from the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, and the hereditary zest for trade and travel characteristic of the Lebanese, descendants of the Phoenicians as they are, and also their eagerness to travel far in search of favourable opportunities, it is possible to understand the deep significance of this quasi-collective migration towards the New World and the dispersal of this race throughout the globe.

In the first instance, the emigrants were attracted to the United States; subsequently, they turned their attention towards the South, still virgin territory and offering greater employment opportunities than the North, on account of sparseness of population, the vast areas of agricultural land requiring manpower, emergent industry and the wide range of opportunities for commerce. Opportunities for emigration to South America were enhanced following the visits to Palestine and Lebanon undertaken in 1877 and 1887 by the Emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro II and the conclusion, in 1892, of an agreement between the Ottoman and Brazilian governments establishing the conditions of immigration. This emperor, who spoke Arabic, favoured the settlement of emigrants in his country as a means of contribution towards its prosperity and furthering the exploitation of agricultural land, and he promised them aid and assistance. Argentina offered similar attractions with its enormous tracts of land requiring cultivation and its untapped material resources. Waves of immigrants therefore made their way towards South America, to such an extent that their number amounted to 300,000 in Argentina alone, and Brazil accepted more than half a million. For their part, the Palestinians preferred the states of Central America or Chile and Mexico.

After disembarkation, these foreigners settled in the poorer quarters of the towns which they had chosen, usually because they had relatives there, and attempted to make a living through street-trading and hawking. Those who succeeded (the minority), would open a small shop, and some found opportunities for expansion, in some cases even becoming industrialists or prosperous merchants [see DJĀLIYA].

The people among whom they lived had little respect for them. They called them Turks, because they came from a land dependent on the Ottoman Turkish state, and in some instances they were treated in the same light as the Mongols, members of the yellow race; the immigrants themselves were aware of the need to correct the image which had formed in the minds of Americans.

Initially, they believed that their exile was temporary and would last no longer than the time needed to amass sufficient money to support themselves and their families at home; this same time-period, it was hoped, would see changes in living conditions in their own country. But once settled and accustomed to their new existence, seeing their businesses prosper and their children growing up in this new milieu, learning its language and becoming attached to it, they contemplated staying there permanently, in spite of the pain involved in the awareness of exile and in spite of the bitter nostalgia that they felt for their country and families.

There can be no doubt that it was in response to the need to communicate among themselves in their exile, and on the other hand to follow events occurring at home, that they were led to produce a number of minor Arabic newspapers; these began to appear with the arrival of the first waves of immigrants in the closing years of the 19th century, but in the South and the North of the continent.

It was in New York in 1892 that the first newspaper, *Kawkab Amirika*, appeared, followed by *al-ʿAṣr* (1894), *al-Ayyām* (1897), *al-Hudā* (1898) and *Mirʾāt al-Gharb* (1899). In Brazil, the oldest one, *al-Fayḥāʾ* (1895), was followed by four others: *al-Raḳīb* (1897), *al-Ṣarāzil* (1898), *al-Manāẓir* (1899) and *al-Ṣawāb* (1900).

Subsequently, the need was felt to form associations and literary societies to serve the interests of the immigrants, unite their energies and support their social institutions. *Al-Djamʿiyya al-sūriyya al-muttaḥida* came into existence in New York in 1907, and other associations followed. In Brazil, numerous clubs were founded, of which the most important was *al-Nādī al-ḥimṣī*, and literary societies subsequently came into being. But literary life prospered at an earlier stage in North America, for the following reasons: immigration there had a longer history, printing-presses had been established there at a relatively early date and writers of talent had been living there since the end of the previous century. Amīn al-Rīḥānī [see AL-RĪḤĀNĪ] arrived in New York in 1888, followed by Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān [*q.v.*] in 1895, the poet Nudra Ḥaddād in 1897, then, at the beginning of the century, the two poets Nasīb ʿArīḍa and Rashīd Ayyūb in 1905, Nudra's brother, the journalist ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād in 1907, Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma [*q.v.*] and Īliyyā Abū Māḍī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1911. Printing-presses proliferated to such an extent that six were in existence by 1910, producing, besides newspapers, some remarkable literary reviews, such as *al-Funūn* (1913) which was edited by Nasīb ʿArīḍa, and *al-Sāʾiḥ* (1912) edited by ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī began to write in newspapers at the end of the last century; his extremely vivid language had an oratorical nature and displayed a marked penchant for innovation. He had published three of his books before Djabrān's first, *al-Mūsīḳā*, appeared in 1905. The concerns of his people, both in the *mahdjar* and in their homeland, pre-occupied him, and he set himself to preaching liberation in the widest sense of the term, political, social and intellectual, and to attacking in his articles and books (*al-Muḥālafa al-thulāthiyya, al-Mukārī wa 'l-kāhin, Zanbaḳat al-fawr, Khāridj al-ḥarīm*) inertia, bigotry and religious sectarianism. It is, moreover, entirely symptomatic that his first work published in the *mahdjar* is intitled *Taʾrīkh al-thawra al-firansiyya.*

For his part, Djabrān began in 1903, while still residing in Boston (which he did not leave for New York until 1912) to publish his articles in the newspapers *al-Muhādjir* (1903), *al-Hudā* and *Mirʾāt al-Gharb*. He appears to have been more forceful than al-

Rīḥānī and more inclined to challenge traditions directly. Because he loved painting, imagery dominated his writing, and his education and experience endowed him with burning zeal and a penchant for idealism. His style reveals a poetic soul close to the sources of an Oriental mysticism inherited in the West by the various romantic movements. He put together in his first books *ʿArāʾis al-murūdj* (1906), *al-Arwāḥ al-mutamarrida* (1908), *al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira* (1912) and *Damʿa wa-btisāma* (1913), his articles and novels which had been published in the newspapers of the *mahdjar* and in the two reviews *al-Funūn* and *al-Sāʾiḥ*.

Like al-Rīḥānī and Djabrān, Nuʿayma also possessed a pronounced taste for innovation. He retained from his theological studies, undertaken in Russia between 1906 and 1911, a profound religiosity and, like Djabrān, a tendency towards mysticism; he considered it necessary to go beyond the sensory organs in order to arrive at the reality of things, but he did not have the same ardour of feeling and he was sometimes more capable of effecting a synthesis. After theology, he turned to the study of law and literature at an American university. This training enabled him to improve his precision of expression and to attain a better equilibrium between the elements of the work of art; his knowledge of Russian literature also enhanced his aptitude for psychological analysis.

In this way, these men of talent, as well as the writers and poets who joined them later, were able to prove their literary abilities and, almost forty years after the arrival of the first waves of immigration in New York they found the means enabling them to found, after the end of the First World War, an association which had the object of "stimulating the literary spirit" and of establishing the norms of literary work. In 1920 they formed *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*, entrusting the presidency to the "doyen" Djabrān and the post of secretary to the "counsellor" Nuʿayma. Included among its members were the poets Īliyya Abū Māḍī (1890-1957), Nasīb ʿArīḍa (1887-1946), Rashīd Ayyūb (1871-1941), Nudra Ḥaddād (1881-1950) and his brother ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (1890-1963) and a number of less prolific writers, of whom the best known was William Catzeflis (1879-1950), treasurer of the *Rābiṭa*. They decided to make the review *al-Sāʾiḥ* the pulpit from which to address the public.

Literary reviews in Lebanon and South America soon began reprinting specimens of their work in verse and in prose, delighting in the strong innovatory tendency that they revealed, to such an extent that their reputation became wider and their influence on the literary life of the Arabs was accentuated.

But after the formation of the *Rābiṭa*, Djabrān wrote nothing more in Arabic, except for a few articles, and he turned to the English language in which he composed eight books, of which *The Prophet* is considered the most significant work of his entire corpus. He gives his prophet the name *al-Muṣṭafā* and, in a very engaging poetic style, puts into his mouth, in the manner of Nietzsche with Zarathustra, the outcome of his interpretation of existence and of man.

The other members of the *Rābiṭa* continued to write in Arabic. Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma collected his articles of criticism and published them in a book intitled *al-Ghirbāl* (1923); from this work it is possible to draw all the rules of criticism representing the most important characteristics of the writing of the *Rābiṭa*: to preach innovation, to uphold the truth, to relate literature to life and always to make it revolve around man and his vital problems. Nuʿayma is also the author of a series of short stories and articles which he subsequently inserted in his narrative collection, *Kān mā kān* (1937), in the *Kitāb al-Marāḥil* (*ca.* 1936) and in the first part of his philosophical novel *Mudhakkirāt al-Arḳash* (1949). Before the formation of the *Rābiṭa*, he had published his only dramatic work, *al-Ābāʾ wa 'l-banūn* (1917), in which he took the part of the younger generation and attempted to reconcile classical and dialectal forms in dialogue.

The majority of the members of the *Rābiṭa* wrote in verse and in prose, but it is the poets among them who still occupy the prominent place. Īliyyā Abū Māḍī, whose collections of verse composed in the *mahdjar* were published before (vol. ii of his *Dīwān*, 1919) and after the formation of the *Rābiṭa* (*al-Djadāwil*, 1927 and *al-Khamāʾil*, 1946) was a poet of such fecundity, such ardour of feeling, such penetrating sensibility and appealling style that he continues to enjoy the widest reputation. He is followed by Nasīb ʿArīḍa, all of whose poetry was published in his single *dīwān*, *al-Arwāḥ al-ḥāʾira* (1946), who displays a very sensitive and troubled soul. For their part, Rashīd Ayyūb, author of *al-Ayyūbiyyāt* (1916), of *Aghānī 'l-darwīsh* (1928) and of *Hiya 'l-dunyā* (1939), and Nudra Ḥaddād, whose single *dīwān* is intitled *Awrāḳ al-kharīf* (1941), their poetry reveals the weight of nostalgia, anguish and love of mankind which essentially characterises the literature of the *mahdjar* and the charm of style which marks its form.

However, the *Rābiṭa* did not monopolise the entire immigrant literary movement in North America, and there remained, outside it, renowned men of letters and journalists including Amīn al-Rīḥānī, pioneer of the literature of the *mahdjar*, the poet Masʿūd Samāḥa (1882-1946), whose poetry was powerful, versatile and rich in metre, the historian Philip Hitti (Ḥittī), who contributed, through his historical works composed in English, to making the Arabs, their history and their civilisation known to the West, the journalist Naʿūm Mukarzal, proprietor of *al-Hudā*, his brother Sallūm who published numerous periodicals, and many other poets and writers.

The *Rābiṭa* lasted more than ten years (1920-31); with the death of its doyen Djabrān (1931) and the return of Nuʿayma to his homeland (1932), it was dispersed, but other members continued their literary production for a certain length of time.

To give due credit to the *Rābiṭa*, it must be recalled that the literary press which made known to the world the best of the production of the *mahdjar* is owed to three of its members, *al-Funūn* to Nasīb ʿArīḍa (1913), *al-Sāʾiḥ* to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād (1912) and *al-Samīr* to Īliyyā Abū Māḍī (1929); that, through the combined action of all its members, there came into being the first modern literary movement to present to readers of Arabic a kind of literary school, in spite of individual disagreements; that genres such as biography, the short story and the philosophical novel only became known in Arabic literature as a result of the artistic form that these writers gave to them; that one of its members, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād, preserved in his original histories published under the title *Ḥikāyāt al-mahdjar* (1931), documents relating to the first phase of the immigration which contain precise and living details with which history is not normally concerned; that the effects of their reformist move-

ment on Arabic society are almost as important as its consequences in the literary domain, since they aimed to reconstruct the Arabic personality on new social foundations characterised essentially by love, a principle drawn from the Gospel; and that their activity in the cause of renewal gave firm support to that which came into existence in the Near East through the influence of the *Dīwān* of Muṭrān, of the *Apollo* group and its disciples, and that the latter movement perhaps thereby gained a stronger voice, clearer views and greater homogeneity.

With the demise of the *Rābiṭa*, the centre of gravity of literary activity shifted towards Brazil, where the first association had been founded under the name *Riwāḳ al-Maʿarrī* (1900) by Naʿūm Labakī, but had ceased to exist long before the First World War when its founder returned to his homeland in 1908; its members then took to holding in their homes what could be described as literary salons. Subsequently, in 1933 Michel al-Maʿlūf [see AL-MAʿLŪF] succeeded in founding an association which took the name *al-ʿUṣba al-andalusiyya*; this title was chosen by the members of the group because they were conscious of the fact that they lived among a people originally from the Iberian peninsula, in the south of which their Muslim Arab ancestors had been assimilated with the population, and they believed that they were rediscovering al-Andalus in this "New Andalusia". It seems to be an established fact that numerous Muslims of Spain, who had been forced to convert to Christianity after the end of their rule in 1492 and the decision of Philip III in 1609 to expel the Arabs and to try them before the courts of the Inquisition, took part in campaigns of exploration and conquest in the New World. The peoples of South America thus retain in their culture and their blood traces of the civilisation and the blood of the Arabs of al-Andalus; these are visible in their languages, appearance, customs and social traditions, which are familiar to Arab immigrants and encourage them to believe that here they can become attached to their roots.

The *ʿUṣba* fulfilled its linguistic and literary mission with the aid of important societies founded by the immigrants, numerous schools established for teaching the Arabic language (for example, some fifteen thousand pupils were educated at the school of the *Muʿallim* Wadīʿ al-Yāzidjī), various social institutions sponsored by clubs which organised, for their support, festivals in the course of which members of the *ʿUṣba* delivered speeches and recited their poetry, in addition to the festivals which took place on the occasion of various national ceremonies; it was also assisted by journals and reviews of which the most important were *al-Sharḳ*, edited by Mūsā Kurayyim and *al-Andalus al-djadīda*, edited by Shukr Allāh al-Djurr, which published the literary work of its members, sometimes also campaigning on behalf of opposing political opinions and thus supplying other motives for original creation to men of letters whether they belonged to the association or not.

At first, the latter had chosen as its platform *al-Andalus al-djadīda* which one of its members, Shukr Allāh al-Djurr, published in Rio de Janeiro; two years after its foundation, in 1935, it established its own organ to which it gave its name, *al-ʿUṣba*, and of which the editor-in-chief was another of its members, Ḥabīb Masʿūd. The *ʿUṣba* and its review lasted until 1953, by which time it had been considerably enfeebled by death and by the return of the exiles to their homeland. With it, there came to an end the second literary movement of the *mahdjar* and the torch of *mahdjarī* literature was extinguished; all that remains of it today are a few timid flames here and there on the American continent which still resist the assaults of time.

In North America, the *mahdjar* built up the prestige which it enjoys both there and in the Near East on prose rather than poetry, in spite of the influence exercised by the *Mawākib* of Djabrān, the *Hams al-djufūn* of Nuʿayma and the poetical works of Īliyyā Abū Māḍī and Nasīb ʿArīḍa, in turning the modern poetic movement towards the heart and the soul of man and in reforming the linguistic form and the music of verse, in spite also of the debt owed to the pioneers, al-Rīḥānī and Djabrān, for the development of the "poem in prose" which is highly regarded in certain Arab circles. In the domain of Arabic rhetoric, Djabrān created a kind of school of his own, with his style that was harmonious, warm and wrapped in a maze of symbols and colourful images, both pleasing and elusive to the senses. His prose and that of Nuʿayma are applied, on the other hand, to major subjects concerning man, society and criticism, for which versification is inappropriate on account of the concentrated texture of Arabic verse; in addition, they tackled in prose the majority of literary genres. It is by means of this depth and this universality that their prose and with it, the *Rābiṭa ḳalamiyya* and the works of the *mahdjar* as a whole, have acquired the prestige that they enjoy in modern Arabic literature.

In the case of the *ʿUṣba*, it is verse which absolutely dominates the work of its members, under the influence of the inherited taste of the Arabs for poetry, in a milieu constantly looking back towards its Andalusian past. It is by means of this poetry that the activity of the *mahdjar* occupies a place in modern Arabic literature for which the credit belongs to the most prolific and gifted poets of the *ʿUṣba*: al-Shāʿir al-Ḳarawī (Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrī, born in 1887, emigrated to Brazil in 1913), Ilyās Farḥāt (born in 1893, emigrated in 1910), Shafīk al-Maʿlūf (born in 1905, emigrated in 1926) and Shukr Allāh al-Djurr (born in 1905, emigrated in 1919).

It may be noted, in general, that the poets and writers of South America were deeply attached to their literary and general intellectual heritage on account of the admiration that they felt for it; this is why they kept their eyes fixed upon it when seeking inspiration for their poetic works, while Djabrān and Nuʿayma, in the North, showed little interest in this heritage and Abū Māḍī, ʿArīḍa, and the other poets of the *Rābiṭa* ignored it completely, even if they read ancient works. Al-Rīḥānī appreciated the latter and translated some fragments into English, without, however, allowing himself to be bound by literary tradition. In addition, their works were dominated, in a general manner, by the originality and innovation which earned them their reputation and enabled them to exert their influence on modern Arabic literature. It seems in fact that these two tendencies were caused by the influence of the milieu; in the North, American society removed authors from their literary heritage, while those in the South were brought closer to it, as has been shown. This also accounts for the fact that the most eminent writers of the North have displayed linguistic weaknesses, amounting in some cases to misunderstanding of the rules of Arabic (see the article intitled *Naḳīḳ al-ḍafādiʿ*, in *al-Ghirbāl*), while in the South there were poets (Ilyās Farḥāt in

particular) who imitated the glories of the past and celebrated the Bedouin life, camels and tents; and even those who are distinguished by clarity and sensitivity of expression (e.g. al-Shā'ir al-Ḳarawī and Shafīḳ al-Maʿlūf, have never lapsed into the use of excessively affected language, even though the nature of Lebanon and the poetry that emanates from its atmosphere have exerted their influence on their poetic images.

This difference between the North and South is revealed in the content as well as in the form. In North America, men of letters are for the most part interested in general human problems, both in their verse and their prose; they are broadly concerned with the destiny of man whose soul they wish to save from the oppression of material civilisation. Christianity and the ancient oriental religions, western romanticism, the works of which they have read in part and the writers of mystical tendency (Blake, Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau) have left their mark on their literature, while those of South America address themselves to national questions and the interests of their compatriots who had stayed in their homeland, to such an extent that they commemorated some national festivals and honoured past and present rulers and writers of their country. But this did not prevent the poets of the South from writing historical dramas and excelling in long compositions, for example *ʿAlā bisāṭ al-rīḥ* by Fawzī al-Maʿlūf, *ʿAbḳar* by his brother Shafīḳ or *Muʿallaḳat al-arz* by Niʿma Ḳāzān.

In Buenos Aires, the poet Georges Ṣaydaḥ (1893-1978) attempted in 1949 to establish a new literary association to which he gave the name *al-Rābiṭa al-adabiyya*, but it ceased to exist two years later. Literary production in Argentina has remained limited to the personal and prolific efforts of the poet and prose-writer Ilyās Ḳunṣul (1914-81) who has been succeeded in this respect by his younger brother Zakī (emigrated to Argentina in 1928). The work of these two writers and that of George Ṣaydaḥ is dominated, like the literary output of all men of letters of the South, simultaneously by concern for the national problems of their country of origin and by the desire to respect the purity, versatility and correctness of expression.

A few further remarks should be made concerning the efforts still being exercised today by immigrants in South and Central America, but also in the North, to spread through the American continent awareness of numerous aspects of their general literary heritage, ancient as well as modern, with books such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, the *Muʿallaḳāt*, the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the *Luzūmiyyat* and the *Risālat al-Ghufrān* of al-Maʿarrī, and the *Iklīl* of al-Hamdānī, as well as certain works of Djabrān, of Nuʿayma, of Abū Māḍī, of al-Shāʿir al-Ḳarawī, of Fawzī al-Maʿlūf and of his brother Shafīḳ and of others. Philip Hitti has also edited Arabic texts (including the *Kitāb al-Iʿtibār* of Usāma b. Munḳidh, 1930) and has written in English his *History of the Arabs* (8th ed., 1963), *History of Syria* (2nd ed., 1957) and *Lebanon in history* (1957). Certain of his colleagues have applied themselves to making known the heritage of the Arabs, their customs, their legends and their stories. Arabs who emigrated to other states of the continent (Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile and the republics of Central America) have left a large number of books and periodicals in Arabic and Spanish which also have the purpose of making known the Arabs and their culture; in addition, they translated English, Spanish and Portuguese texts and in this respect played an important role in the cultural exchanges necessary between peoples.

In a general fashion, the influence of the *mahdjar* on Arabic literary thinking remains alive today, since its poets and its writers are still read; most of all, they have influenced authors of romantic tendency, both in the Maghrib and in the Mashriḳ, Manfalūṭī and Shābbī for example. Their critical thinking, represented in particular in *al-Ghirbāl* by Nuʿayma, has contributed to the moulding of one of the most eminent modern critics, Muḥammad Mandūr (1907-64) [*q.v.*].

It is now possible to summarise the common characteristics of the literature of the *mahdjar* in North and South America in the following fashion: dominance of the sentimental tendency of the authors on account of their expatriation and nostalgia for their native land; love of nature to the extent that it is made an object of worship, through the images of its beauty and serenity that they have brought with them and the consolation that they find therein in their distant exile; a penchant for reflection on the things of this world with poetic insight and lyricism in the manner of treating them.

With these specialities and with the individual and collective differences revealed by their works, the emigrants have conferred on some of them a world-wide renown (especially *The Prophet* by Djabrān, which has been translated into more than fifty languages, and *ʿAlā bisāṭ al-rīḥ* by Fawzī al-Maʿlūf) and a special place in modern Arabic literature. This particular and singular nature of their literary production is due to the particular and singular violence of their experience.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article and also the various articles in the *EI* devoted to most of the individual authors mentioned, see Adīb Pasha, *Lubnān baʿd al-ḥarb*, Cairo 1919; *al-Sūriyyūn fi 'l-Wilāyāt al-Muttaḥida al-Amīrikiyya*, Cairo 1922; F. Hittī, *Amīrika fī naẓar sharḳī*, Cairo 1924; T. Khemiri and G. Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in contemporary Arabic literature*, Hamburg 1930; Brockelmann, S III; Raʾīf Khūrī, *al-Fikr al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1943; Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma, *Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān*, Beirut 1943; *al-Nāṭiḳūn bi 'l-ḍād fī Amīrika*, tr. Yaʿḳūb al-ʿAwdāt, New York 1946; Tawfīḳ Ḍaʿūn, *Dhikrā 'l-hidjra*, São Paolo 1946; Muḥammad al-Kafāfī, *al-ʿArab fi 'l-mahdjar al-shimālī*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Univ. of Cairo, xvii/2 (December 1955); Nādira Djamīl Sarrādj, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*, Cairo 1957; Iḥsān ʿAbbās and Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-mahdjar: Amīrika al-shimāliyya*, Beirut 1957; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-mahdjar*, Cairo 1958; M. Nuʿayma, *Sabʿūn*, Beirut 1959-60, 3 vols.; Asʿad Dāghir, *al-Muḥāḍjara fī Lubnān*, Sidon n.d.; Georges Ṣaydaḥ, *Adabunā wa-udabāʾunā fi 'l-mahādjir al-amīrikiyya*, Beirut 1964; ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *al-Nathr al-mahdjarī* (*al-madmūn wa-ṣūrat al-taʿbīr*), Beirut 1964; idem, *Funūn al-nathr al-mahdjarī*, Beirut 1965; ʿUmar al-Daḳḳāḳ, *Shuʿarāʾ al-ʿUṣba al-andalusiyya*, Beirut 1973; C. Nijland, *Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿaymah, promoter of Arabic literary revival*, Istanbul 1975; S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry, 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, ch. III et index; A. Ġ. Karam, *La vie et l'œuvre littéraire de Ǧibrān Ḫalīl Ǧibrān*, Beirut 1981.

(ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar)

MAHĪM, Maham, a town in the district and

taḥṣīl of Rohtak in India, on the road connecting Dihlī and Hānsī, situated in lat. 28° 58′ N. and long. 76° 18′ E.; it was formerly in the Pandjāb, but since 1947 has fallen within the Indian Union (Hariana State). It was probably founded by Rādjpūt princes, but was allegedly destroyed at the end of the 12th century by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī [see GHŪRIDS]. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid has an inscription from the reign of Humāyūn, recording its construction by Bēgam Sulṭān in 1531, and another from Awrangzīb's time, recording its completion or restoration in 1667. In 1732, Mahīm and its district passed to the Nawwābs of Farrukhnagar, and later in the century it was harried by the Sikhs and Marāṭhās. From 1793 it was the centre of a petty principality carved out by an Irish adventurer George Thomas, but passed into the control of the British East India Company in 1803. The population of the Rohtak District according to the 1971 Census of India was 1,785,534, 98.49% of which was Hindu and 0.62% Muslim.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xvi, 430; *Punjab District gazeteers. IIIA. Rohtak District*, Lahore 1910, 24 ff.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MĀHĪM, a port of India, with an island fort and two creeks forming a harbour, about 60 miles/90 km. north of Bombay. The large village of Kēlvē on the opposite bank of one creek is now incorporated with it in one municipality named Kēlvē-Māhīm, which distinguishes it from the suburb of Māhīm on Bombay island. The name is also spelt Mahīm and, in Bahmanī records, Mahāʾim.

It was known to have been included in the possessions of the Dihlī sultanate in the mid-8th/14th century, from which it passed to the Gudjarāt sultanate, of which it became the southernmost port on the north Konkan coast. At the time of Gudjarāt-Bahmanī friction, in 833/1430, the Bahmanī governor of Dawlatābād, Khalaf Ḥasan, Malik al-Tudjdjār, occupied it, on receipt of a report that its Gudjarātī commander had died. At that time, the Bahmanī northern maritime outpost was Thānā; but a counter-attack by the Gudjarātīs was successful, thanks to the first recorded serious clash between Dakhnī and Āfāḳī elements in the Bahmanī armies, and not only was Māhīm regained but Thānā also taken.

In 896/1490 a Bahmanī rebel *amīr*, Bahādur Gīlānī, *kotwāl* of Goa, engaged in piracy and predations on the north Konkan coast up to Cambay, sent a fleet of 200 raiding ships to attack Māhīm, which caused the sultan Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] to request the Bahmanī sultan to put an end to Bahādur's depredations (text of letter in ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, 147). (He was eventually defeated in 900/1494 by that Sulṭān-Ḳulī, who thereby received the title of Ḳuṭb al-Mulk and later became the first ruler of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī sultanate [*q.v.*]).

In 920/1514 the Portuguese, negotiating with the Gudjarāt sultan for permission to establish a base at Diu, were offered instead sites elsewhere, including Māhīm (Afonso d'Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, Eng. tr. W. de G. Birch, Hakluyt Soc. 1875-84, iv, 93-105); these they refused, but by 938/1532 Māhīm was in their possession, and they are recorded as successfully defending it against the Mughals in 1021/1612. It eventually fell to Shivādjī [see MARĀṬHĀS] by 1068/1658, but in 1101/1689 Sīdī Yāḳūt Khān, the Mughal (Ḥabshī) admiral at Djandjīra, engaged against the Marāṭhās, took Māhīm among other coastal forts (J. Grant Duff, *History of the Marhattas*, Bombay 1878, 274-6).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the bibls. to GUDJARĀT and BAHMANIDS.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MAHISUR, MAYSŪR, conventional spelling MYSORE, a former princely state of British India, now the core of a component state of the Indian Union called Karnataka, with its capital at Bangalore, and also the name of the town which was the dynastic capital of the state.

The native state was a landlocked one of South India, lying between lats. 11° 36′ and 15° 2′ N. and longs. 74° 38′ and 78° 36′ E. and with an area of 29,433 sq. miles. Its population in 1941 was 7,329,140, over 90% of this being Hindu; the Muslim minority was overwhelmingly Sunnī. Mysore city, the seat of the Mahārādjās of Mysore, lies in lat. 12° 18′ N. and long. 76° 39′ E at an altitude of 2,493 feet. The principal language of the princely state and also of the present Karnataka was and is Kanarese or Kannada, spoken by approximately 65% of the population today, but Telugu, Tamil, Hindi and Marathi are also spoken on the fringes.

1. Geography and history. Geographically, the Mysore princely state boundaries comprised what is essentially an undulating table land, with rocky hills and ravines, and with the steep mountain barrier of the Western Ghats forming the western limits and the Nilgiri Hills the southern ones. Mulainagiri rises to 6,317 feet; the mountains are lushly forested, the timber being exploited commercially, and rainfall can be as high as 360 inches per annum at the crest of the Western Ghats. This heavily-wooded hill country of western Mysore has traditionally been known as the Malnād, whereas the more open country of valleys and plains in the east, where rainfall may be as low as 20 inches per annum, is known as the Maydān or Bayalshīme. Drainage here is mainly eastwards to the Bay of Bengal, with the main river systems of the Kaveri or Cauvery in the south and the Kistna or Krishna in the north; none of these rivers or their tributaries is navigable within the boundaries of the princely state, but they have always been used, e.g. by the use of dams, for irrigation purposes and, in the present century, for hydro-electric power generation.

Popular etymology connects the name Mahisur with Skr. *mahiṣa-* "buffalo" (lit. "powerful"); the name of the town is certainly old. The first contacts with the Muslims were in the time of the local Hindu dynasty of the Hoysalas (*ca.* 1022-1342), chieftains from the Western Ghats region with their capital at Dvārasamudra (see on them, J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas, a mediaeval Indian royal family*, Madras 1957). In 1310-11 the Dihlī Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's general Malik Kāfūr or Malik Nāʾib marched into South India and made the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballāla III tributary to Dihlī [see KHALDJĪS], and Dvārasamudra was sacked and razed by an expedition sent by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] in 1327.

After 1336 there arose in the southern tip of India the last great Hindu dynasty there, that of Vidjayanagara, and the rādjās gradually took over Mysore after the disappearance of the Hoysalas. This involved disputes with the Muslim kingdom to the north of the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*], and after the break-up of the Bahmanī state in the early 16th century, disputes with the successor-state of the ʿĀdil-Shāhīs in Bīdjāpūr [*q.vv.*]. The rādjās of Vidjayanagara were generally successful in keeping the Muslims ou of Mysore till 1565, when a coalition of the sultan

of Bīdjāpūr, of Golkondā (the Ḳuṭb-Shāhīs [*q.vv.*]), of Aḥmadnagar (the Niẓām-Shāhīs [*q.vv.*]) and of Bīdar (the Barīd-Shāhīs [*q.vv.*]) defeated Rāma Rādjā at the battle of Tālikota, leading to the sack of Vidjayanagara itself.Nevertheless, his descendants established the Rāma Rādjā dynasty in Mysore, and it was from one of these that English merchants in 1639 secured the grant of what became Fort St. George at Madras on the Coromandel coast in place of the earlier site at Masulipatam.

Mysore now flourished under the *wodiyar* feudatories, who gradually assumed *de facto* power, acquiring in 1610 Shrīrangapaṭṭanam (Seringapatam). The power of the Muslims in Bīdjāpūr was withstood, until in 1686-7 the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] crushed the independent power of the Bīdjāpūr and Golkondā sultanates. Mysore, was, however, able to establish a *modus vivendi* with Awrangzīb on a basis of common hostility to the rising power of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*].

The mid-18th century years saw the rise in Mysore of the Muslim general Ḥaydar ʿAlī, who under the commander-in-chief or *dalawāyī* Nandjarādj acquired an access of prestige through his repelling Marāṭhā incursions. Ḥaydar ʿAlī's prestige became such that in 1760 his help against the British was sought by the Comte de Lally in the French possession of Pondicherry, and he became virtual ruler of Mysore under the Rādjā, withstanding the British and the forces of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] till his death in 1782 [see ḤAYDAR ʿALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR for details]. His son and successor in office Tīpū Sulṭān instituted a strongly Muslim policy, including the forcible conversion of Hindus and measures against the production of alcohol and opium. On the death of the Rādjā in 1796, the traditional ruling family was suppressed by Tīpū Sulṭān. His policy against Britain and her ally the Niẓām involved a continuation of his father's alliance with France, and diplomatic approaches were made as far afield as to Bonaparte in Egypt and to the courts of Kābul and Istanbul. His ambitions were, however, ended at the battle of Seringapatam in May 1799 [see TĪPŪ SULṬĀN for details].

The line of the Mysore Rādjās was now restored in the person of the five-year old Krishna Rādjā Wadiyar (June 1799) under British protection and with Col. Arthur Wellesley (subsequently the first Duke of Wellington) as civil and military ruler during his minority (sc. till 1811). The Rādjā's later extravagance and misgovernment brought about an internal revolt in 1830 at Nagar (Ḥaydar ʿAlī's old foundation of Ḥaydarnagar), which led to the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, appointing a Mysore Council, with commissioners to exercise the substance of power there. Krishna Rādjā did not die until 1868, when his adopted son was recognised as his valid successor, and in 1881 the local dynasty recovered responsibility for administration, the civil and military station of Bangalore alone remaining in British hands.

Over the next decades, internal growth brought rising prosperity to Mysore state, with expenditure on roads, metre gauge railways and irrigation, together with the first electric power station in the subcontinent at the Cauvery Falls. In 1947 Mysore acceded to the Indian Union, and the Mahārādjā Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar became the new Mysore State's first governor. With the administrative reorganisation of 1953 and 1956, under the pressure of South Indian demands for ethnic and linguistic administrative units, the State (as that comprising essentially Karanese speakers) received additional territories in the west which gave it a coastline on the Arabian Sea and it acquired the name of Karnataka; the much-increased area is now 74,037 sq. miles/ 191,757 km². The total population is 37,043,451 (1981 estimate), and the population of the state capital Bangalore is 1,540,741 and of Mysore city 355,685 (both 1971 census figures). The state is one of the most educationally advanced in the Union, with four universities and 31% of the population literate in 1971.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

2. Monuments. The only significant building to survive from the Bīdjāpūrī incursions, a mosque at Sante Bennūr (*ca.* 1047/1637) in Shimoga District, owes little to ʿĀdil Shāhī influence as it was built from the granite of a temple to Ranganātha on the same site, with a groined roof and pointed arches. It is most remarkable for a stepped square tank surrounded by eight towers, with another at the centre, in the mixture of Hindu and Islamic forms characteristic of Vidjayanagara. The building is said to have been desecrated, and became known as a *musāfir-khāna*. The subsequent, but limited development of Muslim architecture did not begin until the Mughal invasion of 1098/1687, when it can be traced from the Djāmiʿ Masdjids at the new administrative centre of Sira and at Hiribidanur near Gauribidanur, and some tombs at both places. At the latter, where the mosque faces the Dargāh of Niyāmat Bī (properly the tomb of Ḥusayn Shāh) across a pool, the influence of Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] is evident in the careful modulation of the four-square tomb walls with panelled arches, the prominent *guldastas* at the corners, the shape of their finials, and the dome set on a lotus-petal base, with a hemispherical profile above; the mosque dome too is bulbous in the other Bīdjāpūrī fashion, though here given a different, turnip-like profile, and it has a tall minaret shaft engaged at each frontcorner with lesser ones at the back. The merlons are articulated with smaller *guldastas* at intervals, and the front wall by blind arches pierced by openings below. The combination of *masdjid*, tank, and mausoleum is repeated at Kolar, where the *maḳbara* [*q.v.*] or cemetery houses twelve members of Ḥaydar ʿAlī's [*q.v.*] family, but the building, with six internal pillars and a dome placed off-centre over Ḥaydar's father, is of little interest.

Although the Sangīn Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Taramandalpet, Bangalore, follows the earlier pattern, with a prominent fretted parapet around the prayer-hall roof, and minarets at the front corners taller than these at the rear, these may not be original, as the roof was damaged in action and restored in 1836. The substructure is attributed

to the Mughal period. The Masdjid at the hill fort of Midigeśi has its strongly tapered minarets set on massive square towers at the front corners of the hall, with battered angles framing a well-proportioned, three-arched façade. The relatively tall upper works are again crowned with a fretted parapet. Such *minārs*, with domical finials, have become symbolic, like their ʿĀdil Shāhī counterparts, rather than functional. The Masdjid-i ʿĀlī at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam represents the culmination of this type, as built by Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] (dated 1201/1786-7). The rectangular precinct wall, which houses an internal verandah, encloses a high terrace with a row of rooms at the front, and the prayer hall at the back. Though the flat roof of the hall is raised on multi-cusped arches, and the panelled wall outside is relieved by blind arches to match, its front is trabeated, with slender columns supporting a neat entablature. This runs between the squared bases of two immense minarets which rise in three octagonal stages, with elaborately pinnacled balconies, to prominent bulbous domes. The facets are set off by diagonal and vertical rows of small openings, and the domes are gadrooned. A small room to the west forms the *miḥrāb*. The unusual plan is due, again, to the re-use of a temple site. The interior carries five Ḳurʾānic inscriptions.

Tombs of a square format surmounted by a dome are again found at Čannapaṭṭana. In that of Sayyid Ibrāhīm the small central cell is surrounded by a flat-roofed verandah on simple octagonal stone columns of Hindu derivation; the dome is only slightly bulbous, and its pointed profile is distinctly Iranian. The Sālār Masʿūd Dargāh at Tonnūr is a more ambitious example of the same type, with a flat roof sustained by four pillars, and a peristyle of six fluted and tapering ones each side, surmounted by a latticed parapet that almost conceals the dome. There were baluster-like *minārs* at each corner of the terrace. The Maḳbara of Ibrāhīm Khān Ḳilaʿdār at Kumbarpet in Bangalore, dating from Ḥaydar ʿAlī's rule, has a particularly squat bulbous dome on a square chamber, surrounded by merlons on fretted bases. Baluster columns with matching *guldastas* are engaged at each corner, and two smaller ones at mid-side. In the Mausoleum of Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, dated 1195/1782 (the year of Ḥaydar's death), the two types of tomb are combined: the cubic mass of the walls rises through a verandah of black serpentine columns to more than twice its height, with a large bulbous dome above. Both the verandah and the central block have *čhadjdjas* surmounted by slotted parapets and the usual panoply of bulging *guldastas*; those below are skilfully reduced in scale. The upper walls of the block carry a single range of seven blind cusped arches on each face. The dome, though rising from a boldly scooped lotus base, and crowned with a *mahāpadma*, is flatter than those at Bīdjāpūr; even so, the tomb is clearly related to such buildings as the mausoleum of Shāh Karīm. The interior is decorated with the tiger-stripe mouchettes typical of Tīpū, and there is a eulogy in Persian inscribed on the west wall; the ebony doors inlaid with ivory are a restoration due to Lord Dalhousie.

Palaces. The Mughal Fort at Sira, with its palace and gardens (Khān Bāgh) is said to have stimulated Ḥaydar ʿAlī, who was made *ṣūbadār* of the province, to create his own retreats at Bangalore and Shrīrangapaṭṭanam; little of it now remains. The *Ḥaydar-nāma* of 1784 confirms his interest in building, naming these in particular (*ARASM* [1930], 101-2). The palace buildings, such as that below the Fort at Čitaldrug, were erected with tall timber columns; in most cases, this has unfortunately led to their destruction. That at Bangalore (built 1192-1203/1778-89, survived until 1868) had four halls on the upper storey, each opening onto two balconies. Tīpū Sulṭān held his *darbār* from a *djharokhā* looking down on his courtiers at ground level. The remaining part has fine tapering columns set on lotus bases. Paintings show that it had a lofty columned hall three bays by five open on one side, with balconies forming a mezzanine on the other, flanked by a solid, two-storied block of the same height either end; the flat roof rested on lines of cusped arches, with heavy brackets for the *čhadjdjā*, and balusters above framing the varied tracery of the parapet. Tīpū's principal palace at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, dismantled in 1807-9, was in the middle of the north side of the Fort. The main hall was also open on one side. His private apartments, guarded by four tigers chained in a narrow passage, were on one side of a square, the other three being storehouses full of goods. The Lāl Bāgh Palace, once at the eastern end of the island, has also vanished; drawings show it to have been of the same type, though the flanking blocks are columniated with seven narrow bays traversed by balconies, and the parapet is reduced to display a studing of *guldastas*. The format seems to stem from the Bāradarī at Adjmēr via the Shīsh Maḥall at Lāhawr [*q.v.*], and may be compared with the Āthār Maḥall at Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] (1000/1591), as well as 18th-century parallels in the Gopal Bhawan at Dig, Bharatpūr. One fine example remains in the Daryā Dawlat Maḥall built by Tīpū as a summer palace in the Dawlāt Bāgh to the east of the Fort in 1198/1784. It is set on a substantial plinth, and the tapering wooden pillars with their prominently moulded bases and reeded shafts are used to form a verandah all round, with a deep *čhadjdjā* and a fretted parapet in four tiers punctuated by small rounded finials. The three central arches, which though cusped are almost semicircular, open on to a *tibāra* hall through a matching set on paired shafts. The two lateral bays on each side, which are wider, employ a rounded, shouldered arch to articulate the end peristyles, and the two-storeyed flanking blocks within them, here set back behind the verandah and opening onto the *tibāra* through two ranges of cusped arcades, with a flat, diapered ceiling above. The façade to the river on the north, and that to the south, are identical, the building being square. There are three rooms on each side of the upper floor, and a central hall with projecting balconies. The whole interior is panelled with small blind arches and cartouches, richly painted and gilded, and is remarkable for a series of wall paintings depicting military successes and civil ceremonies, where individuals can be identified. Buchanan's description of the gardens at Bangalore (1800) shows that they followed the usual pattern of square plots, each allotted to a different plant, with five cypresses at the sides bordering the walks. In those laid out by Tīpū, the irrigation system of masonry channels was very prominent.

Bibliography: Scattered references can be found in the *Annual reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department* (*ARMAD*), continued as the *Annual reports of the Archaeological survey of Mysore* (*ARASM*) from 1927 to 1943, though unfortunately Muslim buildings receive much

less attention than Hindu ones, and information is cursory. The most useful are, for Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, *ARASM* (1935), 51-65, with plates; for Tīpū's palace and the Fort at Bangalore, *ibid.*, 24-8; for Čannapaṭṭana and its tombs, *ibid.*, 21. For Hiribidanur, see *ARMAD* (1913-14), 20; for Kolar, *ARASM* (1930), 21-2; for Nandi, *ARASM* (1932), 57-63; for Sante Bennūr, *ARASM* (1937), 60-1; for Midigesi, *ARASM* (1938), 10-11; for Tonnūr, *ARASM* (1939), 27; and for Bangalore Fort, *ARASM* (1940), 37-9. The *Mysore gazetteer*, Bangalore 1930, ed. Rao, ii/1, 370-7, provides a little extra material, but no illustrations. Early pictures of Bangalore and Shrīrangapaṭṭanam can be found in Lt. James Hunter's paintings (1804-8) at the Government Museum, Bangalore, reproduced in M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore through the centuries*, Bangalore 1970, in Charles Gold, *Oriental drawings*, London 1806, in Robert Home's *Select views in Mysore*, London 1974, and his *Description of Seringapatam*, London 1796. Further descriptions can be found in Dr. Francis Buchanan's *A journey through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, London 1807 (repr. Madras 1970). The Daryā Dawlat Maḥall is illustrated in O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925, pls. 164-5. See also Ziyaud-din Desai, *Mosques of India*, New Delhi 1971, 71-2 and plate. (P. A. Andrews)

MĀHIYYA (A.) "quiddity". On the construction of this technical term, al-Tahānawī provides interesting information. There are several explanations. One of them derives this word from the interrogative *mā huwa*? ("what is it?"). In this case, it is to be noted that the *yā'* of the *nisba* has been added, the *wāw* suppressed and the *tā' marbūṭa* termination given in order to change the word from the adjectival to the substantive form. Another explanation derives it from *mā*, with the addition of the *yā'* of the *nisba* and of the *tā' marbūṭa*. The original form would then be *mā'iyya*; the *hamza* has subsequently been transformed into a *hā'* on account of the proximity of the articulation points. This *mā* would therefore not be, as in the previous explanation, the interrogative particle (*quid est*?), but that which introduces the reply to the question *quid*?: "[it is] that which ..." In the same manner, *kayfiyya* is the term for a response to the question *kayf*? ("how?"), and *kamiyya* is the response to the question *kam*? ("how much?").

The first explanation is appropriate in the context of the sense given by logicians to the word *māhiyya*; it is that which replies to the question: what is this? It expresses the genus (*djins*), while the question *ayyu shay' huwa* ("what kind of thing is it?") relates to the species (*naw'*). It is thus a case of τὸ τί ἐστι. But in fact, the *māhiyya* replies to two questions at once. In the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* or *Book of definitions*, Ibn Sīnā writes with regard to the *ḥadd*: "It is that which indicates the quiddity of a thing, this being the perfection of its existence in essence (*kamāl wudjūdih al-dhātī*): it is composed of the genus and of the specific difference" (Arabic text, 11). This question will be encountered again with regard to the *inniya*.

The second explanation accords better with the usage of theologians and metaphysicians. The *māhiyya* is that through which a thing is what it is (*mā bih al-shay' huwa huwa*). This is the τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι of Aristotle. In this sense, the term is synonymous with essence (*dhāt* [*q.v.*]) and with reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*, cf. *Shifā'*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, i, 31). This reality, like quiddity and essence, is beyond the universal and the particular, the existent and the non-existent, meaning that it can express not only the genus but also the individual essence, not only that which exists in beings themselves (*fi 'l-a'yān*), but that which does not exist thus, while existing in thought (*fi 'l-dhihn*; cf. *Shifā'*, *ibid.*, 32).

In the expression: "that through which a thing is what it is", the particle *bi-* (through) should be understood in the sense of causality (*al-sababiyya*): that, on account of which a thing is this thing (*al-amr alladhī bi-sababihi al-shay' dhālik al-shay'*). But this cause is not the active cause (*al-fā'il*), which is that through which a thing exists externally (*fi 'l-khāridj*), not that through which a thing is such a thing. It is thus a case of the internal cause which dictates that a thing is what it is. From this point of view, it follows that the action of the active cause (*athar al-fā'il*) is applied not to the quiddity in itself and as such, but to its relation to existence (*wudjūd*). This is the thesis of the Peripatetics and of those who say that it is not quiddity as such which is "placed in the being" (*madj'ūla*): the active cause places it in the being and clothes it with the attribute of external existence (*yadj'al al-māhiyya muttaṣifat^an bihi* [= *al-wudjūd*] *fi 'l-khāridj*). On this important notion of *madj'ūl*, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, i, 52. This is another case of the distinction between essence and existence which characterises the thought of Ibn Sīnā. For him, in fact, the active cause and the final cause are concerned with existences, while the material cause and the formal cause are concerned with essences. "A thing may be an effect (*ma'lūl*) in relation to its quiddity and to its reality; it may be an effect in its existence. It is possible to express this through the example of the triangle: its reality depends on the area and on the line which is its side; area and line constitute it as a triangle and it has the reality of triangularity (*ḥaḳīḳat al-muthallathiyya*), the area and the line being as its two material and formal causes. But from the point of view of its existence, it depends on yet another cause. This is neither a cause which constitutes its triangularity, nor a cause which is part of its definition; it is the efficient cause or the final cause which is the efficient cause of the causality of the efficient cause" (*Ishārāt*, iii, 441-2). "Of every thing which is such that existence does not enter into the comprehension of its essence (*dhāt*), it may be said that existence is not for it a constituent which enters into its quiddity" (*ibid.*, 474).

But when it is said that quiddity is that through which a thing is what it is, it may be objected that there is not an alterity between a thing and its quiddity of such a kind that a line of causality can be represented between the two. But what is meant by this is, that the thing, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself. Nevertheless, if this definition of quiddity is taken literally, there is the possibility of confusion between quiddity and accident, especially particular accident, since the *risibile* (*al-ḍāḥik*) is that through which man is *risibilis*, capable of laughter. But if this definition is understood in the sense of a thing which, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself, it applies only to quiddity, since if man is capable of laughter, it is because he is reasonable, not the reverse. Thus quiddity expresses the essence as distinct from accidents, particular or otherwise. This is why, according to al-Tahānawī, philosophers begin their researches by distinguishing clearly between quiddity

and its accidents. Ibn Sīnā writes on this subject (*K. al-Nadjāt*, 6-7): "The essential is that which constitutes quiddity from that to which it is attributed. But to define the essential (*al-dhātī*), it is not sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable, since many inseparables are not essential. Neither is it sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable in existence and which cannot be truly separated in the imagination (*wahm*), in such a way that if it were to be suppressed in the imagination, there would thereby be destroyed its object of attribution in existence. In fact, many inseparables are of this nature: for example, the fact that the sum of the three angles of a triangle is equal to two right-angles. This is an attribute of all triangles; it cannot be separated in existence, nor suppressed in the imagination ... And yet, it is not essential". It is a consequence of the reality of the triangle, but it does not enter into its definition. The same applies to all concomitants (*lawāzim*) "which are attached to a thing when its quiddity has been established". The essential is that which is such "that it is impossible to comprehend the essence of the object of attribution without having first comprehended that the signification of this essential belongs to it." Such is the case for "man" and "animal".

Ibn Sīnā notes that the terms *māhiyya*, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *dhāt* may be taken as synonyms. But *ḥaḳīḳa* and *dhāt* are applied most of the time to quiddity considered in its relation to existence on the exterior of thought, whether this quiddity be universal or particular. But when it is particularised, it is called ipseity (*huwiyya*). In this sense the following passage from the *K. al-Fuṣūṣ* is to be read: "All things have a quiddity and an ipseity. But quiddity is not ipseity and does not enter into it. If the ipseity of man were his quiddity, the representation that we have of the quiddity of man would be his ipseity, and when we described what man is, we would describe him in terms of "this is a man" and would know his existence: every description would imply a judgment. Nor does ipseity enter into the quiddity of these things, unless it is constitutive of it and the representation of the quiddity cannot be perfected without it. It would be impossible to suppress it from quiddity in the imagination and the relationship of ipseity to "man" would be like the relationship which corporality and animality have with him; just as if man is understood as man, it is not doubted that he is a body and an animal, so it would not be doubted that he exists. But it is not so." The *huwiyya* of Zayd is to be distinguished from that of ʿAmr. But, as noted by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mabāḥith*, i, 49), the humanity of one, in other words his quiddity, does not differ from that of the other. In denying the alterity of the humanity of Zayd in relation to that of ʿAmr, we mean only this: "Humanity as such is humanity and nothing more; where that of Zayd is other than that of ʿAmr, this is something that comes from the exterior". Thus quiddity, in the true sense of the word, must be considered in itself and for itself, as pure representation, separate from any judgment of existence or of attribution. Al-Rāzī (*ibid.*, i, 48) declares explicitly: "Equinity (*farasiyya*) as such is nothing other in itself than equinity. It is in itself neither unique, nor plural, nor existent, nor non-existent ... Unity is an attribute that is attached to it; with it, it becomes unique; and similarly, in that it corresponds to numerous things, a character of generality may be found in it. But in itself, equinity is only equinity".

Another term is related to *māhiyya*; this is *inniya*. Ibn Sīnā speaks of it at length in the *Shifāʾ* (*Madkhal*, 39-46). His thought may be summarised by means of an example which he himself employs. Take the term *ḥassās* ("endowed with sensibility"). Arising from the genus (*djism*) "body", it is interposed as a specific difference (*faṣl*) to define the animal. It is essential for the animal and for the man to be these bodies endowed with sensibility. Nevertheless, this single essential characteristic which is expressed by the term *ḥassās* does not suffice to indicate the quiddity of the animal or of the man. The same may be said of "reasonable" in relation to the definition and the quiddity of man. Now Ibn Sīnā observes that the logicians make man a species of animal, but they do not do likewise with "reasonable". The same statement applies to the terms "body", "animal", and "endowed with sensibility". However, the specific difference is important, for, if the genus and the species say what a thing is insofar as it is this thing, the specific difference is that which enables it to be distinguished (*tamyīz*) from other things and provides for an exact response to the question: what kind of thing is this? This being so, the *māhiyya* represents a notion which may be applied equally to numerous things; the *inniyya* represents the notion by which a thing may be distinguished (*yatamayyaz*) from others. The *māhiyya* expresses the genus of the species, the *inniyya* expresses the specific difference. However, Ibn Sīnā draws attention to the fact that it is by no means impossible that that which indicates the *inniyya* of certain things may indicate the *māhiyya* of certain others. For example, *ḥassās*, in relation to "man", "horse", "bull", does not indicate the quiddity, but only the *inniyya*, whereas *ḥayawān ḥassās* ("living creature endowed with sensibility") expresses it perfectly. But in relation to "endowed with sight (*baṣīr*), with hearing (*samīʿ*), with the sense of touch (*lāmis*)", this same term *ḥassās* denotes a quiddity. In spite of these distinctions, it is apparent that on occasion Ibn Sīnā uses these two words side by side in the same sense. The word *inniyya* may be translated by the Scotist term of "ecceity".

Alongside these concepts of the Peripatetics, attention must be drawn to the point of view of the philosophers who stressed the role of illumination (*al-Ishrāḳiyyūn*). For them, the action of the active agent is applied to the quiddity itself, which "follows" it as light follows the sun. It is reason which, subsequently, separates essence from existence. Thus al-Suhrawardī of Aleppo, in *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* (186, § 193), explains that "that which is placed in existence (*al-madjʿūl*) is quiddity, not existence; given that existence is only a rational consideration (*iʿtibār ʿaḳlī*). It follows that a thing has its ipseity (*huwiyya*) by means of its emanent cause (*min ʿillatih al-fayyāḍiyya*) ... It can happen that a thing disappears when agents of corruption appear, while its cause in emanation remains; this is because it depends on other causes which are transient. It can happen that a thing has a cause of production (*ḥudūth*) and a cause of internal consistency (*thibāt*) which are different, as in the case of a statue: in effect, the cause of its production, which is the person who makes it, and the cause of its internal consistency, which is the dry nature of the element. But it may be that the cause of internal consistency and the cause of production are one and the same, as in the case of the receptacle which gives to the water [that it contains] its configuration. Now the Light of lights is at the same time the cause of existence of all existing things and the cause of their

internal consistency ..." In a word, there is no distinction, according to this point of view, between essence and existence other than one of reason. On the level of the Light of lights, which is the cause whence all things emanate, there is no need to distinguish the four causes of Aristotle in order to attribute to him only an efficient causality which does nothing but give existence. It is in its unity and by the same right the perfect cause of essences and existences. It is total agent which gives to each being its existence, its quiddity, its material and its end. Al-Suhrawardī has another argument besides to show that the effect of the cause through emanation is not existence without essence. We may consider for example the darkness. "If it is non-existent, it is not realised (*laysa bi-ḥāṣil*); so its existence is not an existent, since it is, itself (like the darkness) non-existent (*maʿdūm*). Now if we perceive existence and we judge that it is not an existent, that which we understand by existence is other than what we understand by existent. If we then say: the darkness exists, that which we have taken to be non-existent, of which the existence was not realised, then is realised, it follows that the realisation of existence is something other than realised existence, such that there will be an existence for the existence ..., and so on *ad infinitum*, which is absurd". (*ibid.*, 64-5, § 56). In more simple terms, if it is necessary to give existence in order for it to exist, it will be necessary to give existence to the existence of existence, and so on *ad infinitum*.

The theories of Ibn Rushd regarding quiddity are much closer to the thinking of Aristotle. They are also distinguished by his opposition to the Avicennan concept of essence and existence, and by his method which consists in leaving physical realities in order to raise oneself to metaphysical realities. He is interested primarily in the quiddities which belong to bodies and which are "attributes (*ṣifāt*) which exist in them and through which these bodies become active existents" (*Tahāfut*, 359, § 92). He writes further: "Starting with the individuals which are in conformity in species, intelligence grasps a unique signifying intention (*maʿnā*) in which they are associated. It is the quiddity of this species. But this intention is not divided by that whereby individuals as such are divided, that is by place, position, material factors, on account of which they proliferate. It is thus necessary that this intention be neither generable, nor corruptible, and that it not disappear with the disappearance of the individuals in which it exists" (*ibid.*, 573-4, § 38). Thus quiddity is distinguished from accidents: "The fundamental principle in accidents is that they depend on something other than themselves, while the fundamental principle in quiddities is that they depend on themselves, except that which happens to generable and corruptible things owing to the fact that quiddities need a subject (*mawḍūʿ*)." By virtue of the doctrine of Ibn Rushd on being, which is fundamentally and essentially by substance, the quiddities will be in the strongest sense quiddities of substances and will follow the hierarchy of substances, from sensible and mobile substances, to intelligible and immobile substances.

As for *inniyya* (which Bouyges vocalises *anniyya* in his writings), it is in beings, in the true sense, "a signifying intention of thought (*maʿnā dhihnī*), meaning that the thing on the exterior of the soul is in accordance with that which is in the soul. Consequently, that which it indicates is synonymous with truth (*ṣādiḳ*). *Inniyya* is that which is indicated by the existential copula (*al-rābiṭa al-wudjūdiyya*) in judgments of attribution (*fī 'l-ḳaḍāyā al-ḥamaliyya*).

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